

# SHOES IN HISTORY 2014

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# Prologue

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At the time when Baťa Company prospered in Zlín, the town belonged among the renowned centres of the world shoemaking industry and was dubbed 'America in Zlín'. My colleagues from the Zlín Museum do their utmost to preserve as much as possible of those times and through many various activities strive to preserve this unusual legacy, both for the sake of the present and as an inspiration for what is still to come. I therefore take a pleasure in the success of the international conference 'Shoes in History' for in this way, be it for a brief period of time and only partially and somewhat symbolically, the shoemaking returns to our region at least as history. It reminds us suggestively of Baťa era, when the town and its people had dynamic life styles, gained experience from the whole world and the objective of their lives was work in the shoemaking industry.

When going through the paper collections from the past conferences, my interest was aroused by a number of excellent lectures. There were a total of 177 lectures in the course of the seven Zlín symposia held in the past years since 1994, in which many renowned experts and scientists from the field of history of shoemaking and footwear took part. These were not only local participants but also esteemed guests from Great Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, France, Switzerland, Germany, Finland, Russia, Poland, Slovakia, Romania, the USA, Canada and Japan. It is obvious that a variety of guests at the conference brings not only new information and facts, experience and impulses for further research but also a number of meetings on personal level, exchange of opinions and individual consultations. All these will take this specialised field forward.

I would like to thank the participants of the conference for their interest in Zlín symposium, for their outstanding contributions and incentives that we would like to implement in future symposia. Your personal attendance and positive reactions to the conference are for the whole team of the employees of the Zlín museum who organised this conference with enthusiasm, a valuable motivation confirming that the hard work in preparing the conference was not in vain.

**Pavel Hrubec**

Director

The Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín

# Shoemaking through the Ages

June Swann

Consultant – History of Shoes and Shoemaking, Northampton, Great Britain

This is mainly about Britain: so really a plea to write the history of shoemaking in your countries: it will be different, just as every country's history is different. Shoemaking began in prehistory, with the first illustrations I have found from Ancient Egypt: a wall painting on the tomb of Rekhmire, Governor of Thebes and vizir to two pharaohs. It shows sandal-makers about 1450BC, all doing something different. So there is already 'division of labour', a feature I have noticed in the souks of the Middle East when two men and a boy work together, one with a stack of uppers, the other putting on the sole and the boy sweeping up, running errands and gradually learning what needs to be done.

A thousand years later a Greek vase from Athens, 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, shows a shoemaker marking round the customer's foot, and a bystander – shoemakers like to discuss life's problems as they work (that is, while it was a quiet trade). The proverb, *Shoemaker, Stick to your Last*, also began then: the artist Apelles accepted a shoemaker's criticism of a shoe he had painted. But when the shoemaker criticised the leg, Apelles told him *not to go above the shoe*. There were streets then set aside for shoemakers, some specialising in men's, others in women's shoes, which can require smaller hands (children's were often made by members of the family until the child was old enough to wear a miniature version of the adult style). About 370 BC Xenophon described how one man cut out the pieces, for another to sew, while a third stitched on the sole. Though many carvings of feet wearing shoe or sandal survive, sadly, there are just a few fragments of Greek shoes or overshoes.

The Romans' new tanning method ensured footwear survives in suitable moist soil to the present day. Many of their shoes were riveted, both men's and women's, requiring an iron last instead of wood, and a different way of making, for the last has to be supported firmly on the floor or bench. Wall paintings in 1<sup>st</sup> century Herculaneum, Italy, show shops with shoes hanging up for sale, perhaps 'ready-mades'.

Riveting needed thick leather, so was useless for the light supple



A shoemaker's workshop depicted on an ancient Greek amphora, 500-510 BC, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Reproduced from the book by Paul Weber *Der Schuhmacher*, ISBN 3-85502-316-6.

leather of the waves of Migration people who followed: it was back to sewing turnshoes, that is, made like clothes, inside out and then turned. Riveting was briefly revived in England in 1810 by Marc Isambard Brunel,<sup>1</sup> an engineer, with a machine for driving the rivets (and a press for cutting out soles, which appears to have continued in use). That was during the Napoleonic Wars when classical styles were in fashion: probably he saw a Roman shoe? Wars may be briefly welcomed by shoemakers ensuring them plenty of work, but then there were not enough to make the huge quantities of army boots required: hammering could be work for wounded soldiers. After the War ended in 1815, fashion demanded elegance, not the rigid, riveted boot. It was not until 1853, for about 100 years, that riveting returned, soon mechanised again; but only for the cheaper boots and shoes.

From the Middle Ages to about 1900, shoemakers had shops in every town and fair-sized village, close to the market by the local lord's castle or house and the main church. 13<sup>th</sup> century records show that from December 1229 our King, Henry III ordered from 9 of our towns and cities 300 pairs of shoes (once it was 345) for him to give as alms to the poor. This was for the three main festivals, Christmas, Easter and Whitsun, wherever he was staying.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes he ordered them three weeks before, but in 1262 he wanted Oxford to supply 100 pair 'by Thursday'; and 150 pairs 'the next day' at London. The other places were York, the most northerly, Cambridge, Windsor, Winchester, Salisbury, Gloucester; and Christmas 1265 he spent at Northampton, my town. He had recently recovered his castle there from revolting Barons, who we always seemed to welcome, perhaps because it was the favourite home of his unpopular father, King John (the wicked one in Robin Hood films). John left his children there, while he travelled to keep the country in order. Henry was first crowned in 1216 aged 9 (he was crowned again in 1220). 1216 was the year after the Barons forced John to sign the Magna Carta (the Great Charter, which they had discussed the month before at Northampton Castle; it is still the foundation of English law). Our order was for only 150 pairs, probably because neither he nor the town could afford any more after the siege and fighting. He returned the next year for Whitsun 1266, ordering 100 pair. After 1250, except in '68, the numbers were well below 300, as everyone was poorer (there had been another great battle at N'ton 1264). He was a pious man and spent huge sums rebuilding London's Westminster Abbey, and then altered the dedication to a different Saint and King (we had 2! He changed the 9<sup>th</sup> c. Saxon king Edmund, to Edward the Confessor who died in 1066; perhaps he hoped to become a third). By 1272 when Henry died, he had ordered over 16,000 pairs. Please tell me if you know of other kings or rich men, who gave shoes to the poor by the hundred like this.

1272 is when London had new regulations for the cordwainers (that was the medieval word for a shoemaker, derived from Cordoba in Spain, where the best leather came from). First, work for foreigners was restricted. Then no-one could employ more than 8 day-workers, which suggests bigger workshops by then. In 1305 measurements were standardised, including shoe sizes: one size equals a barleycorn, which is one third of an inch (that is, about 5 – 8 mm). I have always stressed that ports (where the tide waits for no one), big cities, even market towns, that serve large areas of the country, must have held stocks of shoes for sale. Shoemakers working at home with the family are now very

rare. But we have a carol of c1475 in the form of a shoemaker's last will, stating where he wants his things to go when he died. It shows the whole family worked together: even the smallest, too young for shoemaking, could turn the hurdy-gurdy to make music for them. His knife and cutting board, the master's kit, the most skilled job, he left to his wife (medieval women then were more powerful than today: they were often left to run a country). The finishing kit went to the four daughters (that is still women's work), while the five sons got the main kit for making the shoe. Add eight day-workers, three apprentices (the maximum then allowed per master), that makes a fair-sized workshop, a small factory.

There was international trade certainly by 1303, though sailors had always carried goods to trade for food and water, which sometimes included shoes: Francis Drake, who sailed round the world, in 1577 exchanged linen cloth (cloth was always desirable) and shoes on the North African coast for sheep, hens & water. By 1426 we were buying large quantities of overshoes from Italy, with over 2.5 tonnes in one order. Now the trade decided it needed two patron saints, St. Crispin and his brother Crispinian, the only trade having two at the same time: one usually stands cutting the leather, the other seated sewing, sometimes shown with others working behind them. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century when Europeans re-discovered America, shoes were exported for settlers from at least 1503: in 1508 Spain sent 400 pairs of sheepskin shoes, essential for winter there. I did wonder if any of the migrants made a drawing like the German artist, Albrecht Dürer in 1525: his and the first shoe design is in the British Museum, with his instructions about upper and sole, which is drawn as straights (no right/left).<sup>3</sup> But the most surprising was that Spain from 1534 to 1586 sent quantities of the impractical, gilt leather, platform-soled chapins, none of which seems to have survived, though I remind Americans to be aware of this when excavating in the eastern states. London then already had a shoemaker who employed nearly sixty workers. We also had enterprising men like William Tresorer. He was organ-master to two queens, Mary and Elizabeth the Great. He held 11-year licences to export *old* shoes from 1555 to the last one expiring forty years later in 1594; they totalled 4,800,000, if all were exported. I have not yet been able to find where they went. Certainly from 1582 exporters were taxed quite heavily: £5 for 100 pairs of new shoes (that was a shilling/12 pence a pair), and even over £1 for 1200 old shoes, which would not be sold in pairs.

The 17<sup>th</sup> century's Thirty Years War and other troubles meant a

lot more boots and shoes were needed. Already in 1512 the print of the Emperor, Maximilian's Triumphal Procession included two men carrying a long pole on both shoulders, with 20 pair of shoes and 2 pair of ankle boot shanging from each of them. They carry their tools in the hats. Shoemakers were unusually prosperous from the 1580s to 1640s, making finely decorated cut-outs on the shoes, then embroidery and then the expensive shoe rose which tied on the front. Abraham Bosse depicted a Paris workshop about 1632-3: the master looks well-dressed, holding the moon knife for cutting; his lady wife plaits thread for shoe laces on a small machine, and three other shoemakers work on the typical 3-legged stool, with a lot of boots, shoes, slippers and overshoes hanging up for sale. In 1645 the rebel, General Cromwell, who won our Civil War, ordered for his army large quantities of boots and shoes from London and Northampton (the only town outside the capital involved). We continued to make army boots until well after the Second World War; and some factories in the County still do. That is probably why we made men's better than women's. So all this is very different from Dutch pictures of shoemakers, shown working alone or with wife spinning or preparing food beside him, which, I think, must show reaction to these wars: they were looking back to what we call 'the good old days' when shoemakers were independent and worked at home (often a paradise that never existed). The Dutch picture on the cover of my little book *Shoemaking* I now know was painted



A shoemaker's workshop seen on a lithograph by Abraham Boss, 1632–33. Reproduced from the book by Paul Weber *Der Schuhmacher*, ISBN 3-85502-316-6.

from a 1747 print by Duflos called 'Whistling to the Linnet', ('after Teniers') where the shoemaker also works left-handed.<sup>4</sup>

In 1725 Daniel Defoe described the dress of a typical Englishman: '*the shoes from Northampton for all, the Master and the man*' (thus for all levels of society). Already in 1699 shoemakers were advertising they sold wholesale and retail. In 1738 a London shoe & clog-maker told a Parliamentary Enquiry that he employed 162 persons '*from 8 years to 70*' (probably these would be mostly outworkers, working like the Dutch had yearned for). So it is not surprising that shoemakers then had begun to stick a label with their name and address on the shosock. It is not the most sensible place, which may be why I have found only one from the great John Came (1718-96). He must have been the most prosperous shoemaker in London for a good part of the century, a she gave away a lot of money anonymously to charity every year, and left the rest to charity when he died and his identity then revealed. Large shops like his were by then stocking shoes from more than one maker, and were renamed 'warehouse'.

During the long Napoleonic wars, simpler styles were in fashion for women, and many took to shoemaking: a hobby for ladies and a wage for others. French women after the War made millions of plain black or white silk shoes with square toe: slippers with ribbons to tie round the ankle to keep them on, the style which became the traditional ballet shoe. It is difficult to believe that the first dancer to dance 'en pointe' wore these, hers with the only difference the same narrow ribbon arching along the sides for a little strengthening, survive in the Paris Opera collection. The exports survive worldwide in museums of most towns where Europeans went, from Moscow to North America, Chile and Australia.

Northampton Museum's print of François Pinet's new Paris shop and workshop of c1863, and another similar in Clarks Shoe Museum, both have plenty of space. It would be useful for the new machines. The sewing machine for uppers came first, which had become useful from 1855 and quickly more common, though many were also used by women working at home. But in 1858 the American, Blake sole sewer was patented (it as tall as me and too big to live with). At first treadle-operated, it demanded power, which could only be supplied then by a factory. Thus the trade gradually invented a machine for every stage of hand work. Power was soon steam- or gas-engine-driven, with overhead belting. Some of the Blake machines survived well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, by then converted to electricity. Northampton Museum's Blake had had an electric motor added. It came from a



Empire shoe from silk satin, approximately 1820.  
Collection of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín.

local shoe factory when they bought one of the new Italian machines which began to be favoured in the 1960s; but six months later, they wanted it back, as the replacement was not as good (it remains in the Museum). However, in 1857 two warehouses of a new design were built on the highest point in Northampton, towering over the other buildings then. But soon the ground floor of Manfield's (shown on the right of the photograph, with a classical Tower) had to be reinforced to take heavy presses (for cutting leather). I saw the steel cradle underneath when the Government Inspector checked to see whether this listed building had to be saved; sadly it did not survive the craze for 'development'. But Manfield's name could still be found recently over some Continental shoe shop windows: they were one of the first to open a chain of shops selling their boots and shoes.

Of course shoemakers were reluctant to give up their independence (there were strikes). Still in 1873 at the first national Leather Trades Exhibition (it was held in Northampton), the emphasis was on fine workmanship. Manfield insisted the boot went straight to the Museum: it has 44 stitches to the inch, but was not amongst the prize-winners. It is said that they were sold to Americans: please, American readers look for 72 stitches to the inch – I doubt there is more than the one that was exhibited in Northampton. Some machines were also included.



Shoemaking sewing machine of the Mc Key type from 1900, a prototype based on the patent by Lyman Reed Blake.  
Collection of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín.

America lacked enough skilled shoemakers when it won independence in the 1780s; so was obliged to invent easier methods that could be learnt quickly. First it was pegged soles. Wooden pegs had always been used by carpenters, so with hindsight it seems natural to use them to hold together the number of 'lifts' making stacked heels, right from their invention in the 1590s; but now they attached soles as well. They also turned to devising machines for routine jobs. They developed rubber footwear, and then as they grew more powerful, they were exporting shoes and machines worldwide: many countries called it the American Invasion. From 1899 we had a British version of their United Shoe



Warehouse of Isaac Campbell & Company in Northampton, built in 1857, The building was demolished in 1984.

Machinery Company, which leased machines to shoe factories, the only way shoemakers could afford so many new machines. Our shoemakers went the retro see for themselves, to places like Lynn, Massachusetts with its eight-storey high factories, which made our three and a half storeys look small. Roundabout 1980, as the trade declined, a lot of those in Lynn had a serious fire (that was always a convenient way to get insurance money and avoid bankruptcy, probably in many trades, not just shoemaking). Now the buildings that frightened European shoemakers are apartments, like some factories in my town.

The triumph of the machine was short-lived. Men's greed in the later decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century exploited cheap labour in the 'third world'. Thomas Bata in the 1980s was asking everyone 'what would you do? The answer: use your factories in the 'Third



Balmoral type footwear, shown at exhibition in Northampton in 1783, this footwear was typical by its fine stitching, 44 stitches to one inch.

World', like everyone else. The present result is that China now makes over 90% of the world's footwear. The traditional makers had either put themselves out of work, changed trades, or became mere importers and wholesalers; not nearly as interesting as tackling the problem of how to clothe the human foot, which has produced so many ingenious solutions- and kindly people: it was a quiet trade, long known as The Gentle Craft.

For information on the same subject, see June Swann, 'Mass Production of Shoes' in *Journal of the International Association of Costume* no.14 (1997) Tokyo, Japan, p.41-46 in English.

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- 1 J.H. Thornton, 'Brunel the Bootmaker', in *Journal of the British Boot and Shoe Institution* August, September, October 1969
  - 2 Calendar of Liberate Rolls, now available to read online
  - 3 Deutches Ledermuseum, Katalog Heft 6, 6.11.05
  - 4 June Swann *Shoemaking*, Shire Publications from 1986, Princes Risborough; from 2011 Oxford (now print to order), 32 pages

# Footwear in Premodern Java and Bali: a Research Note<sup>1</sup>

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Evidence of footwear in premodern Indonesia, as well as in other parts of insular Southeast Asia, is sparse.<sup>2</sup> Climate and cultural traditions seem not to have favoured the use of closed shoes, while the use of sandals was limited in premodern period mostly to foreigners, especially Chinese and Indians, who stayed in the region. Even in Java and Bali, two most developed regions that sustained relatively well-organized states already by the 9th century CE, the use of footwear remained extremely limited, mainly to members of elites. We may presume that only very rarely, if ever, footwear was used in pre-Islamic Java (that is, until 1500 CE) by the common population. This claim is supported not only by a complete lack of archeological evidence of footwear from this period, but also by a very low number of references to footwear in Old Javanese literary and inscriptional sources. This finding is striking, especially in view of the fact that premodern Javanese invested substantial resources to procure elaborate textiles, many of them imported from India and China. Functioning not only as protection against elements, textiles were a prominent indicator of social status, served as storage of value and investment. Furthermore, many textiles had apotropaic function (Wisseman Christie 1993; Maxwell 2003).

Unlike textiles, footwear obviously never attained a high status in premodern Indonesia. Apart from the reasons listed above, it is plausible that those segments of Javanese society that experienced stronger influences of Hindu and Buddhist religious views and practices, may have viewed especially leather footwear as a source of ritual pollution. This approach is widely documented from premodern and modern India (Kampar 1969; Jain-Neubauer 2000), as well as from parts of Buddhist East and Southeast Asia. In the case of Java, however, ritual impurity of leather was certainly not the major reason behind the limited use of footwear in pre-Islamic period and for an explanation of this conundrum we must look in another direction. In my view, a

possible answer to this problem may be provided by the strong emphasis placed in premodern Java on the social status and elevated position of the body: in the country where people commonly sat on the ground and furniture was rare in extreme (Reid 1988), any, even a slight elevation of body (such as that provided by footwear) may have touched upon a social status. Limited, mostly written, evidence we have indeed suggests that footwear in Hindu-Buddhist Java represented a highly symbolical element of dress. In this contribution I discuss mainly the political and ritual symbolism of footwear in early Java. The article develops its arguments in two parts. In the first part I analyse two of the earliest visual representations of footwear known from insular Southeast Asia, and discuss the political symbolism of sandals which represent one of the royal attributes of a ruler. In the second part I discuss a literary motif of “flying sandals” attested in several kakavins, Old Javanese court poems composed at the Hindu-Buddhist courts of Java between the 9-15<sup>th</sup> centuries CE (Zoetmulder 1974).

## Rāma’s Sandals as a Symbol of Royal Power in Ancient Java and Bali

A pair of realistically sculpted stone sandals is found in the Pura Bukit Dharma temple of Buruan in central Bali, located not far from the famous historical site Kutri (Bernet Kempers 1988). Heyting, who “discovered” this striking sculpture in 1921, claims that the representation is so detailed that it is clear that it represents wooden knobbed sandals (*pāduka*). This simple type of footwear, consisting of a sole and a high knob between the big and second toes to provide grip to the foot, is well known from South Asia where its use, both in religious and secular contexts, goes back to antiquity (Jain-Neubauer 2000). The sandals rest on a lotus cushion, suggesting a votive function of the image. Interestingly, sculpted sandals are accompanied by a small statue of Ganeśa, resting as well on a lotus cushion. Apart from the pair of sandals and Ganeśa, the Pura Bukit Dharma temple accommodated by the time of Heyting’s visit a large statue of Durgā, and two smaller phallic linggas (Heyting 1967:374).

Heyting (1967:375) has associated the sculpted sandals with the well-known episode from the *Kakavin Rāmāyaṇa*, the Old Javanese version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the earliest known kakavin, dated by the current scholarly opinion to the 9<sup>th</sup> century CE (Acri 2011, p. xv). In this episode, Rāma bestows his sandals upon his younger half-brother Bhārata as a proxy of royal power.

The event is a consequence of disastrous intriguing at the court of Ayodhyā. Prince Rāma, a legal heir-apparent, is banned to exile by his own father, king Daśaratha, who has been poisoned by the vicious scheming of Kaykeyī, one of his wives and a mother of Bhārata. Though Kaykeyī wishes that her own son inherits the throne instead of Rāma, Daśaratha’s eldest son, Bhārata is unwilling to accept the royal power and leaves to find Rāma in the woods where he left for exile. After Rāma delivers a speech in which he admonishes Bhārata about the proper rule, he invests upon his younger brother *pāduka* sandals to serve as his proxy and an object of veneration (Zoetmulder 1974). Bhārata carries Rāma’s sandals with great reverence by placing them on his head as a mark of his obedience to his residence and rules on behalf of Rāma who prefers to stay in exile, accompanied by his wife Sītā and his faithful younger brother Lakṣmaṇa.

Heyting (1967:373) has identified the village Buruan with the religious foundation of the same name, established in 1007 CE, and associated in Balinese inscriptional record with the Balinese royal family, especially with Balinese king Anak Vuñśu, who ruled Bali between 1049 and 1077 CE (Goris 1954). Anak Vuñśu has founded a number of religious establishments, among them famous Gua Gajah and Candi Padas at Gunung Kawi (I Ketut Setiawan 2008:220). Heyting (1967:376) has advanced a hypothesis that the stone sandals in Buruan, representing the epic king Rāma, have been associated in Bali with the Javanese king Airlaṅga (1019-1042 CE), a son of Balinese king Udāyana and Javanese princess Mahendradattā (Krom 1931). Furthermore, Heyting (1967:376) has claimed that Ganeśa statue of the same piece allegorically represents Airlaṅga’s younger brother Anak Vuñśu. The relationship between epic heroes Rāma and his younger brother Bhārata is thus reflected in the proposed relationship between Airlaṅga, ruling in Java, and his younger brother Anak Vuñśu, ruling on Airlaṅga’s behalf in Bali. The symbolism of sandals as proxy of royal power led Heyting to suggest that Anak Vuñśu has actually ruled only *on behalf* of Airlaṅga, who was thus considered the true ruler of Bali.

Even though some of Heyting’s allegorical associations between epic heroes and Javanese and Balinese historical personages remain speculative, the religio-political context of the sculpted sandals from Buruan detected by Heyting is interesting. It is well-known that the story of Rāma’s sandals serving as a proxy of royal power is depicted on one of the reliefs at Prambanan, a temple in central Java built in the 9<sup>th</sup> century CE. Interestingly, while the pair of sandals depicted at the relief at Prambanan in

Java is only a part of a well-known narrative, the sculpted pair from Buruan, placed in a lotus cushion, did represent an object of religious worship. The dating of the statuery found in the Pura Bukit Dharma to the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE is consistent with the period during which Bali found itself under increased cultural and political influences of Java (Krom 1931). These influences culminated during the 12<sup>th</sup> century CE, when Old Javanese replaced Old Balinese as a language of court and of royal inscriptions (Goris 1954).

## Flying Sandals and Heavenly Nymphs

We have seen above that Rāma's sandals, represented as a sculpture in stone, became a devotional object of itself. The same prominence of religious associations pertains as well to all early written references to footwear in ancient Java. In fact, all literary depictions of footwear in Old Javanese *kakavins* represent shoes as magical objects that help to intermedate between the visible and invisible worlds. In this section I analyse in some detail references to sandals in the *Arjunavivāha*, a *kakavin* composed in the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE by Mpu Kaṇva, and in the *Sumanasāntaka*, a *kakavin* by Mpu Monaguṇa, composed at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century CE. In both of these early texts, sandals are used by epic heroes to travel between the world of men to the heaven of god Indra, or from the divine realm of Indra to the world of men. In the *Arjunavivāha*, one of the most beautiful Old Javanese texts, the eponymic hero Arjuna, accompanied by two heavenly nymphs, wears a magical jacket made of a woolen fabric (*kalambi kambala*) and a pair of sandals (*pāduka*) to travel to Indra's abode:

*And in due course the prince stood up, while making ready.  
He had donned his jacket of wool and wore his sandals  
as a means of  
Travelling through the sky. The two attended him,  
carrying his bow.*<sup>3</sup>

The author of the text uses the term *pāduka* to denote the footwear worn by Arjuna during his airborne journey. As we have already seen in the *Kakavin Rāmāyaṇa*, Old Javanese *pāduka*, a loanword from Sanskrit, denotes in literary texts sandals worn by high-ranking persons. It is interesting to note that a tradition of royal persons taking flight to the heaven survived pre-Islamic period, and the belief that kings commute on special occasions to heaven continued in Javanese Islamic lore of the royal cent-

re of Yogyakarta and Surakarta until the 19<sup>th</sup> century CE (Geertz 1976; Ricklefs 1993). Until today, a jacket assembled from textile patches, kept as an heirloom item at the royal court of Yogyakarta, is believed to be endowed with the capacity to carry its owner to the heaven (Maxwell 2003).

Interestingly, while in the *Arjunavivāha* the male hero is accompanied by two beautiful divine emissaries, in the *Sumanasāntaka* it is the heavenly nymph herself who dons the sandals to travel from Indra's heaven to the earth. Hariṇī, a divine lady famous for her extraordinary beauty, is sent on a delicate, and difficult, mission by the god Indra himself, who fears the growing spiritual power of sage Ṛṇavindu (Worsley *et al.* 2013). In Old Javanese literature, heavenly nymphs serve not only as messengers, as we have seen in the case of the *Arjunavivāha*, but the divine beauties are commonly sent to missions with the task to tempt ascetics and distract them from their religious observances (Zoetmulder 1974). Rather unwillingly, scared Hariṇī leaves Indra's heaven:

*Paying her respects to Lord Indra, Dyah Hariṇī withdrew. When she came from the audience, she made ready for her journey. She departed in the morning, wearing a tightly fitting bodice and sandals. Her finery she put on along the way.*<sup>4</sup>

Hariṇī wears a tightly fitting jacket (*kañcuga*), and a pair of sandals denoted by the Old Javanese term *darupa*. All other articles of Hariṇī's attire, described in some detail, suggest that Mpu Monaguṇa modeled the robe of Hariṇī on the court dress used in Java during the late Kaḍiri period in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century CE. The *Sumanasāntaka* is most probably the earliest Old Javanese text in which the word *darupa* is mentioned, suggesting that in Java of the 13<sup>th</sup> century CE, sandals were used in the court environment. Zoetmulder (1982) has recognized that the Old Javanese word *darupa* is an early form of Modern Javanese *tarumpah*, a term that denotes sandals consisting of a wooden or ivory sole placed on two high wedges, made in most cases of wood. Traditionally, *tarumpah* have been associated in Java with the religious environment of *pesantren*, Islamic boarding schools occupied by the students (*santri*) of Islamic religious law. The *Sumanasāntaka* suggests that for the origin of this kind of footwear, however, we must look for the court environment of Hindu-Buddhist Java. The second passage in which Hariṇī's sandals are described, allow us an interesting insight into the closing mechanism of this early footwear:

*vatvānuṅgul amarvatāhrit aguhātupis atiba-tiban latānkura  
ṅkā teka n dumunuṅ lukar ni darupanya pinahayu lugas siniṅsētan*<sup>5</sup>

*A rock rose high, as lofty as a mountain. It was impenetrable,  
pitted with caves, steep, and overhung with creepers.  
She headed straight towards it, tying her loosened sandals  
and tightening her clothes which had come loose.*

We may conclude this study by a preliminary observation that footwear, represented in all cases studied here by sandals, was extremely rare in premodern Java and Bali and that its use before 1500 CE was very restricted. Limited to the court environment and probably to some religious communities, simple sandals remained virtually single known form of footwear in premodern Indonesia, at least until the late 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> century CE when the use of European-style closed shoes slowly penetrated early-modern Java and spread from here to other parts of Indonesian archipelago. In the regions most influenced by Islam, however, such as in Sumantra and Sulawesi, we may presume that especially sandals became more common already during the 16<sup>th</sup> century CE. The influence of Islamic dress culture upon the early-modern Indonesian footwear, however, still remains to be studied before any conclusions are made.

- 1 I transcribe Old Javanese and Middle Javanese according to the system proposed by Acri and Griffiths (2014). In order to avoid any confusion, I have also standardized the spelling of quoted primary sources according to these conventions. Modern Javanese words are transcribed in accordance with the standard modern convention.
- 2 By "premodern" I understand the period until the arrival of the Portugues into Southeast Asia by the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century CE. In the case of Java, this periodisation is virtually concurrent with the concept of "pre-Islamic." By "pre-Islamic," I understand here the period until ca. 1520s when Majapahit, the last great Hindu-Buddhist state in Java, collapsed (Noorduyn 1978).
- 3 *Arjunavivāha* 12.14. Translation taken from Robson (2008: 73).
- 4 Translation taken from Worsley *et al.* (2013:59).
- 5 Old Javanese text taken from Worsley *et al.* (2013:60).

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# A Find from a Mass Grave in Stará Knížecí Huť in Tachov District

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... 'They escaped from the transport; bundles of bones, sunken eyes, only the teeth gleaming, that is, if they have any left. (...) They were in a concentration camp, they were taking them away when the front got close and one hundred and fifty of them were shot. They are all sick, they are half dead, in fact they do not look like people any more. They all look alike, with shaved heads; it is impossible to tell their age. I do not know what I can do for them, they cannot eat, only drink that tea. (...) A group of people knelt in the potato field. They dug for the recently planted pieces of potatoes, they dug like dogs, and then they ate the pieces covered in soil. There is nothing human about them. What did the villains do to them?'<sup>1</sup>

Liquidation of the system of concentration camps in Auschwitz in January 1945 is considered to be the beginning of the Transports and the Death Marches. This evacuation, according to ARLZ<sup>2</sup> affected the Czech countries thanks to transit of goods trains through the territory of the Protectorate. Stirring stories of heroism and sacrifice as well as barbarism and unbelievable violence are still awaiting their publication. Prague railway workers repeatedly sabotage the engine of the Transport train on the eve of Prague Uprising, a miller Felix Ježek from Mladotice, who managed to free prisoners from Transport of death in Žihle using 'his own!' release documents from Gestapo, citizens from Katoovice, who, in spite of shooting, hide a number of prisoners in their village, as well as post-war research and exhumations, investigation by criminologists and national commissions – all this remains, so far, aside of wider interest of professional public.

A reality, which enters the land during the spring of 1945, is the reality of the Nazi concentration camps. During the whole pe-

riod of concentration camps existence, terror, sadistic violence of their warders, exhausting work, lack of food, a system of degrading human dignity and the omnipresence of wilful death<sup>3</sup>; all these were a part of the daily routine. The Death Marches are evacuation and liquidation transports from these camps, or between these camps. Treatment of prisoners, conditions in the transport trains, guards, food, clothing, etc., all these were based during the Death Marches on the conditions and rules of the Nazi concentration camps. One of the most significant findings concerning the Death Marches is the fact that the Nazi totality created a system of genocide and persecution, which did not need wires and fences to be maintained effectively but, thanks to the loyalty of the guards and the passivity of witnesses kept on functioning and enslaved and murdered people until the last days of the Third Reich.<sup>4</sup>

Tachov district is a territory near the Czech-Bavarian border, 30 km far from Pilsen, half way between Prague and Nuremberg. Historically, it underwent many changes and at the time of the Second World War it was a part of the Third Reich district of Sudetenland.<sup>5</sup> From occupation of the Czechoslovak border belt in 1938 until the arrival of the American army it was a part of the Third Reich. Tachov district witnessed life stories of thousands of people, hundreds of who died here. After the Second World War the German inhabitants were resettled and for the newcomers it was the dead from the Death Marches, respectively their graves and grieving over them, which was one of the elements of integration and creating new homes and adopting the countryside.<sup>6</sup>

## Death March from Tachov to Flossenbürg

On 13<sup>th</sup> April 1945 in the morning a train arrives to Tachov railway station from the direction of Planá. Of the 52 high-sided carriages used to transport coal, the last two contain dead bodies of those who did not survive. One of them is full and the other half full. 'On each carriage there were two SS guards who beat the prisoners with butts of their guns and also shot them. The Transport included people of various nationalities: Czechs, Germans, French, Poles, Jews and I also saw one black person there. I also heard shots from the carriages as the train was approaching.'<sup>7</sup> At the main railway station in Tachov, over 1,500 prisoners leave the train while being constantly beaten; out of these were 'approximately 100 boys not older than 12.'<sup>8</sup> The railway station is surrounded by the police. Men from Volkssturm.<sup>9</sup> were accompanying them. 'We, the home guards, were only to

supplement the escort. There were about 50 home guards from Tachov.'<sup>10</sup> They divided the prisoners into groups of approximately 100 men. Those ill or too weak to march were leaning on the other prisoners who helped them or carried them.'<sup>11</sup> The multitude of prisoners set out from the railway station down through the town. 'Down by the Czech Club was a shop. My mum sent me to buy something so I went. Suddenly I saw the prisoners being led from the railway station. There were so many of them, the column reached back up to the factory. They all wore striped garb. They looked horrible. The guards beat them incessantly. I turned around and ran home. I cried all the way.'<sup>12</sup>

They marched through today's street of T.G. Masaryk and then through a deep decline in Panenská Street came to the valley, where they crossed the bridge in Vodní Street into Zahradní Street and through old Tachov started climbing gradually to the other side of the river Mže valley through Americká Street to Studánka (Schönbrun). 'We used to live by the brewery, in the bend there was the yard of the block of flats, where we lived and along it there was the road to Studánka. And there once marched those prisoners. I do not remember it clearly, but I remember my mother crying. People wanted to give them water or bread but the soldiers shouted and knocked the cups out of their hands. Well, and they marched up the hill and many of them died, then they burnt their bodies in the cemetery together with the dead from the railway station.'<sup>13</sup> Approximately 200 prisoners were not strong enough to survive the steep climb of the road to Studánka. Their bodies are taken to the new Jewish cemetery in Tachov, where they are, together with the dead from the train and those beaten to death at the railway station, covered in tar and paraffin and burnt for four days in a huge dug out pit in the southeast part of the cemetery.

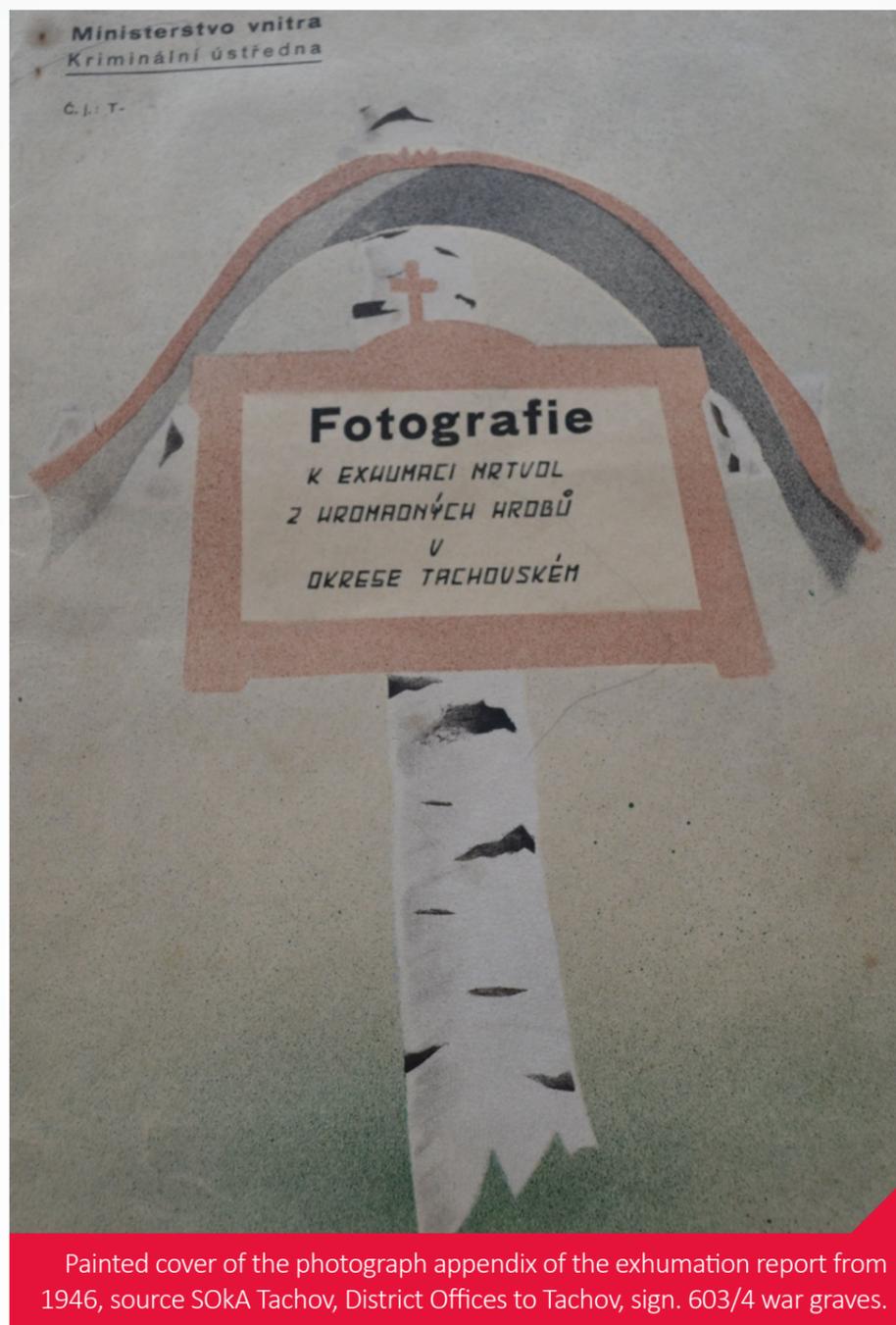
Village Studánka lies above the river Mže valley and the prisoners had to overcome a steep climb up the hill on their way from Tachov. Twisting and turning road with several horizons probably gave one prisoner an impulse to attempt an escape. 'In April 1945, it was about middle of the month; I was ploughing a field with my husband, Karel Stezler, near the road leading to Schönbrun. About 2 o'clock in the afternoon we saw a transport of prisoners marching on the road from Tachov to Schönbrun. People working in the fields went to the road, my husband, too. I stayed with the cows so that they would not run away. After a while, I saw a man, probably one of the prisoners, walking quickly up across the field, where he most probably hid. Soon after that I saw two guards with guns, Jiří Haubner and my husband

running in the direction where the man had walked a while ago. Both guards held their guns at the ready to shoot and I shouted to my husband not to do anything otherwise I would never look at him again. All four men continued running and, as the field is up the hill I did not see what was happening once they got over the top of the field. Shortly after that I heard a shot.<sup>14</sup>

The last report about this transport from Buchenwald to Flossenbürg on the Czech territory is a report by SNB (police) from Nový Losimthál (today a perished village of Jedlina). Here the transport entered the German territory and continued to Flossenbürg. 'That transport consisted, in all three groups, of political prisoners, including women and children from, approximately, the age of 14, as well as Jews; therefore it was a mixed transport. Judging by their looks, there were intelligent people as well as people from lower classes. A total of 6 people were shot, mostly those that moved away from the transport to find some food. They were seen by the guards and immediately shot. Most of those people were totally exhausted and could not walk any more.'<sup>15</sup> Near these places graves were found after the war and a cross was erected, which the German countrymen maintain until these days. 'One of the groups of this transport spent the night in a meadow near the village Stará Knížecí Huť, where, according to the local inhabitants observing from a distance, the prisoners were beaten and tortured by the guards and forced to perform various physical exercises.'<sup>16</sup> When the guards walked through the village looking for prisoners that had walked away, the local inhabitants recognised that those were Belorussians and Ukrainians. 'The dead bodies of these prisoners were brought on a lorry and left in the wood there. We do not know why. Later, a group of prisoners, accompanied and watched over by SS soldiers, came and buried all the bodies in a mass grave and then left in the direction of Flossenbürg.'<sup>17</sup>

## The Grave in Stará Knížecí Huť

During their march, the prisoners passed through the village of Stará Knížecí Huť (Alt Fürstenhütte in German), approximately 18 km west from Tachov and only 3 km from the border with Germany. The village was founded in the 18<sup>th</sup> century; in 1931 there were 21 holdings, out of which only 5 survived the post-war changes. Many events from the end of the war and the beginnings of freedom are still hidden under the seal of secrecy. It is due to the resettlement of the local German inhabitants, which means eyewitnesses, who were replaced with new in-



Painted cover of the photograph appendix of the exhumation report from 1946, source SOkA Tachov, District Offices to Tachov, sign. 603/4 war graves.

habitants from all corners of Europe, who learnt about the past events only by word of mouth or from written records by the investigators soon after the war. This concerns also the mass grave in Stará Knížecí Huť.

According to the available information, a lorry came in April 1945 to the edge of the village, from which dead bodies were unloaded. Then came a group of prisoners, buried the bodies and left again. After the end of fighting, the place was marked with a small cross with an inscription in Czech and German, which informed the reader that this was the place where victims of the Death March from the concentration camp Buchenwald were resting. In September 1946 the grave was opened and 37 bodies were found. Nine bodies showed evidence of gunshots,



Stará Knížecí Huť – the grave at the time of exhumation, source SOkA Tachov, District Offices Tachov, sign. 603/4 war graves.



Stará Knížecí Huť – bodies after exhumation, source SOkA Tachov, District Offices Tachov, sign. 603/4 war graves.

fourteen bodies had crushed skulls and one body was completely missing its head. Identification of the bodies was not successful and all bodies were buried under the Tachov burial mound. The dimensions were recorded by the investigation commission as 4 x 2.5 m and 1.8 m deep.<sup>18</sup> The exhumation was done under the supervision of the police and by then not yet evacuated local German men. Based on recollection of one of them, Franz Kreutzer, the work went on for two days, the bodies were laid out before the grave and then taken on a lorry to Tachov.<sup>19</sup> In the place of the exhumed grave there was a small cross, later

a concrete surround was built around it, which was to be a reminder of the grave. It was not possible to confirm the date of the building. After the communist coup in 1948 the place was in the border belt and access to it was limited. A wire fence was even erected nearby – a part of the so-called ‘iron curtain’. In the 1970s army barracks for border patrol were built just opposite the monument.

The research of victims of totalitarian regimes has recently enjoyed great interest,<sup>20</sup> and we decided to join this trend. As there has not been an archaeological investigation of similar locality in the Czech Republic so far, and also due to time limits allowed for the whole investigation, we chose the exhumed grave in Stará Knížecí Huť on purpose, as an introduction to this type of research. Another reason was also an effort to avoid possible



Stará Knížecí Huť – location of probes during the grave excavation, photo by Michal Rak, 2011.

complications when excavating skeleton remains, which need to be excavated extremely carefully so that an attempt could be made to identify them or to establish the cause of death. At the same time we wanted to confirm that the grave was exhumed properly, i.e. that no bodies or skeleton remains were left there. We also wanted to find out whether there may have been left some artefacts, which could help with the identification of the deceased or would bring any new information on the life of the prisoners during the Death Marches.

The grave, marked with a small cross with a notice in Sudeten Czech, which says: ‘Here lie 37 innocent victims of bloody Nazi terror in concentration camp in Buchenwald’, was originally not to be fully opened and answers to our questions should come

from exploratory probes from the top of the grave. A total of three probes were carried out, on the west, south and east side of the memorial. The probe always started at the concrete kerbstone and covered the whole maintained surface of the memorial bordered with stones. Stratification situation proved to be very simple. The top layer was forest litter from the natural renewal of the forest, and then there was a layer of fine gravel several centimetres deep, most likely the original surface of the memorial edging during the building of it. There were also stones in this layer indicating borders of the grave; some of them still bore remnants of white paint, it was most likely the lime used to paint them at the time of the building, which clearly limited the reverent place. Under the concrete surround were stones forming a dry wall. This was to reinforce the soil at the time of building the memorial. The three probes did not bring any answers to the questions.

For this reason, the fourth probe was opened, directly in the middle of the memorial. After removing the filling of the surround, formed by mixed material including soil, sand and forest litter, followed a unified layer of sand. We chose to excavate in 5 cm mechanical layers. In the depth of approximately 60 cm a lens of grey fine material was found encompassing both profiles. The first important find was also discovered at this depth. It was a fragment of red cloth. At the depth of approximately 1.5 metres a black layer appeared, formed on its top by black textile in which there were more artefacts. These were mostly various pieces of footwear, totalling 21 pieces. They were mostly heavy leather boots, probably used for work, but it could also have been army boots, including wooden sole shoes. But there was also a pair of luxurious men’s footwear. A part of the found footwear was in a very good condition; a part of it was fragmented. In this textile layer there were also a metal spoon wrapped in a good quality cloth, a metal chain and a clothing fragment with thin rubber bands. There were also small bones, which the anthropologist we invited described as human – toe bones and a rib. These were left in situ.

Underneath this ‘artefact layer’ there were two planks. Based on the period photographs they were interpreted as the planks used to lift the bodies from the grave in 1946. After the exhumation they were evidently left there. The whole base of the grave was lined with a lime layer approximately 5 cm thick. Underneath there was a sand substratum. Having finished the excavation, the grave and its surrounding were put into original condition<sup>21</sup> as well as it was possible.



Stará Knížecí Huť – leather footwear, photo by Michal Rak, 2011.



Stará Knížecí Huť – wooden sole shoe, photo by Michal Rak, 2011.



Stará Knížecí Huť – metal spoon in textile case, photo by Michal Rak, 2011.

## Conclusion

The Death Marches that passed through Tachov region are an important but nearly forgotten part of the history of the border regions. Unfortunately our research brought hardly any answers to our questions.

The memorial really stands at the place of the original grave (though during our research information appeared that the grave is, in fact, somewhere else) and the exhumation in 1946 was carried out according to standards existing at that time. A great surprise was the discovery of a great number of shoes. Why the footwear was taken from the exhumed bodies and returned to the grave is not, so far, clear; available records do not mention this fact. We were surprised by this find as we were not prepared technically to find such a big number of organic material artefacts. That was the reason the footwear was taken to the Tachov Museum and deposited there. We started looking for experts who would help us with conservation and identification of our find. We found them in Zlín and their report is a part of this collection.

On the whole it was shown that we still have very little information concerning the Death Marches. It is necessary to research a great number of primary sources; what, however, is clear is that interdisciplinary research of the question should be a priority. Comparison of data gained by methodology of many scientific fields (history, archaeology, cultural anthropology, local research, conservation, etc.) is very important as most of the sources from the period are fragmentary and only comparison and supplementing the information can bring a completely new and complex view of this topic. In future it will perhaps be possible to identify locations of other graves of victims of the Death Marches and make them into permanent memorials of not only Nazi totality.

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2 *A monograph dedicated to ARLZ instruction, especially with a view to the Czech countries; see SLÁDEK, O. Spálená země (Burnt up Land). Prague 1980. Plan ARLZ is German tactics of burnt up land, which was applied from June 1944 (editor's note).*

- 3 *The camps are no longer to serve only for internment and terrorisation of political opponents of the National Socialism. From now on the SS want to exploit the work of the prisoners economically. In their own companies, they aim to purposefully exploit the prisoners when manufacturing building materials. With this objective in mind, they establish new camps, in which more and more people are interned. 'KZ-Gedenstätte Flossenbürg, p 7*
- 4 *These statements, which certainly merit a discussion and future methodological anchor (which, as I hope, will be a result of worldwide upsurge in interest in this topic), are based on the conclusions and information from the case study from Tachov district.*
- 5 *More on the history of Tachov district during the Second World War see Nenutil, Jiří et al. *Druhá světová válka, případ Tachovsko (The Second World War, Tachov District Case)*. Pilsen: West Bohemian University, 2010, p 254.*
- 6 GALUSOVÁ, Lucie; FUNK, Lukáš: *Zamyšlení nad opouštěním a osvojováním krajiny (Contemplation on Leaving the Countryside and Adopting It)*. In: *NENUTIL, Jiří et al: Exhumace obětí II. světové války – předpoklady, východiska, výzkum. (Exhumation of Victims of the Second World War – Suppositions, Sources, Research)*. Pilsen: West Bohemian University, 2011.
- 7 NA, KT – OVS, *Pochody smrti (The Death Marches)*, SNB (police) record of conversation with Hugo Laubr (a chief guard of the Transport between Planá and Tachov) taken down on 12.5.1946.
- 8 NA, KT – OVS, *Pochody smrti (The Death Marches)*, SNB (police) record of conversation with Václav Schosemeier (the stationmaster of the railway station in Tachov in April 1945) taken down on 12.5.1946.
- 9 *Volkssturm – National Guards, (Nazi home guards)*
- 10 SOA Pilsen, MLS Cheb, LS 113/46, carton 48 Haubner, Jiří, a record of conversation with Jiří Haubner 29. August, p 2, according to Gedenkestätte Flossenbürg, archives, certified copy.
- 11 NA, KT – OVS, *Pochody smrti (The Death Marches)*, SNB (police) in Křimice record of conversation with Václav Schosemeier (the stationmaster of the railway station in Tachov in April 1945) taken down on 12.5.1946.
- 12 *A conversation with A.M. led by Jiří Nenutil 15.3.2010. Tachov. Author's archives.*
- 13 *Conversation with G.S. led by Jiří Nenutil on 26.3.2010. Tachov. Author's archives..*
- 14 SOA Pilsen, MLS Cheb, LS 1131/46, carton 48, Haubner, Jiří, a record of conversation with Marie Stezlerová from 27<sup>th</sup> October 1945, based on Gedenkestätte Flossenbürg, archives, certified copy.
- 15 NA, KT – OVS, a report by SNB (police) Nový Losintál, No. 935/46.
- 16 NA, KT – OVS, a report by SNB (police) Nový Losintál, No. 935/46.
- 17 NA, KT – OVS, a report by SNB (police) Nový Losintál, No. 935/46.
- 18 *Soka Tachov, District Authority Tachov, sign. 603/4 war graves.*
- 19 *NENUTIL, Jiří: Pochody smrti, český příspěvek k otevřené otázce (The Death Marches, A Czech Contribution to an Open Question)*. Pilsen: West Bohemian University, 2011, pp 58-59.
- 20 *We must mention especially investigation into victims of Nazism and Communism in Poland, inquiry into the victims of Civil War in Spain, investigation of mass graves in Cambodia or investigations starting in South America.*
- 21 *NENUTIL, Jiří; RAK, Michal: Hromadný hrob ve Staré Knížecí Hutě (A Mass Grave in Stará Knížecí Huť)*. In: *Nenutil, Jiří et al. Exhumace obětí II. světové války – předpoklady, východiska, výzkum (Exhumation of Victims of the Second World War – Suppositions, Sources, Research)*. Pilsen: West Bohemian University, 2011, pp 51-76.

# Conservation of Footwear from the Mass Grave of the Victims of the so-called Death March in Tachov Area in April 1945

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## Introduction

In April 1945, the end of the Second World War was within reach. In Tachov area, however, the Nazis still organised the Death Marches to so-called liquidation camps. The prisoners – mostly Jews – travelled from Tachov area to German liquidation camp in Flossenbürg. The mountainous countryside was covered in snow and several tens of exhausted people marched in those conditions for two days. They slept outside, huddled together to keep warm and not to freeze, but they still died. The last mass grave lies not far from our borders, in the village of Stará Knížecí Huť. After the war soldiers dug the grave up and transferred the bodies into a mass grave near Tachov, a memorial mound with a thorn crown. The bodies were re-buried without their foot-

wear; that remained in the original grave.

Archaeologists from Pilsen University partially excavated the original grave and, having found the footwear, asked the prominent specialist – a technologist and historian Petr Hlaváček from Tomáš Baťa University in Zlín – to examine the footwear and together with his team to attempt to preserve it. The above listed team carried out the task. The preservation and conservation work started in November 2013 and finished in September 2014. There were 16 items containing remnants of footwear. These were kept in a freezer and on their arrival in Zlín were put into plastic containers and, to disinfect them, kept in water containing 4-5% of butanol, which has pronounced microbicidal and virucidal properties. From this solution the single items were then taken out for further treatment, first of all for primary cleaning. First it was mechanical cleaning of the fragments in running water with brushes, spatulas and scalpels to remove as much soil, sand and little stones as possible but also roots which had penetrated completely some of the fragments, as well as crumbling wood matter from footwear with wooden soles in which prisoners walked. During this first phase of the conservation process the work of Peter Hlaváček unexpectedly ended with his sudden death on 9<sup>th</sup> January 2014. That is the reason we would like to dedicate this paper to his memory.

The conservation work continued in the laboratory of the restorer Alois Orlita. It was necessary to examine the condition of each fragment of footwear, which always had to be perfectly cleaned; this was done with so-called Alvol neutral foam. During the course of the cleaning it became apparent how aggressive woodland soil criss-crossed with a tangle of roots of growing trees and bushes is for degradation of organic matter (leather, textile, wood), not to mention ligniperduous fungi growing on the wooden soles of the shoes. Having finished cleaning, conservation started with an objective to make the fragments of the footwear more pliable and softer and – at least partially – to reshape them to their original appearance. For this purpose a so-called grease mixture VÚK (Výzkumný ústav kožedělný = Leather Research Institute) was used, with which the fragments were repeatedly covered, then bandaged in textile; this was done partly to make sure the fragments were saturated with the grease mixture and partly to fix the fragments into original shape. This sometimes took several weeks. Then more greasing followed, after grease penetration and subsequent cleaning, the process of conservation was finished.

## The Results of the Conservation

**Item No. 1:** A half pair of working boots – a wooden sole shoe. The shoe was preserved only in fragments. This was the right and the left leather side part, the length of which is approximately 21 cm and the height about 12-13 cm. Also a very deformed vamp part was preserved the shape of which was possible to reshape. In the middle of this part is a yellow spot with characteristics of a varnish, which proved impossible to remove. The grain of both the side parts and the vamp was damaged, the strength, however, was maintained. From wooden heel only two metal (iron) parts were preserved – the heel plates. They are rusted through and nails are protruding out of them (five and six pieces); around some of them remnants of wood can still be seen.



Object No.1 Half pair of working wooden sole footwear, left side part.



Object No.1 Half pair of working wooden sole footwear, vamp part.



Object No.1 Half pair of working wooden sole footwear, metal heel plates.

**Objekt č.3:** A half pair of ankle high boot – wooden sole shoe  
Six fragments were preserved. Vamp part with loose toe shows visible holes left after original stitches. From the flesh side of the leather vamp remnants of nails on the sides are visible as well as remnants of wood including fine roots of trees. Also two inner parts - the side, respectively quarter part of the shoe as well as the assembling quarter straps are from leather. Specific is the quarter part of the footwear; it is extensively deformed, hard and non-pliable. It has a character of fine mesh both on the grain and flesh sides and it is not leather but a substitute, most probably mass-produced. This material can be discerned also on some of the other parts of the footwear.



Object No.3 Half pair of wooden sole ankle high boot, vamp part.



Object No.3 Half pair of wooden sole ankle high boot, quarter parts.

**Item No. 4:** Men's working footwear of Derby type  
This is a rather worn leather shoe, which, however, remained in one piece. Even though the vamp part is splitting from the sole, in the quarter part the joints are preserved. The length of the shoe is approximately 28 cm, the width 10-11 cm. In the vamp part there are cuts which may have been created so that the shoe would not put pressure on the sole of the foot. The shoe has seven lacing holes including a leather string (called 'švihel'). The sole is well worn as well, including the heel, which is worn down to the nails. The find is complemented with four parts of thin lining leather and a lacing twine from substitute material, forming a square 3x4 mm in the cross-section.



Object No.4 Men's leather working footwear, worn down sole.



Object No.4 Men's leather working footwear of Derby type, general view.

**Item No. 5** Working footwear of wooden sole shoe type  
The footwear disintegrated into many parts and fragments. The vamp part from hard leather has on its flesh side both on the left and the right sides remnants of wood and nails. A part of the vamp is also another component with a small fastening strap. The part with the buckle was not preserved. There are also other small leather fragments; these are lining and quarter joint part. Also synthetic parts were found, a foil of brown-red colour with a relief mesh pattern. This material was probably pressed to the fibrous base matter and used as lining of the wooden sole working shoe. This set contains also a quarter part. It is from synthetic material. It is deformed, quite hard; it is impossible to wet it or to shape it. This material has lining on the inside from the same material, see above (synthetic foil pressed on to fibrous felt layer).



Object No.5 Working wooden sole footwear, vamp part, bird's eye view.



No.5 Working wooden sole footwear, a fragment of non-leather lining material.



Object No.5 Working wooden sole footwear, a fragment of non-leather lining.



Object No.5 Working wooden sole footwear, front side of the lining matter from synthetic material, reverse side of felt fleece.



Object No.5 Working wooden sole footwear, a fragment of non-leather matter with remnants of wood.



Object No.5 Working wooden sole footwear, counter part from non-leather matter, which is impossible to shape.

**Item No. 6:** A bottom part of leather footwear (ladies?)  
The length of the bottom part is 25 cm and the width at the vamp is 8 cm. The sole is cracked in the middle and on the periphery fixing metal nails can be seen. On the inner side of the sole in the toe area there were two discs of leather with a diameter of 2 cm. Their function is not clear. The part forming the toe of the footwear was made pliable and slipped on the insole. Strap from the quarter and both discs are separate.



Object No.5 Working wooden sole footwear, vamp part with straps from the grain side.



Object No. 5 Working wooden sole footwear, 1940-44, produced by BaťaZlín. Collection of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín.



No.6 Bottom part of leather footwear (ladies' perhaps), a view from tread on side.



Object No.6 Bottom part of leather footwear (ladies' perhaps), a bird's eye view.

**Item No. 8:** Fragments of footwear

There are a variety of fragments. These are fragments of a part from soft leather with remnants of nails on the periphery, then there is a leather strap with remnants of nails and there is also quite a rusty metal buckle. Another piece is a rubber part of a heel. Three nails are protruding from it. Also a piece of heel body was found. Its base is a metal on which there is a thin layer of wood covered in hard soil and sand. The soil layer is 7-8 mm deep. There is evidence of ligniperduous fungi on the thin wooden layer.



Object No.8 Footwear fragments,rubber part of a heel and a fragment of a heel body covered with remnants of wood,the nails can be seen from both front and back.



Object No.8 A fragment of a leather part with a buckle and leather sleeve.



Object No.8 Footwear fragments,rubber part of a heel and a fragment of a heel body covered with remnants of wood,the nails can be seen from both front and back.

**Item No. 9:** Vamp and sole parts of footwear

A remnant of a sole densely covered with hobnails was found; eleven of them penetrate right through. White invasions round the hobnails are minerals and fibres of ligniperduous fungi. A small piece of wood can be seen in the toe of the sole. The vamp part of the footwear was quite flat and hard. After cleaning and greasing, it was possible to soften and shape it. On its flesh side small nails were found.



Object No.9 Sole densely covered with hobnails.



Object No.9 Vamp of wooden sole footwear.

**Item No. 10:** Vamp and quarter parts and a heel

The vamp part is from man-made material. Decoration by embossing is evident at the front; in a crack on the right side structure of the material can be clearly seen. From the inner side there is fibrous fleece; the outside is from thin synthetic matter. The vamp part is so hard that it is impossible to shape it. Two studs penetrate through the material. A part of the set is also a counter part; also from man-made material, on its outside there is clear lattice structure. There is a white line and also numbers in white (61?) and remnants of letters. On the quarter part remnants of wood were found as well as a nail. On the remainder of the rubber heel a half of a heel plate can be seen covered with a layer of wood. Nails are protruding out of the rubber part. There is also a ring from artificial material, on which, apart from metal, also a thin layer of textile can be discerned.



Object No.10 A fragment of vamp part made from non-leather matter.



Object No.10 A heel fragment.



Object No.11 A working shoe, right half pair.

**Item No. 12:** Flat remains of footwear  
 One of the fragments forms perimeter leather part of footwear bottom including remains of non-leather lining and a counter part. A part of this set is also a quarter component (with remains of a nail) and larger fragments of vamp and side components that came apart when handling them.



Object No.12 Flat remnants of footwear parts, a perimeter part of the footwear bottom.



Object No.10 Other leather fragments.



Object No.11 A working shoe, disintegrating right half pair.

**Item No. 11:** A disintegrating right working shoe

The shoe is from leather material. It is 28 cm long. The vamp part is torn from the sole, and so the single layers of bottom material can be seen. Vamp part has holes in it and is heavily worn out. There are nine holes for lacing. The found strap with a big eyelet is probably not a part of the same footwear. On the other hand, a part from thin leather (full of holes), is probably a remains of a tongue. A metal heel plate that had fallen off the footwear was also found. Five nails are still threaded through it. On the inner side there are remnants of wood round the nails. On the outside there are shiny spots (like varnish). Side leather part has come off the footwear. This is a half pair; it was possible to shape it from originally quite flat, deformed form.



