

The Conflict of Conservation, Fashion, and Industry:
Compromise Between Environmentalists, Women, and the Plume Trade

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“It is undeniable that the welfare and happiness of our own and of all future generations of Americans are at stake in this battle for the preservation of Nature against the selfishness, the ignorance, or the cruelty of her destroyers.”

- William Temple Hornaday, 1913¹

Fashion in the late 1800s was marked by a sudden trend in hats ornamented with exotic birds and feathers, often worn as an indication of high social class by wealthy women.² As demand for plumes in millineries increased rapidly, unregulated hunting along the coastal regions of the United States led to the decimation of avian populations.³ The resulting conflict between those who profited from the international plume trade and conservationists was unique in that it related the complexities of fashion as a powerful social influence to the issue of natural resource management, as well as controversially involving women as both indirect supporters and as some of the most outspoken opponents of the trade. The actions of ornithologists and concerned citizens in an effort to end a multinational industry and the resistance from the people that depended on it would cause compromise through regulatory laws and changes in public sentiments towards nature.⁴ The conflict and compromise between hunters, milliners, women, and conservationists over the plume trade would initiate the establishment of unprecedented

¹ William T. Hornaday, *Our Vanishing Wildlife*, New York: Scribner’s Sons, 1913, vii.
<https://archive.org/details/ourvanishingwild00horn>.

² Harriet Hawley, “Fancy Runs Made in Dress Hats for Winter,” *Omaha Daily Bee*, October 18, 1903.
<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn99021999/1903-10-18/ed-1/seq-27/>.

³ Kate Kelly, “Harriet Lawrence Hemenway (1858-1960): Saving Birds One Hat at a Time,” *America Comes Alive*, last modified April 8, 2014, accessed December 13, 2017.
americacomesalive.com/2014/04/08/harriet-lawrence-hemenway-1858-1960-saving-birds-one-hat-at-a-time/.

⁴ Philip McCouat, “Fashion, Feathers, and Animal Rights,” *Journal of Art in Society*, last modified 2016, accessed December 30, 2017, www.artinsociety.com/feathers-fashion-and-animal-rights.html.

legislation, new public discussions over ecological responsibility, and ultimately the beginning of the modern environmental movement.

The Issue

The practice of wearing feathers in millinery was not a novel idea in the United States since the fashion was present in Europe since the eighteenth century. However, it was never popularized to the intensity and extent that was observed towards the end of the 1800s.⁵ As the middle class grew, more people emulated the appearance of richness by purchasing lavishly decorated garments. Furthermore, industrialization and urbanization resulted in a desire to bring the nature that was left behind into the home and into fashion.⁶ The usage of feathers and entire birds on hats quickly became a social favorite, particularly among wealthy women [Appendix A].⁷ This trend was further compounded by enduring beliefs in the inexhaustibility of natural resources such as birds, which were perceived as being too numerous to be harmed by human activity.⁸ The rapid industrial expansion that was characteristic of the time period was accompanied by the idea of “improving on nature”, which reflected the widespread destruction of the wild and the consumption of environmental materials.⁹

⁵ Robin W. Doughty, *Feather Fashions and Bird Preservation: A Study in Nature Protection* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 14-15.

⁶ “The Feather Trade,” *Wildlife Journal Junior*, accessed December 13, 2017, <http://www.nhptv.org/wild/feather.asp>.

⁷ Paul R. Ehrlich, David S. Dobkin, and Darryl Wheye, *The Birder's Handbook* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988), 37.

⁸ Lisa Wade, “The Bird Hat Craze That Sparked a Preservation Movement,” *Pacific Standard*, last modified October 20, 2014, accessed December 15, 2017, <https://psmag.com/social-justice/bird-hat-craze-sparked-preservation-movement-92745>.

⁹ Patrick Duffy, “The Great Extermination,” *Dublin Review of Books*, last modified January 1, 2015, accessed December 13, 2017, <http://www.dr.b.ie/essays/the-great-extirmination>.

Initially unknown by the majority of the American public, the extensive hunting that resulted from the demand for plumes was disastrous to wild bird populations—most notably along coastal regions such as the Everglades in Florida. The most heavily targeted were herons and egrets for their unique and highly prized feathers, commonly known as aigrettes and considered to be particularly desirable.¹⁰ However, the cost of the plume trade directly impacted at least fifty different species.¹¹ William Hornaday, director of the New York Zoological Park, calculated in 1911 that over 220,000 birds were needed to supply three London plume auctions over the course of only half a year [Appendix B].¹² Feathers were usually harvested during the nesting season, which resulted in the indirect casualties of countless fledglings and further decimated avian populations.¹³ In the late nineteenth century, conservative estimate provided that hunters killed five million birds annually for the attainment of their plumage; the actual number ranged from up to three or four times higher.¹⁴ Additionally, the process of hunting was often highly inefficient; the destruction of an entire colony of herons could yield just twenty to thirty high-quality aigrettes.¹⁵

Conservationist Action

By as early as the 1870s, nature-oriented organizations and publications were aware of

¹⁰ Joseph Kastner, "Long before Furs, It Was Feathers That Stirred Reformist Ire," *Smithsonian*, vol. 25, no. 4, July 1994, 96, MasterFILE Premier (9406307598).

¹¹ "Massachusetts Audubon Society Makes First Land Purchase," Mass Moments, Mass Humanities, accessed December 13, 2017, <https://www.massmoments.org/moment-details/massachusetts-audubon-society-makes-first-land-purchase.html>

¹² Hornaday, *Our Vanishing Wildlife*, 121-122.

¹³ Keri Parker, "Lessons of the Feather Trade can Help Service Combat Wildlife Trafficking," U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, last modified August 29, 2016, accessed December 13, 2017.

