

**THE MATERIALS, CONSTRUCTION
AND CONSERVATION OF
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY WOMEN'S SHOES**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses a 12% sample of the 900 extant pairs of eighteenth-century women's shoes in British museums and argues that shoes are a valuable but currently underused historical resource. The analysis is supported by both primary and secondary literature and contemporary images and much of the research is presented in a visual format such as images, diagrams and tables. The thesis revolves around the following questions: What can women's shoes tell us about eighteenth-century culture? How can object based analysis of shoes enhance our current understanding of women's footwear in the eighteenth century? How can we characterise materials, construction and manufacture of such shoes based on extant examples? What implications do these findings have for conservators and others responsible for the survival and management of the extant corpus? By recording the complexity of shoes as composite objects and examining how they are made; from what and how their components were processed and manufactured the thesis greatly increases the current available knowledge. It proposes a methodology for studying shoes and recording subsequent findings. The thesis also recognises the potential of shoes as historical sources. In addition it examines how we might seek to manage shoes as heritage assets in the future and acknowledges the significant role of the conservator in this. A holistic approach involving both curators and conservators in the decision making process relating to conservation and preservation is given. The appendices give full details of the sampled shoes and show the completed survey forms.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BBSATRA	British Boot, Shoe and Allied Trades Research Agency
ECCO	European Confederation of Conservator-restorers' Organisation
ICON	Institute of Conservation
SRUA	The Silk and Rayon Users' Association Incorporated
TCC	Textile Conservation Centre
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum.
Clarks	Clarks Museum
Gunnersbury	Gunnersbury Park Museum
Hereford	Hereford City Museums
Leicester	Leicestershire County Council
Lincoln	Museum of Lincolnshire Life
Northampton	Northampton Museum and Art Gallery
Nottingham	Nottingham Museum
Saffron Walden	Saffron Walden Museum
Snowhill	Charles Wade Collection, Snowhill, held at Berrington Hall by The National Trust

NOTES

- 1 Numbers given in square brackets refer to the shoe survey number given on the forms in appendix III.
- 2 Some images may be repeated due to their use for illustrating different points. This is intended to make referencing easier for the reader.
- 3 The book titles of the eighteenth century can be extremely long with unknown authors. In the bibliography full titles are given but where these sources are cited in the text the first few words only will be used.
- 4 Terminology varies greatly throughout this research field. Where this relates to shoe shapes and construction the terms are defined in the appropriate sections. Other definitions are given in the Glossary.

INTRODUCTION

There are around 900 pairs of eighteenth-century women's shoes extant in British museums as well as many more English shoes held in collections worldwide. They are a valuable historical resource that has, until now, been largely overlooked. Their existence inspires three fundamental questions. What can be learnt from a systematic examination of a sample set of shoes? What can the physical nature of these shoes tell us about eighteenth-century history? What implications do the construction, constituent materials and processes have for conservators? These questions will be addressed during the course of this thesis by using approaches derived from material culture studies and a conservator's perspective of object examination. Indeed, the two are intrinsically linked, "the decision to conserve an object is an act within material culture; the decision about how to conserve is based on negotiating the complexities of an object's physical and social environment" (Eastop, 2006, 516). Research that combines shoes, material culture and conservation has not been carried out in this way to date, although the value of material culture for conservation decision making and the contribution conservators can make to the field of material culture is beginning to be recognised more widely. The thesis therefore intends to provide a unifying framework for what is currently very scattered data and in so doing to professionalise the scholarship with regard to eighteenth-century shoes.

The original premise of the research was to investigate seventeenth as well as eighteenth-century shoes with a mixed textile and leather content. It narrowed to eighteenth-century women's shoes as, although shoes from a century earlier had similar attributes, there are fewer extant examples on which to base any meaningful research and those that do exist are mainly men's mules. Despite this any scholarly or detailed work on such items is very limited.

Shoes have great potential to communicate history. They are very personal items. They resemble the shape of the foot and indeed may retain evidence of the wearer's foot. They were worn on an intimate part of the body, an area which in the eighteenth century was regarded as erotic. Moreover, the purpose for which they were used is clear and identifiable; they are not dissimilar to shoes that are worn in the present day thus creating a very obvious and understandable link between the past and present. More than most objects they provide a tangible method for current museum and collection visitors to understand how those from the past walked, how tall they might have been and the sort of environment in which they must have been living to wear such shoes, not to mention a relatively rare link to a real eighteenth-century woman.

There is no extended study of eighteenth-century women's shoes. The most recent publications on the subject are exhibition or collection records or sections within more

general studies about shoes through the ages. Again, very little is readily available that provides real detail about construction and the materials used. The key reference book is *Shoes* by June Swann published in 1982. However, this book has 95 pages of which only 23 cover the period 1660-1830 including a number of illustrations as well as details of men's shoes. Walford (2007), in *The Seductive Shoe: Four Centuries of Fashion Footwear*, devotes 38 pages out of 288 or 13% to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Ledger (1985), in *Put your Foot Down: A Treatise on the History of Shoes*, has 18 pages of 214 pages (just 8%). Pratt and Woolley (1999), in *Shoes*, devote 27% to the period under review. It can be seen therefore that there is no really detailed publication concerning the shoes of this period.

Swann is the recognised expert in the field and held the post of Keeper of the Shoe Collection at Northampton Museum. Despite the fact that she retired in 1987, she still acts as a consultant. In conversation with her (28 October 2010), she dismisses much of the work of Ledger and Wilson, questioning their credentials on the subject despite the fact that Wilson is listed in the bibliography of Swann's (1982) own book. Of the books listed, most cite the others in references or bibliographies where they exist. Even the more recent works such as Walford, Pratt and Woolley and Riello and McNeil (2006) still use Swann, Wilson and Ledger despite the fact that their books were published in the 1970s and early 1980s. Mackenzie's (2004) catalogue of the Snowhill Collection relied heavily on Swann's input. As can be seen Swann's expertise in the field is uncontested and most reference works therefore have similar views.

The primary focus of this thesis was the examination of extant shoes with additional evidence from textual primary sources such as those which refer to the manufacture of the component materials. However there are few available about shoemaking specifically. Alternative sources that reference fashion give little specific information about shoes. Other primary sources used include trade cards, fashion plates and magazines as well as the more obvious records such as Diderot and Alembert's *Encyclopaedia* (Gillespie 1959, 1987). While it is likely that further investigation into these sources would have been beneficial, the limitations of time and resources meant that this was not possible. However, it is not, as yet, a fully tapped source of information and would merit more detailed analysis. This would also apply to letters, diaries and inventories.

Satirical sources, both in word and picture, proved extremely valuable. This type of information source has been well researched and documented with various different emphases (for example, Gatrell, 2007; Shesgreen, 2002; White, 2012). Although lampooning extremes of behaviour, this does provide a fruitful source of information about

fashions and the spirit of the time. Gatrell (2007, 230) states of satirical prints of which many thousands were produced, “they speak volumes about attitudes and prejudices that were so taken for granted that they were otherwise rarely expressed or that lay well below the levels of what could be publicly admitted.” Although not always referring to or showing shoes specifically, they do highlight various aspects and in particular, the extremes which were held to ridicule and in doing so give some idea of what was the norm.

Sources such as contemporary literature and art must be used with caution for explaining the fashion of the day as the tendency was to highlight extremes and not necessarily the common-or-garden day-to-day wear. However, they do provide a marker in which to place extant objects and show how they were used and worn in context. Paintings and drawings may reflect the personal preferences of their creator rather than those of the sitter and none can be a direct, neutral representation of the object/sitter. Consequently they may be misleading or misinterpreted although still providing an idea of what was possible in the day. English portraits provide a more accurate portrayal of typical outfits of the period as they preferred to be depicted at leisure, outside, in their country estates rather than the French who were usually shown in formal court wear. It is important, however, to emphasise the need to compare and contrast all sources to try to obtain a full and accurate picture of the shoes under study.

Shoes, as composite objects comprising mainly leather and textiles, pose difficulties for conservators. There is a tendency within the field to specialise in the treatment of particular materials and eighteenth-century shoes, because of their significant textile content, have usually been treated by textile conservators. They often lack sufficient experience to deal with leather conservation and equally leather conservators are wary of treating degraded textiles. One of the initial premises of this research was to ascertain whether such diverse treatments are compatible with each other on the same object. This theme developed further on the realisation that more in depth knowledge was required about the construction of such shoes and the materials from which they were made before any truly well-informed conservation decision could be reached.

Of the published conservation literature, information on methodologies for conserving shoes is limited. There are mentions of shoes in the standard texts on textile conservation (ie Landi, 1992; Lennard and Ewer, 2010; Brooks and Eastop, 2011) but only a few lines of generalisation. *The X-Radiography of Textiles, Dress and Related Objects* (O’Connor and Brooks, 2007) has a chapter on shoes that have been X-rayed but again gives little information on the conservation implications. Standard works on leather conservation such as Kite and Thomson (2006) and Waterer (1972) give advice on the conservation of archeological or

water logged leather shoes but nothing about the type of shoes under study. Journal scholarship relating specifically to shoe conservation tends to refer more to non-European shoes, whose structures are very different to those of eighteenth-century Britain, or to archaeological finds. These categories, although related, have very different conservation requirements.

A conservation perspective is essential to this thesis, not only with regard to how eighteenth-century shoes should be conserved but also for the unique insights that conservators can provide during the course of an intervention. An almost forensic approach is necessary for close examination and inspection leading to such treatments which might, occasionally, involve partial deconstruction or reconstruction. The information acquired in this way is often lost or left undiscovered as conservation reports are usually kept separately from object records. Conservators acquire high levels of skill relating to object analysis and have a haptic/tactile familiarity with materials and objects. My professional background as a textile conservator has enabled me to gain greater access to shoe collections and meant that I was permitted wider freedom from curators than I would otherwise have had.

This thesis will argue that the most valuable source of information about eighteenth-century women's shoes is the shoes themselves. Riello (2009, 29) takes the view that objects contain historical narratives that may be unavailable from written sources. This can be taken further with the use of other material culture approaches. Prown (1995, 220) states that material culture is "an object-based branch of cultural anthropology or cultural history" which uses man-made objects to gain an insight into the mind set of those that made and used the objects and thus, by extension, into the society from which they came. He goes on to elucidate that "Artefacts constitute the only class of historical events that occurred in the past but survive into the present. They can be re-experienced; they are authentic, primary historical material available for firsthand study." (Prown, 1995, 220). In this sense shoes can relate history at two levels: one being the style and look of the shoe, how that changes over time and how one particular detail such as heel or toe shape can supply a means to pin particular shoes to particular periods. Secondly, the materials from which the shoes were constructed and the way in which they were put together provide an insight into the levels of technology available, not only for shoe making but for leather tanning, silk weaving and designing, dyeing and tool making to name but a few. Further features such as labels in some shoes, advertising the maker or seller, can give an insight into the sophistication of the consumer society from which they came.

Kopytoff (1986) likens the history of an object to the biography of a person. In this respect it is reasonable to expect the object in question to reveal the same type of information such

as where was it made, who owned it, what has been its 'career' so far and what was considered the norm for such things. He continues that just as every person has different aspects to their biographies (such as professional, familial and economic etc) so might an object. In the case of shoes these might be interpreted as the manufacturing process, their role within the social status of their owner and how that might change after wear when they were repaired, passed on, translated or resold. On entering a collection, the shoe's status would change yet again. Just as in the various stages of a person's life, the object too travels through various transitions of status throughout its existence. Its relative status on inception and its status as part of a museum collection due to its rarity may be similar with a decided dip in the intervening years where it was just considered old fashioned and worthless.

Prown (1982) uses different terms to describe a similar concept ie that of value. He proposes that objects have different kinds of value, the first being intrinsic value relating to the materials from which an object is made and their rarity value. He states that this value holds throughout time when precious metals or stones for instance are involved. In terms of shoes, the value of the separate materials from a resale point of view, would not have been great as the size would render reuse difficult. However, the metal threads and other decorations employed could have had other uses at the time and buckles, if attached, may well have been made from more valuable materials. "More transient or variable are those values that have been attached by the people who originally made or used the object, by us today, or by the people at any intervening moment" (Prown, 1982, 3). These values might relate to utility, aesthetics or spirituality. While shoes have an obvious utilitarian value, their other values are more ambiguous. They do not have the same aesthetic value as a work of art, although they do provide real woven examples of silk designs for the period which reflect the differing style phases such as baroque, rococo and neoclassical. In terms of spiritual value, shoes obviously lacked the status of icons or cult objects. However, it could be argued that their use as an object of concealment does indicate that shoes have some symbolism which relates to the superstitious beliefs of the time. Presumably, removal from a place of concealment would render the spiritual value worthless. Shoes also hold a particular appeal to women, possibly more so than any other apparel and especially in the late twentieth and early twenty first centuries.

Riello (2009, 24-46) takes a slightly different view by using what he terms object narratives. In this way he ascribes different stories to an object which are revealed depending on the circumstance in which it is examined; "objects should not be used as an aid for providing enhanced answers, but for asking better questions" (Riello, 2009, 29). Shoes for instance could provide a narrative of dress and fashion; a narrative of the body; a narrative of

“commodification in capitalism”; a narrative of a concealed object or a narrative of a multinational and multicultural object (when considering that an essentially English product uses imported cotton and silk from different continents).

Shoes cannot provide all the answers to the history of the eighteenth century and, indeed, can pose many more questions. Analysis of a number of pairs can corroborate the conclusions that have been reached by fashion historians. Shoes reflect broader cultural shifts, for example, the very definite movement to plainer shoes with lower heels at the end of the century corresponds closely to the popularity of the neoclassical style. Prown (1995, 13) reflects this by purporting that “If artifacts materialize belief, then it follows that when a society undergoes a traumatic change, that change should manifest itself artifactually.”

Prown (1982) also makes the point that the way in which objects are interpreted now depends on the current cultural environment which is always substantially different from that in which an object was first used/made. Correct interpretations are not, therefore, always made. “Artifacts, then, can yield evidence of the patterns of mind of the society that fabricated them, of our society as we interpret our response (and nonresponses), and of any other society intervening in time or removed in space for which there are recorded responses.” (Prown 1982, 6). This rather indicates that while the study of actual objects is vitally important and should be more widespread; it cannot be taken in isolation to gain a true understanding of what an object can reveal.

Shoes as museum objects

Our knowledge of eighteenth-century shoes has been greatly influenced by their preservation in museums. Public museums did not become commonplace until the mid-nineteenth century. Prior to that there had only been about fifty collections nationwide, nearly all in private hands. Their brief was to collect objects of interest but with no real strategy about what they were trying to display or to learn from the objects. The South Kensington Museum (later Victoria and Albert Museum or V&A) was established in 1852 and collected items of costume but only if they were made of a significant fabric that demonstrated the art of weaving or manufacture rather than as an example of fashion of a particular period (Cumming, 2004, 53). Dress or costume did not become a widespread feature of museum collections until the 1950s. Costumes were displayed on figures that gave viewers an idea of how people from the past dressed but account was not always taken of different body shapes that were in fashion over the years and thus did not necessarily give a true representation. The emphasis has more recently moved away from chronological displays of costume and is now more often themed. The number of museums specialising in costume grew over the later half of

the twentieth century but is now on the decline with less than a handful of such museums still open. Even museums with large costume collections, such as the V&A, now only display a small portion and for limited periods with few exhibitions following a chronological theme so that it is hard to get a sense of eighteenth-century fashion from such displays. In addition, the focus of special exhibitions is generally post 1850 so little is seen of earlier pieces. As Val Cumming (2004, 105) notes “survivals are a matter of curatorial whim rather than clear-sighted collecting policies.” The V&A has the second largest collection of eighteenth-century shoes in the country but have only ever had one exhibition specifically relating to shoes (James, 1998) which concentrated on the designs of Salvatore Ferragamo 1927-1960. This omission will be partly addressed in 2015 with a shoe exhibition which involves shoes from all countries and of all ages.

For the most part, museums own many more objects than are on display at any one time and, unless a specialist shoe museum (of which there are very few), shoes rarely feature under the spotlight. There are several problems specific to the display of shoes. For instance, unless a museum holds other items of dress from a similar period the shoes cannot be displayed in context of costume as worn. The difficulty of mounting shoes on mannequins used for costumes often means they cannot be displayed truly in context anyway. Equally if a museum holds only a small number of shoes they cannot be shown as part of an exhibition on the history of shoes generally. Shoes that are not particularly rare or pretty examples of their kind hold little appeal for an isolated display. The question therefore needs to be posed - how relevant are shoes in a museum with many and varied objects? The fact that shoes are still worn and have changed so little in their general shape over the ages gives them an appeal to viewers, particularly in a day when a passion for modern designer shoes is so in vogue. Tarrant (1996, 2) remarks of clothing generally that

“in museums costume is at present being marginalised. The range of topics that clothing impinges on is, therefore, both a strength and a weakness - a strength because in a museum context it can find a place in virtually any area under discussion for display, and a weakness because everyone wears clothes and therefore sees themselves as experts on the subject.”

The fact that so many shoes still survive suggests a perceived value both currently and to the families and collectors that have preserved them. It is therefore assumed that such shoes most have been originally owned by wealthy individuals. This may be a misconception as it is actually just as probable that the shoes were owned by the middle-class who were much more likely to have prized them and therefore kept them.

The eighteenth-century shoes under study still have value as a source for design. This is reflected by the fact that some modern shoes are very similar to those from the later eighteenth century. During the course of this research there have been many pairs that would be wearable



Figure 1
A shoe from Clarks W17+sD2 [88]

today such as that shown in Figure 1. The Clarks collection is used by their current designers as a source of inspiration although the earlier shoes are not often requested for examination. Maybe this is more a reflection of ignorance as to what is available rather than the shoes being perceived as uninspiring.

The context in which shoes are displayed or presented often only presents one narrative but “artefacts are multifarious entities whose nature and heuristic value is often determined by the diverse range of narratives that historians bring with them” (Riello, 2009, 30).

The closure of several specialist museums implies that costume collections have become less valued over recent years. The loss of such collections has resulted in a lack of true experts in the field of shoes. There are very few museums in the world that concentrate specifically on shoes and not even all of those have specialist curators. The number of specialists in this country may be counted on one hand and some of those are now retired. The lack of published research means that much of this knowledge will soon be lost. Despite this, the study of fashion history has increased and achieves a wider recognition of its contribution. The development of material culture studies emphasises the need for a more combined approach to study using both academic and curatorial techniques.

Fashion history has suffered from being trivialised in a gendered way but since the 1970s it has slowly been more widely acknowledged that fashion is not just about clothes but that its study has implications for a wide number of fields including sociology, anthropology, psychology and economics to name but a few. “Few [students] have both practical hands on knowledge of materiality as well as a grasp of both history and theoretical practices” (Riello, 2010, 7). Only a small number of studies encompass research not only into archival evidence but the examination of extant objects to provide a more coherent picture of particular items. Ribeiro (1995, 3) states of dress “the only art that relates so closely to the narrative of our lives, both as individuals and in relation to the wider world; for clothing is simultaneously intensely personal (a reflection of our self-image) and as fashion, it is, in the

words of Louis XIV, ‘the mirror of history’.” In this context, women’s shoes of the eighteenth century provide an excellent focus for study as they represent the fashions and technologies of their time whilst being relatively easy and safe to handle.

Ribiero (1995, 5) states “surviving costume is an essential component in the study of the history of dress ... as evidence of the lives of our ancestors.” Buck (1976, 5) remarked that “The evidence of surviving garments has generally been less used than documentary or graphic records. It has far less academic status.” The assumption seemed to be that knowledge of construction and materials was of interest only to craftspeople and therefore less worthy of more academic study. This appears to be changing with much more interdisciplinary study being advocated and a recognition that far more can be gained from this amalgamation than can ever be from isolated study. The difficulty with using extant objects, however, is locating them especially as they are often part of much larger and more diverse collections in museums. The Internet has started to improve the situation but many reports and records still remain buried in museum archives. Knowledge gained from these objects therefore has been kept largely in-house and experts in the subject confined to the small number of specialist museums.

Methodology of this study

Survey of extant shoes

“Reading cannot take the place of actual object study and digital equivalents do not suffice, however helpful. In many instances the objects’ common features as well as anomalies inspire new research.” (Lemire, 2009 , 92).

In order to add significantly to the existing knowledge, it was imperative to ascertain an understanding of how many eighteenth-century women’s shoes are extant. *The Yearbook of Museums and Galleries* was used and any listed as having costume collections were contacted. They were asked if they had any shoes; how many; how many were displayed and how many had been conserved. The response rate was very good at 76% with 63% returning a positive answer. These are detailed in Appendix II. This response was used to target a group of museums that could provide access for a detailed examination of around 100 pairs or single shoes which equated to approximately 12% of those available. In addition, a more general survey was undertaken using the images and information available on museum websites which became more readily accessible as the study progressed. In this way a general survey of 500 shoes was undertaken and the results collated. In calculations of the number of shoes surveyed and extant, the numbers given refer to either pairs of shoes or single shoes where only one from a pair is held.

Shoes that were likely to yield pertinent information were selected for the survey. It also seemed important to make a selection from some of the most extensive collections as well as some of the smallest to ascertain typical collection items. Northampton Museum was selected as being the largest shoe collection in the country and they therefore were able to offer a wider cross section. They provided a record of all the shoes they held appropriate to the study. Shoes were then selected for examination that fitted in with time periods less well represented elsewhere or were examples of particular materials or use and repair. Nottingham was the most local and again had a sizeable collection of eighteenth-century shoes from the Museum of Costume which has been closed for several years although the objects were still, at the time, stored on site. The Wade Collection from Snowhill was examined as I was able to accompany textile conservators from the National Trust who were undertaking a partial condition survey of the costume collection at Berrington Hall. The curator of the collection, Althea Mackenzie, the author of *Shoes and Slippers from Snowhill* (2004) very kindly gave me access to the photographs used in the book. Althea is also the curator of costumes at Hereford Museum which gave access to a further 20 or so pairs for examination as well as the digital images of a collection of fashion plates from the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century. The Clarks Museum hold a substantial collection (66 pairs), only a sample of which was examined more closely due to restrictions on access, time and resources. Although Clarks was founded in 1825 there are a number of earlier shoes in their collection. Museums with smaller collections were chosen so that their complete holding could be seen and it was interesting to compare them with the larger collections. Confirmation of commonalities is as important as finding the exceptions. The visits also became a two way process where information could be given to the curators about their shoes providing them with an understanding as to where their objects fitted within the general scheme of extant shoes of the period.

In order to ensure that the data compiled from the survey was comparable, a standardised method of recording the information was designed. Swann (1977) created a scheme for cataloguing shoes generally but this was not discovered until the survey had commenced. Instead, I compiled a form to be completed for each shoe (see appendix II), so that consistent information was retrieved on each occasion that incorporated most of Swann's categories anyway. As some features were common to many, and to save time during the examination process, a coded system was drawn up so that information could be quickly recorded (see appendix II). The forms also catered for a mini condition survey with obvious damage noted. The method of recording was improved and refined during the research as a result of reflecting on experience gained during the fieldwork. Consequently some extra fields were added so that the shoes surveyed initially may have some incomplete areas. A list of photograph angles

that should be taken was also drawn up but again was not fully employed initially. It became apparent that the method of measuring the dimensions of shoes in collections is inconsistent and ill defined hence a way of taking such measurements was devised and implemented. This is also detailed in appendix II.

The lessons learnt from the surveying method have proved useful for Clarks Museum who are now in the process of cataloguing and digitising their collection.

The survey was carried out as shown in the table in Figure 2.

Collection [Abbreviated as]	Date	Shoes held	Shoes seen	% of total seen
Saffron Walden Museum [Saffron Walden]	January 2007	10	1	10
Museum of Lincolnshire Life [Lincoln]	13 August 2008	2	2	100
Nottingham Museum [Nottingham]	18 February 2009	19	19	100
Charles Wade Collection, Snowhill held at Berrington Hall by The National Trust [Snowhill]	10-14 May 2010	25	25	100
Hereford City Museums [Hereford]	12 May 2010	18	18	100
Clarks Museum [Clarks]	26 August 2010	66	10	15
Northampton Museum [Northampton]	21 February 2011	143	18	13
Gunnersbury Park Museum [Gunnersbury]	29 September 2011	4	4	100
Leicestershire County Council [Leicester]	12 June 2012	5	5	100
		292	102	35

Figure 2

Table showing where, when and how many shoes were examined.

Limitations of the survey

The need to examine a reasonable sample was paramount to understanding the objects. However, resources were limited. As might be expected as research is circular, on completing the rest of the data gathering, it became evident that other elements could have been noted that would have provided more information. At the start of the survey, each shoe was different but the more that were seen proved that many are very similar. In the earlier stages of the research, shoes with no textile content were photographed but not surveyed in detail. The methodology employed for collecting data therefore became gradually more sophisticated.

Time spent in each collection was restricted by the availability of access and the staff time that was involved. For this reason it was not always possible to see every eighteenth-century shoe held. In addition, shoes that were on display were not available for examination. Space and lighting varied at each venue which created further difficulties. Photographs that appeared to be satisfactory on the small screen on the camera proved to be poor when downloading on to the computer.