Object No.11 A working shoe, right half pair, four leather fragments and a metal heel plate.



30 Object No.12 Flat remnants of footwear parts, a fragment of vamp and counter part.

**Item No.13:** The right half-pair of town low shoe

The body of the footwear is formed of a vamp with a loose toe. The length of the shoe is approximately 28 cm. The sole is missing; the upper part is held together with a heel and from it protruding runner, evident on the whole perimeter of the upper. The heel is worn down, this is more pronounced on the outer right side. Four layers of the heel are worn down to the nails. The heel is 7 cm wide and consists of 5 layers; its height is approximately 11 mm. The footwear is made either from calf leather of cow leather. On the inner side of the quarter component the leather is quite worn-out, without the grain. The sole is not from leather but from hard rubber. The broken-off part was not preserved; there is a remainder of it, however, protruding from the heel. There are also small fragments, for instance lining parts with lacing holes in a form of metal circular rings (6 holes).



Object No.13 Right half pair of low town shoes, a grain side view of the toe.



Object No.13 Right half pair of low town shoes, a flesh side view of the upper.



Object No. 13 Right half pair of low town shoes, a flesh side view of the toe.



Object No.13 Right half pair of low town shoes, a grain side view of the upper.

**Item No. 14:** Fragments of wooden sole footwear

Vamp part and a loose toe were preserved but not the bottom part of the footwear, that is, the sole and the heel. On the perimeter of the vamp part there are traces left by nails, also present are remains of wood. Quarter components are from hard non-leather material, which is impossible to shape (thickness 2-3 mm). Side components are from leather, the same as the 1 mm thick heel seat region strap made from cow leather. From the heel only heel plate with remains of nails and wood were preserved and from the other half-pair only half of the heel. On its external surface there is a metal plate in the shape of a sector of a circle – it had a reinforcing role. On the inside of the heel there is a layer of wooden material.



Object No.14 Fragments of wooden sole footwear, a fragment of the toe.



Object No.14 Fragments of wooden sole footwear, counter parts from stiff non-leather matter, which is impossible to shape.



Object No.14 Fragments of wooden sole footwear, a metal heel plate with remnants of nails.

**Item No. 15:** A vamp part of men's footwear

Two pieces were preserved. A vamp component made from cow leather more than 1mm thick. It was used with grain inside, that is, as suede leather. On the sides nails were preserved in the approximate distance of 2 cm from one another. On the inside remains of wood can still be seen on some nails. This means this was wooden sole footwear. The vamp part is folded lengthwise irreversibly; if attempt were made to straighten it, it would crack. It was, however, possible to shape the whole part. On the right side of the vamp a patch was used at some point, which was not preserved, there is nevertheless evidence of it in the form of stitches. The second component is a side part, also made from leather; this is, however, severely damaged and degraded.



Object No.15 Vamp and side parts of men's wooden sole footwear.



Object No.16 Counter part from non-leather matter, which is impossible to shape.

**Item No. 16:** Extensively fragmented footwear

Evident is the heel seat region strap as well as a quarter, which is from man-made material, considerably hard and impossible to shape. The outer side of synthetic material has a character of fine lattice, which is an evidence of industrial production of the material serving as a substitute for leather. Other fragments are parts of vamp or side components of the footwear and they are decayed to heterogeneous matter.



Object No.16 Fragments of vamp part.

**Item No. 18:** The best-preserved working shoe

The upper and the bottom part of this shoe hold together, the length is 29 cm. Lacing of this shoe was by means of decorated hooks (enclosed with the footwear). In the quarter components the grain side is considerably worn out and to reinforce this



Object No.18 A working shoe, a view of the worn down sole.



Object No.18 A working shoe, best preserved, an overall view.



Object No.18 A working shoe, best preserved, a view from the bottom.

component, one auxiliary stitch was used – to maintain the spatial shape of the shoe. On the vamp there was a hole, at some point covered with a patch, the evidence of this are holes left by stitches. Both on the heel and the sole there are remains of hobnails. The heel is rather worn down on the outside right side. The set is complemented with an inner vamp part issuing from the tongue.

**Item No. 19:** Ankle footwear of Derby type

This is the right half-pair, 28 cm long. In the toe the joint with the sole is damaged and also the left side of the vamp is quite worn out at the sole. The centre of the vamp part is cut; perhaps it was too tight and pinched? The boot is considerably deformed in the area around ankles and is not possible to straighten it completely. Both components in the heel area became loose. To keep the upper together, two auxiliary stitches were used in the heel seat region strap. The heel is rather worn down, especially on the right side of the shoe. A part of this set are also other flat parts, namely lining fragment from the vamp area, which has on its edges holes for lacing.



Object No.19 Heel part of the footwear, both parts were fixed with a heel strap by means of two stitches.



Object No.19 Ankle high footwear of the Derby type, an overall view.

**Item No. 20:** Flat parts of a completely deteriorated shoe

Only the bottom part of the footwear was preserved (midsole?) from the side of which two nails are protruding. On the whole perimeter there are holes left by stitching. Toe part made from 4 mm thick rubber is evident on the outside; this might have been the original sole. Other flat fragments are a leather part with two studs, 13.5 cm long and 0.8 mm thick strap, leather strip 2 mm thick (with five holes for a buckle) and a leather part with holes for lacing or fastening with a buckle.



Object No.20 Flat parts of a completely degraded shoe, the bottom part of the footwear viewed from the grain side.



Object No.20 Flat parts of a completely degraded shoe.



The cross with a memorial plaque in the woods of Stará Knížecí Huť village.



Location of the find of burried prisoners in the woods near Stará Knížecí Huť village.

*Notes*

- 1. Photographic record before the conservation was done by Radka Štefková (the Faculty of Technology, Zlín).*
- 2. Photographic record after the conservation was done by Radim Ševčík (the Museum of South East Moravia, Zlín).*

# Reconstruction of Spanish Court Footwear from the Second Half of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century

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## Introduction

Footwear of Spanish mannerist aristocrat ladies for special and festive occasions consisted, most likely, of two parts – a pair of slippers worn inside so-called chapines- footwear on extremely high platforms. The period court fashion did not disclose the footwear of their wearers and that is why this statement is based on written records and preserved artefacts studied for instance by Anderson [1], Semmelhack [2, 3] and Danvila [4].

## Construction of the Preserved Spanish Originals

The oldest preserved original chapines from the 15<sup>th</sup> century (the Museo Nacional de Arte Hispano-Musulán, Alhambra, Spain) has a platform formed from four layers of cork (*Quercus-suber*) held together with sharpened pieces of reed [1, p 33].

As far as the preserved pair kept in the Museum Diocesa in Solsona (beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Spain) is concerned, Elizabeth Semmelhack states that x-ray absorption analysis showed hollows of considerable size inside the platform, which testifies to the fact that the middle layers of the cork are not solid. The layers of cork, in the case of the original from Solsona, were glued together [3, p 128], the same as the item from the Museo Nacional de Arte Hispano-Musulmán, Alhambra [5]

Anderson describes making the chapines in the following way:

The upper is first underlaid, lined, repaired and holes for lacing are punched. Underlay of the upper and other parts can be from leather, textile or even a layer of paper. Then the parts (side, upper and insole) are sewn together with a thick linen or hemp thread and the side part is turned down and stretched over the platform. The edges of the side seam are not sewn together but overlap; this joint is sometimes placed at the front of the footwear. Uprturned edges of the sole can either be sewn with thick thread [1, p 33] or glued with starch glue [1, p 34]. Leather used can be bark-tanned goatskin, calf leather, cow leather or cordovan [1]. Decoration of leather for court footwear was very complicated, the leather was often embossed and decorated with slivers of precious metals into geometrical or plant motifs, sometimes pearls were sewn on [3, p 128]. Chapines could also be covered with textile, often velvet, damask or silk brocade in various colours. Written records [6] also mention embroidery in silver or gold thread.

Anderson [1] described the specific method of threading the laces through the two rows of holes in one half of an upper. The lace is threaded through two holes on one side and only then crosses over to the other side, to reduce, probably, the mechanical strain on the holes.

## The Reconstruction

To enable us to compare mobility while wearing the Spanish and the Italian types of footwear, three replicas of chapines were made – a Spanish type based on the original from the Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna, collection Schloss Ambras, Ambras Castle, Innsbruck) and two pairs of chapines of Italian type. One on a lower platform based on the original from the collection of the Baťa Shoe Museum (16<sup>th</sup> century, the Baťa Shoe Museum, P88.60) and the other is a copy of a pair with extremely high platforms from the collection of the Museo Stefano Bardini, Florence, Italy (1590 – 1600). Also two types of low shoes and stockings including garters were reconstructed.

## Spanish Chapines

Description of the original:

Chapines of Spanish origin made before 1540 (the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, collection Schloss Ambras, Ambras Castle, Innsbruck) were chosen as the model for reconstruction. E. Semelhack states that 'X-ray absorption analysis discloses 10

layers of cork. Similar to the artefact from Solsona, the layers are not kept together with central pegging and there is a hollow in the centre of the platform. Only the top and the bottom layers seem to be solid. These chapines were created for a small foot, the same as the pair from Solsona, they could have been intended to be worn by a relatively young woman' [3, p 129]. The weight of the preserved pair is 431g [3, p 140].

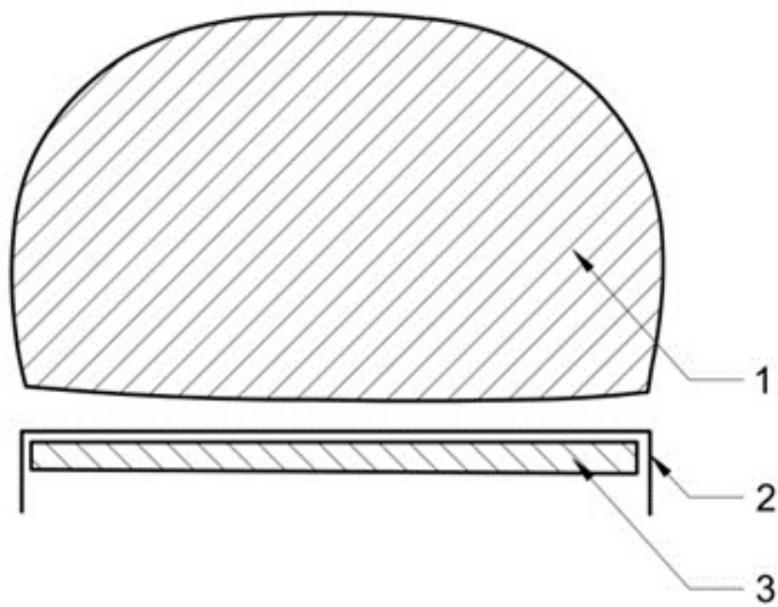
The top part of the chapines into which a foot is slid is formed as a sandal with open toe and heel, in footwear terminology 'a pantofle', to the insole of which a cork platform is fixed. The whole surface of the footwear is covered with thin bark-tanned leather decorated with gilding and embossing in a relief pattern. For greater visual effect, shoemakers covered the raised areas of the pattern with black colour. This process of leather decoration is used in leatherworking until today and it is known as 'topping' [7, p 172].

E. Semelhack described the technique of gilding leather for chapines: 'Gilding leather in the 16<sup>th</sup> century often did not require the real gold. Instead, silver foil and tin were frequently used. According to J.W. Waterer the whole piece of leather was covered with silver or tin foil prior to cutting out the pattern. Although it may seem as a waste of material to cover the whole piece of leather in metal, Waterer states that it is much more complicated to carefully cover in metal small parts, once they are cut out. After applying metal foil, the areas were covered with a yellow dressing to enhance gold colour and then imprinted and embossed and decorated into the desired pattern [3, p 129]. Another finishing layer from egg whites protected the surface against the loss of the lustre [3, p 129].

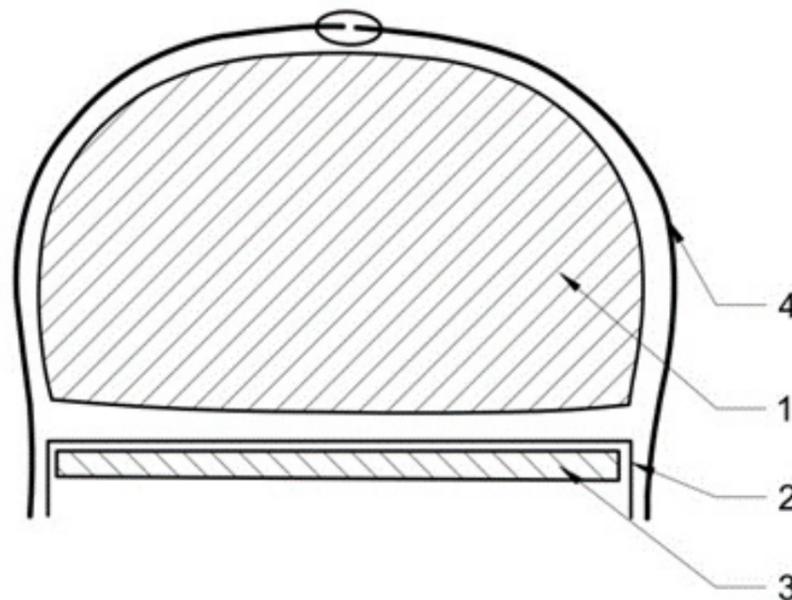
The vamp part of the chapines consists of two identically shaped but mirror image parts linked with lacing. There are holes punched into both the left and the right part of the vamp, through which a lace is threaded. The surface of the vamp is covered with gilded leather the edges of which are turned inside the footwear. The thickness at the point of the fold indicates that the vamp parts had to be reinforced with thicker leather due to considerable weight of the cork platform. Each of the vamp parts has its own lining from gilded leather. The insole of chapines is symmetrical, constructed in the same way as the vamp parts. That means that the backing from the thicker bark-tanned leather was covered with thin gilded leather with embossed and topped pattern. The platform overlays are formed of two parts of thin gilded leather joined together by overlapping at the toe and at the heel of the chapines. The sole is made of leather.

## Making the Replica

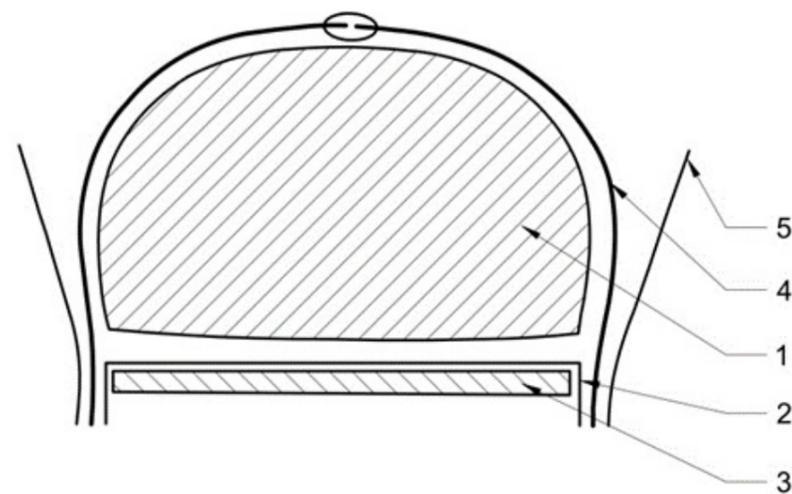
The basis of the production process is making the platform. Owing to inaccessibility and prohibitive cost of natural cork in the required dimensions, we used a synthetic material substitute (crushed cork with a binding agent), which has properties similar to natural cork. The rough shape of the cut out of the single layers was empirical; the top layers based on the shape of the last insole, the lower layers were based on an oval of corresponding dimensions. To conform to the original, we cut the top part (under the insole) and the very bottom part (above the sole) as a solid shape. The other layers had their centres cut out and formed only peripheral rings. By gluing the parts together, a low weight hollow skeleton of necessary stiffness was formed. By grinding off excessive material, an exact shape of the platform was achieved. In view of the fact that a foot wearing low Spanish shoes will have to fit into the chapines, it was necessary, when constructing the upper part of the chapines, to make a last that would reflect the outer dimensions of the shoe. Shape and dimensions of the vamp and the insole were deduced from this last. Then followed cutting out of all the stiffening parts from bark-tanned leather and their dampening and shaping on the last. All parts, having dried and been cut to the exact shape, were then covered with gilded leather. Vamp parts were then folded and lined and the edges were stitched through. By scanning the platform surface we derived the shapes of the parts



Pic. 1. Production of Spanish chapine – laying the insole on the last and turning the loose edges of the cover downwards; 1- last, 2- insole cover, 3- insole, author Václav Gřešák, 2014.



Pic. 2. Production of Spanish chapine – laying of the laced up vamp parts; 1- last, 2 – insole cover, 3 – insole, 4 – vamp part, author Václav Gřešák, 2014.



Pic. 3. Production of Spanish chapine – attaching both parts of the form cover 'grain to grain'; Václav Gřešák, 2014.

forming covering on the sides of the platform. The process of completing of all parts starts with laying the insole on the last and folding the loose edges of the cover downwards (picture 1). Then the laced up vamp parts are laid. Their loose edges are also folded over the fold of the insole (picture 2). This having been completed, both parts of the platform covering are laid, 'grain to grain' and secured with stitching (picture 3). The edges of all parts are then fastened with hand lockstitch on the whole periphery of the last. In the final phase of the production, the top part of the chapines is turned, stretched over the platform, glued and the sole is attached (picture 4).



Pic. 4. A model of Spanish chapines, photo by Martin Hřib, 2014.

## Italian Type Chapines

The difference between the Spanish and the Italian types of footwear on high platforms is that the Italian platforms were carved from wood (probably softwood, for instance fir) and covered with textile material or light coloured leather. To make the platform lighter, it was shaped on the sides but even so, this footwear is heavier than the Spanish type [3, p 132]. The reason for using wood could be utilising local sources.

X-ray absorption analysis of the Venetian chapine from the collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1590-1610, the Elizabeth Day McCormick Collection, 44.556a-b) showed that this artefact is created from two blocks of wood joined together with two long nails. The bottom part of the wooden platform is carved into a concave hollow, covered on the outside with, probably, a layer of leather. Braids fixed with small metal nails are made from tinsel thread [8].

Italian chapines can be divided into two types. Italian chapines with a very high platform, carved considerably on their sides, with either open toe or closed toe upper. This type was particularly popular in Venice. The other type is somewhere between the Venetian and Spanish chapines. The platform is bulky, relatively similar to Spanish chapines, it is, however, carved from wood.

Description of the production of Italian chapines inspired by the original from the collection of the Baťa Shoe Museum (16<sup>th</sup> century, the Baťa Shoe Museum, P88.60): a block of soft lime wood was carved into the desired shape and covered with brocade textile on its sides. The upper from brocade-covered leather



Pic. 5. A replica of transition type of Italian chapines, photo byPřemysl Polášek, 2014.

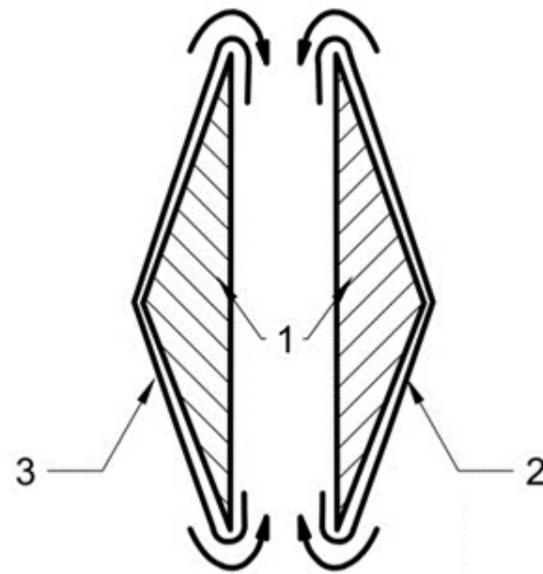
was fixed to the platform by means of small nails and then the insole was glued in. The difference from the original is that the bottom part of the platform is not so wide and there is no decoration. In spite of the narrower base the footwear is stable and it is possible to walk, wearing it, without any problems (picture 5).

### Chapines of Italian Type with an Extremely High Platform

#### Description of the original

Extremely high chapines (40cm) of Italian type are, in fact, stilts. The base is a platform flattened on its sides, which widens (approximately 4cm above ground) into an oval tread on part. Its base is carved out in a shape of a bowl and it is covered with a sole. Only the outer ring of the platform so comes into the contact with the ground. The top part of the platform is also widened and copies the shape of the insole of the pantofle. The platform is made from two wooden parts mirroring each other, which are joined together with glue. In the sole area nails are used to ensure sufficient rigidity. The surface of the platform, including the tread on part, is covered with fine white alum leather.

The pantofle forming the top part of the chapines consists of stiffened vamp part with closed toe and reinforced insole of symmetrical shape. The same as most of the surface, also the vamp is covered with richly decorated fine white alum leather. The decorations are formed by perforations in the style of reticella lace (sewn net, lace with geometrical motifs) [9], divided



Pic. 6. Production of the extremely high Italian chapines – folding the leather parts into the inner surface of the chapines; 1 – platform, 2, 3 – leather side parts, author Václav Gřešák, 2014.

with transversely laid ribs. To achieve a more impressive optical effect, red silk satin is put under the perforations. Lining of the vamp, as well as the cover of the insole are from the same material. The top part of the chapines is stitched to side parts with a round seam.

#### Making the Replica

The same as with all the other types of chapines, the production starts with making the platform. Because it was not possible to scan the shape of the original directly, photographs published by S. Durian-Ress [9] were used. At first a model of the platform was made from hard polyurethane foam. It was then cut (to gain two mirror sided halves), which then became a basis for cutting the parts of platform from wood.

As mentioned above, the whole surface of the original was covered with white alum leather. However, the classic alum leather tanned by means of aluminium salts is not produced any longer today. For the purposes of restoration it is usually substituted with leather tanned by the means of glutaraldehyde; it is white and has properties similar to alum leather. For this reason glutaraldehyde leather was used to make the replica. The starting point of making the pantofle was cutting out the uppers from alum leather, stiffening parts from thicker bark-tanned leather and lining from textile. The leather parts had to be shaped while wet and the final shape then had to be dried. Then the ribs were glued into the vamp and the decorative perforations were punched. All vamp parts were assembled on the

last, edges folded and stitched to the lining. Then we covered the base of the insole with textile and laid it, together with the vamp, on the last. Bottom edges of all parts were folded on to the bottom part of the last and completed with pre-shaped side parts of the platform (picture 3). Assembling the parts completed 'grain to grain' was done in hand lockstitch. After turning the whole peripheral seam the completed upper was laid on both halves of the platform and the loose edges of leather side parts folded over the central dividing edges towards the inside surface of the platform (picture 6).

Having finished the above operations, it was possible to glue both halves of the platform together. At the end of the production of the replica, the bottom edges of the side parts were folded over the whole of the tread on surface. Then the sole with pre-folded periphery was laid and the whole base surface of the chapines was sewn through with hand lockstitch (picture 7).



Pic. 7. A replica of Italian extremely high chapines, photo by Martina Hřibová, 2014.

## A Shoe with Filigree Perforations with a Motif of Rosettes and Geometrical Lines

Low shoes can be worn inside the chapines. Our team carried out a reconstruction of perforated shoes based on a preserved original of Spanish provenience (1590-1600) from the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (Inv. I 7-19) [9, p 30].

### Description of the Original

The upper is made from fine white alum leather; symmetrical sole is made from thicker bark-tanned leather. That means the shoes can be used both on their own and can also be worn inside chapines. The upper is formed of two parts, the vamp and the quarter. Both are richly decorated with filigree perforation. To achieve a more impressive visual effect, there is a red contrasting textile under the perforation. The lining was not preserved on the original but it had to be there to protect the feet and cover the base textile. From the general character of the footwear (a luxurious pair) it can be deduced that the lining was also from white alum leather. The upper and the bottom parts are sewn together 'grain to grain' and then turned. From stitching holes at the top part of the uppers it is obvious, that originally there was a decoration.

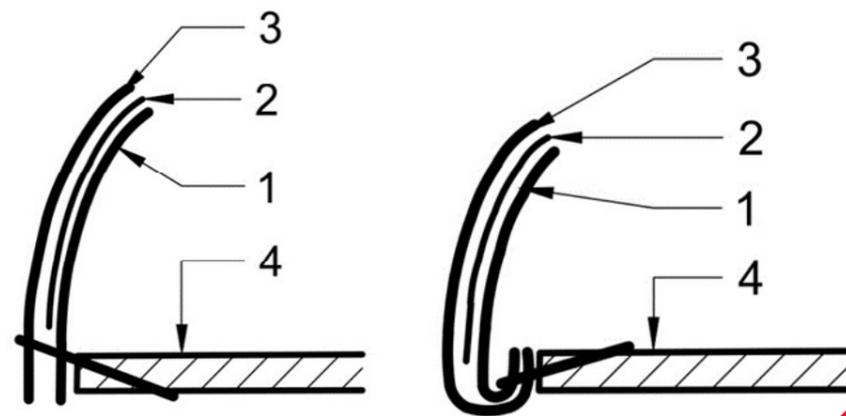


Pic. 8. Production of a shoe with filigree punched decorations – reshaping the leather parts, author Václav Gřešák, 2014.

### Making the Replica

The top parts of the vamp and the quarter were cut out from the white glutaraldehyde leather. The sole was made from bark-tanned cow leather. Due to the fact that the rich filigree punched decoration can only be done after the upper was shaped (deformation while shaping), it is necessary first to shape all the upper parts and only then it is possible to decorate the parts and join them together. The shaping was done on the last while wet followed by drying to fix the desired shape (picture 8).

After shaping the leather part remains on the last and the pattern is first drawn and then cut out or punched. It is necessary to do the punching on the part taken off the last and laid on a cutting board. The punching is done by hand with specially shaped punches. After the vamp and quarter parts were decorated, they were completed on the last; cut to exact size and their position was fixed with auxiliary stitching. The next phase of the replica production is sewing together the uppers and the sole in a so-called 'turned' way. The position of the single parts of the upper and the sole was again fixed by stitching. Sewing of the turned seam is done by means of hand lockstitch (picture 9, a and b).



Pic. 9. a, b. Production of a shoe with filigree punched decorations – roundseam; 1 – grain side of the vamp, 2 – underlay material, 3 – lining of the vamp, 4 – the right side of the lining, author Václav Gřešák, 2014.

Then the completed unit was turned and its shaping finished on the last. Parts of lining are sewn on 'grain to grain' in the same way but they are not turned. In the final phase of the replica production inner underlay textile parts are inserted into the shoe. Their position must again be fixed with stitching. Then follows inserting the lining and sewing together the vamp sides and quarters. The last stage is trimming the top edges of the upper by sewing on a satin ribbon (picture 10).



Pic. 10. A replica of a shoe with filigree punched decorations, photo by Přemysl Polášek, 2014.

## A Shoe Covered with Cloth with a Sewn on Appliqué

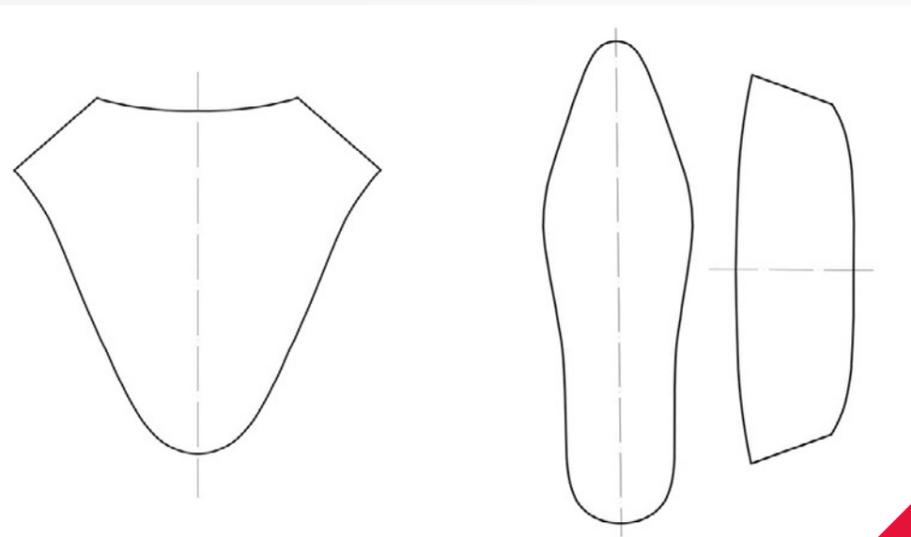
### Description of the Original

The original of the Spanish embroidered shoe from the year 1597 (inv. No. 7-19) can be found in the collections of the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich. The preserved artefact is made from leather covered originally with light red silk velvet with short hair. The embroidery uses technique of laid gold thread and crumpling. The length of the footwear is 22.5 cm, the width 7 cm and the height 6 cm [9, p29]. The sole is symmetrical.

From the technological point of view this is textile turned footwear of vamp cut. The original is lined and a reinforcing layer, most probably from leather, is inserted between the top parts and the lining (in the photograph published by S. Durian Röss we can see it sticking out of a damaged place in the quarter part [9, p29]).

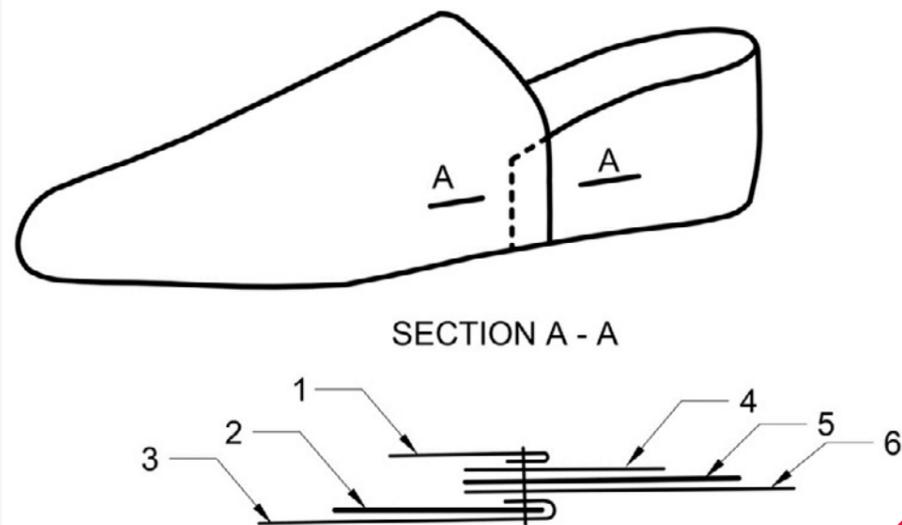
### Making the Replica

We used textile of sand colour as the top material, which corresponded with the current colour of the original. Shaping the parts can clearly be seen in picture 11. Top, lining and reinforcing parts are identical in shape. The sole was attached to the upper with a round seam in correspondence with the original. To achieve the desired load characteristics and shape durability of the footwear, leather inlay is inserted between the lining and top parts. In the first phase of the production of the replica all parts were first shaped on the last. The leather parts were shaped



Pic. 11. Production of embroidered shoe – shaping the base parts, author Václav Gřešák, 2014.

while wet and the resulting shape was then fixed by drying. In the second phase of the production, the vamp parts were sewn on to the sole with hand round seam in double-threaded stitch. The quarter parts are attached in the same way, that is 'grain to grain'. The vamp and quarter parts remained at the same time unconnected, which made turning the whole shoe easier. After turning, the front edges of the quarters were inserted between the lining and the stiffening of the vamp in the place of their rear edges (picture 12). The rear edge of the top vamp part was then folded over the leather inlay; the rear edge of the lining of the



Pic. 12. Production of embroidered shoe – inserting the front edges of quarter parts between the lining and the vamp reinforcement at the place of their rear edges; 1 – vamp lining, 2 – vamp reinforcement, 3 – vamp part, 4 – lining of the quarter part, 5 – reinforcement of the quarter part, 6 – quarter part, author Václav Gřešák, 2014.

vamp is folded 'by hand'. Then followed stitching of this overlapping joint and the quarters with hand lockstitch. The final phase of the production was to finish with folding the top edges of the footwear in 'opposite' way and then stitch them together. Due to the turned technology the decoration could only be done after the footwear was finished. The embroidery is done by the technique of laid thread and crumpling, based on the original decoration.

## Stockings

Stockings reaching above knees were an inseparable part of footwear. Among the preserved examples are for instance knitted yellow silk stockings belonging originally to Maria d'Aragona [11] (+1568, San Domenico Maggiore, Naples) or stockings and garters of Markéta Františka of Lobkowitz (+1617, Mikulov) [11, p 45], which acted as a model for our replicas. We used light yellow cotton hosiery and wine coloured taffeta with bobbin lace for the garters.

## Practical Use Experience

Chapines, which are fastened to the instep by a band of textile or leather, do not enable their wearer to walk fast or make long steps, however, they are not unsteady. The footwear finishes the total representative look of the wearer defined by the voluminous and expensive Spanish court attire and accentuates dignified way of walking, where, due to small steps, the wearer seems to be gliding.

## Acknowledgements

My thanks to professor František Rybníkář from Tomáš Baťa University in Zlín and architect Martin Hřib for their valuable comments. I would also like to thank Galo Molina, F. Moranta-Balaguero from the library in Palma de Mallorca, Dr. Eduard Levin from Moscow State University as well as University of Illinois library, Champaign-Urbana, who kindly enabled us to access the necessary literature.

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# Preserved Footwear from Burial Clothes of Family Gryspek of Griesbach from Kralovice

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In the little town of Kralovice in the northern Pilsen region there is a parish church of Saint Peter and Paul, which is the site of the last resting place of the members of an aristocratic family of Gryspek of Griesbach. It was Florián Gryspek, a favourite of the Emperor Ferdinand I Hapsburg, who in the 16<sup>th</sup> century gained property for his old Tyrol family in western Bohemia.

Florián entered imperial service in 1530, when he was twenty, and very soon he gained an important position of a Secretary of Royal District Chamber. Four years later he obtained the Inkolat for the Czech lands which enabled him to own land in Bohemia. Gradually he gained two houses in Prague, a house in Pilsen, an estate in Kaceřov including lands, estate Nelahozevs and other real estate. He gained Kralovice together with Kaceřov as early as 1539, but at first he only owned one half. He obtained the other half of Kralovice in 1543, when it was sold to him by Plasy convent.

Kaceřov chateau became the representative residence of his family, while the nearby Kralovice was the agricultural centre. During Florián's ownership the village was awarded a status of town together with the right to be protected by city walls. Florián built a simple two-storey house with a tower as an administration seat and for his occasional stays there, and in 1575 he commenced rebuilding the parish church. Originally Gothic church was given Renaissance look and the building work was completed in 1581. Florián also decided to build a crypt there as the last resting place for himself and his closest family members.

The deceased were buried there at the earliest the year the building was finished, as Florián's wife, Rosina, had already died in 1573. Fifteen years later, in 1588, Florián followed her and



Epitaph of Florián Gryspek of Griesbach and his wife Rozina Hölzin, 1593. Church of Saint Peter and Paul, Kralovice. Photo o.s. Gryspek, on-line: [www.gryspek.cz](http://www.gryspek.cz), downloaded on 1st February 2012.

then the other members of the family. One of the last people to be buried there was Blažej Gryspek, who died in 1620, a month after the Battle of the White Mount. Laying the dead to rest in the crypt ceased in 1623 as a year earlier a gradual confiscation of Gryspeks property had commenced as a punishment for their taking part in the Bohemian Revolt on the side of the Czech nobility.

During the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the peace of the dead was, however, disturbed. Kralovice became property of Plasy convent again. The Abbot at that time, Tengler, had the crypt opened and the outer tin coffins removed and taken away. The mortal remains of the dead were left only in the wooden inner coffins and then a busy tourist rush started. Naturally mummified bodies were shown to visitors of the church as a local curiosity, without any reverence. For a small bribe, the local sacristan allowed visitors to take away small pieces of clothing and other items as souvenirs. The deceased have not only lost their burial clothes but also, more importantly, their identity. Today we can only guess who is who.

## Research Activities

The crypt, together with the bodies buried there, attracts interest of researches already in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1820, Welleba described it for the Hylos magazine, in 1838 Sommer men-

tioned it in his Topography and in 1848 Anton Fischer published a book on the crypt including a brief history of the family.<sup>1</sup> It is little known, that also an eminent Pilsen ethnographer, Ladislav Lábek, whose notes contain above all information on a well-known tales and historical links,<sup>2</sup> took between the wars marginal interest in the family of Gryspeks. From the contemporary researchers it is Irena Bukačová who repeatedly devotes her efforts to Kralovice church and the crypt. The latest publication on Florián Gryspek and the members of his family is a monograph by the contemporary representative of the family – Baroness Roma Griessenbeck von Griessenbach.<sup>3</sup> The authoress included in her book also notes on the crypt and the church and a comparison with Fischer's description including preliminary results of our observation.<sup>4</sup>

Researchers based the description of the burial clothes on Fischer's findings from his two previous visits, which took place around the 1830s. In some places, however, his description seems to be somewhat distorted, if for nothing else, then for the use of unusual expressions. For instance all men's jackets are called 'corsets'. What is more, the author himself owns up to differences given by different conditions of the crypt at the times of his first and second visits. When visiting the crypt for the second time, he was unable to find some of the bodies and, according to his own words, he did not remember all the details precisely. In spite of all that said above, his description represents important comparison material as he had the chance to view the deceased and their burial clothes at the time when they were still in a better condition.

Together with professional textile restorer, Jana Trsková, we recorded the condition of the burial clothes as a part of preventive conservation intervention. The intervention was done under the supervision of Professor Evžen Strouhal on 28<sup>th</sup> January and then 25<sup>th</sup> February 2012. The work was done in a relatively brief time span, inside the church under unfavourable temperature conditions. It is therefore clear that exhaustive research of all the preserved material was not possible. Information presented here is a result of brief working notes and photographic documentation. Having said that, I still consider these to be an important contribution on clothing in western Bohemia.

## Situation inside the Crypt

There were originally seventeen members of the family to be interned in the crypt. During his first visit, Fischer saw sixteen

bodies of grown up people and two babies there. By the time he visited the crypt for the second time, the number had been reduced to twelve grown-ups. At present the crypt still holds those twelve bodies with textile remnants that can be evaluated and just one mortal remains of a child's body.

A total of seven deceased are still wearing partially preserved authentic burial clothes; four of the bodies are dressed in secondary 'shrouds' from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Only three mortal remains cannot be described in any detail from the point of view of history of clothing and footwear; in one case there is only one item of clothing, and in the other two cases there is no clothing at all (see table 1 – Overview of burial clothes and footwear). For the sake of the description we maintained the temporary numbering of the coffins based on their physical position in the crypt, which, unfortunately, did not correspond to the order in which the bodies were originally laid to rest there and which also is not identical with the numbering used by Fischer (comparison, see table 2). The sex of the deceased was established in situ, partly based on the outer genitals<sup>5</sup> – where possible, and partly based on the type of clothing.

### Preserved Footwear

There are a total of five at least partially preserved half-pairs of footwear among the burial clothes. In four cases, this is men's footwear and in one case it is a ladies' shoe. In all cases it was possible to compare the size of the footwear with the dimensions of the foot of the likely owner.

#### Burial Clothes No. 3 – A Velvet Slip-on-Shoe

Typologically oldest footwear is a part of the burial clothes of a body of an old man from the coffin number 3. It is a velvet slip-on-shoe without any fastening. The shoe is on the left foot, which is still wearing a knitted stocking from yellowed silk. It is impossible to take the shoe off the foot; we can therefore presume it is its original position from the time of the burial. The upper is made from black silk velvet. In the toe area there are three longitudinal cuts stitched round with black, probably silk, thread. In the top part of the upper there are lateral cuts. There must have been a total of six paired cuts, but today only the cuts on the right side are preserved. The upper of the shoe was damaged on the left top edge and only one of the cuts can be observed today. In the middle of the upper the top edge was probably cut. The shape of the heel part of the upper cannot be described as it had been torn away and we could not find it



Velvet slip on shoe, burial clothes of an old man in the coffin no.3.  
Photo by V. Pilná, 28<sup>th</sup> January 2012.

among the remains in the coffin. The sole of the shoe was slightly shaped to follow the shape of the foot. The total length is 24.2 cm and the width at the widest point is 8.5cm.

#### Low Men's Shoes from Burial Clothes No. 1, 5 and 11

Further examples of authentic footwear are found among the burial clothes in the coffins No. 1, 5 and 11. All three cases represent footwear popular at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

The man from the coffin No. 1 is usually considered to be the founder of the Czech branch of the family, Florián. His left foot is still wearing a low shoe with flat sole without a heel. At first sight this footwear resembles a pantofle, the heel of which had come off and the torso of indeterminate shape is only held together with last stitches on the outer left side. It is not clear either how the footwear was fastened, that is why the definition is only tentative. The sole is in a shape of a 'keyhole'. The toe of the sole in the shape of an 'eight' is cut more or less straight and the edges are rounded. The waist is considerably narrowed. The shape of the sole is symmetrical, which means the pair was not cut to differentiate between the left and the right foot. A line of cut for connecting it to the welt is visible on the sole. The total length of the sole is 25 cm, the width at the widest point is 8.5 cm and in waist 2.4 cm.

Another torso of a shoe is a part of burial clothes of a man from the coffin No. 5, who is deemed to be Blažej Gryspek. From the original footwear, unfortunately only a part of the upper was preserved. It is placed in the coffin loosely lying next to the foot.



Low shoe with flat sole without heel, the man in the coffin no.1.  
Photo by V. Pilná, 28<sup>th</sup> January 2012.

Soles, quarters and the toe parts have been lost. Preserved part with holes left by stitching, however, points to connection to a welt, which held together the single parts of the footwear. If this really is the body of Blažej, then this preserved fragment could be dated to the year 1620. The footwear was made for foot of today's dimensions of 22.5 cm long and the width in the widest point 8.5 cm.

The only completely preserved pair of footwear can be found among the burial clothes of the man in the coffin No. 11. This body was sometimes deemed to be that of Václav Gryspek who died in 1590. According to the shape of the jacket – *wamsu*, which is a part of the clothes, the burial is, however, more likely to have taken place at the end of the first decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In that case, the body is that of Václav's brother Karel, who died in 1610. It is the left half-pair of the footwear which is better preserved. The upper is formed of three parts. The vamp part became separated from the sole. The quarter part is divided into two mirror cut parts stitched together by a seam on the heel, which today is disintegrated. Lacing, in the form of two long



Fragment of a low shoe, the man in the coffin no.5 – Blažej Gryspek. Photo by V. Pilná, 28<sup>th</sup> January 2012.



One of a pair of low shoes, the man in the coffin no.11 – Václav or Karel Gryspek. Photo by V. Pilná, 28<sup>th</sup> January 2012.



Loose sole of a low shoe, the man in the coffin no.11 – Václav or Karel Gryspek. Photo by V. Pilná, 28<sup>th</sup> January 2012.



strips, is placed in the top part of the quarter. A white lace, which comes from the holes in the vamp part, is still threaded through the holes. The loose stitching between the upper and the sole formed of three layers shows an insole of the same shape. The sole is in the shape of an 'eight' with directly attached layered heel. On the shoe worn on the right foot the sole got completely detached but is included among the items of clothes in the coffin. A welt can be observed on its periphery, which served to connect the upper and the sole. From the upper, only the vamp part and the right quarter part are preserved. Due to the lack of time, we unfortunately did not manage to measure this pair of footwear.

### A Ladies Shoe with Velvet Covered Toe from the Burial Clothes in the Coffin No. 6

The only preserved example of ladies' footwear is a torso of a half-pair of shoes from the burial clothes in the coffin No. 6. The body of the deceased is thought to be that of Florián's wife Rosina Holzin, who died in 1573 when giving birth to their last, twenty fourth, child – son Blažej. The shoe was made from light coloured leather and at the moment lies next to her foot. Only the vamp part connected to the sole was preserved. Shapewise, the shoe is slightly elongated into a toe, which is covered with dark brown silk velvet. The edge of the cover is decorated with a dark weaved ribbon with small picots of untied weft on its edges. Remains of rounded vamp cut outs can be seen on the front part, which indicates that it was shaped into a narrow projection. The flat sole was cut in the shape of an 'eight' with narrowed waist, but the toe's elongation is more pronounced, with rounded edges. The dimensions are: the length 28 cm and the width at the widest point 8.5 cm.



Fragment of a ladies' shoe with velvet covered toe, the woman in the coffin no.6- Rosina Hölzin. Photo by V. Pilná, 28<sup>th</sup> January 2012.

## A Shoe from the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín

When collecting information in the crypt and its processing that followed, there arose a question, whether the Gryspek shoe, which is a part of the collection Baťa Principle in the Shoe Museum, still might have a second half-pair in the crypt. It is known that the Shoe Museum's half-pair was removed from the crypt in 1816 and therefore taken away from Kralovice before both of Fischer's visits. Today it is officially a part of movable chattels collection of Buchlov Chateau under the inventory number BU2245.<sup>6</sup> Miroslava Štýbrová, the curator of the collection sent us dimensions and photographs to enable us to carry out the comparison.

Two items could potentially be considered - from the burial clothing in coffins Nos. 1 and 5. The man in the coffin No. 1 is indeed often identified with Florián Gryspek and the body only wears one shoe. Florián died an old man and this identification seems less probable even to Roma Griessenbeck. The shoe has a toe of a different shape and it is missing the layered heel, which is a part of the Zlín exhibit. Also the dimensions are different. The sole of the shoe in the coffin No. 1 is 25 cm long and 8.5 cm wide in the widest point. The sole of the Zlín half-pair has the same length but the width is different. The sole is only 8 cm wide.

It is not possible to really compare Blažej's footwear due to it being preserved only as a torso. The toe is, however, not as wide and rounded as that of the item from Zlín. The example from Zlín collection ascribed to Florián Gryspek therefore has not preserved half-pair in the crypt. Could it, however, been Florián's?

The current identification of the deceased in the crypt is very imprecise. The original wooden coffins were, according to the



A shoe from family Gryspek's tomb, shown in exhibition of Zlín Museum. Collection: National Heritage Institute in Kroměříž, Buchlov Castle, inv. No. BU2245. Photo: Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín.

description by Anton Fischer, marked only in several cases by initials or dates. Fischer described that during his first visit his guide in the crypt described a man wearing a long coat as Florián Gryspek, who Fischer did not find during his second visit. It is therefore possible, that the shoe from the Zlín collection really belonged to the founder of the family and that his body is no longer present among the 'Kralovice mummies' today. Fischer does not even mention what happened to the lost mortal



A shoe from family Gryspek's tomb, shown in exhibition of Zlín Museum. Collection: National Heritage Institute in Kroměříž, Buchlov Castle, inv. No. BU2245. Photo: Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín.

remains. If Florián's body is in the crypt, then the shoe could have been taken off a foot of any of the men's bodies, as most of them are not wearing any footwear. Parts of the burial clothes, which became detached, were even lately kept, according to witnesses, in one of the small coffins as a kind of 'spare parts' and then used to complete the burial clothes. So the shoe, even at the time of its removal, could have already been unidentifiable and only ascribed to Florián.

## Conclusion

In this contribution I attempted to outline the current condition of the preserved footwear as a part of burial clothes of the family Gryspek of Grysopak laid to rest in Kralovice crypt. The number of visitors is, compared to the past, rather limited. The whole crypt is today opened only at special occasions. The bodies are kept in coffins with glass lids, which do not allow detailed research investigation. A more precise analysis of footwear and textile would require a long-term research of a professional team under corresponding conditions. If such research is carried out in the future, some conclusions may differ from those we were able to obtain in such a short period of time and under given conditions.

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- 4 Pilná, Veronika: *Zpráva o stavu dochovaného textilu v hrobcerodiny Gryspeků z Griessbachu ve farním kostele v Kralovicích (A Report on the Condition of Preserved Textile in the Crypt of the Family Gryspek of Griessbach in the Parish Church in Kralovice). Pilsen, 1.3.2015, 5 pages.*
- 5 *This was done by the present anthropologist, Professor Strouhal.*
- 6 *Inventory No. BU2245. Our thanks for this information to Mgr Barbora Kulhová from the National Heritage Institute in Kroměříž.*

# Footwear in Resistance Campaign footwear of Czechoslovak parachutists, 1941 – 1945

Zdeněk Špitálník

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The best-known 'resistance' boots are indubitably the special aids of the legendary 'Springer'. Thanks to the springs attached to the soles of his footwear he could escape the hated Nazis even across and over the Prague blocks of flats. This contribution will not, however, be a tribute to the imaginary hero but to the real heroes. In spite of the fact that those were often men of exceptional abilities, their footwear often hampered them in their missions.

Specific situation of the Czechoslovak foreign resistance at the beginning of the Second World War did not make it possible for the participants to engage directly in ground battle operations. It was pilots and parachutists who were the main direct actors of armed anti-Nazi resistance in the first years of the war.

A special department was formed for training and selecting parachutists within the Czechoslovak military intelligence, a so-called Special group D, which, cooperating closely with British organisation SOA (Special Operations Executive), supplied the young men with all they might need.

Already during their training in Scotland a number of soldiers underwent exhausting long distance marches. In spite of the fact that everyone always tries to keep their footwear dry, in the environment of Scottish Highlands this was not entirely possible. Therefore it was recommended to soak the footwear at the first opportunity and not to avoid wet terrain. A person seeking the best possible way could walk many more kilometres than necessary to fulfil the given training task.

An unconditional prerequisite for the selection itself was a voluntary agreement to comply with the given task. These volunteers could not be granted the chance for survival and return to

Great Britain. In spite of this, tens of soldiers volunteered for this dangerous work. Having gone through a demanding drill and parachuting training, they were prepared for work in secrecy.

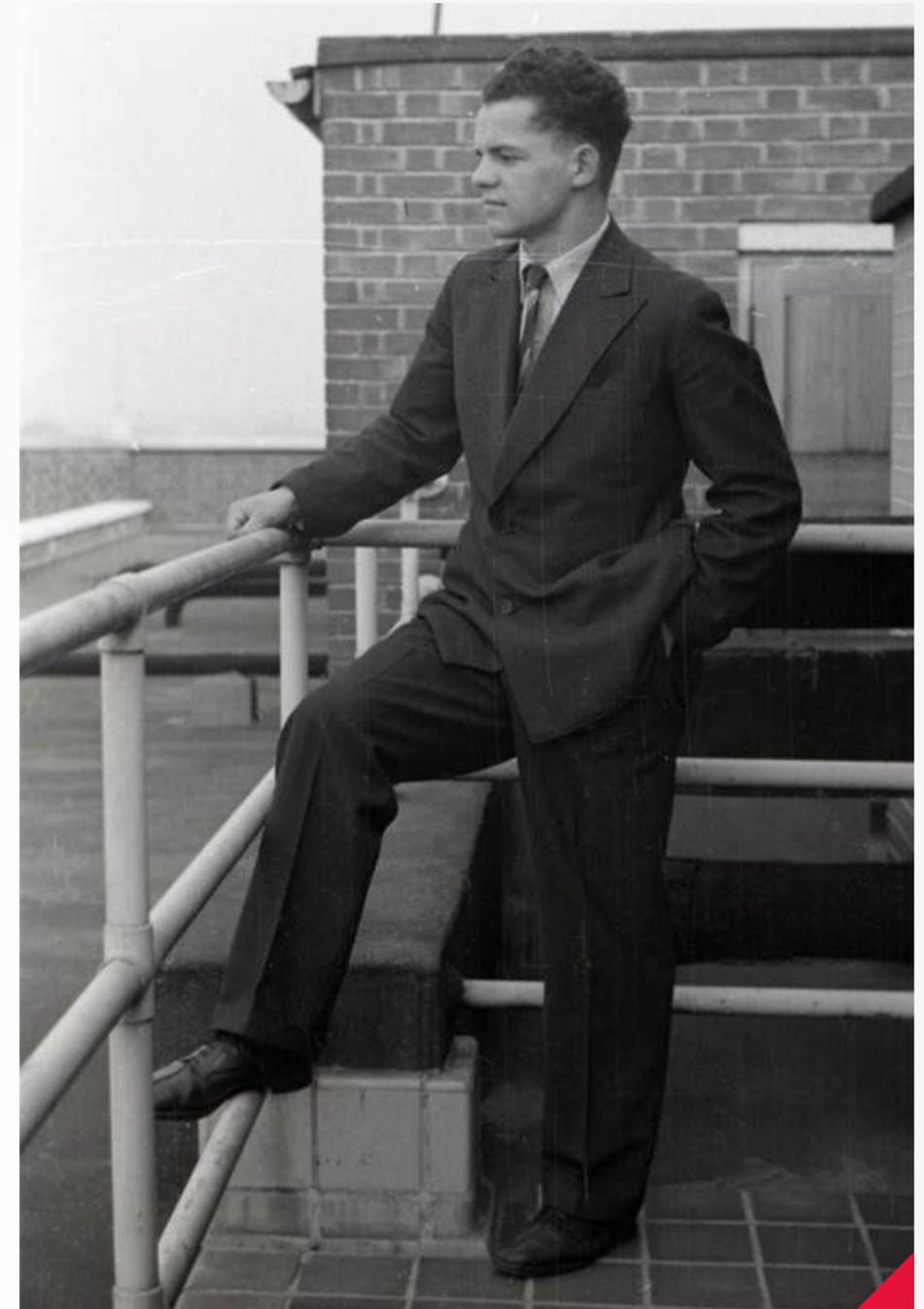
Parachutists with special missions, who were dropped into the occupied territory of the protectorate, were given civilian clothes. This was necessary to aid their inconspicuous and sabotage activities. In spite of the fact that international agreements gave apprehended soldiers wearing uniforms a certain chance for survival, the rules in any case did not apply to the former Czechoslovak citizens, now members of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, respectively Germany.

The reason such a care was given to the clothes origin was related to slightly different look of English and continental men's suit. It is indubitable, that English fashion influence also came to Czechoslovakia before the war. Most widely worn was the English 'invention' – a three-piece suit, that is, jacket, waistcoat and trousers made from the same material.

Campaign clothes of the groups consisted of a suit with single



Foot bandages and special overshoes to cover civilian footwear. The photograph comes from the catalogue of special equipment for SOE, the Military History Institute, Prague.



Parachutist Oldřich Dvořák, a member of parachute unit STEEL, wearing campaign clothing, seen here on the roof of London Headquarters of the Special Unit D. The Military History Institute, Prague.

breasted jacket, in some cases complemented with a waistcoat from the same material, a sweater, a shirt with stitched on collar, a silk tie, an overcoat, socks, handkerchiefs, leather low shoes (in some cases from leather combined of two colours), a hat and later also a sports cap. The colour of the suit should be discreet, suitable for everyday wear, ideally grey or brown. The clothes the soldiers were given in Great Britain should serve them in the first phase of the engagement. After that, it was presumed the clothes parts would be substituted with clothing from local sources.



A detail of civilian footwear of Oldřich Dvořák.

From 1943 modifications of clothes and their choice was the responsibility of one of the participants of the parachutists training, Vladimír Maděra, a tailor by trade (he had been injured during the training course and it was impossible to use him in any of the operations). Maděra got suitable footwear from the British branch of Baťa Company in East Tilbury.

Parachutists wore civilian footwear also during their jump and it turned out that this was one of the most endangering elements of this phase of operation. In spite of the fact that the parachutists bandaged their ankles to make them more stable, many of them were injured at landing because of wearing unsuitable footwear. The best known is the case of Josef Gabčík from the parachute unit ANTHROPOID, who had to seek medical help. Canvas overshoes with rubber soles were stretched over the low shoes during the jump. This was to keep the shoes clean while digging in the parachute and escaping from the jump area. Once the parachutist got to a firm road, he would discard these overshoes (preferably in water), together with the shovel with which he covered the parachute and the protective overall.

Civilian footwear also served, especially during later parachute jumps, as a hiding place for various notes and gold coins. These were hidden underneath the insole and should serve as a means of payment in case the currency fell. The coins were most often gold dollars, so-called 'napoleons' – French francs from the period of the rule of Napoleon III.

To mingle with the crowds was an important part of a successful operation. However, there was a price to be paid for the clothes and fashionable footwear in case the parachutists had to spend a long time out in the terrain. For instance soldiers from the parachute unit TUNGSTEN, Rudolf Pernický and Leopold Musil walked in their civilian shoes several tens of kilometres in the snow-covered region of Czech-Moravian Highlands. The



A low shoe of parachutist Josef Bublík. There is a noticeable damage by grenade shrapnel from the last fight in the St. Cyril and St. Methodius Church. The Military History Institute Prague.

frostbite from this redeployment left ill effect on the health of these top-trained soldiers. The commanding officer of the of the parachute unit, Rudolf Pernický, suffered from the after effects of this redeployment until the end of his life.

One of the most valuable items in the collection of the Military History Institute is a pair of shoes worn by aspiring sergeant Josef Bublík, a parachutist from the parachute unit BIOSCOP. Bublík was killed during the heroic defence of St. Cyril and St. Methodius Church in Prague on 18<sup>th</sup> June 1942. The German police units documented all items found in the church and these should in the future serve as three-dimensional documents in investigation of Heydrich assassination in a planned museum exhibition.

An interesting thing, which is somewhat outside the scope of this topic, are so-called escape boots for aircraftmen. Fliers undertaking risky flights over occupied territory had to take into account a possibility of being shot down. Ankle boots of civilian type had stitched to them a textile part with a fur reaching up to mid calves. Should the plane be shot down and they had to flee, the well fitting footwear was a basic precondition of success. The fliers' boots could be modified into civilian boots by cutting off the calf part. As a precaution there was a small pocket in one of the boots with a hidden blade. When designing these boots, even such details were taken into account as marking the manufacturer in French language.

It is interesting that also the guides (for instance staff captain Jaroslav Šustr or lieutenant Rudolf Hrubec), who accompanied the parachutists in planes over the occupied territory, were equipped with the complete fliers' uniform and a false identity, which would give them a certain chance to save their lives should the plane be shot down.



Escape boots of the RAF fliers. The Military History Institute, Prague.

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# Rationed Shoes, or Footwear at the Time when It Was Not Only Spejbl Who Wore Clogs

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the Archives of the National Museum, Prague, the Czech Republic

*'There will come the time when luxury wooden sole shoes will be made to be worn with evening gowns, which will completely rehabilitate Spejbl, who, as everybody knows, wears clogs with morning coat.'*<sup>1</sup> Spejbl (Spejbl and Hurvínek – Czech puppet duo – a father and a son. Puppets have large wooden heads and wear clogs. Translator's note.) never wore a morning coat but a tailcoat and the wooden sole shoes never aspired to become formal footwear. It was everyday wear footwear, which emerged from political, economic and social circumstances. They must have sold in millions but only a few were preserved until today. Where did they come from, when and why? Ration system was to blame.

Ration coupons for clothes were introduced on 15<sup>th</sup> December 1939, less than three months after ration coupons for food. Textile, leather but also rubber became scarce and valuable commodities as wool was needed for military uniforms, silk for parachutes and military boots instead of shoes were made from leather.

Footwear coupons were allocated in sequence, on demand, at municipal authority and there were few of them. The system of coupons for footwear purchase was divided into two basic categories I and II, within which there were three specific sub-categories a-c. Coupon Ia enabled one to purchase a pair of good quality leather working boots. Coupon Ib was used to buy most of leather footwear from court shoes to men's and ladies' low shoes. Also combination footwear with felt (diplomate boots) and molleton (meltons) came under this category. Rubber galoshes came under category Ic. If the footwear was lined with textile, 3 more points had to be added from the clothing coupon. Group II was for footwear from partially substitute materials, such as cloth court shoes and plimsolls with reinforced toe. Not all wooden sole shoes were sold freely either. If they



Example of wooden sole shoes, which could be bought with ration coupons, 1943.

had leather straps, insole or were cut as a low shoe with toe leather, counter and lacing, then they came under category II. Mainly children's cloth footwear was sold against clothing coupons. There were special numbers for footwear on the coupons in the ration book.<sup>2</sup>

Complicated ration system made it nearly impossible to buy leather footwear and lead to search for unusual raw materials. Traditional were of course the natural materials: apart from wood and feathers these were also hairs from domestic animals, straw or paper. Search for new materials and ways of processing them became the topic of competitions and exhibitions,<sup>3</sup> which were to motivate the inhabitants of the Protectorate to be in-



Ladies 'meltons', Baťa, 1941.

ventive. Summer sandals could be crocheted from cotton, bast or thick wool. Soles could be taken from old footwear or made from plaited straw or bast, or from straps.