<https://www.fws.gov/news/blog/index.cfm/2016/8/29/Lessons-of-the-Feather-Trade-can-Help-Service-Combat-Wildlife-Trafficking>.

¹⁴ "Massachusetts Audubon Society Makes First Land Purchase," Mass Moments, Mass Humanities.

¹⁵ Kastner, "Long before Furs," 96.

and outraged by the destruction of bird populations to satisfy millinery demands. An 1886 article in *Forest and Stream* stated that a single small district on Long Island brought 70,000 birds to New York in the span of four months.¹⁶ In the same year, an article in the magazine *Good Housekeeping* described how a single hunter killed 40,000 terns in one season at Cape Cod, and expressed that “This killing of birds for millinery purposes is getting to be a serious business” [Appendix C].¹⁷ This sentiment was reflected in articles in the *Millinery Trade Review*¹⁸ and influential essays such as “Woman’s Heartlessness”, which was written by poet Celia Loughton Thaxter and prompted public sympathy.¹⁹

One of the strongest early advancements made by conservationists was the establishment of the first Audubon society in 1886 by George Grinnell, the publisher of sportsman magazine *Forest and Stream*.²⁰ This publication commonly included articles condemning market hunters and the usage of birds in fashion, expressing concern that unregulated hunting would lead to the extinction of certain species.²¹ As public awareness of the plume issue increased, appalled readers sent letters to the editors. For example, in a February 25, 1886 issue, a reader expressed “I heartily approve of the proposed Audubon Society. We are in a way to destroy both our forests and birds. A society for the preservation of the latter has long been needed, and I hope it is not too late for the accomplishment of its objects.”²²

¹⁶ Celia Loughton Thaxter, “The Audubon Society,” *Forest and Stream Magazine*, 15 Apr. 1886, 222, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015049862595;view=1up;seq=234;size=200>.

¹⁷ “Mysteries of Feminine Feeling,” *Good Housekeeping* 4, no. 4, 13, Nov. 1886, 22.

¹⁸ “Fashion and Feathers,” *Millinery Trade Review*, January 1876, 36. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433008192811>.

¹⁹ Celia Loughton Thaxter, “Woman’s Heartlessness,” *Audubon Magazine*, Feb. 1887, pp. 13-14. archive.org/details/audubonmag12188789nati.

²⁰ Jeanmarie Tucker, “The Bird Hat: ‘Murderous Millinery’,” *Maryland Historical Society*.

²¹ “The Slaughter of the Innocents,” *Forest and Stream*, June 14, 1883, 387, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015013722171;view=1up;seq=395>.

²² John G. Whittier et al, “The Audubon Society,” *Forest and Stream*, February 25, 1886, 83, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015049862595;view=1up;seq=95>.

Grinnell's intention for the Audubon society was primarily to educate the public, optimistic that women would take initiative in ending the practice of wearing feathers once they learned about the destructiveness of the plume industry. While this prediction would eventually prove accurate, it did not happen until the mid-1890s.²³ During this time, the conservation movement was revitalized and scored a number of legislative successes, often due to the efforts of wealthy women who sought to end the trend of plume-wearing through advocacy campaigns and spreading awareness.

One such woman was socialite Harriet Hemenway, born into one of the most illustrious families in Boston.²⁴ Hemenway, well-known for her social activism, took action after reading an article in 1896 that graphically detailed the destruction of bird populations in Florida due to plume hunters.²⁵ Hemenway and her cousin Minna B. Hall consulted a listing of the most socially influential people in the city, then invited high-class women who were likely to wear plumes to Hemenway's home for tea and discussion. Using marketing and public relations strategies, Hemenway succeeded in convincing more than nine hundred women to sign an agreement supporting the protection of birds and the end of the plume trade.²⁶

Less than a year later, Hemenway's supporters merged with the American Ornithologists Union and became the Massachusetts Audubon Society.²⁷ The society's ultimate purpose, as stated by Minna B. Hall, was "to discourage buying and wearing for ornamental purposes the

²³ Kathy S. Mason, "Out of Fashion: Harriet Hemenway and the Audubon Society, 1896-1905," *Historian* 65, no. 1 (Fall 2002): 5. <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=khh&AN=7281461&site=hrc-live>.

²⁴ John H. Mitchell, "The Mothers of Conservation," *Sanctuary*, February 1996, 1-20, <https://blogs.massaudubon.org/yourgreatoutdoors/the-mothers-of-conservation/>.

²⁵ Scott Weidensaul, *Of a Feather: A Brief History of American Birding* (Orlando: Harcourt Books, 2007), 156-157.

²⁶ Dina Vargo, *Wild Women of Boston* (Charleston: History Press, 2015), 97.

²⁷ Weidensaul, *Of a Feather*, 156.

feathers of any wild bird, and to otherwise further the protection of our native birds.”²⁸ The new organization was based on Grinnell’s model from a decade earlier, but differed in that it inspired a number of similar organizations in other states and had grassroots support. After less than two years, there were 111 chapters in Massachusetts alone—the majority of which were led by women, who also composed eighty percent of the society’s membership.²⁹ To gain support, the society compromised with women unwilling to completely give up the fashion by allowing them to continue wearing the plumes of ostriches, which were not killed for their feathers.³⁰

Within a year of its establishment, the Massachusetts Audubon Society succeeded in the passage of state legislation that restricted the feather trade in Massachusetts greatly.³¹ Similar laws passed in Pennsylvania, New York, Maine, Colorado, and the District of Columbia afterwards.³² This bill helped model the 1900 Lacey Act, which prohibited the shipping of poached game across state lines and was one of the first federal laws regarding environmental regulation.