The attribution of dates of shoes is problematic and the general information available in museum records is inconsistent. This varied greatly, not only from museum to museum but also within each museum. For those with more diverse collections, the dating of shoes tended to be quite unspecific often covering a fifty year period if not the whole century. This meant that information was collated in decades taking an average of the time span and inserting in the nearest ten year period so that with items listed as being eg 1720-1750 they would be classified as 1730s. This may have meant that some results are slightly skewed but it is difficult to be more precise as there is little definite information as yet recorded to be more accurate. It was assumed that the dating at the Northampton Museum would be the most accurate in that much of it would have been carried out by June Swann, an acknowledged expert. As the results from Northampton suggested a similar pattern to those collated from the other museums it seemed justified that they would give as accurate a picture as possible. Not all information for every shoe could be ascertained from websites so results did not always give 100% answers.

The lack of more specific information becomes apparent when looking at shoe collections, particularly those where shoes are only a very small part of the whole. Descriptions and cataloguing is often limited, vague, inconsistent and sometimes totally incorrect. For example one pair of shoes [32] dated 1740-49, were erroneously marked as being worn by Queen Elizabeth I in 1598. Curators of such general collections can obviously not be expected to be expert in all the areas they have to cover but if their base information is wrong then inaccuracies become perpetuated. It would be helpful if there was more accurate dating information available and consistent terminology used. The accessibility of the Internet perhaps now makes this possible as funds are limited for purchasing new publications.

The results for the survey were collated so that generalisations could be made with regard to such features as the specific fabrics from which the uppers were made and lined; colours and added decorations; the tongue shape; the heel (shape, height and position); the toe shape; the sole; the latches; measurements of the length, width and depth of the sole; mules and pattens and clogs. The shoes for the most part have textile uppers and leather bottoms but virtually all have some textile element albeit only the top binding. Most showed some evidence of the way in which they were constructed ranging from holes left from the fixing on the last to some which had almost removable uppers or soles. Many show signs of wear but few are really well worn. Fuller results will be given in the appropriate following chapters.

Structure

The breadth of this thesis is a response to the lack of secondary literature available and a certain amount of generalisation is therefore necessary. As has been demonstrated there is a unique relationship between conservation and material culture and as such a wider scope was required to encompass all aspects that needed to be considered. The thesis is aimed at not only conservators but also museum workers and anyone with an interest in the period and costume concerned. Due to the nature of this study, much of the research is presented in visual form through images, diagrams and tables.

Part I demonstrates that shoes are important, reflecting and influencing both the economic and social culture of the eighteenth century. A close examination of extant women's shoes traces the changes in shoe design and appearance over the century while providing reference points for more accurate dating and cataloguing of such shoes.

Part II records how shoes were complex composite objects. Methods of construction are detailed with reference to extant shoes as well as contemporary manuals. The shoe trade and chain of production is outlined. The component materials used and the way in which they were processed and manufactured are documented. Both aspects are highly relevant to conservation decision making and the data gleaned also questions and confirms the published literature.

Part III focuses on conservation. The agents of deterioration, their effect on shoes and preventive and intervention methodologies used are provided and evaluated including systems of storage and display. The final chapter offers guidelines for a holistic approach to conservation decisions related to the use, study and preservation of eighteenth-century women's shoes.

The appendices include the full details of the shoe survey and the completed forms that evolved from it. There is also a glossary and a brief summary of relative costs and wages in the eighteenth century.

Part I

**SHOES AS HISTORY
AND
SHOES WITHIN HISTORY**



Chapter 1

RECOGNIZING THE VALUE OF SHOES AS HISTORICAL SOURCE MATERIAL

This first chapter will concentrate on the detailed examination of a number of shoes to demonstrate the varying types of primary evidence they can reveal. It will explain how to look more closely at different parts of a shoe and what they reveal. It aims also to show the difference between actual physical examination in comparison to using images only. The tacit knowledge gained through the experience of examining the shoes is a vital part of the research but one that is hard to articulate as it can result in the ‘feel’ that is obtained for what is right; what is unusual and what is downright wrong. Primary evidence gained from the survey will be used to illustrate the points made in the following chapters. However, to gain an overview of the type of information that can be gathered during examination a number of examples will be given. These will be used to compare and contrast similar shoes from the eighteenth century in differing conditions and also to show that digital images on websites can be helpful but are restrictive.

The approach to all the examinations carried out had to be as consistent as possible and although the form used to record information was adapted during the course of the research the main areas observed were the same. The first aspect that needed to be recorded was the overall appearance of the shoe(s). This usually described whether it was a single shoe or a pair; whether they were made straight or for left and right feet; and the type of shoe ie latchet, mule, slip-on, clogs etc. The date noted was usually that provided by the museum unless it covered a wide range or appeared erroneous. In these cases, the date used for statistical purposes is given in square brackets. The main colour(s) was also recorded. Where the uppers were made from polychrome fabrics the background colour was used. Perceptions and descriptions of colours can be problematic. In addition, dyes fade over time so that, for instance, what may be seen now as pink may originally have been a bright red. It is a common supposition that colours produced from natural dyes, as in the eighteenth century, must have been quite muted but having seen the verso of a number of silk brocades from this period that have not been so exposed to light, it is amazing just how gaudy and bright some of the colours were such as those in Figure 3. Accurate colour



Figure 3

The verso of a Spitalfields silk brocade mantua owned by the Museum of Lincolnshire Life.

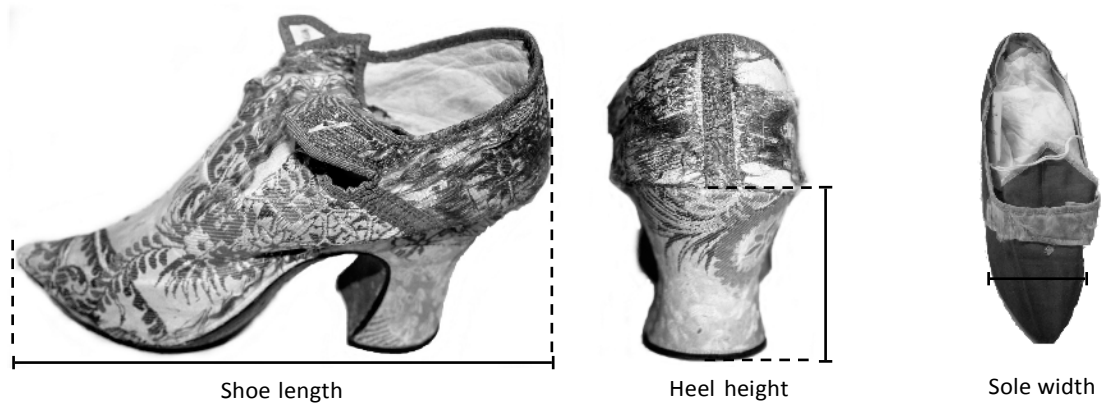


Figure 4
Shoe measurements.

measurement would be possible with the aid of a spectrophotometer but in practical terms this is rarely possible due to lack of resources.

Various measurements were taken. The length of the shoe would appear to be a simple measurement to gain however museum records rarely show how measurements have been taken and the purpose is not always clear. For example, the length of a shoe in terms of how large a storage container would have to be is not necessarily the same as the dimensions to determine the size of foot the shoe fitted. As the purpose of the research was to consider what shoes might reveal about the eighteenth century, the length and width was important for assessing feet size and, by association, presumed average heights. Length and width were therefore measured as in diagram in Figure 4. This enabled consistent measurement to be taken. It could be argued that the length should have been taken by measuring the length of the insole but this was not always straightforward and as shoes varied in the width at the point of the toe it was difficult to provide a consistent place on the inside to which to measure. Although a foot would obviously not fit into the tip of the pointed toe the outside measurements seemed the most appropriate for comparison purposes. The widest point to the sole of the shoe was used as the width. The heel height was taken as in Figure 4 ie from the top-piece to the heel seat. This is another measurement that is taken inconsistently within museum records which suggest that it is sometimes interpreted as the top-piece to the top of the quarters giving a false impression of the height.

The backstrap length was taken in order to compare the height of the quarters as over the century they fitted lower down the foot with more of the instep exposed.

The thickness of the sole and top-piece was difficult to measure accurately as the edges available were often skived ie tapered. However, the depth of the leather required for this purpose may give an indication as to the use of the shoe: was it intended for indoors only therefore requiring a thinner sole? Was a thinner sole an indication that shoes were not

intended to last long or a built-in obsolescence? Alternatively it may have been an indication that the shoes had been well worn or cheaper to buy.

From these observations generalisations can be made. For example, all rands are white tawed leather; all soles are of brown leather although the finishes vary; virtually all the shoes have soles which taper down the heel breast and are therefore Louis in construction (Thornton and Swann, 1986).

Shoes are made up of various parts as shown in Figure 5. Each individual part can relay certain types of data and it is important to be aware of the potential of each to ensure that full advantage is taken of an examination. The diagram shows the different parts of a shoe and the type of observations required. Further terminology is explained in later chapters and in the glossary in Appendix II. Generally there is a museum record with which to compare the shoes although some are far more detailed than others. They usually have a description of the shoe, the accession number, a date or date range and sometimes the materials from which the shoe is made. This exposes one of the problems when trying to select shoes to examine. Even within the same museum records can be inconsistent and it is not always easy to carry out an exact comparison between two pairs of shoes without actually handling them. Copies of the completed survey forms for all the shoes that were examined are provided in Appendix III.

In order to demonstrate the type and amount of information that can be gained from a detailed examination of women's eighteenth-century shoes there follows a discussion of eight pairs of shoes. These examples will demonstrate the limitations of existing analysis and propose a more comprehensive use of the shoes as a primary historical source. It will also provide an insight into what details to be aware of and to seek. This exercise, however, has not been enacted in isolation as the frame of reference for examinations is only fully obtained by carrying out the process many times.

The first comparison is between shoes [10] and [16] both of which are from the 1720s. The first is in relatively good condition while the second is in a very poor state. The table given first compares the data provided by the museum to which the shoes belong with that gleaned from a closer examination. Some of the points made regarding definitions, materials and construction will be addressed in further detail in later chapters.

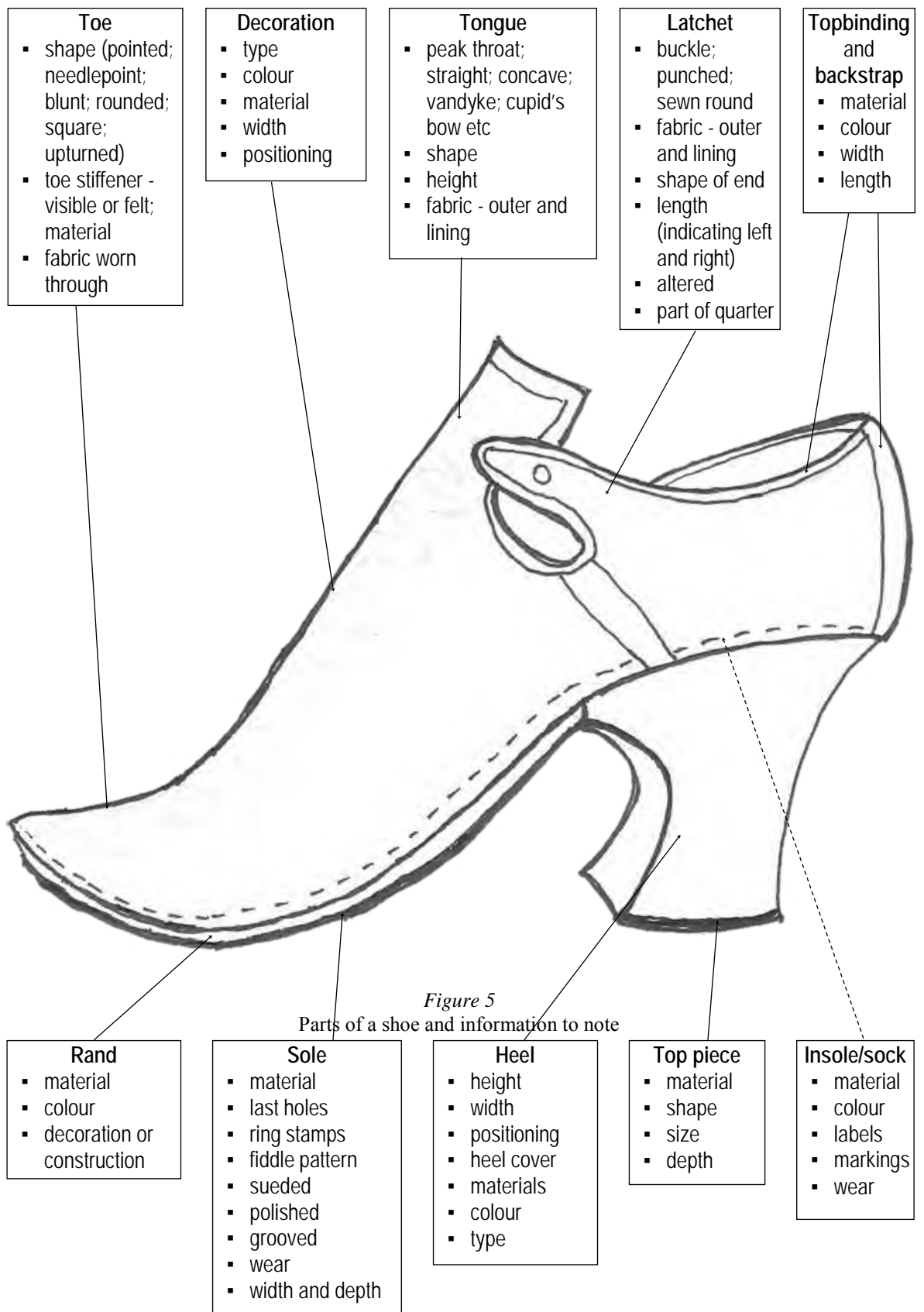
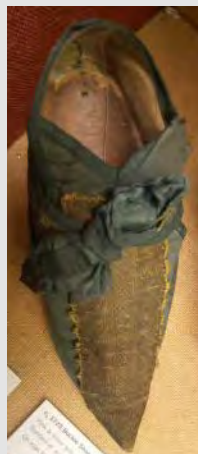


Figure 5
Parts of a shoe and information to note

Shoe 10 - Clarks Museum W17sd2	
Supplied data	Observations
1725	No reason given for precise dating but consistent with shoes of that decade.
Lace shoe	Presumably this refers to the method of fastening although it could also define the braid.
Green silk brocade	Green silk damask.
Gold wire braid	Most likely silver gilt threads used as evidenced by the tarnishing.
Inverted welt.	White tawed leather rand. This record has now been amended as 'inverted welt' is not a term used in shoemaking.
Heel cover stitched in as welted backed with sheepskin pulled down over inserted heel and stitched around tab of sole and top piece.	The heel cover is secured to the upper and is then pulled down over a (presumably) wooden forma and stitched in place when the sole was applied. The damask heel cover may well have been lined with tawed leather but there is no visible evidence of this on the shoe.
Straights	
Heel - 2 1/2" self covered thick Louis	Louis in both shape and construction terms. Heel height measured at 7cms, slightly higher than the record.
Uppers:- green silk brocade, high V tab, 1 eyelet hole in latchet. 1 1/2" silk lace (1/2 pair only) gold braid applique 2" wide down tab and vamp, 3/4" wide down back and heel. Canvas lining.	Uppers of green silk damask; V-shaped tongue; punched latches. 1.5" wide ribbon tie in one shoe only (on display) thought to be original. Plain weave linen lining.
Sole - sueded leather	
Condition - good/worn	
From - Wright, Canterbury, 1954	

One of this pair of shoes is on display in the museum. The other is kept in store in a Clarks' shoe box; this was the only one that was examined. The full details of measurements and comparison points are given in the completed survey form in Appendix III.



Shoe on display in museum



Shoe from store - that was examined

The uppers are of green silk damask with an applied silver gilt braid or lace, 50mm wide. The uppers are lined with a plain weave linen that has a pink/beige tinge although it does not appear to have been dyed or bleached. This is probably a reflection of some decay to the linen fibres.

The tongue is also of green damask and has a v-shape. It is lined with yellow silk satin. There is a slit in the tongue beneath the braid. This is edged and backed with green grosgrain ribbon attached with large stitches of yellow 2 ply s-twist thread. The same thread is used to secure the upper part of the braid which suggests that it had been partially removed to allow the alteration and then replaced. Whether this was done as an alteration by a translator is not clear - the stitching appears quite amateurish but as it was not visible neatness would not have been a priority.

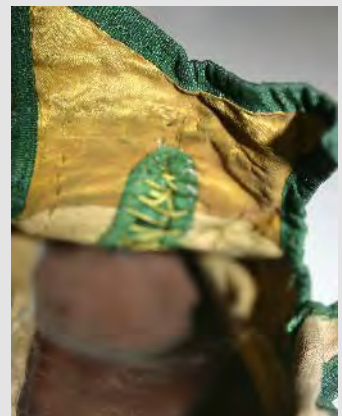
The latches are also of green damask and are lined in the same way as the rest of the uppers. The punched holes are edged with buttonhole stitching although the thread is different to that used elsewhere on the shoes, possibly suggesting it was not done at the manufacture stage.

The topbindings are of green silk grosgrain ribbon (12mm wide). The stitching is in green thread with two rows of running stitch on both sides of the side seam and two elsewhere confirming that the side seam needs extra reinforcement as it is more susceptible to wear.

The applied braid is of a damask weave with metal threads (yellow silk core fibres wrapped with silver gilt strip) and has picot edges. The threads are tarnished black indicating silver chloride. The braid runs from the toe to the point of the v-shaped tongue on the upper and is 5cms wide. The same braid (but narrower at 2cms) is used over the backseam and is secured between the upper and the sole. A second length of the same braid runs along the back of the heel and is secured at the heel seat and between the heel and top piece. All the braid is secured with white stitching.



Side view



Insole and alteration on tongue

The toe is an upturned needlepoint with no toe puff present. The applied braid continues around the point and is secured between the upper and sole. The toe area is in good condition which may suggest limited use or that the braid is stronger and less susceptible than silk.

There is a brown leather insole but no separate sock. Last holes are visible. The insole shows signs of wear. There is a rand of white tawed leather which is used in the welted construction.

The shoe has a curved louis heel which is quite chunky. The heel cover is of green damask with braid applied to the back of the heel. It is positioned under the heel of the foot but is angled more towards the instep. There is some soiling on the edges nearest the top piece. The top piece is half-moon shape, brown leather and has white stitching which is very small and closely worked around the arch of the heel but with longer and more widely spaced stitches along the straight edge.

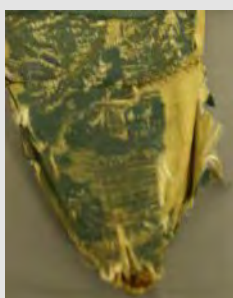
The sole is of brown leather with close white stitches and skived and stained edges. It has a sueded finish and is in one piece which extends around the heel breast. There are two ring stamps; one on the toe tip and one nearer the waist. The shoes are evidently worn with the suede smoothed and darkened mainly in the centre of the ball of the foot area but with slightly more on one side which might suggest the shoe was used mainly on the right foot. The shoe also has a distinct lean to one side which may indicate that the wearer was unable to distribute their weight evenly.



Shoe 16 - Northampton 1984.236	
Supplied data	Observations
Latchet shoe, buckle shoe, footwear.	
1720-1729	There is no evidence to contradict this dating.
Single, woman's green, ivory and blue brocade.	Brocaded taffeta with green background and ivory, blue and pink motifs.
Pointed toe.	Pointed and upturned toe. Was most probably needlepoint.
2? inch white covered louis heels.	Measured 6cms so the question mark presumably means 3/8".
Latchets to buckle over shaped tongue.	The tongue has a slightly rounded concave shape.
Yellow lining.	Undyed and unbleached plain weave linen with some areas appearing yellow. Quite coarsely woven.
White kid rand and side lining.	White tawed leather rand which extends into the uppers forming side linings.
Brown leather insole	Brown leather
Leather sole and top piece	Brown sueded leather sole extending down the heel breast with white stitching. Brown leather top piece.
Sole loose	Virtually separated from the upper.
Straight	Straight although the latchets are of unequal length suggesting it may have been worn on a particular foot.
Possibly concealed	The condition of this shoe suggests that it may well have been concealed and the argument is strengthened by the fact that it is a single shoe rather than a pair. However, in the absence of any further provenance it is impossible to be certain.

The museum records are presumably computerised with fields that can appear to give duplicated answers hence the repetition displayed above.

The brocade also has pink wefts which are only visible under the topbinding and from the verso of the fabric where it has not faded. The fabric is split and very worn with exposed warps. The



Brocade upper



Brocade upper - verso

silk threads are therefore exposed sufficiently for more thorough investigation under a microscope. The quarters and vamp are made up of the same brocade and both have the same lining. The lining also has loose threads that could be further analysed. It is a plain weave linen and of an indeterminate colour - it appears in places to be undyed and unbleached and this would seem most likely as linen can vary in colour in its natural state. However, in places it is quite noticeably yellow, brighter and more definite than the yellowing caused by light and thermal damage. There might therefore have been some dye used (possibly without a mordant) that sat on the surface of the fibres and has worn off during use. There is marked brown staining on the quarter linings.

The topbinding, where present, is green grosgrain ribbon, 11 mm wide, secured with 1 row of close running stitches of cream coloured thread. The side seam is covered with the same ribbon held with two rows of close stitching on either side of the seam. This area would obviously need more reinforcement due to the action of putting the shoe on and taking it off. Little of the backstrap remains but it appears it was the same type of ribbon only about 14 mm wide. There is a dog-leg side seam.

The tongue is of the same brocade with the same lining. It has a slightly rounded, concave shape. The topbinding is lost thus the cut edges of the brocade are visible along with some rather crude tacking stitches that would otherwise have been concealed.

The latches, with rounded ends, are not cut as parts of the quarters which is more usual. They are of plain green silk and lined with pale green taffeta. This may suggest that the shoe has been adapted with an earlier shorter, punched latchet for ribbon tying being replaced with longer latches for use with a buckle. This observation, however, is still consistent with the dating given by the museum. One latchet (true left) is 2cm longer than the other suggesting that the shoe would have been worn on the right foot with the longer latchet on top. Some holes, apparently from buckle usage, are present and the linings are badly stained.

The toe is upturned and pointed. It is most likely from the period in which it was made that it was also a needlepoint although the sole is loose and the tip of the sole has been lost so it is not certain.



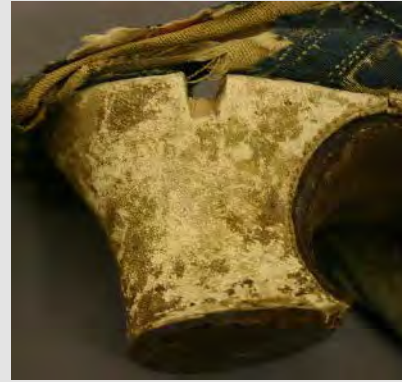
Upper and latches



Side lining and yellowed lining



View between insole and sole



Heel

The rand of white tawed leather extends into the side linings of the shoe proving that it performs a constructional purpose as well as a decorative one. The fact that the sole has almost come away from the upper provides an opportunity to observe how the rand was positioned in the shoe and provides evidence of the large bracing stitches that held it together before the sole was applied. It also has traces of an adhesive that presumably held the sole in place while it was stitched to the upper. The sole itself is of brown leather that has been roughened on the outer surface giving a sueded finish to provide better grip. The flesh side of the leather is also visible due to its partial detachment. The thickness of the leather can be more accurately measured in this case than most and is about 1.5 mm. The sole extends around the heel breast and is held with white stitching. The top piece is half-moon shape and is also of brown leather. It has close white stitching around the concave edge and larger more widely spaced stitches along the straight edge. There are three tack marks. One corner has been lost which reveals the wooden heel form beneath.

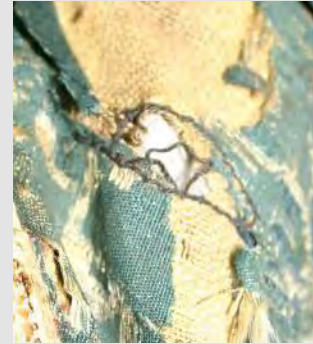
The insole is of brown leather with the grain side uppermost. It has obviously been worn and is now delaminating. There are last holes visible. The inner surface, visible due to the detached sole, is indented with the marks of the bracing stitches used during construction. The fact that they are so clearly defined suggests there must have been ample weight applied during wear.

The heel is of a Louis shape. It is positioned under the heel of the foot. It is wood and covered with white kid leather. These materials are shown clearly in a notch at the heel seat where a notch has been removed. From what appears to be remains of adhesive on the leather it can be assumed that the outer heel cover would originally have been of brocade.

Apart from the potential alteration of the latches there is also a visible repair made in the upper. There seems to have been a long split in the vamp on the true left side of the shoe occurring at the part of the vamp that would likely take the strain when the foot bends to accommodate the heel height. The split goes through both the brocade and the lining and has been been joined

with fairly large stitches of brown S twist thread. On the opposite side of the shoe there is another repaired area. This has been carried out with black thread with stitching around a hole in the brocade and lining. It is not, however holding the hole together so it is unclear what this is actually achieving.

Repair 1



Repair 2

toes, latches and Louis shape heels of similar heights. The chunkiness of the shape is reflective of the early century and is, arguably, an inherited feature evident in the previous century.

The materials used ie the silk brocade and damask are typical of the fabrics used for robes and mantuas and are likely to have been made from remnants. These particular shoes do not have inconsistent joining seams unlike some which are more obviously made from leftover scraps.