Apart from home creativity, which mostly used traditional natural materials and textiles, there was an extremely interesting phenomenon of making footwear, handbags, gloves or purses from somewhat peculiar leather. People experimented with fish skin, rabbit or dog skins or even with cattle stomachs, that is, tripe. A 'tripe handbag' looked very striking indeed due to its structured surface. Imprinted and relief surfaces on leather goods were always fashionable, handbags from crocodile, lizard, snake or ostrich skins were always considered to be luxury goods.

Sandals were traditionally made from straw, bast or lyocell.<sup>4</sup> A small factory in Blatná supplied even German Wehrmacht.<sup>5</sup> with



One of the first types of wooden sole shoes, Baťa, spring 1940.

straw pantofles. Also some of the religious orders, for instance Dominican nuns<sup>6</sup>, specialised in producing pantofles from natural materials.

However, none of the products from the available substitute materials reached the mass production of wooden sole shoes. As early as the spring of 1940, Baťa Company's shops offered 30 different styles and sold nearly a million of them in the first year. That was due to excellent work of Baťa design, marketing and advertising department: *'Who knows what that clatter is, from the cellar to the attic, disturbing our sleep. What is it; it never ceases, maybe the grey lady is running up and down seeking gossip. I know that clatter, I hear it everywhere; it is the spring coming wearing wooden sole shoes. Only in wooden sole shoes*



The upper of the wooden sole shoes could be very colourful and shaped in various ways, Baťa, 1940.

*the spring is here, old and young alike are clattering away, the spring song is everywhere.'*<sup>7</sup> Girls sing together with Jiří Dohnal in Baťa Company wooden sole shoes advertisement. The advertisement with tap-dancing wooden sole shoes was directed by – later 'Oscar' director – Elmar Klos and the script was inspired by the clatter sound the wooden sole shoes made, for which they were unflatteringly called 'clatters' during the First World War.

Making use of the film festival *'Filmové žně' (Film Harvest)*, which, in a way was the predecessor of the Film Festival in Karlovy Vary, and took place in July 1940 in Zlín, was an ingenious move. A number of photographs of Czech actresses with Baťa company products were taken at that time. The famous Lída



Wooden sole shoes from the second summer season, Baťa, 1941.

Baarová, as the proper Czech, bought apart from wooden sole shoes with folk flower motif also, surprisingly, exactly the same model of wooden sole shoes as her younger sister and a promising actress, Zorka Janů.

At the end of the summer another star of the silver screen, Adina Mandlová, gave a guest performance in the play *Milionářka (Lady Millionaire)* in the Zlín theatre; she also bought a pair of wooden sole shoes. Also other stars and starlets of the Protectorate film, such as Antonie Nedošínská, Nataša Gollová, Zdenka Sulanová, Marie Hrdličková or Sylva Langová, became promoters of Baťa Company products.

Wooden sole shoes appeared in the history long before the Second World War, however, Baťa wooden sole shoes from 1940 became a fashion hit. While the wooden sole shoes from the



**Ty jsou roztomilé!**  
Tak se vyjádřila naše milá známá Lída Baarová o dřeváčkách. Při svém zlínském hostování nezapomněla se stavit v prodejně Baťa a vybrat si několik párů vzdušných dřeváček. - Foto Pestrý týden

The famous film star, Lída Baarová, as the face of the Baťa advertisement for wooden sole shoes, 1940.

First World War<sup>8</sup> are still linked to the saying: 'He came off badly as Baťa with wooden shoes', as they were neither attractive nor comfortable, during the Second World War Baťa had an immense success with his wooden sole shoes. This was mainly due to their availability. They cost from 55 to 75 crowns, which was a price not so different from the price of leather shoes; nevertheless, most of the wooden sole shoes did not require a ration voucher to be bought. The choice was so wide and varied that everybody could find a design to suit them. Baťa had shops in all towns, only in Prague there were 60 during the Protectorate. People used to say: 'Where there is a church and a police station, surely there also must be a Baťa's shop.'<sup>9</sup> Baťa footwear was to be available to everyone, not only because of the number of



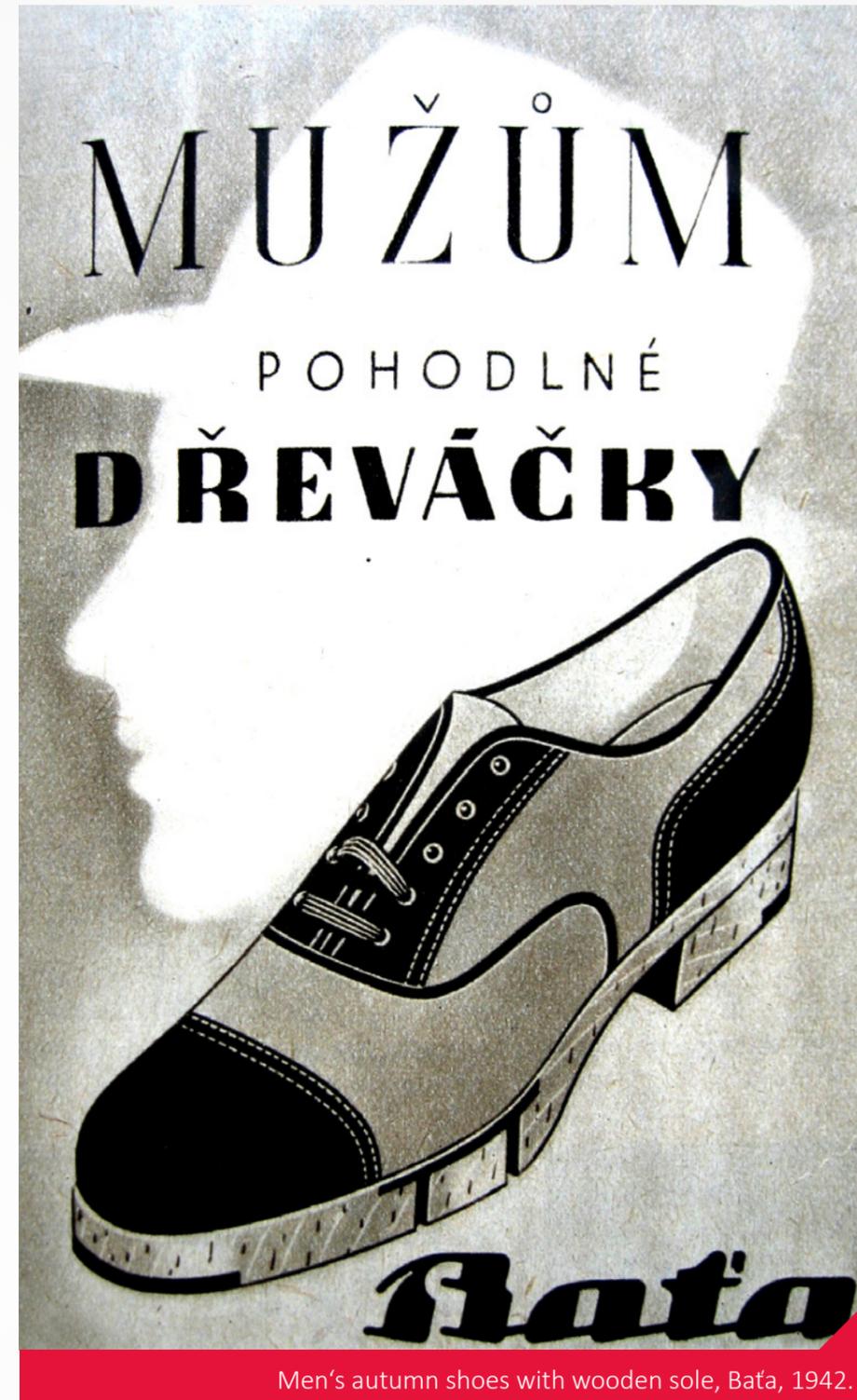
**„MILIONÁŘKA“ ve Zlíně.**

Naše oblíbená filmová umělkyně Adina Mandlová hrála ve Zlíně titulní roli v Shawově hře: „Milionářka“. Ani ona neopomněla navštívit prodejnu Baťa, kde si dala nohy osvěžit pedikurou a masáží.

At the end of the summer a photographer also caught Adina Mandlová in front of the Zlín shop, 1940.

shops but also affordable price. What is more, the customers were to be treated like kings, even though they purchased 'only' wooden sole shoes. Even shops in small towns offered complex service and a single shop assistant was trained in such a way that he managed to deliver practically all the types of service Baťa Company offered. That was the reason the wooden sole shoes became so popular.

A surviving witness of and a participant in the events surrounding the assassination of the acting Reichs protector Reinhard Heydrich, Alois Denemark, remembered: 'And so we were dressed; barefoot in summer and in winter wearing wooden shoes.'<sup>10</sup>



Men's autumn shoes with wooden sole, Baťa, 1942.

The winter wooden sole shoes were from felt with a leather toe and counter and they were rather unwieldy. While wooden sole shoes were a hit in summer, in winter, whoever could, preferred quality leather footwear.

The summer wooden sole shoes were usually colourfully decorated, but they were also made in two colours or only one. The first spring designs mostly looked like sandals with straps linked with a central strap, half closed heel and they were fastened with a press stud or lacing on the instep. Soon, however, also more



A girl's wooden sole shoe in combination of sailcloth and leather, Baťa, from 1941, photographic collection of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín. Photo by Vladimír Kubík.



A ladies' wooden sole shoe with textile upper, Baťa Zlín from 1940, photographic collection of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín. Photo by Vladimír Kubík.

closed design was on offer. Basically, they resembled children's footwear. The sole was made from beech wood, and for greater flexibility it was split in the front part and reinforced with leather pegs and metal plates. The heels were of different height.

The wooden sole shoes were made not only for women but also for children and even for men. *'This year, every self-respecting boy wants at least one pair of shoes with wooden sole.'*<sup>11</sup> This may have been because of the clatter sound they made, as otherwise they nearly looked like girls' shoes; only the colouring was muted. The wooden sole shoes simply became *'the queens of the spring'*,<sup>12</sup> which manifested itself also in the magazines, which were flooded with Baťa's advertisements for this novelty.



Sahara sandals were popular ladies' summer footwear in the 1930's, probably by Hermann Hirsch Holice, 1937-1939. The National Museum, H8-19.695. Photo by Alžběta Kunstátová.



Ladies' evening shoes of Božena Čiperová, Jiro-shoemaking factory, Zlín, 1938. The National Museum, H-20.749, before restoring. Photo by Alžběta Kunstátová.

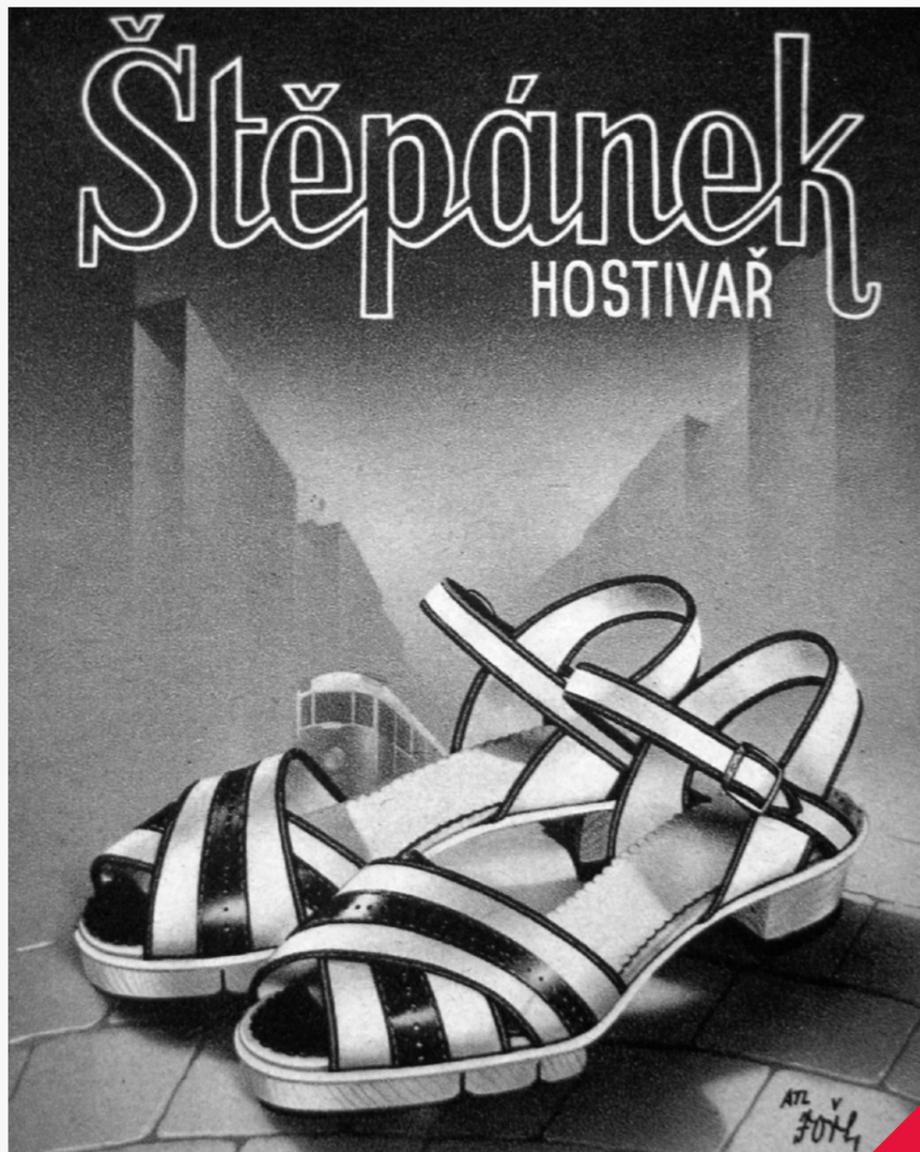
Their suitability for trips to lakes and rivers and countryside was mentioned, as well as their ventilation qualities, comfort, protection against dampness, hot pavements and sharp stones, elegance and style, hygiene and a great variety of models. They were said to go with any clothes, even formal; they were suitable for work, as well as afternoon tea or a holiday in a spa town.

The reality in the streets was, however, somewhat different. Most of the women continued to wear leather shoes and with formal clothes they preferred to wear court shoes or English type shoes. Very popular during the 1930s were also so-called Sahara sandals. All those film stars that had their photographs taken with wooden sole shoes for advertisement, acted in leather shoes. Only Nataša Gollová wore a pair of wooden sole shoes



in the film *Konečně sami (Alone, at last!)*<sup>13</sup> and Věra Ferbasová in the film *Provdám svou ženu (I'll Marry off My Wife)*<sup>14</sup>. The wife of Zlín Lord Mayor, the Protectorate Minister of Public Works and a Director of Baťa Company, Dominic Čipera, Božena, also wore a quality shoes made to measure by a shoemaker,<sup>15</sup> and not the cheap ready-made shoes, which her husband 'produced'.

Together with footwear sold by Baťa, also company Papež, who had a shop on the corner of Národní Street (renamed Avenue-Viktoria during the Protectorate) and Na Perštýně Street, offered footwear which could be bought without ration coupons. Papež used other substitute materials, such as sisal,<sup>16</sup> artificial leather and cork. Their wooden sole shoes were varied and full of ideas, incomparably more elegant than those of Baťa, nevertheless the



Wooden sole shoes, Štěpánek Hostivař, 1940.



Combined working footwear, 1944. The National Museum, H-20.088. Photo by Alžběta Kumstátová.

choice of designs was not so extensive and prices were higher.

The second biggest producer of wooden sole shoes after Baťa was Štěpánek Hostivař. The wooden sole shoes from this company were slimmer in shape, their sole was of a different shape and they had two typical wide straps crossed on the upper. The heel was open. Later even Štěpánek conformed to the most popular type of wooden sole shoe and made wooden sole shoes similar to those of Baťa.

Company Obuv Krása (Footwear Beauty) Prague offered wooden sole shoes with knitwear from natural materials. One of the oldest shoemaking factories, Mnichovohradištská, was up to their ears in debt at the beginning of the war and soon closed the production. The new owner, Václav Beneš, turned it into a dry cleaner's. The wooden sole shoes were a swan song of this company. They looked very much like those from Baťa.

With the advent of wooden sole shoes, which were worn not with stockings but with turned down socks or bare feet, smooth legs became mandatory. It was possible to buy depilatory creams at chemists', drugstores and perfumeries. *'I'm telling you again, the hairs are bad for beauty, use DEPILAS, it gets rid of them fast!'* or *'Some like hairs, some don't. In any case help is at hand. It is called DEPILAS.'*<sup>17</sup> shops vied women to buy the depilatory cream. The advertisements bore pictures of extremely hairy legs, something that makes us smile today.

Quality custom-made production did not finish with the establishment of the Protectorate. Most of the producers offered luxury models. Baťa manufactured small series of footwear for a demanding customer or exhibitions until the introduction of the ration system. It was possible to purchase these in the American department of the company. Production of footwear from snakeskin and other rare materials stopped after the beginning of the war due to the lack of quality materials.

Even standard leather footwear became scarce and when buying it people did not care so much about it being fashionable as being durable: *'For a ration coupon – shoes of value! If you have a footwear coupon, consider carefully which shoes to choose. We advise – go for practical elegance. Buy smart, comfortable shoes from good material and of a good quality,'*<sup>18</sup> Announced advertisements. Based on the slogan that the value of the footwear is determined by its durability, the elegant court shoes decorated with snakeskin were substituted with English type shoes resembling men's low shoes.<sup>19</sup> Leather for making shoes was in such a short supply that people bought it in black market for exorbitant prices. Bohuslav Březina paid in 1943 eleven thousand



Ladies' felt knee boots, 1940-1945. The National Museum H8-19.798. Photo by Alžběta Kumstátová.



Men's luxury shoes of Yorkshire cut, 1938-1939. The National Museum, H8-20.739. Photo by Alžběta Kumstátová.

crowns for eleven pieces of leather. A shoemaker clandestinely made him three pairs of shoes from four pieces of leather; that means that a pair of so obtained footwear cost around 1,000 crowns.<sup>20</sup> In 1945 a pair of men's leather footwear on the black market soared often up to 5,000 crowns.

In spite of the fact that the ration system gave preference to working clothes and footwear, it was often impossible to get working boots made from leather. Working boots, with which miners were issued in 1943, had mostly wooden soles. The result was that the majority of miners in Ostrava went down the pit in



Ladies' shoes of the so-called English type, Baťa, 1941.



Ladies' shoes of the so called English type, probably Štěpánek Hostivař, 1939. The National Museum, H8-18.694. Photo by Alžběta Kunštátová.

1944 in old worn down shoes or even barefoot. The Unions tried to help by organising a collection of footwear for working people.<sup>21</sup> Also some of the footwear issued to Totaleinsatz workers (forced labour for or in Nazi Germany) building for instance railway tracks or digging trenches in the border areas, had wooden soles. German Army in Russia also used similar type of footwear. This was footwear made of combination of felt and leather with wooden sole.<sup>22</sup> Low shoes were worn inside. According to a surviving witness, walking in such footwear was extremely difficult and the workers commented that Germans could not seize Stalingrad wearing such footwear.

Felt knee boots, which appeared just before the war, were far more comfortable and becoming. It was also footwear combined of felt and leather, but the sole was made from leather



Adina Mandlová in an advertisement photograph for Baťa stocking repair shop, 1940.

or from raw rubber. This type of footwear was inspired by folk felt boots from Moravian Wallachia. As long as a woman had a coat and a pair of felt knee boots or meltons,<sup>23</sup> it was all she needed for winter. Zita Kabátová remembered in her book of memoirs that when she in 1939 acted in the film *Její hřích (Her Sin)*<sup>24</sup> in the film studio in Radlice, where it was freezing, when shooting a scene in bed, she not only was fully dressed under the duvet but also had her felt knee boots on. Her film partner, Zdeněk Štěpánek, summed the situation up: 'Well, Zita, you would hardly seduce me dressed like that!'<sup>25</sup> Felt knee boots were seen as practical if not elegant footwear. Shoemakers made them to order, but some companies produced them as well, for instance Papež.

Those who bought leather footwear before the start of war and especially before the introduction of ration system were all right. People, still remembering the First World War, stocked in



Wooden wedge platform sole shoes, Papež, 1941.



Ladies' shoes on a massive platform and with fashionable edging. Krása, 1944.

the summer of 1939 not only on food but above all clothes, fabrics and footwear. Only in September 1939 sales of footwear at Baťa Company grew by 250%.<sup>26</sup>

Welt low luxury shoes from the collection of modern textile in the National Museum represent a symbol of shortage and mainly the holocaust. They are made from cow leather and are of Yorkshire cut. After more than seventy years they gained their rightful place and the life story of their owner should not be forgotten. The footwear was found, with tens of other pairs of shoes in original boxes, together with unused leather in a concealed space in a false ceiling during a house reconstruction in Prague. Judging by the type of processing, on an English sewing machine, and dating, it is most likely that these items were hid-



Wooden wedge platform sole shoes, Baťa, 1944.



Shoes on the so-called American layered platform, 1944-1945. The National Museum, H8-10.200. Photo by Alžběta Kumstátová.

den by a Jewish shoemaker, who never returned to his house after the war. He was not the only one. Hundreds of other shoemakers were similarly stricken, for shoemaking was among the typical Jewish trades. Not even the famous shoemaking company of Friderich Ladislav Popper in Chrudim, which produced footwear from the beginning of 1941 under the logo Polický-Riekr.<sup>27</sup> escaped being Aryanised. It was also in that year that F.L. Popper died.<sup>28</sup>

Low shoes, whether men's or ladies' belonged among the most valuable items in one's shoe cabinet. Example of such footwear is a ladies' street sports footwear of a so-called English cut, which could be worn throughout the whole year. They only differed from similar men's shoes by their narrowed toe. Decorative tassels on shoelaces were popular. Adina Mandlová wore such footwear in 1943 when she got married to painter Zdeněk Tůma.<sup>29</sup> If the shoes were combined from two types of leather and decorated with perforation, they were called Oxford shoes. Similar to English type shoes they could be on low or high heel and were suitable to be worn with a formal suit. While before the war they were not very popular, at the time the trend of general thrift and practicality prevailed due to pan-European political situation, they became a suitable accessory for the equally practical and sensible English suits as well as street dresses.

The shortage resulted in footwear being repeatedly repaired. In the central repair shop of Baťa in Prague Vršovice alone there worked 190 shoemakers and the repair shop gathered repairs from all sixty Prague shops. The working week only had five days; nevertheless, fifteen to sixteen thousand pairs of footwear were repaired weekly.

Using massive footwear platforms became a symbol of certain crudeness and fighting spirit brought into the fashion by the war. Apart from English shoes and wooden sole shoes it was mainly wedge platform. It appeared nearly simultaneously with the establishment of the Protectorate. 'Today nobody is puzzled by the fact that even an elegant woman wears massive footwear on her feet,' assessed this trend the editor of *Pestrý týden* (Colourful Week) three years later.<sup>30</sup>

Italian king of footwear, Salvatore Ferragamo, experimented with a comfortable shape of a sole that would support the whole foot as early as the 1930's.<sup>31</sup> He tried to construct a shoe so that the load would be equally distributed on the surface of the whole foot, not only on toe and heel as was usual with court shoes with high heel. Having experimented with a steel spring, he turned to compact wedge heel made from light cork, covered with leather. The wedge supported the foot along its whole



Wooden sole shoes with the platform imitating cork, Baťa, 1944.

length. The customers were not too keen, to start with as the classic court shoes with slim heels seemed more attractive but then the war came and Ferragamo's invention was just made for wooden sole footwear.

The first 'wedges' described as 'American novelty'<sup>32</sup> appeared in Czechoslovakia in *Colourful Week* in 1938. A year later they were already produced by Papež.<sup>33</sup> They were closed, with shoe-laces finished with leather tassels, but soon they were used for sandals as well. The platforms came in a number of shapes and could also be made lighter with a number of cut-outs. Soon also other manufacturers, such as Kudrnáč, Navara Kolín or Štěpánek, started to produce wedged footwear.

In the spring of 1942, Štěpánek was the first to accept the so-called American, i.e. layered wedge. This then became fashionable, unbelievably, for nearly 15 next years to come. Baťa Company, on the contrary, took a conservative approach towards the



V. Neubert, Praha. Münchner Illustrierte. **Báječná móda, tyhle střevíce s korkovou podrážkou... Tak se aspoň zbavíme těch dvou protivů, co nás stále pronásledují.**

A foreign joke making fun of the fashion of massive cork platforms, *Colourful Week* XIV No. 37, 16.9. 1939.

wedge platform and introduced it much later than other producers.

In the last but one war year the soles started to imitate cork. This natural material, however, also came under rationed materials, so in fact these were wooden soles with cork pattern, which gave them appearance of being lighter..

## Conclusion

The period of the Protectorate was the period, which shaped fashion footwear more than any other period. Ration system killed the production of quality footwear from leather right at the beginning. While it was possible to buy in the shops during the war a men's low shoe made from textile with leather toe and counter on wooden sole for 65 crowns, real leather footwear could only be got with a ration coupon, which means it was practically unavailable and the black market offered leather footwear for thousands of crowns. At the same time the Protectorate was a period, which brought innovations into fashion. It was the war shortage that made the wooden sole footwear so successful. The major producer was Baťa Company in Zlín. Footwear with wooden sole and uppers from natural materials as well as wedge platforms made home in women's shoe cabinets for long years to come and still are there today.

- 1 *Pestrý týden (Colourful Week)*, year XV, No. 20, 18.5.1940.
- 2 BURIANOVÁ, Miroslava. *Móda v ulicích protektorátu. Život – oděv – lidé. (Fashion in the Streets of the Protectorate. Life – Clothes – People)*. Prague: Grada, 2013, p 286. ISBN 978-80-7036-397-3.
- 3 *Pražský ilustrovaný zpravodaj (Prague Illustrated News)*, year XXIV, 2.12.1943, No. 49.
- 4 Regenerated plaited cellulose
- 5 <http://www.blatensko.com/o-blatensku/historie-mesta/18>. 6. 2015.
- 6 SEDLAKOVÁ, Martina. *Ve jménu lásky. Život a činnost řádových sester na přelomu 2. a 3. tisíciletí (In the Name of Love. The Life and Deeds of the Nuns at the Turn of the Third Millenium)*. Diploma thesis, the Faculty of Arts, Pardubice University, 2009, p 68.
- 7 Song: Who knows what that clatter is. Slavík's Jazz Orchestra. In: *Eight Steps to a Time. Feature advertisement film for the spring collection of footwear for 1941*, directed by Elmar Klos, Zlín 1940.
- 8 Also the biggest Baťa's competitor, F.L. Popper, made during the First World War footwear with wooden platforms. Small circles from waste leather were attached to the soles, so that the wood would not cause slipping while walking. Archives of the National Technical Museum, Klepl's collection of reminiscences, collection No. 791, p 8P.
- 9 From reminiscences of a former Baťa employee, Jan Knap.
- 10 A documentary of the Czech TV: *Šil jsem u Kubiše (I Had My Clothes Made by Kubiš)*. 2010.
- 11 *Colourful Week*, XV, No. 30, 27.7.1940.
- 12 *Colourful Week*, XV, No. 14, 6.4.1940.
- 13 *Alone, at last! A comedy starring Nataša Gallová, Miroslav Homola and Růžena Nasková*, directed by Miroslav Cikán, 1940.
- 14 *I'll Marry off My Wife. A comedy starring Vlasta Burian*, directed by Miroslav Cikán, 1941.
- 15 *Formal shoes on high heel, company Jiro (A. Jirousek, shoemaking factory in Zlín)*, 1938. The company mainly made sports shoes and water sports shoes but also offered custom-made luxury footwear. (The National Museum, H8-20.749).
- 16 Textile fibre from the leaves of agave.
- 17 *Colourful Week*, XVI, No. 26, 28.6.1941; *Hvězda (Star)*. XVI, No. 27, 4.7.1941.
- 18 *Jas (Glow)*, XIV, No. 45, 8.11.1940.
- 19 *Colourful Week*, XVIII, No. 10, 6.3.1943.
- 20 *The national Archives, collection Adolf Hrubý, karton 1, sign. 48-4*.
- 21 BRANDES, Detlef. *Češi pod německým protektorátem. Okupační politika, kolaborace a odboj (The Czechs under the German Protectorate. Politics of Occupation, Collaboration, Resistance) 1939-1945*. Prague: Prostor (Space), 1999, p 380. ISBN 80-7260-017-6.
- 22 *The National Museum, H8-20.088*.
- 23 *Meltons; also footwear combined of molleton and leather fastened mostly with press studs, sometimes buckles on the instep. These were ankle high boots with heels of different heights. In men's version some home producers called it diplomate footwear*.
- 24 *Její hřích (Her Sin)*. A romantic drama starring Zita Kabátová. Directed by Oldřich Kmínek, 1939..
- 25 KABÁTOVÁ, Zita. *Lidé a lásky mého života. Memoáry slavné české filmové legendy (People and Loves of My Life. Memoirs of a Famous Czech Film Legend)*. Prague: BVD, 2006, p 138. ISBN 80-903754-3-X.
- 26 VLČEK, Lukáš. *Němci v Protektorátu Čechy a Morava v prvních měsících okupace (Germans in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in the First Months of Occupation)*. In: *Válečný prožitek české společnosti v konfrontaci s nacistickou okupací (War Experience of Czech Society in Confrontation with the Nazi*

*Occupation (1939-1945). Sborník příspěvků ze symposia k 70.výročí vypuknutí druhé světové války (A collection of contributions from the Symposium at the Occasion of the 70th Anniversary of the Start of the Second World War). [Authors of the contributions Jana Burešová ... et.al., edited by Zdeněk Hazdra], p 108. ISBN 978-80-87211-38-0.*

- 27 ŠTÝBROVÁ, Miroslava. *Boty, botky, botičky (Shoes, Shoes, and More Shoes)*. Prague: Lidové Noviny, 2009, p 175. ISBN 978-80-7106-986-7.
- 28 Klepl's collection of reminiscences, collection No. 791, the Archives of the National Technical Museum, p 13P.
- 29 The Archives of the National Museum, Photographic Collection *Práce a Národnopolitika - osoby (Work and National Politics – People)* carton 14, Inv. No. 2182.
- 30 *Colourful Week*, XVII, No. 9, 28.2.1942.
- 31 ŠTÝBROVÁ, Miroslava. *Boty, botky, botičky (Shoes, Shoes and More Shoes)*, Prague, Lidové Noviny, 2009, p 194. ISBN 978-80-7106-986-7.
- 32 *Colourful Week*, XIII, No. 33, 13.8.1938.
- 33 *JAS (Glow)*, XIII, No. 9, 24.2.1939.

# Is a single shoe in need of its pair? The perception and significance of single shoes.

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Over the last ten years or so there has been a large amount of interest in the phenomenon of what is being called abandoned footwear, those usually single boots or shoes that have been discarded by the roadside. Many inconsiderate people litter so you don't have to go far in any town or out in the countryside to come across rubbish or abandoned material ranging from household items to clothing, but what appears to be more prevalent or at least more noticed and therefore commented on is the lone boot or shoe. They are usually worn but can also be new and in some case a pair.

These discarded items of footwear have brought to the surface some interesting reactions by people who have 'found' them. Responses to these discarded shoes seem to focus on the single abandoned shoe rather than a pair and so engage with the finder's emotions in what appears on the whole to be a negative way. In this context the shoes are perceived as 'sad' and even 'lonely' whereas a pair of shoes is seen as complete, directly relating to the wearer and not something that needs to be 'worried' about. This short paper will look at how single shoes are perceived, on the one hand in this modern perhaps over-emotional and negative way and contrasting this with how single shoes in superstitions and folk lore are seen as much more positive and therefore powerful objects.

This interest- possibly thought to be misguided by many- in the phenomenon of abandoned footwear is an interesting one.

Abandoned footwear and the interest people have in it can be seen in the proliferation of current websites set up to record through images where this footwear is found. For example Randall Lewis Hamilton established his One Shoe Diaries website [www.oneshoediaries.com](http://www.oneshoediaries.com) Personal circumstances made him take to travelling round North and Central America where he

was struck by the number of single abandoned shoes and boots he came across. He took pictures of the shoes with coordinates and posted them on his site encouraging others to add to his collection, which they have duly done. He has now gone further with his idea of a dedication shoe, where the single abandoned shoe is the symbol used to commemorate violent moments such as the Boston bombing in 2013. He writes that: *'Lost soles out there on the road, their discovery coincides with passing of an actual sole.'*

There was the One Shoe website [www.oneshoe.nl](http://www.oneshoe.nl) set up by Michel van Velde and Floris Derksen. They are architects by trade, but their interest was piqued by these abandoned shoes.

*"We have seen One Shoes, lying beside the road from Amsterdam to Beijing, in South America, Mexico and the United States. When you look carefully, you see them everywhere, abandoned by their owners. How did they get there? Why is it always one shoe and not two, let alone a complete pair? This mystery cannot be solved easily, but maybe with the help of you we can."*

They go on to request that if you see a roadside shoe to let them know so they can 'back track' the owner and solve the mystery, though this is perhaps a trifle difficult to do in reality. One could ask whether this desire to record the modern phenomenon of road side single shoes has echoes of the recording of concealed shoe finds or is it this influenced by the modern trend to personify items and imbue them with 'feelings'?

Their website is now called [www.lostshoes.nl](http://www.lostshoes.nl) which calls itself the matching site for shoes, where they decided to make a place for lonely shoes to meet, hook up and maybe find their missing half, with the tag line 'Lets support all those lonely shoes out there. Saving one pair can already make a difference.'

There are lots of explanations for why these shoes have been abandoned.

Shoes are more sturdily constructed than other types of clothing and therefore will last longer when abandoned outside. Leather shoes have a long life span as those archaeological leather shoes that have survived for hundreds of years can testify to. Other shoes made from synthetic materials by their very composition perhaps cannot withstand what the elements throw at them so well. At a very simple level shoes last, they have longevity and therefore it could be just that we don't see more of them but we think we do because other abandoned items have disintegrated more quickly.

It is also interesting to consider whether this fascination with abandoned shoes is just simply a reaction to the fact that the

'average' person has become increasingly aware if not a trifle obsessed by shoes - through the media, the cult of 'celebrity' designers and has developed an increasingly strong emotional attachment and sense of identity with the shoes that they wear?

But in contemporary life why are shoes abandoned? Judging by the various film clips on YouTube shoes are abandoned through sheer laziness and as a joke or prank. For example boys are playing football, kick the ball, their right or left shoe comes off and lands on a flat roof or gets caught up in tree branches. This is followed by a complete inability to put in any effort to retrieve the shoe. It therefore becomes abandoned. Quite what the reaction is when the individual goes home wearing only one is somewhat mind boggling. One can only imagine that their mother or father would not be so forgiving and insist of going back to get the 'abandoned' shoe. But perhaps if your shoes come from the cheap clothing shop Primark it's not such a problem. Other shoe abandonment is intentional such as shoe tossing, when shoes are tied together by their laces and then thrown somewhere inaccessible such as over power lines, high fences or into trees. Other theories include of course, the loss of one's shoes after a drunken night out!

I'm sure there are many reasons why shoes are abandoned from carelessness, drunken abandon and intentionally, but what seems to be underestimated is the effect a single abandoned shoe can have on the person who has discovered it. At this point if not earlier there will be many people who will shake their heads and think an abandoned shoe is just another example of rubbish that appears in our towns and countryside. But for others the emotional reaction an abandoned shoe elicits is very powerful and quite surprising.

'Jen-Zen and the One Shoe Diaries' by Julie Ann Shapiro is a novel that takes as its theme abandoned footwear and tells 'their' untold story. The main character in the novel describes this phenomenon: *"The forgotten shoes are everywhere: littering the side of the highway, floating in the tide, going upstream with the Salmon, or occupying a field like a dead body, discarded and left to rot."*

Shapiro herself has apparently experienced an emotional connection to abandoned footwear which has clearly influenced her character's perspective within the novel.

*"In Southern California I noticed flip flops and running shoes left behind on the beach, the freeways, construction sites and parking lots and felt this uncanny urge propelling me to write about them. I couldn't escape them, nor the unshakable sadness and loss I felt emanating from the shoes themselves. Why sin-*

gular shoes I kept asking myself? Is it a Cinderella complex? Is this a poem I should write or a short story? I wrote them all and then one pivotal day I remembered a time as a teenager when my friends and I played with an Ouija board and a shoe moved by itself. It was this big aha moment!"

Contemporary UK artist Tom Hackett recently created his installation "Once is an accident, twice is a revolution" comprising of a 1000 pink silicone jelly shoe forms placed to form a large floor sculpture. It dominates the visual field with a bright slightly undulating circular mass of pink. Tom was inspired to produce his jelly shoes by the abandoned children's single jelly shoes he found by the shore of a lake in France, when on holiday. Individually viewed they function as curious and intriguing objects, collectively they generate an extraordinary and displaced entity.

So why do people have this emotional response to abandoned footwear?



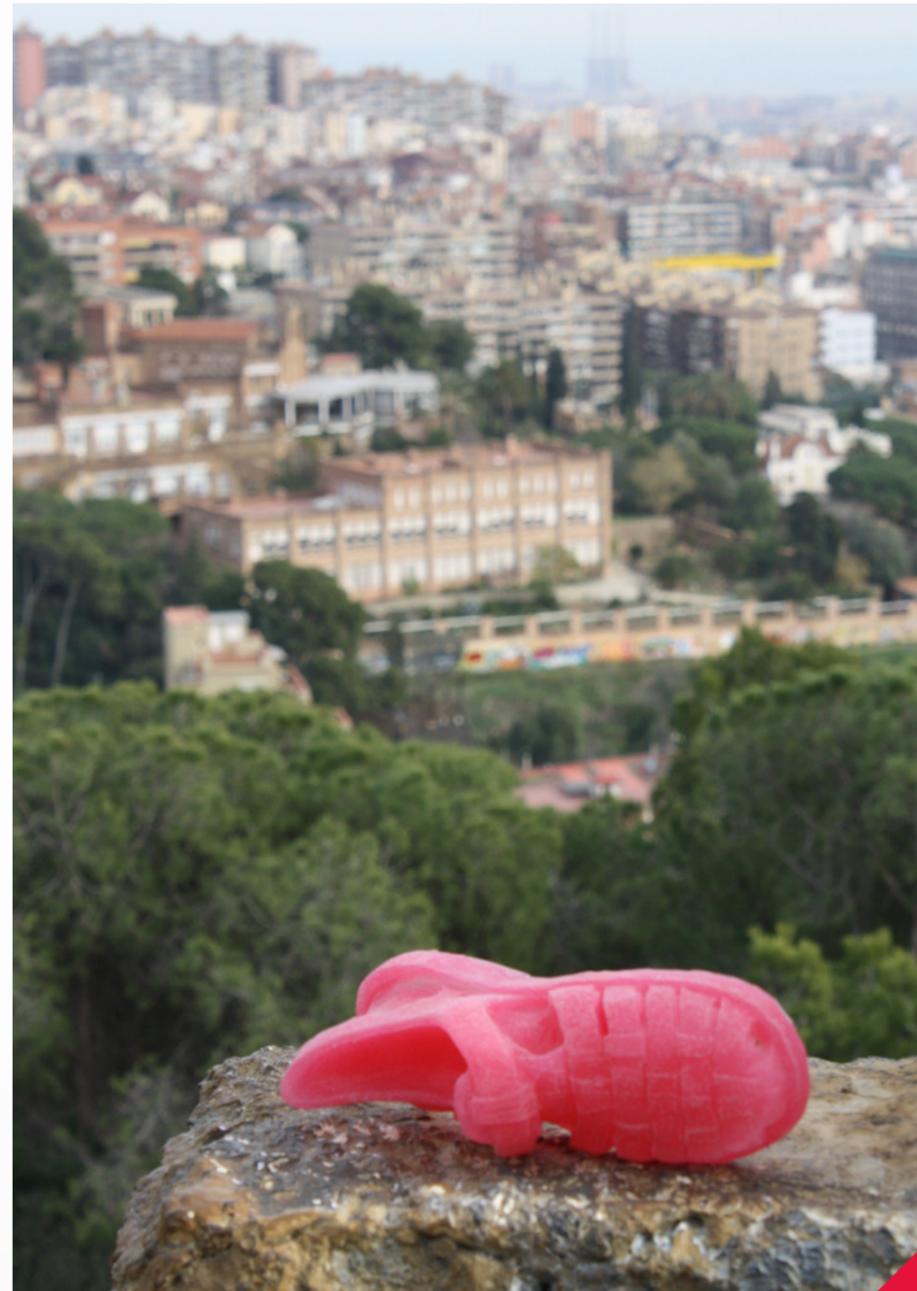
Tom Hackett, the author of the exhibition 'Once Is an Accident, Twice Is a Revolution'.



A silicone jelly sandal from Tom Hackett's exhibition.

Some of the websites recording abandoned shoes use the term 'lost soles'. Shoes are deeply personal items. They mould themselves to the foot of the wearer and when well-worn retain the shape of the imprint of the wearer. They do give rise to many different emotions, but take a worn pair away from its partner pair and the single shoe is often perceived rather more negatively - as sad, lost and abandoned rather than complete. A well-worn single shoe obviously still retains this human connection but when separated from its pair creates quite a different feeling.

This strong, often quite negative reaction to a single shoe can be seen in contrast to a pair. Jacques Derrida in *The Truth in Painting*, 1987 notes



An object from Tom Hackett's exhibition.

*"A pair of shoes is more easily treated as a utility than a single shoe or two shoes which aren't a pair. The pair inhibits, at least, if it does not prevent, the fetishizing movement; it rivets things to use, to 'normal' use."*

This can be seen when visitors to the shoe galleries or the store appear to be more comfortable looking at pairs of shoes particularly when they have been worn and have a clear personal story and context. It is interesting that nearly all visitors express a definite preference to see children's shoes as a pair. A never worn sample shoe, a new pair of shoes or a single shoe with a 'wow' factor don't seem to elicit the same emotive reaction as a worn pair with a personal story but replace the pair with a worn single and comments are noticeably different - *'How sad' 'Where is its other half' 'It's a shame it is on its own'* the shoes are viewed as one half of a whole in a very human way, in extreme it's like one half of a married couple missing presumed dead.

At a basic level we react to shoes because we all wear shoes and it is our own experiences and emotions that make us respond in certain ways and this is evident in our responses to abandoned single shoes. We personalise them and give them a life and character.

So on the one hand single shoes elicit a strong if negative reaction, which may seem ridiculous when contemplating abandoned shoes, but perfectly understandable when viewing the mounds of single and separated shoes violently taken from their wearers and owners at Auschwitz.

But when one looks at the role single shoes have played in folk lore and superstitions, it's often quite another story.



Tom Hackett's silicone jelly sandal.

Traditionally a single boot is tied to the back of the wedding car to symbolise the handing over of a daughter by her father to her new husband and to wish them a fertile marriage, echoes of the old woman who lived in a shoe, she had so many children she didn't know what to do.

It is recorded in the files by John Thornton, who was Head of the Boot and Shoe Department at Northampton College of Technology that as late as 1952 a Cheshire youth reported "When I have an exam they throw a slipper after me as I leave the house" Chambers Journal of 1873, mentions this well-known custom adding "We only mention it here to remind intending throwers that the shoe should belong to the left foot – there is no virtue in its fellow."

In this context single shoes are not 'sad' but have been used as a powerful tool, which can be seen by looking at the practise of concealing shoes.

As you are aware Northampton Museum and Art Gallery keeps the Concealed Shoe Index which was set up by Miss June Swann in the 1950s.

The whole practice of concealing shoes is a vast, still largely unknown entity, but what does come through is that a great many concealed shoe finds are of single shoes or multiples of single shoes. This raises the questions why? The practice of concealing shoes has a long history and there are many interpretations as to why shoes were concealed, by whom and when. In terms of the concealment of single shoes then the obvious logic would be that if a pair of shoes was available to conceal then a pair would be concealed to increase their 'power' but why was the decision made to frequently only conceal one of a pair. Many questions spring to mind. Who took that decision to only conceal one? Is there a bias between which shoe was picked, either the left or right? There doesn't seem to be a particular pattern of only lefts over rights and vice versa. So you conceal one shoe and the big question is what happens to the other shoe?

These questions are reiterated in a section called 'The Missing Shoe' of the PhD Touching Magic Deliberately Concealed Objects in Old Australian Houses and Buildings by Ian Evans.

There have been attempts to explain the missing shoe. June Swann in her article for Costume in 1996 highlights the investigation of a number of single shoes that were discovered in a well at Chenies Manor, Chorleywood, Hertfordshire. A local woman told investigators that the tradition of discarding well-worn shoes was that one would go to water and one to fire. Shoes are hidden by chimneys therefore going to fire, those in wells to water.

Another possible explanation for the single shoe has been put forward by Dr Carol van Driel-Murray of the University of Amsterdam's Archaeology Department. In her book *Stepping Through Time: Archaeological Footwear from Prehistoric Times until 1800* (2001) she notes during Roman times shoes were often deliberately hidden in wells and in prehistoric times in bogs. Roman deposits showing a distinct preference for left shoes or 'sinistra' The English word 'sinister' is derived from the Latin for left hand, as the Romans viewed left handedness as abnormal.

Van Driel-Murray believes that placing shoes in wells was a form of signature accompanying requests to the gods and it is possible that the right shoe was retained by the dedicant as a reminder of the contract'. She cites evidence for the deliberate placement of shoes in wells that were considered entry points to the underworld – echoes of the bronze shoes in Sue's talk.

John Chapman in *Fragmentation in Archaeology: People, Places and Broken Objects in the Pre-history of South-eastern Europe* (2000) looks at the ritual fragmentation of material culture in Mesolithic, Neolithic and Copper Age deposits in Balkan settlements. He suggests that broken pottery and other items were deposited as part of a practice he calls 'enchainment'.

*"The two people who wish to establish some form of social relationship or conclude some form of transaction agreed on a specific artefact appropriate to the interaction in question and break it into two or more parts, each keeping one or more parts as a token of the relationship"*

When looking at ancient symbols, the Masonic shoe represented by a blue slipper is symbolic of a physical confirmation of a spoken deed. To unloose one's shoes and give it to another person was the way of confirming a contract.

So there is this idea of a contract being made. The concealer of the shoe offers one and yet keeps the other to seal the bargain. Further questions are now raised in the sense that if this was an act of contract and the concealer thought they were entering into a contract, who were they entering the contract with and how or where do they keep 'their' shoe?

It's probable that these questions may never get explained, but what is interesting is the modern day reaction to a single shoe, for many people apparently it does need its pair or at least would be 'happier' with it and yet looking to folklore and superstition the single shoe has a distinct character and a more powerful role to play.

# Eperon D'Or - A new Project of the Museum in a Former Shoemaking Factory Building

Hilde Colpaert

Nationaal Schoeiselmuseum, Izegem, Belgium

With thanks to Raf Vandenberghe and Lieve Vandenbussche for their contribution.

We are lucky to be able to move our museum collection to a new place with historical and architectural importance. As it is, this historical building has started as a shoefactory, with the brand Eperon d'Or (golden spur). As such we get a very interesting connection between the concept and the content of the



building. This strengthens the project undoubtedly!

The building we are moving to was built in the years 1930 (no exact date known). It's a very nice example of the art deco-style which stood for modernization. Art deco wanted to break with the old, classic way of life (neogothics or neorenaissance were the symbols). The art nouveau was the first to contest the classic styles, but for the business people after the 1st world war the fluent lines and the many decorations didn't fit with their way of thinking.



So Theophile Vandommele, a successful shoemanufacturer in Izegem, wanted to show his well going business with a eye catching building. The Vandommele company had already a factorybuilding on this location. In the 30's, the time had come to demonstrate the success. The architect was from Izegem, not very known. But the stories of the descendants say that Theophile was the one who determined the view of the building. Especially, the crown topped tower makes the building impressive, even nowadays.

At the same time, Theophile had a house built for himself and his family next to the factory. Unfortunately, this house has been demolished in the 70's by the owner at that time.

Since the bankruptcy of the company in 1967, the building was sold, rented, redecorated and from the 80's on unused. The owner wanted to demolish the building at the end of the 90's but the city council had the building protected by the national government. In 2003 the city council bought the building.

Many discussions and searches for money later, we know that the new museum will be opened at Eperon d'Or early 2016.

We are convinced that the beautiful renovated building will give the collection extra charisma. Even more: Eperon d'Or will be a beacon of culture and tourism in the city. We are convinced it will become the symbol of Izegem.

## The new museum

The entire project can be split up three times in two parts: the building itself, the content and the collection.

The building has two parts: the front building along the street dating from the 30's protected by the government and the rear building that was the production unit dating from 1910.

We split up the presentation of the collection in the way the building is split up.

Shoes were made in the rear building. There we'll show the production and the life of the workers.

The front building was a state of the art showroom with the finished shoes. There we'll show the history of companies and industry and their promotion.

Izegem was known its his shoes, but also its his brush industry. Both industries have parallel lines: they started at the same time, grew and boomed at the same time and had their problems at the same time.

That's the reason why we show both collections, shoes and brushes, in the same location.

In the museum we do not want to limit ourselves to the industrial history and techniques but we'll give also attention to the social history and some typical leisure time for Izegem (or the region) in that period (1830-1970).

First I give a general view of the rear building. Later on I'll explain more about the history of the shoe industry in Izegem.

## Rear building

The rear building is the production hall. The visitor will get information about leather, workmanship and mechanization.

These three items of the shoe production are situated next to another in the same area (about 140 m<sup>2</sup>).

In front there will be a simulation of tan pits to present the leather part of the production. We decided to explain more about leather because it is and has been the most important raw material for shoes. Leather is becoming scarce and very expensive, but remains an interesting natural product, worthwhile to give enough attention.

The process from skin to leather is explained, old and new methods.

Izegem was known for its comfortable shoes. We had many people who testified that they had their shoes made in Izegem because these felt really good. As important as looking good, of course!

So we explain the way shoes were sewed by hand as well as how the shoes were nailed by hand. The pattern designer, the form maker, the cutter are as important as the shoemaker himself to obtain a perfect shoe.

We don't forget the stitchers, men or women, who provided delicate work for a fine shoe.



In Izegem the mechanization in the shoe industry came rather late. In the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century minds were gradually ready to work with machines. Eperon d'Or, for example, had its first machines only after the second world war. In the fifties all manufacturers went radically for mechanization.

We show the assembly line as she was in the fifties. Some machines are made in Izegem. Others are German, French but also Czech.

In the production hall we also show fragments of the social history of the workers.

What did workers in their free time? For shoemakers was the finch for example very important. While they were working they had their finch in a little cage with them. The bird had to learn to sing the right way. On Sunday morning the finch keepers gathered on the street. Every participant counted the number of right songs of another owner during a certain time. At noon the winner was known and they celebrated... and had a drink of course.

Politics and economical evolution influenced every day life. We offer some themes to the visitor.

For example: the battle between catholics and liberals for the vote of the working class - the difficulties of socialism to break through - the importance of having transport possibilities (Izegem had a train station in 1847 and there was a tramway from 1909 till the fifties) - waves of prosperity and decline - raising and disappearing industries, with on the one hand the social problems for the workers but on the other hand the persistence to start again with something new.

### Front building first floor

The history of the shoe industry in Izegem with the presentation of the most valuable and most important collection.

This collection is shown in the best decorated place of the building, a reference to the original use of this floor: representation and shoe sale.

This floor counts 6 rather small rooms.

The rooms are hidden behind these impressive windows in steel and drum sanded glass.

We split up our story in 6 parts. The story of each part is told by a representative person.

We want to display our collection and tell our story but we also want to show the building itself and its decoration. So the designer decided to put display cases in the middle of the room. The visitor can walk around and admire the room at the same time. Because the display cases lean on 'legs', the floor can be seen in its full beauty.

### Pioneer

The story of the growth of the shoe industry in Izegem starts around 1830, also the year that Belgium got independent.

There were already a lot of shoemakers in Izegem at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. 82 Izegem shoemakers made shoes for the army of the French occupier in 1799.

Eduard Dierick, son of a shoemaker, produced better shoes and succeeded getting higher class.



He obtained a patent from king Willem I of the Netherlands for his new system of making waterproof shoes and boots (1830). The council of Izegem organized a parade for him and he was officially welcomed in the city hall. Noble families ordered boots in his workplace and word-of-mouth advertising did the rest.

Dierick made a pair of boots for king Willem I as an expression of gratitude for receiving the patent. The exact copy is part of our collection. The upper part of a boot is made out of two pieces of leather. The leather has been roughened after wardsto look like buckskin. To make the boot waterproof, he used a pig bladder. The upper part and the sole are assembled with little copper nails. The fine decorations on the sole are made with these copper nails. On the heel he sewed the coat of arms and the words 'Kingdom' on the left boot and 'Netherlands' on the right boot.

After the independence of Belgium, Dierick made a similar pair of boots for the first Belgian king Leopold I for an industrial exhibition in Brussels in 1835. These boots belong to our collection as well.

Eduard Dierick taught the secrets of the profession to his son. His son wrote everything down, made the first Dutch manual for shoemakers ever and started teaching. His best apprentices became the later successful manufacturers of Izegem

### First mechanisation

One of them was Polydore Decoene. His brand was 'Le coq' (cock in English). His business went very well. To modernize he bought 8 machines to speed up production. We know what machines he bought, not the brand nor the look. These machines are from a catalogue from the end of 1890. So probably he had a Goodyear machine and a sewing machine. Anyway, his workers contested the arrival of the machines because they were afraid of losing their jobs and they were convinced that the quality of the shoes could not be the same. A certain morning in 1889 there was a riot at the plant. Police from the neighbouring village had to come to cool down the people.

Decoene decided to leave town and started up a plant in Antwerp. Strange enough some years later, he came back to Izegem and restarted his shoe factory. He maintained handicraft. Some other manufacturers in town started to mechanize after the world exhibition in Paris in 1900. Decoene waited some years, surely out of caution: wait and see. From 1909 on he mechanized his plant also.

This publicity from Decoene about 1900 proves the high quality of the lady boots and pumps he made. The medals confirm

his importance. His shoes were sold in Le Puy, a town in the south-central of France.

Other manufacturers in Izegem made similar shoes. The most known were Vandenberghe, Dejan, Bral-Donago, Crochon and Defauw.

### Shoe making education

I already mentioned that the son of Dierick, our pioneer, started to teach the craft of shoemaking.

From 1906 on these lessons became day lessons and from 1909 on they were recognized by the national government.

The technical school had many students because the shoemakers needed well trained workers. The school got such a good reputation that even the royal family of Belgium came to Izegem to order their shoes.

The teacher that took care of the relations with the royal palace was Leopold Hoornaert. After the Second World War King Leopold III couldn't return to Belgium because of political reasons. Teacher Hoornaert and the director of the school even went to his exile place in Switzerland to take sizes for shoes for the whole royal family. In 1956 the school became 'purveyor of the royal household'. Craft literature in 1961 confirmed the high quality of the school and increased his reputation.

The shoemakers education decreased as the shoe industry in Izegem, and Belgium, slowed down. At last it shut down in the early seventies.

### Golden years

The next room on the first floor focuses on the years of glory of the shoe production in Izegem: the 20' and 30'.

At that time our industry had its golden years. 'Les chaussures d'Izegem' represented quality shoes as well for raw material, for finishing as for comfort. Eperon d'Or, under the leadership of Theophile Vandommele, contributed a lot to this fame. The luxury ladyshoes of Eperon d'Or were top of the bill. In 1927 the firm became royal warrant for Belgium and in 1936 also for Luxemburg.

Eperon d'Or showed different models in the world exhibitions of 1930 Antwerp in and 1935 in Brussels.

Other companies of Izegem were also present. Their shoes were as good as those of Eperon d'Or but they didn't have the same charisma or didn't use as much promotion.

The shoes of 'Le Croissant d'Or', notice the reference in the name to Eperon d'Or, were chosen by Miss Universe 1931, a Belgian!



### After the Second World War

The decade after the Second World War was the period of the large shoe factories. Izegem had different companies that counted 500 employees. Izegem itself remained a rather small town of 20 000 inhabitants. The entire shoe industry employed 5000





people at that time. As the industry was located in the center of the city, the streets were very crowded. Remember that there was also an important brush industry in town with 3000 employees. You can understand that concerned mothers kept their children inside during work ending times because they could be run over by hasty workers.

By the end of the sixties the decline of the shoe industry became obvious. Eperon d'Or went bankrupt in 1967. Others followed or stopped their production. Different reasons caused this disaster for workers and manufacturers. The reasons are probably the same in other countries. I won't discuss this part of the history here and now. Maybe it can be a subject for a later occasion.

### **Saint Crispin**

As Izegem was a very catholic town, the patron of the shoemakers, Saint Crispin, was important. He gets also a place in the new museum.

Patron saints day meant a day off for the employees of the shoe industry. The festivity was used by the plant directors and the church to structure the free time of the workers. Shoemakers, and brushmakers too, liked to party in the local cafés. They drank usually too much and didn't always follow the rules.

So about 1900 the boss encouraged money saving, for example every week a little amount, and on Saint Crispins day the workers got after the morning Mass, beer, food – with meat, rare for the poor workers – and a cultural activity.

At this occasion people made music themselves. They sang a lot.

For example they had a Saint Crispins song on a very easy melody. There was a precentor and everybody sang along.

Read the lyrics and you'll understand: recreation and education in the same time!

*Who is the Patron of our party?*

**Crispin**

*Who taught us to use the form?*

**Crispin**

*Who gave us the zeal so great to knock leather on our lap?*

**Crispin, Crispin, Crispin, Crispin, Saint Crispin**

*Who loved his Patron and craft?*

*Who also cared for his soul?*

*Who suffered and died as a martyr*

*For shoemakers all around?*

**Crispin, Crispin, Crispin!**

# Shoemaking Trade in Slovakia

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This paper on the position of shoemaking trade in the structure of the society in Slovakia between the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries is an attempt, in a limited way, to mediate to the reader a mosaic from the trade's history, which, right from its beginnings, belonged among important and numerous trades. This contribution concentrates briefly on the development of guild organisations.

Life in towns, small towns and villages was closely connected to a numerous class of tradesmen, whose socio-economic status was so changeable that today it is hardly distinguishable. Trades that provided basic needs were the most frequently represented. One of these was shoemaking trade (shoemakers, cobblers). Old market places in which guests-colonists settled formed a new type of towns in Slovakia. A system of free royal towns endowed with privileges, with advanced self-governing system and personal freedom of their inhabitants also provided conditions for establishment of developed forms of crafts and trades. The colonists coming from more economically developed regions of Germany, Bohemia, Moravia and Austria used technologically more advanced processes. The 15<sup>th</sup> century is the period of the biggest expansion of towns in Slovakia. There were, however, still strong ties to agriculture and so even the most developed towns, such as Bratislava and Košice, profited most from exporting viniculture products. Conditions in the towns in Slovakia enabled forming a class of rich tradesmen, who were members of town councils. They therefore did not have to fight for their position as much as their counterparts in Germany or Bohemia. The non-conflict relationship between the tradesmen and the representatives of the town showed itself in the establishment of trades' guilds. While in Germany and Bohemia the guilds opposed secular powers, patriciate, formed by rich merchants (the result of which were uprisings), in Slovakia, the statutes were formed by the guilds themselves and their confirmation was more or less without any conflicts. In Germany, for instance, the town council required a guild master and even journeymen to

make a promise of loyalty and the council had a representative in each guild, which de facto controlled it. Establishing and confirming guilds in Slovakia was in the competence of the town council. The statutes were proposed and the contents confirmed by the masters of the guilds. Forming the guilds in Slovakia depended on power and authority of the given trade as well on as its economic power and from it derived share in the development of the locality. Among the influential trades, whose representatives were members of the town councils, were coopers, blacksmiths, furriers, tailors, butchers and shoemakers.

The biggest centres of trades in Slovakia were the free royal towns and mining towns – Banská Bystrica, Banská Štiavnica, Bardějov, Bratislava, Dunajská Streda, Kežmarok, Komárno, Košice, Kremnica, Krupina, Levoča, Nemecká Lupča, Prešov, Rajec, Trnava and Žilina. In all these towns we can see guild organisations from the 15<sup>th</sup> century; these were governed by obligations and rights, written in later years in the statutes.