However, a lack of enforcement often led to state laws and the Lacey Act being ineffective.³³ Although the killing of American herons could now be punished with heavy fines in most states, millineries still reserved the right to import foreign birds; additionally, feathers sold for such an exorbitant price that illegal hunting continued. Volume 7 of the book *Country Life in America* noted that in 1903, “the price for plumes offered to hunters was \$32 per ounce,

²⁸ Carolyn Merchant, *Spare the Birds!* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 38.

²⁹ Weidensaul, *Of a Feather*, 158.

³⁰ Linton Weeks, “Hats Off To Women Who Saved The Birds,” National Public Radio Historical Department, last modified July 15, 2015, accessed December 13, 2017. <https://www.npr.org/sections/npr-history-dept/2015/07/15/422860307/hats-off-to-women-who-saved-the-birds>.

³¹ Vargo, *Wild Women of Boston*, 97.

³² “Massachusetts Audubon Society Makes First Land Purchase,” Mass Moments, Mass Humanities.

³³ “Other Relevant Laws,” U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, last modified October 17, 2016, accessed December 15, 2017, <https://www.fws.gov/birds/policies-and-regulations/laws-legislations/other-relevant-laws.php>.

which makes the plumes worth *twice their weight in gold*.”³⁴ In New York City, some hunters were able to obtain as much as \$80 for one ounce of aigrettes in 1910.³⁵ The increase of conservationist successes in legislation only increased the desperation of many hunters, who depended on the plume trade for a living. When those who hunted to support their families found their long-time source of income under attack, the stakes of the conflict suddenly rose.³⁶

Opposition From Milliners and Hunters

The passage of state laws and new local regulations concerning hunting and the plume trade heightened conflict as milliners and hunters objected to the perceived threat to their financial interests. Initial attempts at compromise as tension rose included legislation that only imparted protection for avian species native to America, allowing the plume trade to continue with foreign imports.³⁷ Conservationists were unappeased, pointing out the impossibility of distinguishing a plume’s source and that it had little impact on stopping poachers.³⁸ Laws that attempted to prohibit spring hunting similarly faced criticism for ineffectiveness.³⁹ Due to the refusal from many hunters to compromise by complying with new regulatory laws, conservationists continued to push for stronger legislation and the conflict escalated.

Conservationists prioritized legislative changes in local and state government, which consequently faced disagreements and challenges from industrialists. For example, conflict

³⁴ Herbert K. Job, “The Extermination of the Egret for Women’s Hats,” In *Country Life in America* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1905), 629, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101050599131>.

³⁵ Doughty, *Feather Fashions*, 80.

³⁶ Lucy D. Jones, “Plume Hunters in Florida,” My Florida History, last modified October 15, 2007, last accessed January 5, 2018, <http://myfloridahistory.blogspot.com/2007/10/plume-hunters-in-florida.html>.

³⁷ Doughty, *Feather Fashions*, 129.

³⁸ Job, “The Extermination of the Egret,” 627-629.

³⁹ Norman Lockyer, “Notes,” *Nature* 85, no. 2149 (January 5, 1911): 316. <https://archive.org/stream/naturelond85londuoft>.

occurred in New York when the Shea-White Bill was passed in 1910, entirely outlawing the sale of aigrettes throughout the state.⁴⁰ Milliner A. J. Levy reacted by proposing the Levy Bill, which allowed the sale of aigrettes under certain conditions.⁴¹ The public's opposition to the Levy Bill made itself clear in the form of numerous letters sent to senators, resulting in the Shea-White Bill being upheld.⁴² Another challenge to state legislation occurred in 1911, when the Millinery Association pressured the New York government to repeal the Dutcher Law, which outlawed the sale of wild American bird feathers. Once this initial attempt failed, the association brought witnesses to Albany to testify that "the enforcement of the law would throw thousands of operatives out of employment."⁴³ The endurance of the Shea-White Bill and Dutcher Law reflected increased conservationist victories in state legislatures across the country, and signified changes in public attitudes towards the environment.

Milliners and hunters reacted to boycotts, petitions, and other actions from Audubon societies by calling the conservationists "extremists" and "sentimentalists".⁴⁴ Those who sympathized with the trade often believed that birds were ecologically insignificant, arguing that most of the affected species had a negligible impact on environmental health. During a 1913 Congressional debate, Senator James Reed remarked: "I really honestly want to know ... why we should worry ourselves into a frenzy because some lady adorns her hat with [a heron's] feathers, which appears to be the only use it has."⁴⁵ Regardless, increasingly widespread environmental

⁴⁰ T. S. Palmer, "In Memoriam: William Dutcher," *The Auk* 38, no. 4 (October 1921): 509, <https://sora.unm.edu/node/12385>.

⁴¹ Emma H. Lockwood, "A Bill to Save the Birds," *The Survey* 26, no. 1 (April 1911): 115. <https://archive.org/details/thesurvey26survuoft>.

⁴² Alice Hall Walter, "For Teachers," *Bird Lore* 13, (1911): 214-218. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uiug.30112017807378>.

⁴³ U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Committee on Ways and Means. Feather Millinery. 62nd Cong., 3rd sess., January 29 - 30, 1913, 5314.

⁴⁴ Lisa Wade, "The Bird Hat Craze That Sparked a Preservation Movement," *Pacific Standard*.

⁴⁵ Doughty, *Feather Fashions*, 60.

awareness throughout the public forced lawmakers to compromise on their prioritization of industrial interests.