Both shoes display evidence of previous alterations and repair. On Shoe 10 the split made in the vamp, possibly to allow more give and therefore a better fit, is carefully finished off with the edges bound. The stitching is quite large but is effective and may therefore have been carried out by a professional translator or cobbler. The alteration would not have been seen beneath the ribbon bow when worn. The repairs on Shoe 16 are much more visible. One, done in brown thread, is holding together a slit in the upper. It is not very discreet but fulfils its purpose. The other, in black thread, is sewn around the hole without joining it together and its function is unclear. It may have been a repair carried out at home.

Due to its poor condition, Shoe 16 provides far more primary evidence of the order of shoe construction and the techniques used at stages that would not normally be visible. The shoe shows clearly that bracing stitches were used to hold the edges of the rand at tension while the sole was fitted. The remains of an adhesive to reinforce the join between the sole and insole is of relevance as this practice is not specifically mentioned in contemporary manuals. The side linings are also accessible whereas in most shoes they would not be seen being positioned between the upper and the lining.

Shoe 16 has evidently been well worn as evidenced by the repairs. The possible addition of longer latches to update it for use with a buckle suggests it had a fairly long period of use. The longer latches could be an indication that the shoe had been worked by a translater renovating older shoes for re-sale. It is impossible to be certain of the shoe's provenance but the fact that this interpretation is possible and reasonable reinforces the value of the shoe as material evidence of eighteenth-century practices. This particular shoe adds further as it is likely to have been a concealed object. This custom is one that is well-documented (www.concealedgarments.org) but not yet fully explained and every example therefore adds to the data available.

Shoes 80 and 4 are both examples from the 1780s. As with the previous pair of examples, they represent a pair of shoes in good condition and a pair in poor state of repair. There is also a stark contrast between the museum records available with one being very detailed and the other where the only information supplied was on a luggage label.

Shoes 80 - Nottingham NCM 1966.8	
Supplied data	Observations
Red uncut velvet with diaper of a flower on a curved stem with a large leaf of tabs and a small trefoil leaf.	The upper fabric is cut and uncut velvet with the cut pile forming the pattern. Now appears pink.
White satin; straights	The white satin presumably relates to the latches and heel covers.
High Italian heels - 7cm high heel of wood covered with satin, curved and tapers down to leather tip, wedge under foot.	Measured at 8cm
Sueded leather sole	
Pointed toe	This type of toe has been counted as a blunt point in the survey.
Upper of 3 pieces of velvet, the vamp cut with tongue, cranked side seams on to 2 heel pieces, centre back seam.	Straight side seams with two quarters joined by a central back seam.
Heel piece with applied flared and pointed tab (latches) of satin over linen canvas.	Quarters are of the same fabric as the vamp. Latches are of ivory, silk satin seamed to the quarters (joined, not applied, as edges of the velvet are discernible). They are lined with white plain weave linen, as are the quarters.
All edges and seams bound with white grosgrain ribbon	Stitched with thread of the same colour. The backstrap is of the same ribbon and is secured by two rows of fine stitching on either side of the seam.
Lining: white linen canvas, white silk woven with white flowers and coloured stripes behind tongue.	

Supplied data	Observations
Mark in one shoe only, handwritten in ink H3 (66.8b)	The H may relate to the owner Elizabeth Hurt. May the 3 be a lower case g for gauche indicating the left foot? The way the latches fall certainly suggest that this was worn on the left foot.
1780-1790 - worn at wedding in 1785 by Elizabeth Hurt to Thomas Webb Edge.	The dating of these shoes may well be accurate although by 1785 they would have been a little dated suggesting that they might have been acquired sometime before, an argument possibly strengthened if the H is for Hurt. However, Elizabeth was from Derbyshire and therefore might have been slightly behind the trends prevalent in London.
Length - 20.3cm; width - 7cm	Length - 20cm; sole width - 6.8cm. These measurements are fairly close to those given by the museum and were therefore likely to have been taken in a similar way.



Cut and uncut velvet on vamp



Side view



Rear view

This very detailed museum record suggests that there is little more to be said with regard to these shoes. However, examination can provide further data and throw up further questions as can be seen in the observations above.

The tongue has a straight edge whereas a peaked tongue would be more usual at this date. It is lined with white silk.

The sock is of plain weave linen and is taken around the sides of the insole so that its edges are not visible.

The heel is a high Italian wedge with a distinctly angled back. It is covered with ivory satin and is positioned towards the instep. The sharpness in the point of the heel has led to some splitting of the silk.

The sole is of brown sueded leather which continues down the heel breast and is stitched with white thread. There are three ring stamps. The top piece is also of brown leather with white stitching. It is crescent-shaped (not following the sharp point of the heel) with two tack holes.

The shoes are in good condition although faded. The latches show evidence of buckle usage.



Sole

Supplied data	Observations
Blue satin shoes	
Lined with kid	White tawed leather
c1780	Most of the features on these shoes suggest that they are more likely to be from the 1770s. The short punched latches suggest a later date but they may well have been adapted.
With two flaps with eyelets for ribbon.	Two punched latches for tying with strings.
Rotten	I assume this means that they are not in the best condition.



Front view



Punched hole on latchet

A pair of straight latchet shoes. The vamp is of blue satin and lined with plain weave linen. The quarters are of the same satin but lined with white tawed leather. The satin is dirty and split. It has come away from the join between the upper and the sole revealing the linen lining beneath.

The latches are of blue satin lined with white tawed leather. They are punched for use with strings. The edges of the holes are reinforced with buttonhole stitch in cream thread. The holes are positioned very close to the end of the latches and the stitching goes through the topbinding



Split back seam



Sole and top piece

suggesting that the holes were not made at the time of manufacture. It is quite possible that the latches were originally longer for use with a buckle. This supposition is reinforced by the soiling patterns on the vamp and tongue which seem to imply a buckle shape as well as the metallic type staining in the same places. In addition, on both shoes, there is a split in the vamp. On other shoes this appears to have been a method employed to expand the vamp slightly for a better fit with the split left as an unfinished cut as it would have been covered by the buckle. On these shoes the slits would not have been disguised by a narrow string as was in use at the time - they would have needed a wide ribbon creating a large bow.

The topbindings and backstraps are of cream grosgrain ribbon, 10mm wide. They are secured with the same colour thread. Much of both the backstraps are missing and what is left is held with a line of stitching on either side of the back seams. The bottom half of the backseam on one shoe is splitting.

The tongues are straight and lined with cream coloured satin. The linings are secured over the topbindings suggesting that they too might have been applied at a later date than manufacture.

The insoles are of brown leather. Socks are of white tawed leather which is secured around the heel end of the insole but has raw edges noticeable under the vamp. There are side linings of white tawed leather. As these are clearly visible due to the failed satin, an extra tag is seen at the end of one of the side linings where the shoemaker has failed to cut a straight edge. This provides a tangible link to the artisan that would normally not be seen. The side linings appear to have been pasted to the linen lining.

The Louis shape heels have a slight narrow wedge and are 5cm high. They are positioned nearer the instep rather than the heel of the foot. The heel covers are of cream silk satin. The top pieces are brown leather crescent-shaped held with white stitching. The soles are also brown leather and extend down the heel breast, stitched with white stitching. There are three ring stamps on each sole. The shoes appear to have been well worn.

Although the shoes are described on their museum label as rotten, their condition actually provides far more data than would otherwise be available. In addition to the above comments the failure of the side seams reveals a turn back of the linen lining over the satin holding the two layers in place. There appears to be no further attachment between the satin and the linen as there is no visible evidence of paste between the two layers.



Nick in leather that was not cleanly cut

the decade. They both represent a simpler style than those of the 1720s and both have heels covers of contrasting colours to the uppers. Shoes 75 are of silk satin which was the most widely used upper fabric from the 1760s onwards according to the survey. The use of cut and uncut velvet in Shoe 80 is more unusual as velvet does not seem to have been widely used according to the samples surveyed. However, the 1780s saw in the increased use of figured silks where the patterning is created by the weave rather than contrasting colours. The velvet, with the cut areas creating the pattern, is reminiscent of this.

Both pairs are of a very similar size with the sole widths being 6.8cm and 6.6cm respectively and the lengths 20cm and 20.6cm. For the 1780s averages taken from the survey, both pairs are quite small with measurements falling well below average in both directions.

The heel heights, however, are quite different with [80] at 8cm and [75] at 5cm. The higher heels were more prevalent in the 1770s, according to the survey, and this strengthens the arguments that these shoes are from the earlier 1780s if not slightly earlier. The lower heels of [75] are much more in keeping with the heel heights of the 1789s suggested by the survey. The heels on both pairs are positioned more towards the instep and the heel of the foot, a trait which represents around 20% of those surveyed of this decade and the preceding ones.

Both pairs have tongues with straight edges, a feature that was less popular in the 1780s with the move towards peaked tongues. Both pairs have toes with blunt points which counted for around 40% of the shoes surveyed in the 1770s and 1780s.

Buckle latches accounted for 45% of the surveyed shoes from the 1780s and more than 70% in the 1770s. The pair of shoes [80] fit firmly into this category. However, there is a strong case that [75] are likely to have been buckle latches which were adapted as fashion changed to accommodate string laces. These alterations do not appear to have been carried out as neatly as they might have been which suggests they may have been adapted at home. However, it is unclear as to how skilled a local cobbler or mender would have been in stitchery and therefore the work could have been carried out by one of them. It is almost impossible to be certain whether the examined shoes are examples of amateur alterations or more professional ones. There are many pairs that have been adapted but without full provenances, which were unavailable for any of the shoes surveyed, we can only speculate.

The museum records shown in the above examples are very different in terms of details. That for Shoe 80 is very detailed. The use of terminology makes it very authoritative and leaves little room for question. However, as has been shown there are still features of the shoes that are open to interpretation such as dating and the handwritten mark in one shoe. Without a close examination with the ability to be able to handle the shoes the record would not have been questioned. Alternatively the data supplied on the label on [75] leaves many details open to speculation. There may have been more detailed records held but they were not mentioned or made available on the day of the examination.

Shoes 75 are described as rotten on the label. They are indeed in a poor state of repair but as has been previously noted the fact that more of the usually unseen structure is available provides more information than had they been perfect. The staining and creasing on the vamp provides evidence of use while the colour and shaping suggest that it had been in close contact with tarnished metal thus indicating the use of buckles. The slits that have been made in the vamps would presumably have been unlikely to have been made if they were visible when tied with narrow laces. The splits in the satin reveal the side linings which aids the understanding of construction techniques and proves it was recognised that this area of the shoe needed reinforcement. The stitching used to join the back seam is also evident due to the loss of the backstrap and the failed satin. The side seam that has split open reveals the layers employed in the uppers and how they were cut and secured together.

The following shoes, [4] and [48], are mules. With no quarters, tongue or latches they have less features for comparison than shoes but their interpretation can raise equal amounts of questions with regard to the eighteenth century.

Case Study 5 - Gunnersbury 2605/1 [4]

Supplied data	Observations
Lady's mule 1710-20	Single straight mule. Date verified by June Swann.
Half upper, pointed toe, 70mm heel covered with red leather.	There is a vamp only and no quarters as it is a mule.
Upper solidly embroidered with heavy silver; top open edge hemmed with gold cotton thread.	The thread used in this period is more likely to have been of silk or linen than cotton.
Red and white striped silk lining.	The stripe is formed in the weave, the variations forming ribs of the same red thread. The raised areas are more worn and therefore appear lighter in colour.
Interior of sole is leather covered with the same silk lining above heel.	The half sock, which finishes just inside the vamp, is of the same fabric as the vamp lining.
Curved Louis XV style heel	Presumably referring to the shape rather than the construction with the sole extending down the heel breast.
Thick leather sole more narrow than upper.	This statement is not entirely clear. The sole will often appear narrower than the upper in that the upper is stretched during wear. The sole is shorter than the upper as there is a needlepoint toe.
White trim where upper and sole are joined.	White tawed leather rand and edging.
Bottom of heel covered with thin, shaped light coloured leather.	The top piece is a layer of white tawed leather over a layer of brown leather.
Hand stitched.	Probably a standard observation in the record system. Shoes of this date could not have been machine stitched.
Length: 210mm Width: 60mm Height: 100mm	The record does not indicate how measurements were taken. Using the survey method the results were: length - 22.3mm; sole width - 70mm and heel height - 70mm

The upper is of red leather almost completely covered with metal thread embroidery. The top edge is covered by a braid of metal threads, approximately 45mm wide, about two thirds of which shows on top of the vamp while the final third is turned under. The thread used for the embroidery and the braid seems to be of silver gilt as the less exposed areas still appear gold coloured. The inner yellow silk core is visible in places reinforcing the theory. The braid is held in place with stitches of yellow thread. The metal threads are mainly tarnished black suggesting the presence of silver chloride. The embroidery thread is a strip of metal wrapped with an 'S' twist around a 2 ply yellow silk core. The design is a wavy pattern carried out in underside couching giving a satin stitch effect.



Side view



Braid edging vamp

The vamp is lined with red silk with a red ribbed weave pattern giving the appearance of stripes of two shades of red. The lining was applied after the embroidery had been carried out. The half sock is of the same fabric. It is cracked, embrittled and heavily soiled through wear. The insole is of brown leather. Several last holes are visible.

The toe is needlepoint although not upturned. The toe tip, an often vulnerable place of wear, has exposed silk cores where the metal threads have worn.

There is a white tawed leather rand with white stitching. The effect continues around the back of the sock with a white leather piping adding the contrast between the red of the upper and heel. The heel cover is plain red leather with white stitching. It has a curved Louis shape, is quite chunky and is positioned under the heel of the foot. There is evidence of woodworm indicating that the heel form is of wood.

The sole is of brown, stained leather with skived edges and continues down the heel breast held with white stitching. There is one tack hole visible. The surface of the leather is grooved to provide grip. The sole is obviously worn and there are accretions on the ball of the foot area suggesting that the mule may have been worn outdoors. There are two layers of top piece: one is of brown leather and the outermost one of tawed white leather. The tawed leather top piece slightly overhangs the heel breast suggesting that it may have been applied after the time of manufacture, possibly as a repair. It is unclear as to why this material was chosen for an area that would need to withstand the most wear. It does appear to have been treated with a layer of varnish or adhesive which might have helped in this respect. The top pieces are half-moon shaped with two tack holes and white stitching.



Needlepoint toe and exposed silk core of metal threads



Sole and top piece

Case Study 6 - Snowhill SNO102 [48]

Supplied data - Mackenzie (2004, p27)	Supplied data - Bradfield (1995, p27)	Observations
1750s	C. 1750	
Pink satin mules	Pink satin shoes or slippers without heel piece or quarter	Pink silk damask
Silver metal floral embroidery decorates vamps.	Embroidered in silver	Tarnished black.
	Measurements: length (to end of top piece) - 6.5"; heel height - 3.75"; sole width; 2.6"	Length - 8.4" (16.5cm); heel height - 3.6" (6.4cm); width - 3" (7.5cm)
Lining of white leather with white leather sock.	White kid lining and sock	Vamp lining and sock of white tawed leather.
White leather-covered French or pompadour heels	White leather pompadour or French heels	White tawed leather heel cover.
Rands are white stitched.	White leather rand	White tawed leather rand with white stitching.
Brown leather soles		
Toes are pointed and overhang sole.		Needlepoint toes.
Soles are straights that continue to the heel breast.		Louis construction (Swann)
No quarters and vamps are cut to a small point with the edges terminating at the arch.		
Welted construction		It is assumed that this refers to the rand.

The vamp is of pink silk damask with metal thread embroidery. Much of the silk is lost and embrittled exposing the lining of white tawed leather. The grain side is against the verso of the damask with the flesh side against the foot. The grain side is delaminating and is marked with indentations of the embroidery. There is no topbinding remaining although stitch holes are clear. It appears the binding was the only way that the damask and lining were secured as they are now completely separate revealing the underside of the embroidery stitches.



Vamp and lining

Metal thread embroidery



Exposed toe puff



The embroidery shows a pomegranate-type motif carried out in underside couching, giving a satin stitch effect, over wool padding providing a slightly raised finish. The thick, white couching thread is of 2 ply silk with an S-twist and can be clearly seen on the underside of the damask. The metal embroidery thread is a silver strip (now tarnished black) wrapped with an S-twist around a white silk core. The design also contains zigzags of couched twisted or wavy metal threads as well as a few spangles.

The toes are upturned and needlepoint. The lost damask reveals brown leather toe puffs extending up the vamp. These are not visible from the inside of the mules due to the lining although the toe tips are unlined. The insoles are of white tawed leather with the grain side uppermost. This is taken around the edges and is secured between the sole and insole at the heel end with the raw edges visible beneath the vamp. There are five last holes forming a Y-shape. The rand is of white tawed leather with white stitching.

The sole is of brown stained leather with grooves to provide traction. There are three last holes in a triangular shape. There is white stitching along the heel breast to the waist. The soles are worn with a slight indication of left and right feet. The outlines of the bracing stitches are just visible.

The heel is a pompadour shape and height. It is positioned closer to the instep than the heel of the foot. It is covered with white tawed leather held with white stitching. The cover is slightly damaged and reveals part of the wooden substrate.

The top piece is half-moon shaped and of brown leather with two tack holes. The edges have split away along the stitch lines and have been lost.

Sole and top piece



Insole



There is less secondary evidence about mules than there is relating to shoes. In addition, there are far fewer mules extant in museum type collections making comparisons and generalisations more difficult. There are however, many contemporary images where mules are displayed and this will be discussed in Chapter 2.

The mule [4] has been dated 1710-1720 by June Swann according to the museum record. The mules [48] are purported to be from around the 1750. Despite a thirty year difference in age it is noticeable that the mules are very similar. They both have white leather rands, needlepoint toes and are heavily decorated with metal threads. Nevertheless they both display features pertinent to their dates. For instance metal thread embroidery was widely used for all of the first half of the eighteenth century but the braid used as edging on mule [4] was only employed up to 1740 being particularly prevalent in the 1720s. The heel on mule [4] is a chunky louis shape indicative of the first part of the century. Its height is the same as the average for the 1720 period. The heels on mules [48] however, are thinner and more curved with a small wedge extension similar to the Italian heel which came into usage from the mid 1750s. They are rather high at 9cm in comparison to other shoes surveyed from the 1750s which average around 5-6cm. They are positioned nearer the instep than the heel of the foot which is not unusual for the period according to the surveyed shoes.

As noted with the previous case studies, mules [48] are in worse condition reveal more with regard to construction techniques than does mule [4]. The loss of the silk around the toe show the toe puffs which extended further around the toe area than on others examined where it appears to be more restricted to the toe tip. The absence of the topbinding allows access to the reverse of the embroidery confirming the use of the underside couching technique and threads used.


The information with regard to mules [48] is more varied than the usual museum record. The sources quoted are Mackenzie's (2004, 27) catalogue of shoes from the Snowhill Collection and Bradfield (1995, 27) which provides a drawing of one of the mules with comments and dimensions. These references are used as the basis for the records created for the condition survey carried out in 2009 rather than specific museum records. It interesting to note how the sources differ without being directly contradictory.

The final two pairs of shoes for comparison are from images and records available online that were not examined. The aim is to show that the data that can be gleaned from images only is far more limited but still of relevance. Even in this situation more can be learnt from shoes in poor condition than those in a better state of repair.

Leeds Museum Collection LEEAG.1949.0008.0126.0001	
Supplied information	Observations
Shoe 1730s	A pair of straight, latchet shoes. The uppers and heel covers are of silk brocade with ribbon topbinding and a braid of metal threads (lace) applied from toe to the base of the tongue on both shoes. The tongues appear to have a slight cupid's bow shape. The latchets are short with rounded ends and are punched for tying with a ribbon. The ribbon is shown on one shoe but it does not seem to be long enough and therefore is unlikely to be original. The toes are upturned needlepoints with some wear at the toe tip. The heels are a chunky lous shape. They have white leather rands. The soles fit down the heel breast and are of brown leather with skived and stained edges.
Object height: 125mm Object length: 250mm Object width: 80mm	It is unclear how the height was measured but must presumably be from the top of the quarters to the top piece. A heel height of 125mm would be extremely unusual and the heels in the image do not appear abnormal. It is also unclear as to how the length was measured but the shoes appear rather long compared to others examined which were from the 1730s. A width of 80mm for the sole is consistent with the survey results.
Silk, leather	The uppers are of silk brocade with blue/green ribbon topbinding and remains of the same covering the back seams, which is only just visible in the images. The quarters are lined with plain weave fabric, presumably linen. The metal threads on the central braids are tarnished suggesting they are of silver or silver gilt. There appears to be a two tone effect but the image is unclear as to whether this is two different colours; tarnished and untarnished; or tarnished and exposed silk core. The soles, top pieces and rands are leather.
Place of origin: UK	There is no obvious reason to question this information.

These shoes are listed on the Leeds Museums Collection's website (<http://www.leedsmuseumscollections.co.uk/> Accessed 2.11.11). The information shown in the left hand column, including the images is all that is provided. As can be seen from the observations in the other column more information can be gathered from the images than is already recorded.



National Trust - Chastleton House 1430639.7	
Supplied information	Observations
1750	There is no reason to question this dating.
<p>One of a pair of mid-18th century shoes.</p> 	<p>Straight, latchet shoes. Uppers and heel cover of pale blue silk damask. The tongue appears to have a concave u shape. Latchets are for buckles. The toes are upturned and pointed but not needlepoints. The toe tips are fairly flat and it is therefore unlikely that there are any toe puffs. The heels are a chunky Louis shape with pale blue silk damask heel covers and white stitching. The white leather rands are secured with white stitching. The soles fit down the heel breast and are of brown leather with skived and stained edges. The soles appear to be sueded but the images do not show them clearly enough to be certain; the top pieces are not visible. It is not possible to see the insoles in the images to determine from what they are made or whether there are socks - neither are mentioned in the record.</p>
Pale blue brocade	Pale blue silk damask.
Toes lined with canvas, the heels with white kid leather.	The vamps are lined with what appears to be plain weave linen. The quarters are lined with white tawed leather. It appears that the heels were also covered with white tawed leather beneath the damask heel covers. There are small holes visible in the heels which, assuming they have been created by woodworm, suggest that the heel forms are made of wood.
Each with two straps for a front buckle fastening.	Each with two latchets of pale blue silk damask lined with white tawed leather which is visible as much of the damask is lost. The images do not show the complete latchets clearly.
Brocade much distressed and worn.	The damask on both shoes is split and embrittled with much lost entirely. The back seam on one shoe is badly split as are part of the side seams on both (although they are not completely visible). The topbindings are largely lost (leaving stitch holes). What remains seems to be of pale blue grosgrain silk ribbon.
Canvas, leather, silk brocade	The uppers are of silk damask. The quarters are lined with white tawed leather and the vamps with plain weave fabric, presumed linen. The soles, top pieces and rands are leather.
Provenance: Found inside second panelled cupboard, lower section, right side.	The record is not clear as to whether these shoes just happened to be left at the back of a cupboard accidentally or whether they appear to have been deliberately concealed. It is not possible therefore to tell if the shoes are damaged due to wear or the environment in which they have been kept. From the history of the house it may be possible to learn more of the provenance of the shoes and to whom they might have originally belonged.

These shoes, from the National Trust's collection, are obviously in poor condition. However, with only two images it is still possible to glean more information from such shoes than those in better condition. Above is the information and images supplied online (<http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/1430639.8>) compared with what may be deduced from looking more closely.

The views for these pairs of shoes are restricted to those chosen by the museum. These are usually limited to one or two images which rarely include good sightings of the soles, insoles and linings. It is likely that photographs are taken to show shoes at their best with camera angles and lighting designed to minimise less perfect areas. What is shown only allows access to one aspect of a shoe's biography - if this is not the one required the images will not necessarily provide the information that is sought. Some information may be provided in the records, for example, the materials from which these features are made although they rarely give details. The amount of information on the records provided is often limited and it is therefore difficult to ascertain whether or not the museum has more information or whether the complete record is shown.

The amount of information given with the images in both cases is fairly limited. Those from Leeds are actually quite misleading on first glance by suggesting that the height of the shoe is 125mm. Most viewers would be used to the heel height of the shoe being given rather than the overall height and leads them to believe that heels were 125mm high which is not borne out by the survey or any secondary sources.

However, the views that can be accessed have proved useful for the general survey as colour, upper fabric type and the heel shape etc is usually possible to ascertain. The images also give a good indication of the type of shoes extant and what is worth further pursuance. Colour can vary according to the lighting conditions used for the photograph so some assumptions have to be made. Figures 6 and 7 show a shoe taken with a flash and secondly in just the fluorescent lighting of the store facilities. The shoe is actually pale blue which appears more clearly in Figure 6 although in Figure 7 it appears to be yellow.

All of the previous examples illustrate the importance of museum records but also how much they can vary. Nomenclature is inconsistently applied and understood. Measurements are taken in different ways and of differing dimensions making direct comparison difficult.



Figure 6
Photograph taken with flash
Northampton 1970.25.6P [46]



Figure 7
Photograph taken in fluorescent light
Northampton 1970.25.6P [46]

The use of material culture theories as a tool for further interpretation of extant shoes has been outlined in the Introduction. To test these theories against the practice of examining eighteenth-century shoes it would seem sensible at this point to compare and contrast a few of these theories to ascertain which are useful and in what way.