According to Anton Špiesz, in his so far unrivalled work *Remeslo n a Slovensku v období existencie cechov' (Trade in Slovakia in the Period of Guilds Existence)*, published in 1972, shoemaking was the most widely spread trade. There were more than 120 shoemakers' guilds in Slovakia, according to Anton Špiesz, which was the highest number of trade guilds. In Slovakia, the statutes of nearly 60 guilds were preserved, many of which can be found in Hungarian archives. The oldest preserved original is the statutes of guild of the shoemakers in Podolíneč from 1415. The original is kept in Magyar Országos Levéltár in Budapest. The statutes of shoemakers-journeymen from Kremnica from 1465 are kept in archives in Kremnica. Other statutes and articles are preserved as copies from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Shoemakers organised in guilds often had to defend their position in various localities. Sometimes this struggle was successful and sometimes it ended up in defeat and then the position of shoemakers' guild in that locality would be weakened. Processing and manufacturing leather by tanners or processing and manufacturing leather by shoemakers – that was the problem which these two closely linked trades tried to solve already at the time of guilds. This relationship was also reflected in the context of the development of both trades. According to the statutes of shoemakers in Sabinov from the year 1562, the shoemakers were allowed to tan and dye leather as long as they knew how to do it. This loosely interpreted point of the statutes is a witness to a relatively strong position of shoemakers in Sabinov, in relation to their position towards the tanners.

The statutes of shoemakers' guild in Bardějov from the year 1592 prohibit shoemakers to process and manufacture leather, which indicates a strong position of tanners' guild in Bardějov at that time. The statutes of shoemakers in Trenčín from the year 1579 for instance forbid the shoemakers to buy horse skins and make footwear from them. It is clear that it was not the shoemakers who had this point included in the statutes voluntarily. On the other hand, the statutes of shoemakers' guild in Košice, written in 1568, state expressly that the members of the shoemakers' guild must not be prevented from processing and manufacturing leather. All this only confirms the permanent battle among the guilds. The examples document the fact that the guilds' position was variable and changed in different regions at different times. A proof of this is a competence dispute of tanners and shoemakers in Levoča. This altercation started in 1643 by a decree of the tanners' guild in Levoča (tanners' guild was established in 1544) stating that no shoemaker (*šustr*), saddler, shoemaker specialising in making boots (*čičmár*), cutler or even butcher or anybody else is permitted to process and manufacture leather, or have it processed and manufactured by a third party or sell it in the market, which documents the dominant position of tanners in Levoča. However, when the tanners of Levoča yet again accused shoemakers in 1680 of processing and manufacturing their own leather and asked the town council to forbid the shoemakers to process and manufacture leather and sell it in the market, the position of the tanners guild was weaker than in the year 1643, as the magistrate of the town Levoča decided in the same year (1680) that the shoemakers (*šustři*) have the right to process and manufacture leather. Documented existence of shoemakers specialising in making boots' guild (*čičmári*) in nearly one hundred places in Slovakia proves that this trade was widely spread in Slovakia. With a view to the undisputable fact that the mentioned specialised leather manufacturing trades could buy the basic raw material – leather – from craftsmen – tanners, tawers, manufacturers of cordoban – or process and manufacture it themselves within their own guild, it is clear that the beginnings of tanning and shoemaking trades can definitely be linked to the beginnings of guilds of leather processing and manufacturing organisations.

The authority and power of guilds generally as well as those in particular localities are confirmed, for instance by the articles gained by shoemakers' guild in Spišská Belá in 1783. It was written there that no shoemakers, tanners or cordoban manufacturers settled in Belá can produce their wares there without being

members of the guild. Certain prerequisites for gradual establishment of the rules and regulations were created, for instance, by the directive that the traders were to sell their wares at certain places only, that is the town determined where they could set up their shops. This was the base for the later legal rules on selling the produce. Similarly, undesired competition and number of products offered were regulated through a compulsory membership in a guild. Nobody could settle in a town and carry out their trade unless they got permission from the guild masters. Non-members (fušeři, štolíři from German Störer) were forbidden to carry out their trade and sell their wares within two or three miles from the town. Should guild masters discover such an illegal trader, they reported him to the town council and they also had the right to confiscate his wares without any compensation. Interesting are the statutes of shoemakers in Nemecká Lupča (today Partizanská Lupča). They state that a strange shoemaker can only sell his wares after the local shoemakers have sold their goods, with an exception of red shoes, which he can sell at any time to anyone. The statutes so clearly confirmed that the produce, particularly boots made from red caramasin, had a special position in the assortment of products (caramasin was special leather, for the production of which the tanners from Rajec were particularly known, that is why this leather was also known as *rajčovina*). We can presume that were the local shoemakers able to make such footwear, protection of 'red shoes' would be included in the statutes.



A lithograph of a shoemaker's workshop from 1650. It is interesting that this is in fact a cobbler – who only repairs footwear. Taken over from the publication Mummerhoff, E.: Die Handwerk in der deutschen Vergangenheit. Leipzig, 1901. Photo reproduced by the author.

In the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (and more often in the following century) the hegemony of Germans in guilds in Slovakia began to change. In the articles of many guilds it was emphasised, that master of the guild can only be a craftsman of German origin, respectively journeyman can only be a person speaking German. For instance in the statutes of the guild of furriers in Prešov from 1451 it is stated that the master of the guild can only be such a person who '*rechterdeutscher Nation ist*' (*is of really German nationality*). Similar requirement is included in the statutes of potters in Bardějov from the year 1475, and the same requirement is written even in the statutes from the year 1562. It is interesting that this requirement was also included in Slovak translation from the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The statutes of shoemakers in Košice from the year 1480, for instance banned a shoemaker to get married before making a master piece – '*majstrštik*' (in Slovakian '*majsterštuk*', from German *Maisterstück*). *Majstrštik*



An illustration of a shoemaker's workshop in Jan Amos Comenius's book Orbis Pictus. Comparison of a workshop from the 17<sup>th</sup> century with the illustration from the Comenius's book published in Levoča in 1739 shows, that the inventory of a shoemaker's workshop was practically identical. Photo: the author's archives.

represented a pair of turned down boots, a pair of farmers black boots, two pairs of (black and red) boots, a pair of lace up boots, a pair of ladies' lace up shoes, a pair of shoes with buckles and a pair of ladies footwear with button fastening. The material for this footwear was provided by the guild; therefore the wares were the property of the guild. If a journeyman did not comply with these conditions, he remained working with the master for another year. An important part of journeyman's life was a so-called 'vandr' (journey, travelling), which could take up to three years. Places where the journeyman travelled and the names of masters he worked for were recorded in a workbook. The guild rules also determined the number of apprentices. For instance shoemakers in Košice could not have in their workshop more than three journeymen and one apprentice. In Bardějov it was two journeymen and one apprentice. Apprentices in Bardějov were rewarded at the end of their apprenticeship with a coat and a pair of footwear by their master. In Podolíneč, where the oldest guild articles preserved are from the year 1415, the guild masters could have as many apprentices as they needed.

The term švec (shoemaker), which begins to appear in the documents from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, can be taken as an old name of a person who makes footwear. Among the very oldest written documents with this term are antroponyma Peter



Travelling book printed in 1827 with text in German and Slovak languages. Photo: the author's archives.



Symbols of shoemaking trade. Seal without location and dating shows in the seal field a relief of basic attributes of shoemaking trade. Three legged working stool (in Slovakian 'dajfúzka'), above it a mushroom shaped object, a tool that was used as a smoothing tool and weight not only in shoemaking trade but also other leather processing trades. On the sides of the seal there are stylised versions of a boot and a shoe. Relief motif of four symbols of shoemaking trade is framed with a plant ornament. The seal is a part of a collection of seals kept in Slovak National Archives in Bratislava. Photo: Slovak National Archives Bratislava.



The seal of shoemakers guild – Vrbové, 1693. The seal shows date 1693 in the top field. Under the dating there are relief symbols of shoemaking trade: a boot and a shoe, and a boot leg on a last. Under the products there is the shoemaker's working table (verpánek) and the basic shoemaker's tool (the shoemaker's knife) together with another shoemaker's aid – the smoother. The circle in capital letters: SIGILLVM\*COETVS\*ARTIS\*COHVNRARIORVM\*VERBO. The seal is a part of the collection of seals kept in Slovak national Archives in Bratislava. Photo: Slovak National Archives Bratislava.



The seal of bootmakers – Žilina 1827. In the seal field a shoemaker is sitting on the three legged stool (dajfúzka) holding a shoemaker's knife. In front of him there is his working table – verpánek. In the field there are also symbolically depicted a boot and a shoe. The representation of the aid – mushroom, smoother – again confirms the fact that this was one of the basic symbols of shoemaking trade. Dating in the bottom part of the seal is 1656. The circle in capital letters between two lines: SIGILLVM\*CEHE\*COHVNR\*SOLNEN. The seal is a part of the collection of seals kept in Slovak National Archives in Bratislava. Photo: Slovak National Archives Bratislava.

Schwezc from 1434, Matias Sswecz from 1453 and Andreas Czizmar from 1606. Only later development in the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries created two words in terminology – a shoemaker and čičmár (a shoemaker specialising in making boots) as two different terms. Jan Amos Comenius in his work Orbis Pictus (World in Pictures) (Levoča, 1739) already uses the term shoemaker: 'A shoemaker cuts leather with a shoemaker's knife and sews from it on a last with an awl and pitched thread footwear, boots, low shoes, peasant shoes, slip-on-shoes, pantofles, mules and slippers'.

Symbols of shoemakers were boots, shoes and slippers. Permanent symbols for shoemaking were the tools used in the trade. They were above all the shoemaker's knife, which was generally called 'knajp' in Slovakia; the other symbol of this trade was an object in a shape of a mushroom which was used by tanners,

shoemakers but also belt makers and bag makers as an aid. It is interesting that this aid had no official name. In terminology, including that recorded in Slovakia, which preceded the literary version or dialect version, this aid is just called a mushroom, or a polisher. It was used to hold and fix the leather, when the masters cut it on their workbench. In reminiscences of shoemakers this aid was also linked to finishing the surface of the leather; that is why the term polisher. The above mentioned objects appeared also on verifying items of the shoemakers' guild, above all on the seals, calling tables, ritual guild objects, coffers and vessels. Their veritable symbolism was transferred also to symbolic objects of shoemaking trade even after the guilds were dissolved. Among the pictorial symbols of the shoemaking trade in the era of guilds was also patron Saint Crispin. A unique is a seal of shoemakers' guild from Mošovce. The seal field is filled in with a dominant boot held by two lions. Surrounding the boot

are four shoemakers' tools. At the top- the aid mushroom-polisher, opposite the knife; at the bottom – an awl and a tool for preparing twine. Circular inscription in majuscule (capital letters) identifies the seal as that of the guild of the town Mošovce with the date 1702.

The shoemaking trade belonged, right from its origin, among the most numerous trades. At the time of capitalistic industrial society, when the footwear is produced on a large scale in factories, the handmade footwear gradually recedes. People in villages did not wear leather footwear until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. They only wore footwear at special occasions, for instance when they went to church on Sunday. A typical picture to be seen would be a young barefoot woman with boots hung over her shoulder or round her neck which she would then put on in front of the

church. Typical are also photographs of children witnessing to the fact that even in the 1920s and the 1930s wearing footwear was not usual.

According to statistics from 1921, 24,015 people worked in shoemaking industry in Slovakia. Out of those 13,720 were self-employed, including 5,667 journeymen and 5,403 apprentices. Within the following ten years there was a significant reduction in numbers of workers in trade workshops making leather footwear, the numbers were reduced by up to 12,868 people. It was not necessarily the result of industrialisation and concentration of production; this was caused mostly by worsening of economic situation and its influence on the shoemakers, which resulted in hundreds of workshops having to close. The craftsmen and tradesmen, namely those producing their wares on a small scale, were a sensitive 'litmus paper' reflecting the economic life of the country. In spite of the fact that we have no data on production of trades making leather footwear, should we take into account comparison of statistical data, we can conclude, that small-scale production in Slovakia took the biggest share up to the middle of the 1930s. Statistical data clearly show that even in the year 1930 in Slovakia the small-scale production prevails. In 1930 there were 39,179 firms producing footwear in the whole Czechoslovakia. Out of this number there were 7,988 shoemaking workshops in Slovakia. In 1930 in the whole of Czechoslovakia there were a total of 89,239 people working in the shoemaking industry. Out of these, 12,047 people were employed in the shoemaking industry in Slovakia. Also the material and technical base of the field, which supplied its products to the shoemaking industry indirectly proves the small-scale character of shoemaking production in Slovakia. In 1930 there were 324 shops with leather and shoemaking supplies in Slovakia (employing 679 people). Companies dealing in leather and other shoemaking supplies owned 102 cars. In Slovakia there were only 114 companies producing tools and aids for agriculture, trade and machinery, in which 462 people were employed. These companies could not have covered the needs of industry. In Slovakia, there was, for instance, only one factory producing tanning and shoemaking machines, in which 11 people were employed; and 6 companies producing jacks and fitting lasts with 9 employees. The industrial production, according to statistical data from the year 1930, was concentrated in 200 factories with 28,399 employees on the shop floor. To compare – in Bohemia there were 130 factories with 11,053 employees and in Moravia there were 63 factories with 16,935 employees. The statistical data

show clearly that concentration of production was most developed in Moravia, while in Slovakia the industrial production was represented modestly. These figures clearly point to small-scale production and a weak material and technical base of suppliers in Slovakia. Change came in the second half of the 1930s with advent of Baťa who established several factories manufacturing machines and aids for shoemaking industry as well as modern factories manufacturing footwear. In 1942 there were only 4,040 craftsmen – shoemakers in Slovakia outside the area occupied by Hungary. This unbelievably high reduction in numbers of craftsmen – shoemakers was the result of expansion of Baťa's industrial shoemaking. This topic will merit an individual study. We can, however, say even now, that the arrival of Baťa concern in Slovakia meant a fundamental and deciding turn in the development of shoemaking trade. The shoemakers who felt the pressure of the factory-produced footwear defended their trade by specialising in making such types of footwear the factory did not yet produce in the required quality. So for instance, for a time, they produced clodhoppers (working footwear), high boots, which were still in demand in the villages and by some social organisations, sports footwear (ski boots) and made to measure footwear including the orthopaedic one. It was a brief period of a relative prosperity, which threatened to collapse as soon as the factory produced the same item at a cheaper price.

The industrial production influenced the relationships in shoemaking trade both quantity and quality wise. The most important of these, I think, was mass production and fashion influence. Fashion has always been one of the attributes of footwear, right from its origin. For most of the inhabitants of Slovakia, however, footwear played only the basic role in so much that it protected feet from the climatic conditions and facilitated surer and safer movement, especially when working. Although footwear belonged among the basic needs, not everyone could afford it. Even as late as the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century many people in Slovakia only owned one pair of working shoes. Some social groups bought or had footwear made for festive occasions; such footwear was not worn every day and was generally called 'Sunday footwear'. And that is the problem, which, in its complexity and contradiction, influenced shoemaking trade in two ways. On the one hand the sociological fact that in some social context, especially in towns the 'fashion footwear' became a social necessity, which the poorer people bought instead of other things. Fashion created by mass factory production as well as limited buying power of some social strata considerably dis-

turbed hegemony of shoemaking hand production and its sales to customers. On the other hand, there arose a paradoxical situation in that, that the factory production also created a space for small-scale production, which was able to react with flexibility to the fashion requirements based on the individual needs and wishes of a customer. In this basic demand the hand-made footwear production survives until today. I can summarise the above speculation in saying that footwear (the same as clothing) can be strictly divided into working footwear and special occasion footwear. Working footwear was a necessary part of one's working life and occasional footwear (or clothing) was bought with a long-term use in mind. Occasional footwear (suit) lasted, respectively had to last several years, often even decades.

Today the hardly noticed and substantiated hierarchy of the trade and its social standing, is shown in a negative way as far as shoemaking trade is concerned in contrary to the guilds period when shoemaking trade (including boot making) ranked among the recognised and well regarded crafts. This was, for instance, shown in numbers of shoemakers represented in the local town councils. In the period when the industrial production of footwear starts taking over and the economic importance of shoemaking trade wanes, the social respect for this trade collapses. The research has shown that from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century shoemakers in Slovakia were among the poor strata; they were closer to proletariat than to middle class. Social awareness of that time considered them to be among the least important trades. There were several factors to consider when choosing a trade. Apart from the economic situation of the family, which automatically excluded some from certain trades (for instance goldsmiths, furriers, watchmakers but also butchers and millers...) there was another consideration to be made – the level of education. A boy from a poor family had to start earning money as soon as he finished compulsory school. Another consideration was physical strength. For 12 to 15 year old boys from poor families, which were not physically strong, the only alternative often was to become a shoemaker, a tailor or a shop assistant. Based on my own research I can confirm that in the era of the First Republic absolute majority of shoemakers' apprentices were boys from poor families. Compared to some other trades, learning the shoemaking trade did not require any financial outlay. That is why placing a son as an apprentice with a master shoemaker was sought after by poor families. Another characteristic of shoemaking trade in the era of the First Republic were family ties. The research confirmed that shoemaking appren-

ticship was agreed among the relatives. A shoemaker Hanula from Kremnica remembers: 'my father arranged in the pub that I will be apprenticed a shoemaker'.

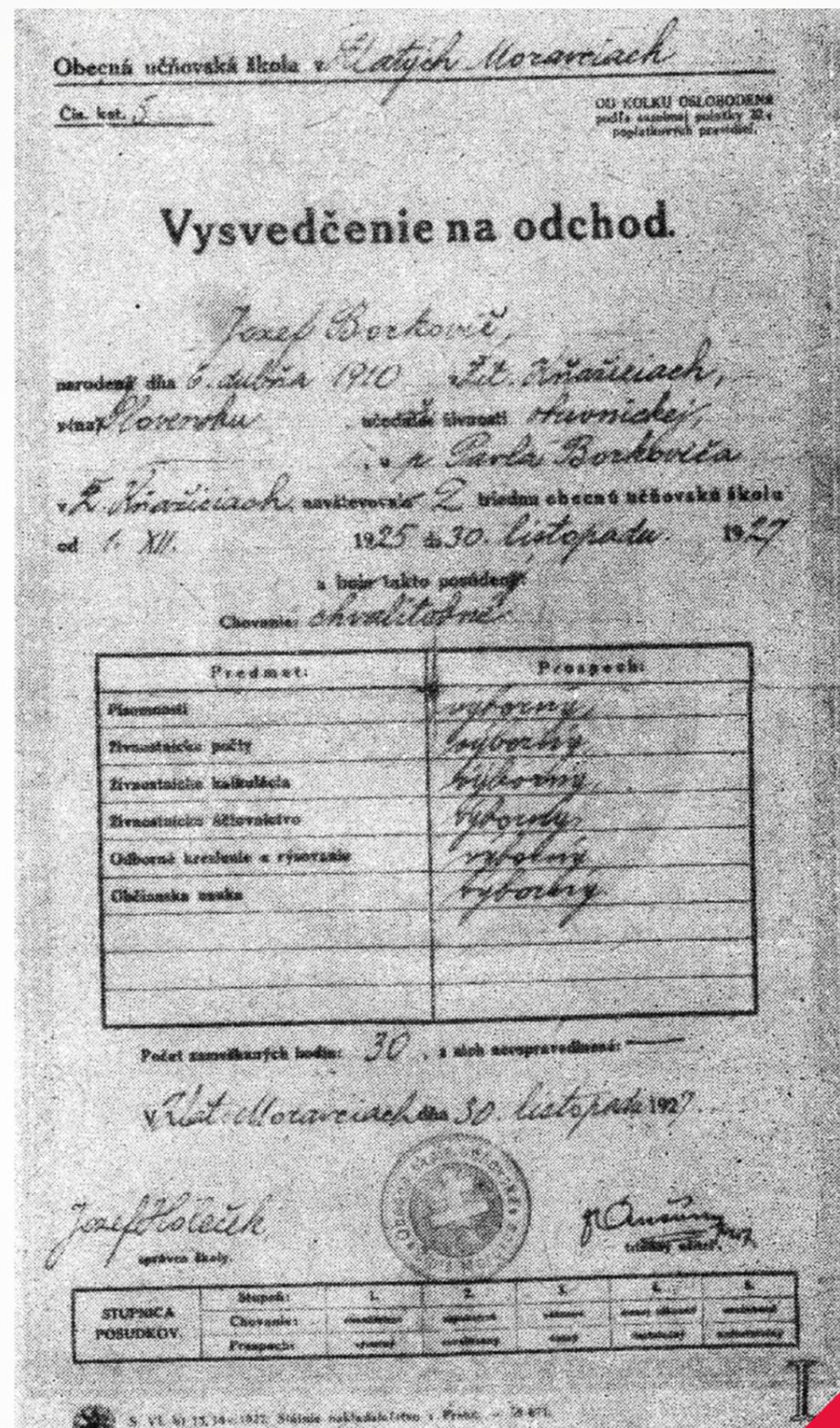
Apprenticeship was agreed between apprentice's parents and master shoemaker. Hungarian industrial law did not specify the period of apprenticeship. Trade law in the First Republic defined the apprenticeship period for two to four years (industrial apprenticeships two to three years). When an apprentice commenced his apprenticeship, an agreement was signed. The master had to deliver one copy of the agreement to the Trade Office, which registered the apprentice in 'The book of registered apprentices'. It was a criminal offence not to register an apprentice. As far as shoemakers were concerned, their agreement with the parents was mostly only verbal. And the new apprentice was also reported to the office only verbally.

In contrast to some other craft masters (for instance blacksmith, electrician and joiner) master shoemaker did not request to be paid for apprenticing a person.

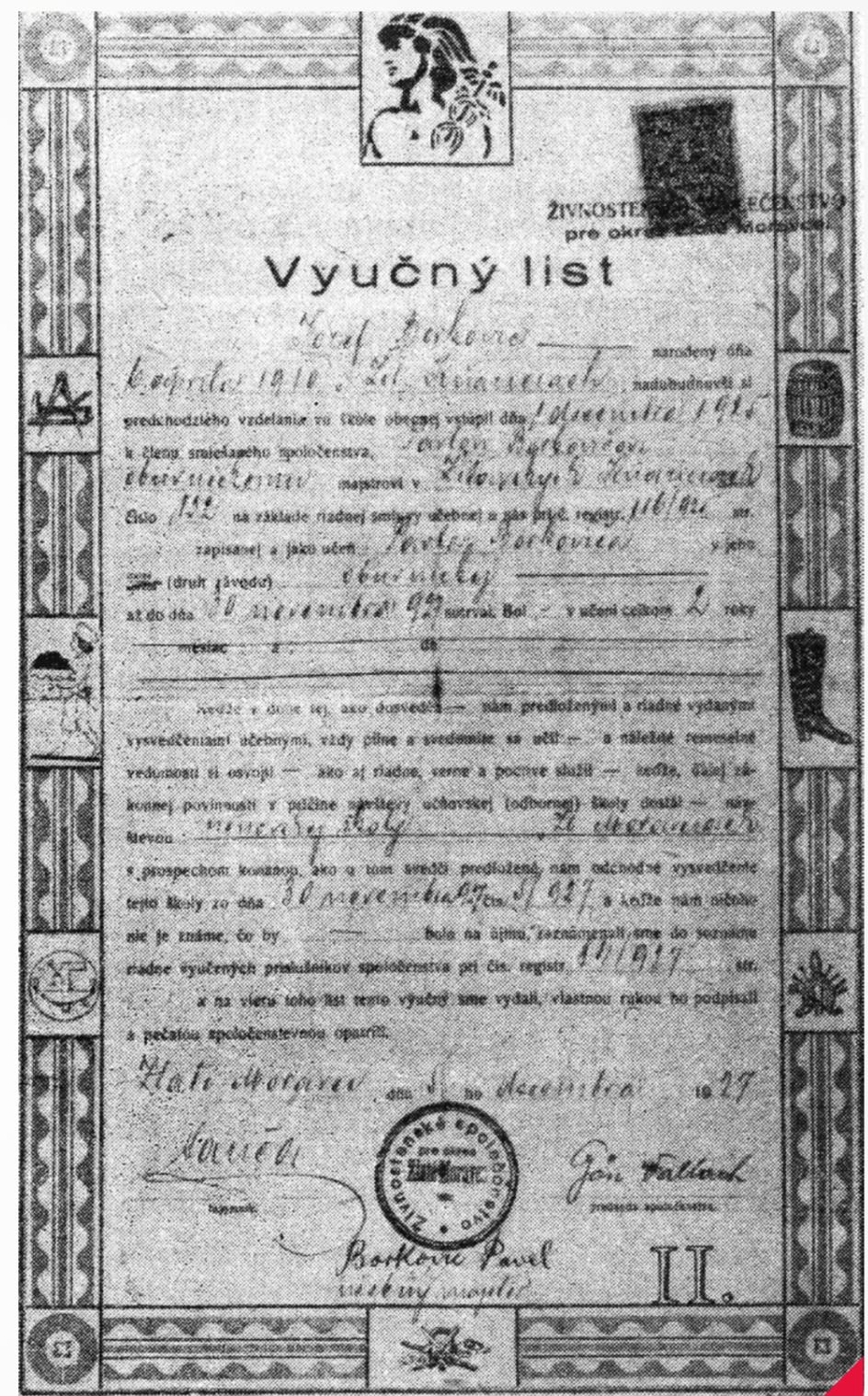
The position of shoemaker's apprentice did not show any important changes. A list of duties based on reminiscences of a shoemaker apprenticed between 1910 and 1913 and a shoemaker apprenticed between 1927 and 1930 shows, however, that social standing of an apprentice partially changed. While approximately until the 1920s the society tolerated corporal punishment and the saying 'an apprentice is more beaten than fed' was in fact a truth; in the later years a corporal punishment was considered immoral. In spite of that, the best educational motivation was an occasional tweak of an ear. A master was supposed not only to teach the apprentice the trade but also educate him morally. This was written even in the Trade Law. There was no job description for the apprentice, especially in the first year; all depended on tasks allocated by the master. For instance apprentices in villages were responsible for some tasks in the master's household, such as shopping for the master and sometimes also for the journeymen but also minding the children, perhaps working in the field, etc. All these activities were, of course, a part of the education. The list of duties differed with each apprentice and was a relic of the guilds period. Generally speaking, we can observe that where the trades had a long tradition, the relationship between the master and the apprentice was not only work but also personal subordination. On the other hand, with industrial apprenticeships such as an electrician or a turner, which were a result of capitalistic relationships, the relationship between the master and an apprentice was reduced to

learning the trade only. The function of the teacher and educator was finished. The basic duty of an apprentice in a workshop

was to help the master and the journeymen and at the same time watch them work. One could not talk about methodical, systematic learning, though. The master taught the apprentice at irregular intervals and showed him the way the footwear is



Leaving Report of Jozef Borkovič issued by General Apprentice School in Zlaté Moravce in 1927. The report shows that during the two-year apprenticeship (from 1. 12. 1925 to 30. 11. 1927) Josef Borkovič attained excellent results in six subjects: Correspondence, Trade Mathematics, Trade Calculation, Trade Accounting, Specialised drawing and drafting and Civics. Photo: the author's archives.



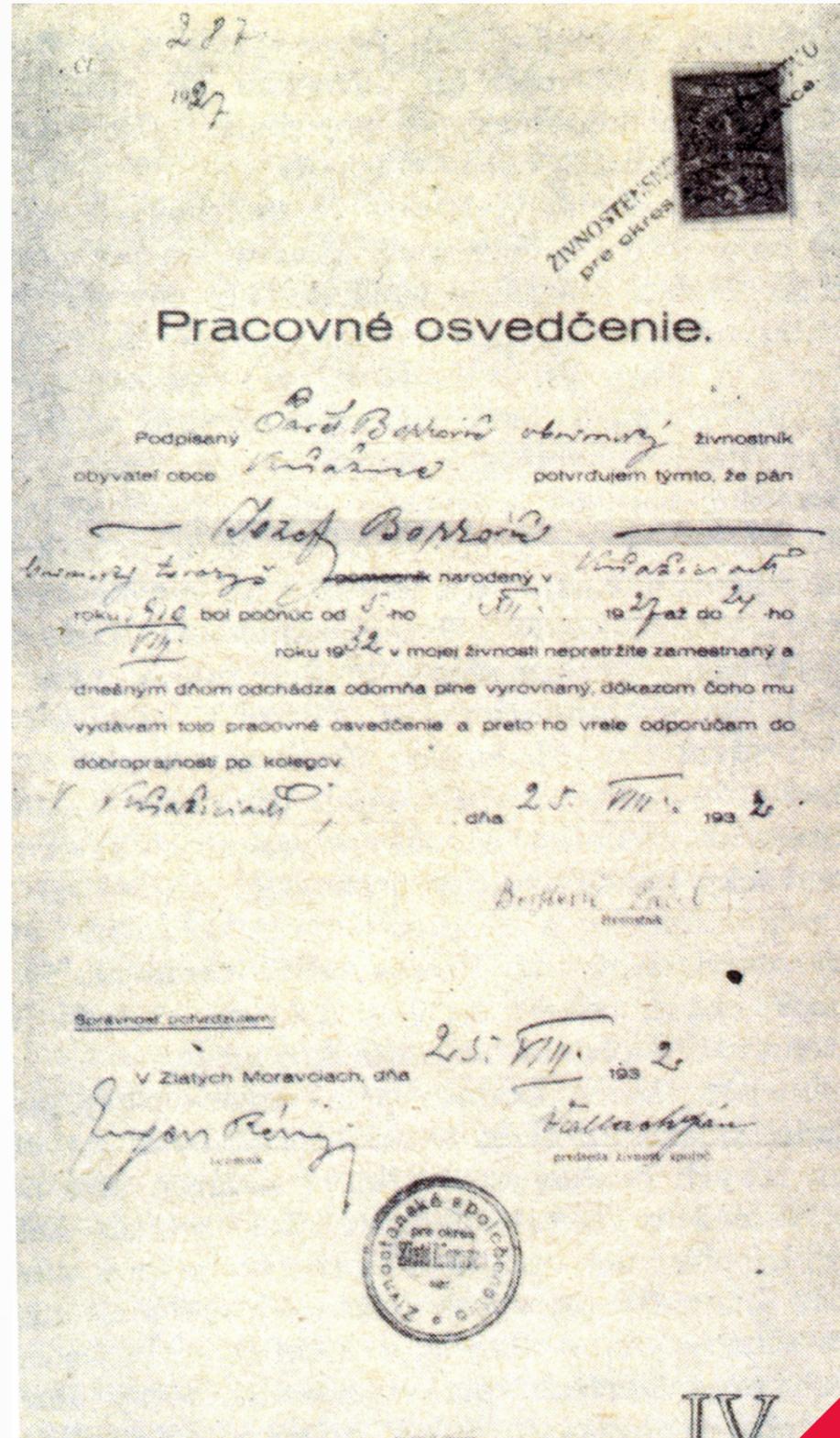
Apprentice Certificate of Jozef Borkovič, issued in 1927 by the Trade Association in Zlaté Moravce, according to which he underwent two-year shoemaking apprenticeship under the guidance of Master Pavel Borkovič. The Apprenticeship Certificate has a simple form but in spite of that we can see symbols of six trades at its margins. Photo: the author's archives.

made. Getting the theoretical knowledge and practical skills depended on how well the master craftsman was able to pass on his own knowledge and experience to his apprentice; the level of



Journeyman's Certificate for Jozef Borkovič dated 1930 confirming he is fully apprenticed in shoemaking trade. The Journeyman's Certificate is richly decorated with symbols of various trades. The aesthetic character of the document is finished with an allegorical stature of a woman handing the certificate to the young tradesman. Stylised clothes of the young man indicate he had finished his travelling experience. Photo: the author's archives.

achieved education also depended on how well the apprentice was able to observe the work being done in the workshop. There were several duties in the workshop that were the apprentice's responsibility, at least until a new, younger, apprentice joined the workshop. For instance, in the morning he had to prepare



Work Certificate of Jozef Borkovič dated 1932. This served as a certificate enabling a tradesman to establish his own business. Photo: the author's archives.

and warm water for the special glue, then he had to prepare material, that is, leather, tools and any other material needed and put it on the cobbler's stool (pangl, verpánek), sometimes he also had to prepare the special shoemaking thread. In the



Apprenticeship Certificate of Pavel Kubica from 1927, which confirms he finished shoemaking apprenticeship and so becomes a shoemaker's assistant. The top part of the document is filled with symbols of various trades. The graphic layout of the Apprenticeship Certificate is reminiscent of documents from the time of the guilds. Two figures of men are dominant. One of them is obviously the master craftsman, the other, younger, represents the assistant, at the time of the guilds this would be a journeyman. The seal imprint with circular inscription „Okresné živnostenské spoločenstvo pre okres Žilina v Žiline“ (District Trade Association for the District of Žilina in Žilina) confirms this document is genuine. Photo: the author's archives.

evening the apprentice had to tidy the workshop and put away the material and the tools; in winter he had to stoke the stove. This usually lasted for about half a year. Then the apprentice was asked to make small repairs (pegging, nailing, gluing and preparing soles). It often happened that an assistant who was given such work forced it onto the apprentice. After a year in apprenticeship, the apprentice could cut and make soles. The master determined the working hours, mostly in dependence on the available light. In summer the work started from six in the morning (sometimes even earlier) and finished with dusk (around 8 pm). In winter it was from seven or eight in the morning until

**J. Michal Hagara**  
**veľkovýroba**  
**obuvi**  
**NOVÁKY (okr. Prievidza)**

Tento známy a dobre zavedený slovenský podnik vznikol už roku 1927 v Piesťanoch a roku 1935 p. Michal Hagara presťahoval sa do Novákov pri Prievidzi. Podnik je zariadený na ručnú a strojovú veľkovýrobu. Tu sa vyrába šitá a klincovaná obuv, a špecialitou p. Hagara je výroba dôstojníckych čižiem. Veľkovýroba obuvi p. Michala Hagara v Novákoch dodáva svoje akostné výrobky pre celé Československo.

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An advertisement of shoemaker Michal Hagara in a calendar for the year 1935, Photo: the author's archives.

dusk (around 6 pm). In high season, when the demand for footwear was great, the work continued with artificial light (kerosene lamp) until nine or ten in the evening, if necessary, even longer. There was one hour for lunch. They often worked also on Sunday afternoons. The apprentices spent Sunday mornings in church and the evenings in the Sunday apprentice school. The apprentice had no free time with exception of state (religious)

**Chceme Vám poslužiť**  
**DOBROU A LACNOU OBUVOU,**  
**podporujte nás v tom tým, že**  
**nás upozorníte na naše chyby.**  
 Našu obuv vyrábame tak, aby vyhovela všetkým požiadavkám na ňu kladeným.  
 Máme všetku obuv, ktorú potrebujete za veľmi

**NÍZKE CENY.**

Detská obuv od čísla	19—22	Kč	19.—
"	23—24 (asi do 3 r.)	"	29.—
"	25—28 " " 6 "	"	29.—
"	29—34 " " 9 "	"	39.—
"	35—38 " " 12 "	"	49.—

**Všetka z prvotriedneho materiálu,**  
**spôsobilá do každej štrapácie.**  
 Ženská obuv zo silnej masťnej kože s jadrnou podošvou . . . Kč 69.—  
 Mužská obuv zo silnej masťnej kože s prvotriednou chrbtovou podošvou . . . Kč 79.—  
**Je to obuv pre každého, kto potrebuje silnú, trvanlivú a pri tom pohodlnú obuv.**  
 Ženská obuv z boxu, veľmi uhladná a pri tom veľmi trvanlivá . Kč 79.—  
 Mužská obuv z boxu, pohodlná, trvanlivá a pekná . . . Kč 89.—  
**V našich správkárnach vidíme jak sa naša obuv pri nosení osvedčila a dľa týchto zkušeností zariadenujeme ďalšiu výrobu.**  
**Chceme Vás dobrou obuvou získať za stáleho zákazníka.**  
 Naši robotníci sú si vedomi toho, že len dobrou pracou zaistia si dobrý odbyť svojich výrobkov — dôverujte im.  
**V každom väčšom meste predajňa, ceny všade jed-**  
**nak ní z k e.**

**Bata.**

A Bata's advertisement from 1935. Photo: the author's archives.

festivals. The village boys sometimes got two weeks' 'holiday' at the time of harvest. In a workshop the work was strictly divided. The master (sometimes the senior journeyman) cut out the upper; the sole was cut out by a journeyman or an apprentice. Attaching the sole to the upper was done by the master. Sometimes he asked a journeyman or an apprentice to do some of the operations. The final check was done also by the master. He inspected each piece of footwear carefully, checked that the seam is straight; he made sure the pegs or nails are tidy, whether the insole is straight or is not coming apart, whether the leather of the upper is smooth and not damaged, etc.

The apprenticeship of shoemakers took three years. At the end of this period the apprentice was given an apprenticeship certificate by his master. Based on the apprenticeship certificate and a certificate received from the apprentice school — apprenticeship certificate was then issued by Trade Association (picture No. 2). Then the apprentice became an assistant. The assistant could, after a certain period, which was not specified by law (usually after one year of practice) come to an examination panel to pass journeyman exam. The assistant had to apply in writing. If he successfully passed this examination, the Trade Association issued him with a Journeyman Certificate (picture No. 3). When leaving, the journeyman received from the master-employer a work certificate (picture No. 4). Having gained the Journeyman certificate followed with a three-year practical experience, a journeyman could register with Trade Authority and he could start his own business. He received a Trade Certificate from the Trade Association. Shoemaking trade, similar to other trades, was not dependent on Trade Authority consent. A shoemaker, who decided to carry out his own trade, reported this fact in writing to the Trade Authority. He stated his name, the place of business and enclosed documents confirming his qualification. If a shoemaker wanted to sell his products then he had to have a special trading concession. Having fulfilled all the above administrative prerequisites, the shoemaker then had to make sure he had the tools, the material, and raw material. All these could be bought in shops selling tanning and shoemaking wares. He could pay for the tools also in instalments. At the time of the First Republic, an agent came to see the shoemaker once a month to collect the instalment into a so-called instalment book. The minimum instalment was 20 crowns. The second basic need of a new shoemaker was a room, working space. In a village the shoemaker usually owned his house, so he would set one room apart as his workshop. Shoemakers in towns, if they

had no own space, which was rarely, rented a room from the owner of a house. Most of the shoemakers, however, did not have a separate workshop and usually worked in the kitchen by the window.

I did not find any dependence in the relationship between a shoemaker and a trader. A shoemaker was a producer in his own right and sold his own wares. Most of the shoemakers bought leather and other auxiliary material on credit ('na bork') and this debt was then repaid in money. However, during my field research I encountered a rare case when a shoemaker got leather on credit from a seller, from which he made footwear and then gave it (for a fee) back to the seller. In the relationship between a shoemaker and a customer there was more variety. Between the shoemaker and most of the customers there was a relationship which could be called neighbourly; that means that the shoemaker would make the required footwear and then waited until the customer had money to pay him. We, nevertheless, also recorded a non-financial form of payment. Inhabitants of villages surrounding Kremnica had both working and Sunday footwear made. Kremnica shoemakers would take from them as a payment in kind, milk, eggs, bacon, smoked meat and sausages. Markets hold a special place in this context. Local markets were a welcome opportunity for the shoemakers to sell their products. In Kremnica shoemakers formed groups and hired a rack wagon to enable them to go also to more distant markets (in Handlová, Prievidza, Žarnovica). These were whole day journeys. Footwear (shoes and boots) were put into a wooden chest (*láda*) which fitted between the ribstalls. Approximately 60 pairs of working boots or 20-25 pairs of high boots fitted into one chest. From my research it is clear that communication between a shoemaker and a customer was mostly passive on the shoemaker's side. A customer came to a shoemaker and asked for footwear to be made. However, in some cases, there was also an active communication from shoemakers. In Ilja (a village near Banská Štiavnica) a brother of a shoemaker travelled on foot in southern parts of Slovakia (area from Levíce to Šahy) and gathered orders for working shoes and boots. As a marketing tool he showed samples of his brother's products. Then the shoemaker in Ilja made the required footwear based on the measurements given. The finished footwear was then taken back to the customers by the shoemaker's brother. Shoemaker Hanula in Kremnica received from his friend Hönig at the end of the 1920s a pair of ski boots from Germany. They took them apart and Hanula then made ski boots which were in demand by skiers not only

in Kremnica. I would also like to mention some of the 'big orders', that is one off orders from the police, the army, orphanages and various associations. One of these was made already before 1914 in Bošany. The owner of a tannery, Adolf Schmitt, prospered thanks to orders by the army. The tanned leather was distributed to shoemakers, belt-makers saddlers and bag makers in a wide area, who would then make ammunition pouches, leather belts, horse harness and other items required by the army. The above-mentioned forms of communication are only representative, although largely typical. They confirm the fact that shoemakers used all possible chances to sell their wares. Advertisement, which became a part of selling products, was applied also in shoemaking. Two samples of advertisement contrast marketing by a small trader and Baťa company.

Shoemaking trade was transformed in the course of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century from production of footwear to its repairs. In conclusion I have to say that even the shoemaking trade generally disappears with physical disappearance of the craftsmen. Field research confirmed that with physical disappearance of the craftsmen also irreversibly disappears the specific terminology; context of various tools, aids and workshop equipment gets lost. Context of craft in specified locality disappears. Footprints of shoemakers and their craft in terrain are lost. Surprisingly, unfortunately also written and pictorial documents are lost. The relatives have no need to preserve such documents. Often we hear: 'nobody wanted it when the house was cleared, so it got thrown out.' It is not therefore surprising that in the map of documentation of leather processing crafts, including shoemaking, there remain still many 'white places'.

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# Design of Footwear in Czechoslovakia after the Second World War

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This text is based on the current doctoral research at the Tomáš Baťa University in Zlín. The objective of the research is to map the development of the shoemaking industry in Czechoslovakia between 1945 and 1989 focusing on the design evolution. The project notices the activities of modellers – designers in individual factories; it follows their achievements as well as external influences which had impact on their work. From the point of view of methodology, the research issues from three main sources. Namely research of the period professional literature, discussions conducted with surviving contemporaries and research of the preserved examples of the footwear.

The research follows the position of the designers in the space of planned economy where the production is not driven by market principles of supply and demand but by a 5-year economy defined plan. In this environment requirements of customer as well as passing fancies of fashion are easily ignored.

Maybe for these reasons the results of work of tens of Czechoslovak designers were successfully disregarded and until today practically nobody focused on their work. I found this even more interesting as I followed how the world development of design in that period competes to revive its own past. The leading world manufacturers proudly reveal designs from twenty, thirty and forty years ago and successfully build new collections based on them.

The truth remains, that the information vacuum and the absence of available documents pertaining to this topic, gave me the idea to choose this problem as a topic of my thesis at the above mentioned University.

In the 1930s Czechoslovakia ranked among the world leading manufacturers of footwear. This position was mainly due to Baťa Company in Zlín, which expanded from a small family run business to an industrial giant with global influence. The factory in

Zlín was the biggest producer of footwear in Europe (Kožařství (Leather Industry), 1970) and the volume of exported footwear formed one eighth of world export of leather footwear (J. Floryk-J.Klepáč, 1968). From the national economy point of view the company produced seven to ten percent of Czechoslovak export.

After the Second World War ended, the industry in Czechoslovakia (as well as in other countries of Eastern Europe) was nationalised, together with financial sector and other strategic fields. As of 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1946, the property of Baťa Company in Czechoslovakia was transferred under the state management and the original owners lost control over it.

The process of nationalisation after 1948 was widened and included even small companies and tradesmen. These units were liquidated and the property, machine equipment and any materials left were transferred under the management of newly established national companies. In this way the government created a state controlled monopoly with a firmly centralised structure, which nevertheless issued, to a certain extent, from the organisational structure and system of management existing in Baťa Company.

New social order was designed to clearly differ from that from before the war and one of the tools of manifesting this change and coping with the past was also renaming towns, streets or companies. So on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1949 the original headquarters of Baťa Company in Zlín was renamed 'Svit, national enterprise' and name of Zlín was changed to Gottwaldov. Naming the town



Main entrance gate to Svit factory, 1974, Juraj Šuška's archives.

after the first communist president indicates that the new government had their own plans with the developed industrial town and counted on its further expansion even in the future. Somewhat paradoxical is the fact that the name 'Svit' is historically linked to Baťa Company. Already in 1934 the Baťa Company started building a factory called 'Svit' in Slovakia and the name of the new company was abbreviation of 'Slovenské viskozové továrny' (Slovakian Viscose Factories).

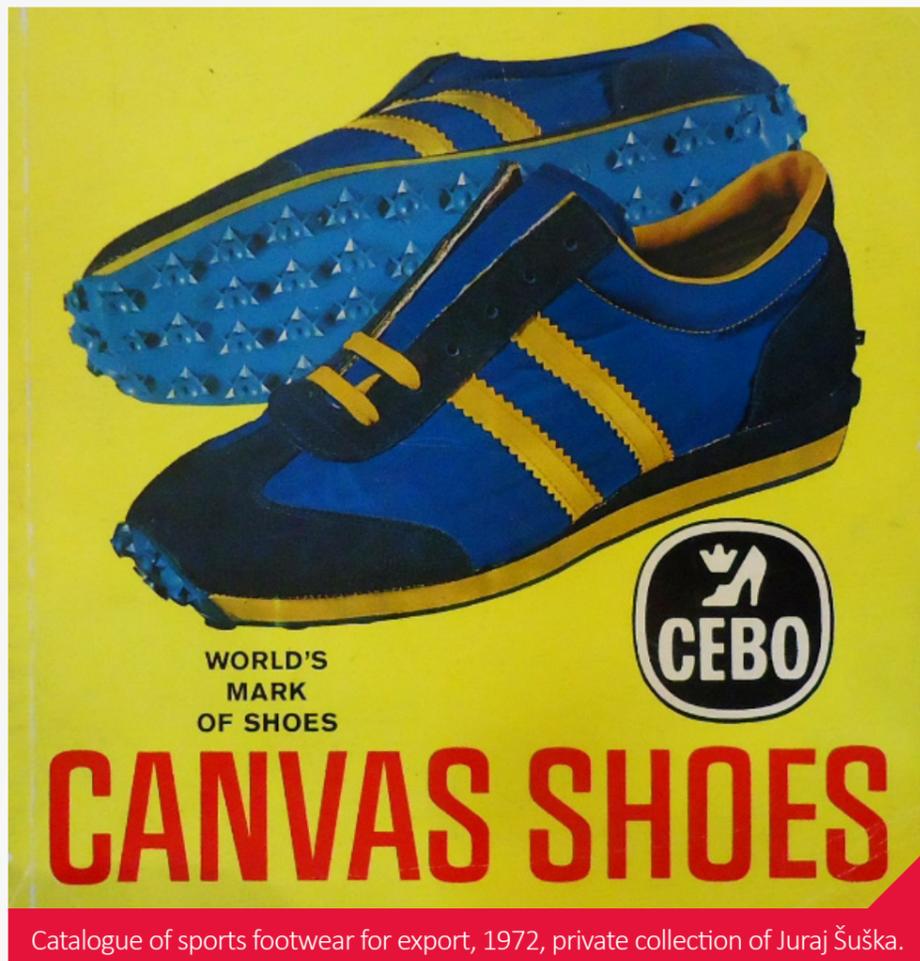
Similar to Svit, also other shoemaking factories and towns were renamed. For instance 'Závody 29. augusta' (Factory of 29<sup>th</sup> Au-



Ladies' evening footwear, the 1980s, manufactured by Snaha Brno, Juraj Šuška's collection, photo by Šárka Hasar.

gust) in Partizánské, where the new name refers to the start of Slovak National Uprising. Then we have 'Závody Gustava Klimenta' (Factory of Gustav Kliment) in Třebíč, 'Sázavan' (river Sázava) in Zruč nad Sázavou and 'Botana' (Shoe Factory) in Skuteč. These companies formed a new structure of Czechoslovak shoemaking industry. Apart from the above mentioned national enterprises there were also several manufacturing co-operatives that made footwear, for instance 'Svedrup', 'Snaha', 'Obuna' or 'Podtatran'. From the point of view of the quantity of produced footwear the co-operatives were not very important but many consumers preferred their footwear produced in small series to large capacity production of the national enterprises.

The war-damaged industry had an uneasy task of regeneration. The objective of the new management was to continue in successful export, in which this field excelled in the period between the wars. Tradition and business ties from the past presented a chance for success in western markets. Industrial development



of Czechoslovakia compared to other countries in the Eastern European block also offered opportunity to expand export in that direction. Shoemaking industry achieved, from the point of view of volume of production, the pre-war level already in 1948, as one of the first industries in the republic. In the following decades the quantity of pairs of footwear produced grew steadily until 1985, when it reached its maximum at 130 million pairs. The volume of export represented approximately fifty percent of the total production (Annual statistics, Svit, 1990).

An important role at renewing and developing the production was played by the Central Modelling Department in Svit. Modellers were responsible for designing new models from the first sketch, through construction to technical documentation. Among the Svit modellers of the first generation were for instance František Smejkal, František Šnajdr or Karel Bydlo, who had gained their skills and experience in Baťa Company. In the following years, the department gradually expanded and a new generation of fresh graduates was employed, among them Antonín Navrátil, Božena Dvořáčková, Věra Hurtová, Jaroslav Otáhal and many others. Each of them left their own signature on a number of products and many of them carried on with their work practically until the 1990s.



Ladies' evening footwear awarded gold medal at an exhibition fair in Leipzig 1976, manufactured by Závody 29. Augusta in Partizánské, photographic collection of Juraj Šuška.

The Central Modelling Department designed models of footwear for all shoemaking national enterprises. In individual factories there were only 'shop floor' modelling departments. Their task was to prepare the production for making the new models. These small modelling departments in time took on more responsibilities earlier fulfilled only by the Central Modelling Department. This was particularly true of the national enterprise Závody 29. Augusta in Partizánské and Botana in Skuteč.

Among the most important successes of Czechoslovak designers of this period was the gold medal from Expo exhibition in Brussels in 1958. The display named 'Taste' introduced, apart from some other products, a fashion collection of footwear, which competed before the jury with producers from Italy, France, Switzerland and others. Ludvík Janků, the head of the Central Modelling Department in Svit writes about the success of the collection in Brussels and at the same time adds that it is necessary to pay more attention to materials from which the uppers are made and their colouring in concord with the world trends (Kožařství (Leather Industry), 1958, 281). Similar suggestion and assessment were also voiced by other analysts or freelance designers.

Another shortcoming, for which the Czechoslovak production was criticised, was late reaction to world trends. In the first half of the 1960s more and more voices were heard about the inflexibility of the plan. The situation got even worse when in the period between 1963 and 1966 only one annual collection instead



Men's luxury welt footwear, the 1960s, manufactured by Závody 29. Augusta in Partizánské, Jura Šuška's collection, photo by Igor Králik.

of the usual two individual seasonal collections spring-summer and autumn-winter was introduced, which did nothing to improve this problem but rather made it worse (Kožařství, (Leather Industry), 1980, 162).

The second half of the 1960s brought political liberalisation, which was visibly reflected also in running the national enterprises. The production companies gained more competences



Winter sports footwear Gerlach, the 1970s, manufactured by Závody 29. Augusta in Partizánské, Juraj Šuška's collection, photo by Juraj Šuška.



Ladies' street footwear, the 1970s, manufactured by Svit Gottwaldov (Zlín), Juraj Šuška's collection, photo by Šárka Hasar.



Ladies' street footwear, a part of New Fashion collection, the 1980s, manufactured by Svit Gottwaldov (Zlín), Juraj Šuška's collection, photo by Šárka Hasar.

when planning the production and individual enterprises took responsibility for designing new models of footwear. In 1970 the role of the Central Modelling Department finishes and individual enterprises prepare their own designs. This change naturally brought a wider variety of designs and also a certain form of competition among the designers and the factories.

This change had long been overdue as far as the consumers, sellers and export organisations were concerned. The 1970s and the 1980s see growing demands by consumers. There was a distinct interest in collections 'Luxus' and Módní novinka (New

Fashion)' compared to unified collection of large-scale production. These collections were then designed in quarterly cycles and were made of better quality uppers materials.

In the 1960s, regular exhibition fairs started to take place as well as a number of home competitions, where the individual factories introduced their new collections, grew. Among the best-known fairs was the International Fair of Consumer Goods in Brno, Liberec Exhibition Fair, Trenčín – the Town of Fashion or Intersport Bratislava. The quality of design was regularly assessed by the Ministry of Industry, which annually awarded the prize 'Excellent Product of the Year' for the individual industrial fields.

The authorship of a design was, from the point of view of general consumer, anonymous. One of the few systematically preserved sources concerning designs and success of individual designers is information about the award-winning products published in the magazine *Kožařství* (Leather Industry) or in other professional publications. Among often awarded authors of that period are names František Lečík, Ladislav Petrák or Jaroslav Valtr from Svit, Jana Vrbová and Ladislav Peňáz from the Factory of Gustav Kliment in Třebíč, Karel Ehrenberger and Milan Mlynář from Botana in Skuteč, Alojz Kumičik from the Factory of 29th August in Partizánské and many other names.

Gradually growing importance of design is obvious from the following data. Where in the year 1959, the collection of footwear of the National Enterprise Svit numbered 700 models, thirty years later this number reached over 2,000 models and the national collection in 1985 introduced nearly 5,000 models of footwear. With the growing number of footwear models in a collection also the number of designers and modellers, who prepared these models, grew proportionally. Their number increased gradually from several tens to 130, then to 150 designers.

This contribution offers only a limited and brief look at the position and the work of designers in the national enterprises. I am grateful for contribution from many former employees of the national enterprises as well as other individuals and institutions. I believe that also thanks to their large support and the support of Tomáš Baťa University in Zlín, the thesis will offer a more complex view of the researched topic

# Collection of Footwear in the Museum of Applied Arts in Prague

Eva Uchalová

the Museum of Applied Arts, Prague, the Czech Republic

The Collection of footwear in the Museum of Applied Arts in Prague was for years aside of interest of both curators and general public. The footwear was used in most cases only as accessories to exhibited clothes to illustrate the complex picture of fashion of a certain period and style. If footwear ever appeared in its own right as an exhibition artefact, it was on such a small scale that it could not provide complete information on the footwear production of the given period. The collection was never published, neither was it specially processed by the museum curators. Luckily Miss June Swann came to Prague in 1996, and was so impressed with the collection that in the following year, based on financial support granted by the British Council, she in-



Ladies' shoes, white satin, J. Hodek, Prague 1848 (missing ribbons to be tied round the ankle), the Museum of Applied Arts (hereafter MAA), Inv. No. 25 773, documentary photograph.

spected the collection and professionally evaluated it, precisely dated and ranked it in the European context, for which we are very grateful.

The Museum of Applied Arts in Prague was established in 1885 and its objective was 'to promote applied arts and to contribute to refining style and taste'. This goal was to be achieved by creating a permanent collection of applied arts and crafts and public library but also by organising exhibitions 'exemplified modern works', giving lectures, by publishing activities and by giving awards for contemporary 'exceptional achievements in the field of arts and crafts industry'. The applied arts were divided into 12 main groups and the first of them were 'textile and its imitations' and these were – quote – 'knitwear, fabric, embroidery, lace, costumes, paramenta and wallpaper'.<sup>1</sup> The footwear could possibly be found in the category 'costumes', but this classification never appears in museum documents of the period. The footwear was also not mentioned among the items qualifying for competitions organised by Business and Trade Chamber from 1896; in contrast to handkerchiefs or handbags, which were admissible due to their decorative techniques. Footwear was probably determined by its utility function and as such was not considered an item suitable for arts and crafts treatment and therefore it was not appropriate for the collecting activities in the first decades of the museum existence.

However, not even the cited costumes were collected for some time to come, with an exception of men's embroidered baroque coats. The first ladies' dress was not accepted to the collection until 1916. The footwear had to wait to arouse the interest of the museum employees for many more years; only in 1932 the first pair of footwear was registered. These were shoes, considered to be a part of a national costume from the foundation of Josefa, Marie and Zdenka Hlávková. The next pair of shoes was registered in 1940. This was a pair of shoes complementing a jacket worn at Slavonic ball dance in Žofín on 10<sup>th</sup> June 1848, belonging to Ludmila Tomková, wife of the historian Václav Vladivoj Tomek. The ensemble of the jacket and the footwear must have been acquired by the museum for patriotic reasons. The jacket embroidered with soutaches based on the design by Josef Mánes<sup>2</sup> belonged among basic types of 'national' revolutionary costume from 1848. The shoes are from white satin. Originally they were tied around ankles with ribbons, which are missing, and they bear a logo of producer J. Hodek, who had a warehouse of ladies' footwear in Prague Old Town, in the house At the Red Crayfish.

Not even in the following years could the number of acquired footwear be compared to other fashion accessories. The origins of the systematic collection were, paradoxically, linked to political changes in Czechoslovakia. After the end of the Second World War and declaration of the so-called Beneš Decrees, the Czechoslovak state took over the property confiscated from Germans, Hungarians and the traitors of the Czech and Slovak nations. In the course of this confiscation more than 2,000 aristocratic manors were nationalised including the movable chattels contained in them. The remnant of these chattels, which survived mass plunder, stealing and destruction were concentrated by means of so called 'collections' in several chosen chateaux with the help of a new institution called the National Cultural Commission, which had been created in 1946. From these 'collections'



A jacket made according to design of Josef Mánes, wool, ribbon embroidery, Prague 1848, MAA, Inv. No. 25 772, photographic collection of MAA.

the Museum of Social and Physical Culture' was created in 1948 at the chateau Jemniště in Central Bohemia District, which focused on clothes, fashion accessories and items of everyday use of all strata of inhabitants. This museum was in 1953 put under the management of the Museum of Applied Arts in Prague and was transformed into the Museum of Fashion. However, already in 1961 it was closed, probably for ideological reasons as it presented mostly the fashion of aristocracy and rich strata of society. A part of the collection was transferred to the Museum of Applied Arts in Prague; the rest remained in Jemniště under the management of the later created Centre of State Heritage Institute of the Central Bohemian District.<sup>3</sup>

Only this collection from Jemniště, containing approximately 70 pairs of footwear, meant the beginning of a systematically created museum collection. With it examples of footwear production from various periods came to the museum and since then the curators have endeavoured to systematically complete the collection reflecting a continuous development and typological groups by means of purchases and donations from the public. By chance the Museum of Applied Arts underwent re-organisation at that time and was divided into four specialised departments, from which the collection number four included textile, fashion and all types of accessories.

The ladies' footwear in the collection is far more numerous and more complete than men's or children's footwear. The oldest exhibits form a small collection of footwear from the 18<sup>th</sup>



A Baroque shoe, brown leather embroidered in gold tinsel thread, Bohemia around 1730, MAA, Inv. No. 70, 265, documentary photograph.



Baroque pantofles, white leather covered with brocade and light blue silk, embroidered with silver tinsel thread, Bohemia?, around 1730, MAA, Inv. No. 70 264, documentary photograph.

century from the chateau of Jemniště, which had initially come from the chateaux in Frýdland and Heřmanův Městec. They are a pair of pantofles originally covered in brocade and light blue silk embroidered in golden tinsel thread. The footwear dates approximately to the 1730s; the upper today consists of only the lining from white leather. Another pair of pantofles is made from green satin with a heel covered in white leather; it dates approximately to 1780. The same dating applies to a pair of pantofles from white silk embroidered in sequins, restored in 1988-1989 by Gloria Bissiani. The oldest artefact with the most interesting history in this group is a baroque shoe made from fawn chamois leather embroidered in tinsel thread. This shoe, originally from chateau Frýdland was transferred to Jemniště as a half-pair. It was never published nor exhibited and nobody ever searched for the other half-pair. Only after my presentation at this year's conference, a colleague of mine from the National Heritage Institute in Pilsen, Mgr Veronika Pilná, approached me and told me similar shoe was kept in the collection of the museum in Cheb. After the conference, we compared photographs of both half-pairs and it became apparent that they are, indeed, identical with only slight variation in colour. The half-pair in Cheb comes from the property of family Valdštejn and was transferred to Cheb in 1978 together with the set of items from Valdštejn Palace together with a legend that it had belonged to Albrecht of Valdštejn's wife.

The origin of the whole pair is, however, not clear. It could have come from Frýdland; in that case it probably has no connection to the Valdštejns. Frýdland was a property of Albrecht Valdštejn between 1622 and 1634; after his assassination it was given to family Gallas and from 1757 it belonged to family Clam-Gallas. The shoe dates to 1720-1735 (according to June Swann), it is therefore likely that it belonged to one of the aristocratic ladies from the family Gallas. If, however, the whole pair was initially kept in Valdštejn Palace in Prague, which was property of the Valdštejns until 1945, then it could have belonged to a woman from Valdštejn family and the half-pair kept today in the Museum of Applied Arts could have been lent – we do not know when – to Frýdland. There is a hypothesis that dividing the pair and placing one half-pair in Frýdland could have been linked to establishing the chateau museum exhibiting historical collections, which was opened in Frýdland to public as the oldest castle museum already in 1801<sup>4</sup>. This hypothesis is appealing and it seems to make sense if we consider that the shoes were linked to Albrecht of Valdštejn's wife, however confirmation of this hypothesis will have to be further researched.