As pressure to end the practice of plume hunting increased, millineries and hunters presented arguments against conservationists in defense of the industry. This often included insistence that aigrettes were artificial, or that feathers were mostly molted; milliners also attributed decreases in bird population to migration changes instead of overhunting.⁴⁶

Ornithologists and ex-hunters reacted by asserting that feathers found on the ground, commonly known as “dead plumes”, composed a very small minority of feathers harvested for commercial interests.⁴⁷ Scientists also contested millinery claims in literary articles or by testifying against them during congressional hearings.⁴⁸

In the first decade of the twentieth century, the escalating conflict between those who protected bird populations and the people who depended on the plume trade resulted in violence. On July 8, 1905, Warden Guy M. Bradley was shot and killed in the Everglades while arresting poachers who were hunting egrets.⁴⁹ The shooter was eventually acquitted,⁵⁰ and a similar altercation occurred three years later when Warden Columbus G. Macleod was also killed by plume hunters in Florida. These murders caused widespread public outrage, and inspired support for the Audubon Society and its motives.⁵¹ In a 1905 publication of the magazine *Bird Lore*, William Dutcher wrote: “Heretofore the price has been the life of the birds, now is added human

⁴⁶ “The Importation of Plumage Bill,” *Bird Notes and News* 3, no. 3 (September 29, 1908): 30. <https://archive.org/stream/birdnotesnews03roya>.

⁴⁷ Arthur Cleveland Bent, *Life Histories of North American Marsh Birds* (New York: Dover Publications, 1926), 142-143. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.31822009266552>.

⁴⁸ “The Fancy Feather Trade,” *Nature* 86, no. 2159 (March 16, 1911): 81-82. <https://archive.org/stream/naturejournal86londonoft>.

⁴⁹ William Dutcher, “Guy M. Bradley,” *Bird Lore* 7, (1905): 218. <https://archive.org/stream/birdlore71905nati>.

⁵⁰ William Souder, “No Egrets,” *Smithsonian*, vol. 43, no. 11, March 2013, 72-73, MasterFILE Premier (85856624). <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=sch&AN=85856624&site=scirc-live>.

⁵¹ Linda R. Wires, *The Double-Crested Cormorant* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 68.

blood.”⁵² Theodore Roosevelt also referenced the incidents in his 1916 book, *A Book-Lover’s Holidays in the Open*. “Many of these poachers are at heart good men, who follow their fathers’ business ... But when times change and a once acknowledged trade comes under the ban of the law, the character of those following it also changes for the worse.”⁵³

Ultimately, the combined efforts of scientific organizations, concerned citizens, and conservationists culminated in the 1918 Migratory Bird Treaty Act, which effectively eliminated the plume trade in the United States at a federal level.⁵⁴ By the 1920s, a massive shift in public perception of the environment led to the end of feather millinery, and hunters had little choice but to find other ways to make a living. Fashion moved onto the usage of ribbons and cloth on hats instead, and populations of affected birds began to slowly recover.⁵⁵

Legacy

In the decades after the end of the plume trade, the Audubon Society and its partner organizations continued to campaign for environmental awareness and education.⁵⁶ The United States signed treaties with Great Britain, Canada, Mexico, Japan, and Russia, extending protection to birds on an international scale.⁵⁷ The Migratory Bird Treaty Act was amended to accommodate modern dangers for avian species, and established a vital precedent for the

⁵² Dutcher, “Guy M. Bradley,” 218.

⁵³ Theodore Roosevelt, *A Book-Lover’s Holidays in the Open* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1916), 285-286. <https://archive.org/details/bookloversholida01roos>.

⁵⁴ “Massachusetts Audubon Society Makes First Land Purchase,” Mass Moments, Mass Humanities.

⁵⁵ Mason, “Out of Fashion,” 14.

⁵⁶ “Massachusetts Audubon Society Collection Guide Complete,” Massachusetts Historical Society, last modified January 7, 2013, accessed December 15, 2017. https://www.masshist.org/news/story.php?entry_id=846.

⁵⁷ Kristina Rozan, “Detailed Discussion on the Migratory Bird Treaty Act,” Animal Legal and Historical Center, Michigan State University, last modified 2014, accessed December 15, 2017. <https://www.animallaw.info/article/detailed-discussion-migratory-bird-treaty-act>.

Endangered Species Acts that are now the basis of U.S. conservation policy.⁵⁸ Today, in the effort to end wildlife trafficking for furs, ivory, and other profitable assets, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service can draw inspiration from conservationists during the plume trade.⁵⁹ The historical strategies used in the protection of birds—including educational programs to spread awareness, the reduction of demand, and increased enforcement—not only remain highly applicable to the preservation of modern vulnerable species, but also signify that conservation success is possible.

The conflict between conservationists and supporters of the plume industry was one that involved a uniquely wide variety of people, including milliners, women, hunters, and ornithologists. More importantly, it led to one of the first popular movements in defense of the environment and was indicative of changing public attitudes towards natural resources, a significant transformation after an era of major industrialization and urbanization. Underpinning this encounter of differing ideologies were values of sentiment, moral responsibility, and scientific advocacy on the conservationists' behalf, as well as the financial and career concerns of the trade's supporters. This conflict drew individuals and groups of varying backgrounds together to debate the importance of conservation and its place in a modernized economy, and fostered a culture that would continue to drive ecological preservation to the present day. When attempted compromises in the plume trade between business interests and nature became inadequate, the conflict between conservationists and industrialists ultimately initiated a lasting conversation about the natural environment that is still immensely relevant today.

⁵⁸ Jeanmarie Tucker, "The Bird Hat: 'Murderous Millinery'," Maryland Historical Society, last modified June 2016, accessed December 21, 2017. blog.mdhs.org/costumes/the-bird-hat-murderous-millinery.

⁵⁹ Keri Parker, "Lessons of the Feather Trade," U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

Appendix A:



This photo of a lady wearing a hat generously decorated with plumes was representative of the popular fashion at the time. Milliners profited greatly from the feather industry, as these hats frequently sold for high prices.