Kopytoff's (1986) theory of the biography of things allows the more physical aspects of shoes to be considered. This also takes into account the whole of an object's history not just its period of use. With regard to shoes, he would consider it important to ascertain where the shoe was made and by whom; who would it have been worn by and what was their status in life - did the shoe reflect this? How and where the shoe might have been worn would have been noted. Its various stages of use would be important - did it stay with its original owner; was it repaired or translated; was it sold as secondhand or pawned? Following this - how did it come to survive; what happened to it between being in use and its existence as a collected object? It might well have been in a museum for a hundred years or so - how did it come to be there; was it sold or donated and who by; how has it been used/stored/displayed within this time? It would be wonderful if a full biography could be completed for any shoe let alone all but there are very few cases where this is possible. Much relies on speculation but the questions are still important to ask in order to appreciate the type of date shoes can provide and, while few can provide all, all can provide some.

Kopytoff's theory also encompasses the concept of objects as commodities, that is, items with use value and exchange value. The nature of the manufacturing process was influenced by many different cultural factors such as the technology available, the economic climate and the dictates of fashion. The original exchange value of shoes allows them to be compared with other objects of similar cost and places them within a hierarchy of items for sale thus indicating their comparative social status. In other words, to compare the cost of the type of shoes examined with typical wages and prices of essential living items as well as other items of clothing shows that shoes were of significant but not prohibitive value. This is shown in more detail in Appendix I. The value of objects changes with time and for shoes this is demonstrated by their lower value as secondhand or translated goods and even more so when no longer able to fulfil their purpose. However, as time progresses and shoes become representative of historical costume and become part of a collection value rises. Kopytoff comments that value is inevitably defined in monetary terms as other definitions such as sentimental value or aesthetic value are difficult to measure and will vary with the assessor.

Prown's theory is slightly more cerebral. It examines objects in three stages: description, deduction and speculation. The description stage is as much to do with positioning an object within a group of similar objects ie a shoe must belong to the eighteenth century if it displays

similar characteristics to others dated from that period. He might then look to define these characteristics such as physical properties (why were the materials from which shoes were made chosen; how effective were they; how does function restrict style; what were the economic and technological constraints etc). At this point deduction and speculation feature and it is a fine line between the two. Prown assumes that objects produced at the same time would share stylistic elements and this certainly proves true with the shoes examined. He also suggests that a change in style is concurrent with a shift in cultural values. This too is borne out by the research in that the shoes in the latter part of the century reflect the rejection of more conspicuous consumption in favour of simple styles showing more restraint.

Prown also uses the concept of value, specifying not just monetary worth but others such as intrinsic, utilitarian and spiritual as outlined in the Introduction. The values recognise that an object's status changes over time. The monetary value of a shoe when it was first sold compared to the same value when a shoe is bought by a museum for instance would be very different. The rarity value in today's market would be much higher than in the eighteenth century. All these values need to be considered to allow meaningful interpretation of an object.

Finally Riello's use of narratives assigned to objects explores the wider connotations rather than just the object itself. He sees an object as representative of larger issues and ascertains what extra knowledge an object can add to them. Shoes can provide a narrative of dress and fashion for instance. The overall shoe shape; the designs, colours and weaves of the fabrics from which the uppers are made and the various embellishments employed indicate what was popular in the eighteenth century and reflect the types of materials used for garments and other accessories. The fact that similar shoes are found throughout the country shows how fashion ideas were widespread during the period. Alternatively, shoes may provide a narrative of the body. The size of extant shoes can contribute to information of the size and height of women in the eighteenth century. The wear patterns on the soles and uppers may give an insight into common foot problems of the period such as bunions and corns etc. the fact that so many shoes exist in similar sizing suggests that the smallness of foot was something that was valued. Shoes might also provide a narrative of "commodification in capitalism". The presence of shoemakers' labels in extant shoes demonstrates that they were commodities sold on mass through a structured system of retail. This is again illustrated by the number of similar shoes still existing and the creases present in a number which implies they were stored flat to reduce space in a shop or warehouse.

These narratives might have been expected but following similar thinking even wider narratives can be applied. For instance, a concealed shoe might enhance a narrative of the

building in which it was concealed by aiding dating and order of construction. Such a shoe can also add to a narrative of concealed objects; a practice which was widespread but about which little is confirmed. Shoes might also provide a narrative of biodiversity. The wood used in heel blocks if analysed can contribute to the knowledge of which types of trees were grown; where; the age they might have reached when felled etc. The leather, with further analysis, can give indication of the breeds of cattle that were used for leather making and of husbandry techniques of the eighteenth century.

What Riello does point out is that the narrative assigned to an object depends as much on those doing the assigning as it does on the object itself. This can restrict how an object is generally viewed by restricting its categorization so that other narratives are missed. While linking objects to such wide concepts, the theory ignores some of the smaller details of physical examination which could further enhance his theory. Riello also suggests that material culture can challenge history based on documentary sources alone. This is reinforced by this research in that the close examination of shoes has yielded data unavailable in accessible publications and has clarified details given in others. It has provided insight into potential future research by considering sources that historians are unaware. For instance a study of wear patterns and sizes provides data on the physiology of eighteenth-century women, how they walked and effect that the size and weight of of their gowns had on their posture.

All these systems have a contribution to make with regard to the interpretation and examination of shoes. Which one is the most effective would depend on the circumstances and emphasis of the research. Kopytoff's approach makes us more sensitive to an object's status in relationship to an economic context and raises many questions specific to the object. Prown requires a broader knowledge of the period in which an object was conceived and uses comparisons of similarly aged items to provide a frame of reference. This concept validates my approach to the shoe examination and survey as it is only by considering a large enough sample group that a good appreciation of similarities and disparities can be ascertained. Riello makes a strong case for the use of material culture studies but his published works on shoes do not prioritise this approach in the way his writings would seem to imply. However, his use of object narratives not only widens the scope of object examination it highlights the fact that the observations obtained can be manipulated to suit the observer in much the same way as statistics and caution must therefore be employed when using such sources.

None of the approaches, in themselves, are fully adequate. However, what they all contribute is an appreciation that a shoe is not just something that is worn to protect the foot. It is not

of interest only to those who specialise in dress but to much wider and interdisciplinary field who most likely would not even consider looking at shoes as part of their research. In addition, while the use of material culture based theories can be more beneficial when used in isolation in the early stages of evidence gathering; it is the combination of both primary and secondary evidence that provides a more complete picture.

**WOMEN'S SHOES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY:
STYLE, USE AND EVOLUTION**

“Since remotest antiquity, nearly every man, woman and child has necessarily worn footwear of some sort, and those who worked in shoemaking and its allied trades have formed a larger percentage of the skilled workforce than many other trades. ... Not an accessory and not merely a garment reflecting the vagaries of fashion, the shoe is both an important, functional piece of technology and an icon of personal style, ceremony and status.” (Saguto, 2009, xiii)

The previous chapter has illustrated how important the physical examination of primary evidence is. It has revealed the parts of a shoe that can provide more specific details and suppositions on life in the eighteenth century. This chapter will look more closely at these features and the results that the survey provided. These will be compared with other eighteenth-century sources and more recent publications to provide authentication or to question presumed facts. Visual information will illustrate how the styles of shoes changed over the eighteenth century reflecting wider cultural and political movements and give future scholars the means to evaluate shoes on stylistic grounds. As indicated by Saguto above, shoes were both functional and fashionable, they had practical and symbolic value.

The historiography of shoes is dominated by broad studies of more recent eras (particularly twentieth and twenty first century). More detailed information regarding specific periods is much harder to come by and involves gleaning a sentence or two from numerous sources. This in turn makes it very hard for those in small museums with diverse collections to appreciate the significance of their holdings in relation to extant shoes of the period and who are restricted in terms of time and resources. For university based researchers, access to extant objects is more limited than for museum based staff. Both these factors present barriers to serious shoe scholarship.

Saguto (2009, 4) states that “today, thousands of eighteenth-century shoes survive and more are found every year.” In the United Kingdom over 900 shoes have been located as part of this research and there are likely to be many more in smaller or private collections. Of these, a closer examination was carried out of 107 shoes and clogs ie over 10% of the total known. As well as the examples given in Chapter 1, further details with regard to the methodology of the survey have been outlined in the introduction and the completed records are shown in Appendix III.

Accurately dating shoes of the eighteenth century to a specific year or even a ten year period is difficult. The only stylistic reference books are of limited use as their subject matter is too broad (eg Swann, 1982; Walford, 2007; Peacock, 2005). Alternative sources are studies of the costume of the period but shoes only feature as incidentals (eg Buck, 1979; Ribeiro, 1995, 2002). Shoes can be identified as originating in the 1700s generally by their shapes, materials and construction (as will be discussed later in the thesis) and more specifically to the first or second half the century by the same means. Those of the last twenty years or so are much easier in that they are very different from the earlier years, but shoes from the middle of the century are harder to pin down. June Swann is considered to be more accurate based on her long experience covering a large number of collections but this information is not recorded anywhere that is easy to access. There are a large number of collections for one person to cover, particularly as she is now retired. The problem can be highlighted by the number of shoes in museum collections where date ranges cover thirty to a hundred years. Sources can also be somewhat contradictory so that the credentials of the authors need checking. Some shoes have been dated by the silk brocades used for the uppers ie [28, 38, 39, 41] but this method too can be flawed. The silk may belong to a particular year and so provides a 'not before' date but as such expensive fabrics were reused and off-cuts retained it cannot be certain that the fabric was used when it was first produced and in fashion.

For the purposes of collating information from museum collections the shoes have been grouped in decades. Where a wide date range has been attributed to the shoes by their owners, they were used statistically by assigning them to the decade in which the middle year of the range fell. This method has been used so that data could be compiled from the more than 500 images available although it is recognised that this may have skewed some of the findings.

Shoe terminology varies. According to Garsault the term ordinary shoe defines "a piece of solid footwear that prevents the foot from being affected by the hard objects on which it treads" (Saguto, 2009, 60) and would refer to mainly men's shoes and all leather ladies' shoes as worn by working class women and for outdoor use by those higher up the social ladder. He uses the term 'pump' to define a lighter weight shoe suitable for "running, dancing or engaging in any other quick and lively exercises" (Saguto, 2009, 60). Mules are backless slippers intended for use as house shoes or for undress but Garsault qualified this by stating that if quarters were added then they should really be termed low-quartered slippers. Contemporary references seem to use the term slipper synonymously with the term shoe when referring to women's footwear although Swann (2010) uses slipper to denote indoor footwear much as we would use the word today. For the purposes of the study the word shoe will be used to refer to the types of women's footwear with quarters.

Virtually all women's shoes of the eighteenth century were made as straights ie no differentiation between the left and right foot. This applies to all of the surveyed shoes although there are some means of telling which foot the shoes were worn which will be discussed later in the chapter. The overall shape of shoes varies although the century can be divided into three general categories. The first half of the century is largely distinguished by shoes with latches (for ribbons or buckles), chunky Louis heels and by brocades and damasks with heavy embellishments involving metal threads. These features coincide with the baroque style. The shoes of the middle decades of the century have a lighter feel incorporating rococo influences such as more slender heels, fabrics such as satin and figured silks and more delicate embroidered decoration. From about 1785 shoe shapes change more dramatically as the neoclassical style was adopted influencing both fashion and the decorative arts. Shoes became plainer, with lower heels and fewer embellishments. They also changed to slip-ons with no latches for fastening.

A visual summary of these changes using examples from the survey are shown in a tabular form in Figure 8 overleaf. Different parts of the shoes, how they developed and their significance are examined in more detail below using the primary evidence gleaned from the survey supported by contemporary sources and modern references. The main reference books used for this purpose are Swann (1982), Ledger (1985), Pratt and Woolley (1999), Walford (2007) and Wilson (1974).

Uppers

The main parts of a shoe are as indicated in Figure 5. They comprise the uppers, that is the vamp, tongue and two quarters (which may or may not extend at the sides to form straps or latches for fastening the shoe either by ties or buckles) and the bottoms which are made up of the heel and two soles - the inner and the outer.

Uppers generally changed over the period along with the shape. For the most part of the century they sat just under ankle height on the foot. By the end much more of the instep was exposed, reaching the tops of the toes providing a toe cleavage reminiscent of the cleavage exposed with the adoption of low cut and high-waisted dresses with which such shoes were worn.

The side seam varied also, both positionally and in shape. In the early part of the century it was a straight seam in line with the heel breast (Figure 9). Dog leg seams were also used (Figure 10) which allowed the shoes to be opened wider for the foot to fit in. By the 1770s the side seam had moved further down the vamp to be situated much closer to the wearer's




	1700	1710	1720	1730	1740	1750	1760	1770	1780	1790	
Shoes											
Tongue											
			Van Dyke/cupid's bow 	Concave edge 				Peak throat or pointed tongue up to c1785 	None 		
Heel	Louis heel 						Italian heel - wedge like extension under instep 				
Toe	Upturned and pointed.						Rounder/blunter		Soft-pointed 	Long, pointed	
	Needlepoint 										
Decoration	Appliquéd braids and broad bands of braid on vamp and backstrap and back of heels. 							Silver-gilt threads, spangles or foils. 			
								Ribbon rosettes; cut aways in vamp revealing contrasting material. 			



Figure 9
Clarks
W17sD2 [10]



Figure 11
Clarks
W17+sD45 [68]



Figure 10
Clarks W17sD8 [18]



Figure 12
Northampton 1977.120.5 P [51]

toes although it could still be straight (Figure 11) or dog-legged (Figure 12). About a quarter of the shoes examined had a dog-legged side seam.

Rands

The rand (or welt) usually appears as a white band that separates the upper from the sole. It was a feature of shoes, particularly in the first half of the century, which served a purpose in the construction (which will be detailed further in Chapter 3) and also acted as decoration. The table below (Figure 13) details the survey results. It shows that the rand appears on the

Examination/Survey		Primary Sources	Secondary Sources
1700s	72% had white rands		1700s-1760s - white kid rand (Swann, 1982)
1710s	77% had white rands		
1720s	84% had white rands		
1730s	59% had white rands		1700s-1750s - white kid rand both decorative and functional (Walford, 2007)
1740s	59% had white rands		
1750s	44% had white rands		
1760s	20% had white rands		1760s - rand same colour as sole and was utilitarian rather than decorative (Walford, 2007)
1770s	2% had white rands		
1780s	1% had white rands		
1790s	0% had white rands		

Figure 13
Rands

vast majority of shoes up to the end of the 1720s but is still significant in the 1730s through to the 1750s. By the end of the 1760s the numbers fall dramatically

The primary evidence shows that the rand was invariably white tawed leather and used to form a distinct contrast between the upper and sole (Figure 14). The survey implies that any white leather is termed 'kid' and this has been maintained for ease but the likelihood is that it was mainly tawed sheep's leather that was used. Without magnification and means of analysis it is difficult to be certain in every case. As seen from the table, Walford (2007) is of the opinion that rands as a decorative feature were discontinued in the 1760s, although they were still used for utilitarian purposes in the same colour leather as the sole. There is no obvious example of this within the surveyed shoes despite the suggestion that the rand became almost invisible. If this is the case, however, it then becomes a matter of terminology as Walford (2007) is probably referring to a welt rather than a rand, the two being similar but not synonymous, as defined by Thornton and Swann (1986).



Figure 14
Needlepoint toe as
seen from the side
(left) and the front
(right).
Snowhill
SNO110 [38]



Toes

There are four main variations on the toe shape during the eighteenth century. The needlepoint was the most ubiquitous toe shape at the start of the century, indeed from the 1690s. It was very sharply pointed with the upper overhanging the sole (Figure 14). It was often upturned, the shape being likened to the prow of a ship. Toes could be pointed without being a needlepoint, and they too could be upturned. A softer, blunter shape was also used. The third quarter of the century shoes often had much rounder toes. As has been shown, the degree of point can be interpreted in different ways. Examples of how toe shapes were interpreted in the survey are shown in Figure 15. These were used when the gowns with which they were worn became particularly wide but narrow from front to back. It may be that pointed toes were inappropriate for this style as they could stick out more obviously or an upturned point could get caught. In some shoes a toe stiffener known as a toe puff was used. This was a piece of leather which supported and toe and kept it in shape. These were visible in some shoes and palpable in others.

Examination/Survey		Primary Sources	Secondary Sources
1700s	Upturned needlepoint - 56% Pointed - 33% Blunt - 11%.		1700-1760 - needlepoint (Swann, 1982)
1710s	Needlepoint - 85% (58% upturned) Pointed - 9% Blunt - 6%		1700s - pointed/slightly tilted (Ledger, 1985) - square (Wilson, 1974)
1720s	Needlepoint - 45% (28% upturned) Pointed - 20% Blunt - 5% Unknown - 30%		1710-1720 - domed toe (Swann, 1982)
1730s	Needlepoint - 67% (45% upturned) Blunt - 10% Pointed - 6% Round - 2% Unknown - 4%		1720s - upturned needlepoint (Walford, 2007) 1740s - upturned needlepoint (Mackenzie, 2004)
1740s	Needlepoint - 45% (38% upturned) Blunt - 26% Pointed - 10% Round - 5% Unknown - 14%	Hogarth - Marriage á la Mode (1743) - upturned needlepoint toe	- rounder/blunter (Pratt and Woolley, 1999) 1740s-1750s - loss of pointed toe (Walford, 2007)
1750s	Round - 28% Blunt - 26% Needlepoint - 20% Pointed - 9% Unknown - 17%		1750s - rounder/blunter (Swann, 1982)
1760s	Round - 40% Blunt - 37% Pointed - 9% Needlepoint - 6% Unknown - 8%		1770s-1790s - sharper, not upturned (Swann, 1982) 1770s - pointed again (Walford, 2007)
1770s	Blunt - 44% Pointed - 25% Round - 22% Unknown - 9%		- soft pointed (Ledger, 1985)
1780s	Pointed - 51% Blunt - 40% Round - 6% Unknown - 3%		1790s - pointed (Wilson, 1974) - elongated/pointed (Walford, 2007)
1790s	Pointed - 82% Blunt - 14% Round - 4%		- long pointed (Pratt and Woolley, 1999)

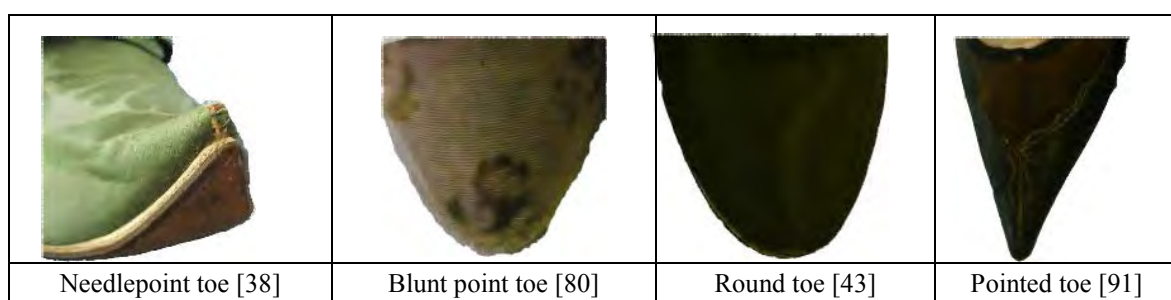


Figure 15
Toes

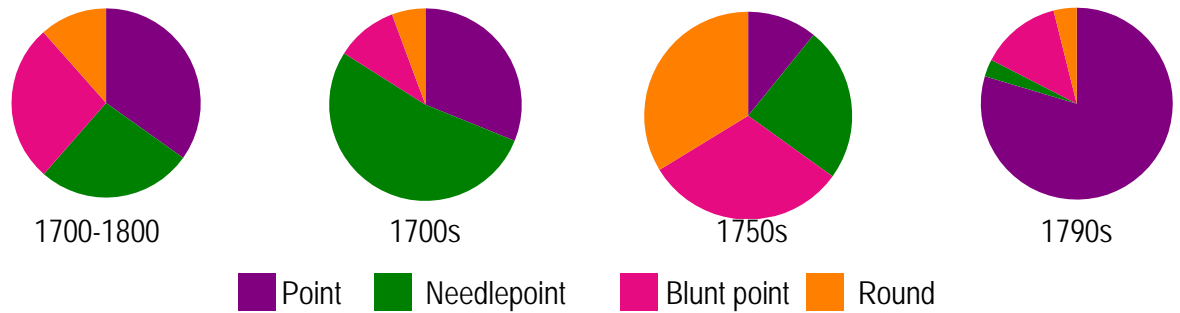


Figure 16
Toe shapes throughout the century

The survey results for toe shapes are shown in Figure 15. This is summarised in diagrammatic form in Figure 16. The charts emphasise that some form of pointed toe (be it pointed, needlepoint or blunt point) was a dominant feature of eighteenth-century shoes. Many of the shoes surveyed with sharper points are worn with the vamp lining or toe puff displayed beneath lost silk fibres. This was an obviously vulnerable area where the main fabric was stretched to give a smooth finish with little space available for much extra fabric for securing purposes. Also, as the foot could not reach into the very end of the toe, damage to that area would not always have been felt by the wearer. It was further prone to rubbing against the hem of the wearer's gown.

The primary evidence from the survey indicates that over half the extant shoes from the 1700s - 1740s displayed the needlepoint toe, peaking at 85% of those from the 1710s. The survey shows that the needlepoint continued until the 1760s which is confirmed by Swann (1992) although its popularity had waned by the 1740s. Despite this, it is clearly illustrated in Hogarth's *Marriage a la Mode* from 1743 (Figure 17). However, this does depict an older woman who would not necessarily be at the forefront of fashion.



Figure 17
Hogarth, W (1743)
.Detail from Marriage a la Mode, Plate 6,
The Lady's Death
[oil on canvas] London: The National Gallery,
showing upturned toe shoe and in detail.









From the survey, it seems that the 1750s were a transition period when there appears to be more variation in toe shapes with the needlepoint still featuring but with equally as many shoes with a blunter point or with a rounded toe (Figure 15). This slightly contradicts the reference books with the change to rounded toes being put at 1740s by Pratt and Woolley (1999) and 1760s by June Swann (1982) although she corrected herself to 1750s in conversation (2010) during the course of this study due to her further experience post publication. Walford (2007) states that the pointed toe was lost completely at this stage which was evidently not the case.

The survey indicates that 25% of shoes from the 1770s are pointed but with 44% still blunt points. It is noted by Walford (2007) and Swann (1982) that pointed toes re-emerge in the 1770s although no longer in the form of a needlepoint or upturned. However by the 1780s this rises to 51% and to 82% in the 1790s. At this point most of the authors acknowledge a distinct and elongated pointed toe (Figure 15). Walford (2007) points out that this was probably to make the foot seem narrower.

Tongues

The results from the examined and surveyed shoes are shown in Figure 19 along with other primary sources and secondary information for comparison. Figure 18 shows the various shapes commonly found. For the most part, tongues were cut straight along the top edge especially, in the 1710s and 1740s, when two thirds of extant shoes show this feature. The variations on this are tongues which have a slightly concave edge which features particularly in the 1720s to 1730s or a slightly convex edge which is evident between 1750 and 1780.

		
Straight edge [50]	Concave edge [27]	Convex edge [63]
		
Cupid's bow	Van dyke	Peaked [56]

Figures 18
Tongue shapes.

Examination/Survey		Primary Sources	Secondary Sources
1700s	Straight - 39% Van Dyke/Cupid's bow - 11% Concave - 6% Convex - 6% Unknown - 38%		1700s-1710 - high and square (Swann, 1982) 1700s-1720s - decoratively cut (Walford, 2007)
1710s	Straight - 68% Van Dyke/Cupid's bow - 6% Concave - 6% Convex - 3% Unknown - 20%		
1720s	Straight - 39% Concave - 20% Van Dyke/Cupid's bow -11% Convex - 9% Unknown - 19%		1720s-1740s - lower and smaller (Swann, 1982) - high and square (Wilson, 1974)
1730s	Straight - 47% Concave - 16% Van Dyke/Cupid's bow -4% Convex - 2% Unknown - 31%		
1740s	Straight - 67% Concave - 7% Convex - 2% Peaked - 2% Unknown - 22%		
1750s	Straight - 48% Convex - 11% Concave - 9% Peaked - 9% Unknown - 23%		
1760s	Straight - 49% Peaked - 17% Convex - 11% Concave - 6% Unknown - 17%		
1770s	Peaked - 46% Straight - 19% Convex - 15% Concave - 2% Unknown - 18%	Dighton, R (1782-1784) <i>A real scene in St Paul's Churchyard on a windy day</i> - peaked throat	1770s - pointed tongue and high riding quarters (Ledger, 1985) 1770-1785 - pointed (Swann, 1982)
1780s	Peaked - 57% None - 30% Straight - 9% Convex - 3% Concave - 1%		
1790s	None - 66% Peaked - 19% Convex - 7% Concave - 5% Straight - 3%		

Figure 19
Tongues

The more decorative edgings such as the cupid's bow described by Swann (1982) as an undulating curve or van dyke which has a more zigzag effect, is evident from the beginning of the century to about the 1730s in the survey. These are noted by Swann (1992) to be a copy from the men's shoes of the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century. Men's shoes were obviously more visible than women's whose skirts covered all but the tip of the toe. However, the edgings were stylish and therefore adopted. Only a small proportion of surviving shoes have these types of tongue edging suggesting that were not used so widely as the other types.

The peaked throat (or pointed tongue) came to the height of fashion in the 1770s and 1780s according to the survey, although there are examples from the 1740s. It finished lower down the instep and is a good indicator for dating shoes. The style appears to have been used for both latchet shoes (Figure 18) and for slip-ons (Figure 20). A contemporaneous print shown in Figure 21 confirms this.

It is unclear whether ribbons were tied over or under tongues that were decorated. It might well have been tied both ways. Some tongues have applied braid continuing from the vamp but finishing before the end, the assumption being that in this case the ribbon or buckle covered this area.