In the collection of footwear from the 19<sup>th</sup> century there are represented perhaps all essential types of ladies' footwear reflecting the changes of the period, starting with the Empire Style court shoes with sharp toes and low wide heel, through typical black or white satin shoes of the Biedermaier period to typologically more varied footwear of the second Rococo. Ankle footwear with inside lacing, satin lace up boots with heels, low shoes made from brown satin and velvet from the company J.R.



Ladies' shoes, white silk, white leather, embroidered in metal thread, sequins, beads and glass, Bohemia around 1780, MAA, Inv. No. 70 024, photographic collection of MAA.



Evening shoes, leather, embroidered in sequins and beads, A. T. Löw, k.u.k. Hoflieferant, Vienna, around 1910, MAA, Inv. No. 70 086, documentary photograph.



Evening court shoes, silver lamé, leather, white silk, H. Bauer, k.u.k. Hoflieferant, Vienna around 1910, MAA, Inv. No. 69 490, photo by Ondřej Kocourek.



Evening shoes, golden leather, openwork metal heels, Shoe Club Prague around 1925, MAA, Inv. No. 103 003, documentary photograph.



Sandals in tricolour, split cork sole, the protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, around 1940, MAA DE 12 144/9, documentary photograph.



Two pages of F. et E. Kompert company catalogue, Prague 1912, MAA, collection IV. documentation, photo by Ondřej Kocourek.



Two pages of F. et E. Kompert company catalogue, Prague 1912, MAA, collection IV. documentation, photo by Ondřej Kocourek.



Formal shoes, white leather, embroidered with beads, sequins and stones, Prague, F. et E. Kompert, 1900-1910, MAA, Inv. No. 50 838, photo by Ondřej Kocourek.



A ball dance evening gown, crepe de chine, velvet and metal lace, Marie Doležalová, Olomouc 1912, MAA, Inv. No. 86 430, photographic collection of MAA.



Formal shoes, golden and pea green leather, MAA, Inv. No. 75 583; formal shoes, black lacquered and golden leather, MAA, Inv. No. 93 490; formal shoes, silver and red leather, MAA, Inv. No. 75 582, company Vogue, Prague, 1932-1935. Property of Hilda Podolská, photographic collection of MAA.



Samples of shoes exhibited at the Exhibition of Arts and Crafts in Berlin, company FF Shoe Karel Znamenáček, Prague II, 1938, MAA, Inv. No. 100 204 a, b, c, photographic collection of MAA.



Evening velvet shoes of 'tango' type, brand Paris Mondain, Paris around 1912, MAA, Inv. No. 75 044, photo by Ondřej Kocourek.



The owner of the above shoes, Mrs Cecílie Šuldová from Olomouc, photographic studio Carl Pietzner, around 1900, private collection.



Mr and Mrs Miloš and Hilda Podolský. A photograph from the magazine Měsíc (Month) IV, No. 5, 5.5.1935, p 22.



Felt cloth boots, combination of leather and felt, the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, around 1940-1945, MAA, Inv. No. 98 647, photographic collection of MAA.



Street shoes, combination of grey chamois leather and smooth black leather, A. Čejka Prague 1930-1935, MAA, Inv. No. 95 769, documentary photograph.



Formal gown from bobbin lace, Eva Fialová, made for the exhibition Expo 67 in Montreal, MAA, Inv. No. 80 494, photographic collection of MAA.



Evening shoes from embroidered satin, openwork silver heels with enamelled decoration, Vienna, after 1925, MAA, Inv. No. 69 491, documentary photograph.



Evening shoes from embroidered satin, openwork silver heels with enamelled decoration, Vienna, after 1925, MAA, Inv. No. 69 491, documentary photograph.



Evening strap shoes, silver leather, Karel Váňa, Prague 1932-1935, MAA, Inv. No. 75 585, photographic collection of MAA.



An advertisement for summer shoes of Baťa Company, Zlín, 1936, photographic collection of MAA.



Ladies' summer shoes, white leather decorated with perforations, probably Baťa Company, Zlín, 1936, MAA, Inv. No. 94 814, documentary photograph.



Ladies' low shoes, light brown leather, leather heels, Hanan et Son New York expressiv made for Anglo American Shoe Store B. Reschowsky, Vienna, Graben 17, Vienna 1910-1925, MAA, Inv. No. 69 570, documentary photograph.



Chamois leather low shoes decorated with piping, layered heels, Prague or Vienna 1910-1920, MAA, Inv. No. 89 563, documentary photograph.

Sitzendorf, Damenshuhe-Fabrikant, Mainz, and also flat shoes made by kilim (hand-woven) technique from the workshop of Prague shoemaker Johan Lirsch, who lived in Lehmann House on the main Prague street, on the corner of Nové Aleje (present Národní Street) and Perlová Street. We know the owners of some of the footwear, for instance Marie Pernerová from Polabská Týnice wore low white satin shoes with a small cockade on 26.5.1863 when she got married to Hermann Ulm from Chomutov. Ankle boots from white satin with inside lacing, on a low heel, were worn by Marie Müller, née Kaur, a daughter of the builder of – today demolished – ‘Chour Houses’ in Prague, in Národní Street, on her wedding day on 19.11.1864.

From the period of a so-called ‘bustle’ fashion the 1870s and the 1880s the collection offers high lace up boots or high boots fastened with small buttons or with rubber congress gaiters, so called gusset footwear, made from silk satin, embroidered repp, decorated cotton damask or bronze lacquered leather; but there are also low shoes decorated with ribbons, ribbon rosettes or cockades such as, for instance, shoes with a large cockade and a metal buckle belonging to a wedding dress from grey taffeta from around the year 1880.

Prague Jubilee Exhibition in 1891 was a great event, reminiscent of the First Industrial Exhibition in Prague in 1791, organised under the title ‘Waarenkabinett’ to honour coronation of the Emperor Leopold II. Three pairs of decorative lace up boots were probably made by shoemaker Josef Krákora for the Jubilee Exhibition; as most likely were also embroidered shoes from light blue satin and light brown leather made by a shoemaker

from Kutná Hora. The collection from the 1890s presents a new type of footwear, laced up with braids up to and above the ankle, later known as ‘tango’. The footwear bears logo of the company ‘Erster Prager Schuhwaarenbazar, Wenzelsplatz 9’. Another type of footwear from this set is a pair of high summer boots with the front part cut out into horizontal strips fastened with patent hooks into metal eyelets.

Footwear from the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century documents an important development of fashion design in Prague, as well as in the capital Vienna, which we can also observe in the design of clothes, hats and other accessories. Apart from footwear produced by Mnichovohradištská factory, which had a shop in Prague and a subsidiary branch in Vienna, there is also a trio of ladies’ shoes from the production of the company F. et E. Kompert.<sup>5</sup> Apart from formal shoes with a strap across the instep,

embroidered in beads and sequins, there are wedding court shoes from white satin decorated with a taffeta ribbon with a paste buckle from the year 1910 and a mid-high lace up boots with decoratively cut out parts, with a relief of a medal from the World Exhibition in Paris in 1889 inside. A fragment of catalogue from the year 1912 offers an insight into the production of the Kompert company; on the four preserved pages it offers a choice of 18 pairs of men’s and 24 pairs of ladies’ fashionable footwear in various quality categories, Jubilee price reduction and names in English and French.

Companies H. Bauer, A.T. Löw, Wien Kärtnerstrasse 8, Wittenberg Wien, Kärtnerstrasse 14, Franz H. Swoboda, company He-



Shoes, green satin, white leather, embroidery, MAA, Inv. No. 95 907, photographic collection of MAA.



Fráňa Smatek, a poster of Baťa Company, around 1930, MAA, GP 2 357, photographic collection of MAA.



A trio of shoes: from kilim woven silk fabric, Johann Lirsch Prague around 1840, MAA, Inv. No. 77 358; ankle boots from white satin, 1850-1855, MAA, Inv. No. 81 694; from black satin and white leather, around 1840, MAA, Inv. No. 72 546, photographic collection of MAA.



Ladies low shoes, brown satin and velvet, J.R. Sitzendorf Damenshuhe-Fabrikant, Mainz, 1860-1865, MAA, Inv. No. 87 365, documentary photograph.



Lace up boots, purple repp mohair, embroidered in chenille, Mělník region around 1875, MAA, Inv. No. 66 692, documentary photograph.

lia or B. Reschowsky, who by the name of his company 'Anglo American Shoe Store' indicate specialisation in English and American style fashion in the Central Europe represent Viennese elegance from the Art Nouveau period. The fact that it was not only a formal name is witnessed by the low street shoes, with a logo of 'Hanan and Son New York' that were 'expressiv made for Anglo American Shoe Store B. Reschowsky, Vienna, Graben 17'. For that matter, in Prague there was a shop named American Shoe House Prague, from which came the street shoes embroidered in beads and sequins dating to 1905-1910.

Ankle chamois leather boots are probably of English provenience; marked Tip Top, they are the only pair with distinctly sports character. We do not know their origin; they were bought for the collection in an antiques shop.

From the period shortly before the First World War there is a pair of shoes of French origin, Paris Mondain brand. They are formal shoes of tango type, which their owner, according to her daughter, wore with golden stockings and an evening gown from golden crepe de Chine and metal lace. The lady was the wife of a military doctor from Olomouc and had the dress made for a ball dance in Sarajevo in 1912.<sup>6</sup>

Other two anonymous pairs of street footwear, tied on the in-  
step, date to the beginning of the 1920s. In the collection from

the interwar period there is a marked change of interest from Viennese to French production; the same applies to the collection of clothes. Vienna, nevertheless did not stop to attract Czech ladies – a pair of evening footwear from black silk, or at least their openwork silver heels with flower décor from coloured enamel, were made there. They are marked with Vienna hallmark used after 1925. Golden shoes made by the company Shoe Club Prague have the same heels in yellow metal. Somewhat younger is an evening pair of footwear of unknown origin, which has similar type of decorative heel. Also elegant golden court shoes by the company Hermann Hirsch decorated with a strip of fine Viennese embroidery from the second half of the 1930s are of Viennese provenience.

A quartet of street shoes from the turn of the 1930s is of Parisian origin; a Prague teacher brought them back from her trip to Paris. Art Deco style is evident on green court shoes of the Parisian manufacturer Luciole decorated on the vamp with a mosaic from leather pieces in different shades of green, as well as on satin shoes embroidered with coloured sequins and beads by the same manufacturer but from a different owner. Import from Paris continues also throughout the 1930s; there are evening shoes by the manufacturer Jean, Berger, Princia, Lebras, Francois Pinet, Aurore and also shoes from the company Paris made for the company Ha-Ha Prague. Also Bally shoes are a part of the collection as well as several pairs of footwear of English provenience (The Forsythe Shoe, The For Ever Shoe); there are



Wedding shoes, decorated with a big cockade with a metal buckle, white cotton fabric, Bohemia around 1880, MAA, Inv. No. 58 596, documentary photograph.



Wedding dress worn with the above pair of shoes, grey taffeta, machine sewn lace, Bohemia around 1880, MAA, Inv. No. 58 596, documentary photograph.



Afternoon lacquered shoes with rubber gussets, Paris 1930-1935, MAA, Inv. No. 88 146, documentary photograph.



Evening court shoes from golden leather decorated with a band of embroidered silk, Hermann Hirsch Vienna, Vienna 1930-1935, MAA, Inv. No. 87 354, documentary photograph.



Men's low shoes, combined material, František Teryngel, Český Krumlov 1946, MAA, Inv. No. DE 12099/1, documentary photograph.



Street court shoes decorated with a mosaic of leather in various shades of green, 'Luciole Paris' around 1925-1930, MAA, Inv. No. 87 355, documentary photograph.



Summer street shoes with low heel, combined material, Baťa Company, Zlín, 1938-1948, MAA, Inv. No. 95 767, documentary photograph.



A poster of Papež Company, publishing house Melantrich around 1930, MAA, GP 3 598, photographic collection of MAA.



Low cloth shoes with wooden split sole, Baťa Company 1940-1945, MAA, Inv. No. 96 826, photo by Filip Habart.



Street chamois leather shoes, combined material, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic 1945-1950, MAA Inv. No. 104 393, documentary photograph.



Summer street chamois leather shoes with open heel, Prague 1947, MAA, Inv. No. 99 523, documentary photograph.



Evening brocade court shoes with golden leather serrated edging, F. Pinet Paris around 1930, MAA, Inv. No. 105 588, documentary photograph.



Street chamois leather shoes on wedge sole, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic 1946-1950, MAA, Inv. No. 102 258, documentary photograph.



Formal shoes from bobbin lace, Eva Fialová and Jan Vosláš; made for the exhibition Expo 67 in Montreal, MAA, Inv. No. 80 501, photographic collection of MAA.



Men's sports chamois leather low shoes decorated with piping, František Teryngel, Český Krumlov, 1946, MAA, Inv. No. DE 12099/2, documentary photograph.



Ladies' sports ankle boots, light chamois, brand Tip-Top, England?, around 1910, MAA, Inv. No. 96 069, documentary photograph.



Formal shoes, Christian Dior, Paris around 1969, MAA, Inv. No. 92 415, photo by Ondřej Kocourek.



Summer chamois leather shoes, Christian Dior, Paris around 1976, MAA, Inv. No. 97 985, photo by Ondřej Kocourek.



Formal shoes, Alexander McQueen, England 2010, MAA, Inv. No. 105 755, photo by Ondřej Kocourek.



Summer chamois leather shoes, Lanvin, Paris, the end of the 1980s, MAA, Inv. No. 97 530, photo by Ondřej Kocourek.



Sandals, Fratelli Rossi, Italy, 1972, MAA, Inv. No. 99 136, photo by Ondřej Kocourek.



Evening satin shoes embroidered with coloured sequins, 'Luciole Paris' around 1932, MAA, Inv. No. 86 094, photo by Alena Samohýlová.



A trio of lace up boots, made probably for the Jubilee Exhibition in Prague, Josef Krákora, Prague 1891, MAA, Inv. No. 30 897/1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, documentary photograph.



also sandals from Egyptian department store S.S. Sednaoui established in Cairo in 1913, purchased at Prague firm Mudrochová in London Street at the end of the 1930s.

It is, however, the Czech footwear, particularly that of Prague provenience, which prevails in the collection. A trio of formal shoes by the firm Vogue, Národní Street, Prague in combination of silver and wine red, pea green and gold and also combination of black with stripes of golden leather, has a distinct Art Deco character. We were not able to establish whether this was a foreign company with branches in Prague and Bratislava or whether this was an original Czechoslovak manufacturer. What we do know, however, is that the footwear belonged to Hilda Podolská, daughter in law of the owner of the best known Prague fashion salon. She was born in 1914 and married Miloš Podolský, the older son of Hana Podolská in 1935. She wore and most probably also modelled clothes made in Salon Podolská. With a view to her age – she was 20 in 1934 – she could have worn these shoes on extremely high heels from approximately 1932.

Hilda Podolská owned also another pair of evening shoes, silver and black-golden strap shoes, manufactured by a prominent Prague manufacturer, who would certainly merit further research. The shoes were made by Karel Váňa, a shoemaker from Žižkov, who later moved to the centre of Prague, Jungmannova Street, where a number of fashion shops were concentrated and where – in Riunione Adriatica Palace, today Adria – also his daughter Marie, married Sudková, had her fashion salon called 'Mimi'.<sup>7</sup> In the collection there are eight pairs of his elegant, mostly evening and formal, footwear. Also company Papež, Národní Street 31, was highly productive; they made evening shoes, but also afternoon and street shoes for middle-aged and older generations. The collection contains a number of footwear made by a variety of Prague shoemakers, such as Obuv Krása, A. Čejka, Josef Veleba, J. Kabele, Emil Pollak, K. Špíra, Šlemr, Prušák, Vávra, Veselský, Goldstein – who had a branch in Košice, but also by shoemakers outside Prague for instance Jaroslav Viktorin from Brno, Schuh-Dasch form Ustí nad Labem or factory F.L. Popper from Chrudim. The collection presents mostly formal footwear but also street and house footwear as well as galoshes and



Lace up boots, leather and silk satin, embroidered, Kutná Hora around 1890-1895, MAA, Inv. No. 88 018, documentary photograph.

sports footwear such as plimsolls, bathing shoes, skating boots and hiking boots.

There are three interesting models of footwear from company FF Shoe Karel Znamenáček from Prague. They are small, 21 cm long models without soles. They were initially made for the International Exhibition of Arts and Crafts in 1938 in Berlin. Using these models, Karel Znamenáček and five journeymen demonstrated hand-made production of footwear using the same technologies as small and medium sized workshops in Czechoslovakia. The objective of the presentation as well the whole Czechoslovak exhibition was support of crafts and trades and emphasising their importance in current cultural events. The importance was not negligible; this is confirmed by the data from the exhibition catalogue, which states that out of the total volume of Czechoslovak export 30% goods are hand-made.<sup>8</sup>



Summer boots with clip-on fastening, leather, Bohemia around 1890, MAA, Inv. No. 88 631, documentary photograph.

There is surely no doubt that Baťa Company was the most important exporter out of those 70% pertaining to industrial production. In the Museum of Applied Arts there is a collection presenting an overview of their production for the home market from the 1930s and the 1940s. There are summer shoes made from lizard skin, chamois leather court shoes with radial cut outs in the toe underlaid with lacquered leather (according to June Swann, the pair is a copy of shoes by Bally company from approximately 1935), evening strap shoes from brown chamois leather with golden heels (approximately 1937), court shoes from white satin (about 1935), street shoes made from black chamois leather, with lacing and cut outs in the vamp (approximately 1937), white street shoes with decorative perforations – there is no logo but a very similar pair can be seen on Baťa poster with swallows (about 1937), street shoes in combination of blue and white with a low heel already representing war fashion. In the collection there are also rubber galoshes, which were shown in Baťa catalogue in 1937, and leather red house slippers in a bag.

Wooden sole shoes, introduced into the production of Baťa Company already from summer 1938<sup>9</sup> and publicised with an emotive advertisement, but produced also by other shoemakers, are harbinger of war. Several pairs of felt knee boots, which, due to their folk footwear origin, corresponded with the period patriotic tendencies for preserving folk costume features in modern clothes, prove their popularity also in towns. A number of footwear from this period is a witness to searching for alternative materials for both uppers and soles – plant fibres are used, namely various grasses, bast, straw, but also twill cloth and paper strings; soles were made, apart from wood, also from cork.

Abundantly represented is also footwear from the period after the war; footwear with typically high soles, with low or high wedges, often in colours fashionable at that time which accommodated lack of leather in the period after the war and was fashionable also in men's footwear. These are mostly hand-made, good quality and durable products of local shoemakers, which guaranteed long life. In politically turbulent times and continuing regulation of economy, good quality and durable footwear was a valuable asset. Not only can this be seen on the condition in which the footwear was preserved, where most of it is well worn out and had been repeatedly repaired, but most shoes also have their own story to tell; for instance street shoes from wine red chamois leather which their owner bought from a shoemaker in Prague, Ibsen Street in 1947. In 1949 she ran away in the shoes across the Czechoslovak border, she then

spent some time in reception camps in Germany from where she eventually left for England and where she still wore the shoes for some time. She then carefully preserved them as a memento for several decades and in 1999 donated them to the Museum of Applied Arts<sup>10</sup>. Sandals from American Company Florida La Explosion Corrientes travelled in opposite direction; a Czech girl, Magdalena Modračková, was given the shoes as a part of post-war aid in the bombed out French town Valenciennes and in 1946 she brought them with her to Czechoslovakia where she returned as a repatriate and where she wore them till near destruction.<sup>11</sup>

Two pairs of men's street shoes are exceptional examples of men's fashion footwear. They were made by shoemaker František Teryngel from Český Krumlov for his own use. When he finally established his own trade in 1946, having worked for years for a Czech and during the war for a German shoemaker, communist regime nationalised his workshop in 1948.<sup>12</sup>

Collection of footwear from the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century attempts to document production of the Czechoslovak national enterprises as well as some extraordinary artefacts, such as for instance lace shoes made by lace maker Eva Fialová and shoemaker Jan Voslář for the exhibition Expo 67 in Montreal, which complemented very successful lace fashion models from the same authoress. The collection also contains a number of luxury items from the 1960s and the 1970s from Italian and French fashion houses, representing the world production of the best quality, for instance by Christian Dior (1969 and approximately 1976), Charles Jourdan (1963), Pierre Cardin (about 1968), company Virgilia (1963), Lanvin (the end of the 1980s). The most important acquisition of the recent years is footwear by Alexander McQueen from 2010.

We presume that after 2017, when the available space of the Museum of Applied Arts is doubled after the reconstruction, there will be an opportunity to present this collection to public.

1 Filip Wittlich, *Umělecko průmyslové museum v Praze (the Museum of Applied Arts in Prague) (1885-1995)*. In: *110 let UPM v Praze – Více prostoru sbírkám (110 Years of the Museum of Applied Arts in Prague – More Space for the Collections)*, Prague 1995, pp 7-11.

2 Miriam Moravcová, *Národní oděv roku 1848 (National Costume in 1848)*, Academia Prague 1986.

3 Petr Weiss, *Specializované muzejní expozice na zámku Jemniště (Specialised Museum Exhibitions at Chateaux Jemniště)*, diplomová práce (a diploma thesis), the Faculty of Arts of Masaryk University, Institute of Archaeology and Museology, Brno 2006; *Jemniště, department of records of collections and documentation, the Museum of Applied Arts in Prague*.

- 4 <http://www.zamek-frydlant.cz/historie/> - found 29.12.2014.
- 5 Franz and Ernst Kompert had a warehouse of Mnichovohradištská Footwear Company in Prague II, Ovocná Street No. 763/6, the owner of which was Edmund Kompert. See *Directory of the royal capital Prague and surrounding villages, Prague 1910, Section I, p 612.*
- 6 Correspondence of owner's daughter, Mrs Marie Tilleová, with PhDr Vydrová from the years 1966-1978, documentation IV, the Museum of Applied Arts collection.
- 7 Eva Uchalová, *Pražské módní salony (Prague Fashion Salons), Prague 2011, pp 260-265.*
- 8 *Czechoslovakia at the International Exhibition of Arts and Crafts in Berlin from 28th May till 10<sup>th</sup> July 1938, pp 24-26.*
- 9 Miroslava Štýbrová, *Dřeváčky firmy Baťa, módní hit z období II. světové války (Wooden Sole Shoes from Baťa Company, a Fashion Hit from the Period of the Second World War), Obuv v historii (Shoes in History), Zlín 1998, p 33.*
- 10 Many thanks for the information to the owner, Mrs Sylva Šimsová.
- 11 Many thanks for information to Sylva Skoupilová.
- 12 Many thanks for information to JUDr Jiří Teryngel.

# Shoeast – Creating Footwear Collection ‘Made in Czechoslovakia’

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Ongoing doctoral research at Tomáš Baťa University in Zlín researches the development of footwear design in Czechoslovakia after the Second World War. The objective of the research is to analyse the development of footwear production in the individual national enterprises (Svit Gottwaldov, ZKG Třebíč, BOPO Třebíč, BotanaSkuteč, ZDA Partizánské, JAS Bardějov) and footwear producing co-operatives (SVEDRUP Zlín, SNAHA Brno, PodtatranPoprad and others), focusing particularly on the footwear design.

Several research methods were chosen to continue with the research – period literature, series of interviews and research of the objects. Object focused research is most frequently used methodological tool today, mainly by museum collections curators and historians of various specialisations. It enables the researcher to get important information on quality, functionality and aesthetic standard of an object, which, in this case, is industrially produced footwear.

At the beginning of our research we employed two different approaches towards the preserved footwear. The first one was object research based on the collections located in various depositories in museums both in the Czech Republic and in Slovakia. The other approach involved creating our own collection. Both approaches have advantages as well as limitations and that was the reason why both were suitable for our research.

When conducting the research, the primary focus was on existing collections of footwear. At present there are three museums in the territories of the Czech Republic and Slovakia which present footwear produced in Czechoslovakia after the Second World War in their permanent exhibitions. The best known collection can be found in Building 14/15 BAŤA INSTITUTE in Zlín. Named ‘Principle Baťa’, it presents a cross-section of develop-

ment of this shoemaking company. A part of the exhibition pertains to the period of nationalisation of Baťa’s Company in Czechoslovakia and its continuation as the national enterprise Svit.

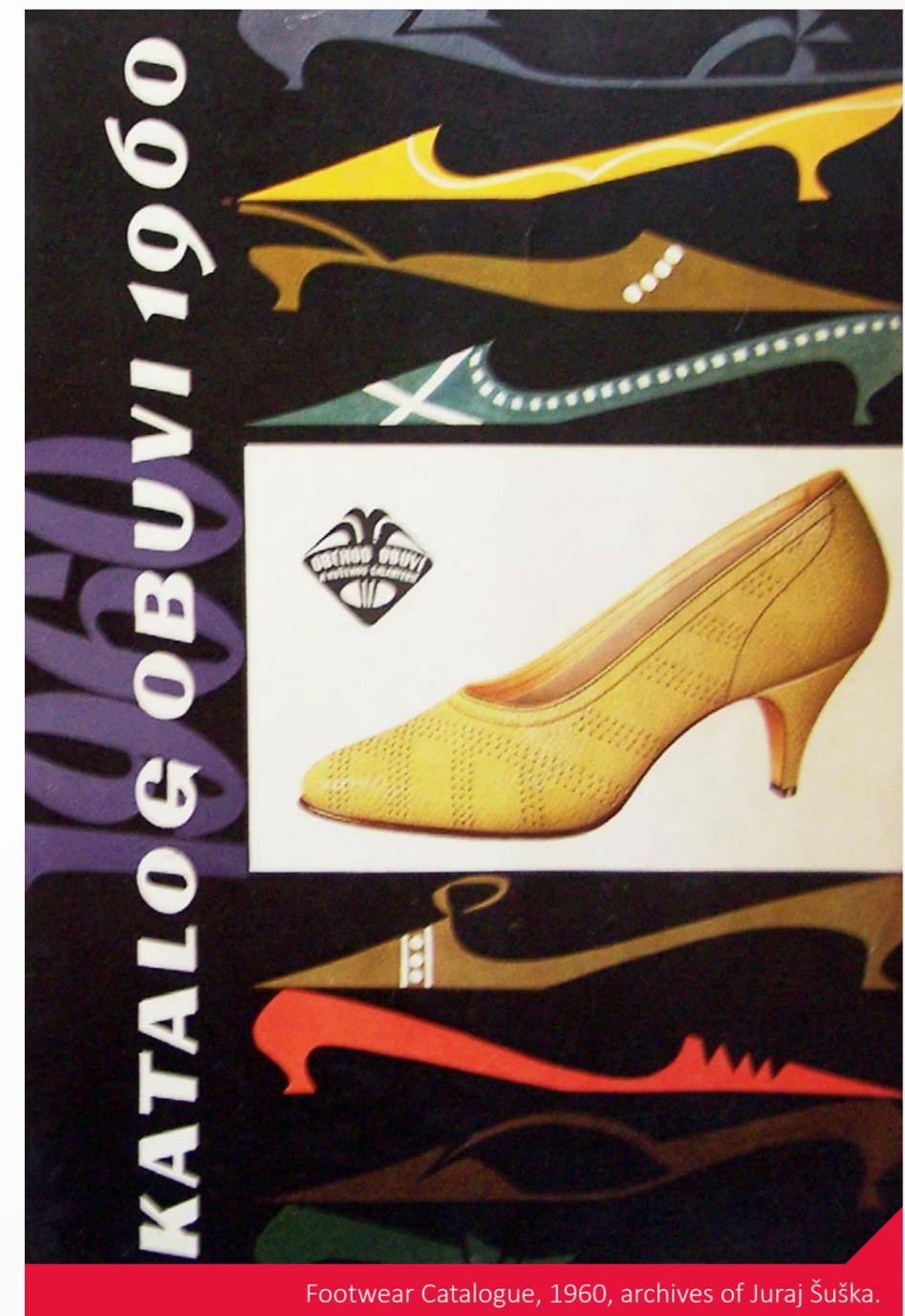
The second important exhibition can be found in the Municipal Museum in Skuteč, representing the development of company Botana, which was later re-named BOTAS. A great part of the exhibition shows the period after the Second World War when the company started to specialise in production of sports footwear. The third exhibition is relatively small and it is located in a newly opened Museum of the town of Partizánské in Slovakia. This museum presents footwear produced by ZDA Partizánské. There are footwear collections from Czechoslovak production also in other museums; these are, however, small-scale collections and are not a part of permanent exhibitions and therefore visitors have only a limited access to them. In this category is, for instance, the Museum of Applied Arts in Prague, the National Museum in Prague and others.

Visits to permanent exhibitions and an opportunity to do research in some institutions provided a basic idea on the footwear production in the national enterprises in Czechoslovakia. Because of protection of the archived exhibits and also because of time limits, the detailed research of these objects was rather problematic. Nevertheless, this initial research showed that the museums’ collections focus mainly on footwear produced in the region. The accent on local production of the individual collections is, of course, justified and correct; all the same, from the point of view of doctoral research objectives, there are gaps in representation of some important production localities. More specifically, for instance production of BOPO Třebíč, Sázavan in Zruč nad Sázavou, JAS Bardějov or even footwear producing co-operatives such as SVEDRUP Zlín, SVEDRUP Ostrava, SNAHA Brno, SNAHA Jihlava, OBUNA, Podtatran, Športvýroba and others.

The absence of footwear from production of some of the factories and co-operatives was one of the main motivational factors behind creating our own collection, to which a colleague Magdaléna Trčálková actively contributed. The emerging collection focuses on complete industrial production of footwear in Czechoslovakia, produced between 1945 and 1989. The second important stimulus to start our own collection was the limitation of handling the museum collections. This was for instance (understandably) limitation of lending the footwear for the purpose of photography, exhibitions, etc. With our own collection, there are no such limitations and it is possible to examine and study

the objects freely and to exhibit them. We commenced with our own collection in January 2013. Two years later, the collection numbered four hundred unique models of footwear. All six national enterprises producing footwear are represented as well as most of the important co-operatives. Apart from footwear there are also marketing and publicity materials such as catalogues, wrapping material, bags, posters, badges and others.

The registered items were acquired by purchase in shops both classic and on the Internet. The cost of items ranged from thirty to three hundred crowns. The other method was acquiring the objects through gifts of voluntary contributors. The advantage of donated footwear, apart from the minimum cost, is the fact



that the donors often remember when and where and for what purpose the footwear was bought, or have their own story pertaining to that particular footwear to tell. Just such stories are important for the correct understanding and classification of the objects. Among the most frequent reminiscences and personal experience are for instance positive evaluation of the quality and durability of the object; some donors praised comfort of the donated footwear but many also remembered complications encountered when trying to buy the particular pair in a shop.

When registering and cataloguing the footwear we were inspired by the system used in museums. First of all we clean the acquired objects and then assign a registration number. For better clarity we also created electronic register. Apart from the registration number, each entry also contains additional infor-

mation, such as a photograph of the footwear, producer, dating, description of the exhibit, date acquired and source from which it was acquired, etc.

Two details are important for correct records. The first is the name of the producer, the second is dating, i.e. information on when the footwear was produced. The name of the producer can be in most cases clearly seen on the footwear. This also issues from the fact that from 1953 producers in Czechoslovakia were obliged to clearly mark their products. In case of footwear this mark could either be on the outside or the inside of the product. Establishing the exact date of production is less easy. However, several guidelines can be used. One of them is the product mark itself, which usually consists of a string of numerical and alpha-



Poster Svit, private collection of Juraj Šuška.



Poster Svit, private collection of Juraj Šuška.



Running shoes Marathon, producer ZDA Partizánské, 1985, private collection of Juraj Šuška, photo by Igor Králik.



Tennis shoes Prestige, producer Svit, 1985, private collection of Juraj Šuška, photo by Igor Králik.



Ladies' moccasins, the 1980s, private collection of Juraj Šuška, photo by Šárka Hasar.



Men's street footwear, the 1970s, private collection of Juraj Šuška,  
photo by Šárka Hasar.



Ladies' winter boots, the 1960s, private collection of Juraj Šuška,  
photo by Šárka Hasar.

betical characters. This was again compulsory, prescribed by a Czechoslovak state norm. The code contained the size of the footwear, code of the factory that produced it and also the date of production. The problem, however, is that this code was printed in small letters and got smudged during the period the footwear was worn. There is another problem, though, even if the code

can be seen properly, the year of production only consists of one numeral. Then we have to use yet another guide – production catalogues, professional magazines and other suitable sources.

When registering the acquired footwear we also try to establish the name of the designer. We must, however, admit only limited success, mainly because of the lack of information. Position of designers in national enterprises was not as important and well regarded as it is today. Professional periodical magazines, for instance *Kožařství (Leather Industry)* and *Průmyslový design (Industrial Design)* regularly brought information on footwear gaining awards at exhibitions both home and abroad. General public, with some exceptions, had, however, no access to this information.

The collection of footwear, which is being created is used, apart from research activities, also as a main part of our exhibition activities. During 2013 and 2014 we organised eight exhibitions in various areas of the Czech Republic and Slovakia. It is very interesting to follow the reactions of contemporaries, who come to the exhibitions, and at the same time it is valuable for our research. Many of the contemporaries remember the individual models of footwear and are able to provide us with further important information.

Our plan and objective for the coming two years is to continue with adding items to our collection. At the same time we are trying to get enough financial funds to be able to create a web portal, which would open the whole collection to public. We believe that making this inheritance available may also be an inspiration for the designers today and serve as a source of information for historians as well as general public.

# Hiking Shoes of Mrs Náprstková

## Milena Secká

the National Museum – the Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures, Prague, the Czech Republic

The National Museum – the Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures manages several, mostly territory-specialised collections, among which the smallest collection, called Náprstek Inventory, has a special place. These are three and a half thousand objects from the family of Vojta Náprstek, of his friends or objects documenting their activities, including a few first exhibits of the Náprstek Museum. Apart from movable chattels, paintings, kitchenware, clothing, jewellery, hats, portraits and personal curios, there is also one pair of sturdy leather shoes. According to the record from the inventory book, they come from the estate of Josefa Krížková-Náprstková and their history is quite interesting. The entry in the inventory book states: *Shoes for mountain walking made from brown unpolished leather, pitched, with a thick sole, with metal plates, hobnails and hooks. They are laced with a strap. They were not worn. They were made for Mrs J. Náprstková at the time she wanted to climb the Great Glockner.*<sup>1</sup> This information is supplemented with a brief note in Inventory Catalogue: *Hobnailed shoes for Alpine mountaineering. Made in Bavaria in 1876.*<sup>2</sup>

Josefa Krížková came to the house U Halánků in 1856 to work as a servant in a small distillery store. Her father had already worked there several years as a distiller and the owner of the distillery, Anna Fingerhutová, knew that Josefa was very able and industrious. Josefa was born nearby, in the neighbouring Betlémská Street and after school lessons helped her mother with domestic service and the caretaker's job. She quickly proved her worth in the new job and the owner, Mrs Anna, entrusted her with the sale of alcohol. When Anna's son Vojtěch returned in 1858 after 10 years in emigration, Josefa fell in love with him. Her love was requited, however, mother was convinced that her son cannot get married to a servant and she let them both know her opinion. They got married after his mother's death and two years' mourning that had followed; by then they had known each other

for seventeen years. The wedding was very modest, it was the first civilian marriage of the Czechs in the Old Town Hall, on Thursday 25<sup>th</sup> February 1875 at 10 o'clock in the morning. Only their witnesses<sup>3</sup> were present, there were no friends and no reception. This was a big opportunity for spreading gossip. The newlyweds returned home after the ceremony and continued with their work. There was not even enough time for a honeymoon, which they postponed until the following year, 1876.

Josefa Krížková-Náprstková wrote diaries, but not all years were preserved.<sup>4</sup> Luckily, in one of her diaries the description of their delayed honeymoon has recently been identified. Although the entry is not very detailed, it still provides us with a very good picture of the route they took and also the costs incurred.<sup>5</sup> We also have a photo album at our disposal, in which there are 200 photographs of 6x10.5cm size, which Mr and Mrs Náprstek bought during their travels.<sup>6</sup> They set off on their journey on 8<sup>th</sup> August 1876 at 8.15 in the morning. They took the train to Gmund, where, three changes later, they arrived the following day at 9 o'clock. The itinerary of the journey was extensive. They travelled mostly by train, boat and coach. They visited Ebensee, Bad Ischl and spent two days in Salzburg. Then they travelled by train to German Berchtesgaden, where they spent the night. They visited the mine and went for a boat trip on the lake Königsee. Although the entries by Josefa are quite brief, here she could not resist describing an unusual experience: *My husband hired a boat and we took it across the whole of Königsee, two rovers, a man and a woman, steered the boat. When we came to the echo point, my husband let out two shots. It was something amazing as the echo reverberated the sound of the shots at least 10 times.*<sup>7</sup> They then returned to Austria to see the waterfalls in Gastein and on 15<sup>th</sup> August, they were approaching the peaks of the Alps. They put up in the spa town St. Wolfgang



(Bad Fusch) and were certain to plan a hike up Grossglockner Mountain. It was here where the special hiking shoes Pepička had bought were to be used. Unfortunately they were unlucky. Vojta Náprstek got a bad cough. The whole day was therefore spent in Fusch and on 17<sup>th</sup> August they partly walked and partly travelled by coach as far as Käferthal.<sup>8</sup> With a mountain guide they walked around the waterfalls and admired the glacier at least from a distance. So the hiking boots were most likely not used at all and remained only an interesting curiosity. The following day the Náprsteks travelled via a spa town Zell am See to Leoben and on 19<sup>th</sup> August concluded their Alps journey with a four-day stay in Vienna to return to Prague on 24<sup>th</sup> August. This



was their first joint journey abroad, for Josefa the first ever journey abroad, from which, apart from a pair of hiking shoes only a few souvenirs were preserved.

As already indicated, Mrs Náprstková's shoes were made from hard leather and the sole has metal hobnails on its periphery. That is why the shoes are very heavy, the half-pair weighs nearly 600 g and walking in them must have been very tiring for a fragile woman. Due to the fact that Josefa was only 164 cm tall and very slender, her feet must have been smaller than size 38, which corresponds to sole length of approximately 24 cm. However, the hiking shoes measure 31cm.<sup>9</sup> Supposedly the shoes were to be worn over simple ankle boots. Even so, the size does not correspond, as the shoes are more than 5 cm longer than today's size 38. There arises a question therefore, whether the shoes were really bought for Josefa (or perhaps Vojta) or whether they were in fact bought as an artefact for the Náprstek Museum. The result is, nevertheless, the same as the Náprsteks often donated even their own personal items to the Museum. The Museum was originally conceived as an industrial museum; however, in the course of time it acquired so many original gifts from fellow countrymen and travellers that in the end it displayed items of technical nature, applied arts and crafts as well as ethnographic nature. Footwear, for instance, was shown in three different locations in the Museum. On the first floor in the corridor there were boots and shoes from Europe (including the historical ones), shoemakers' tools and the description of shoemaking process. In the exhibition rooms 8 and 9 there was a display 'Work of Asian, African and American Nations', where children's ladies' and men's footwear made from wood, leather, bamboo and textile could be seen. On the second floor artefacts titled 'Work of our Mothers' were displayed, including folk lace and embroidery. Here one could see embroidered shoes and slippers. The hiking shoes of Mrs Náprstková were probably a part of European display. Although we will never know whether they were really bought for Mrs Náprstková or directly for the Museum, the hiking shoes nevertheless remain an interesting artefact of the period..

Note:

This paper originated with the financial support of the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic within the institutional financing of long-term conceptual development of research organisation the National Museum (DKRVO 2013/34, 00023272).

- 1 *Inventory of interior collection of the Náprstek family, inv. No. N864.*
- 2 *Inventory Catalogue of the Náprstek Czech Industrial Museum 2, p 385. No. 3784 a.*
- 3 *The marriage was witnessed by Mr Svoboda, the head teacher of St. Nikolas school, and a scribe of the National Museum, Dr Ruda.*
- 4 *She did not write her entries systematically; in some years there are entries for every day, in other years there are only occasional entries. Josefa also often used little notebooks or diaries which she just had at hand, so in some diaries there are entries from different years, often mixed. It is difficult for a researcher to make sense of some of the entries as she did not always date them.*
- 5 *She noted costs of travelling, accommodation, food and various small purchases they made.*
- 6 *The photoalbum with an inscription the Alps 1876 contains 25 pages, each with 8 cut outs for inserting the photographs. Historical photographs sign.91 were donated to the collection by Josefa Náprstková. A total of 200 photographs, mostly by Verlag von Baldi or Baldi und Würthle were mainly bought in Salzburg. According to the list of expenditure, the Náprsteks paid 19 florins and 70 groschen for them, which was a considerable sum for that time. To compare – bed and breakfast for two people generally cost them around 5 florins.*
- 7 *This notebook contains casual entries from the years 1876, 1877 and 1888. Archives of the National Museum - the Náprstek Museum, personal collection of Vojta Náprstek, carton 67.*
- 8 *Since 1890 there is a comfortable path from Käferthal (1428m) to Grossglockner. At the time Mr and Mrs Náprstek visited this region, hiking up to Grossglockner was only possible with a guide.*
- 9 *The width of the sole is 10 cm and the height of the counter is 12 cm, the height of the vamp is 14 cm.*

# Children's Footwear in the Collection of the National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography

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## Introduction

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the children's footwear finally saw its differentiation from the footwear of the grown ups. Higher health and hygienic standards started to be applied to children's footwear. Attempt was made to prevent the still undeveloped children's feet from being deformed. Children's footwear was mostly made on asymmetrical last and was made from softer materials than footwear for grown ups. Shoes for small children were at first low. If there was a heel, then this was very low and flat, often formed only from a few layers of leather.

According to various customs, children's shoes were concealed in hiding places; this custom was preserved in many countries in the world. This was most typical in Anglo-Saxon cultures and in America. Sometimes children's shoes were cast in bronze or were coated with metal. Information about the person who had worn the shoes was written on the sole. Old worn down shoes were hidden in timberwork of a roof or bricked up in the foundation of a house to drive off evil spirits from the house inhabitants.

Children's footwear was made in larger sizes as both younger and older children wore the same footwear. Shoes were also handed down. Mothers bought shoes for their children at markets but often also had them made to measure by a shoemaker. The shoes were repaired and resoled many times because new

footwear was very expensive. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century and also at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century a poor child was given a pair of shoes as a gift at Christmas by charity.

Children from poor families with many children often took turns at Sunday mass in church, as the family did not have enough shoes for everyone to go at the same time. They even went barefoot as far as the church and only put the shoes on in front of it. There were two reasons for this: the first was not to wear the shoes down and the second reason was of a symbolic



Village Mayor's wife Žoňa Šupáková in a new folk costume with a child wearing shoes, Dolná Poruba- Ilava, Trenčín District, Slovakia 1926, the National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography, Photographic Collection, Inv. No. EO4487, photo by Drahomíra Stránská, 1926.

nature – bare feet indicated penance. In certain periods the bare feet were even obligatory. For instance on Good Friday<sup>1</sup> it was customary to wash feet and footwear. During certain festivals people jumped barefoot over a fire. On the day of Saint John the Baptist<sup>2</sup>, young people marched round a room, one feet bare, one wearing a shoe; they counted the steps and guessed by their number in how many years they would get married. Bare feet were also used to tread cabbage, although special clogs were used for this purpose later. On Saint Nicolas<sup>3</sup> day, sweets were put into children's shoes; Christmas is also linked with traditions involving footwear, for instance girls would throw pantofles over their heads. If the pantofle landed with the toe pointing towards the door, the girl would get married within a year .

The 19<sup>th</sup> century is the period of development of industrial production of footwear. At the beginning the footwear was still made by tradesmen associated in guilds alongside industrial production. The guilds were, however, limited by various new laws. Machines were introduced into factories and production began on a large scale. This caused lowering the standards of quality of the products and qualified tradesmen, shoemakers, were often reduced to cobblers and repairers of worn down footwear.

Numerous fashion magazines began to be published as well as specialised periodicals for shoemakers. In 1883 a specialised magazine *Česká práce* (Czech Work) started to be published, which offered a number of technical and technological innovations concerning not only shoemaking. It also contained advertisements by shoemakers and shoemakers' supplies manufacturers. New shoemaking machines meant a great progress. Hand stitching and sewing was gradually replaced by mechanical sewing. The sewing machines were at first constructed as tailor sewing machines but in 1842 John Greenough in the United States was granted a patent for leather sewing machine. In 1845 an American, Elias Howe, got a patent for a sewing machine, which was the predecessor of later modern sewing machines. It was capable of 300 stitches per minute. An American, Isaac Merit Singer, took credit for sewing machines expansion. The production got faster thanks to the new machines and new cuts of footwear could be introduced. The footwear gained better look, it was sturdier and of a better quality. For long centuries the shoe-making lasts were symmetrical. Asymmetrical lasts were only introduced in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century but only sporadically. Industrial production often returned to using symmetrical last as this made the production simpler. For instance Baťa Company in Zlín introduced asymmetrical lasts only around 1912.

## The Collection of Children's Footwear in the National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography

In the collection of the National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography there are several types of folk footwear – shoes, clogs, slippers, peasant shoes, pantofles, etc. The collection contains 48 items of children's folk shoes



Barefoot children gathering wood, near Kout in the Bohemian Forrestr, West Bohemia, the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography, Photographic Collection, Inv. No. EA11280, photo by Strouhal, the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.



Václav Rendl, U Sládků No. 48 with his family, having a snack in the field „u panáka“ (at a shock), Velhartice, District Klatovy, West Bohemia, the National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography, Photographic Collection, Inv. No. EB03790, photo by PhDr Václav Fabián, 10<sup>th</sup> August 1928.

from Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia, but also from the Balkans and other countries. Children's town footwear is represented as well, although on a smaller scale. The collection started at the time of *'Ethnographic Czech-Slavic Exhibition'* in Prague in 1895. After the exhibition had ended in the middle of October 1895, it was necessary to return items that had been borrowed or to find a use for them, especially in the then emerging Museum of Ethnography. The Prague Museum of Ethnography was supported by national history and geography workers in the whole country. Also items from other museums, which might have duplicates of some items, were a source of the new museum's collection. The opening of the museum was scheduled for 15<sup>th</sup> May 1896 (that is a year after the *Ethnographic Czech-Slavic Exhibition* had been opened). In the coming years the collection expanded thanks to purchases of complete collections or solitary items and also thanks to donations. Pictures and illustrations of children in paintings by both known and unknown authors, and above all the photographic collection of the National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography are a valuable sources when studying children's footwear.

### Vysocko bačky (felt cloth boots)

Handmade manufacture of warm felt cloth boots in the Czech countries was a trade in which mostly poor people were engaged. They made the felt cloth boots at home from worn out clothes. There were only a few centres of any importance, namely in the area of Krkonoše Mountains (Giants Mountains) foothills and Pojizeří (around the river of Jizera). Vysocko felt cloth boots represent a specific type of winter cloth or felt cloth footwear. The production came – according to some assumptions – from northern Moravia and from Moravian Wallachia by means of journeymen's travels. Vysocko felt cloth boots were worn by all social strata, including rich farmers, and they became, above all thanks to markets and existing carters' export system, an important export item in the whole area of Krkonoše and Jizera. In the 1890s they were even brought to a market in Prague thanks to a Prague shoemaker Jan Košík (died 1945). Vysocko felt cloth boots makers sold their wares usually during the Saint Wenceslas Fair in Rokytnice nad Jizerou.

The manufacturing process of Vysocko felt cloth boots underwent in the course of years various changes. The material used for soles changed as well. After hatters' trade disappearance, old coats started to be used, mainly in the areas where the felt cloth boots were still home made. Use of old clothes was spread

among the boot makers; in the German areas of west Bohemia mothers made boots for children from old hats. Also waste textile material from dressmakers' and tailors' workshops was used. In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century some of the makers started to use rubber soles instead of cemented on soles. Felt cloth boots were worn mostly in winter. Thanks to their quality and insulating properties the felt cloth boots from Vysocko became a sought after, popular and valued Christmas present. In the 1950s the workshops of felt cloth boots makers mostly disappeared due to official termination of trading licences.

### Childrens' Felt Cloth Boots, so called bačky, inventory No. H4-57346ab, East Bohemia, Vysoké nad Jizerou

The footwear was made to order by Dr. A. Plessingerová (at that time the head of the Department of Ethnography of the National Museum) in October 1958 by the felt cloth boots maker František Bouzek from Vysoké nad Jizerou, No. 289. Dimensions: height 16 cm, sole length 18 cm. Vysocko felt cloth boots are made from blue cloth of a railwayman's uniform, edged on the periphery with black facing; they are fastened by means of five small round black buttons, the toes are covered with black leather. The layered stitched through sole is also partly from the material of a railwayman's uniform.



Children's felt cloth boots called „bačky“, made for the National Museum in 1958, the National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography, Inv. No. H4-57346ab, photo by Olga Tlapáková, 2014.

## Girl's Ankle Boots

Children's footwear was in fact a small copy of grown ups' footwear. In some cases the children's footwear had simpler decoration. Children's girl's lace up boots reached up to approximately mid calves. This is typical for the fashion of the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, they were not worn in all areas with folk costumes, they were more a part of semi-town clothes.



Women, a girl and children in folk costumes in 1923, Horná Poruba – Ilava, Trenčín District, Slovakia, the National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography, Photographic Collection, Inv. No. E04509, photo by Drahomíra Stránská, 1923.

## Children's Clogs

Clogs were very popular children's footwear in villages. Wood was readily available material; and what was important, it was durable. In winter straw was inserted into clogs to protect feet from cold. In West Bohemia, Chodsko area, the boys went barefoot for most of the year; only in winter they wore thick woolen stockings lined with serge and clogs lined with straw. The clogs were made on a carving stool, locally known as 'dědek', 'vosní dědek' (grandpa), etc. These stools were among the basic equipment used by makers of clogs, wooden ladles, shingles and similar items. A person sitting at the carving stool put a pressure on the lower part of a pendular lever with his feet, which enabled him to hold the semi-finished product firmly while he gradually carved off extra material in the direction towards himself. A curved iron chisel with a 'U' shaped blade and a wooden



Children's clogs, middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, West Bohemia, Chodsko Region, Domažlice, The National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography, Inv. No. H4-5956ab, photo by Olga Tlapáková, 2014.

cudgel were used for hollowing out the clog. The wooden cudgel had a 'softer' impact than an iron hammer and so the chisel did not cut into the wood. There were two types of clogs: closed wooden footwear hollowed out from a single piece of wood or pantofles with wooden sole and usually leather upper.

### Children's Clogs of Sisters Marie and Ludmila Kofroň

The sisters Marie and Ludmila were born to a rich family, to father František Kofroň and mother Kateřina, née Marešová. The family owned a large estate in Božetice. Kofroň sisters donated to the National Museum not only these children's clogs but also a unique watch, watch chain as well as a large number of folk costume parts, town clothes, accessories and jewellery.



A children's clog, South Bohemia, Písek District, Božetice, the 1930s, the National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography, Inv. No. H4-115306a, photo by Olga Tlapáková, 2014.



A children's clog, the 1930s, the National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography, Inv. No. H4-115306b, photo by Olga Tlapáková, 2014.

The children's clogs, inventory No. H4-115306a and H4-115306b, South Bohemia, Písek District, Božetice donated in December 2006 by Marie and Ludmila Kofroň, Božetice No. 1. Písek District, South Bohemia. Only half-pairs were preserved, one from each sister. Clog Inv. No. H4-115306a is hollowed out from a single piece of wood; it is cracked on one side. In the upper part there is a blackish wide stripe, most probably left by a metal reinforcing strap. Clog Inv. No. H4-115306b is also hollowed out from a single piece of wood and has a simple decoration of small notches.

## Peasant Shoes

Krpce, locally also known as 'krbce' or 'krpel'. Footwear made from a single piece of leather, which was wrapped around the foot from below, tightened round the foot by straps, which were then fastened round the ankle was mentioned in archaeological literature as early as Neolithic period. Occurrence of peasant shoes is not limited to Europe; it was recorded also in Asia, America and Africa. Making a shoe from one piece of leather was quicker than stitching footwear together from several parts. Neither needle nor thread was required and the last was the foot itself. It was shown, in time, that this type of footwear had undergone a certain construction development before its form stabilised in the shape that best served the purpose. That means

that peasant shoes began to be made with a use of a template. In his publication *Nejstarší formy lidové obuvi v karpatské oblasti Československa (The Oldest Types of Folk Footwear in the Carpathian Region of Czechoslovakia)* published in 1955, Ludvík Baran described a great number of regional variants of peasant shoes.

### Children's Peasant Shoes of Mr Karel Bláha

Mr Karel Bláha, Bělohorská Street 55, Prague 6, donated the peasant shoes to the museum in November 2007. They are made from pig leather of natural colour. A long red cotton ribbon is threaded through the cut outs by means of which the peasant shoe is laced up. There are also eyes with indentations through which a strap, which was tied round the ankles, was threaded. This pair was worn often, which is witnessed by worn out leather on the sole.



Children's peasant shoes with a red ribbon, the 1920s, the National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography, Inv. No. H4-115659ab, photo by Olga Tlapáková, 2014.

### Children's Peasant Shoes Called 'Postale'

Mgr. Jaroslav Vaňka donated this pair of children's peasant shoes to the museum in March 2002. His mother had them made for him approximately in 1932 to be worn with his children's boy's folk costume from Carpathian Ruthenia, Berchova. Peasant shoes 'postale' were worn by Hutsuls in the Carpathian Ruthenia. They are made from leather in natural colour. The upper is decorated with fine indented ornament. There are three round cut out holes on each side (total 6) for threading a lace. The toe of the peasant shoes is asymmetrical, slightly lifted. The



Children's peasant shoes, so-called 'postale', the National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography, Inv. No. H4-112666ab, photo by Olga Tlapáková, 2014.

front part is shaped by means of both vertically and horizontally threaded strap also decorated with indented motif of small flowers.

### A Girl's Peasant Shoe

Left half pair of a girl's peasant shoe dates to 1940, and was therefore worn during the Second World War. It has asymmetrical shaped toe. There is a textile lace in the heel. The shoes were worn by Mrs Tarošiková from Papradno No. 308, Povážská Bystrica District, Slovakia.



A girl's peasant shoe, 1940, the National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography, Inv. No. H4-51383, photo by Olga Tlapáková, 2014.

### Sahara Sandals

The origin of this type of footwear is Slav-Celtic. Sandals were typical footwear of village inhabitants, particularly in the south-

east Europe. The description of the footwear is quoted exactly as it was written in the acquisition book of the National Museum.

Children's leather sandals donated by Mrs Bohumila Kleinová from Sarajevo, delivered by Miss Božena Škardová in 1901. They are originally from Bosnia. Made from leather, with lifted toe, upper part from black leather is embroidered in silver thread over underlay from red and yellow glazed cotton, a strap over instep and counter from red leather.



Children's Sahara sandals, the 1880s, the National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography, Inv. No. H4-NS3565ab, photo by Olga Tlapáková, 2014.

### Children's Sahara Sandals

The sandals were donated by Mrs Josefa Růžičková from Prague in 1888, they come from Croatia. The sole is made from dark brown leather. The upper is made from red and black leather. The heel part is decorated with cut out edging from red leather.



Children's leather Sahara sandals, the 1870s, the National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography, Inv. No. H4-NS3653ab, photo by Olga Tlapáková, 2014.

The joints and seams are from green and red leather. Around the heel and over the instep there is a strap with metal buckle, made from yellow leather.

### Pantofles

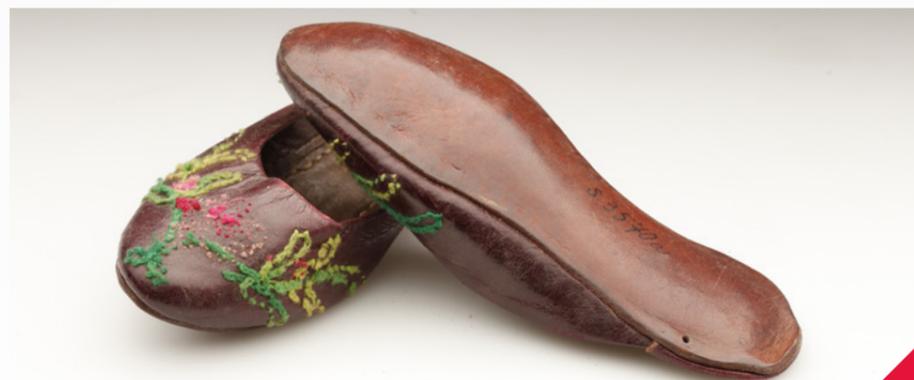
This type of footwear was very popular in the countryside. Also boys wore pantofles. Little girls in west Bohemia in Chodsko region usually wore white or red stockings and simple black shoes or pantofles. Decorated pantofles were also worn in other regions. Their appearance depended on the occasion; decorated footwear was worn with festive folk costumes and the simple one was for everyday wear.



A country girl in black pantofles, in Chodsko folk costume from West Bohemia, Medákov, Domažlice District, the National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography, Photographic Collection, photo by Monika Tauberová, 2014.

### Girl's Pantofles from Mostar

The footwear was donated by Mrs Koecková from Mostar in 1899. They are of a simple cut, the upper is from red leather; the toe is embroidered in wool in bright colours (rich peony pink, light and dark green). The sole is symmetrical; there is no heel.



Girl's pantofles, the 1880s, the National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography, Inv. No. H4-NS3570ab, photo by Olga Tlapáková, 2014.

### Girl's Pantofles from the Estate of V. H. Popelka

In the course of revision of the folk costumes sets in 2008, I discovered an interesting note attached to a girl's folk costume, which stated that the set was from the estate of Mr Vojtěch Hynek Popelka. It aroused my interest, as V. H. Popelka was a well-known painter of animals and landscapes. Further research confirmed that the folk costume set indeed comes from the estate of artist, painter Vojtěch Hynek Popelka (born on 13<sup>th</sup> December 1908 in Prague, Smíchov; died 26th January 1971). Mrs Alena Mudrová sold the folk costume set to the National Museum in 1978.

V. H. Popelka was a pupil of Professor E. Dítě and Jaksch at



Pantofles to be worn with a girl's folk costume, the 1890s, the National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography, Inv. No. H4-97432ab, photo by Olga Tlapáková, 2014.

the School of Applied Arts in Prague, and then he studied at the Academy of Visual Arts in Prague with Professor H. Schwaiger. He travelled across Bohemia and Moravia but most of his works were painted in Strmilov near Jindřichův Hradec. Each year, however, he also travelled to and painted in west Bohemia, Chodsko region – Kouty, Tlumačov, Mrákov and Postřekov. He painted animals, especially cattle and small domestic animals and was also a landscapist. He illustrated Brehm's 'Life of Animals' for the publishing house Sfinx.

The pantofles have upper from black velvet and are decorated in rich embroidery with flower motif (a large star like flower out of which grows a bouquet with stalks, leaves and petals). The embroidery in silk thread is in red, orange, light blue, light green and dark green colours. The sole is symmetrical, made from brown leather. The footwear has a low flat heel from layered leather.

### Felt Cloth Boots

Production of felt cloth boots was particularly spread in the region of south Moravian Wallachia, having the main centre in Valašské Klobouky and surrounding villages. Felt cloth boots maker worked with felt cloth and cloth using a simple one-part last. This type of footwear was made from thick cloth or felt cloth with leather or thick felt cloth stitched through sole. It was mostly worn in winter in mountainous and foothill regions. Felt cloth boots were very popular in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and children's felt cloth shoes (now in the collection of the National Museum) were also exhibited at the Ethnographic Czech-Slavic Exhibition in Prague in 1895. The objective of the exhibition was to show the life and lifestyle of the Czechs and the Slovaks. The venue was the exhibition ground in Prague in Králova obora. It was preceded by three years of preparatory work in the different regions and districts of the country; there were 170 regional exhibitions and numerous ethnographic festivals. Each region then sent the chosen exhibits to Prague. The exhibition opened on 15<sup>th</sup> May 1895. This day a pilgrimage devoted to Saint John of Nepomuk also took place. The exhibition closed on 31st October 1895. There was an extensive accompanying programme, such as *Pilsen Day*, *Children's Day*, *Slovakia Days* and others. Many items of folk origin, such as folk costumes, accessories, footwear and also felt cloth boots were exhibited.