[Head and shoulders of model wearing "Chanticleer" hat of bird feathers], ca. 1912. Photograph. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2005691560/>. (Accessed January 10, 2018.)

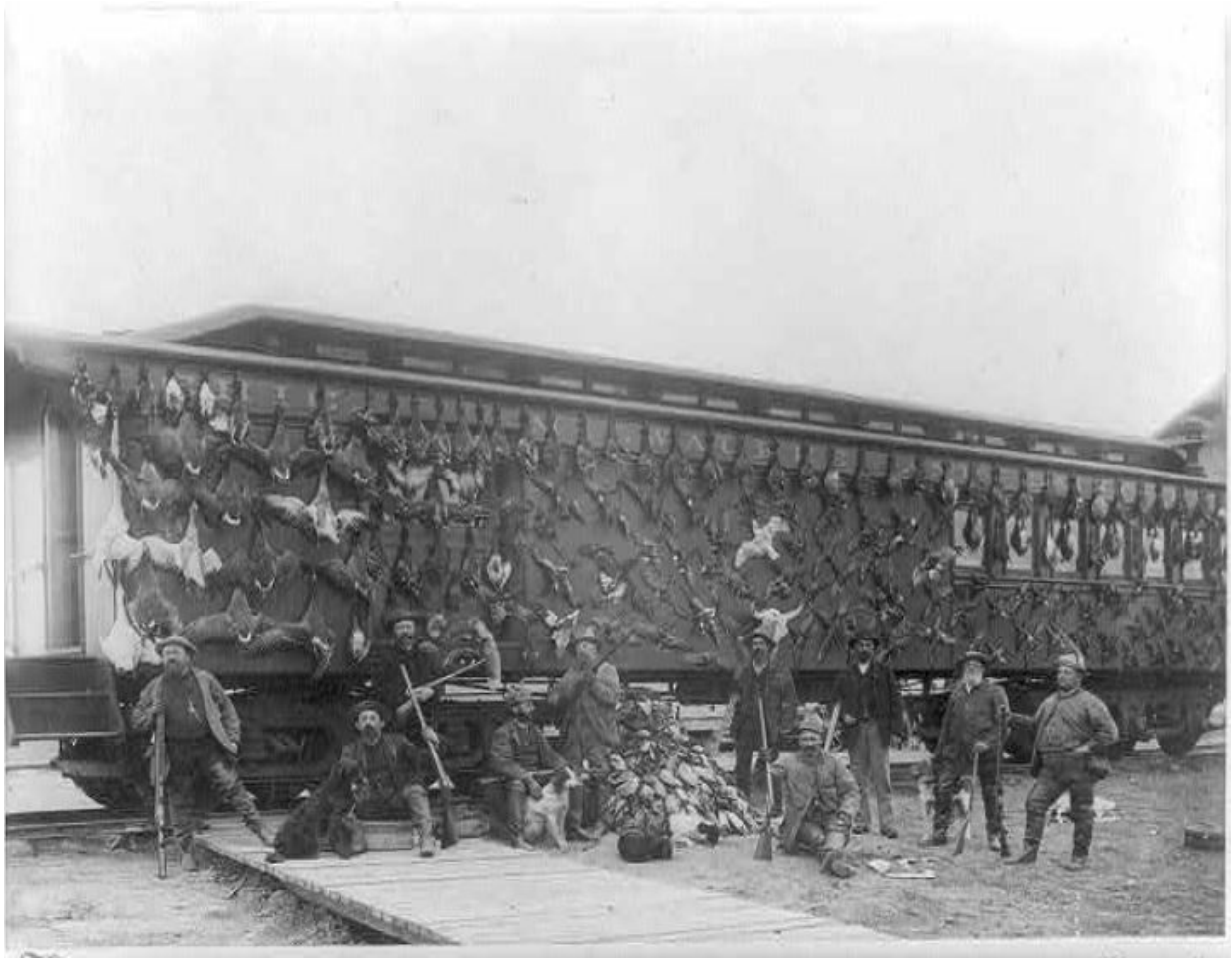
Appendix B:

<i>EXTERMINATION FOR WOMEN'S HATS</i>		121	
LONDON FEATHER SALE OF FEBRUARY, 1911			
<i>Sold by Hale & Sons</i>		<i>Sold by Dalton & Young</i>	
Aigrettes.....	3,069 ounces	Aigrettes.....	1,606 ounces
Hérons.....	960 "	Hérons.....	250 "
Birds of Paradise.....	1,920 skins	Paradise.....	4,330 bodies
<i>Sold by Figgis & Co.</i>		<i>Sold by Lewis & Peat</i>	
Aigrettes.....	421 ounces	Aigrettes.....	1,250 ounces
Hérons.....	103 "	Paradise.....	362 skins
Paradise.....	414 skins	Eagles.....	384 "
Eagles.....	2,600 "	Trogons.....	206 "
Condors.....	1,580 "	Hummingbirds.....	24,800 "
Bustards.....	2,400 "		
LONDON FEATHER SALE OF MAY, 1911			
<i>Sold by Hale & Sons</i>		<i>Sold by Dalton & Young</i>	
Aigrettes.....	1,390 ounces	Aigrettes.....	2,921 ounces
Hérons.....	178 "	Hérons.....	254 "
Paradise.....	1,686 skins	Paradise.....	5,303 skins
Red Ibis.....	868 "	Golden Pheasants.....	1,000 "
Junglecocks.....	1,550 "		
Parrots.....	1,700 "		
Hérons.....	500 "		
<i>Sold by Figgis & Co.</i>		<i>Sold by Lewis & Peat</i>	
Aigrettes.....	201 ounces	Aigrettes.....	590 ounces
Hérons.....	248 "	Hérons.....	190 "
Paradise.....	546 skins	Paradise.....	60 skins
Falcons, Hawks.....	1,500 "	Trogons.....	348 "
		Hummingbirds.....	6,250 "
LONDON FEATHER SALE OF OCTOBER, 1911			
<i>Sold by Hale & Sons</i>		<i>Sold by Dalton & Young</i>	
Aigrettes.....	1,020 ounces	Aigrettes.....	5,879 ounces
Paradise.....	2,209 skins	Heron.....	1,608 "
Hummingbirds.....	10,040 "	Paradise.....	2,850 skins
Bustard.....	28,000 quills	Condors.....	1,500 "
		Eagles.....	1,900 "
<i>Sold by Figgis & Co.</i>		<i>Sold by Lewis & Peat</i>	
Aigrettes.....	1,501 ounces	Aigrettes.....	1,680 ounces
Hérons.....	140 "	Hérons.....	400 "
Paradise.....	318 skins	Birds of Paradise.....	700 skins