The shape of the tongue is not widely referred to in the secondary sources. Where it is mentioned is usually to point out main differences. This suggests that the straight edge tongue was viewed as fairly standard up to the 1760s. However there is one contradiction between Swann (1982) and Wilson (1947) with regard to whether tongues were lower and smaller (Swann) or higher and square (Wilson) between 1720 and 1740. Generally the survey seems to indicate that tongues remain high during this period not becoming smaller until the 1750s.



Figure 20
Nottingham
NCM 1996-13 [101]

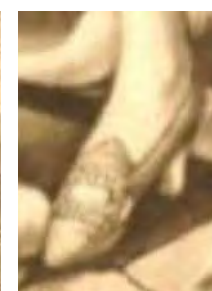


Figure 21
Dighton, R. (after)
(1782-1784)
Details from
*A real scene,
in St Paul's
Churchyard,
on a windy day.*
[Mezzotint]
London: British
Museum,
1880,1113.3312

Ways of Fastening

The main means of fastening shoes in the eighteenth century was by the use of latches that were secured by tying or buckles. This is clearly demonstrated by the results of the survey as shown in Figure 22 which also gives an example of each type.



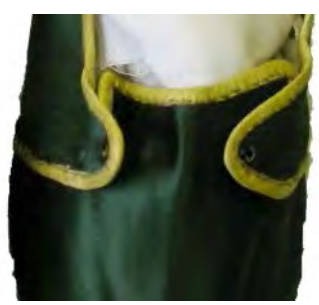

Examination/Survey		Primary Sources	Secondary Sources
1700s	55% punched latchet 33% buckle latchet 12% unknown	Lady's Magazine June 1781 - pearl buckles. European Magazine, July 1784 - Gibraltar buckles without chapes and tongues.	1700s-1710s - small rectangular buckles (Swann, 1982) - Square buckles (Wilson, 1974) - Ribbons preferred by women (Walford, 2007) 1720s - bigger buckles (Swann, 1982) - delicate buckles (Wilson, 1974) - buckles standard wear (Walford, 2007) 1730s - large buckles (Pratt and Woolley, 1999) 1730s-1760s - buckles used (Ledger, 1985) 1740s - larger buckles due to rising hems (Walford, 2007) 1780s - ribbon ties and small buckles (Pratt and Woolley, 1999) - extreme sizes (Swann, 1982) - enormous (Walford, 2007) 1790s - decreased demand for buckles (Pratt and Woolley, 1999) - little buckles (Swann, 1982) - buckles disappeared (Wilson, 1974) - buckles no longer used (Walford, 2007)
1710s	77% buckle latchet 23% punched latchet		
1720s	71% buckle latchet 27% punched latchet 2% unknown		
1730s	74% buckle latchet 13% punched latchet 13% unknown		
1740s	100% buckle latchet		
1750s	67% buckle latchet 7% punched latchet 16% unknown		
1760s	83% buckle latchet 3% punched latchet 14% unknown		
1770s	81% buckle latchet 7% slip-on 2% punched latchet 10% unknown.		
1780s	50% slip-on 45% buckle latchet 5% punched latchet.		
1790s	80% slip-on 15% buckle latchet 5% punched latchet.		
			
Punched latches - ribbons [10]	Buckle latches [23]	Pierced latches - strings [102]	Drawstring [87]

Figure 22
Fastenings

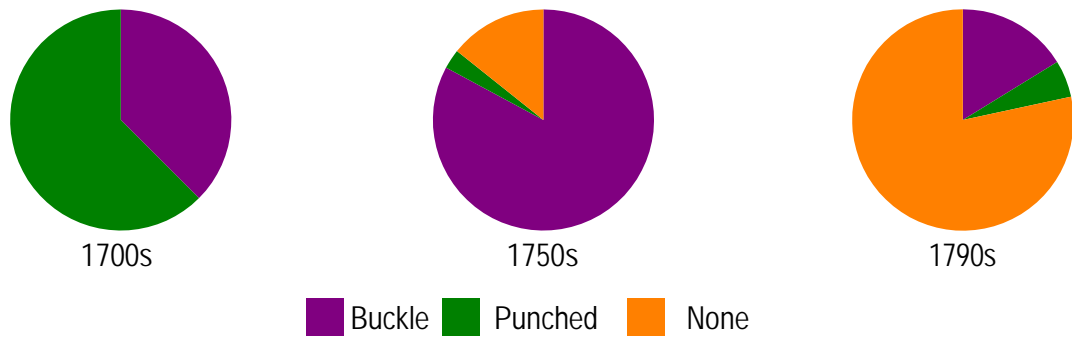


Figure 23
Latching

The primary evidence of the survey as given in Figure 22 clearly shows the predominance of the punched latching in the 1700s which was overtaken by the use of buckles from the 1710s onwards. This dominance of the latching is shown in summary in the charts at Figure 23. The use of latching to enable a shoe to be tied dates back to the Tudor period and continued up to the end of the eighteenth century. The latching were usually cut in one piece with the quarters and joined to the vamp at the side seam. There are examples of shoes from the middle of the century where latching of contrasting colours and fabrics to the rest of the uppers was fashionable. In this case the lining was cut in one piece and the contrasting fabric joined to the vamp at the side seam. This knowledge assists the identification of altered latching. It seems from the extant shoes that the early punched latching were lengthened to accommodate buckles and conversely longer buckle latching were cut down towards the end of the century and punched for laces. Examples of this have been referred to in Chapter 1, shoes 16 and 75. Figure 24 shows latching with evident buckle use that have been cut down.

Initially the latching were tied with ribbon and had holes punched or pierced to allow for this purpose. They were positioned high on the instep. On some examples surveyed the hole was embroidered to prevent the fraying of the fabric and to provide a more decorative finish. Figure 25 shows such stitching carried out neatly with the same thread as used on the topbinding. On a significant number the button hole stitching is not carried out to the same standard as the rest of the shoe which might suggest it was carried out post manufacture. The edges of the hole would have been a vulnerable area due to the friction of the bow and



Figure 24
Snowhill SNO 127 [53]



Figure 25
Snowhill SNO 128 [9]



Figure 26
Hereford 4991 [75]



Figure 27
Snowhill SNO
116 [2]

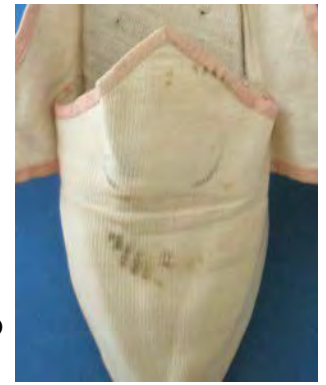


Figure 28
Snowhill SNO
140 [65]

therefore would have needed reinforcing to prevent fraying or becoming too large. An example is shown in Figure 26 where the stitching is irregular and the hole appears to be getting dangerously close to the edge of the latchet. Few shoes have what appears to be the original ribbon remaining. This would have worn out easily and may have been changed regularly to match the outfit with which the shoes were worn.

From the examination of shoes the use of the buckle as a means of fastening shoes is very evident even without the multitude of contemporaneous buckles that survive. Most buckle-latchets on extant shoes have holes left from buckles. Some have what appears to be rust stains suggesting that they were worn with buckles with an iron content. Others have darker, black stains, more like silver chloride, indicating tarnish from silver or silver gilt buckles. An example of a buckle in situ showing how these marks are made is shown in Figure 27. Some shoes reveal marks left by the shape of the buckle such as those in Figure 28. These marks left by cheaper metals confirms that the type of shoes left in our collections did not have to have been worn only by the wealthy. In addition, it proves that the shoes have been in a damp environment with the buckle present. As few shoes have buckles still with them, this contact with moisture is likely to have occurred during the use caused by the moisture in the atmosphere or perspiration.

Buckles were adopted in preference to ribbons by the mid-seventeenth century by men but it took longer for women to take up the fashion as buckles could damage the fabric of their long skirts. Walford (2007) states that it was not until around the 1720s that buckles became the norm for both sexes. This is supported by the survey with 55% of the shoes from the 1700s being punched latchets dropping to around 25% between 1710 and 1729 and lost completely by the 1740s. The positioning of the latchets moved nearer to the toe in the latter part of the century coinciding with large buckles and shorter hemlines allowing more of the foot to be on view.

Buckles played a large part in shoe fashion during the eighteenth century and some examples are shown in Figure 29. They were used by both sexes and by all classes although the



Figure 29
A selection of buckles from Snowhill showing the variety of materials decorations and sizes available.

materials from which they were made were a reflection of the wearer's wealth and status. Variations occur in the size, style and the materials from which they were made. At the beginning of the century buckles were relatively small, about 2.5 x 4 cm, growing larger as the century wore on and peaking in size during the 1770s. Buckles could be made from a variety of materials including metals such as gold, silver, plated silver, steel, tin, pinchbeck (an alloy of copper and zinc mixed to look like gold and invented in 1733), brass and pewter. Styles (2007, 88) states that by the 1770s most buckles were made from base metals such as copper, iron and brass. They were often embellished with embroidery, pottery, mother of pearl and, most commonly, paste 'jewels' imitating precious stones such as diamonds. *The Lady's Magazine* of June 1781 advocates the use of pearl buckles deeming them to be fashionable while *The European Magazine* (1785) of July 1784 states that "the Gibraltar Buckles are now the present taste; they are made without chapes and tongues to fasten on the foot with a spring." The fashion diminished considerably by the end of the 1780s with buckle makers petitioning the Prince of Wales in 1791 and the Queen in 1792 due to their loss of work and thus, income (Swann, 1981). Although buckles were made official court wear, it was not enough to maintain the industry.

Shoes with latches for buckles make up the largest proportion of shoes until the end of the 1770s. At this stage slip-on or court shoes came into fashion. This period also saw the re-introduction of short, punched latches situated much lower down the instep. The holes were smaller in diameter indicating they were for tying with strings or laces rather than ribbons (Figure 22). The use of ties is said to have resulted from the French Revolution and the adoption of a simpler and less ostentatious mode of dress (Pratt and Woolley, 1999, 55). Some slip-on shoes also feature a channel around the top of the vamp allowing for a drawstring to be tied to secure the shoe (Figure 22) much as a ballet shoe would be today.

Latches can also be useful in adding evidence of shoes being worn on the left of right foot. Despite being straights, some shoes have one latchet shorter than the other so that the buckle always fastened in the same way with the end of the latchet finishing on the outside of the

foot. Where latches are the same length a similar indication can be given by the way in which they naturally lie indicating consistent use.

Heels

Various aspects of the heel were recorded during the examination process and the survey. The heel cover and internal heel block were noted where possible. The findings with regard to these aspects will be detailed further on in the chapter and in Chapter 3. The height, shape and positioning will be discussed in this section.

The shape of the heel can be broadly categorised into three types during the eighteenth century - the Louis; the French or pompadour and the Italian. A diagrammatical summary of the findings are shown in Figure 30. From this it can be deduced that the Louis heel was the most dominant shape throughout the century featuring particularly up to the 1760s. From the 1770s, the Italian heel became the most popular accounting for 85% of all heels in the 1790s. The table in Figure 31 gives the survey findings in more detail.

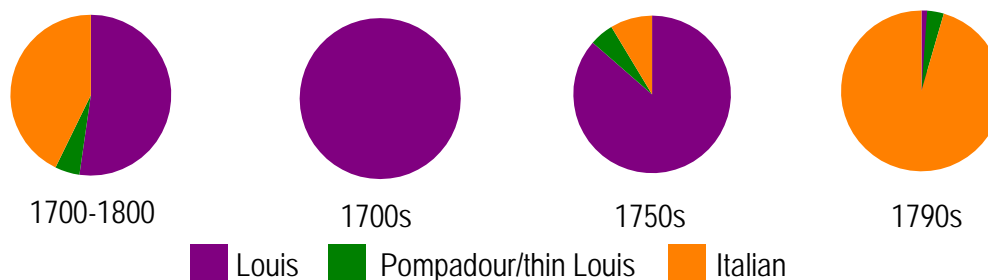


Figure 30
Heel shapes

There seems to be some confusion over terminology regarding heels. A Louis heel, supposedly named after Louis XIV or XV (depending on source, cp Ledger, 1985, 95 and Pratt and Woolley, 1999, 123), may be defined as “a heel of medium height, sharply curving inwards at the back, front and sides and flared slightly at the base” (Pratt and Woolley, 1999, 123); or a “breasted heel whose neck is in a graceful reverse curve to harmonize with the curve formed by the sole as it continues down the breast ... usually waisted with a flaring bottom section” (Walford 2007, 261) or “a heel of which the front surface (the breast) is covered by a downwards extension of the sole. Since it was introduced in circa 1600 the shape and height have varied considerably” (Thornton and Swann, 1986, 13). This difference in definitions is relevant as reference sources describing shoes from the study period all use the term ‘Louis’ heel but are not always referring to the same thing. Most use the term to describe the shape, whereas the authorities on the subject use it to describe a construction method which actually can be applied on a much wider basis than can the first. Italian heels,

a term largely used to describe the heels of shoes from about 1760 which have a wedge like extension from the waist of the heel providing extra strength under the instep, are actually often constructed as a Louis heel if the Thornton and Swann definition is used. Semmelhack (2000) suggests that the term Louis heel referencing Louis XV was a term introduced in the 1860s referring to the shape and height of heels that harked back to eighteenth-century styles,





Examination/Survey		Primary Sources	Secondary Sources
1700s	Louis - 100%	1753 - "Mount on French heels when you got to a ball, 'tis the fashion to totter and shew you can fall." (<i>Universal Magazine</i>)	1700s - Heels thick with slightly curved back (Ledger, 1985). 1710s - Heels high, waisted (Ledger, 1985). 1720s - Heels becoming curved (Walford, 2007). 1753 - Italian heels first mentioned as a novelty (Wilson, 1974) 1760s - Italian heels (small, peg-top heel with wedge like extension under instep) (Ledger, 1985).
1710s	Louis - 96% Pompadour - 4%		
1720s	Louis - 84% Pompadour - 5% Unknown - 11%		
1730s	Louis - 80% Pompadour - 2% Unknown - 18%		
1740s	Louis - 79% Unknown - 21%		
1750s	Louis - 70% Italian - 7% Pompadour - 4% Unknown - 19%		
1760s	Louis - 69% Italian - 9% Pompadour - 14% Unknown - 8%		
1770s	Italian - 63% Louis - 17% Pompadour - 7% Unknown - 13%	1776 - The Modern Belle mentions Italian heels (<i>Universal Magazine</i>).	1770s - Italian stiletto-like heel (Walford, 2007) - High narrow heels with horse shoe-shaped base (Ledger 1985). 1770s-1790s - Italian heels (Swann, 1982). 1790s - Heel disappeared (Walford, 2007).
1780s	Italian - 80% Louis - 7% Pompadour - 5% Unknown - 8%		
1790s	Italian - 85% Pompadour - 3% Louis - 1% Unknown - 11%		
 			
Louis - side [41] and back [22]		French/Pompadour [64, 54]	
			
		Italian [102]	

Figure 31
Heel types

further clouding the issue as the term is not contemporary with the heels being described. However, for the purposes of the study the term ‘Louis heel’ will be used to describe the shape (as illustrated in Figure 31) and not the construction.

For the first half of the century the Louis heel was widely used. It had been adopted in the seventeenth century as a thick heel with a straight back-line but continued with slight variations such as a more curved back line or a thinner, less heavy looking shape until the 1760s. From the survey it can be seen that at least 75% of heels were in the Louis shape until the end of the 1740s and not falling much below for a further two decades. However, the 1770s saw a dramatic drop to only 17% and by the end of the century they had virtually disappeared.

The original chunky shape of the heel was in keeping with the baroque feel of the period. The emergence of the rococo style coincided with the raising and narrowing of the heel into its variant known as the French or Pompadour heel. The height of the heel also induced a serpentine curve in the body echoing the heel shape. It came into use, according to the survey, from the 1750s with most examples found dated in the 1760s. Pratt and Woolley (1999, 46) agree that this type of heel appeared from the 1750s and describe it as “precariously high and sensuously curving.” Swann (1987) states that the style was mainly worn in France being only “occasionally found in England as the century progressed.” However, they were obviously widely enough known for them to be referred to in the satire of the time as in the following extract from *A Receipt for Modern Dress* which appeared in the *Universal Magazine* in 1753:

Make your petticoats short, that a hoop eight yards wide
May decently show how your garters are ty'd;
With fringes of knotting your Dickey cabod,
On slippers of velvet, set gold a-la-daube;
But mount on French heels when you go to a ball,
'Tis the fashion to totter, and shew you can fall;

The *Monthly Magazine* of 1813 states that “About the middle of this jubilee reign [ie circa 1780s] French heels to the ladies shoes were in high fashion; but they have been in disgrace for some years past.” Again, seeming contradictions in dating may well stem from the precise definition of the term ‘French heel’. Neither of the authors quoted give actual definitions and Walford (2007), who does, suggests that French and Pompadour are synonymous terms for a Louis heel. For the purposes of this work, heels such as those illustrated in Figure 31 were classified as French.

The style of heel which came to prominence, according to the survey, from the 1770s was known as an Italian heel. Although they first seem to have appeared in the 1750s, only low

proportions of the total were seen until by the 1770s they featured on 69%. This rose even higher in the following decades of the century almost to the exclusion of any alternative. Yet again there are some discrepancies with the use of the term with few giving a written definition. Walford states that an Italian heel was

“a high thin heel made of wood and usually covered, it has tapering sides and neck and often employs a wedge extension that partially fills the hollow beneath the waist to add strength to the heel. Fashionable in the 1780s and early 1790s and known as an Italian heel to reflect its origin, the heel style disappeared with the term in the mid 1790s.” (Walford, 2007, 280)

Swann (1982, 30) suggests that the Italian heel “wedged to support the arch which had only a leather shank” came into favour in the late 1760s. Her illustration of the style suggests that the emphasis of the definition was on the wedge like extension to the heel rather than the height. It is this interpretation that has been used to categorise the shoes that were surveyed. Examples of the heels can be seen in Figure 31. This style of heel, with the wedge, could be high or low. When high, they were vulnerable to breakage as there was little support in the heel shape. For this reason, a metal spike was sometimes inserted through the heel to prevent snapping much as is used in more modern times for stiletto heels. Their tendency to break was lampooned in the *Universal Magazine* in July 1776 in ‘The Modern Belle,’ an extract is given below:

Shoes that buckle at the toe;
Gowns that o’er the pavement flow, ...
Heels to bear the precious charge,
More diminutive than large,
Slight and brittle, apt to break,
Of the true Italian make;

The heights of heels were taken during the survey. Figure 32 gives a summary of the most frequently occurring heel heights over the century. It is evident that heights varied considerably with no one particular height dominant. Although extremes ranged from 1cm to 10cm, 58% were between 5cm and 8cm. The average highest heels were in the 1720s at 7-8cms and the lowest, in the 1790s, at between 3 and 4cms. The graphs give a more visual

Examination/Survey	Primary Sources	Secondary Sources
1700-1800 - 31% - 5-6cm 21% - 7-8cm 18% - 6-7cm 10% - 4-5cm 8% - 3-4cm 6% - 9-10cm 4% - 8-9cm 1% - 1-2cm 1% - 2-3cm	1710 - <i>The Tatler</i> refers to heels of more than 4 inches high. 1785 <i>Lady's Magazine</i> - mentions the effect of extreme heel heights and recommends 1½ inches.	1700s-1740s - low (Walford, 2007) 1710s - high (Wilson, 1974) 1710s-1720s - high (Ledger, 1985) 1730s-1740s - lower (Pratt and Woolley, 1999) - 2-2.5 inches (Swann, 1982) 1770s - high (Ledger, 1985). 1780s - lower (Ledger, 1985). 1790s - lowest of eighteenth century (Ledger, 1985).

Figure 32
Heel heights

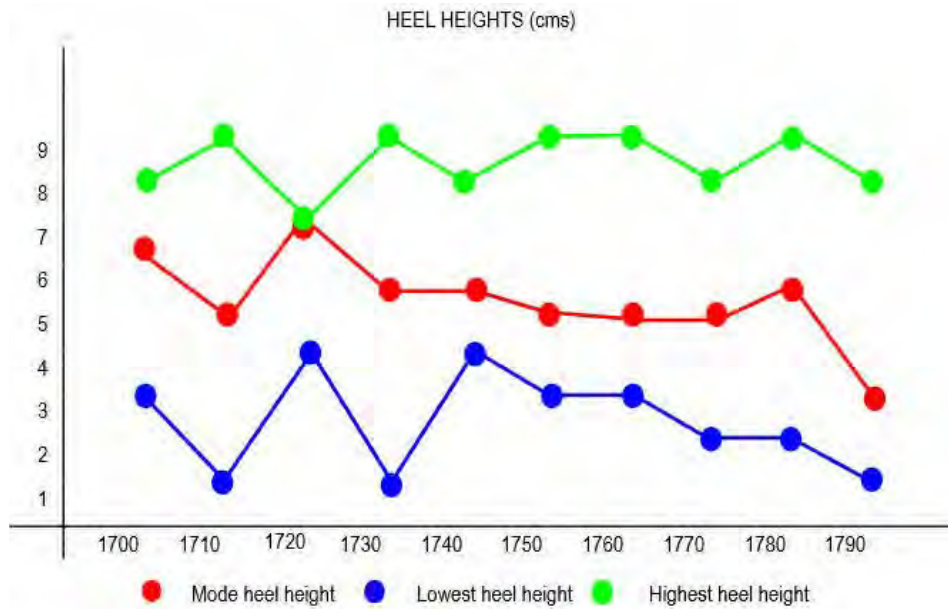


Figure 33
Heel heights - lowest, mode and highest

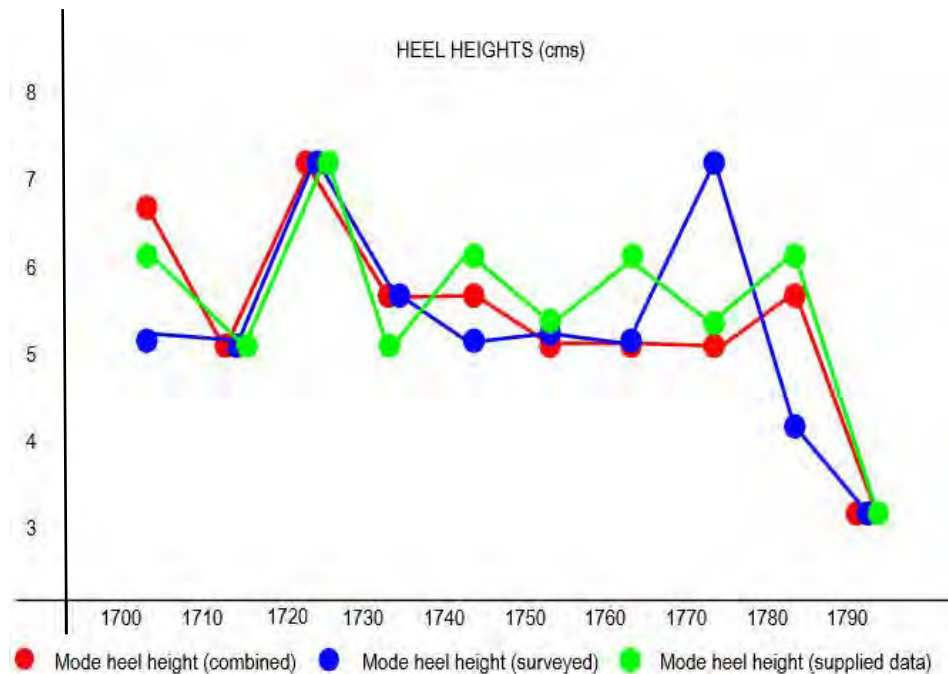


Figure 34
Mode heel heights

representation of these results. The graph in Figure 33 shows the mode heel height for each decade as well as the lowest and highest. The graph in Figure 34 shows the difference between the modes of each decades comparing the shoes that were examined; those where measurements were used from others records in the survey and the combined average. Despite the inaccuracies and inconsistencies of the supplied data the two sources are not widely dissimilar.

For women, the heel symbolised status and as the use of low heels were adopted by working women, the heels of those of higher status also increased in height. A higher heel emphasised the smallness of the foot, particularly as gowns hid all but the tip of the toe. Higher heels

also elongated the leg and drew attention to the ankles which were considered to be a particularly attractive part of the female body in the eighteenth century. The use of high heels also affected the posture of the wearer causing the back to arch and the pelvis and chest to be thrust forward and the buttocks to stick out. Lurie (1983, 227) states that “attempts to limit female mobility by hampering locomotion are ancient and almost universal.” She suggests that the wearing of heels limits women’s mobility, restricting them from escaping pursuing males.