### Children's Felt Cloth Boots

This pair comes from village Zázrivá, Dolný Kubín District, Slovakia. It was exhibited at the Ethnographic Czech-Slavic Exhibition in Prague in 1895. The boots are made from violet felt cloth,



Children's felt cloth boots, exhibited at the Ethnographic Czech-Slavic Exhibition in Prague in 1895, the National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography, Inv. No. H4-7063ab, photo by Olga Tlapáková, 2014.

decorated in the heel and on the front with strips of red cloth and coloured laces, which form loops in places. The ends of the laces at the top of the heel are unravelled. The edge of the boots is trimmed with red cloth and a light blue and yellow lace at the back of the heel. In the middle of the heel there is a red stripe in which grey and pink stars are embroidered in wool. The sole from natural undyed felt cloth is stitched through with twine. On the vamp there are two small metal eyelets and they are tied with a light blue ribbon. A circular hole is cut in the sole for some reason; this was perhaps done to facilitate better fixing at the Ethnographic Czech-Slavic Exhibition in Prague in 1895. Halaša, T.S. Martin, Z.P. 475/253-Sl. 7/938.

### Children's Ankle Boots

This was the most typical children's footwear in towns at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was also worn in villages.

### Children's Boots for Mrs Tomášková from Prague 5 – Smíchov

As early as the Middle Ages there were vineyards, hop-fields, farms, fields and gardens in the area of today's Smíchov; they belonged to the Church and there were mills near the river Moldau. Already since the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and particularly while the Emperor Rudolph II resided in Prague, the Prague bourgeois and nobility established summerhouses in the gardens, which gave this Prague quarter a specific character. Towards the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century a part of Smíchov, together with some other villages becomes the property of the Schwarzenberg family. In the



Parents of Mrs Jiřina Tomášková, 1909, the National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography, Photographic Collection, Inv. No. 6/92, photo by unknown photo studio, 1909.

course of the centuries Smíchov was partly destroyed in wars. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century several factories are established here and cause a huge industrial expansion of Smíchov. From the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century there are more substantial changes. The gardens and summerhouses gradually give way to factory buildings producing various articles. Smíchov becomes 'a hundred-stack Manchester'. In 1838 Smíchov was officially made an adminis-



Children's boots made for a toddler in 1909 by Jiří Tomášek in Prague, the National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography, Inv. No. H4-107485ab, photo by Olga Tlapáková, 2014.

trative suburb of Prague (the second oldest) and in 1850 it became a town, which was confirmed retrospectively only in 1903. Since 1848 Smíchov has been self-governing. In 1922 Smíchov became a part of Greater Prague, the capital of the newly established Czechoslovak Republic. First marked as Prague XVI and XVII, from 1949 as Prague 4 and 16 and from 1960 as Prague 5.

Since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century there was always a great concentration of shoemakers' trade in the towns with garrison for which the shoemakers made GI footwear. Most of the shoemakers were in Smíchov, today Prague 5. They often also settled in villages, but this happened only after the first population explosion in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Shoemakers' trade survived to a greater extent up to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but mostly only for footwear repairs.

Shoemaker Jiří Tomášek from Prague 5 – Smíchov, Zborovská 19 made children's lace up boots for his first born child, daughter Jiřina Tomášková born in 1909 in Prague, Smíchov. They were donated to the museum collection by Mrs Ludmila Jungwirthová in May 1992. They are hand made from soft brown leather, decorated with small perforations. They are lined with twill cloth. They have a low, layered heel.

### The Story of a Girl's Shoes

I found the girl's shoes in one of the drawers when doing inventory of children's textile. They had no inventory number, nor were they entered in digital database. There was no record in paper index cards or acquisition books. They were given a tem-



Girl's shoes, the 1860s, Prague, Bohemia, the National Museum, the Museum of History, the Department of Ethnography, Inv. No. H4-107485ab(1), photo by Olga Tlapáková, 2014.

porary number. In 2012 I was preparing, together with my colleagues, an exhibition Monarchy – A Children's World at the Time of the Emperor (13<sup>th</sup> December 2012 to 29<sup>th</sup> September 2013) in the exhibition halls of the main building of the National Museum (Vinohradská 1, Prague 1) and we decided to exhibit also children's footwear. The above-mentioned shoes so became one of the exhibits. They had to be restored before exhibiting them as they had been damaged. Having been restored they appeared again in their original beauty.

The footwear is from combination of white netting and black leather, the upper is embroidered on the whole periphery with cross stitch in two shades of green and one shade of yellow wool, in twigs with leaves motif. The embroidery is supplemented with golden metal pearls. Stitched on pleated ribbon in green colour decorates the vamp cut out.

- 1 Good Friday before Easter – remembering Jesus Christ's death on the cross, a part of the Holy Week and Easter Triduum (it recalls the passion, death and burial and resurrection of Jesus).
- 2 Saint John the Baptist (born 24<sup>th</sup> June, beheaded 29th August); attributes: lamb, cross, axe, fur, baptism, river, inscription 'Ecce Agnus Dei'.
- 3 Saint Nicolas from Myra (approximately 280/286 Patara – 6<sup>th</sup> December 345/352 Myra), attributes: mitre and crook, gold ingots, pouches, loaves of bread, purses, three boys in a tub, three loaves of bread on a book, anchor and a boat, captives, beggar, three gold spheres (apples). His name day is 6th December and it is linked with giving gifts and sweets to children, usually on the eve of the name day, 5<sup>th</sup> December.

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# Footwear in the Textile Collection of the Department of the Old Czech History of the Museum of History in the National Museum<sup>1</sup>

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## Introduction

Although the National Museum in Prague was founded as early as 1818, the Department of the Old Czech History (further the DOCH) was not established until 1892; this was linked to moving the museum to the then newly erected building at the top of the Wenceslas Square. The original name of the department was Historical-Archaeological Department (the current name has been used since the year 1988) and its first head was an eminent Czech architect and conservationist Jan Koula.

The DOCH collects, preserves and presents objects from the whole current territory of the Czech Republic more or less from the 11<sup>th</sup> century until the year 1918. The collection contains objects, which are a witness to political, economic, social and cultural development in the Czech countries, and which are pertinent to historically important places, events and personalities of our history.

At present the DOCH manages over 200,000 items divided into several collections, out of which archaeological collection, stone sculptures, arms and armour, glass, porcelain, common metals, precious metals and stones, woodcarvings, furniture, paintings and drawings, graphic arts, photographs, pharmaceutical objects and, last but not least, textile and clothing accessories are the most important and most numerous.

Although the textile collection is not the most plentiful (there are approximately 6,500 items), thanks to its contents it

ranks among the essential funds of the Museum of History. Noteworthy is the collection of liturgical and funeral textiles dating from the Middle Ages to the 20<sup>th</sup> century (for instance a so called Rožmberk antependium or the funeral shield of Peter Vok of Rožmberk). The largest and the most complete is the collection of city, and to a lesser extent, aristocratic clothing and accessories from the Baroque period to the First Republic. The most attractive for presentation are a dress of Maria Luisa Hapsburg-Lorraine, which she probably wore for her wedding to Napoleon Bonaparte in 1810, or a uniform of the Emperor Franz Joseph I from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The collection naturally contains also a number of clothing accessories such as fans, gloves, walking sticks, parasols, ties, collars and cuffs, clasps, headdress, handbags and purses, dance programmes, lingerie, scarves and shawls, socks and stockings, embroidery, lace and ribbons. The collection of historical footwear numbers about 100 pairs and half pairs of footwear.

## Footwear in the Textile Collection of the Department of the Old Czech History

The footwear collection is not balanced, not only from the perspective of the time axis but also because there is only a very limited sample of men's and children's footwear. The collection so represents, above all, footwear of a city woman in the Czech countries in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The percentage representation of the styles and periods is as follows:

- The Middle Ages and the early Modern Times 5%
- Baroque and Rococo 12%
- The Empire Style and the Biedermeier 33%
- The second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – Historicism 36%
- Art Nouveau and the First Republic 12%

The footwear collection is, with some exceptions, recorded chronologically and systematically, including the photographic documentation. The archives sources of the Department are also kept in a satisfactory condition. The collection is, however, little used by researchers or documentalists for publication. It is mostly used in activities connected to exhibitions. One of the Department's objectives is to introduce a fully digitalised database, which would make research work far more efficient than the current paper card index.

## Acquisition Activities

The acquisition activities have been very limited in the past twenty years. Neither donors nor sellers offer items in such

quantities as in the previous decades. It is understandable as the DOCH collection focuses on objects manufactured and used before the year 1918.

The oldest recorded acquisition of footwear was in the year 1832. Since that date until 1920 approximately 45% items were accepted to the current footwear collection. Great credit for this goes to Mrs Josefa Náprstková, the wife of Vojtěch Náprstek, who collected and kept, among others, clothing, embroidery and footwear from the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries for the Náprstek Museum. A part of the Náprstek collection was transferred during the period of the First Republic to the depositories of the Museum of History. The footwear was mostly donated by members of city middle classes, tradesmen, businessmen and intellectual elite. A collection, which was then to be donated to the National Museum, was, for instance, initiated among Czech ladies at the occasion of the exhibition 'Prague 1750-1850', which took place in 1916 in the Old Town Hall in Prague.

Approximately 50% of the objects in the collection were registered between the years 1946 and 1980. Thousands of items were given to the National Museum at the time of confiscations in the years 1945 to 1955. As far as footwear is concerned, it was only one pair, however. Acquisitions in the 20<sup>th</sup> century were mostly donations and sometimes sales by people of older generation, who were born at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and had footwear of their parents or great parents, i.e. from the 19<sup>th</sup> century or beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. An important acquisition at the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s was taking over an extensive and varied estate of the families Měchura, Palacký, Riegr and Bráf with thousands of items.

## Presentation Activities

Special exhibitions devoted to footwear development or presenting footwear of important and well-known personalities have not been organised in the National Museum in the past few years. The last exhibition that presented footwear to a larger extent was the exhibition 'Footprints of Man' in 2007-2008. Another, but more limited occasion to present at least single items of footwear from the collection was, in 2012-2014, the exhibition 'Monarchy' with accompanying exhibitions 'Children's World at the Time of the Emperor' (approximately half of the exhibits were lent by the Department of Ethnography of the Museum of History of the National Museum) and 'The Century of Waltz and Polka' in the Czech Museum of Music.

In the mid term exhibition schedule there are no plans for a monothematic exhibition focusing on the development of footwear. In 2016 an exhibition on weddings in the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup>

centuries is planned, so there will be an opportunity to exhibit some of the wedding footwear. Our efforts are at the moment focused on creating new permanent exhibitions in the historical building of the National Museum. It is presumed that in the chronological line at least one pair of footwear will be exhibited for each period or style. Permanent exhibition 'Society in Bohemia in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century' in chateau Vrchotovy Janovice will also be revamped. Space will be given to exhibiting footwear of the city middle classes and aristocrats from the 'long' 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### Restoring the Exhibits and Storing them in the Depositories

We have to say, unfortunately, that although the textile collection of the DOCH is an important part of the Museum of History collections, not much was done in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the field of restoration and non-destructive storage. In other words, restoration and conservation of textile and footwear were, for the long decades, rather chance activities, in most cases initiated by the need to restore the objects before exhibiting them. A big change happened when the collections were moved from the main building of the National Museum to depositories in Terezín near Litoměřice between 2002 and 2012, when in the Central Depository Terezín I, a modern workshop for restoring textiles was established next to the spacious depositories.

Textile depositories of the Museum of History are so extensive, that it is not reasonably possible for all the items to be restored within a short period of time. Priority is given to objects that are being lent for exhibitions (both internal and external), objects that are of a unique importance or objects that are scientifically researched or written about. In spite of the size of the textile collection of the DOCH, the restoration workshop is capable of treating several tens of items per year.

Stable climatic conditions are maintained in the depositories, with the temperature between 15-22°C and 50% relative humidity and the windows are covered with shutters. In the DOCH the footwear is stored in pH neutral paper boxes, each pair (with a few exceptions) having its own box. Unbleached linen insole is inserted in each shoe to help it keep its shape. Everything is wrapped in pH neutral paper.

## Selected Examples of Footwear from the Middle Ages to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

### The Middle Ages and the Early Modern Times

The oldest example of footwear is an elongated low shoe for



A shoe dated to the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the National Museum, H2-28485, photo by D. Landová.

right foot (H2-28485) from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The shoe, 27cm long, is made from dark brown to black cow leather, with a missing heel, the shoe is sewn together from three parts – a sole, an upper and a triangular joint. The sole consists of a single layer of leather, edged on its periphery with a strip, on the instep there is a strap which joins together the sole and the upper; ankle was not covered. The object is rather worn and deformed.

This is an archaeological find from January 1952 from the Benedictine monastery in Emauzy in Prague found in the backfill of the cloister vault in the southern part of the monastery. There are a total of 10 items from this dig in the Department – pots, jars and objects made from leather. The shoe was preserved



A pair of ladies shoes from the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the National Museum, H2-3431, photo by A. Kumstátová, 2014.

thanks to optimum situation where the dry environment of the vault backfill prevented microbiological decomposition.

In the collection there are only two items representing the pre-White Mount Battle period, both of them dated to approximately 1610-1620. There is a single ladies shoe (H2-3430) with a thick, layered red heel and a missing buckle. The other example of footwear from the first decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century was preserved in a pair. Ladies shoes (H2-3431) are hand sewn from chamois leather with a massive heel and layered red sole. Metal buckles on the distinct perforated tongue were not preserved. The footwear was most likely a part of the collection of objects from the so-called 'Mathematical Museum' in Prague Clementinum building established in 1722. The objects were donated to the National Museum collections by the Municipal School of Engineering in 1832.<sup>2</sup>

### Baroque and Rococo

A ladies shoe (H2-3429) was made shortly after the end of the Thirty Year War. It has a thick heel and a narrow, straight cut toe. The edges of the uppers are decorated with perforations. The textile ribbon was added at a later date. This half pair was donated to the National Museum collections by imperial and royal court goldsmith and jeweller Jeroným Grohmann in 1856.

The pair of shoes (H2-3428) is an example of Baroque men's footwear, dating probably to 1670-1680. The shoes have wide



A shoe from around 1650, the National Museum, H2-3429, photo by A. Kumstátová, 2014.



Men's leather shoes, the National Museum, H2-3428, photo by A. Kumstátová, 2014.

straight toes and a mid heel with remnants of black varnish. Metal buckles were not preserved, and neither was one shawl tongue. There is no differentiation between right and left foot. This pair of footwear was most likely also a part of the set from the 'Mathematical Museum' in Prague Clementinum.

A trio of ladies shoes from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> and the first decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries are very similar. The oldest pair are light grey shoes made from fine leather (H2-3427) with a long narrow toe and characteristically formed high heels (Louis heel). The buckles were not preserved, the long tongues, however,



Ladies Baroque footwear with interesting embroidery, the National Museum, H2-3432, photo by A. Kumstátová, 2014.

were. A decorative example of analogue type are ladies shoes (H2-3432) dating to 1710-1730, with high heels and a narrow, slightly lifted toe, decorated with a colourful plant embroidery in silk thread. Unusual is the embroidery on the heel. Buckles were not preserved. This item was donated to the DOCH by Barbora Hoblová (1852-1923), a well-known collector of ethnographic material and a charity worker from Mladá Boleslav.

The last of the trio are ladies mules (H2-35748) dated to 1720-1740, on high heels with a narrow toe, decorated on the vamp with embroidery in tinsel thread. The footwear came to the depositories of the DOCH as a confiscate from 1946. It was originally owned by A. Richter, a German businessman from Raspenava.

Rococo is represented with a pair and a half of ladies pantofles, the first pair of which is interesting because of its decoration. Pantofles (H2-3433) dating to 1770-1795 have a mid heel covered with fine leather of cream colour, the insole is stuffed with horsehair, the upper is covered with silk with a rich embroidery in glass cut beads, using sable technique to form a plant pattern. The original owner was a rich city lady. This item was donated to the National Museum collection by M. Kitzerová, a widow of a doctor of medicine from Roudnice nad Labem.

The second ladies pantofle (H2-146134), of which only a half-pair was preserved, is from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The upper is coated with unbleached linen, and is lined with straw. On the vamp the straw and a silk ribbon were preserved only to a minimum extent. The donor is the wife of Vojta Náprstek, Josefa Náprstková (1838-1907), a collector and initiator of a vast collection of textile of both folk and city origin.



Pantofles with an interesting technique of decoration with glass beads, the National Museum, H2-3433, photo by D. Fagová, 2014.

## The Empire Style and the Biedermeier

Three well-preserved ladies shoes from the Empire Style period were donated by Antonín Skřivan (1818-1887)<sup>3</sup>. He was the owner of a business school in Prague and an expert accountant and businessman. One of his greatest achievements was introduction of the Czech language as a business language in everyday life; he is also the author of Czech accounting terminology.

The shoes belonged to his mother, Alžběta Skřivanová, nee Smejkalová from Přebyslav (1786-1866). The first shoe (H2-146128) made from white buckskin with a sharp lifted toe, with no heel dates back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The shoe is covered with blue-green silk and decorated in tinsel thread, sequins and pleated ribbon on the toe.

A very simple undecorated shoe from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (H2-146130) is made from dark brown saffian leather, with a sharp toe without a heel. It is trimmed with white buckskin and a dark brown textile cockade is fixed on the vamp.

The third memento of Antonín Skřivan's mother is a shoe H2-146129, which is exactly dated by the donor to 1807, when the first of Alžběta and Augustin Skřivan's three sons was born in Krucemburk. The shoe is covered with green silk, it has no heel and it has a narrow toe with gold tinsel thread and sequins decorations on the vamp.



A shoe dated to 1807, the National Museum, H2-146129, photo by A. Kumstátová, 2014.

An example of men's Empire Style footwear H2-146124 is probably from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The shoe, which resembles ladies footwear of this period, is made from white buckskin with a very low heel, it is covered with silk of brown colour, on a sharp toe decorated in tinsel thread and sequins. In the acquisition records it is noted that the shoes were worn by purkmister Hynek Wisingr from Kouřim at the coronation ceremony of the Czech king Ferdinand the Kindhearted in 1836.

An example of Empire Style wedding footwear is a pair of ladies shoes H2-146121 made from buckskin, covered with white



A pair of wedding shoes from 1809, the National Museum, H2-146121, photo by A. Kumstátová, 2014.

satin, with no heel, with a narrow toe, decorated in silver and gold tinsel thread and red glass beads on the vamp. The wedding took place in 1809 in the family of brewers in Svijany.

Examples of the Biedermeier period footwear are, by chance, all ladies wedding shoes. Explanation is simple; the brides usually kept their wedding shoes for nostalgic reasons and gave them to their children as a memento. Other types of footwear from the period 1820-1848 are rare in the collection.

All shoes are very similar. It is footwear typical for this period (so-called ballet slippers), i.e. made from fine leather, they are light, without a heel, covered with light or dark textile (most often satin), with a blunt to square toe and two ribbons tied on the instep and around the ankle.

Two pairs of wedding shoes (H2-14772 and H2-10157), which could have also been used as dancing shoes, are dated to the 1830s and the 1840s. Both pairs are covered with white satin and decorated with a silk pleated ribbon on the vamp. The wedding shoes could also have been dark blue or black, the evidence of which is the pair (H2-14773) dated to 1837.

A wedding shoe (H2-142455) from the 1830s to 1840s has an interesting origin. It does not go beyond the period fashion of



Dark wedding shoes from 1837, the National Museum, H2-14773, photo by A. Kumstátová, 2014.

light coloured satin ballet shoes with a ribbon to be tied round the ankle. The donation comes from the family of professor Jan Urban Jarník (1848-1923), an esteemed philologist and translator from Roman languages. According to acquisition records, his bride Ida Jarníková (1856-1935) wore this shoe on her wedding day in the 1870s. Judging by the shape of the shoe, it is, however, older, which does not, of course, exclude the story about the bride. The item was donated to the collections of the National Museum by their first daughter Ida Jarníková (1879-1965), among others an eminent reformer of kindergartens in the period of the First Republic and the authoress of books dealing with education of pre-school children. One of Jan Urban Jarník and Ida Jarníková's sons was Professor Vojtěch Jarník, one of the most renowned Czech mathematicians of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### Footwear of the Second Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

One of a few men's shoes, which can be found in the DOCH textile collection, is a pair of boots without a heel (H2-146789). The lower part of the boots is made from black leather, the upper from green leather. The boots were made for bookseller Bredner (Predner), who took part in 1848 uprising.

Satin ankle boots (H2-67722) without heels, with a straight toe and inner side lacing represent ball dance footwear. According to the donors, these were worn to a ball dance in 1860. This type of footwear appears, however, much earlier, specifically from the 1830s.



Ball dance footwear, the National Museum, H2-67722, photo by A. Kumstátová, 2014.

Similar are ankle boots from black satin (H2-129791) dated to 1860-1880, with low heels and inner side lacing. In the heel of the right half pair there is a company sticker; in its upper half there are, in a cartouche, two medallions with illegible initials. Around the cartouche there is an inscription: 32 Boulevard des Italiens/Ci-Devant Passage del'Opera 25. Under the inscription,

in lines: Certost, then in a decorative script: F. de S. M. Le Reine M.aie Amelie/De la Princesse/Adélaïde et Clementine d'Orléans/Paris.

Footwear worn in the house did not have heels, for instance ladies shoes (H2-39469) from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with a square toe. The upper is from blue brocade and it is decorated with relief embroidery in tinsel thread forming plant motif.



Ladies house shoes, the National Museum, H2-39469, photo by A. Kumstátová, 2014.

Two pairs of ladies wedding shoes are separated by exactly 20 years. Shoes (H2-29362) from 1877 have upper from white satin, low French heel; the vamp is decorated with pleated ribbon and a buckle. The second pair (H2-147685) from 1897 has upper also from white satin, which covers also the low heel. Lining is from white glacé (grain leather for gloves). The vamp is decorated with a pleated ribbon. The pair belonged to bride Jeny Pospíšilová (1874-1965) from Závěšice near Štramberk.



Wedding shoes from 1877, the National Museum, H2-29362, photo by A. Kumstátová, 2014.

## Art Nouveau and the First Republic Period

Three pairs of footwear from company H. Bauer from Vienna represent fashion prevailing at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Ladies street shoes made from fine light brown leather (H2-39467) with a mid high slightly shaped heel, fastened on the side with four small buttons are preserved in the original H. Bauer box.



Ladies street footwear from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the National Museum, H2-39467, photo by A. Kumstátová, 2014.

H. Bauer of course manufactured also more festive footwear, such as, for example, ladies shoes from white satin (H2-39466) on a mid-high, shaped heel fastened with a strap with a small button, decorated on the vamp with a ribbon and man-made stones. This pair was also preserved together with the original box. In the original box are also ladies shoes from white satin (H2-39465) on a mid-high shaped heel fastened with a strap and a small button, with a long narrow toe. The vamp is decorated with a black pompom and a white satin bow.



Footwear 'Mnichovohradištská', the National Museum, H2-29431, photo by A. Kumstátová, 2014.

Company 'Mnichovohradištská' established by Efraim Kompert in 1852 could be considered a competitor of Baťa Company. The factory called C.&K. Mnichovohradištská Shoemaking Factory Frant. & Arnošt Kompert belonged among the important footwear manufacturers in the period of Austro-Hungarian Empire. The factory was hit by recession at the end of the 1920s and in 1934 the Komperts were forced to close the factory. Ladies shoes with brocade upper (H2-29431) and with a sharp toe and a French heel dating to 1918-1919 are an example of their production. On the inlay is the logo of 'Mnichovohradištská'.

## Footwear of Famous Personalities

Two pairs of footwear are, according to the DOCH acquisition records, from the family Gryspek from Gryspach. The ladies shoes (H2-3435), most probably from the years 1730-1740, have green silk upper, mid heel and a narrow toe. The buckle was not preserved.

Uniquely preserved children's shoes (H2-3434) from the 1770s to the 1780s are lined with fine white leather; the upper is from silk repp textile in cream colour. The shoes are decorated with embroidery in silk and silver thread forming a plant motif. The edges of the shoes were originally trimmed with a ribbon.

Both pairs were donated to the National Museum collections in 1852 by the court counsellor, knight Sacher-Masoch (who worked in the 1850s in committees of various sections of the National Museum, for instance in archaeological department, he was also the curator of The Czech Foundation). It is recorded that the footwear was found in the family tomb of the Gryspeks from Gryspach in Kralovice. Because of the dating of the bodies internment in the family tomb (the last member of the Czech branch Jáchym died in 1678), it is not possible that the footwear was owned by any member of the Gryspek family. The footwear was most probably added to the tomb in later years, the same as other non-original parts of clothing or clothing accessories.<sup>4</sup>



Ladies shoes from Kralovice tomb, the National Museum, H2-3435, photo by A. Kumstátová, 2014.



Children's shoes from Kralovice tomb, the National Museum, H2-3434, photo by A. Kumstátová, 2014.

In the textile collection of the DOCH, there are a few mementos of the members of Hapsburg-Lorraine dynasty, for instance three pairs of footwear of the Empress Anna Maria of Savoy (1803-1884), the wife of Ferdinand I the Kindhearted and the last Czech crowned queen. The Imperial pair ruled the monarchy from Vienna between 1836 and 1848; then they moved to Prague Castle, where both of them also died. The footwear found their way to the National Museum collections thanks to Mr and Mrs Náprstek, who took over the items from Marie Benešová from Prague.

Two pairs of ankle boots (H2-146136 and H2-146137) from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, made from black leather on low heel with an elongated toe are of similar type. The first pair is laced on the inner side (this type of footwear is known as Adelaide). The upper is decorated with textile with plant pattern and a small bow. The second pair has an elasticated inlay on the sides. What is interesting is their length – a little less than 28 cm.



Ankle boots of Empress Anna Maria of Savoy, the National Museum, H2-146136, photo by A. Kumstátová, 2014.

The pair of shoes from white satin (H2-68314), which Anna Maria Savoy wore towards the end of her life, dates to approximately 1870s. The shoes have a mid heel, a square toe, they have a rubber strip across the instep and are decorated with pleated ribbons.

The most numerous in the collection is footwear of some members of the families Měchura, Palacký, Rieger and Bráf. The oldest example are hand-made white silk slippers (H2-193382) from the 1820s. The lining is from fine white leather; the sole is a thin strip of leather, slightly lifted in the heel seat. They have a square toe and there is a lacing in thin ribbon on the vamp, which is of a later date. They are not decorated. This pair could have belonged to Terezie Měchurová, married Palacká (1807-1860).

Most of the footwear preserved belonged to Maria Aloisia Riegr (1833-1891), who was a daughter of František Palacký and wife of F.L. Riegr. Marie was a very interesting person, with many talents. Not only was she a housewife, but she was also well educated and had good organisational skills, which she applied especially in her philanthropic activities. For tens of years she looked after the poor not only in the centre of Prague but also in the suburbs, where she took long walks in all weathers. Marie Riegrová was a very modest and practical woman, with no inclination to vanity, which is witnessed by her preserved wardrobe. Not only dresses, scarves, hats or coats tell us about her modesty but also her footwear (mostly size 37) is an evidence of this characteristic feature of her personality.

Ordinary, even common look her shoes from black silk (H2-187359) from 1880-1891, on a low wooden heel with a straight toe, decorated on the vamp with a simple bow.



Sturdy walking boots of Marie Riegrová, the National Museum, H2-187363, photo by A. Kumstátová, 2014.

Sturdy boots (H2-187363) were worn for long errands round Prague or on walks at the family summer home in Maleč near Havlíčkův Brod. Black boots on mid heel fastened with twelve semi-circular buttons were worn by Mrs Riegr between 1870 and 1891.

One of the most important life experiences of Marie Riegrová was a visit to Rome and an audience with the Pope at Easter 1891. Mrs Riegrová was not only life-long practicing catholic, but she was also awarded Papal medal for organising fund raising collection for decoration of Saint Cyril and Saint Methodius church in Karlín. Thanks to a note by her daughter, Marie Červinková-Riegrová, we know today what clothes and footwear Marie took with her to Rome and which of them she chose for the audience with the Pope Leo XIII. Mrs Riegrová wore boots on low heel made from brown leather with black elasticated side gussets (H2-187362).



The boots Marie Riegrová wore to the audience with the Pope Leo XIII, the National Museum, H2-187362, photo by A. Kumstátová, 2014.

Marie Riegrová looked forward to visiting Rome with her husband very much and, probably, also because of enjoyment of the journey she suppressed the feelings of worsening health. She suffered from nervous attacks and had a weak heart throughout all her life. This showed its full force on 29th March 1891, when Mrs. Riegrová succumbed to her illness in Rome.<sup>5</sup>

The home and family life of the Riegr and Bráf families can be seen through two types of house footwear and an infant's shoe. Ladies dark brown house footwear (H2-193378) on a wide low heel with metal pins could have belonged either to Marie Riegrová or to her daughters Marie Červinková-Riegrová (1854-1895) and Libuše Bráfová (1860-1930). All three ladies were born and then lived in the family flat in MacNevenovský Palace (today Palacký Street 7, Prague 1), they lived with their husbands and gave birth to their children there. They led a varied and busy social life and looked after their families.

One of the important roles of a woman of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was to look after clothing and footwear of all family members. Marie Riegrová was especially skilled in handicraft, she is said to have taken her knitting and crocheting even to long walks in Maleč. She distributed a great number of her products to the needy in the course of her charity work; but some of the items were made, of course, for the members of her family. Marie's talent was inherited by her younger daughter Libuše. An interesting item of handiwork are semi-finished uppers for men's pantofles (H2-193213) shaped as a letter 'V' embroidered in cross-stitch on embroidery canvas. The pantofles are decorated with colourful flowers and buds.

The only witness to the first steps of Riegr and Bráf families in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century is a rather damaged infant's shoe (H2-193376) from dark cotton textile. Inserted in the shoe was a piece of paper with a lock of blond hair. The footwear may be a memento of the three Riegr children – Marie, Bohuslav and Libuše, or of Libuše's son Václav Bráf.



Infant's shoe from the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the National Museum, H2-193376, photo by A. Kumstátová, 2014.

## Conclusion

The collection, counting approximately 100 pairs and half pairs of footwear, belongs among the most significant collections of textile of the Department of the Old Czech History of the Museum of History of the National Museum. Encompassing items from 14<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, it offers a definite idea of the development of, above all, ladies footwear of city and noble classes in the territory of the Czech countries. Equally interesting are personal mementos of outstanding personalities of Czech and European history of the past centuries.

Most of the objects are relatively well preserved, in the future, it will, however, be necessary to systematically conserve and restore them. I believe that at least a part of the collection will be publicly shown in a form of temporary or permanent exhibitions or professional or popular studies.

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- 1 · *This contribution originated with the financial support of the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic, within the institutional financing of long-term conceptual development of research organisation the National Museum.*
  - 2 *SRŠEŇ, Lubomír et al. Katalog předmětů pocházejících z "Matematického muzea", identifikovaných ve sbírkách Národního muzea. (Catalogue of Objects from the 'Mathematical Museum', Identified in the Collections of the National Museum). In: PETRÁŇ, Josef (ed.): Památky Univerzity Karlovy (Musealia of Charles University). Prague: Charles University in Prague, Karolinum publishing house, 1999. ISBN 80-7184-855-7.*
  - 3 *More about Antonín Skřivan can be learnt from the contemporary press Zlatá Praha (Golden Prague), 5, 1884, year 1, number 18, pp 215 and 218, or Světovzor (Worldview), 11, 1884, year 18, number 49, pp 590-591, or Otto Encyclopaedia, tome 23, Prague 1905.*
  - 4 *My thanks for this information to Mgr. V. Pilná from National Heritage Institute in Pilsen.*
  - 5 *More on the personality of Marie Riegrová for instance ČERVINKOVÁ-RIEGROVÁ, Marie. Marie Riegrová, rozená Palacká: její život a skutky (Marie Riegrová, born Palacká: Her Life and Deeds). Prague: Prague Publishing, 1892.*

# Bata's Employees in China in the Photographs by Viktor Mussik<sup>1</sup>

Jiřina Todorovová

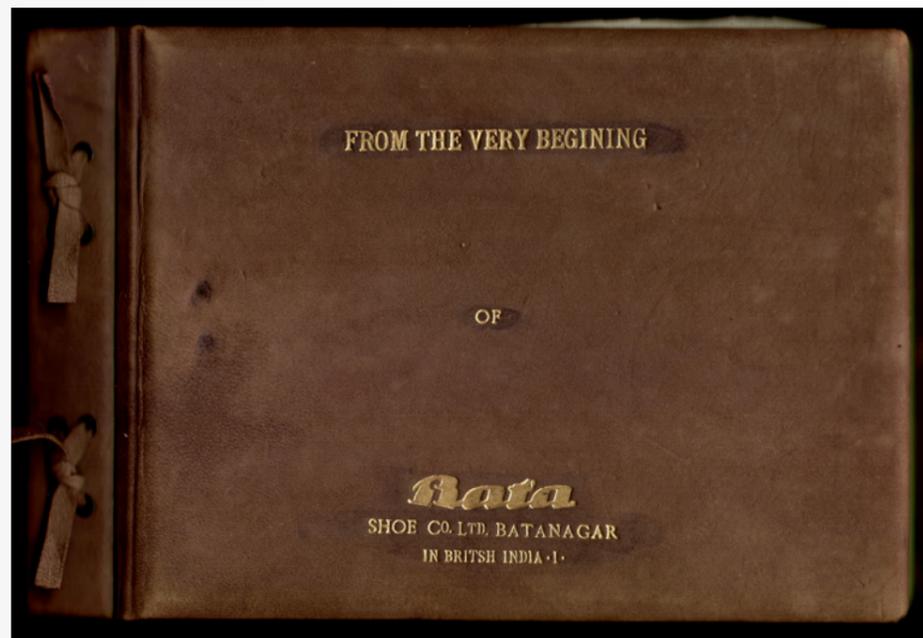
The National Museum – the Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures, Prague, the Czech Republic

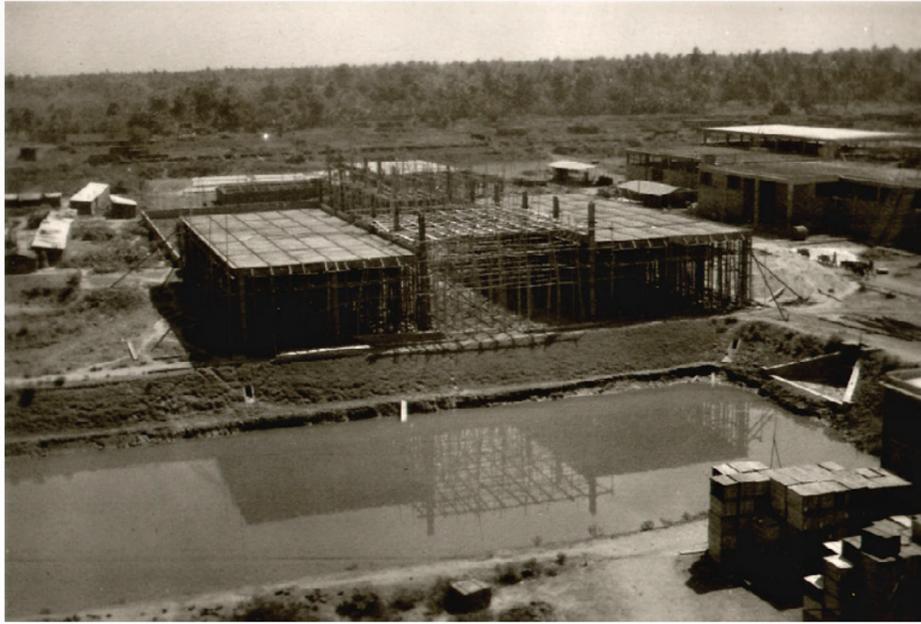
Amongst the collections of the Náprstek Museum there is an extensive collection of negatives the author of which is a journalist and globetrotter Viktor Mussik (1899-1952). Before the Second World War, Mussik travelled through a great part of the world. As early as 1923 he set out, with two of his friends, via the Balkans and Greece to Egypt, where, however, he fell ill. Having got better, he continued alone to the Near East (to Palestine, present Israel, and to Beirut in Syria). He returned to Prague in October 1923. The second journey to North Africa took place in the second part of 1924, at that time he was already a freelance journalist; from this time all journeys he undertook were as a reporter for various newspapers. At the end of June 1925 he left via the Near East for India, which he travelled across from the north (including Sikkim in Himalayas) to the south (including Ceylon, today's Sri Lanka). At the end of 1928 he returned to Africa but this time travelled south to the Equatorial Africa and

the South Africa. Also the next journey, in 1931, was to Africa, this time to Ethiopia. In 1932 he was sent, as a journalist, to China. He travelled in China until the end of 1933 and then, in January 1934, he left for the Philippines. Then he continued to Siam (present Thailand), at the beginning of February 1935 he travelled to Japan. After three months he went to Korea, then he continued via China to Russia, where he boarded the Trans-Siberian Railway. At the beginning of January 1937 Mussik left for the Near East and the Middle East. The last journey outside Europe was in 1939, when he visited Africa again.

Mussik liked to visit compatriots in the countries he travelled to, those who were in the country temporarily or permanently. He was very interested in their various life stories and he liked to take photographs of people. Also in China, which he visited between 1932 and 1933, Mussik sought out and photographed the compatriots from Czechoslovakia. He wrote articles for newspapers describing his meetings, for instance for a daily Venkov (The Country) (Venkov was the central press of the Republican Party of Agriculture and Farmers – Agrarian Party).

The compatriots living abroad were there often for business reasons, for instance employees of Bata Company. From the towns Mussik visited in China, Bata had branches in Shanghai and Hong Kong. In the article 'Czechoslovak Compatriots in the Far East and Their Work', which the daily Venkov (The Country) published on 11<sup>th</sup> June 1933, Mussik writes about Bata Company activities in China: *Recently, the Czechoslovak colony in China was 'rejuvenated' by three 'Bata people', Mr. Šoun in Shanghai and Messrs Weiss and Dobal in Hong Kong. After the awkward beginning, not caused by the Bata Company, they opened, just*







in Baťa archives, any lists of employees sent to work in distant Company branches all over the world and whether it might be possible to discover any details about these people and their life stories. Mussik took photographs of Baťa shops in Shanghai and Hong Kong both from the street – their shop fronts and shop windows, and the inside.

Mussik's articles were written with a sharp pen, he was very critical; sometimes he used sarcastic exaggeration, especially when writing about local customs. However, he was always deeply interested in his compatriots and he wished, that his native country – Czechoslovakia – would prosper abroad and would only be seen in the best light. He believed the Baťa Company could contribute towards the good image of the country.



*before Easter, a new shop in Hong Kong and their business is good and it would be three fold better if they had enough goods of good quality. We can but wonder that such firm as the Baťa Company, which today has shops all over the world, is only now starting its activities in China, which could have been one of their best consumers a long time ago, and that so little is known in the Company's headquarters about Chinese market, which is witnessed by the type of goods sent here. Only the very best footwear produced by the factory must be sent to Shanghai or Hong Kong and such sizes that can be sold here. Due to the ungainly styles of men's footwear and in everyday ladies footwear it will be difficult to compete with the cheap Chinese production. Let us hope this will soon be rectified and that the Baťa Company will become our foremost national company in the Far East.*<sup>2</sup>

In Mussik's collection in the Náprstek Museum we have photographs of Baťa shops and portraits of employees – from Shanghai a portrait of Mr. Šoun and a portrait of Miss Marková – she was not mentioned in Mussik's article. It is clear from the photographs, that the Company had at least two branches in Shanghai, which means, more Czech and local employees. In Hong Kong there worked Mr. Weiss and another employee, which Mussik in his article calls Mr. Dobal, but there is a problem – on the label with Mussik's negative in our collection, the name is Dodal. This label was inscribed by a curator, who in the 1950s labelled new acquisitions. The mistake could have been made either in the printing works – Dobal, or when labelling the item in the Museum – Dodal. It is easy to interchange letters 'b' and 'd', however, I think Dodal is more likely. We have no further details about the employees. I would be interested to learn, whether there exist,



- 1 This paper originated with the financial support of the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic within the institutional financing of long-term conceptual development of research organisation National Museum (DKRVO 2013/37, 00023272).
- 2 Viktor Mussik: *Czechoslovak Compatriots in the Far East and Their Work / Causerie/, Venkov (The Country) 28, 1933, No. 136, appendix pp 3-4, 11/6*

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1. MUSSIK, Viktor: Čechoslováci na dalekém východě a jejich práce (Czechoslovak Compatriots in the Far East and Their Work)/Causerie/, Venkov 28, 1933, č. 136, příl. s. 3-4, 11/6.

# Footwear and Shoemakers in the Villages of a Former German Enclave in Vyškov Area

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South of Vyškov, approximately 30km far from Brno, there were several villages with predominantly German inhabitants from as early as the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century a so-called German language enclave was formed, which included eight villages: Kučerov (Kutscherau), Hlubočany (Hobitschau), Terešov (Terechau), Lysovice (Lissowitz), Rostěnice (Rosternitz) a Zvonovice (Swonowitz) were a part of a so-called upper enclave, while Komořany (Gundrum) and Čechyně (Tschechen) formed a lower enclave. We shall look at the upper language enclave only, as the lower enclave did not show any regional specifics in the researched period, that is, from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the 1940s.

In a collection of gouaches from 1814, published in a form of a book by Miroslava Ludvíková, we see images of folk costumes of German farmers from the area of Slavkov, which is only about 9 km far from the border of the later lower enclave.<sup>1</sup> The



Footwear of a German female farmer from the area near Slavkov in one of the gouaches from 1814 (detail). From M. Ludvíková: Moravian and Silesian Folk Costumes. Gouaches from 1814, p 137.

ladies footwear is low, with a red tongue; men wear high leather boots. Horn's album *Mährens ausgezeichnete Volkstrachten* (1837) does not depict any folk costumes of Vyškov Germans.

German villages in Vyškov area are first mentioned in the magazine *Moravia* from the year 1815<sup>2</sup> and then in the topography by Řehoř Volný *Die Margrafschaft Mähren* from the year 1846. No attention to folk costume or footwear is paid here, though. We can learn something about the folk costume only in 1873 thanks to the World Exhibition in Vienna, where, apart from the folk costumes from Haná region, Moravian Croats, Moravian Slovaks and Moravian Wallachians, also folk costumes of Moravian Germans were presented. In the folk costume display, a figurine of a female wedding guest from Zvonovice and a carter from the same village were exhibited. In the part Home Industry, villages Rostěnice and Zvonovice were represented with their decorations of folk costume clothing, while there was also a pair of footwear from Zvonovice.<sup>3</sup>

Heinrich Kirchmayr (born 1845) is considered to be the founder of research on the German villages in Vyškov area. He was a Professor at the German Higher Real School in Brno, who described his visit to the villages in the magazine *Moravia*, year 1881. He mentions the folk costume and footwear of Rostěnice women, which he saw during a service in church. He describes their shoes as 'widely cut with a red bow on the upper'.<sup>4</sup> He also writes about folk costume from Kučerov, he does not, however, mention their footwear.

Another researcher, Karl Lechner, a historian from Innsbruck, describes in 1886 '...low ladies shoes from blue textile, widely cut and bound with a light blue ribbon (*Reinisch*)'.<sup>5</sup> A narrow red strip, which used to edge the whole shoe at one time, is sewn above the leather heel. At the front, there is a bigger piece of red leather, so-called *Lappen*.<sup>6</sup> According to Lechner, women wore leather footwear only in bad weather. At that time men wore narrow high boots, called *Stiefel*, which Lechner also calls *Aufziehstiefel* (pull-up boots).<sup>7</sup> into which narrow black trousers were tucked; these were in winter lined with sheep's wool. With short knee-length trousers men wore white stockings, which could be seen for about a handbreadth above the boots. Men's boots (*Aufziehstiefel*) are also mentioned by the author of *Mägren und Schlesien* in a compendium *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* (1897, p 161).

Thanks to the František's (later the Moravian District) Museum, which at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century organised a wide-reaching collection with an objective to gain complete folk costumes of



Ladies footwear from 1897 from the collection of Institute of Ethnography of the Moravian District Museum (further MDM), inventory No. 4026 a, b. Photo J. Cága, 2014.



Date 1897, in studs on the heel of ladies footwear. Scratches and the hole were caused by fixing at an exhibition. Photo J. Pechová, 2014.



Christine Müller from Hlubočany No. 90, born 1872, seen here in footwear made for the District Museum in 1897. Pictures of Moravian Folk and Moravian Folk Costumes (*Mährische Volks- und Trachtentypen*). Photographic Collection of the Institute of Ethnography of MDM, F 3 319.

the various regions of Moravia and at the same time to document photographically their wearers, we know exactly what the folk costume looked like at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The František's Museum then acquired complete male and female folk costumes as well as a complete folk costume of a bride, including the footwear, all those from Hlubočany. Also photographs of young people dressed in these folk costumes were taken and then coloured.



A bride's footwear with a red tongue from 1897 from the collection of the Institute of Ethnography of MDM, inventory No. 4038 a, b. Photo J. Cága, 2014.



The bride's footwear seen from the rear. Photo J. Cága, 2014.

The ladies' footwear is black, made of cloth, reaching up to the ankles. The footwear is trimmed with brown leather with a carmine strip of leather in the heel seat; it is decorated with green and brown backstitch pattern. At the front it is tied with blue Arras fabric (haras) ribbons. On the bottom of the heel, year 1897 is created in iron studs. The bride's footwear is similar, but it also has a large red tongue. Miroslava Ludvíková states, that the red tongue was very popular in the Empire Style period and in the collection of gouaches from 1814 we can see it on footwear



High men's boots reaching above the knees from the collection of the Institute of Ethnography of MDM, inventory No. 4121 a, b. Photo J. Cága, 2014.



Initials MW and date 1897 on men's footwear (detail). Photo J. Cága, 2014.

from Haná region, Losiny or Kunín.<sup>8</sup>

High boots with a soft, 68 cm long, leg portion reaching above the knees represent men's footwear. In the vamp and heel parts, and in the upper part of the leg there is decorative green backstitch. In the heel part the backstitch is in white with year 1897 and initials MW. As the owner of the footwear was called Mathias Legner, the initials must have been those of the shoemaker. This could have been Mathias Weselely, who is listed in Chytil's directory in Hlubočany in 1911. Looking at the photograph taken in 1897, it is obvious, that the top part of the boot was not folded over, as elsewhere in Haná region.<sup>9</sup>

Folk costume from Hlubočany was exhibited, together with other folk costumes from Moravia, in 1924 in the Moravian District Museum (most probably until the Second World War). The photographs form a three-part album called Pictures of Moravian Folk and Moravian Folk Costumes (*Mährische Volks- und Trachtentypen*). In one of the photographs we can see a woman from Rostěnice wearing footwear with red ribbons. Ribbons of this colour later stopped being used so for this reason the photograph is unique.

Another pair of folk footwear from the Vyškov enclave, together with other parts of folk costumes, was acquired by the Moravian District Museum after the Second World War in a transfer of objects from the Moravian Gallery. As the Moravian Gallery,



Elizabeth Schurius from Hlubočany wearing wedding footwear made for the District Museum. Photo J. Matzura, 1901. Pictures of Moravian Folk and Moravian Folk Costumes (Mährische Volks- und Trachtentypen). Photographic Collection of the Institute of Ethnography of MDM, F 3 340 a.



Mathias Legner from Hlubočany No. 103, born 1864, in high boots made for the District Museum, 1897. Pictures of Moravian Folk and Moravian Folk Costumes (Mährische Volks- und Trachtentypen). Photographic Collection of the Institute of Ethnography of MDM, F 3 318.



Ladies' footwear acquired for the Institute of Ethnography of MDM collection by transfer from the Moravian Gallery, inventory No. 4018 a, b. Photo J. Čága, 2014.



Decorated sole of Ladies' footwear from the Moravian Gallery. Photo J. Pechová, 2014.

formerly the Industrial Museum, bought their first collections during the World Exhibition in Vienna, we cannot exclude the fact that it is precisely this acquisition, that is, the footwear from Zvonovice, which had been exhibited there.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century the data on folk costume and footwear of German villages in Vyškov region become more numerous and more complete. Alois Hlavinka, a priest from Kučerov, mentions in his literary work from 1905 dedicated to his parish, that men wear boots with soft leg reaching above their knees and the girls' low shoes with blue ribbons.<sup>10</sup> Extremely high boots continued to be popular with men.

Ernst Essler, a specialist teacher at junior secondary school in Lysovice, described in 1922 in great detail the local folk cos-

tume in the village chronicle. Ladies' footwear, he states, was either boots or shoes, from black velvet or cloth, tied with light blue ribbons (*Reinisch*). Men wore low laced shoes in summer and boots with hobnails (*Rohrenstiefel*) in winter. The very high boots, reaching above the knees were, at that time, already past, as well as the coat *burnus* or the typical 'prelate' hat *Simmeringer*.<sup>11</sup> The radical change in men's clothing and footwear therefore happened probably during the First World War.

Ersnt Essler also mentions a wedding custom, where the bridegroom sends his bride on the eve of their wedding a pair of wedding shoes, placed in a wicker basket together with a wreath of dried plums and oranges and a ginger bread cross to 'decorate her on her wedding day'.<sup>12</sup> Similar customs are known from other

regions as well. The wedding shoes were to be worn only on the wedding day.<sup>13</sup>

In 1925 there is a description by Romuald John,<sup>14</sup> who, as well as Essler, considers the high boots made of soft leather as outdated and only worn by old men. He describes Ladies' footwear



A woman from Rostěnice in footwear with a red bow. Photo J. Matzura, 1901. Pictures of Moravian Folk and Moravian Folk Costumes (Mährische Volks- und Trachtentypen). Photographic Collection of the Institute of Ethnography of MDM, F 3 339.

as laced up shoes with red ribbons; blue ribbons, according to him, were worn in the periods of mourning or at Advent or Lent. The same year sees a description of a German folk costume by Ad. Smolík in A National History and Geography Handbook for Vyškov District (p 44). Apart from the low Ladies' shoes he also mentions, for the first time, Ladies' boots worn in bad weather and knitted warm slippers worn in winter. The high men's boots are considered to be a part of older folk costume.

The chapter on clothing in the first monograph on the language enclave (Die Sprachinsel bei Wischau, 1930) does not mention men's footwear at all; the Ladies' footwear is mentioned as black low shoes laced with red or green (?) ribbons.<sup>15</sup> Also Ger-



A woman and a girl in folk costumes. Hlubočany, not dated. Photographic Collection of the Institute of Ethnography of MDM, FA 2 440.



Girls depicted here playing with strings. Lysovice. Photo F. Pospíšil, around 1920. Photographic Collection of the Institute of Ethnography of MDM FA 6 873.

man ethnographer Josef Hanika, when describing the German folk costume in Vyškov region in 1941, nearly totally ignored footwear, mentioning only very briefly low black velvet shoes decorated with backstitch, which girls get at the age of five, as a part of their folk costume.<sup>16</sup> Josef Hanika also wrote introductions to two editions of coloured drawings of folk costumes by Brno artist Fritz Mally (Deutsche Trachtenaus Mähren, 1942 and, particularly, Deutsche Trachtenaus den Sudetländern. Teil Wischauer Sprachinsel, 1943). The painter rendered not only clothing and footwear of the adults, but also of children and schoolchildren. Hanika considers footwear to be a part of the folk costume. In the picture of a woman in a ceremonial folk costume used at the occasion of baptism, he notes low velvet shoes with leather decoration and a blue ribbon, with a long red tongue folded over it (*Lätzen*). The same footwear can also be seen in the picture of a young female wedding guest. One of the farmers is depicted in an older type of folk costume with narrow leather trousers and narrow high boots, the other is seen in long trousers and footwear of a town type. A girl going to market is wearing

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Barefoot woman seen here weeding. Kučerov. Photo F. Pospíšil, around 1920. Photographic Collection of the Institute of Ethnography of MDM, FA 13 295.

low shoes decorated with backstitch and a blue ribbon; these are not dissimilar to footwear worn by the bride or a young girl. The schoolgirl is wearing high lace up boots; the boys are wearing simple low shoes.

We also must not forget the contemporary photographs taken in the enclave. These were mostly taken by German photographers, for instance Otto Stibor or Luis Bergmann, but also by Czech documentalists František Pospíšil and Antonín Blažek from the Department of Ethnography of the Moravian District Museum. The footwear of people in the photographs cannot, however, always be seen. Due to the fact that the photographs are in monochrome, we cannot distinguish the colours. Very useful for our research is, nevertheless, a photograph by Pospíšil, where the woman depicted weeding in the field is barefoot. It is obvious that in summer people did not wear working shoes but went barefoot.

Stibor's photographs were published in Germany in the 1950s in a form of a book with an introduction by Hanika. He writes about the folk costume in some detail, however, he mentions footwear only briefly. The red or blue colour of the lacing ribbons was linked, according to him, to the age of the wearer – young women used red ribbons, while the older ones used blue. In winter women wore high lace up boots.<sup>17</sup>

Folk costume description was also a part of official report on economic and cultural character of the villages (a so called Dorfuntersuchung), which was prepared at the beginning of the 1940s for the administrative authorities of the Lower Austria

Province by Alfred Müller-Stapel. The author notes the difference between the Ladies' low shoes trimmed with leather and high boots laced up with wide blue ribbons. He did not mention men's footwear, as, according to him, it more and more resembled footwear worn with civilian clothes. This was probably influenced by cheap Baťa production (Baťa established a shop in Vyškov in 1920), as well as prohibitive cost of folk costume footwear and, during the Second World War, also the lack of shoemakers specialising in this type of footwear.

With the help of surviving contemporaries it was possible to gather more detailed information on Ladies' footwear. Four types of footwear were worn:

1. Low shoes, called *Rahml-Schuah (=Rahmen-Schuhe)*

The uppers of this footwear were made from leather, lacquered leather, cloth or velvet. Leather footwear was decorated with green backstitch, while on cloth or velvet footwear the backstitching was in white colour. They were tied on the instep with a blue ribbon bow. The surviving contemporaries do not remember use of red ribbons, which means they must have stopped being used probably during the 1930s. Leather soles were attached by means of wooden pegs and were decorated on the bottom with a traditional pattern carved with a sharp knife. This pattern was then painted with red colour. The more decorative footwear would have a red leather strip between the upper and the heel seat. The heel was from hardened rubber. If the customer so wished, the heel could be furnished with a heel-plate. Sometimes a metal plate was also fixed on the toe to improve the durability of the footwear.

A bride's shoes, which were usually made from lacquered leather, had, in addition, stitched on a red tongue. Footwear with red tongue was also worn by bridesmaids and young female wedding guests. Young women also decorated their footwear with red tongues for special festivals and later they just unstitched them. Later footwear has a more decorative tongue, with perforations; at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century a piece of undecorated red leather fulfilled the protective function, which was generally attributed to red colour.

The oldest footwear of this type, preserved among the compatriots in Germany, is dated between 1915 and 1920. Its upper is made of heavy dark blue cloth.

2. Low everyday working shoes called *niedara Soumatschuach (=niedere Samtschuhe)*

The uppers were from moderately decorated soft material.

After arrival to Germany the footwear was used for everyday wear and so it was seldom preserved, and if so, then in a bad condition.

3. High boots called *Bogdan*

They reached above the ankle up to the calf and were tied by means of brass hooks and narrow blue Arras fabric ribbons. They were made from leather combined with cloth or velvet. Backstitch decoration was white or green; the sole was decorated in the same way as the sole of low shoes.

The oldest footwear of this type preserved in Germany, was made around 1895.

4. Knitted cloth shoes with lining called *Paputschen, Putschen or Potschen*

The upper of this footwear was made from interlaced colourful strips of knitwear; lining was from sheep's wool. It was tied with a blue ribbon, the same as other types of footwear. It was worn mostly by older women and it could be bought in the market in Vyškov. When the shoes had been worn out, they were used as warm house slippers in winter.

In winter or on festive occasions men wore high boots *Reanschuach (=Rohrenschuhe)*, in every day life they preferred classic low shoes bought in a shop.

While the parts of the folk costume were mostly made by women themselves, the footwear was made by professionals. According to Chytil's directory book<sup>18</sup> in 1911 shoemakers working in Hlubočany were Anton Lang and Matěj Veselý, in Kučerov Metoděj Bílek and Matěj Rosner, in Lysovice Jan Rosner. In 1924 these were Anton Lang and Josef Rolný in Hlubočany, in Kučerov

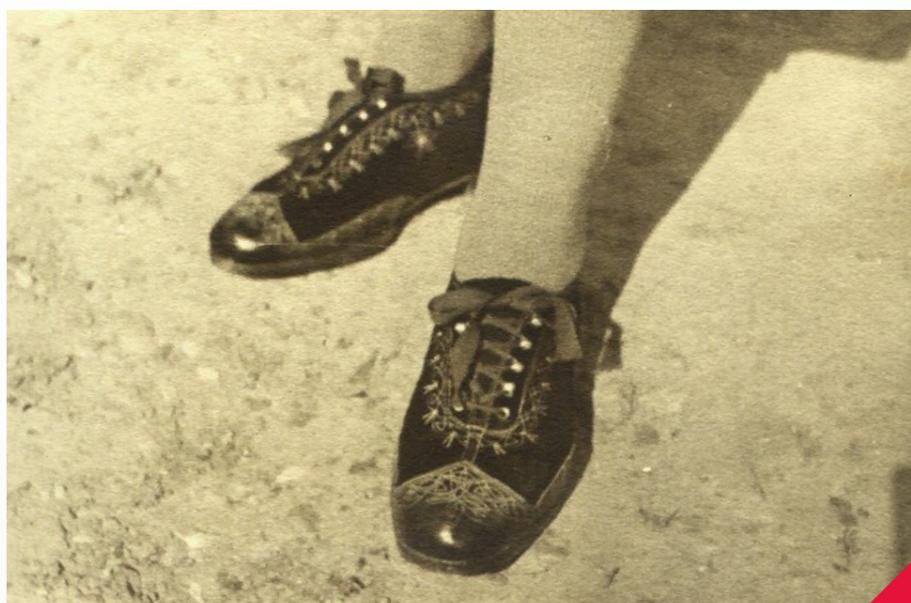
still Bílek and Rosner and in Lysovice also still Jan Rosner, in Zvonovice Anton Springer. Before the Second World War there were shoemakers Johann Legner and Karl Lang (but he did not make folk costume footwear) in Hlubočany, in Kučerov Thomas Rosner, in Lysovice Martin Kutscherauer, in Rostěnice Anton Kutscherauer, in Zvonovice Anton Springer<sup>19</sup> and Johann Kriwy. Apart from the above-mentioned shoemakers, there was also shoemaker Wasserbauer in Vyškov, who made folk costumes footwear for German villages after the First World War.

The shoemakers often worked in makeshift conditions, for instance Thomas Rosner (called *Schuasta Mattes*), in Kučerov No.141, had no workshop but worked in the kitchen where, on the stove, stood a big pot with smelly shoemaking adhesive. He used an old Singer sewing machine but mostly worked by hand. He used wooden pegs for soles. He made mostly folk costume footwear; occasionally boots or winter footwear and he also repaired worn down footwear. The same as the other shoemakers, he also had a small field, a goat, a pig and some poultry.

Johann Legner (1901-1946), a folk costume shoemaker from Hlubočany No.113 was Rosner's apprentice. He learnt the trade after he had been dismissed from work at the railway in 1918. He, too, worked for 10 year in provisory conditions, in the kitchen where there was the shoemakers stool, tools and also a sewing machine. The sewing machine was used for stitching (backstitch-



A woman wearing a festive folk costume on an occasion of baptism. Footwear with a red tongue. From the publication F. Mally: *Deutsche Trachten aus den Sudetenländern*, Teil Wischauer Sprachinsel, 1943.



A photograph of Ladies' footwear as an appendix to official report on the villages of upper Vyškov language enclave (*Dorfuntersuchung*), 1943.



A young farmer in leather boots. From the publication F. Mally: *Deutsche Trachten aus den Sudetenländern, Teil Wischauer Sprachinsel*, 1943.

ing) ladies shoes and boots; it was Legner's sister who created the decorative patterns. As other aids, Legner also had a tape measure for measuring the customer's feet, wooden pegs with which he fastened the soles and also a sharp knife to cut traditional patterns into the bottom of the sole. The Master outlined the shapes of tongues on the leather with an iron similar to a pencil. It took approximately two days to make Ladies' footwear and there was no difference between the left and the right foot. When requested, Legner would also make men's footwear, for instance high boots to be worn at a wedding. Uppers for this type of footwear were bought in Vyškov. Legner was on good terms with Vyškov shoemaker

Šaštíra from whom he bought all material needed for his work.