This excerpt from William T. Hornaday's book *Our Vanishing Wildlife* lists statistics regarding the cost of the plume trade on wild bird populations. He calculated that about 223,490 birds total were killed for these three sales alone.

Hornaday, William T. *Our Vanishing Wildlife*. (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1913): 121. Retrieved from Hathitrust Digital Library. <https://archive.org/details/ourvanishingwild00horn>. (Accessed January 5, 2018.)

Appendix C:



With no regulatory laws, hunters were able to take limitless birds in a single day. Not counting the pile behind one hunter, over forty birds are shown in this photo.

Hunters With Day's Bag. Dakota Territory Webster, ca. 1890. Photograph. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2012646797/>. (Accessed January 8, 2018.)

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Bent, Arthur Cleveland. *Life Histories of North American Marsh Birds*, New York: Dover Publications, 1926. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.31822009266552>.

This book by ornithologist Arthur Bent described his first-hand experiences with observing egret populations during the height of the plume trade, and also included science-based arguments against the industry. It was useful for showing me points of conflict between conservationists and hunters.

Dutcher, William. "Guy M. Bradley." *Bird Lore* 7, (1905): 218. <https://archive.org/stream/birdlore71905nati>.

This commemorative passage was written to honor Warden Guy M. Bradley after he was shot by plume hunters in the Everglades. It gave me a better idea of the depth of the conflict and what hunters were willing to do to preserve their way of living.

"Fancy Feather Trade." *Nature* 86, no. 2159 (March 16, 1911): 81-82. <https://archive.org/stream/naturejournal86londuoft>.

This passage from an academic journal highlighted arguments that supporters of the plume industry made in defense of their trade, and also refuted them from an ornithologist point of view. It was vital in showing me another aspect of the conflict between industrialists and scientists.

"Fashion and Feathers." *Millinery Trade Review*, January 1876, 36. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433008192811>.

This article in a milliner's magazine is unique in that it features a writer that is aware of and disapproves of the popular usage of plumes in millinery. It also described trade statistics and certain species, and provided a new perspective.

Hawley, Harriet. "Fancy Runs Made in Dress Hats for Winter." *Omaha Daily Bee*, October 18, 1903. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn99021999/1903-10-18/ed-1/seq-27/>.

This newspaper article was an in-depth example of how far the trend of plumes in millinery had gone, as it described many ways to wear feathers according to the fashion of the time. It helped me with understanding the social context of the issue.

Hornaday, William T. *Our Vanishing Wildlife*. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1913. <https://archive.org/details/ourvanishingwild00horn>.

I found this book very useful to my research as it contained many statistics that had been collected and calculated firsthand by the author. It also included strong conservationist arguments that were useful for understanding the environmentalist perspective.

“Importation of Plumage Bill.” *Bird Notes and News* 3, no. 3 (September 29, 1908): 26-35.
<https://archive.org/stream/birdnotesnews03roya>.

This detailed transcript of a plume industry manager defending their business in front of the London Chamber of Commerce gave me another perspective on the conflict. It also helped me understand how a conservationist might have points of disagreement with industrialists.

Job, Herbert K. “The Extermination of the Egret for Women’s Hats.” In *Country Life in America*, 627-629. New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1905.
<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101050599131>.

This article was helpful in that it explained both legislative advances that had been made by conservationists and actions from hunters that directly opposed these new laws. By including both environmental progress and resistance from those who benefitted from the plume trade, it helped me better understand the conflict.

Lockwood, Emma H. “A Bill to Save the Birds.” *The Survey* 26, no. 7 (April 1911): 115.
<https://archive.org/details/thesurvey26survuoft>.

This letter sent to the editors of a journal described the Levy Bill and the challenge it presented to the Shea-White Bill. It was a good example of how the public was getting progressively more involved in conservation advocacy.

Lockyer, Norman. “Notes.” *Nature* 85, no. 2149 (January 5, 1911): 316.
<https://archive.org/stream/naturelond85londuoft>.

This brief passage in an academic journal states the issues present with laws limiting hunters from spring shooting. It was helpful in showing why initial attempts at compromise were ineffective in the view of the conservationists.

"Mysteries of Feminine Feeling." , vol. 4, no. 4, 13 Nov. 1886, p. 22.
http://hearth.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=hearth;idno=6417403_1298_002.

This issue of the magazine *Good Housekeeping* provided me with important statistics that described the extent of the plume trade. It also included the author’s opinion on women’s role in the issue, which I found useful for comparing with public attitudes at the time.

Palmer, T. S. “In Memoriam: William Dutcher.” *The Auk* 38, no. 4 (October 1921): 501-513.
<https://sora.unm.edu/node/12385>.