Despite fashion, shoes were worn that were more sensible for their function, and those most likely to be on their feet for much of the time wore lower heels. For example, Hogarth’s image of *The Enraged Musician* (1741) shows a milkmaid wearing shoes with a lowish heel, tied with ribbon and with a slightly upturned toe (Figure 35). Not all ladies were slave to fashion as Lady Cowper, in her diary (30 October 1714), remarks that the Queen (when Princess) “danced in her Slippers very well” at the ball held for the Prince’s birthday, implying that she wore low-heeled shoes which were then not in fashion. However, not all were sensible about the height of their heels for dancing as an advertisement in *The Tatler* (No. 180) of 13 June 1710 describes a stage-coach trip to Mr Tiptoe’s dancing school and states that “dancing shoes, not exceeding four inches in height in the heels” could be “carried in the coach-box gratis.” Although *The Tatler* was a satirical publication this mention suggests that heel heights for dancing could be unnecessarily high. *The Lady’s Magazine* (XVI) of 1785 indicates that heels were often at variant heights with neither extreme being beneficial:

“The shoe or slipper comes now to be taken notice of, and in order to be concise upon this subject, I shall beg leave only to remark, that all very high heeled shoes or slippers hinder a woman from either walking or standing firmly, throw them forward and force them to stoop, by way of alleviating the pain which their toes



Figure 35
The milkmaid’s shoes in
details from Hogarth, W. (1741)
The Enraged Musician
[etching and engraving] London: Tate.

must unavoidably suffer, and in process of time produce corns, &c. which will make them walk lame, and in continual pain. The very low heels have a different, but almost as bad an affect, nay, I may say worse, on those who pique themselves upon the shape of the leg: for they not only bring down the calf of the leg, but make it look enormously thick and clumsy. So that a medium should be preserved, and a heel about an inch and a half high, will make the wearer tread firmly, and will not deform the leg.”

The connection between high heels and extravagant and frivolous life styles led to a drastic lowering of heels by the 1790s. This, combined with the fad for neoclassical lines in dress, meant that simpler and lower shoes were more in keeping. Laver (Brookes and Laver, 1931, 76) states that between 1785-1790

“the heels of women’s shoes were lower than they had been throughout the century, and the upper was more open, ending a couple of inches behind the toes. Shoes were more comfortably made, with the result that walking became more fashionable.”

The secondary sources that were used largely agree with the findings of the survey. However, Walford (2007) suggests that heels were low up to the 1740s whereas the survey gives the highest heels of the century in the 1720s. As previously mentioned eighteenth-century satire seems more in keeping with the survey results.

Red heels were known to have been in fashion from the late seventeenth century. An example is shown in Figure 36. Mansel (2005) suggests that the fashion for red heels began with Louis XIV in 1673 and their use was restricted to courtiers to symbolise the fact that they did not get their shoes dirty and that they were ready to crush their enemies at their feet. The style became part of court formal wear in France and lasted for a considerable time with its influence spreading to other European courts such as England, Austria, Bavaria and Portugal. Queen Caroline had red heels on her walking shoes (Worsley, 2010, 174). *The Tatler* (1774) implies, in several issues in 1709, that red heels were more a masculine item worn particularly by gentlemen of fashion and that red-heeled shoes were “essential parts of the habit belonging to the order of Smart Fellows” (1774, 155). Reference is also made to the height of men’s heels on more than one occasion, an example being “and heels to his shoes so monstrously high, that he had three or four times fallen down, had he not been supported by his friend. (1774, 285).

The position of the heel on the shoe varied. In most cases it was positioned under the heel of the foot as shown in Figure 37. However, in some cases it moved inwards and sat more beneath the instep (Figure 37). For high heels this shift was an attempt to reinforce the instep which was liable to collapse on walking



Figure 36
Nottingham
NCM1881.76/1 [8]

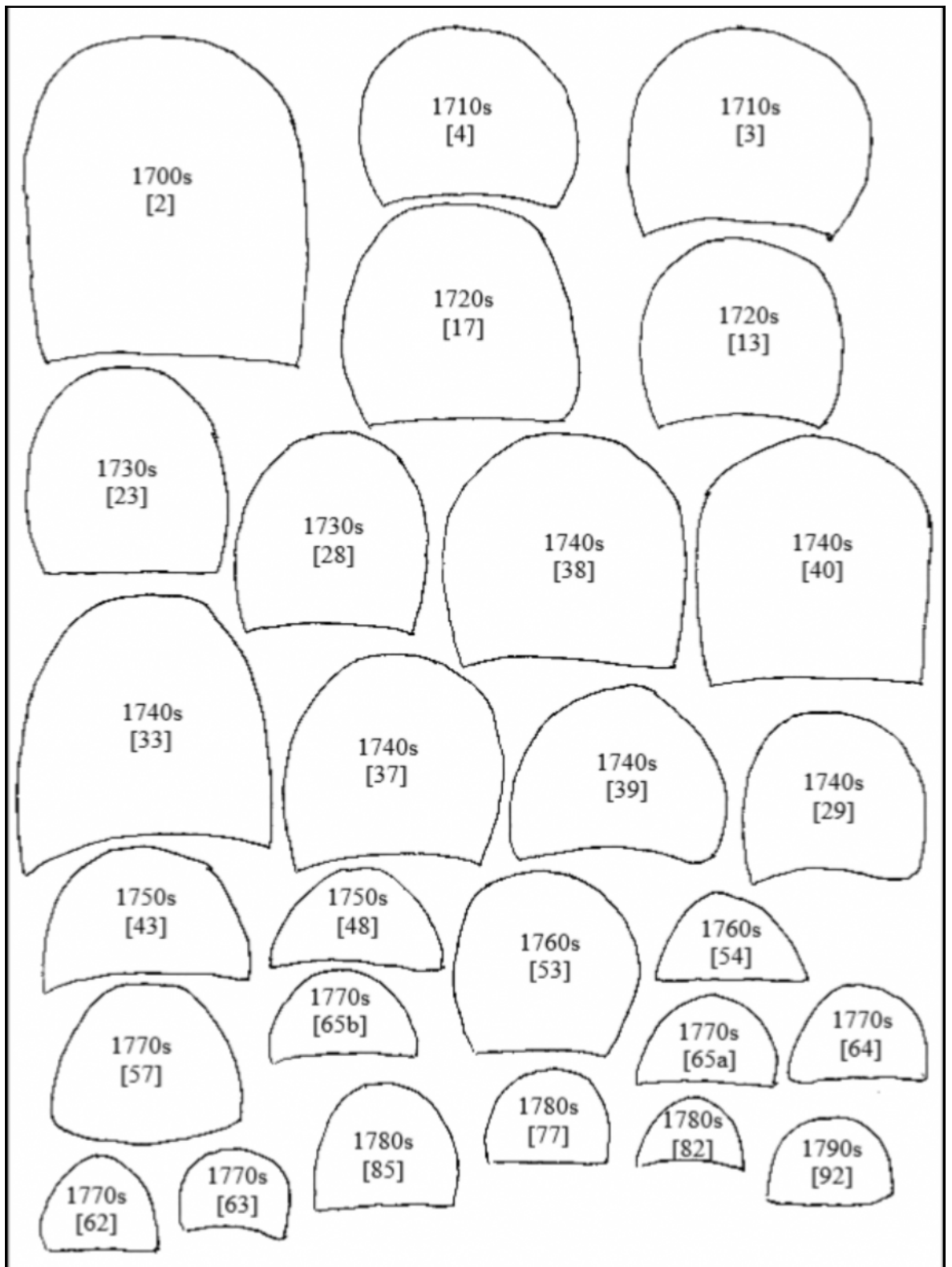
Examination/Survey		Secondary Sources
1700s	Under heel - 55%; Under instep - 6%; Unknown - 39%	1710s-1720s - Positioned too near the middle of the instep (Ledger, 1985).
1710s	Under heel - 71%; Under instep - 16%; Unknown - 13%	
1720s	Under heel - 70%; Under instep - 11%; Unknown - 19%	
1730s	Under heel - 51%; Under instep - 20%; Unknown - 29%	1750s-1760s - Pompadour heels under instep (Pratt and Woolley, 1999).
1740s	Under heel - 43%; Under instep - 21%; Unknown - 36%	
1750s	Under heel - 39%; Under instep - 22%; Unknown - 39%	1790s - Heels tended to sit more under the arch (Wilson, 1974).
1760s	Under heel - 54%; Under instep - 14%; Unknown - 32%	
1770s	Under instep - 22%; Under heel - 19%; Unknown - 59%	
1780s	Under heel - 51%; Under instep - 26%; Unknown - 33%	
1790s	Under heel - 55%; Under instep - 7%; Unknown - 38%	



Figure 37
Heel positions

when the weight was not evenly distributed as well as causing gaping uppers and weaknesses in the waist. The wedge extension of the Italian heel went some way to solve the problem but did not altogether eradicate it. However, shoes with such heels must have felt uncomfortable to walk in as heels set too far forward had a tendency to go under. Perhaps this indicates that such shoes were not intended for prolonged periods of use and for indoor wear only. Certainly a fair proportion of those surveyed exhibited less wear on the soles than others with better positioned heels. As can be seen from the table in Figure 37 showing the survey results, heels seemed to be positioned under the instep most between the 1730s and 1750s and later between the 1770s and 1780s when they would have been combined with more Italian type wedges.

It is interesting to compare how the size and shape of the top piece varied. Figure 382 illustrates this progression through the century showing outlines of some of the heels from the surveyed shoes. In the early part of the century, top pieces were large, as seen particularly in [2], and although reducing slightly, stayed much the same way until in the 1740s, ranging between 4-5.5cm. They were usually 'D'-shaped. At this point there is a very definite shift to smaller top pieces, which were more of a crescent shape. They reduced even further by the end of the century as the heel height lowered. These ranged between 2-3.5cm.



Soles

The examination of soles took into account a number of aspects. The size and width were measured and the results will be considered further in the section regarding shoe sizes. All outer soles were invariably made from leather but different finishes were used, presumably to suit the purpose, but also according to fashion. Any visible evidence of construction such as last holes and signs of wear were also recorded. Again, wear will be discussed in a later section.

Many of the shoes examined had been given what appeared as a polished finish. This may well have been achieved by a glaze of weak glue to provide some protection from water ingress but they would have inevitably been more prone to slippage on smooth surfaces. To counteract this some shoes were given a sueded effect finish (Figure 39) to give a slightly better grip on polished floors and which would have been more hard wearing. From the survey this finish was used on at least a third of shoes up to the 1760s. However, it is wrong to assume that this is truly accurate as most images gleaned from the Internet fail to show the sole clearly enough and the result may well have been higher. An in-between measure seems to have been used on some of the mules which were given a glazed finished but shallow groves were made in the leather to give a small amount of grip as seen in Figure 39.

From the 1780s, when shoes were more elongated with flatter heels, a design known as a fiddle pattern was created using stains on the sole leather (Figure 39). There does not appear to be a practical reason for this and it is presumed it was used solely for decorative purposes. As with the shoe shape, the pattern was in keeping with the neo-classical style.

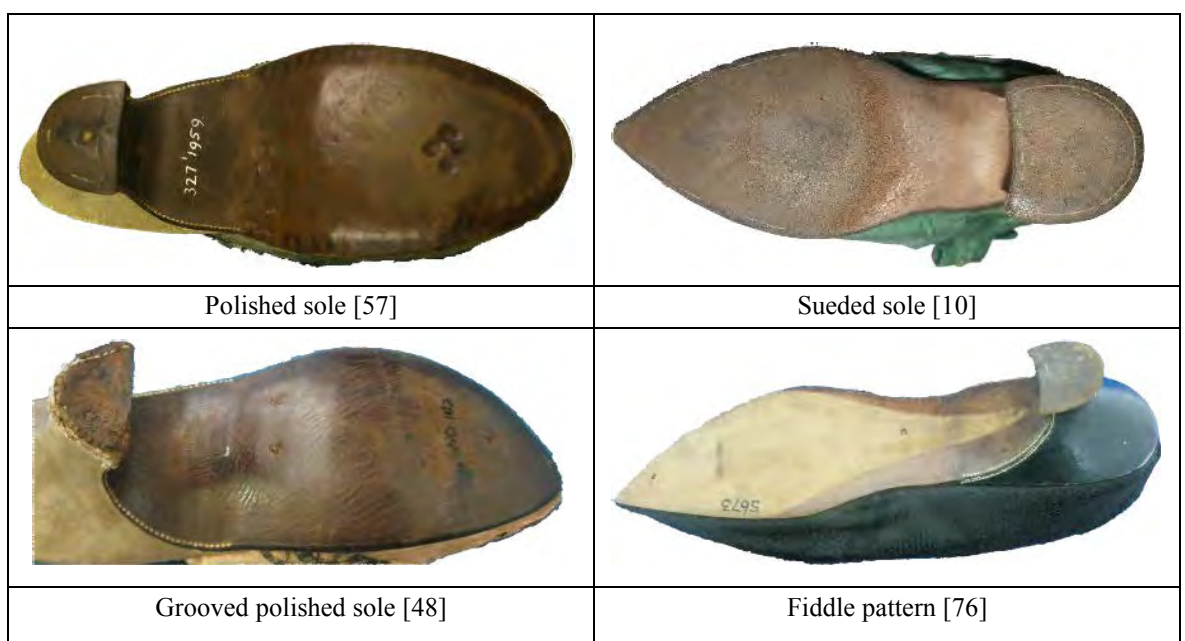


Figure 39
Soles



Figure 40
Snowhill
117 [39]



Figure 41
Snowhill
136 [64]



Figure 42
Snowhill
114 [84]

The sole provides evidence of some of the stages of construction. Last holes are often visible in various numbers and arrangements. These have been filled in or disguised with various stamps. These will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

From the primary evidence, the insole and/or sock also varied. Many shoes, particularly in the first half of the century, had insoles only which appear as brown leather as in Figure 40. Socks were regularly used as well. Socks could be half socks if they only covered half the insole, three quarter sock if they finished before the toe area or full socks if they covered the whole insole. The sock could be taken around the insole and secured between it and the shoe (Figure 41) or could be cut to shape and stuck to the insole with the raw edges visible (Figure 42). Socks were usually of linen although this seemed to change later to cotton or a linen/cotton mix known as fustian. These materials were presumably used as they were relatively cheap and were absorbent so that excess sweating did not cause slipping. From the evidence of the survey it is difficult to tell by eye exactly which fabric was used and the assumption was made that earlier ones were all linen. Where socks are peeling at the edges as in Figure 42, it may be possible to obtain a thread for microscopic analysis but this was not possible during the survey.

Materials and colours

The survey recorded the materials from which the uppers were made and how they were lined. It is clear that silk was the most used fabric for the uppers of women's shoes, generally forming over 80% of extant shoes, as shown diagrammatically in Figure 43. The fuller survey

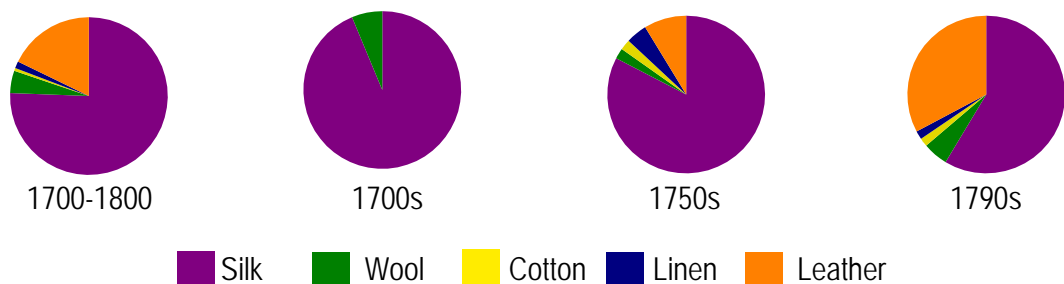


Figure 43
Upper fabrics

Examination/Survey		Primary Sources	Secondary Sources
	Material % shoes surveyed		
1700s	Silk - 83% Wool - 6% Unidentified - 11%	Brocade - 33% Satin - 27% Damask - 7% Taffeta - 7% Twill - 7% Velvet - 7% Unidentified - 12%	1700s - satin, brocade, velvet and cotton jean for lower class (Ledger, 1985) 1700s-40s - silk, wool (Pratt and Woolley, 1999)
1710s	Silk - 94% Unidentified - 6%	Brocade - 45% Satin - 24% Damask - 14% Taffeta - 3% Velvet - 3% Unidentified - 11%	1710s-20s - brocade and fine fabrics (Ledger, 1985) 1710s-50s - wool broadcloth or twill for winter (Walford, 2007)
1720s	Silk - 61% Wool - 9% Linen - 5% Unidentified - 25%	Brocade - 67% Damask - 26% Plain weave - 4% Unidentified - 3%	
1730s	Silk - 82% Cotton - 2% Wool - 2% Unidentified - 14%	Brocade - 43% Satin - 25% Damask - 20% Plain weave - 10% Taffeta - 2%	
1740s	Silk - 88% Wool - 5% Unidentified - 7%	Satin - 35% Brocade - 30% Damask - 24% Velvet - 3% Unidentified - 8%	
1750s	Silk - 83% Linen - 4% Cotton - 2% Leather - 2% Wool - 2% Unidentified - 5%	Brocade - 37% Satin - 34% Damask - 16% Taffeta - 7% Velvet - 2% Unidentified - 4%	1750-60 - Brocaded silk, wool, straw, patterned/painted leather (Pratt and Woolley, 1999)
1760s	Silk - 86% Leather - 6% Linen - 3% Unidentified - 5%	Satin - 50% Brocade - 37% Taffeta - 6% Damask - 3% Figured - 3% Unidentified - 1%	1760s-70s - lighter weight brocades and plain satins. (Swann, 1982)

Figure 44
Upper materials

Examination/Survey		Primary Sources	Secondary Sources
	Material % shoes surveyed		
1770s	Silk - 78% Wool - 10% Leather - 2% Linen - 2% Unidentified - 8%	Satin - 35% Figured - 28% Brocade - 22% Velvet - 7% Damask - 4% Plain weave - 2% Taffeta - 2%	1770s-90s - leather, linen, wool for daily use; dressmaking silks: - taffeta, spotted silk, damask and satin for fancy wear (Walford, 2007) 1780s - increased numbers of leather uppers (Swann, 1982) 1790s - pleated silk or satin (Wilson, 1974)
1780s	Silk - 80% Leather - 6% Wool - 5% Unidentified - 9%	Satin - 48% Figured - 21% Brocade - 12% Taffeta - 6% Damask - 2% Plain weave - 1% Velvet - 1% Unidentified - 9%	
1790s	Silk - 46% Leather - 26% Wool - 4% Linen - 1% Cotton - 1% Unidentified - 12%	Satin - 59% Figured - 15% Damask - 6% Taffeta - 6% Brocade - 3% Plain weave - 3% Velvet - 3% Unidentified - 5%	

Figure 44
Upper materials (contd.)

findings are given in the table in Figure 44. Silk was used in various types of weave patterns and these too are given in the table

Brocade (Figure 46) is the most prominent fabric used up to the 1750s but this drops to only 10% in the 1780s and to virtually nothing in the 1790s. As this was also the fabric most widely used for gowns it could be assumed that shoes were made to match. However, it seems that this was more the exception than the rule. As the fabric used for shoes was most likely off cuts sold by mantuamakers to shoemakers the outfit and the shoes were rarely coordinated. This may also explain why the patterns on the brocade are not always well matched (or indeed the same brocade used all over - see [11, 62]) between the different upper parts. Brocade was not ever designed particularly for shoes as is evidenced by the size of

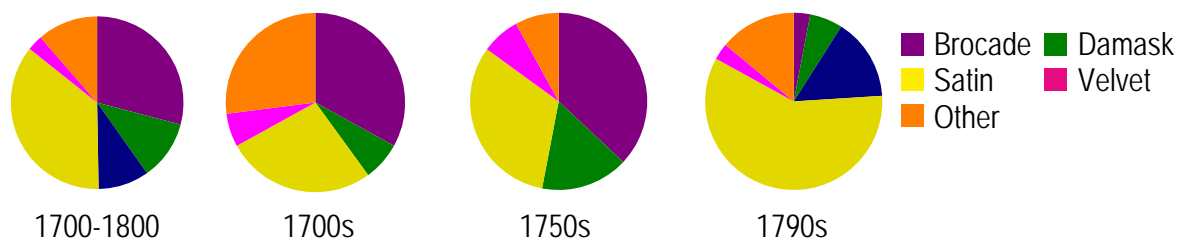


Figure 45
Silk weaves



Figure 46
Snowhill SNO133 [28]



Figure 47
Hereford 3340 [56]



Figure 48
Northampton 2005.33 [59]

the patterns, the full extent of which are rarely (if ever) seen on shoes. Silk damask (Figure 14) was particularly popular in the 1740s although used throughout the century. Satin was used widely at the beginning of the period under study but acts mainly as a base for applied decoration. However, it was the most used type of silk from the 1760s. Textured weave silk (monochrome with patterns created in the weave) was widely used in the 1770s and 1780s (Figure 47). There are also instances of cut and uncut velvet (Figure 48). The differing weaves of silk used are summarised in the charts below. The structure of each fabric will be explored in more detail in the Chapter 4

Silk was still the predominate fabric used in the 1790s but the amount has fallen to nearly half the rate it was at in the 1780s. At this point not all fabrics are identifiable but 18% were mainly leather with cut outs revealing fabric beneath and 8% were printed leather. There is an evident insufficiency of knowledge in museum catalogues with regard to identification of different fabrics and weave structures. For this reason it is difficult to be certain from some records what materials are actually used. This issue will be explained further in chapter 4.

Wool was also used throughout the century with examples extant in most decades as evidenced in Figure 44. Often this was in the form of callimanco which had a glazed effect providing a limited protection from the wet, dust and dirt (Figure 49). Swann (1982) suggests that callimanco was used for winter wear and more widely by the lower classes. However, wool ages less well than silk and is prone to moth attack, as many of the extant examples

Figure 49



Snowhill SNO113 [83] Image © National Trust



Figure 50
Leicester 133.1919 [23]



Figure 51
Nottingham
1881-78/1 [60]



Figure 52
Snowhill SNO61 [61]

show, suggesting that wool may well have been more widely used but that fewer have survived. Moth holes can be seen in the felted wool version in Figure 50.

From contemporary images it would seem that ordinary women mainly wore shoes of all leather, predominantly black but sometimes coloured (Figures 51 and 52). However, Styles (2007, 73) suggests that it was not uncommon for ordinary women to own shoes of both leather and worsted stuff citing a source from 1793 referring to a pair of stuff shoes with silver buckles being worn on Sundays but only to church. It may well be that leather shoes were more widely worn for outdoor purposes but as these were well worn they were not prized enough to preserve and pass down. The V&A has an example of shoes (Museum number 270&A-1891) from 1760 that are of white kid leather painted as if to represent brocade that purport to originate from Brussels. Such shoes may have been available for more outdoor wear being more resilient to the elements than true brocade. Alternatively they may have been available as a cheaper option to give the appearance of fine shoes while being more durable for everyday wear.

As mentioned previously uppers were often lined with white leather. However, equally as common was a plain weave linen, often an undyed, natural coloured. The tongue was sometimes lined with co-coordinating silk appearing as a plain weave, ribbed or satin. Occasionally the same fabric as the upper was used as the tongue lining. On some it is apparent that any large enough piece of available fabric was used as in Figure 53 where the tongue of a pair of yellow figured silk shoes has been lined with pink damask. There are also examples in the survey where ticking or striped linen fabric was used as the upper lining



Figure 53
Hereford
4990 [50]



Figure 54
Northampton
1970.25.6P [46]

(Figure 54) especially for the vamp nearer the toes and therefore less likely to be visible. This was coarser in texture than the usual linen and therefore stiffer, thus better able to support the shape of the shoe. Linen was also used for socks as it was absorbent as well as protecting stockings from the discolouration that leather could cause during the initial stages of wear. White kid served the same purpose.

The dominant colours of uppers and topbindings were also noted during the survey. The results are detailed in the table in Figure 55 and summarised in the charts shown below it. As can be seen the most prominent colour for both was cream or ivory. This is partly due to the fact that where shoes had brocade uppers the background colour was the one recorded. However, it becomes a dominant colour in its own right from about the 1760s, often appearing in the form of satin. Farrell (1992, 26) quotes from the *Leeds Mercury* of 1736 that at a royal ball the most common colour of stocking worn by the ladies was white to “complement white shoes, braided with gold or silver.”

Green was particularly popular and appears in the top three colours from the beginning of the century through to the end of the 1770s. It was also particularly popular for topbinding. Wright (1922, 131) proclaims that shoes were often green in colour as it was “a colour that was supposed to work great havoc in the male heart.” *The Lady’s Magazine* (1781) throughout 1781 mentions green as being appropriate for the ‘Dress of the Month.’ *The Tatler* (822, 163) of 1709 also comments on the danger of green shoes (see Page 138). However, green is hardly mentioned in the secondary sources.

Ribeiro (1995, 65) states that

“pink was the eighteenth-century colour par excellence for women’s dress; in different shades from peachy pink, coral pink, sugar pink and a dark pink, in portraits and in surviving costume, it testifies to the popularity of the colour which suited most women, flattering and warming their complexions.”

This does not seem to have followed for shoe colours. However, pink was used more as a contrast colour for topbindings, often with ivory uppers, particularly from the 1780s onwards.

Deep yellow was another colour that was fashionable. Vickery (2009, 100) cites a diary entry from 1792 “I have desired John to order the carriage yellow which is the most fashionable and the most durable colour.” Although not featuring highly on the survey, yellow appeared throughout the century. It is interesting to note that even in relatively small collections of shoes held, green and/or yellow examples usually appear.

From the middle of the century two contrasting colours were often used, one of which was commonly ivory (Figure 110).