Having extended his house in 1939, Johann Legner gained space, which he could use as his workshop. As there was now enough space in the workshop, some local youngsters used to come to carry out some small repairs on their footwear themselves, using the available tools. So the Master shoemaker always had some company. However, he did not enjoy his workshop for long as in 1942 he was called up to fight in the war from which he never returned.<sup>20</sup>

From the 1920s, everyday wear footwear was not made by shoemakers but bought cheaply in Bata's shop in Vyškov. People took care of their footwear; they polished black leather with



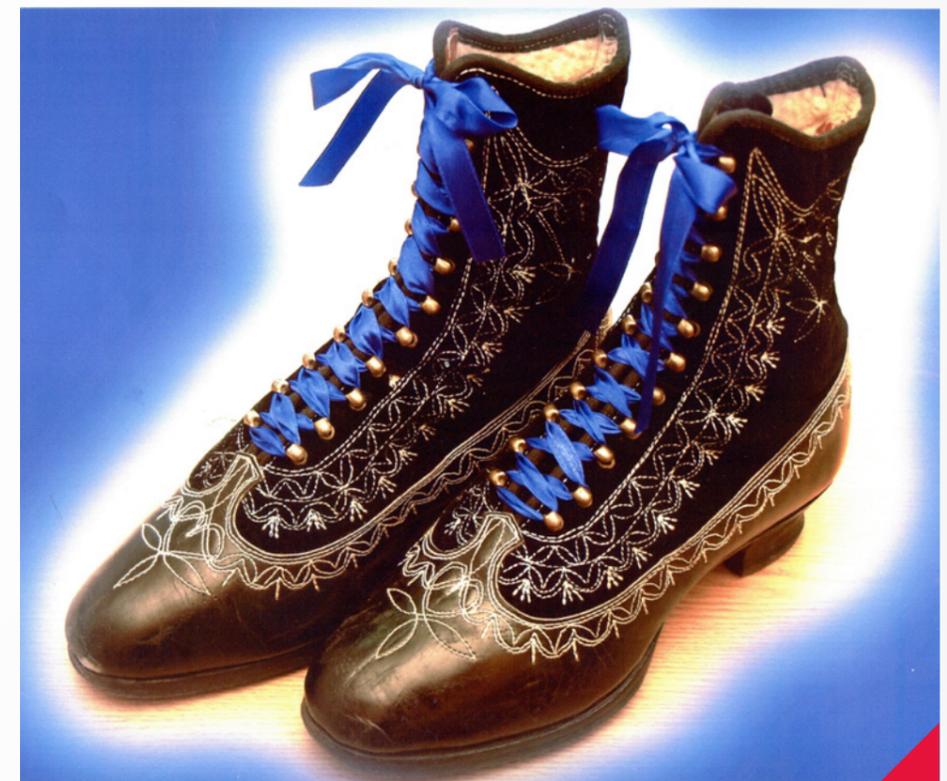
A group from Germany, wearing traditional folk costume and footwear from Vyškov language enclave. From the publication E. Plank: *Bilder aus der Wischauer Sprachinsel*, 1981, p 24.

black shoe polish, the decorative backstitching was cleaned with bread crust or washing soap, white embroidery was 'passed over' by chalk. The colour of red leather was restored with the help of chicory paper.

After the resettlement into Germany a great deal of attention was paid to old folk costume parts, including, of course, also footwear. People started to collect purposefully these mementos of old homeland and later exhibited them. This clothing and footwear became outfits of a folk costume group in 1971, which was in 1991 transformed into a folk costume and dance group. At their frequent performances, they presented not only folk dances but also traditional folk costumes and footwear. Several seminars were held discussing the correct storage and care of



Ladies' low shoes, so-called *Rahml-Schuah*. Photo album of Rosina Reim.



Ladies' high boots, so-called *Bogdan*. Photo album of Rosina Reim.

these folk costume parts. A book by Elisabeth Plank from 1981, where she includes several coloured photographs of folk costumes including a detailed photograph of Ladies' low, hand made shoes stands out among several publications on this topic.<sup>21</sup> Legner's wife Anna described his workshop in Hlubočany for an article in the compatriots' press.<sup>22</sup>

Footwear and traditional folk costumes worn in German villages in Vyškov and other mementoes were exhibited in 1979 at an exhibition in the Aalen Museum in the federal land of Baden-Württemberg. More examples of traditional footwear, usually together with the folk costume can be found in the Museum of European Cultures in Berlin, in the Shoe Museum in Landsberg in Austria, in the Museum of Ethnography in Klosterneuburg. In the Czech Republic these can be seen in the Shoe Museum in Zlín and in an exhibition on Vyškov Germans in Rostěnice. The footwear was also presented at specialised exhibitions. 28 pairs of Ladies' footwear were, for instance, exhibited in 2002 in Sudeten German House in Munich. A part of this exhibition were also the typical orange stockings, blue Arras fabric ribbons used for lacing up the footwear, shoemaker's tools, embroidered pieces of leather and cloth. Lately, the folk costume footwear was a part of an exhibition about the German enclave, organised by the Vyškov Museum in Vyškov (2013).

Since 2011, the preserved original footwear is permanently kept in the depositories of Meeting Centre of Vyškov Germans in Aalen-Fachsenfeld. There are about 50 pairs there, and Rosina Reim from Munich, the chair of the association, has another 54 pairs in her private collection; she focused on collecting

the footwear among her compatriots around the year 1980. All the footwear is numbered and photographed; the photographs then form an album with description of material, colour of the backstitching, size, state of preservation and storage of each pair. There are also additional remarks, for instance 'children's shoes', 'the oldest pair of its kind', with toe plate' 'new sole', etc. The album is made complete with cut-outs from the press and other information pertaining to the footwear and their makers and wearers, including photographs from exhibitions.



Ladies' and men's footwear together with a hat and typical orange stockings at the exhibition The Life and Culture in the German Enclave in Vyškov Area in the Vyškov Museum in Vyškov. Photo J. Pechová, 2013.



Men's high boots worn on festive occasions. Photo album of Rosina Reim.



Decorated red tongue, fastened to the footwear for festive occasions. Photo album of Rosina Reim.



Ladies' footwear together with decorated tongues and backstitched uppers at the exhibition The Life and Culture in the German Enclave in Vyškov Area in the Vyškov Museum in Vyškov. Photo J. Pechová, 2013.



Men's working winter footwear. Photo album of Rosina Reim.



Decorative backstitching – a typical motif. Photo album of Rosina Reim.



Ladies winter knitted warm slippers, so-called Potschen. Photo album of Rosina Reim.

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- 1 LUDVÍKOVÁ, M.: *Moravské a slezské kroje (Moravian and Silesian Folk Costumes)*, pp 137 and 138.
- 2 J\*\*\*de/JURENDE, K.J./: *Grundrisse zur Ethnographie Mährens, Moravia 1815*, p 82.
- 3 DUDÍK, B.: *Catalog der Nationalen Hausindustrie*, p 59.
- 4 KIRCHMAYR, H.: *Besuch einer deutschen Sprachinsel Mährens*, p 102.
- 5 *The expression Reinisch could be an inference to the material: it is haras – glossy, elastic, several times weaved yarn, quite sharp to touch; also fabric from this yarn, originally manufactured in French Arras. The popularity of haras in the German enclave was probably closely connected to Oppenheimer's factory producing haras and ribbons, established in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the nearby town of Rousínov.*
- 6 *In the colours the author sees the German nationality– he considers red and blue to be German colours, which until today are used for instance in Schwabia. LECHNER, K.: Eine tirolisch-bayrische Sprachinsel, Beilage zur No. 190.*
- 7 *Similar footwear was worn, in his time, still in Bavaria and Schwabia. LECHNER, K.: see above, Beilage zur No. 191.*
- 8 LUDVÍKOVÁ, M.: *Moravské a slezské kroje. Kvaše z roku 1814 (Moravian and Silesian Folk Costumes, Gouaches from the year 1814)*, p 43.
- 9 LUDVÍKOVÁ, M.: *idem*, p 35.
- 10 HLAVINKA, A.: *Na kraji Hané: jasné a temnéobrázky (At the Edge of Haná Region: Clear and Dark Pictures)*, p 174.
- 11 *Essler's report describing folk costume from Vyškov region was published in 1930 in Sudetendeutsche Zeitschrift für Volkskunde 3, pp 220-221.*
- 12 *Gedenkbuch der Gemeinde Lissowitz, pp 6-9. The bride reciprocated with a shirt for the bridegroom, a pair of embroidered braces and an embroidered handkerchief.*
- 13 *There was a case in 1942, when the wedding did not take place in the end and the wedding shoes were set aside, never once worn. Archives of Rosina Reim, Munich, formerly from Rostěnice.*
- 14 JOHN, R.: *Die Volkstracht in der Wischauer Sprachinsel*, p 172.
- 15 *Die Kleidung in unserer Sprachinsel. Die Sprachinsel bei Wischau, pp 83-84.*
- 16 HANIKA, J.: *Die Tracht der Wischauer Volksinsel*, p 288.
- 17 STIBOR, O.: *Hier waren wir einst zu Hause*, pp 12, 17.
- 18 *These are the Czech versions of the names, but we are sure these people were of German nationality.*
- 19 *In 1920 he made boots with ornamental backstitch, which are now exhibited in Gerberhaus-Museum in Bretten, where trades of tanning, shoemaking, and saddlery are presented as well as various types of footwear.*
- 20 *The war and the following resettlement of German inhabitants also caused the need to hide some valuables. In case of one of the female inhabitants it was a gold Austro-Hungarian 10 crown coin, which she valued very much. A Czech shoemaker from Dédice helped her and mounted the coin in the heel of her shoe so she was able to smuggle it into Germany. See Wischauer Heimbote No. 1/XII, 1997, p 5.*
- 21 PLANK, E.: *Bilder aus der Wischauer Sprachinsel*, p 31.
- 22 *Wischauer Heimatbote No. 3/XVII, 2002, p 7.*

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17. WOLNY, Gregor.: *Die Margrafschaft Mähren: Topographisch, statistisch und historisch geschildert. II. Band, 2. Abtheilung, Brünnner Kreis, Brünn 1837.*
18. *Gedenkbuch der Gemeinde Lissowitz, 1920. Soka Vyškov se sídlem ve Slavkově u Brna.*
19. *Materiály Rosiny Reim z Mnichova, původem z Rostěnic, předsedkyně Gemeinschaft Wischauer Sprachinsel e. V.*

# Mongolian National Footwear – Mongol Gutal

## Uranbileg Altangerel

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The first information on footwear with raised toe, dating to the beginning of anno Domini, comes from the territory of present Mongolia, and from the so-called Inner Mongolia (today an area in the north of China). This was the period of stable Confucianism and the beginning of Lamaism, called also 'yellow cowls' or 'the order of yellow caps'. Supposedly this was a branch of Buddhism, which did not display any antagonism and did not seek war hostilities. On the contrary – due to huge distances involved, it led to tolerance and mutual respect.

Inspirational sources for the following period are conservation of natural shaman practices, adoration of local deities and a great respect for pragmatism. Footwear with raised toe became national footwear for the Mongolians and a common part of Mongolian clothing. They called the footwear *Mongol Gutal*. The cut, material and technology of production had to be suitable for people wearing it, that is, mostly shepherds. The most important characteristic had to be to protect the foot from adverse climatic conditions, which in winter were characterised by severe cold, frost and low humidity, in summer, on the other



Shaman Gutal, photo by Uranbileg Altangerel, 2014.

hand, by high temperatures. And this footwear was suitable for these conditions.

Footwear Mongol Gutal can be divided into several types based on ethnic groups, which usually emerged during war conquests or in fights with sworn enemies of the Mongols – the Chinese (Manchurians). There was a so-called *Chalchas Gutal* (true gutal), *Burjat Gutal* (false gutal), *Darhat Gutal* and *Torgunt Gutal*.

### Chalchas gutal

Mongolian Chalchas Gutal, or the true gutal, is made in three types: men's, ladies' and children's. Each of these types is then made in three different sizes; there may, however, be exceptions, especially in the men's type sizes. Gutal is footwear to be worn throughout the whole year. Both half-pairs are symmetrical.



Celebrating traditional festival Naadam, photo by Uranbileg Altangerel, 2014.

Characteristic for this type of gutal is rich ornamental decoration. The number of ornaments on footwear indicated the social status of the wearer, a rich Mongolian and a poor Mongolian. The decorative motif is always repeated four times. The footwear was decorated with four, eight, sixteen or even thirty-two ornaments. The cost of footwear reflected the number of ornaments. Footwear with greater number of ornaments was used at festive occasions. At present, the number of ornaments rose up to fifty-eight and one hundred and eight.

Interesting is the reason why the footwear was made symmetrical. It was mostly shepherds, who rode horses and lived in yurts far from inhabited areas, who wore this footwear. They were frequently attacked by enemies and often a headlong flight was the only defence. It was therefore necessary to quickly put on the shoes and not to stop and think whether they are correctly worn on left or right foot.

Today this traditional footwear is used only at special or festive



Burjat national costume, photo by Uranbileg Altangerel, 2014.



Burjat Gutsal, photo by Uranbileg Altangerel, 2014.

occasions or during the traditional Mongolian fights *Boh*. This footwear is also worn in monasteries, even though this is not strictly prescribed in lamaist rules.

Why is the gutsal toe raised? The folk traditions give reasons for the typical upturn of the toe above the terrain as being due to spread of the religion. First rule: the Lamaism believes in reincarnation and their belief forbids them to kill animals including insects. The upturned toe helps to spread the blades of grass while walking and the insects so have time to escape. If a person wearing gutsal steps on an insect then he does not bear guilt for killing it as it was the will of Buddha. Second rule: respect for soil, which is forbidden to be cultivated. And so the upturned toe nearly eliminates a chance disturbance of the soil by stumbling.

**Burjat Gutsal** (or false gutsal) differs from the true gutsal above all by its simplicity. This footwear was not decorated as a rule, only with more elaborate models a simple ornament was embroidered on the outer side of the heel. And why is it called false? The name itself is slightly offensive as it shows that these tribes ran away and hid in the woods before the raids of the Chinese (Manchurians). They stopped breeding cattle and became fishermen.

Gutals are being hand made even today, practically throughout the whole territory of Mongolia. No last is used and the entire footwear is hand-made. The tools are very simple: a sharp knife, two sets of awls and a needle. In the past this footwear was made solely by women. Due to tourism expansion, growing economy and a great demand for modern traditional footwear with a heel, the Mongolian footwear is today produced with a

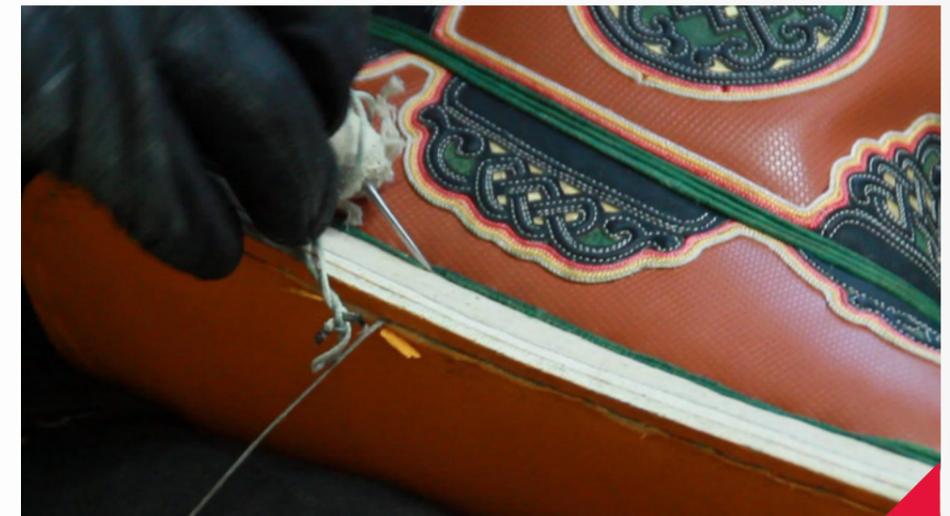


Shoemaker Tserendagva Dashkhavga from Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, photo by Uranbileg Altangerel, 2014.

help of last to far greater extent than in the past (the same as in case of welt footwear). Although small family businesses making this type of footwear compete with hand production of village people, the manufacture still takes place across the whole territory of Mongolia. Raw materials are today of a very good quality, these are being imported from Germany and China. Uppers are made from full chrome tanned cow leather. More elaborate types of footwear are decorated in seams with fine sheepskin leather or glazed chrome kid (*chevreau*), which are traditionally decorated in yellow and red colours. Exotic types of leather with various finishes are used for the most luxury and modern models.



Tools of Tserendagva Dashkhavga, photo by Uranbileg Altangerel, 2014.



Process of attaching the sole to the upper, Tserendagva Dashkhavga, photo by Uranbileg Altangerel, 2014.

Thread used for sewing is cotton, or raw silk; stronger thread for stitching through is also cotton or fine sheep sinews. The sole is made from soft felt and from bottom leather, which guarantees durability. Only two templates are necessary for making the gutsal: leg part and vamp and quarter part. The decorative stitching is done before all parts are assembled; the process is as follows: Grooves in the pattern of the desired decoration are carved into a piece of hard wood, approximately 3 mm wide and 2-3 mm deep. Each part of the decoration needs two forms (positive and negative of the ornament). The ornament is stitched by hand in regular pearl stitch. Out of a wide range of traditional forms of ornaments a relatively small number of motifs are used for decorating the footwear. Every character has a specific



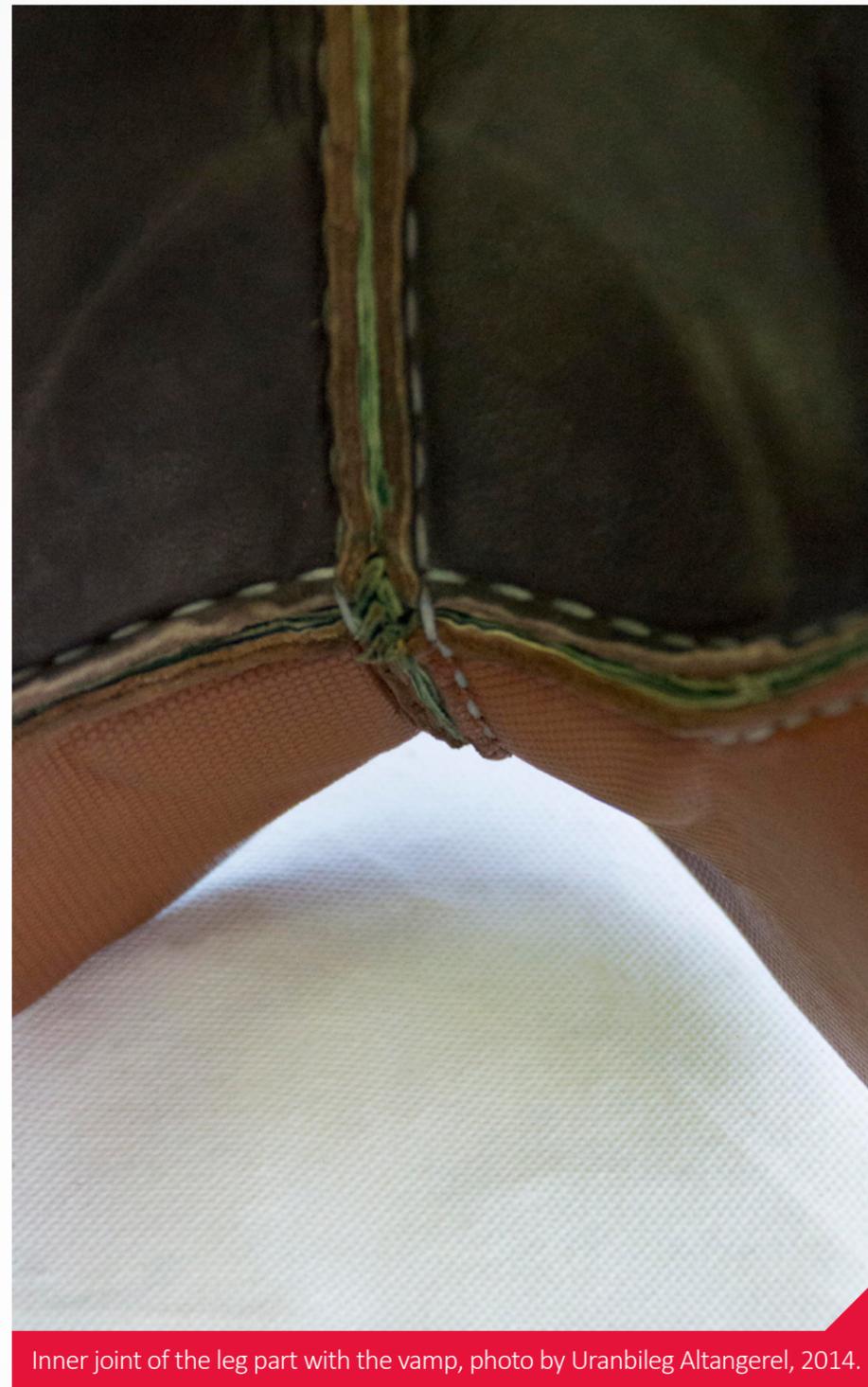
Modern type of Gutsal on heel – 1, photo by Uranbileg Altangerel, 2014.



Modern type of Gutsal on heel – 2, photo by Uranbileg Altangerel, 2014.

meaning, for instance longevity, eternal search (quest for something), happy clouds, eternal sea, peace, happiness, timeless doubts, coin motif, royal necklace, queen's earring, etc.

The leg part of the footwear is stitched together by means of inside turned open seam, while among the stitched materials three layers of fine folded strips from sheepskin or glazed kid in the typical green colour are inserted. The green colour used to be achieved using the following method: After being hand processed, the wet kidskin was soaked in a copper vessel containing



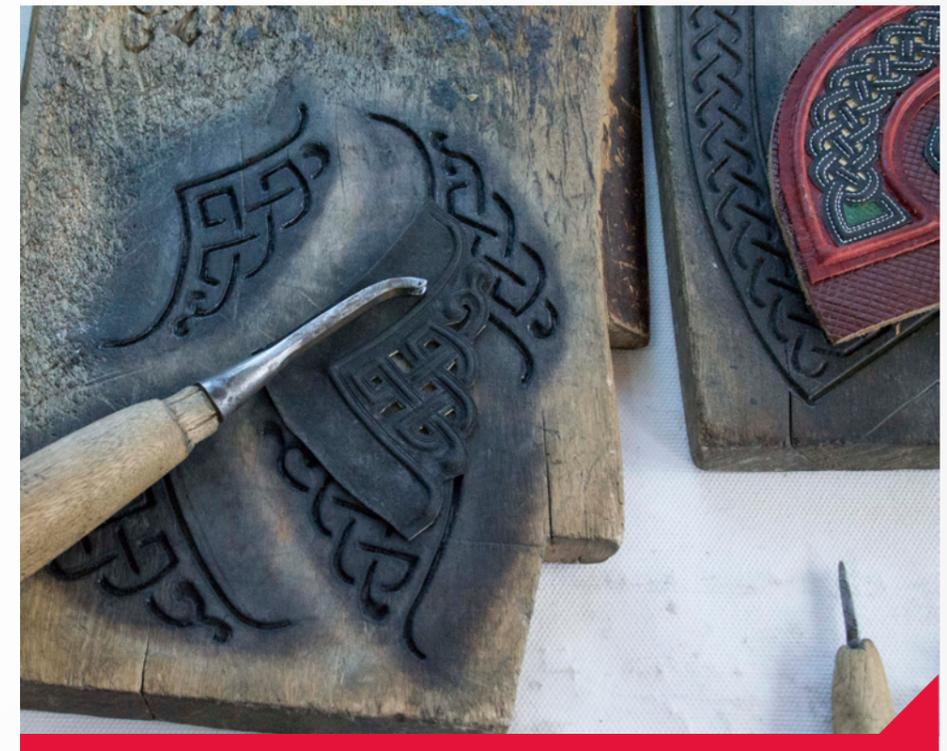
Inner joint of the leg part with the vamp, photo by Uranbileg Altangerel, 2014.

spirit, where it stayed for several days. The green dyed kidskin was then taken out and let to dry. When it was dry it was hand-tanned.

The quarter part of the upper was stiffened with a textile counter, which was stitched in such a way that the stitches were visible on the grain side. The edging was done simultaneously with inserting the decorative piping so that 2-3 'sausages' (saris) were pushed in between the hem and the edge of the boot. Then holes were punched with an awl through which a sinew was threaded. All inserted 'sausages' had to be identical and protru-



Inner joint the the sole with the upper, photo by Uranbileg Altangerel, 2014.



Wooden forms for ornaments, photo by Uranbileg Altangerel.

de by identical length. Felt made from camel hair was used for soles. The felt was cut manually to fit the desired size. Based on the number of felt layers the footwear was divided into summer or winter. The peripheral part of the gutsal was edge stitched with a hemp string 1-2 mm thick, in a simple stitch. Lifting of toe was achieved by tightening the string while stitching. The remains of the hemp string were cleaned by hot piece of iron. On the periphery of the sole a strip of white textile was glued and the top part was stitched with a decorative stitch. Leather (cow leather

or horse leather), which had been soaked in water, was nailed to finished soles. The protruding parts were cut off. The trimming allowance was approximately the width of two fingers. The stitching started in the middle of the heel and continued towards the toe and then on the opposite side till the whole length of the periphery was finished, in the heel again, where the stitching started. The leg part and the sole were stitched together with one stitch and no nails were used. The last part to make was the sock. This was a special gutal sock made in sizes 21, 23, 25 and 27. De-



Heel part of a Gutsal, photo by Uranbileg Altangerel, 2014.



Decorative stitching on a sock, photo by Uranbileg Altangerel, 2014.

pending on the decoration, the socks were divided into plain, decorated and traditionally decorated. The socks were made from fine sackcloth, silk, cotton textile and so on.

And one interesting story to conclude: A Mongolian legend tells a story of robbers who were masters of their 'profession'. The reason was that their wives made their footwear and so that the men would never be traced and captured, they sewed the sole to the upper in a opposite way so that the robbers always left footprints looking as if they had walked in an opposite direction.

# The Emblem of Shoemakers from Vysocko Region

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In my paper I would like to indicate changes pertaining to depiction of the emblem of the Shoemakers' Guild residing in the



PICTURE 1: The imprint of a seal of shoemakers' guild from a small serfdom town Semily near the river Jizera created with a seal dating to 1699 to be attached to the document of 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1700, SOkA Semily, Shoemakers' Guild VnJ, Inv. No. 2, sign. L-2, photo by Michal L. Jakl, 2014.

town of Vysoké nad Jizerou serving also the surrounding villages of Vysocko.<sup>1</sup>

Both New Shoemakers' Guilds (that is guilds of those shoemakers who only made new footwear) in the Semily estate were established in the last two years of the 17<sup>th</sup> century; in the south, according to the seal from around 1699 (picture 1) the guild in Semily, and in the north the guild in Vysoké on 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1700. The Guild Statutes of both guilds furnished with independent approval from the authorities<sup>2</sup> referred to Royal Privilege from the year 1477 for the shoemakers in the Prague Old Town.<sup>3</sup> This Privilege, however, did not date to 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1477 as I mistakenly presumed<sup>4</sup> having read otherwise a good quality partial edition of its later confirmation by the Emperor and King Ferdinand II in Vienna dated 28<sup>th</sup> March 1629. King Vladislaus, according to the date on that confirmation, issued that Privilege on Thursday 'after Circumcision of Jesus',<sup>5</sup> that is, after 1st January. The correct date therefore is Thursday 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1477! The shift probably originated by an editor overlooking dating in some available Czech tables of Christian chronology and moving the dating one day forward; he may have mistakenly considered 1477 to be a leap year, which it was not.<sup>6</sup>

More important than the exact day of the issue of the original document is, however, from the point of view of heraldry, the fact that duplicates of Vladislaus's confirmation mostly depict the guild emblem but the details are, sometimes to a lesser and sometimes to a greater extent, different.<sup>7</sup> The description only became available later, in the confirmation from the 18<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>8</sup> which by then had no influence on the New Shoemakers Statutes in Semily and Vysoké. As this is an international conference and shoemakers in different countries used different symbols in their guild emblems, that is not only their products but also their tools,<sup>9</sup> and the guilds in the territory of the Czech Crown,<sup>10</sup> are no exception, I would like to draw the attention to the description of the Prague Old Town emblem according to a document by the Emperor and King Charles VI issued in Vienna as a German written confirmation of those earlier documents for Prague Old Town New Shoemakers from 24th January 1736. Here is clearly described silver colour of the shield and a trio of red boots pointing to different directions, decorated with golden accessories and other description.<sup>11</sup> It would be interesting to create filial emblems of mother and daughter shoemakers' guilds starting with Prague Old Town and finishing with the guilds in the Semily estate, unfortunately there are no sources. The existing sources, nevertheless, indicate at least some of the facts.

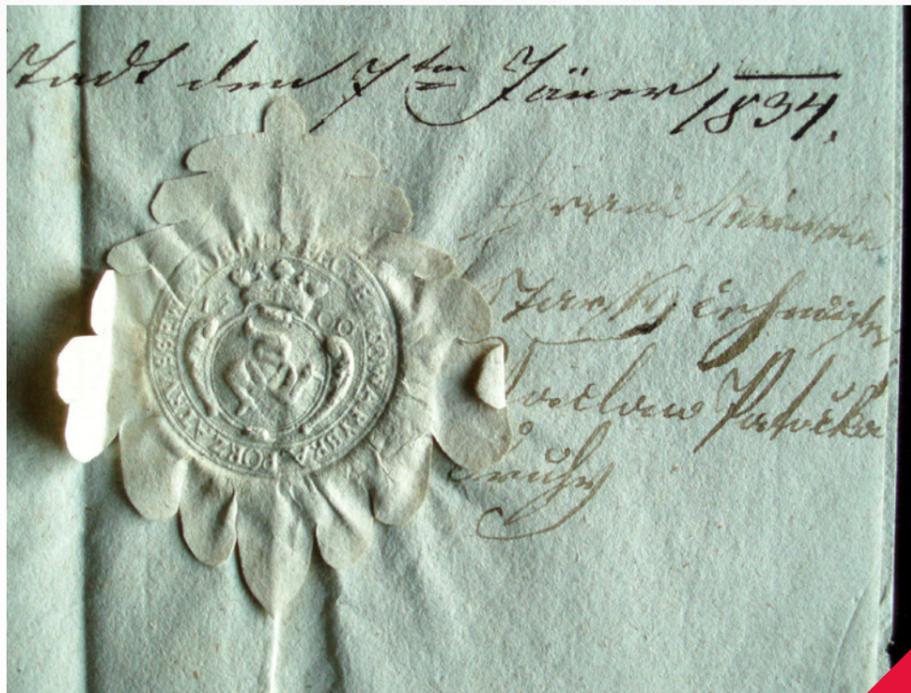


PICTURE 2: Coat of Arms miniature of a guild emblem granted to the guild of shoemakers from Giant Mountains Foothills and the region near the river Jizera, the serf town of Vysoké painted in the document of 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1700. SOkA Semily, Shoemakers' Guild VnJ, Inv. No. 2, Sign. L-2, photo by Michal L. Jakl, 2014.

The depiction of the Vysocko guild emblem (picture 2) shows – on awarding the statutes to Vysocko Guild by the Semily Guild – marked conformity with the seal of Semily guild, which is attached to the document. In contrast to the original Old Town document, not only the colours are different, i.e. golden boots in red shield, but also the monarchs' initials are missing – that is Vladislaus's 'W', where only the crown remained; and Ferdinand's 'F II' including the Emperor's crown, substituted in the depiction at least with the year 'Anno 1700' - also missing are the sheaths for the swords of the shield bearers.<sup>12</sup> On the documents for the Old Town shoemakers the shield bearers, wearing armour, have swords drawn but round their hips they have sheaths.<sup>13</sup> However, there exist Prague Masters Shoemakers seals in The Prague Old Town, sometimes containing dating '1590', but more importantly, shield guardians with drawn swords and no sheaths, who do not hold a shield but Vladislaus's 'W' above it.<sup>14</sup> This indicates that when copying and so handing over the contents of the privilege to Semily estate, the emblem miniature was missing and the emblem was painted based on the seal of the preceding document, which in its time had also been copied and sometimes some details were omitted. In spite of the fact that Vysocko shoemakers' emblem differs somewhat from the emblem of the Prague Old Town, I consider the true image,



PICTURE 3: Seal embossed in paper on 10<sup>th</sup> November 1832 with a now missing seal of the Masters of Vysocko Shoemakers' Guild from 1700. SOkA Semily, Shoemakers' Guild VnJ, no Inv. No. cart. 2, photo by Michal L. Jakl, 2014.



PICTURE 5: A seal embossed in paper on 7<sup>th</sup> January 1834 with a seal of journeymen of Vysocko shoemakers' guild from 1700, SOkA Semily, Shoemakers' Guild VnJ, no Inv. No. cart. 2, photo by Michal L. Jakl, 2014.

handed over by Semily shoemakers, to be the document from the year 1700, that is, not the Prague copy, which is moreover somewhat uncertain. But this is topic suitable more for a historian specialising in law.

It is not clear whether the Vysocko shoemakers in the 18<sup>th</sup> century had their emblem coloured, but they used the seal dating to approximately 1700. Now lost, it is a Masters' seal with the diameter of 37 mm with depicted shield bearers, which was used to emboss



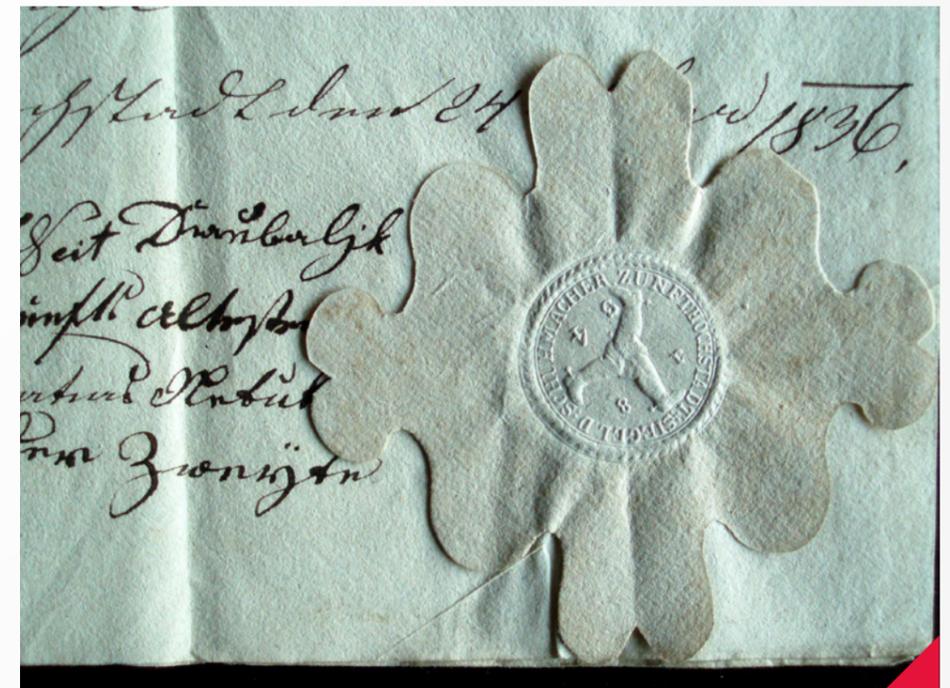
PICTURE 7: A seal in red wax imprinted on 30th September 1834 with a seal of Vysocko Shoemakers' Guild from 1834, SOkA Semily Shoemaker's Guild VnJ, Inv. No. 19, sign. 5.2, Photo by Michal L. Jakl, 2014.



PICTURE 4: A seal of journeymen of Vysocko Shoemakers' Guild from 1700, SOkA Semily, Shoemakers' Guild VnJ, Inv. No. 29, sign. MV-4, photo by Michal L. Jakl, 2014.



PICTURE 6: A seal of Vysocko Shoemakers' Guild from 1834, SOkA Semily, Shoemakers' Guild VnJ, Inv. No. 28, sign. MV-7, photo by Michal L. Jakl, 2014.



PICTURE 8: A seal embossed in paper in 1836 with a seal of Vysocko Shoemakers' Guild from 1834, SOkA Semily, Shoemakers' Guild VnJ, no Inv. No. cart. 2, photo: Michal L. Jakl, 2014.

the seal in paper, namely on 4<sup>th</sup> September 1794, then probably 25<sup>th</sup> August 1794, further 21<sup>st</sup> November 1813, 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1824,<sup>15</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> April 1831 and 10<sup>th</sup> November 1832 (picture 3). The same seal was also impressed in red wax, probably 30<sup>th</sup> October 1831.<sup>16</sup> Journeymen's seal with a diameter of 37 mm, but without the shield bearers was preserved until today<sup>17</sup> (picture 4) and it was used also in the 19<sup>th</sup> century for instance for embossing the seal in paper on 7<sup>th</sup> January 1834<sup>18</sup> (picture 5) and also 10<sup>th</sup> June 1850.<sup>19</sup> In 1834 another preserved seal emerged with a diameter of 31 mm, with an inscription in German depicting only boots and no shield,<sup>20</sup> (picture 6) which was used for impressing the seal in red wax not only on 30<sup>th</sup> September 1834<sup>21</sup> (picture 7) but probably also on another day of the same year,<sup>22</sup> but also already on 8<sup>th</sup> July 1834 and it was also embossed in paper for instance on 30<sup>th</sup> January 1835 and also on 24<sup>th</sup> of a month in 1836<sup>23</sup> (picture 8).



PICTURE 9: Marian side of the painting from 1815 from the guild banner called 'žengrout' of Vysocko Shoemakers' Guild at the end of the Corpus Christi procession in the town of Vysoké, in the foreground of the picture VM VnJ, Inv. No. 20351, fol. 1r, photo by probably Josef Hladík, undated (perhaps 1894 or 1895).



PICTURE 10: The right side of the cross ending of the flagstaff of the Vysocko Shoemakers' Guild banner, called 'žengrout' bearing the name MARIA in decorative letters, VM VnJ, Inv. No. 4829, fol. 1r, photo by Michal L. Jakl, 2013.



PICTURE 11: St. Crispin and St. Crispinian on the reverse side of the painting from 1815 on the guild banner called 'žengrout' of Vysocko Shoemakers' Guild, VM VnJ, Inv. No. 4385, fol. 1v, photo by Karel Mikeš, 2005.

A rather damaged, nevertheless noteworthy memento from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century was preserved in the Vysocko Museum collection. On the reverse side of a two-sided painting for the shoemakers' banner,<sup>24</sup> that is a large guild flag, called in Vysocko 'žengrout' (pictures 9, 10, 11), there is, under the picture of guild patron saints Crispin and Crispinian (picture 12) a strange symbol of a trio of barefoot feet in a red shield (picture 13). The painting (picture 14) and repair of the damaged banner cost 39 florins in 1815 and the Vysocko shoemakers paid an extra one florin for mass to consecrate the said painting<sup>25</sup> Vysocko shoemakers carried the banner with this barefooted symbol until the



PICTURE 12: Reverse side of the cross ending of the flagstaff of the Vysocko Shoemakers' Guild banner called 'žengrout' depicting Saint Catherine of Alexandria, a patron saint of shoemakers and Vysocko parish church, VM VnJ, Inv. No. 4829, fol. 1v, photo by Michal L. Jakl, 2013.

end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (picture 15). On the banner from the year 1901 (picture 16, 17 and 18) the shoemakers, at that time members of the association of clothes makers, returned back to footwear, this time black boots in red shield (picture 19), yet dif-



PICTURE 13: An unusual guild emblem with three barefoot feet from the painting from 1815 from the guild banner called 'žengrout' of Vysocko Shoemakers' Guild, VM VnJ, Inv. No. 4385, fol. 1v, photo by Michal L. Jakl, 2014.



PICTURE 14: Virgin Mary (perhaps of Kevelear) with baby Jesus on the right side of the painting from 1815 from the guild banner called 'žengrout' of Vysocko Shoemakers' Guild, VM VnJ, Inv. No. 4385, fol. 1r, photo by Karel Mikeš 2005.



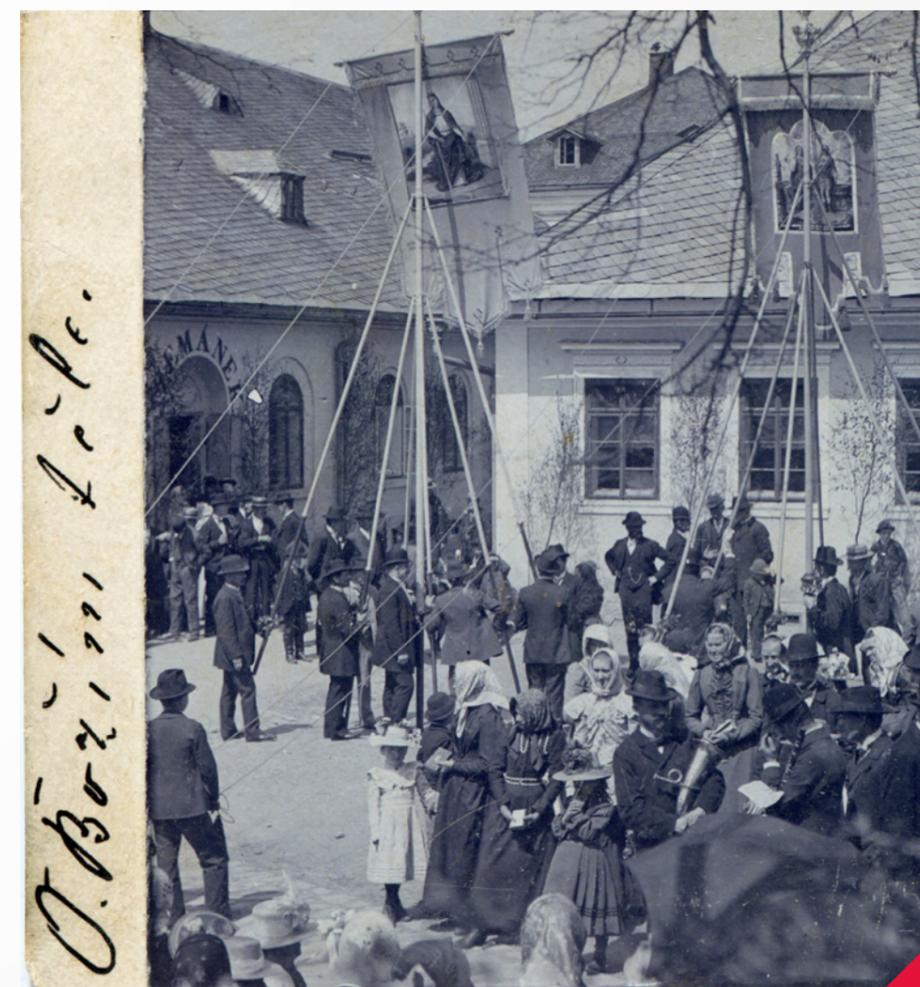
PICTURE 15: Reverse side with the guild emblem of the painting from 1815 from the guild banner called 'žengrout' of Vysocko Shoemakers' Guild at the head of the Corpus Christi procession in the town of Vysocké, for the shoemakers, however, furthest from the monstrance, in the forefront of the photo, VM VnJ, Inv. No. 21499, fol. 1r, photo by probably Josef Hladík, undated (before 1894, perhaps inclusive).



PICTURE 16: Virgin Mary (perhaps of Kevelear) with baby Jesus on the right side of the painting from 1901 from the guild banner called 'žengrout' of Vysocko Shoemakers' Guild, VM VnJ, Inv. 8945, fol. 1r, photo by Karel Mikeš, 2005.



PICTURE 17: The right Marian side of the painting from 1901 from the guild banner called 'žengrout' of Vysocko Shoemakers' Guild at the head of the Corpus Christi procession in the town of Vysocké, for the shoemakers, however, furthest from the monstrance in a stereo-photograph, VM VnJ, Inv. No. 2416, fol. 1r, photo by Josef Hladík, undated (1902 to 1906 inclusive).



PICTURE 18: Reverse side with the guild emblem of the painting from 1901 from guild banner called 'žengrout' of Vysocko Shoemakers' Guild in the space under the stairs of Vysocko church of Saint Catherine of Alexandria during the Corpus Christi procession in the left eye part of a stereo-photograph, VM VnJ, Inv. No. 2411, fol.1r, photo by Josef Hladík, undated (1902 to 1912 inclusive).



PICTURE 19: Saint Crispin and Saint Crispinian and coloured guild emblem on the reverse side of the painting from 1901 from guild banner called 'žengrout' of Vysocko Shoemakers' Guild, VM VnJ, Inv. No. 8945, fol. 1v, photo by Karel Mikeš, 2005.



PICTURE 20: A view of the grandstand decorated by shields of uncertain colours with figures representing various crafts and trades, including shoemakers, in front of Vysocko schools on the photo at the occasion of opening the Trade Exhibition on 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1934, VM VnJ, Inv. No. 19232, sign. AJ 4, p 6, picture 1, fol. 1r, photo by Antonín Junek, 1934.

ferent colours for the well-known symbols.<sup>26</sup> Still at the opening of Trade Exhibition on 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1934 the grandstand in front of the Vysocko Town Hall was decorated with emblem of indefinite colours with three boots, this time underlaid with tanned leather<sup>27</sup> (picture 20).

The emblem of Vysocko town shoemakers' guild was first depicted in a document confirmed by shoemakers from Semily, the seat of the estate, on 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1700, in which they confirmed their statutes based originally on the privilege Czech King Vladislaus II Jagiellon granted on Thursday 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1477 to shoemakers of the Prague Old Town. Particularly surprising are differences in emblems on both preserved paintings of shoemakers' patron saints, Saint Crispin and Saint Crispinian for the large festive banner of Vysocko shoemakers called 'žengrout', which shoemakers from Vysoké nad Jizerou and its environs used from the year 1700 till the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Naturally monochrome are imprints of guild seals and of interest is, I hope, also other use of the emblem symbols including the period of Vysocko shoemakers association with other clothes trades.

- 1 Eg. Marek, David: *Inventář. Cech ševců Vysoké nad Jizerou (Inventory. Shoemakers' Guild in Vysoké nad Jizerou) 1700-1859 (1874)*. Number NAD:231. Number of aid: 594. Signature: 04-2345 Semily [State Regional Archives in Litoměřice – State District Archives in Semily], 2005, p 18 and State Regional Archives in Litoměřice – State District Archives in Semily (hereafter SOkA Semily), collection *Cech ševců Vysoké nad Jizerou (Shoemakers' Guild in Vysoké nad Jizerou) 1700-1859 (1874)*, (hereafter Shoemakers Guild VnJ).
- 2 SOkA Semily, Shoemakers' Guild VnJ, Inv. No. 1, sign. L-1.
- 3 SOkA Semily, Shoemakers' Guild VnJ, Inv. No. 2, sign. L-2.
- 4 Jakl, Michal L.: *Semilský původ novověkých řádů vysockých cechů (Semily Origin of Modern Statutes of Vysocko Guilds)*. In: *Z Českého ráje a Podkrkonoší (From Český ráj and Giant Mountains Foothills Regions)*. *Vlastivědný sborník (National History and Geography Magazine)*. Sv. 16. Semily, [State Regional Archives in Litoměřice – State District Archives in Semily], 2003, pp 272, 274-276.
- 5 Fiala, Michal – Hrdlička, Jakub – Županič, Jan: *Erbovní listiny Archivu hlavního města Praha a nobilitační privilegia studentské legie roku 1648 (Coats of Arms Documents in the Archives of the Capital Prague and Nobility Privileges of Students' Legion in the year 1648)*. Edition. Prague. SCRIPTORIUM[- Archives of the Capital Prague – Heraldic Society in Prague] 1997 (hereafter Fiala-Hrdlička-Županič 1997), pp 44-45.
- 6 Bláhová, Marie: *Historická chronologie (Historical Chronology)*. Prague, publishing house Libri, 2001, pp 536, 590 and 913.
- 7 Fiala-Hrdlička-Županič 1997, pp 44-45, 338-340 referring to older literature pertaining to shoemakers' symbols not only of the Prague towns, pp 500-505.
- 8 Fiala-Hrdlička-Županič 1997, pp 60-61 and 351.
- 9 Eg. Nadolski, Dieter: *Zunftzinn. Formenvielfalt und Gebrauch bei Fest und Alltag des Handwerks. Fotos: Sigrid Schmidt. Mit 335 Abbildungen und 124 Handwerkerwappen*. Leipzig., Edition, [1986], pp 110-112, 133-134, 270-273, 275-276, 290-291 and 374.
- 10 Eg. Milec, Miroslav: *Cechovní pečeti. Část první (Guilds' Seals. Part One)*. [Brno-] České Budějovice, [PhDr Ivo Sperat], 2011, pp 8-12, 49-51, 53-64 and 166-171; Milec, Miroslav: *Cechovní pečeti. Část druhá (Guilds' Seals. Part Two)*. Brno – České Budějovice, PhDr Ivo Sperat, 2013, pp 1, 113-120, 151, 158 and 5-57 and from the latest books [Lehmannová, Martina]: *Řemesla v pořádku. Historie profesního sdružování pražských řemeslníků od středověku po současnost (Trades in the Statutes. A History of Professional Association of*

*Prague Craftsmen and Tradesmen from the Middle Ages until Today*). Prague. The Museum of the Capital Prague, [2014], pp 119-121, 128-135 also with reference to earlier literature concerning guilds not only in the capital Prague pp 217-220.

- 11 Fiala-Hrdlička-Županič 1997, p 60.
- 12 SOkA Semily, Shoemakers' Guilds VnJ, Inv. No. 2, Sign. L-2.
- 13 Fiala-Hrdlička-Županič 1997, pp 338-340 and 351.
- 14 Hrdlička, Jakub – Jásek Jaroslav – Hrubý, Vladimír: *Pět století řemeslné symboliky ve sbírce pečetidel a razítek Archivu hlavního města Prahy. Komentovaný katalog (Five Centuries of Trades Symbols in the Collection of Seals and Stamps in the Archives of the Capital Town Prague. Annotated Catalogue)*. Prague. Heraldic Society in Prague [Archives of the Capital Prague], 1999, pp 157-162 and 246-247.
- 15 SOkA Semily, Shoemakers' Guild VnJ, Inv. No. 15, sign. 4.1.
- 16 SOkA Semily, Shoemakers' Guild VnJ, no Inv. No., cart. 2.
- 17 SOkA Semily, Shoemakers' Guild VnJ, Inv. No. 29, sign. MV-4.
- 18 SOkA Semily, Shoemakers' Guild VnJ, no Inv. No. cart 2.
- 19 SOkA Semily, Shoemakers' Guild VnJ, Inv. No. 11, sign. 2.4.
- 20 SOkA Semily, Shoemakers' Guild VnJ, Inv. No 28, sign. MV-7.
- 21 SOkA Semily, Shoemakers' Guild VnJ, Inv. No. 19, sign. 5.2.
- 22 SOkA Semily, Shoemakers' Guild VnJ, Inv. No. 27, cart. 2.
- 23 SOkA Semily, Shoemakers' Guild VnJ, no Inv. No. cart. 2.
- 24 The Museum of National History and Geography in Vysoké nad Jizerou and Environs (hereafter VM VnJ), Inv. No. 4385, fol. 1v.
- 25 SOkA Semily, Shoemakers' Guild VnJ, Inv. No. 21, book.2.
- 26 VM VnJ, Inv. No. 8945, fol. 1v.
- 27 VM VnJ, Inv. No. 19232, sign. AJ4, p 6, picture 1, fol. 1r.

# A Collection of Folk Footwear in the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín, With a Special View to Cloth Footwear from the Border Area of Moravian Wallachia and Luhačovice Zálesí

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This contribution introduces the collection of folk footwear from the sub-collection of the folk textile of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín. Peculiarity of this collection is cloth footwear as a part of traditional folk costume from south Moravian Wallachia and Luhačovice Zálesí, the varied regional types of which form an exceptional collection. Out of the total of 80 pairs of folk footwear, cloth footwear and women's and men's coarse woollen cloth shoes form one fourth of the collection, and there are 40 more pieces of woollen and cotton, knitted or sewn folk costume stockings.

The collection of folk footwear in the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín began gradually, parallel to the collection of the Shoe Museum of the Museum of South East Moravia. When creating the collection of national costumes, the ethnographers did not put any particular emphasis on folk footwear, due to the existence of the collection of the Shoe Museum. In spite of this, a collection of folk footwear emerged, representative in many respects, mapping situation of the researched region of South East Moravia and documenting the status of the ground. The ethnographic collection also gained several extraordinary items of cloth footwear from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, par-

ticularly from the ethnographic regions of Luhačovice Zálesí and south Moravian Wallachia. This was thanks to war and interwar field research and collection by a prominent Moravian ethnographer and founder of the Luhačovice Museum, Antonín Václavík.

Cloth and other products from sheep wool were in the past used intensively in the south Moravian Wallachia and with it bordering Luhačovice Zálesí due to extended breeding of sheep in Carpathian Mountains and their foothills. The reason for the dominant use of woollen products of local manufacture, particularly cloth, was the need to protect the inhabitants from the inclement cold climate of mountainous and foothill countryside. Home produced sheep wool made wool yarn and cloth cheaper in the long term, and these were much more accessible for the local inhabitants than leather footwear and factory produced materials. Not only the poverty of this region but also its strong conservatism played a major role in creating specific types of cloth footwear and ensured their long survival as a part of the folk costume.

The pictorial sources of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries confirm these facts. Little known pictorial material, on which we base our contribution, comes from Schwarzenberk archives of costume miniatures in Český Krumlov from the 1730s.<sup>1</sup> Cloth footwear is depicted in gouaches of Moravian and Silesian folk costumes from the year 1814 published by Miroslava Ludvíková.<sup>2</sup> Coloured drawings by Josef Heřman Agapit Gallaš from the 1820s are deposited in the National Museum in Prague, lithographies by Wilhelm Horn from his album from 1837 are kept, as well as Album of coloured photographs from the years 1892 to 1904, by the Moravian District Museum.<sup>3</sup> Thanks to the initiative of Antonín Václavík, there is also iconographic evidence of Luhačovice Zálesí folk costume from the palettes of the eminent representatives of art documentation of Moravian country from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Joža Uprka and František Hlavica.<sup>4</sup>

Peasant shoes (krpce), made from leather or coarse cloth, are the oldest type of both men's and women's footwear in the south-east Moravia. Footwear made from coarse cloth or cloth prevailed in this region at least from the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Low cloth shoes were a part of festive clothing of women in south Moravian Wallachia and Zálesí. These shoes were made by village shoemakers. There are several variants of low cloth shoes, both cut-wise and colour-wise, differentiated by decoration, type of sole, height of the heel and other details. Trimming the footwear with a wool tape of contrasting colour was the usual way to decorate the shoes.



Samples of stitched soles of cloth boots, Valašské Klobouky. The Municipal Museum in Valašské Klobouky, 4239/6-9, photo by Petr Odehnal, 2014.

Shoes were mostly fastened on the instep with a wool tape or a ribbon, which was also a part of decoration. Sometimes the ribbon was tied into a bow projecting from under a shawl tongue. On festive days women in the towns of Klobouky and Brumov wore shoes made from red coarse cloth with a leather sole, low leather or wooden heel and an embroidered tongue (lypač). The red shoes were called 'střívjata'. Apart from the embroidery, the shoes were also decorated with cords and a green ribbon under the shawl tongue tied into a bow. Based on their construction, we recognise three basic types of cloth shoes in south Moravian Wallachia and Zálesí: cloth shoes with a long shawl tongue (lypač), cloth shoes with a tongue and cloth court shoes without a tongue. On working days in summer women in south Moravian Wallachia wore cloth shoes from white (sivý) cloth.<sup>5</sup>

Women in Moravian Wallachia wore with cloth shoes so-called 'gathered' or 'decreasing' stockings (*varhánky, shrnovačky, ubí-*



Cordovan shoes ('kordybánky') from red cloth with an embroidered shawl tongue. Vsetín region. The Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín, E3142, photo by Petra Šťastná, 2014.



Felt cloth court shoes made from lilac cloth with leather sole, Vizovice region. The Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín, E622, photo by Petra Šťastná, 2014.



Court type shoes from red cloth trimmed with black leather. Luhačovice Zálesí, Pozlovice, around 1860. The Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín, E19445, photo by Petra Šťastná, 2014.

*račky* etc.). They stopped using them in the course of the last third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Black stockings were generally worn in the region of Valašské Meziříčí and Rožnov. For the regions of Vsetín, Vizovice and Valašské Klobouky the characteristic colour of these stockings was blue. Black or dark blue decreasing stockings were made from cloth or were knitted on five needles from sheep wool yarn, sometimes the methods were combined: the calf portion was sewn from cloth, the portion covering the foot was knitted. Then the stockings were washed in hot water on a scrubbing board. Hot water and friction of the scrubbing board caused the material to become felt-like. The washed



Decreasing stockings, black wool. Valašské Klobouky region, the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Municipal Museum in Valašské Klobouky, 3671, photo by Petr Odehnal, 2014.

and scrubbed stocking was then pulled over a wooden form in a shape of a leg and gathered with a pricker into dense pleats and was then left to dry on the form. By scrubbing and gathering the stocking, originally about 120 cm long, shrank and reached to the knee of the wearer. If the stockings got wet or were washed, it was necessary to gather them again.<sup>6</sup>

In 1777 Moravian Wallachians from sixty villages, who, based on a faked Toleration Act converted to Protestant Church, were interrogated at a District Court in Uherské Hradiště. At the court in Uherské Hradiště there were two official doctors, who recorded all the names of the interrogated as well as description of what they were wearing at the time of the hearing. According to detailed description, most men wore high, coarse felt cloth boots. The description mentions boots made completely of felt cloth and another type, which had leather sole. Some individuals wore leather boots, low shoes, cloth shoes or, exceptionally, peasant shoes. Most of the interrogated women wore gathered stockings; black or dark blue, and low cloth shoes, minority wore felt cloth shoes with leather soles.<sup>7</sup> In total, 87% of men wore felt cloth boots, 12% leather boots or shoes, only 3% men wore peasant shoes.

Low cloth shoes complemented with gathered stockings worn with folk costume could be found in the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries in the territories of Carpathian foothills alongside the Moravian-Hungarian border from Luhačovice Zálesí to Rožnov region. Putting aside the gathered stockings and replacing them with smooth or colour pattern knitted stockings was linked, among others, to perception of woman's beauty of the given period.<sup>8</sup>



Woolen stocking with gusset knitted in coloured yarn. Luhačovice Zálesí, Pozlovice around 1860. The Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín, E11296, photo by Petra Šťastná, 2014.

The gathered stockings are documented in a number of iconographic sources as well as written documents. One of the oldest illustrations from the 1730s comes from the Schwarzenberk collection of costume miniatures at the chateau Český Krumlov and it is nearly one hundred years older than other, perhaps better known, depictions of Moravian Wallachian women. The appearance of a young Moravian Wallachian woman with an open bodice carrying a wicker basket over her hand, dressed in a dark blue bell shaped skirt of mid-calf length is complemented with dark cloth ankle high boots with a red bow and blue gathered stockings.<sup>9</sup> Her partner is a Moravian Wallachian bridegroom in tight white cloth trousers, hiked up shirt girded with a wide belt, with a fur cap with peacock feathers, wearing leather peasant shoes in which he has cloth socks. In gouaches from the year 1814 the gathered stockings can be seen with Moravian Wallachian folk costumes from the estates in Brumov, Vsetín, Vizovice, Hukvaldy and Křivý regions. Black and dark blue gathered stockings were worn in low cloth shoes by Moravian Wallachian women in 1814 both with festive clothing and, in case of a woman farmer from Brumov estate, also with simple working clothes. Most probably, also the woman from Luhačovice estate is wearing blue gathered stockings, it is, however, difficult to identify this due to unskilful hand of the painter, who rendered the picture.<sup>10</sup> Gathered stockings, worn by both single and married Moravian Wallachian women from Hošťálková and Valašské Meziříčí estates, were also depicted by Wilhelm Horn in his lithographies from the year 1836. They were also documented ten years earlier by a researcher J.H.A. Gallaš in his coloured drawings of Moravian Wallachian men and women.<sup>11</sup> In an al-

bum of coloured photographs from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the authors documented relics of decreasing stockings in Vsetín region worn by both single and married women with their festive costume in Hošťálková between 1895 and 1901 and in Lužná in 1892.<sup>12</sup>

Apart from gathered stockings, also socks sewn from white cloth as well as knitted socks or stockings were worn in the researched region. Even stockings and socks knitted on needles were, however, washed on a scrubbing board in the 19<sup>th</sup> century to make them stronger and warmer. Sewn cloth socks were called 'kopýtce' or 'kopice'. They were made from undyed natural white cloth. They were cut from three parts and fastened by 6 hooks ('haklík') on the inner side of the calf. In the seams they were decorated with red cloth. By soling the cloth socks with leather, felt cloth boots were created, which were then used as footwear. Knitted stockings were worn in cloth shoes and sewn or knitted socks were worn in peasant shoes, but this cannot be claimed 100%, there were variations (the difference between a sock and a stocking is their length; while a sock reaches up to the ankle, a stocking reaches at least up to the knee).