This passage in an academic journal described the legacy of William Dutcher, whose significant contributions to conservation included the passage of the Shea-White Bill. By understanding the origin of this law, it was easier to understand why conflicts arose over it later on.

Roosevelt, Theodore. *A Book-Lover's Holidays in the Open*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916. <https://archive.org/details/bookloversholidays01roos>.

This book by Theodore Roosevelt mentioned the incident with Guy M. Bradley, and also analyzed a hunter's point of view and why they might be so driven to defeat the plume industry. It was vital in helping me see the hunter's perspective of the conflict.

"Slaughter of the Innocents." *Forest and Stream*, June 14, 1883, 387.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015013722171;view=1up;seq=395>.

This passage from the magazine *Forest and Stream* was an example of a strongly worded opinion on the shooting of birds. By describing loopholes in local laws regulating hunting, I learned about how attempts at legislative compromise left many conservationists unsatisfied.

Thaxter, Celia Loughton. "The Audubon Society." *Forest and Stream Magazine*, 15 Apr. 1886, p. 222. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015049862595;view=1up;seq=234;size=200>.

This reprint of an article written by Celia Loughton Thaxter included numerical facts on the environmental impact of the plumage trade as well as poetically written sentimental appeals to put a stop to the issue. It helped my understanding of the extent of the damage from both an ecological and personal point of view.

Thaxter, Celia Loughton. "Woman's Heartlessness." *Audubon Magazine*, Feb. 1887, p. 13-14. archive.org/details/audubonmag12188789nati.

This reprint of an 1886 essay by poet Celia Loughton Thaxter was written to denounce women wearing feathered hats using strong imagery and emotional appeals. It had an uniquely sentimental perspective of the conflict, and suggested that what was at stake could not solely be measured in economic terms or tangible value.

U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Committee on Ways and Means. *Feather Millinery*. 62nd Cong., 3rd sess., December 2, 1912 - March 4, 1913.

This transcript of conservationist William T. Hornaday's hearing before the House of Representatives to call for a federal law restricting "commercial millinery" was a highly in-depth explanation of the entire issue. Hornaday's insistent and emphatic language was representative of an unwillingness to compromise.

Walter, Alice Hall. "For Teachers." *Bird Lore* 13, (1911): 214-218.
<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uiug.30112017807378>.

This compilation of letters sent by schoolchildren to a magazine is striking in how they discuss the importance of bird conservation despite only being around thirteen years old. It was helpful by naming significant bills, as well as showing how environmental education was becoming more widespread.

Whittier, John G. et al. "The Audubon Society." *Forest and Stream*, February 25, 1886, 83.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015049862595;view=1up;seq=95>.

These reader letters sent to a sportsman magazine all express support for the idea of a society dedicated to bird conservation. It was useful in illustrating changes in public attitudes towards the environment.

Secondary Sources:

"Audubon Movement." The National Museum of American History. Last modified 1999.
Accessed December 23, 2017. <http://americanhistory.si.edu/feather/ftam.htm>.

This webpage had a broad overview of the entire topic of the plume industry and how conservationists reacted. It was helpful by including concepts that could be further researched as well as references to several primary sources.

Doughty, Robin W. *Feather Fashions and Bird Preservation: A Study in Nature Protection*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

This book thoroughly described specifics of the plume trade from a global perspective, including information about its origin that was useful for context. It also included details about legal cases and quotes from a variety of people, which helped me understand the different sides to the conflict.

Duffy, Patrick. "The Great Extermination." Dublin Review of Books. Last modified January 1, 2015. Accessed December 13, 2017. <http://www.drb.ie/essays/the-great-extirmination>.

This essay discussed the destruction of birds for plumes in a greater context of how natural resources were being rapidly used up for industrialization. It gave me a better understanding of how people's perception of the environment changed through time.

Ehrlich, Paul R., David S. Dobkin, and Darryl Wheye. *The Birder's Handbook*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988.

This handbook quoted statistics from several primary sources, which were helpful for guiding further research. It also gave a broad overview of the plume trade and context of society at the time.

“Feather Trade.” Wildlife Journal Junior. Accessed December 13, 2017.
<http://www.nhptv.org/wild/feather.asp>

This webpage helped me continue researching by providing a broad overview of the issue and the people involved. It gave me a better understanding of the conflict’s historical context.

Jones, Lucy D. “Plume Hunters in Florida.” *My Florida History*. Last modified October 15, 2007. Accessed January 5, 2018.
<http://myfloridahistory.blogspot.com/2007/10/plume-hunters-in-florida.html>.

This webpage was useful by offering the perspective of a plume hunter and what they had at stake, which let me see another side to the conflict. It also cited sources that were helpful for further research.

Kastner, Joseph. "Long before Furs, It Was Feathers That Stirred Reformist Ire." *Smithsonian*, vol. 25, no. 4, July 1994, 96, MasterFILE Premier (9406307598).

This magazine article referenced several primary sources, as well as including some numerical data. It described the actions of Harriet Hemenway in particular and also described the significance of the aigrette, which both served to further my understanding of the conflict.

Kelly, Kate. "Harriet Lawrence Hemenway (1858-1960): Saving Birds One Hat at a Time." *America Comes Alive*. Last modified April 8, 2014. Accessed December 13, 2017.
americacomesalive.com/2014/04/08/harriet-lawrence-hemenway-1858-1960-saving-birds-one-hat-at-a-time/

This article described the conflict concisely, and named primary sources, important individuals, and major concepts to research more. It was helpful in narrowing my topic.

Mason, Kathy S. “Out of Fashion: Harriet Hemenway and the Audubon Society, 1896-1905.” *Historian* 65, no. 1 (Fall 2002): 5-6.
<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=khh&AN=7281461&site=hrc-live>

This essay provided a thorough overview of the entire controversy over the plume industry. I was able to use this source to find references to primary sources and learn about the most important events and people involved in the conflict.