Examination/Survey			Primary Sources	Secondary Sources
	Upper colours	Topbinding		
1700s	Red - 28% Cream - 22% Blue - 17%	Green - 40% Yellow - 20%	1781 - <i>Lady's Magazine</i> fashionable colours are shell-green, yellow, pink, boue de Paris, Vestris senior, burgundy, clay, dark green, puoe de Paris, jonquille, Vestris junior. 1784 - <i>European Magazine</i> - lilac	1700s - Red heels (Swann, 1982) 1710s - Red heels (Ledger, 1985) 1720s - Bright rich colours (Walford, 2007) 1730s - Pink, white and green (Pratt and Woolley, 1999) 1760s - Two colours - normally ivory and one other (Swann, 1982). 1760s-80s - heels of white or cream with contrasting upper (Pratt and Woolley, 1999) 1770s - as above (Ledger, 1985) 1780s - More sedate colours eg grey, russet and later with brilliant colours (Ledger, 1985). - Blonde (Wilson, 1974) 1790s - Sober blues, browns, greys (Ledger, 1985) - Olive, lilac and orange (Pratt and Woolley, 1999) - Yellow (Swann, 1982) - Red, black and apple green (Wilson, 1974)
1710s	Blue - 26% Cream - 26% Green - 16% Red - 16%	Green - 33% Blue - 24% Cream - 16%		
1720s	Green - 41% Cream - 34% Blue - 7% Yellow - 7%	Green - 58% Cream - 18% Blue - 10%		
1730s	Cream - 47% Green - 16% Blue - 14%	Green - 38% Cream - 27% Blue - 16%		
1740s	Cream - 26% Yellow - 17% Red - 14%	Cream - 19% Yellow - 19% Green - 16%		
1750s	Cream - 39% Green - 15% Blue - 11% Red - 11%	Cream - 24% Green - 24% Yellow - 21%		
1760s	Cream - 46% Pink - 11% Black - 9% Blue - 9% Green - 9%	Cream - 70% Black - 7% Pink - 7% Yellow - 7%		
1770s	Black - 32% Cream - 32% Blue - 12% Green - 12%	Cream - 51% Pink - 15% Black - 11%		
1780s	Cream - 38% Black - 26% Blue - 8%	Cream - 46% Black - 21% Blue - 7% Green - 7% Pink - 7%		
1790s	Black - 38% Cream - 16% Blue - 15%	Black - 37% Cream - 21% Pink - 13%		

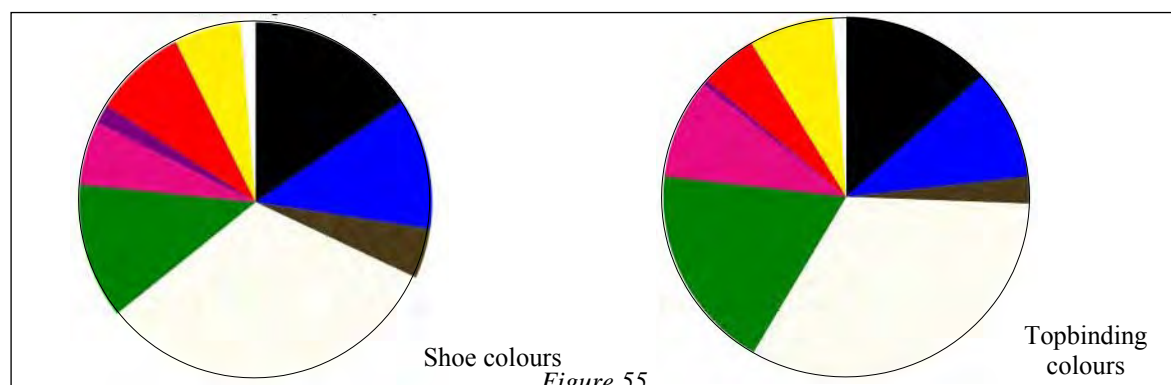


Figure 55
Colours

The secondary sources do make some mention of colour although their comments are not always reflected in the survey results. For instance, Ledger (1985, 111) notes that “brilliant colours were superseded by sober blues, browns and greys” from 1789 where as Pratt and Woolley (1999) say of the same period that olive, lilac and orange were popular while Wilson (1974) adds red, black and apple green. The survey suggests that the more used colours in the 1790s were black, cream and blue. The number of black shoes does increase greatly from the 1770s with 29% of extant shoes between 1770 and 1800 being mainly black.

Colour is difficult to quantify accurately as we all have our own perceptions and descriptions. Recognition of the transitory nature of colour is necessary to provide a full record of an object so the original colour if ascertainable, as well as current colour should be recorded. This not only gives a better indication of how a shoe was intended to be seen but also records how the colour changes over a specific time period and at what rate. The names given to colours in contemporaneous publications are not always easy to decipher either. As seen in Figure 55, two colours given are Vestris senior and Vestris junior. The Vestris were a French father and son dance act that were the hit of the season. How they are synonymous to colour it is hard to tell unless they had unique shades of hair or eye colour. Colour viewed in different types of lighting also varies, a fact very noticeable in some of the photographs taken during the survey. This too can lead to misinterpretations especially as the only artificial lights under which shoes would have originally appeared was candlelight.

Decoration

Despite the fact that shoes of this century were made of decorative fabrics and were worn with fancy buckles or tied with large bows, many were decorated even further. Figure 56 gives a visual indication of the most used types of embellishment over the century with more details given in Figure 57.

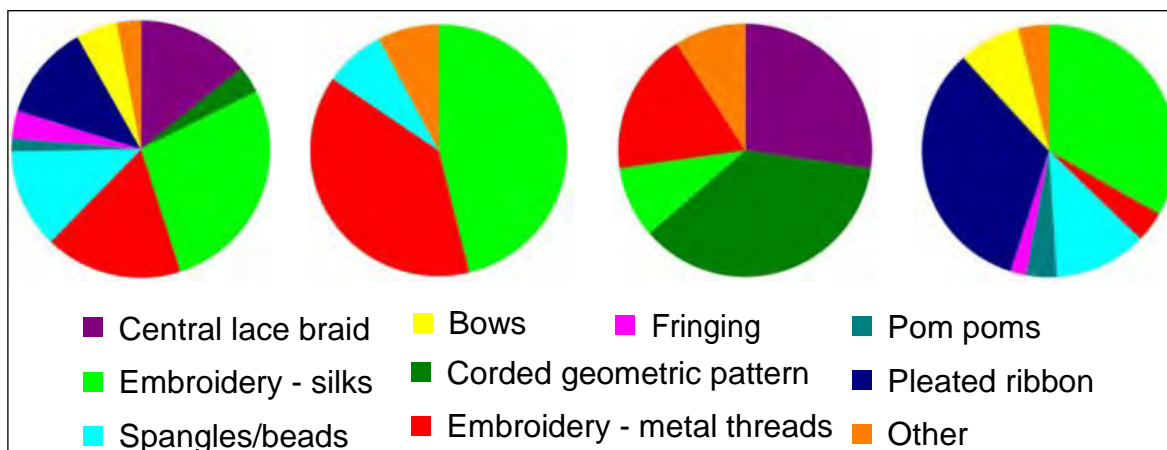


Figure 56
Decoration

	Examination/Survey	Primary Sources	Secondary Sources
1700s	Corded pattern - 22% Metal lace work - 17% Central braid - 16% Metal thread embroidery - 12% Silk embroidery - 6% None - 23%		1700s - buckles and rosettes (Ledger, 1985) 1700s-40s - extensive use of appliquéd braids and broad band of braid up centre front and back of heel and quarters (Swann, 1982).
1710s	Metal lace work - 26% Central braid - 16% Corded pattern - 16% Metal thread embroidery - 16% Silk embroidery - 6% Spangles/beads - 3% None - 17%		1720s - delightful embroidery (Walford, 2007)
1720s	Metal lace work - 26% Central braid - 23% Corded pattern - 9% Silk embroidery - 9% Metal thread embroidery - 5% None - 28%	T Gibson - Portrait of Henrietta Herbert (1720) - central braid	
1730s	Central braid - 16% Metal lace work - 16% Corded pattern - 10% Silk embroidery - 8% Metal thread embroidery - 6% None - 43%	Hogarth - Four Times of the Day (1738); Rakes Progress (1735) - central braid	1730s-40s - ornamented with gold and silver threads (Ledger, 1985) Broad bands of silver gilt braid (lacings) (Pratt and Woolley, 1999).
1740s	Corded pattern - 19% Central braid - 14% Metal lace work - 12% Bows - 5% Silk embroidery - 5% Spangles/beads - 2% None - 43%	Hayman - Stealing of a Kiss (1743) - central braid	1730s-60s - laced decoration (narrow braids) (Swann, 1982)
1750s	Silk embroidery - 13% Metal thread embroidery - 11% Spangles/beads - 2% Straw - 2% None - 74%		1740s-60s - Roses made from ribbons (Swann, 1982)
1760s	Silk embroidery - 14% Metal thread embroidery - 11% Metal lace work - 6% Spangles/beads - 6% Central braid - 3% Fringing - 3% Pompoms - 3% None - 54%		
1770s	Silk embroidery - 12% Metal thread embroidery - 12% Spangles/beads - 8% Pleated ribbons - 2% None - 66%	Sherbourne Mercury 1773 - roses	1770s-80s - silver gilt threads, spangles or foils (Pratt and Woolley, 1999)

Figure 57
Decoration

	Examination/Survey	Primary Sources	Secondary Sources
1780s	Silk embroidery - 16% Spangles/beads - 13% Metal thread embroidery - 10% Pleated ribbons - 10% Bows - 6% Fringing - 6% Pompoms - 1% None - 38%	Lady's Magazine 1781 - small roses	1780s - bows, ruching, embroidery, spangles and silver and gilt thread appliqué (Walford, 2007) 1780s-90s - Ribbon rosettes (Swann, 1982)
1790s	Silk embroidery - 23% Pleated ribbons - 23% Spangles/beads - 8% Bows - 6% Metal thread embroidery - 6% Pompoms - 3% Fringing - 1% None - 30%		Ruching around the vamp edge (Swann, 1982)

Figure 57 (contd)
Decoration

From the survey it can be seen that a common form of decoration in the early part of the period was the application of braid (Figures 58 and 59 and shoes [8, 9, 10, 25, 29, 37]), usually of metal threads appearing gold or silver, about 3-5 cm wide, stitched on the vamp and up the tongue. It could also be applied to the back of the heel (Figure 60). The braids (known as lacings) were stitched on and were therefore removable. The much quoted passages in *Pamela* (Richardson, 1980) where she, as a servant, was given laced shoes by her mistress but on her return home she states “I have taken the lace off, which I will burn;” refers to such adornments suggesting that laced shoes were not appropriate wear for the lower classes. Lurie (1983, 205) suggests that as such decorative effects added needlessly to the cost of shoes the intention was to confer status, particularly as it made them difficult to care for, inferring money was no object. However, as can be seen from Figure 61, lacings could also be applied to otherwise all leather shoes suggesting more ordinary use than solely indoor or upper class wear. The images by Hogarth shown in Figures 62 and 63 illustrate that laced



Figure 58
Northampton
1977.33.5.P [25]



Figure 59
Snowhill
SNO128 [9]



Figure 60
Clarks W17sD2 [10]



Figure 61
Nottingham
NCM 1881.76/1 [8]



Figure 62
Hogarth, W. (1738) Details from 'The Four Times of the Day; Evening' [Engraving print on paper] London: V&A DYCE2743

Figure 63
Hogarth, W. (1735) Detail from 'A Rake's Progress' Plate 7 [etching and engraving on paper] London: Tate Britain T01793



shoes were not restricted to the upper classes although also worn by them as seen in Figure 64, a detail of a portrait of Henrietta Howard, Countess of Suffolk. Between 1700 and 1749 this style of decoration applies to at least 16% of the samples and peaks in the 1720s where 23% were adorned. Swann (1982) suggests that this type of decoration dates from between circa 1690 and 1750. Pratt and Woolley (1999), however, date this to 1730s-40s. An engraving dating to 1743 clearly shows this type of decoration on shoes (Figure 65).

A further common adornment, in the early part of the century, was the use of narrow braids (usually around 3mm wide) and of the same colour as the uppers, applied to vamps, tongues and heel covers to form stripes or crisscross designs as shown in Figures 66 and 67. See also surveyed shoes [1, 3, 18, 22, 32, 34, 35]. These were sometimes further embellished by the application of spangles or sequins or combined with the central wide band of braid (Figure 97). From the sample surveyed, 22% of shoes in the 1700s had this form of decoration with further examples being recorded up to the 1740s but none thereafter. In conversation, June Swann (2010) put this more between 1730s-1750s however, there are earlier instances with Pratt and Woolley (1999, 31) showing a similar type of decoration on a shoe from 1660s-70s.



Figure 64
Gibson, T. (1720) Details from *Henrietta Hobart, the Hon. Mrs Howard, Countess of Suffolk* [oil on canvas] Norfolk: The National Trust, Blickling Hall, 355490



Figure 65
Hayman, F. (1743) Details from *The Stealing of a Kiss* [Etching on paper] London: British Museum, cc,3.168



Figure 66
Gunnensbury 75.2/19 [3]



Figure 67
Gunnensbury 2901/2 [29]



Figure 68
Spangles and metal thread embroidery. Northampton 1977.120.5 p [51]

From the 1750s onwards, the survey shows that embroidery with both polychrome silk threads (see Figure 22) or metal threads was widespread, and particularly in the 1770s and 80s. This was often carried out in conjunction with spangles and beads (Figure 68). Fanny Burney (2001, 78) writes in her journal in April 1777 of spangled shoes being “quite the thing.”

Swann (1982) implies that some uppers may well have been embroidered at home and made up by the shoemaker and that patterns appeared in the *Lady's Magazine* around the 1760s. Unfortunately it has not been possible to locate an example of this. The V&A Museum has several examples of embroidered shoe parts that have not been made into shoes (Figures 69-71). It may well have been this type of work that Fanny Burney (1854, 217) received as a Christmas present from Queen Charlotte in 1786 as noted in her diary “The Queen presented me this morning with two pieces of black stuff, very prettily embroidered, for shoes.”



Figure 69
Embroidered quarters (V&A, T.159+A-1925).



Figure 70
A beaded upper (V&A, 143-1878).



Figure 71
Uncut embroidered uppers and quarters (V&A, 231-1908).

Figure 72
Padded bows
and fringing.
Hereford
4775 [49]



Figure 73
Ribbon
decoration.
Snowhill
SNO114 [84]



The survey shows that from the 1780s to the end of the century, other embellishments (Figures 72 and 73) were added to shoes such as fringes and pompoms. Ribbons were pleated or ruffled. *The Lady's Magazine* (1781) recommends shoes with small roses for full dress in January, slippers with roses for déshabillé wear in June and slippers with bows in December. *The Sherbourne Mercury* of 1773 (quoted in Lemire, 1984, 26) advises that the dress of the month requires "satin slippers, with different coloured roses." Is this an indication that the fashion for slippers with roses lasted for some time or that Sherbourne took two years to catch up with London fashions? Bossan (2007, 51-57) refers to an ornament of gathered fabric or puffs known as bouillonné which were added to match the dress worn.

As has been noted the use of fabric as the most visible component of shoes diminished greatly by the 1790s but leather slip-on shoes sometimes had patterns cut out to reveal a fabric underlay. Nottingham Museum has several examples of this technique although some have an underlay of a different colour leather (Figure 74).

The applied embellishments again reflect the decorative art style of the time with the heavy metal thread braid of the early century in keeping with the baroque morphing into the smaller, more delicate floral embroidery in the mid-century reflecting the rococo. The simpler decorations of the later century, particularly the two tone contrast cut ways, are representative of the neoclassical style.



Figure 74
Nottingham NCM 1996-13 [101]; NCM 1960-80 [100]; NCM 1960-79 [99]; CTLOAN 12/1 [95]

Size

A number of museums have records that show the dimensions of shoes but none show how the measurements were taken. There is a mix in units used which is only to be expected as many records were made before the widespread adoption of the metric system. There is also an argument for using imperial measurements as that is the system that would have been used when the shoes were made. This argument is valid for many objects and it would seem sensible therefore to use both systems. In instances of fabric, where the full width is available, the use of imperial measurements as well as ells can enable dating and even place of weaving. Personal observations of different conservators and curators taking measurements also reveals differing perceptions of the terms ‘length’, ‘width’ and even ‘height’ of heel. The survey forms (in Appendix III) show in brackets the measurements provided by the museum or related literature. There are many examples of discrepancies such as [54] where three measurements are given for length, all of which are substantially different in relative terms. It has become apparent that some consistency needs to be applied and for this reason the dimensions of the shoes surveyed were taken according to the diagrams shown in Figure 4. This allowed for comparable results over 100 pairs of shoes. Measurements taken from available records were only used when they appeared consistent with other findings.

The results of the survey are shown in the charts in Figures 75 and 76. The median length was plotted for each decade and Figure 75 shows the comparison between the length of the shoes that were measured as part of the survey; those where data supplied by museum records and a combination of the two. Generally speaking the measurements to correlate with each other.

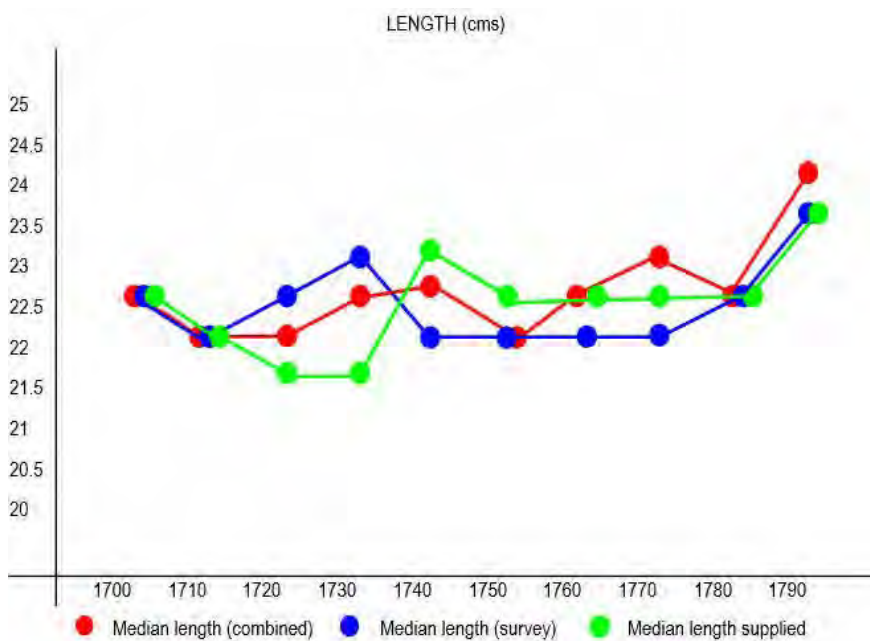


Figure 75
Sole length

There is a general perception that people were shorter in earlier centuries and consequently had smaller feet. This is in some way born out by the results of the shoe survey which indicates that the largest percentage of shoes fall between 22cms and 24cms in length which roughly equates to modern day UK shoe sizes 1-5 depending on which sizing charts are used (there seems to be no rigidly applied set standard). Research (Steckel, 1983; Floud, 1984 etc) has shown that although humans were similar in height to today during the early middle ages with men averaging 173.4cm, they were significantly shorter from the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries with the lowest averages during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries at 167cms or 5'7". The average height for a woman of this period would have been about 5 feet 1 inch or 155cms. The study (Cox, 1996) carried out on the skeletons from the cemetery at Christ Church, Spitalfields (an area of London heavily populated by Huguenot silk weavers) reaffirms this with the average height for females being 5'1" and men 5'6".

Figure 76 compares the width of the sole showing the widest; narrowest and the mode for each decade. Most of the shoes are between 7cms and 8cms across the sole equating to a modern day width fitting between A-D. The most frequently found size shoe from the survey would therefore be a narrow or A fitting size 3. This would seem to be in perfect proportion for a woman of average height from the period. The current average lady is 5 feet 4 inches tall and takes size 5 with a width fitting of B, confirming that feet have indeed grown although the 18th century average would not be too out of the ordinary in today's market. Swann (1989, 12) confirms this stating that 3-4 is the most common size found and some have the size, width and customer's name written on the vamp lining. Unfortunately no example of this has been found during the survey.

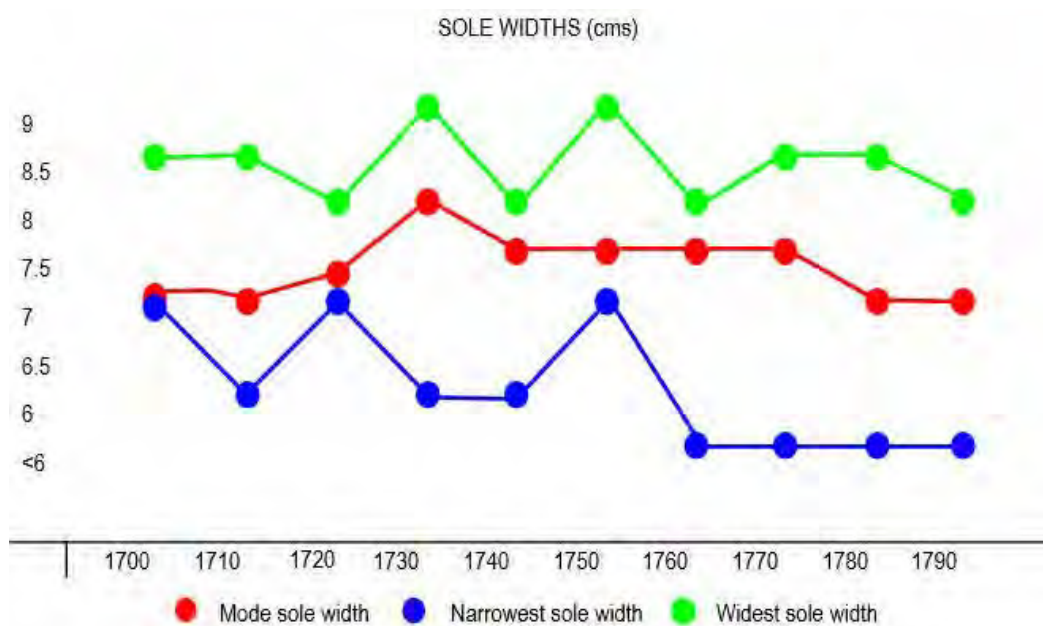


Figure 76
Sole width



Figure 77

Cruikshank, I. (1791) *The Duchess blush or York flame* [hand-coloured etching] London: British Museum, 1868.0808.6133

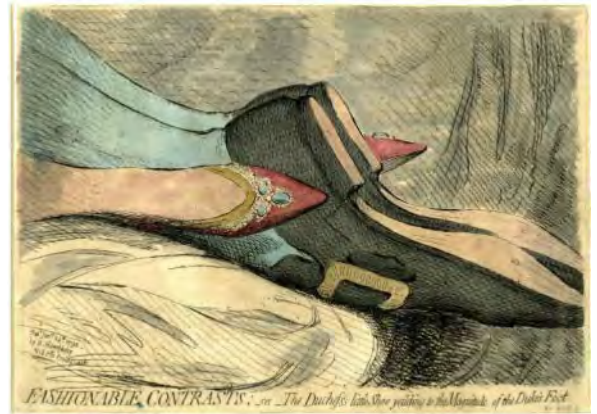


Figure 78

Gillray, J. (1792) *Fashionable contrasts; or the duchess's little shoe yielding to the magnitude of the duke's foot* [hand-coloured etching] London: British Museum, 1868.0808.650

In the eighteenth century small feet were seen as more attractive and much was made of the size of Frederica, Duchess of York's feet. An advertisement was printed with an outline of her shoe showing just how small her feet were, at only 5½ inches long (Figure 77). A cartoon of the time (1792) contrasts the size of her feet compared to those of her husband (Figure 78). Goldsmith (1762, 50) however suggests that

“The Europeans have a quite different idea of beauty from us. When I reflect on the small-footed perfections of an Eastern beauty, how is it possible I should have eyes for a women whose feet are ten inches long? ... English women ... have such masculine feet, as actually serve some for walking!”

To this end women tended to wear shoes that were really too tight and too small for them as can be seen in Figure 173. This again refers to the Duchess of York, although it suggests her foot was 57/8 inches long, and shows women being fitted with shoes that they are struggling to get their feet into despite the shoe sellers' best efforts. A notice on the wall reads “Corns Cut. Feet pared and sweated down to the Fashionable Size on Easy terms.” The following extract from a verse that appeared in the *London Magazine* of July 1755 suggests that the fit of shoes did not always render ease of walking and comfort to the foot.

Let a pair of velvet shoes
Gently press her pretty toes,
Gently press, and softly squeeze;
Tott'ring like the fair Chinese,
Mounted high and buckled low,
Tott'ring every step they go.
Take these hints, and do thy duty,
Fashions are the tests of beauty:

Walford (2007, 45) states that “Both men and women wore shoes considered too tight in width by today's standard and this habit remained well into the twentieth century.” Camper (1861), a Dutch physician, wrote a treatise in 1781 giving his reasonings on “the distressing

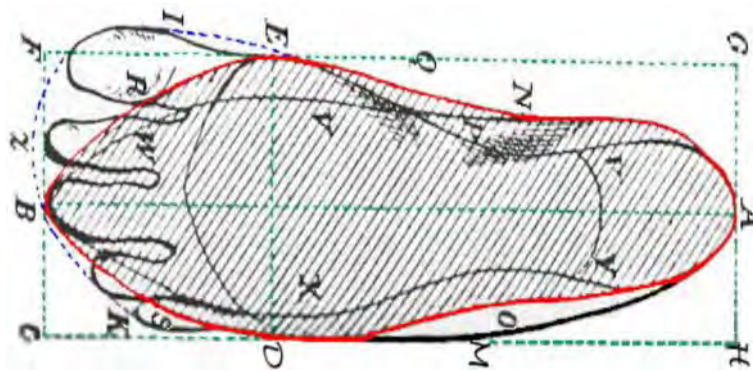


Figure 79
Camper (1861)

consequences of the miserable manner in which we are at present shod” in which he explains how badly shoes were made in relation to the shape of the foot both in rest and in motion. Among many of the points he makes is a diagram showing the shape of a foot and the outline of a sole (in red) typical of the period (Figure 79) which speaks for itself in showing the inevitable distortions the foot must make to fit the shoe. From the survey it can be deduced that more sense was applied during the latter part of the centuries with the average shoe length increasing. However, this was a time when stylistically shoes had more pointed toes thus appearing longer while at the same time also becoming narrower with shoe widths lessening by about 1cm in the 1780s.