Peasant shoes belong among the oldest types of footwear; they were used in the whole Carpathian Mountains curve and generally in both Moravia and Slovakia. The footwear, made of one piece of cow leather or woollen coarse felt cloth, was fastened by means of leather straps. In modern times the peasant shoes are linked to shepherds' culture in the area of Carpathi-

an Mountains. They were preserved as a part of traditional folk costume in Moravian Wallachia until the beginning, in places until the first half, of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the peasant shoes were worn in Moravian Wallachia only as working footwear, and that, very rarely, as they were gradually replaced by woollen felt cloth boots. Nevertheless, also the felt cloth boots are considered to be archaic type of footwear, documented in our area as early as the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup> Originally both cloth socks to be worn in peasant shoes ('kopýtce') and felt cloth boots were home produced for people's own use. Wearing the high felt cloth boots by both men and women in south Moravian Wallachia, reached its peak in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the development of industrial production of cloth and with the growth of felt cloth boots manufacture in the region of Valašské Klobouky. Felt cloth boots from Valašské Klobouky were exported into wide surroundings. In the Valašské Klobouky region itself, the felt cloth boots were most popular from the 1860s.<sup>14</sup> High felt cloth boots were mostly used in winter but older people wore them throughout the whole year as late as the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These boots were sewn from thick woollen coarse felt cloth and soled with leather, which overlapped upwards by approximately 2 cm to provide protection from dampness. In the heel the leather was in two layers and sometimes furnished with a heel plate. The boots

were approximately 25 cm high. For use as house footwear, the felt cloth sole of the boots was made stronger by stitching through it. Similar to socks (kopýtce), also felt cloth boots were made from three parts and they were fastened on the inside calf with metal hooks and were decorated mostly with narrow strips of red cloth. A gouache painting of Brumov estate from the year 1814 documents use of blue cloth as a decorative element both on felt cloth boots as well as on white trouser legs and on the shoulder boards of the jerkin.<sup>15</sup> Both men and women wrapped their feet in straw or cloth before putting the felt cloth boots on.<sup>16</sup> More festive for men than felt cloth boots were high black boots (čičmy) of Hungarian type. The Museum of South east Moravia has in its collection a unique item – hand sewn felt cloth boots with a high leg portion with a wool lattice pattern in two colours, originally from Nový Hrozenkov. This type of footwear is similar to the types of footwear found in the Slovak territory and forms a transition between the hand sewn cloth socks (kopýtce) and on needles knitted socks with patterns in dark and light wool. For the purpose of this paper we supplemented the types of coarse cloth footwear and stockings, which are not represented



White cloth socks (kopýtce) trimmed with red. Vsetín region. The Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín, E3144, photo by Petra Šťastná, 2014.



White felt cloth boots with leather soles trimmed with red cloth in the seams and edges, Nedašov. The Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín, E2443, photo by Petra Šťastná, 2014.



High felt cloth boots, combination of cloth and needle knitted leg part, Nový Hrozenkov. The Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín, E627, photo by Petra Šťastná, 2014.



Knitted stockings washed on scrubbing board, Valašské Klobouky region, the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Municipal Museum in Valašské Klobouky, 3667, photo by Petr Odehnal, 2014.

in the collection of the Museum in Zlín, with photographs from the collection of the Municipal Museum in Valašské Klobouky. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a so called 'jančary' became the footwear used for festive occasions by women in South East Moravia – these were half high lace up leather boots, taken over from town fashion and more or less adapted by shoemakers for the country environment. With this type of lace up footwear women in Moravian Wallachia wore smooth knitted stockings with coloured stripes (popular combinations were black-red-blue, black-pink-purple, etc.). These stockings can be found in various Museums' collections but also for instance in coloured photographs taken in south Moravian Wallachian villages at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>17</sup> In the Moravian Slovakia region at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, women liked to wear in 'jančar' boots colourful stockings, often with relief patterns, with highlighted calf part. Also these stockings can be found in the collection of the Zlín Museum.

In spite of the fact that the collection of folk footwear in the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín does not rank among the most numerous, the set of coarse cloth footwear from the borders of Moravian Wallachia and Luhačovice Zálesí represents an interesting whole documenting the main types of the archaic coarse cloth footwear during the 19<sup>th</sup> century as well as its development. The extraordinary value of the collection is due to the fact that it documents individual types of coarse cloth footwear from the region of Luhačovice Zálesí in the second half of

the 19<sup>th</sup> century, at which time the local folk costume showed characteristics of mountain areas folk costume and leaned more towards the south Moravian Wallachian type of folk costume. Later, it took over elements from Moravian Slovakia, as well as patterns of some parts and Moravian Slovakian type of footwear.

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# Shoes for a Cook and a Lady Alike

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A motto of the founder of the famous Zlín shoemaking company, Tomáš Baťa, was, among others, also the slogan: *'It is better to be a good shoemaker than a bad king!'* Who would have believed that a well regarded company whose products would be sold throughout the world under the advertising slogan *'We'll provide footwear for the whole world'* or *'Our customer is always right'* would grow from a small family business established in Zlín in the autumn of 1894. How far the business expanded in the twenty to thirty years of its existence! From the unwieldy symmetrical lace up canvas shoes, bought above all by servants and workers to elegant models of footwear prepared for a network of Baťa Department Stores or for the demanding American market. This article is a reminder of the 120<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Baťa Company establishment and focuses on the production of footwear in the Zlín Company between 1894 and 1945.

### Baťa's Footwear – So Cheap Anyone Can Afford It

Felt cloth shoes and boots with stitched through sole were a popular type of footwear in the Moravian Wallachia and Baťa siblings thought they would also succeed with this type of footwear. Their expectations were, however, not fulfilled. There were a number of felt cloth footwear makers in Zlín region and the competition was very strong and soon it became apparent that it was not a good choice. The trade was, only a year after its establishment, on the brink of bankruptcy. Positive change came in 1896, when Tomáš Baťa started production of light lace up footwear from coarse canvas, called *ségl* (sailcloth). This was nothing new in the shoemaking industry: shoemakers made canvas low shoes to measure already from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and this footwear was popular especially as sports shoes or informal footwear. Tomáš Baťa was, nevertheless, the first to industrially produce canvas shoes in the Austro-Hungarian Empire territory. They sold well and the demand for cheap

and attractive product grew. People wore 'baťovky' from spring to autumn together with another fashion hit – a straw hat. Even poor people so could feel as elegant gentlemen and fashionable ladies. Even Tomáš Baťa liked canvas shoes and wore them as late as the beginning of the 1920s, the evidence of which is a photograph showing the town councillors of Zlín in 1924. A multitude of town councillors and employees of the magistrate are posing for the photograph in formal clothes. In the middle of the first row sits Tomáš Baťa, elected the Lord Mayor in 1923, in white travel suit wearing ankle high lace up canvas boots. We can only presume that on that day all the town councillors and employees together with the photographer impatiently waited for him and so, the Lord Mayor did not pay any attention to suitable clothes and footwear, being in a hurry to join them. Only thanks to this a snap from a very hectic life of Zlín factory owner was preserved. Tomáš's fashion adviser, his wife Mánička, could hardly have been pleased with this photograph.

The sales of light canvas footwear with pegged sole were not threatened even by the crisis of the Austro-Hungarian economy at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 1901 Baťa Company increased the production of canvas shoes, which shared by two thirds in the total volume of Baťa production. As an experiment also the production of leather footwear was introduced in 1901 alongside felt cloth and canvas footwear production, but was stopped already at the beginning of 1902. The factory specialised, until the beginning of the First World War, more or less in canvas lace up footwear. The daily output was- according to ac-



Cloth lace up shoes called 'ségl' shoes, dating to approximately 1905, were exported to the whole of Austro-Hungarian Empire. Photographic documentation of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín, photo by Vladimír Kubík.

counting books from 1910 – 3,400 pairs a day, which made Baťa the biggest manufacturer in the territory of Austro-Hungary.

A number of sales representatives worked for the company in the home market in 1910 and at this time the company's products also penetrated foreign markets, namely the Balkans, Germany and even the Near East.<sup>1</sup>

### Inspiration from around the World

Both Baťa and his co-workers paid special attention to footwear for export. All specifics of the target locality were taken into account and sales opportunities were researched. Each product to be exported was carefully judged as the differences among the various nations were not only in climatic, economic and cultural conditions but also in the shape of their feet. In this respect Tomáš Baťa tried to set an example to his co-workers and the surviving contemporaries remember, how, during their honeymoon in the Mediterranean in 1913, he showed such an interest in the feet of the local women, that he brought his wife Marie to tears. His co-worker and biographer, Antonín Cekota, writes in Tomáš Baťa biography: *'...Marie knew he loved her but why was he looking at so many women walking in throngs in the streets of the towns or in the markets of Arabian villages? 'Look Mary' he told her when she asked him directly, 'all these women are wearing exactly same type of shoes, so such type of shoes will be good for our export collection. I have already calculated how to include them into our regular footwear collection and how that would affect our prices both in the home market and export, especially in the Balkans and Egypt. Did you notice what kind of black velvet is used for the uppers, and how the sole is polished with black wax? The last and the cut are simple. I think we will change the last a little. The toe is somewhat shapeless; I will make it slimmer. With this footwear we will win both the Balkans and the Middle East. The local prices are shameless. Even selling at half of those prices, we shall still make a profit.'*<sup>2</sup>

Baťa did not seek inspiration only in Europe and Asia but he also travelled overseas. Several years before the above-mentioned honeymoon, in January 1905, he visited, together with three young co-workers, important American shoemaking centres; in some of those he even worked until the spring of that year. He admired the perfect system of management as well as high productivity of American workers in shoemaking industry. Later he writes in his notes: *'I wanted my own body to experience problems linked to such high productivity... I was convinced that I could work skilfully all the machines, but in America this preconception hurt me a lot... I realized that in my whole life I*



Jemný střevíček z telecího boxu se zdobeným vysokým nártem.  
Feiner Halbschuh aus Kalbsbox mit hohem, verziertem Rist.  
Chaussure basse fine en vachette avec tige haute ornée.  
A fine shoe out of box-calf. With ornamental vamp.



Na kolonádu, bohatě vykrajovaná arabka se šněrováním ve zvýšeném nártu.  
Für die Kolonnade. Reichlich ausgeschnittener Araberschuh, Verschnürung am erhöhten Rist.  
Pour la promenade arabky richement découpée lacets sur tige haute.  
For walking, cut out to shank. Laces high on vamp.



Běžová arabka bez špičky a paty se šněrováním s dřevěnými kulíčkami.  
Beigefarbiger Araberschuh ohne Spitze und Ferse, Verschnürung mit Holzkügelchen.  
Arabky beige sans bout et sans talon avec lacets a bouts durs.  
Beige »Arabians«, open heel. Open toe. Ornamental lace.



Červená bohatě vykrajovaná arabka s červenou lemůvkou.  
Roter, reichlich ausgeschnittener Araberschuh mit roter Einfassung.  
Arabky rouge, très découpé avec bordure rouge.  
Red »Arabians«, very much cut out.



Na pláž. Vzdušná »Arabka« s koženou podešví a pohodlným podpatkem.  
Für den Strand. Luftiger »Araberschuh« mit Ledersohle und bequemem Absatz.  
Pour la plage, arabky très aérées avec semelle cuir et talon confortable.  
For the beach, an airy »Arabian« with leather sole and comfortable heel.



Modrá, nejvzdušnější arabka se šněrováním ve zvýšeném nártu.  
Blauer, äußerst-luftiger Araberschuh mit Verschnürung am erhöhten Rist.  
Arabky bleu très aéré avec lacets sur une tige haute.  
Blue »Arabians«. Very airy. Laces high on vamp.

A page from catalogue of the Baťa Company 1939, offering various sandals. Photographic documentation of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín.

would not be able to learn to carry out all the work as perfectly as it was already then expected in America...It was difficult to find work...How lucky I was to see myself with rolled up sleeves at a machine...A tramp, a worthless person suddenly became an aristocrat. Hands were in tatters but the head sat firmly in the right place.<sup>3</sup>

### Military Boots

Having returned from America, Tomáš Baťa commenced building a new three-storey factory hall based on the American model. The building facilitated new organisation and improvement of production process, which increased the productivity of work. At the beginning of the First World War, immediately after mobilization had been ordered, he attempted to get military orders

in Vienna. After three-day negotiation he returned to Zlín with the first order for 50,000 pairs of military boots. It was difficult to manage the whole order by the requested delivery date, so he got involved four other Zlín shoemaking factories – his competitors – František Štěpánek, Otta and Eduard Kuchař, Antonín Červinka and Ludvík Zapletal. The footwear was made to strict military regulations and all the factories were under military observation. It is estimated that 50% of Austro-Hungarian army military boots were made in Zlín.<sup>4</sup>

Civilian footwear was produced only marginally during the war years. In spite of that, lists from a warehouse and a factory in Pardubice, where the Company opened their first filial branch in 1917, were preserved and they are a witness to a relatively wide variety of produced footwear. Pardubice District Office tried to set maximum price on footwear in January 1919 due to a complicated supply situation; Baťa, however refused to sell products at this price and so the District Office confiscated the goods from the warehouse as well as the products in the workshops. The Company contested this decision and in February achieved the release of the goods. Only thanks to this incident we have a list of products, which the Company manufactured in that period. They were more than 25 thousand pairs of various types of footwear: wooden sole shoes, plimsolls, boots, ladies' and men's leather shoes, ladies' canvas, velvet and repp shoes, even foot-



Children's ankle boots with wooden sole were manufactured by the Baťa Company during the First World War. Photographic documentation of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín, photo by Vladimír Kubík.

wear made from lacquered leather and kid skin.<sup>5</sup> Warehouses full of goods were not only in Pardubice but also in Zlín. Economic situation after the war was bleak, the sale decreased and the production in Zlín factory was reduced to 20% compared to the output at the end of the war.<sup>6</sup> Price reduction in the autumn 1921 and then again in the spring 1922 showed hardly any response from the customers and so Tomáš Baťa decided to take a risk. As of 1<sup>st</sup> September 1922 he reduced the prices by 50% and thus gained many new customers. The consequence, however, was the ruin of several tens of thousands of shoemaking trades; the shoemakers became cobblers and only repaired Baťa shoes or they change the trade.

### Satin Shoes

After the First World War people wanted to recover from the past hardships and wanted to enjoy themselves; in the 1920s dancing madness ruled the whole world. Young people went to pubs and dance halls straight from the factories and offices where they worked. It was mandatory to have good shoes, which could withstand sometimes rather wild dancing creations. Only a few years before that, most young men and women from lower social strata could only have dreamt about beautiful dance shoes or lacquered low shoes. In the 1920s Baťa offered in his shops light cloth court shoes or shoes with a strap across the instep as well as simple low lace up men's shoes – which were advertised as the lightest dance shoes in the world – weighing only 320 g. Very popular was ladies satin footwear, of, again, a very simple design. Baťa Company produced and sold satin court shoes or shoes with a strap across the instep in huge quantities, in several variants, for many years; basically until the outbreak of the Second World War. Their price was relatively low, simply cut shoes sold for 29 crowns and a luxury model with a small silver buckle sold for 39 crowns.<sup>7</sup> In the magazine Newsletter from January 1935, following advice on how to speak with lady customers was given to the shop assistants: 'We have a large selection of satin shoes. Have a look at this pair, which has strap vamp, Miss. They are only 29 crowns ... we can dye them any colour you wish to match your gown. It will only cost you 3 crowns.'<sup>8</sup> In magazine Zlín, it was later written: 'All Baťa shops will dye your satin shoes the exact shade to match the colour of your gown. They will dye the footwear according to colour swatch and it will only cost you 3 crowns and they will even do it while you wait. If you take into consideration that the satin shoes only cost 29 crowns, if dyed then 32 crowns, then you can certainly afford to wear out more than one pair through by dancing in the season.'<sup>9</sup> This ser-

DANILO  
z filmu M.G.M.  
Veselá vdova



**Nejlehčí pánská taneční polobotka**

a při tom tak pohodlná, že  
v ní můžete bez obav protan-  
čítí celou noc. Zcela hladký,  
štíhlý tvar – bez kaple.

Kč

39

Neopomeňte se zásobit vhod-  
nými tmavými ponožkami.  
Náš druh PRAKTIK z umělé-  
ho hedvábí Vás jistě uspokojí  
Kč 4.-

**Bata**

H.5.

Low dance shoes advertisement in magazine Zlín. Photographic documentation of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín.



Satin slippers could be dyed in the Baťa Company shops to any colour the customer desired. Photographic documentation of the Museum of South East Moravia, photo by Vlastimil Kříž.

vice was indeed offered in nearly all bigger company shops, the whole world round. The customer would bring a small piece of material from which her gown was made and within three days she could come back and pick up the matching footwear. To dye the footwear, basic dye 'Rapid Colour' mixed with methylated spirit was used and this made it possible to achieve a great many hues and shades. The dye was applied by cotton wool, first of all on the heel, then from the heel seam towards the toe and then back again on the other side to the heel. This service was in great demand, above all by less well off women, particularly during winter months, the time of various social events.

**Smaller Foot, Greater Charm**

Also more demanding customers would buy their footwear in Baťa shops. In the same issue of the Newsletter from the year 1935, the author recommends the shop assistants to also offer lacquered shoes to potential buyers: 'For a ball dance, banquet, reception and similar events I would like to recommend this pair of low shoes, made from the very best lacquered leather. They are very elegant and at the same time very comfortable. Let me

help you try them on. I am sure you can feel how pliable the leather is, how soft they are. They will not pinch anywhere. The price compared to the quality is very low – 59 crowns. Should you after each time you wear them always use shoe tree – it is only 5 crowns – the shoes will remain as new for a long time.' Ladies, who required luxury footwear, did not get a bad deal either. In the autumn of 1935 they could choose from several tens of luxury models. The Baťa Sales Department advised the shop assistants how to offer the goods to such demanding customers: 'I put aside a few pairs of shoes for you, Madam. Just for you. These are the first beautiful models, which have just arrived, now,



2295-16235

Sagrinový střevec s modrou pasulkou,  
Schagrin-Halbschuh, blau eingefärbt.  
Chaussure basse chagrin combinée avec bleu.  
»Chagrin« oxford, with combination blue.



2305-96262

Decentní semišový střevec na nártu s modrou teletinou.  
Dezenter Sämsch-Halbschuh mit blauem Kalbsleder am Rist.  
Chaussure basse en daim et combinaison vachette bleue sur la tige.  
A decent suede oxford with combination blue calf leather on vamp.



1365-44259

Líbivý vzor z hnědého semiše kombinovaný hnědým ševrem. K zapínání na pásek s americkou přazkou.  
Gefälliges Modell aus braunem Sämsch, mit braunem Chevreau kombiniert. Riemchenverschluß mit amerikanischer Schnalle.  
Modèle préféré en daim brun avec combinaison chevreau brun avec fermeture boucle américaine.  
A likeable model, with combination brown suede and brown kid. Closed with American style buckle.



2535-96262

Perforovaný ševrový střevec s koženou podšívkou a polovysokým podpatkem.  
Perforierter Chevreau-Halbschuh mit Lederfutter. Halbhoher Absatz.  
Chaussure basse en chevreau avec perforation et doublure cuir sur talon demi haut.  
Perforated kid oxford with leather lining, with medium high heel.



2225-16260

Moderní sagrinový střevec s koženým proplétáním.  
Moderner Schagrin-Halbschuh mit Leder durchflochten.  
Chaussure basse moderne chagrin avec tissage cuir.  
Modern »Chagrin« oxford, trimmed with interwoven leather strips.



2345-16264

Efektní nubukový střevec s proplétáním z bílého laku.  
Effektvoller Nubuk-Halbschuh, mit weißem Lack durchflochten.  
Chaussure basse d'effet en Nubuk avec combinaison en vernis blanc cuir.  
An effectful nubuk calshoe, with combination white patent.

A page from a catalogue of the Baťa Company 1939, offering a range of ladies' footwear. Photographic documentation of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín.

after the Boss returned from his trip to Paris. Also our sales ladies and designers accompanied him to see what the latest fashion is. How do like this pair?' And if, by chance, a lady stood in front of the shop, it was desirable to invite her inside: 'Is Madam waiting for her husband? May I meanwhile tentatively show you our nice collection of footwear? We received only a few samples yesterday, we haven't started selling them yet, not before some of our special customers have a chance to see them.'<sup>10</sup> When even that was not enough, then Tomáš Baťa's rule, that every postman can be the Company's sales representative, applied. Having made an agreement with postmen, advertising leaflets were dropped into letterboxes, sometimes even personal letters, for instance with the following text: 'Madam, the social season begins. You will again visit friends, go to the theatre or take part in various social events. You would like to be admired. You need elegant autumn footwear to complement your autumn wardrobe. We offer an extensive collection to choose from. We have stylish street shoes on comfortable heels to go with your new autumn coat; for social events there are smart well-made shoes from our world collection. These are the same designs that will be worn this season by ladies in Paris, London or New York. We would like to invite you to visit our shop. We shall be pleased to show you our collection and invite you to try on any pair with no strings attached. We shall look forward to your visit and remain yours faithfully. Vladimír Ježek, Shop Manager, Baťa House of Services Olomouc, Riegr Square.'<sup>11</sup>

### Burian Shoes

Film stars, who on the silver screen modelled luxury footwear, also to a certain extent influenced the fashion as each girl or woman wanted to look like her idols. There is no wonder that for instance elegant shoes in combination of black velvet and silver leather straps became so popular. They looked exactly like those worn by Queen Christine in Hollywood blockbuster of the same name (1933 or 1934), with the famous Swedish actress Greta Garbo in the leading role. This type of evening footwear became and remained a real hit throughout the second half of the 1930s until the beginning of the war. Baťa Company even named it *Kristina*. A famous Prague producer and a co-founder of Zlín Film Studios, Ladislav Kolda, announced at the end of December 1935, that a new advertising film will be shown in the cinemas called 'Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer introduces' which is 'a successful montage of dancing scenes from the American films of the mentioned film company, in which our footwear was used. The film is a pleasant show and your customers will certainly enjoy it as

**KRISTINA**  
z filmu M.G.M.  
Královna  
Kristina  
79.-

**PRO NASTAVAJÍCÍ TANEČNÍ SEZONU**

přichystali jsme mnoho druhů krásných střevíčků. Jedním z nich je střevíček „Kristina“ - opravdu královský střevíček z naší taneční kolekce. Ze sametu a stříbrných pásků.

U. 4.

An advertisement for evening shoes called 'Kristina'.  
Photographic documentation of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín.

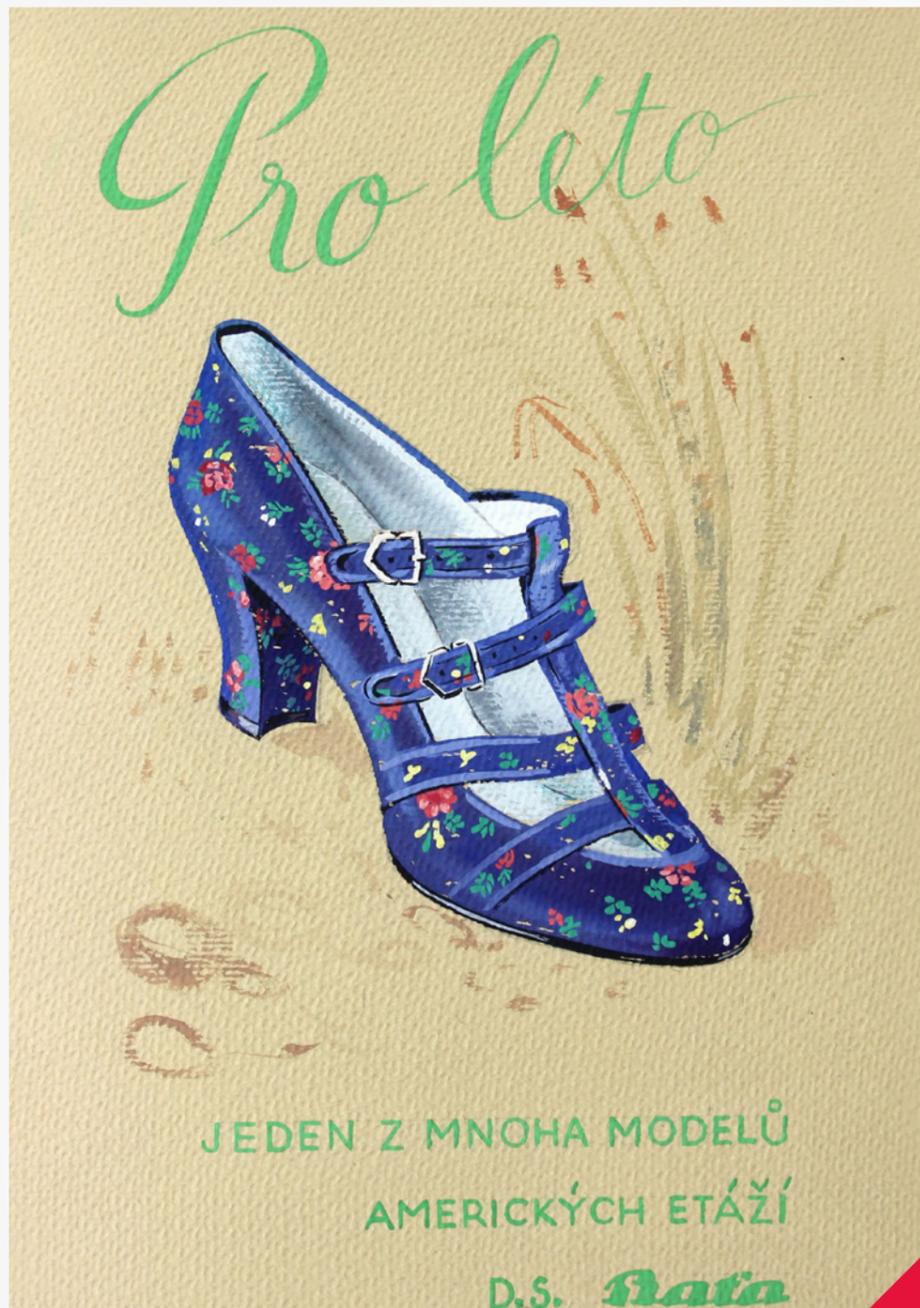


Luxury low men's shoes manufactured by the Baťa Company known as 'burianky', 1936-1939. Photographic documentation of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín.

well. When you are showing the film at your place, recommend the dance shoes with these words: This is the beautiful dance shoe Kristina, which acts in the film with Greta Garbo.'<sup>12</sup> American film blockbusters were, however, not the only inspiration; Baťa employees looked around for local stars as well, and so, chic street low shoes in combination of rust coloured and cream white leather were called 'burianky' – after the popular Czech comedian Vlasta Burian, who had given his agreement and even acted in several Baťa advertisement films. When Master Burian came to Zlín for two days in May 1938, the chief of the Sales Department, Alois Lata, asked him whether he was happy with Baťa footwear. Master replied with just one word: 'Superb'<sup>13</sup> Also Czech actresses Adina Mandlová, Hana Vítová, Lída Baarova and Nataša Gollová promoted Baťa footwear in the period films or advertisements; they liked posing with Baťa shoes or in front of Baťa shop windows.

### Footwear Sale

Not even at the time of the biggest expansion was the collection of footwear from Baťa factory very colourful. The footwear was usually made in various shades of dark brown or grey, although there were always shoes with black upper in the collection. In the 1930s the Company offered to their women customers luxury models in bright colours, but these were usually limited collections, made for so called American stores of Baťa



A design of ladies' footwear for the luxury department of the Baťa Department Stores, 1937-1939. Photographic documentation of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín.

Department Stores in the whole world. The system of preparation of seasonal collections and fashion footwear was well organised and consistently adhered to, but sometimes, as they say, 'even Homer can nod'. In August 1933 the company 'agents' from the fashion metropolis reported that prevailing colour for ladies' summer footwear in the following seasons will be white. Statistical division of footwear based on different colours clearly showed white colour as prevailing in the world collections; the estimate was about 43 % of white. The black colour was represented by about 23% in the world collections and beige by



Advertising poster of the Baťa Company with the motif of 'first swallows', 1934. Photographic documentation of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín, photo by Rudolf Červinka.

about 14%.<sup>14</sup> Under the pressure of these reports Zlín designers prepared most of the men's, ladies and children's summer collection for the following years in white colour. In spring 1934 an attractive advertisement appeared both in the newspapers and magazines with a motif of swallows returning for the spring together with elegant court shoes and sweet girls' sandals made from white kid or nubuck leather. Conservative customers, however, could not be tempted by the alluring advertisement and a great majority of the products did not find their customers. There is strong evidence that already in 1935 the 'white production' was on sale at very low prices, even at stalls in the streets.



Seasonal goods sale in front of the Baťa Company shop in Zlín, Tržnice (Market), approximately 1935. Photographic documentation of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín from the original in the Museum, the collection of photographs Baťa/Svit, evidence. no. 27, inv. no 1227/12.

### And with a Smart Shoe also Fine Stockings

It was not only elegant court shoes, which made ladies legs beautiful, essential accessory were also silk stockings. In Baťa Sales Department they knew very well about vanity of women. Based on world statistics they knew women would spend a lot of money on fine elegant stockings. Baťa shops prepared an unbelievable number of various shades of stockings, above all in beige, black, grey and brown colours. Baťa window dressers were able to create attractive shop windows in which only stockings, costing from 9 to 19 crowns, were on show. The chief window dresser, Mr. Trefil, advised his colleagues in the April number of the Newsletter from the year 1937, that more expensive stockings should be arranged in separate groups, only three pairs together, in the upper part of the shop window, while it is better to arrange cheaper stockings in larger groups in the lower part of the shop window.<sup>15</sup> 'At least three pairs of stockings with one pair of shoes'.<sup>16</sup> was the slogan of the spring and autumn season in 1937. A year later an increase was recommended – six pairs of stockings for one sold pair of footwear.<sup>17</sup>

Ladies had to check all the time whether the position of the seam of the stocking is perfect. Bohumil Hrabal, in his short story *I Waited on English King* aptly described this process: '...and although it was still daytime, already since 11 o'clock beautifully made up young ladies sat in the saloon...and waited for the stockbrokers... and as I walked along, I heard behind the closed curtains laughter, tinkling of glasses, and this lasted for several



Design of a cover of a box with stockings, the advertisement department of the Baťa Company, the 1930s. Photographic documentation of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín.

hours; only in the evening the stockbrokers were leaving merrily and the beautiful young ladies came out and combed their hair in the toilets and applied colour, which had been kissed away, to their lips. They adjusted their blouses and looked, nearly throwing their heads back, to see whether the again pulled up stockings have straight line, the seam starting in the middle of their thighs continuing to the centre of their heels.'<sup>18</sup> For many women the fine stockings were nearly out of reach as the cost was

prohibitive and durability short. A helping hand was given by stockings and socks repair shops. Stocking repairers even came to customers' homes to pick up the items to be repaired. Advertisements in the newspapers and magazines urged customers not to worry about darning the stockings and socks themselves but have them done by the experts in Baťa shops. Your stockings repaired in five minutes!, was one of the most frequented slogans.

### Meltons, Galoshes, Bathing Shoes

As early as the 1920s the Company introduced many novelties and we could say that innovations were offered every year. Winter ankle boots called meltons, the production of which started somewhere around 1923, were very popular. The upper was made from woollen cloth modified by fulling. The name of the footwear probably comes from the material manufactured since 1823 in English town Melton Mowbray. The popular meltons were made in Zlín for unbelievable 22 years and belong among so called 'bread' models, i.e. models that were made in millions of pairs.

The shoe cabinet of every elegant man and woman had to contain also galoshes, the production of which started in 1928;



Winter children's winter footwear called 'meltonky' manufactured by the Baťa Company, the 1930s. Photographic documentation of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín, photo by Vlastimil Kříž.



The Baťa Company bathing footwear advertising poster, the 1930s. Photographic documentation of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín, photo by Rudolf Červinka.

in the course of the following years they were exported to Belgium, Great Britain, France, Romania, but also to Finland and Norway. In 1929 more than five million of rubber footwear were made in Zlín rubber factory; three years later, in 1932, the output reached nearly 17 million pairs. The highest output was reached in 1937, when nearly 19 million pairs of various types of rubber footwear – Wellingtons, galoshes and bathing shoes - were exported from Zlín to the whole world. There were many advertisements promoting this type of footwear in Baťa magazines. 'Just as a gentleman should have a pair of galoshes, a lady should not leave the house without overshoes. They could be from black gabardine with a buckle, or all-rubber with a warm fine knitwear lining, practical and elegant pull-overs. Putting them on is easy, they protect feet and stockings from being bespattered by mud, just the right protection if you do not have a car, only that gives better protection than pull-overs for 29 crowns.'<sup>19</sup>



The Baťa Company ladies' galoshes advertising poster, branch in Swiss Moehlin, after 1933. Photographic documentation of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín, photo by Rudolf Červinka.

### Plimsolls, Sneakers, Jacksons

Also in the sports footwear category several novelties came on the market in the 1920s and the 1930s. At the beginning of the 1920s the Company started production of light canvas lace up shoes with rubber sole called plimsolls or tennis shoes. In 1933 also a large filial factory in Indian Batanagar started producing this light sports footwear. Their production supplied mostly customers in Asia. Perhaps even more popular were so-



The Baťa Company tennis shoes advertisement, the 1930s. Photographic documentation of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín, photo by Rudolf Červinka.

called trampky (sneakers), ankle high canvas footwear with rubber sole, which was worn when hiking and doing various sports. They were promoted as 'air-cooled footwear' as they had ventilation holes on the side, at the height of the ankle.

Also heavy sports footwear was produced by Baťa Company already from the 1920s. Ski and skating boots were, compared to other types of footwear, very expensive. At the end of the 1920s the prices were between 129 to 149 crowns, which was twice as high as price of the other footwear, and the prices were



Winter sports footwear in an advertisement in magazine Zlín, the 1930s. Photographic documentation of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín.

not reduced even in the following years. It is quite understandable as this was welt or stitched through footwear, which was, from the technological point of view, very demanding. Only the best quality materials were used, which of course also contributed to the high price. The Company, however, did not have to worry about the sales. At the beginning of the 1930s there was a great interest in winter sports and so the sports footwear sold 'like hot cakes'. Following the extraordinary success of the figure skater Sonja Henie and Jackson Heines, young people longed to circle the ice rinks and the skating boots Jacksons were very much in demand.

### Healthy Feet – Joyful Life

Comprehensive care of customers' feet was an inseparable part of Baťa Company market strategy and company philosophy. Already in 1932 the Modelling and Design Department started cooperating with an orthopaedist and in the big company shops they offered regular consultations with an orthopaedist. Nearly

all shops offered pedicure services, often carried out by the manager of the shop or his wife. The Company Secretary, Dominik Čipera was a sworn advocate of pedicure; he recommended it vehemently to everyone and often found fault with the managers of the shops for not setting an example. Pedicure – once a week! That was an imperative for the managers and also an offer to customers! Pedicure services were of a high standard, the trained chiropodists were expected to be meticulous and scrupulously clean. Pedicure services were relatively cheap, in the 1930s the cost was between 3 and 5 crowns. *And now (finally) we can start contemplating our beauty. As a man starts his grooming at a barber, also a woman, in her equality, runs under the scissors and curling irons of master hairdresser. And yet, she should start from the opposite end – from the toes and calluses and other small nuisances, which could badly spoil her dancing mood. She will surely wear one of those sweet pairs of new shoes for 39 crowns, made from crepe de chine or watered silk, beautifully cutdanda<sup>20</sup> or court shoe type. She is sure not to buy too big a size, as it would come off when dancing. Then her feet must not display even an indication of a callus, or she would surely lose her mood. And without good mood, one cannot enjoy oneself.*<sup>21</sup>

### Quality of Products

The question of the quality of the products was one of the most important in the company. It was understood as essential for the existence of the company. A perfect in-house inspection ensured that the customer would receive footwear of high quality technological production, whether it was cheap footwear with canvas upper or luxury models made from fine calf or kid leather. The Company had a consistently designed and rigorously adhered to system of quality control, starting with entry control of purchased materials and raw materials, through continuous checks of the production to output control of the finished goods. The best quality – the lowest prices, was one of the many advertising slogans.

The standard of products and services offered by Baťa Company can be witnessed by an eloquent characteristic in magazine Newsletter: *'We have studied the human foot for forty years, that means, we know a lot about it. We make footwear in all widths and sizes and our trained personnel will only offer such footwear to a customer that really fits him or her and is adequately comfortable.'*<sup>22</sup> Offer to customers was not limited to footwear only; there was also a wide choice of complementary goods of own production. Apart from the already mentioned stockings, socks



Measuring feet in the modelling department of the Baťa Company, the 1930s. Photographic documentation of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín.

and shoe trees, there were also footwear cleaning and polishing kits (shoe polish, brushes and flannels), foot cosmetics or washing powder Madelon for washing stockings. In summers the shops offered also a variety of items linked to bathing, such as bathing shoes, inflatable tube rings, inflatable toys; these were sold not only in the classic shops but also at the stalls located by large swimming pools. The manager of the shop in Pardubice, Mr Hruška, boasted in the July issue of magazine Newsletter from 1935 that he hired, as a promotional aid, a boat on the river Labe and decorated it with swimming and bathing products. *'In front of the boat floated a large inflatable monster and behind the boat floated our employees on inflatable lilos or in kayaks.*



An advertisement for footwear cleaning agents aimed at the area of Yugoslavia, the 1930s. Photographic documentation of the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín, photo by Rudolf Červinka.

*This whole procession floated from Sezemice to Pardubice and was an object of great attention from the people on the banks of the river.*<sup>23</sup> At this event the shop assistants were sure to wear Baťa rubber bathing shoes, which were made in many attractive colours, most usually red, blue and white or in combinations of these colours. Also comfortable summer sandals called *'arabky'*, sports lace up low shoes called *'tulačky'* or elegant models of ladies' footwear with textile uppers, which sold under the names of *'Miami'*, *'Florida'* or *'Riviera'* and which belonged among the fixed stars in every well-stocked Baťa shop. A good shop assistant would persuade a customer to buy at least house slippers or refreshing liniment *'francovka'*<sup>24</sup> of Baťa make, which sold in the

1930s in small bottles for 3 crowns; but it was also possible to buy four times that volume for mere 9 crowns.

In the interwar period Czechoslovakia ranked, thanks to Baťa production, among the world powers. Baťa Company supplied the world with huge numbers of shoes. To supply the footwear to the whole world was the dream of Tomáš Baťa, the founder, and his favourite slogan was: *'Let us not fear the future. A half of people in the world go barefoot and hardly five percent of mankind wear good quality footwear. This shows best how little we have done so far...'*<sup>25</sup>

### The End of the Famous Zlín Company

At the beginning of the 1940s the world was again at the brink of war. Although American and English advertisements urged 'Chin Up Girl!', not to give to panic, the situation in shoemaking industry was not easy. Raw materials market seized and the cost of natural hides, such as they were, increased many folds. As a result many designers and producers in the whole world took to using alternative materials. Footwear in war years gained somewhat more massive look, including ladies' footwear. Higher soles and higher, massive heels or wedge platforms made from wood or cork, uppers from plaited leather straps or made from cheaper materials such as nubuck or textile – those were the basic attributes of war and after war footwear. The same as in the previous war, also in this period Baťa Company produced, or rather was forced by German command to produce, military footwear. The civilians had to do with galoshes, wooden sole footwear and footwear made of lesser quality materials such as textile or nubuck. While at the time of the greatest expansion the designers offered 1,200 models of footwear every year, during the Second World War it was only several tens of models.

After liberation, on 12<sup>th</sup> May 1945, a so-called National Management was appointed. The Directors Dominik Čipera, Hugo Vavrečka, František Malota, Hynek Baťa and others gradually lost their influence and were removed from their positions. Far less able people became the members of the Management, mostly from the ranks of the Communists. It was JUDr. Ivan Holý, former informer of Gestapo, who knew nothing about production of footwear, who, paradoxically, became the leading representative of the nationalised company, which, until 1948 was known as 'National Enterprise Baťa'

- 1 LEHÁR, Bohumil: *Dějiny Baťova koncernu (A History of Baťa Concern)*, Prague, 1960 p 28.
- 2 CEKOTA, Antonín: *Geniální podnikatel Tomáš Baťa (The Genius of the Entrepreneur Tomáš Baťa)*, Toronto, 1981, p 111.
- 3 BAŤA, Tomáš: *Úvahy a projevy (Thoughts and Speeches)*, Tomáš Baťa University, Zlín, 2002, pp 23-24.
- 4 POKLUDA, Zdeněk: *Ze Zlína do světa (From Zlín into the World)*, Zlín, 2009, p 10, ISBN 978-80-254-4591-4.
- 5 ŠRÁMEK, Pavel: *Podnikání Tomáše Bati v Pardubicích (Tomáš Baťa Production in Pardubice)*, In: *sborník Tomáš Baťa, doba a společnost (Collection Tomáš Baťa, Time and Society)*, Zlín, 2007 pp 261-263.
- 6 POKLUDA, Zdeněk: *Ze Zlína do světa (From Zlín into the World)*, Zlín, 2009, p 17, ISBN 978-80-254-4591-4.
- 7 *Monthly salary of a qualified worker in Baťa company was around 2,000 crowns at that time.*
- 8 *Baťa Shop Assistants' Newsletter*, No. 3, from 19.1.1935, p 2.
- 9 *Magazine Zlín*, No. 1, abbreviated sample issue, January 1932, p 4.
- 10 *Baťa Shop Assistants' Newsletter*, No. 42, from 26.10.1935, p 2 and 4.
- 11 *Quote from an advertising letter*, Moravian District Archives – State District Archives Klečůvka. Collection Baťa, sales department.
- 12 *Baťa Shop Assistants' Newsletter*, No. 31, from 27.12.1935, p 4.
- 13 *Baťa Shop Assistants' Newsletter*, No. 19, from 13.5.1938, p 5.
- 14 *Collective: Hlídkka módní (Fashion Watch)*, In: *Časopis Obuv – Kůže – Guma (Magazine Footwear – Leather – Rubber)*, year 1, No. 6, Zlín, 1933, p 188.
- 15 *Baťa Shop Assistants' Newsletter*, No. 14, from 10.4.1937, p 2.
- 16 *Baťa Shop Assistants' Newsletter*, No. 14, from 10.4.1937, p 1.
- 17 *Baťa Shop Assistants' Newsletter*, No. 29, from 29.7.1938, p 3.
- 18 HRABAL, Bohumil: *Obsluhoval jsem anglického krále (I Waited on English King)*, In: *Collected Works of Bohumil Hrabal*, tome 7.
- 19 *Magazine Zlín*, No.1, abbreviated sample issue, January 1932, p 4.
- 20 *Dandal cut – 'escarpines' style, i.e. formal footwear popular with dandies (ballet shoes).*
- 21 *Magazine Zlín*, reduced sample issue, January 1932, p 4.
- 22 *Rozhovory o botách (Talking of Shoes)*, In: *Baťa Shop Assistants' Newsletter*, No. 14, Zlín, 1935, p 7.
- 23 *Jak jsme zvýšili prodej koupacích potřeb (How did we increase sales of bathing products)?* In: *Baťa Shop Assistants' Newsletter*, No. 27, Zlín, 1935, p 2.
- 24 *Francovka – originally spirit with a high content of alcohol used from the 18<sup>th</sup> century as a digestive, later as a refreshing spirit based liquid for massages and external refreshment.*
- 25 *From the speech by Tomáš Baťa at the assembly of Baťa Company employees. Film documentary BAPOZ, probably May 1932.*

## June Swann

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Assistant and Curator of the Boot and Shoe Collection, Northampton Museum 1950 – 1988, author of some 60 publications, including Shoe and Leather Bibliography, Glossary of Shoe Terms, Catalogue of Shoe and Shoemaker Pictures and Works of Art, Catalogue of Shoe Buckles, 1950 – 1988.

At present Consultant, including regular visits to Clarks Shoe Museum, Somerset, 1988.

Holder of the Order of the British Empire, 1976.

Member of the International Council of Museums ICOM Costume Committee Working Group *Guidelines for Costume*, 1976- present.

Founder member and former Chairman of The Costume Society 1980- 1987, and of Friends of Fashion of the Museum of London, 1991 – 1994. .

Author of *Shoes 1982*, *Shoemaking 1986*, *History of Footwear in Norway, Sweden and Finland 2001* (the result of an Agnes Geijers Fund grant), and some 200 articles and papers for the Northampton Museum, costume societies, books and periodicals.

## Michal Rak

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Michal Rak concluded his studies of archaeology at West Bohemian University in Pilsen, where he is now engaged as a Lecturer. He specialises in archaeology of conflicts of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Particular topics are for instance fortification in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, archaeology – investigation of crashed airplanes, the countryside of ‘cold war’ or archaeological research of war victims. In this field of research he cooperates with archaeologists from University in Lodz.

## Jiří Jákl

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Jiří Jákl graduated from Charles University in Prague and Leiden University in the Netherlands, where he specialised in culture of south-east Asia. In 2014 he obtained PhD title at University of Queensland in Brisbane, Australia. His publications (reviewed, with an exception of a title from 2013) deal predominantly with culture of Indonesia focusing on symbolism in literature and culture of Java and Sumatra. The publications are listed in the English version of this paper.

## Alois Orlita

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Alois Orlita studied biology – chemistry at the Faculty of Natural Sciences of Masaryk University in Brno. Having completed his studies, in 1957 he started to work in the Leather Research Institute in Otrokovice, where, in 1997, after forty years, he also finished his working years. He specialised in biochemical and enzyme technologies in leather industry. He also developed research in the field of biological corrosion, that is, biodegradation of leather and leather produce. Linked to this topic was also protection from bio-corrosion, in other words, conservation and restoration of leather items. The results of his scientific work are contents of tens of publications in professional literature. He is also a holder of 18 patents registered in Czechoslovakia.

Since 2007 he has worked as an external teacher at the Faculty of Natural Sciences of Masaryk University in Brno, lecturing on the chemistry of restoring and conservation of archaeological objects.

## Jiří Nenutil

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Jiří Nenutil graduated from the Faculty of Arts of West Bohemian University in Pilsen, where he studied several subjects and where he is currently taking part in doctorand studies Theory and History of Science and Technology. He is the Director of the Institute of Memory of Society and Landscape, o.p.s. In 2011 he acted a specialist consultant for an excellent feature film *Lidice*, in 2013 and 2014 he cooperated as a specialist consultant for a successful TV series *The First Republic*.

In his publication activities he focuses on the problems of the Second World War: *The Second World War – the Tachov Case* (2010), *Death Marches* (2011), *Exhumation of the Second World War Victims – suppositions, sources, research* (2011).

## Václav Gřešák

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Václav Gřešák has worked since 1980 as a Lecturer at The Faculty of Technology at Tomáš Baťa University in Zlín (formerly the Faculty of Technology of Technical University in Brno). Together with Petr Hlaváček he researched and reconstructed the footwear of the ancient mummy known as Ötzi. He also carries out reconstructions of footwear from the period of the Great Moravian Empire. He achieved particularly good results when reconstructing historical saddles and saddle bags from the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries.. His publication activities concern mostly bag making a saddlery technologies but also construction of leather accessories. Recently he lectured at international symposia in Mikulčice and in France.

## Petr Hlaváček (\*23. 2. 1950, † 10. 1. 2014)

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Petr Hlaváček worked from 1979 as a lecturer at the Institute of Physics and Material Engineering at the Faculty of Technology of Tomáš Baťa University in Zlín, where he specialised mainly in preparation and realisation of production in shoemaking industry. He was also interested in footwear ergonomics, particularly footwear for diabetics. He was the Dean of the above mentioned faculty between 2007 and 2011. He also carried out, together with his team, long-term study and research of the footwear of the ancient mummy called Ötzi, which also included an archaeological experiment. He studied and described Paleo-Indian sandals from Fort Rock cave in American Oregon; he researched footwear of the so called Chinese terracotta army as well as Byzantine sandals from Turkish Istanbul. He also devoted some research time to fragments of footwear from the reliquary of Saint Moor from the Bečov nad Teplou chateau; for the museum in Cheb he researched the boots of Albrecht Valdštejn and for the museum of Brno he carried out research of an archaeological find in the well of the Špilberk Castle. Together with his colleagues he also studied footwear of so called death march victims found in Tachov.

## Veronika Pilná

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Veronika Pilná completed European Culture Studies at the Faculty of Arts of West Bohemian University in Pilsen in 2008. She currently continues her studies of historical sciences and ethnology at the same faculty. Since 2011 she has lectured there as an external teacher on the history of fashion. Since 2009 she has worked as a conservationist in the National Heritage Institute in Pilsen. She processes professional documentation on the items in the collection and looks after the collection of textiles, clothes, clothes accessories and footwear. She carries out reconstructions of historical clothes and has organised several exhibitions; she also publishes books on this topic and writes contributions for specialised magazines.

## Martina Hřibová

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Martina Hřibová is a lecturer at Tomáš Baťa University in Zlín at the Faculty of Technology. In 2005 she was on an educational stay at University of Illinois, Champaign – Urbana (USA) and in 2008 at University de la Rochelle (France). She wrote 19 articles for high impact professional magazines. She cooperated on 22 exhibitions or historic clothes shows both in the Czech Republic and abroad. She is a member of an organisational team who organise ‘Seminar on History of Clothing’ and administers server [www.kostym.cz](http://www.kostym.cz) which is listed in Web Archives of the Czech National Library.

## Zdeněk Špitálník

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From 2007 he worked as an external assistant in the Library of the Military History Institute in the Department of Historical Collections as the curator of maps collection. In 2012 he became the curator of the Collection of Uniforms, Equipment and Vexillology. He is a member of the Committee of Military Symbolism and Tradition. He specialises in the history of the Czechoslovak army in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and civilian clothing of the same period. He is an author of several papers on the topic and also a co-author of a number of exhibitions. He acts as a professional advisor on uniforms for various art projects (TV series A Czech Century, film Code Name Holec, documentary on assassination of Reinhard Heydrich).

## Uranbileg Altangerel

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Uranbileg Altangerel was born in Mongolia but she lives permanently in the Czech Republic. She studied at the Secondary School of Applied Arts in Uherské Hradiště, and specialised in design and shoe modelling. In 2015 she concluded her studies at the Faculty of Multimedia Communications at Tomáš Baťa University in Zlín with a Bachelor Degree. She intends to study footwear design also in the future. She took part in many interesting projects pertaining to footwear design; she was successful in a number of young designers competitions and gained, for instance, 1st place in Jan Pivečka Foundation competition in 2011. She cooperated at 12 prestigious exhibitions related to footwear design, whether in the Czech Republic (Zlín, Prague, Brno or abroad (Bratislava, Košice, Milan, Dresden)).

## Miroslava Burianová

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Miroslava Burianová completed studies of history at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University. She works as the curator of personal collections of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the Archives of the National Museum and the curator of the textile collection in the Department of Modern Czech History of the National Museum. She specialises in the topic of lifestyle focusing on the history of clothing of the elite of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. She is an authoress of a number of exhibitions, for instance *Karel and Naděžda Kramář at Home, Republic, Toys of Our Kate, The Castle Photographic Collection, The Golden? Sixties, and Reminiscences and Reality*. She is the authoress of the book *Fashion in the Streets of the Protectorate* and a co-author of publications dedicated to Karel Kramář and photographic collection of T.G. Masaryk.

## Rebeca Shawcross

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She has been the Shoe Resources Officer at Northampton Museum and Art Gallery since 1998. She is responsible for the Designated Shoe Collection, which includes collections management, exhibitions, research and enquiries, talks and advising other museums and the media. She has published various articles including “I Stand Corrected? New Perspectives on Orthopaedic Footwear,” a research paper for the publication *Re-thinking Disability Representation in Museums & Galleries*, edited by The Research Centre for Museums and Galleries, Leicester and ‘High Heels’ for the *Encyclopaedia of Clothing and Fashion*, edited by Valerie Steele. In November 2014 her book *Shoes: An Illustrated History* will be published by Bloomsbury.

## Juraj Šuška

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Juraj Šuška studied at the Footwear Design Studio at the Faculty of Multimedia Communications of the Tomáš Baťa University in Zlín. Currently he works as a footwear designer for Honeywell Company. Between 2009 and 2012 he worked as the leading designer in Novesta Company. Since 2011 he has at the same been a student of doctorand studies at Tomáš Baťa University in Zlín, where he focuses on research of the development of Czecho-Slovak footwear design between 1945 and 1989. At the University he also teaches Shoe Design with particular attention to 3D CAD system in footwear design.

## Hilde Colpaert

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Hilde Colpaert completed studies of modern history. Since 2003 she has been the Director of Municipal Museums of Izegem. She is working on the above mentioned extensive project *Eperon D’Or*, which is to be opened to public in 2016.

## Eva Uchalová

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Eva Uchalová is a graduate from the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague, where she studied History of Arts. She has worked in the Museum of Applied Arts since 1981, and for the past 20 years (since 1989) as the curator of the collection of textile and fashion. She is a co-author of the project *Czech Fashion*, which mapped fashion in Bohemia in the period 1780 – 1980. In the framework of this project five exhibitions were organised and five books published. The project was concluded with the exhibition *Prague Fashion Salons* and the book of the same title (2011/2012). Currently she is working in the Museum of Applied Arts on temporary basis and is preparing publication on Prague fashion designers Oldřich Rosenbaum and Hana Podolská.

## Juraj Herman

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Juraj Herman studied at the Faculty of Arts of J.Á. Komenský University in Bratislava. In 1971 he joined the Slovakian National Museum in Bratislava and has been working there until today. He specialises in documenting trades and crafts. He is an author and co-author of exhibitions in this field, both in Slovakia and abroad. He has contributed to professional magazines studies from economic history and trades in Slovakia; he has also written studies on development of various trades and crafts in the periodical *Collection of the Slovak National Museum – History*.

## Milena Secká

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She studied between 1975 and 1981 ethnography and history at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague. As a member of scientific research team of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore of the Czechoslovak Academy of Science (1981 – 1993) she studied ethnic processes in Czech border areas, focusing on the Czechs and Slovaks living outside their mother country territory. Since 1993 she has been working as the curator in the National Museum – the Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures. In the centre of her interest is first of all the history of the Museum and to it linked personalities, above all in the context of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Through all her public performances (cooperation with radio and television, as well as lectures) she aims to make this topic popular with the wide public and introduce the public to the lives and works of great personalities of our history. In the Náprstek Museum and outside it, she is the author of more than 25 exhibitions, some of which were specially designed to be shown overseas (USA, Thailand and Africa). She wrote several specialised books and a number of professional and popular articles and papers. In 1996 she re-opened American Ladies’ Club under the auspices of the Náprstek Museum, of which she is a chair. In 2012 she was awarded an honorary medal of Vojtěch Náprstek by the Academy of Science of the Czech Republic for her work in making the science popular with and available to general public.

## Monika Tauberová

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Monika Tauberová concluded studies of ethnology at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague. She works as a curator of collection of folk clothing, textiles, jewellery and accessories in the Department of Ethnography of the Museum of History – the National Museum in Prague. She cooperates on preparation of folk festivals in Kinský Summerhouse – Musaion. She is a co-authoress of a number of international exhibitions, the authoress of exhibitions presented by the National Museum in Prague and other exhibitions both home and abroad. Together with Helena Mevaldová, she is the co-authoress of a monograph *Drahomíra Stránská, a Personality of European Ethnography* (2011), the authoress of the publication *Folk Jewellery from Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia in the Collections of the National Museum* (2012) and publication *A Birth of a Baby in the Rural Environment and a Ritual Influence of Ceremonial Textile – Puerperium Screens* (2014).

## Jarmila Pechová

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Jarmila Pechová studied ethnography at the Faculty of Arts at Masaryk University in Brno. Since 1983 she has worked as a specialist in the Moravian District Museum in Brno, where she is responsible for the collection of tools (agriculture, crafts and production, trades, household). She specialises particularly in the crafts and trades in Moravia and also the history and culture of the former German Language enclave in Vyškov region. She is the authoress of several entries in the Encyclopaedia of Ethnography and various articles on trades both in monographs on various villages and in professional literature. She is a member of the team which is preparing the publication *An History of Brno*, which will be printed in several tomes. She prepared several exhibitions on agriculture and trades and regularly lectures for students at University of the Third Age.

## Vanda Marešová

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Vanda Marešová concluded studies of auxiliary historical and archive science as well as ethnology at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague. The studies were concluded with doctoral viva voce exam in 2009. She continues in her doctoral studies at the Institute of Ethnology at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague. Since 2009 she has worked as the curator of collection of textile and toys in the Department of the Old Czech History of the Museum of History – the National Museum in Prague. She is also the curator of the exhibition Memorial of František Palacký and František Ladislav Riegr. In her professional work she focuses mainly on phenomenon of childhood from 18<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries and on historical museology.

## Michal L. Ják

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Michal L. Ják graduated from the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague and the Faculty of Arts of Hradec Králove University in the fields of archival science and history. Since 2003 he has worked as a specialist in the Museum of National History and Geography for Vysokénad Jizerou and its environs. In his publishing activities he focuses on problems of Vysocko region, heraldry and history of protected buildings.

## Jiřina Todorovová

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Jiřina Todorovová studied folk culture and Serbo-Croat language at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague between 1973 and 1978. She was then employed, until 1993, in the then Institute for Ethnography and Folklore of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (today Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences). Since 1993 she has also worked in the National Museum as the curator of photographic collection of the Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures. She focuses predominantly on historical photographs and the fates of Czech globetrotters.

## Blanka Petráková

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Blanka Petráková is a curator of collection of textiles, folk culture and ceramics in the Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín, she is the head of the Muzeum of Luhačovice Zálesí. She focuses on art folk culture; her main interests are folk textile, ceramics, history of Luhačovice balneology; she also deals with problems of museum pedagogy. She is the curator and organiser of an international conference The Museum and the School in Zlín and a member of programme board of the International Folk Festival in Strážnice. In the last decade she has devoted her time to reconstruction of folk costumes for folk and village bands, where she contributes with both specialised studies and practical advice. She is the founder of Dušan Jurkovič Research Centre in Luhačovice.

# Miroslava Štýbrová

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Miroslava Štýbrová has worked in the Zlín Museum since 1986; first as a historian and then, since 1990 as the curator of the historical footwear collection. Since 1994 she has organised regular triennial international conferences Shoes in History. She published several tens of studies and articles in specialised magazines and publications on the history of Baťa Company, the history of shoemaking and fashion trends in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. She organised more than 50 exhibitions both in the Czech Republic and abroad on the topic of shoemaking, the history of Baťa Company and life style in the Zlín region. In 2009 Prague publishing house Lidové noviny published her book *Shoes, Shoes and More Shoes*. Since 2002 she has works as an external lecturer at the Faculty of Multimedia Communications of the Tomáš Baťa University in Zlín where she lectures on the history of shoemaking. She is a co-author of the permanent exhibition Principle Baťa: Fantasy Today – Reality Tomorrow, which was awarded Gloria Musealis prize for the best exhibition in 2013.

# Epilogue

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In the autumn 1994, when the first Symposium was held in Zlín, only a few people believed that it would ever be possible to organise the conference Shoes in History again. At that time neither my colleagues nor I even dreamt that the Zlín Symposium will be held again repeatedly seven times.

Nevertheless, we succeeded. I know the credit for this is to be taken by you, our esteemed guests. I would like to thank, above all, for the encouragement of the regular participants and speakers, who returned to Zlín again and again and supported this event by their participation and excellent lectures. They guaranteed the quality of the Symposium by their presence as well as the presented papers.

In October 2014 renowned local and foreign experts met again in Zlín and the town became, for three days, the place where tens of experts enthusiastically discussed the history of shoe-making and footwear for the seventh time. For me, personally, those were three beautiful days.

And what about the time to come? I believe Zlín conference Shoes in History still has future.

## Miroslava Štýbrová

Chairperson of the Conference Organisation Committee

Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín

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