“Massachusetts Audubon Society Collection Guide Complete.” Massachusetts Historical Society. Last modified January 7, 2013. Accessed December 15, 2017.
https://www.masshist.org/news/story.php?entry_id=846.

This passage briefly summarizes the founding of the Massachusetts Audubon Society by Harriet Hemenway and its accomplishments through time. It led me to understand how important this organization was in achieving conservation progress.

“Massachusetts Audubon Society Makes First Land Purchase.” Mass Moments, Mass Humanities. Accessed December 13, 2017.
<https://www.massmoments.org/moment-details/massachusetts-audubon-society-makes-first-land-purchase.html>.

By describing context before the establishment of the Massachusetts Audubon Society, this article helped me learn how changes in culture and environmental consideration led to its formation. I gained a better sense of the different factors that led up to the movement in general as well.

McCouat, Philip. "Fashion, Feathers, and Animal Rights." *Journal of Art in Society*. Last modified 2016. Accessed December 30, 2017.
www.artinsociety.com/feathers-fashion-and-animal-rights.html.

This in-depth essay described the global history of hunting birds for plumage and industrial purposes on a broader scale. It provided me with context and also showed me how social attitudes towards hunting changed through time.

Merchant, Carolyn. *Spare the Birds!* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.

This book described Minna B. Hall and Harriet Hemenway’s intention for their organization and the Massachusetts Audubon Society. By including direct quotes, I had a better idea of their goals with conservation.

Mitchell, John H. “The Mothers of Conservation.” *Sanctuary*, February 1996, 1-20.
<https://blogs.massaudubon.org/yourgreatoutdoors/the-mothers-of-conservation/>.

This article written to honor Hemenway and Hall’s contributions to conservation was very useful by describing the different social factors that led to their campaign’s success. I understood how the movement gained support more.

“Other Relevant Laws.” U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. Last modified October 17, 2016. Accessed December 15, 2017.
<https://www.fws.gov/birds/policies-and-regulations/laws-legislations/other-relevant-laws.php>.

By naming major laws concerning avian conservation as well as their implications for future legislation, I got a better idea of how the movement progressed from smaller and more local regulations to federal ones. It was useful for suggesting further research.

Parker, Keri. "Lessons of the Feather Trade can Help Service Combat Wildlife Trafficking." U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. Last modified August 29, 2016. Accessed December 13, 2017. <https://www.fws.gov/news/blog/index.cfm/2016/8/29/Lessons-of-the-Feather-Trade-can-Help-Service-Combat-Wildlife-Trafficking>.

This article describes the environmental consequences of the plume trade and compares them to modern day wildlife conservation challenges. It was very helpful in explaining how this conflict is still highly relevant today, and how we can potentially learn from the past when moving forward.

Rozan, Kristina. "Detailed Discussion on the Migratory Bird Treaty Act." Animal Legal and Historical Center, Michigan State University. Last modified 2014. Accessed December 15, 2017. <https://www.animallaw.info/article/detailed-discussion-migratory-bird-treaty-act>.

This thorough analysis of the Migratory Bird Treaty Act and how it has changed through time led me to understand the significance of this law. It also showed how it has set a precedent for other environmental policies.

Souder, William. "No Egrets." *Smithsonian*, vol. 43, no. 11, March 2013, 72-73. MasterFILE Premier (85856624). <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=sch&AN=85856624&site=scirc-live>.

I primarily found this article helpful through its references to important legislation and organizations, which I could research further. It also described Hemenway's campaign well.

Tucker, Jeanmarie. "The Bird Hat: 'Murderous Millinery'." Maryland Historical Society. Last modified June 2016. Accessed December 21, 2017. blog.mdhs.org/costumes/the-bird-hat-murderous-millinery.

This article described the history of the usage of plumage in fashion, which led me to learn the causes of this social trend and where it originated from. It also included many photos and visuals that were helpful to my understanding.

Vargo, Dina. *Wild Women of Boston*. Charleston: History Press, 2015.

This book mainly focused on the role of women in this conflict, and how they took unprecedented leadership positions to campaign against what they believed was morally

wrong. It was helpful to my comprehension of the context by describing social factors such as the popularity of women's clubs and social activism.

Wade, Lisa. "The Bird Hat Craze That Sparked a Preservation Movement." Pacific Standard. Last modified October 20, 2014. Accessed December 15, 2017.
<https://psmag.com/social-justice/bird-hat-craze-sparked-preservation-movement-92745>.

This webpage was most useful by both naming primary sources and by quoting major people who were involved in the conflict. It helped me narrow down my topic for further research.

Weeks, Linton. "Hats Off To Women Who Saved The Birds." National Public Radio Historical Department. Last modified July 15, 2015. Accessed December 13, 2017.
<https://www.npr.org/sections/npr-history-dept/2015/07/15/422860307/hats-off-to-women-who-saved-the-birds>.

This article mentioned important individuals that I could investigate further, such as Harriet Hemenway and Minna B. Hall. It also gave a thorough description of the entire conflict, which helped me understand the context of my topic.

Weidensaul, Scott. *Of a Feather: A Brief History of American Birding*. Orlando: Harcourt Books, 2007.

This book focused on the history of bird conservation in the United States, which helped me understand the environmentalist's point of view in the conflict more. It also provided broad historical context.

Wires, Linda R. *The Double-Crested Cormorant*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.

By describing the altercation between Warden Columbus G. Macleod and plume hunters in Florida, this book helped me draw parallels with the similar incident that happened to Guy M. Bradley. It also led me to understand the more violent side to this conflict and the consequences of failed compromises.