Gay (1716, 3-4) offered the following advice in his publication “*Trivia or the Art of Walking the Streets of London:*”

Then let the prudent walker shoes provide,
Not of the Spanish or Morocco Hide;
The wooden Heel may raise the Dancer’s Bound,
And with the scallop’d Top his step be crown’d:
Let firm, well hammer’d soles protect thy feet
Thro’ freezing snows, and rains and soaking sleet.
Should the big Last extend the shoe too wide,
Each stone will wrench th’unwary step aside:
The sudden turn may stretch the swelling vein,
Thy cracking joint unhinge or Ankle sprains;
And when too short the modish shoes are worn
You’ll judge the seasons by your shooting corn.

Wear

The amount of wear extant shoes display can provide much information about their wearers. From the examined shoes there is limited evidence of excessive wear with the exception of those that were found concealed. However, it is important to remember that for leisured ladies, the eighteenth century was a time that required several changes of outfit during the day with morning dress, undress, half dress and full dress. It may well be, therefore, that shoes were not worn for any long periods of time. One could speculate that the shoes that



Figure 80
Snowhill SNO108 [62]



Figure 81
Leicester 327.1959 [57]



Figure 82
Leicester 3.1932 [77]

have survived may, at the time, have been considered too precious to wear excessively and hence treated as treasured possessions.

Not only is it possible to ascertain the amount of use but whether or not the wearer consistently wore the same shoe on the same foot thus creating left and right from straights shoes. The wear on the soles of the shoes in Figure 80 suggests that they were usually worn as right and left whereas those in Figure 81 the differentiation is less obvious. This might suggest that although the soles were straight in [62] the wearer tended to wear the same shoe on each foot each time. In some ways the uppers, particularly leather, would mould to the shape of the foot so that if worn in the same way continuously putting the left shoe on the right foot would seem as strange as it does with shoes made for the left and right. However, the wearer of [57] might have taken care to alternate which shoe wore on which foot to dissipate the wear and prolong the life of the soles. There is a clear difference in wear on the two shoes in Figure 82 with the sole on the right hand shoe appearing much more scuffed which might imply more weight was applied to that foot than the other. This might be because the wearer had a limp or one leg shorter than the other. The fact that there are few markings on the less worn shoe around the toe area might indicate a problem with the toes as the more usual wear pattern would show the walking movement from heel to toe. Swallow (1973, 28-32) states that “the shoe can be considered the mirror of the foot in action” and consequently the examination of wear patterns can “add another small dimension to the story of people.” Wear



Figure 83
Nottingham NCM 1996-13 [101]



Figure 84
Hereford
4991 [75]



Figure 85
Hereford
4991
[75]



Figure 86
Snowhill
SNO117
[39]



Figure 87
Hereford
857 [93]

patterns on the sole can also reveal something about the construction of the shoe. The wear on the sole in Figure 83 shows where the uppers were laced from side to side under the sole. Figure 84 shows the imprint of the foot on the insole illustrating, in fact, Camper's diagram (Figure 79) where the toes have obviously been squashed into the shoe.

Malformations of the foot may also be visible and there are examples of adaptations that were made to some shoes to allow for growth or ailments such as corns and bunions. Several shoes surveyed had had alterations made, presumably to ease the fit. For example, in Figures 85-87 it can be seen that slits have been cut in the vamp to release some strain in an area that would ultimately be covered by the latches and buckles. It would seem that Figure 87 would have needed a rather large decoration to disguise the slit made. This has been taken further in the examples in Figures 88a & b and 89a & b where inserts have been made into the vamp and tongue to allow for swollen feet. The 'a' figures show the shoes from the front while the 'b' figures show the inserts made in the tongues. In Figure 88b it can be seen that the insert was made using a matching black satin and lined with white linen. In Figure 89b the insert has been achieved by a loose weaving technique using linen and/or cotton thread. This was hidden by the coordinating braid applied over the tongue and vamp.

The remains of dirt left on the shoe may give an indication as to where or in what sort of environment the shoe was worn. There may well be a time in the future where testing on dirt molecules becomes more commonplace and such information will be readily accessible. Evidence of horse manure or impacted straw, as in [2, 37], would prove that the type of shoes



Figure 88a



Figure 88b



Figure 89a

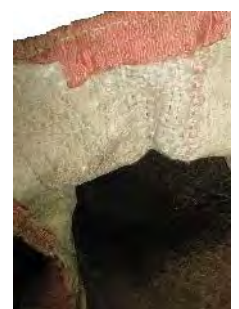


Figure 89b

————— Snowhill SNO116 [2] ————— | ————— Northampton 1969.19.4 P [31] —————



Figure 90

Figure 91

Figure 92

Figure 93

Hereford 2005-202/1 [42]

Nottingham NCM 1948.103 [52]

surveyed were worn outside. Fanny Burney (2001, 69) confirms the outdoor use of shoes when she writes in a letter to her sister in 1777:-

“My shoes ... are equally false and worthless; for far from aiding me by springing forward, ... they fail me in the very moment I require their assistance, - sink me in bogs, pop me into the mud and, attaching themselves rather to the mire, than to the feet which guide them, threaten me perpetually with desertion: and I shall not be much surprised, if some day when I least think of it, they should give me the slip, and settle themselves by the way.”

The fact that some soles are so obviously worn down suggests they were worn for considerable periods of time on a hard surface. The Westminster Paving Act of 1762 saw a considerable improvement in pavements and underground sewerage which made walking, promenading and shopping much more widespread activities necessitating appropriate footwear. Pleasure gardens and assemblies added to shoes being worn for extended periods with extensive use in movement.

A common place of wear is the toe tip. The silk is often lost or worn revealing the vamp lining or the toe puff. The topbinding and back strap is another area that is often worn (Figures 90 and 91).

Shoes were also obviously frequently repaired due to repeated wear and such repairs can still be seen. In some cases repairs were not always done by an experienced cobbler or translator and might well have been carried out at home. Figures 91-93 show examples of repairs to the silk brocade uppers and topbindings that were evidently not done by a professional. Latchets often wore out due to the use of buckles (either because of the weight or the prongs) and needed replacing. Of the shoes examined 20% show signs of repair or alteration.

The life of shoes may also have been extended by altering their appearance. It has already been noted that braid and lacings were removed and changed but there are examples of less reversible alterations. Figure 94 shows a pair of blue satin shoes where the heel has been painted red (not that carefully). Figure 95 depicts a pair of cream satin shoes that has been recovered with a printed cotton calico to give a complete change of style. In some cases



Figure 94
Snowhill SNO127 [53]



Figure 95
Northampton 1961.7.2 P [44]

latchets were cut down to reflect the shift of fashion from buckles to shoelaces in the later part the century.

Mules

Three pairs of mules were examined during the survey [4, 48, 57].

Mules, ie shoes without quarters or backless shoes, were in use from the late sixteenth century for men and women. Ribeiro (2007, 165) states that backless mules were called slippers and this is reiterated by Pratt and Woolley (1999). However, it appears confusion may have arisen as the definition of slipper has usually implied an indoor shoe, and mules were generally worn indoors. For cataloguing and research purposes, this example highlights the requirement for standardised terminology to be used. Many of those surviving from the eighteenth century have uppers, often of velvet, heavily embroidered with metal thread as shown in Figure 96 and illustrated in the painting of 1730 of a pug dog (Figure 97). There is some speculation as to whether the implication is that they were generally made with metal thread embroidery as it was better wearing than silk embroidery or that it has survived better than less robust alternatives leaving us a distorted picture. Queen Caroline, wife of George II apparently favoured mules over shoes for day to day wear.

Figure 96
Gunnersbury 2605/1 [4]



Figure 97
Anon (circa 1730)
Pug Dog with Mule, [oil
on canvas] London:
private collection.





Figure 98
Leicester 327.1959 [57]



Figure 99
Boucher, F. (1742) details from *La Toilette* [oil on canvas]
Madrid: Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza



Semmelhack (2008, 25) states that mules were “closely connected with the relaxed elegance and intimate dishabille fashionable in the Rococo period. They reflect the pursuit of private pleasures that defined the era...” Figure 98 shows a pair of embroidered mules from the 1770s which have a softer feel more appropriate to déshabillé wear. This is reflected in Figure 99, a painting of 1742 by Boucher entitled *La Toilette* showing a lady dressing, wearing mules with her maid on the right wearing even higher heeled mules. In contrast to this, Figure 100 shows a maid wearing mules while carrying out of her duties in the kitchen. The fact that they were worn in this context might explain why fewer pairs survive.

Pattens, clogs and slapsoles

Riello (2006, 64) states that “The history of footwear (and especially women’s shoes) is dominated by devices to keep feet above the roads and pavements themselves.” Pattens were wooden overshoes that had been used to protect the shoe and the foot from the weather and the street filth from about the fourteenth century onwards up to the nineteenth century. They

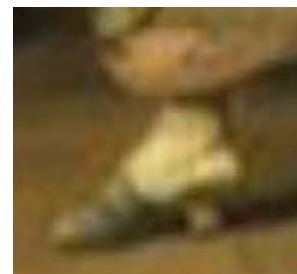


Figure 100
Hillestrom, P. (circa 1780) Details from ‘*A Maid Taking Soup from a Caldron* [oil on canvas] Sweden: private collection.

had wooden soles with metal rings attached to the underneath to raise the wearer from the ground. They had latches used to tie over the shoe (Figure 101). Wright (1922, 136) states “the quality at this time wore clogs, with a well to receive the heel, which, however, owing to their beauty, really needed protection as much as the shoes themselves; but the middle classes clung to the old-fashioned pattens which, on a wet day, covered the streets with circles, giving them quite an ornamental appearance.” The fact that pattens were worn by women in the country or working class women in the towns is confirmed by Betsy Sheridan (Lefanu, 1986, 187) when in Bath in 1789 “We ladies trot about in pattens, a privilege granted nowhere else to genteel women.” Buck (1979, 131) informs that pattens were largely country wear but that they were also worn by working housewives in towns who would remove them before entering the house to prevent the ingress of dirt. Figures 102 and 103 illustrate the widespread use of pattens by maidservants while cleaning the doorsteps



Figure 101
V&A T.43&A-1932



Figure 102
Penny, E. (1764)
Details from *A Scene from Description of a City Shower* [oil on canvas] London: Museum of London

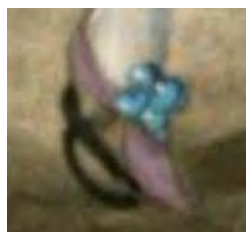


Figure 103
Anonymous (1791) *You are Clean Fair Lady but our Ways and Means are Dirty* [mezzotint] London: Guildhall Library



Figure 104
Leicester 328.1958/1 [105]



Figure 105
Leicester LC77.1981 [104, 13]

and by a well dressed lady crossing the cobbled street. Gay (1716, 14) describes how housewives protected themselves from the weather with a hooded cape and an umbrella and “safe through the wet on clinking pattens tread.” He goes on to devote many lines of verse to the origin of pattens. They were apparently invented by Vulcan who espied a beautiful maid named Patty, with whom he fell in love, struggling to walk through the mud.

“This Vulcan saw, and in his heav’nly thought
A new machine mechanick fancy wrought
Above the mire her sheltered steps to raise
And bear her safely through the wintry ways ...
The patten now supports each frugal dame,
Which from the blue-ey’d Patty takes the name.”
(Gay, 1716, 23-4)

Clogs were made in a similar way to shoes, and tied with ribbons (Figures 104 and 105 and survey [102-106]). The soles were of the same type and finish of leather which rather suggests that it was intended for shoes to be worn outside, just not in bad weather or on unclean surfaces hence the need for clogs. The clog itself, while raising the foot slightly, really provided very little protection from the wet. As Buck (1979, 132) states “clogs ... were more elegant and more comfortable to wear but gave less clearance from the wet and dirt of roads or street.” The use of clogs dwindled by the end of the century. Clogs were often made to match a pair of shoes using the same fabric as the uppers or toning.

The shoe and overshoe from Hereford Museum in Figure 106a & b, have exactly the same soles. This type of overshoe appeared later in the century. Instead of latches for tying the shoe, the toe slotted into the toe of the overshoe. It was held in place by a heel strap that was made of concertinaed leather which gave an elastic type effect. Garsault suggests that this type of overshoe was known as a *chausson* (Saguto, 2009).

Slapsoles had an extra sole is attached at the toe end of the shoe but left loose at the heel thus slapping when the wearer walks (Figure 107). These, too, were to protect the soles of the



Figure 106a

Hereford City
Museums 5673 [76]



Figure 106b



Figure 107

Southend Museums
Service S.77.21

shoe when in use but were worn more in the seventeenth century although some might have been worn in the eighteenth century.

These protective forms of footwear were also employed to prolong the life of the sole of the shoe not just to prevent them getting dirty. Sole leather for women's shoes was chosen to be lightweight and elegant and therefore thin so that it could wear through easily.

Positioning shoes within eighteenth-century culture and fashion

Having observed the findings of the shoe examinations it is important to position eighteenth-century shoes into the context in which they were worn, particularly in relation to women's fashion. It is also apposite to understand the material evidence in the context of other sources such as those generated by costume history and literary sources from contemporaneous periodicals.

What is known of shoes during the eighteenth century relies not only on extant shoes but also on contemporary images and written materials. Fashion plates and images are not always helpful, however, as the skirts and petticoats often hide the full shoe and only reveal a toe peeping out. An awareness of fashion and fabrics used is often evident in contemporary journals and diaries documenting when new outfits or accessories were purchased. Shoes, though, are rarely mentioned which seems strange compared to the details given on other parts of an outfit. Perhaps this suggests that shoes were not seen as being particularly important to an outfit or so ordinary that they were not worth mentioning specifically. It may also confirm the theory that shoes were not automatically made in the matching fabric to a

gown. Fashion write ups in ladies' magazines frequently only refer to shoes in passing rather than with the same amount of detail as specified about other items.

Shoes played a part in the allure of women and the shape of the shoe could emphasise different aspects of their legs and ankles.

“Especially intriguing to the keen male observer of women were the female foot and ankle, regarded as the epitome of femininity. ... No doubt it was for this reason, as well as more practical ones, that mid-eighteenth-century dresses were cut to just above the ankle, so that the delightful articulated focus of male interest could be tantalisingly glimpsed, foot sheathed in an elegant leather or silk-clad shoe with tipped-up pointed toe and serpentine shaped heel” (Cruikshank, 2010, 344).

Francis Place, in the 1780s (Thale, 1972, 77) describes prostitute attire, “ ... they wore long quartered shoes and large buckles, most of them had clean stockings and shoes, because it was for them the fashion to be flashy about the heels...” *The Universal Spectator* (Stonecastle, 1747c, 214-215) published a letter from a reader to “Ladies who affect showing their white stockings” which seems to suggest that innocent women should not tempt men by showing their stockings:-

“Having lately seen so far up the white stocking, which I can scarce look innocently upon for half a minute, it is past my skill to understand how you desire to have it seen is consistent with your own innocence and modesty. A lady's leg is a dangerous sight in whatever colour it appears, but when it is inclos'd in white, it makes an irresistible attack on us: the reason is plain, and you know it very well, that white comes the nearest to nature, and is the best representation of any colour, of a fair one's leg; so that shewing us your legs in this colour, is next to shewing them naked; ... It is not the stocking, but too great appearance of it, which gives such offence and puts our virtue in so much danger; the idea of what it contains sets us all on fire at once, and rises upon us the longer we contemplate it.”

It is interesting to note, that despite the emphasis given to the bespoke nature of shoes from this period, how many shoes that are very similar can be found across the collections studied. For instance yellow shoes are found in most collections in one form or another. Figure 108 shows a selection. It is perhaps not surprising to find plain shoes such as those of cream silk satin or plain red leather in a number of collections as shown in Figure 109. However, it is more unexpected to find what might be considered to be more distinctive shoes so closely mirrored elsewhere such as those in Figure 110.

“Patches, powdered wigs, tricorn hats, buckled shoes and hoop-skirts, these are the sartorial signs of the eighteenth century” (Mackie, 1997, 104). What is known of the clothes worn by women of the time is derived from a number of sources, for example: extant objects; contemporary prints and paintings; fashion plates; advertising cards; newspapers, magazines and literature as well as letters and journals. All these sources need to be treated with an element of caution. For example, gowns that have ended up in museum collections are likely

		
Snowhill [41]	V&A, CIRC.510, 511-1928	Snowhill [39]
		
Hereford [6]	Manchester City Galleries 1983.511	Nottingham [36]

Figure 108
Yellow shoes

		
Hereford [73]	Metropolitan Museum 1996.153	Manchester City Galleries 1953.446
		
Clarks [66]	Killerton, National Trust 1362004.1	Clarks [90]

Figure 109
Similar plain shoes







		
Gunnersbury [29]	Hereford [56]	Saffron Walden [27]
		
Northampton [46]	Metropolitan Museum 13.49.30	Snowhill [28]

Figure 110
Similar decorative shoes

to have been altered over the years for various reasons such as changes in fashion, body shape and size and owner as well as usage. Fashion plates (such as Figure 111) appear from the middle of the eighteenth century but colouring may well have been added in the twentieth century so care must be taken with interpretation. Again this highlights the need to compare extant objects with such artwork. The misinterpretations we make from contemporary art is emphasised by the fact that many commentators during the eighteenth century expressed the opinion that it was difficult to tell between ladies and their female servants because their dress was so similar.

The use of fashion, and thereby shoes, as a form of communication is also worth noting. Lurie (1983, 3-37) states that clothes as well as accessories, hairstyles, jewellery and make up give information about sex, age, class (and possibly occupation) origin, personality, opinions, tastes, sexual desires and mood. Porter (1991, 151) suggests that “in days before savings banks, people invested more of their wealth in fine and formal clothes.” The choice of outfit was therefore important. The wearing of foreign items declared wealth and status as did the colour white as it was so susceptible to dirt. However, the introduction of cheaper and more washable cottons diluted this message. As Lurie (1983, 3-37) points out, an interpretation from one year may be entirely different the next. *The Universal Spectator* (Stonecastle, 1747c, 202) counsels “as on our dress depends the general estimation of the world and as it is so necessary to gain esteem, reputation and even wealth itself; it certainly deserves some serious consideration.”

The style of women’s attire at the beginning of the century was little changed from that of the later quarter of the previous one. Bodices were stiff and heavily boned. Mantuas, open gowns with long trains that were held up at the back and sides by loops to reveal the petticoat



Figure 111

A fashion plate for the year 1790. Hereford Museum



Figure 112

Sack back gown (1760-5) V&A T.426&A-1990

or skirt underneath, were worn on formal occasions and remained as court dress throughout the century. For less formal occasions and everyday wear a less fitted garment was introduced known as a sack or saque back gown (later as robe á la française). This was again an open gown but with no obvious waist and with pleats at the back of the neck and shoulders allowing the fabric to fall into folds to the hemline which was either ankle length or slightly longer forming a short train (Figure 112). The gown, however, was still worn over a laced corset and a petticoat. A stomacher would often have been worn over the corset which filled the gap where the gown closed.

Hoops were also worn from about 1710 which were made of linen with channels for either whalebone or osiers as stiffeners. When introduced hoops were conical in shape changing to large and circular by the 1730s. The preferred shape again changed to wider over the hips and flat over the stomach and the back. This resulted in panniers which were worn on each side, tied to the waist, from about 1740 (Figure 113) and worn universally until the 1760s. (Figure 114) The fashion inspired much wonder as reported in *The Spectator* (Addison, 1837, No. 129) of 1711 when a lady who had wintered in London, entered a church in Cornwall

“in a little head-dress, and a hooped petticoat. The people, who were wonderfully startled at such a sight, all of them rose up. Some stared at the prodigious bottom, and some at the little top of this strange dress. In the mean time, the lady of the manor filled the area of the church, and walked up to her pew with an unspeakable satisfaction, amidst the whispers, conjectures, and astonishments of the whole congregation.”

Panniers became ridiculously wide, up to sixteen feet in circumference.

Hoops, however, were in use for most of the century. Ribeiro (2002, 44) suggests that

“the lilting swing of the hoop when elegantly worn (it was impossible to stride out: the correct way was to take tiny, gliding steps), although distorting the shape of the body, was highly attractive and gave a lightness of movement not possible with layers of heavy skirts. The swinging skirts gave a glimpse, really for the first time, of the ankle and shoe.”



Figure 113
Mantua with wide
panniers (1740-5).
V&A
T.227&A&B-1970



Figure 114
Fashion plate,
1765
Hereford Museum



Figure 115
Detail from a fashion plate.
Hereford Museum



Figure 116
Details from a fashion plate (1779) - polonaise and high heel shoes.
Hereford Museum



Worsley (2010, 19) suggests geisha like steps were needed and that the effect was that of wheeled motion. These restrictions may have played a part in the increased use of shoes with polished soles.

From the 1770s gowns became more fitted in the boned bodice and with the back folds reducing to narrower pleats tapering into the waist. This style suited the lighter weight fabrics that were fashionable at the time such as printed cottons and muslins. An adapted version of this gown was worn in a shorter (well above the ankle) style, known as the polonaise, with overskirts that were either pulled through the slits made for access to the pockets (which were separate pouches tied around the waist) or pulled up with drawstrings to form a swagged effect (Figure 115). It seems that as skirt lengths got higher, heels also got higher (Figure 116).

The use of hoops declined considerably at this point with padded rolls tied around the waist to hold the fabric out at the rear. This, combined with the low necked fitted bodice with a muslin or lace fichu around the neck and tucked into the top laces of the stomacher,

Throughout the century women wore bodices and skirts for walking and working at home. Skirts were separate and often, but not always, matched the jacket worn over them. The jackets were in various forms. They might be quilted which provided added warmth and could also be worn over jumps which were quilted corsets with little boning and therefore much more comfortable. Loose fitting jackets which were similar to a shorter version of a sack back, known as pet-en-l'airs, were used for outdoor wear but for riding and travelling a more fitted jacket was worn. This was similar to a man's jacket with longer fitted sleeves and was known as a redingote (Figure 117).



1783
 Figures 117
 Fashion plate (1761).
 Hereford Museum



1794.
 Figures 118 and 119
 Fashion plates (1794). Hereford Museum



Towards the end of the century there was a move away from more formal styles to looser ones. From the 1780s chemise dresses were introduced which were a basic shift shape with sashes tied around the waist and worn with large hats.

From the 1790s classical lines were introduced that reflected the new interest in Greek and Roman times. White was the dominant colour as it was supposed to imitate the colour of classical statues. Waist lines moved up towards the bust and skirts were straight and closer to the body (Figures 118 - 119). Muslins were popular for this style despite the fact that some of these were quite sheer; Gatrell suggests (2007, 364) that “between 1793 and 1796 a historic and extraordinary transformation took place that ... high fashion ceased to conceal the female form generally and the breast particularly” Some supportive underwear was required to support the bust but corsets as such were no longer needed.

However, outfits for special occasions of this period retained the more structured feel. Smith describes a bride in *Nollekens and His Times* in 1778 (16-17) wearing a sack and petticoat

“of the most expensive brocaded white silk, resembling net-work, enriched with small flowers; which displayed in the variation of the folds a most delicate shade of pink ... the deep and pointed stomacher was exquisitely gimped and inked, and at the lower part was a large pin, consisting of several diamonds, confining an elegant point-lace apron ... the sleeves of this dress closely fitted the arm to a little below the elbow, from which hung three point-lace ruffles of great depth: a handkerchief of the same costly texture partly concealed the beauty of her bosom; ... her shoes were composed of the same material as her dress, ornamented with silver spangles and square Bristol buckles, with heels three inches and a half in height; ...”

Today, there is the perception that fashions change regularly and the plates etc that are available may suggest that this was the case during the eighteenth century as well. Tague

(2002, 50) states that “it was during the early eighteenth century that fashion, in the modern sense of frequent, irrational changes in dress style, came into being.” However it is suggested that the rate of change was much slower in reality than the evidence infers.

Now a shape in neat stays, now a slattern in jumps,
Now high in French heels, now low in your pumps;
Now monst’rous in hoop, now trapish, and walking
With your petticoats clung to your heels like a maulkin;
Like the cock on the tower, that shows you the weather,
You are hardly the same for two days together.

Extract from *Beauty and Fashion* (*The London Magazine*, 1762, 205)

Although fashions had traditionally been followed by the wealthier sections of society, the arrival of cheaper cottons and increased awareness of changes allowed a wider spread of interest.

“The ebb and flow of styles during the 18th century figures as a record of significant economic activity, involving most of the nation to some degree either as producers or consumers, or both, following the dictates of fashion became increasingly popular among a wide section of society at a time of rising personal income, inaugurating a period of intense preoccupation with the new materialism in Britain” (Lemire, 1984, 21).

A number of authors quote the fact that it was not easy to spot class differences judging by appearance alone. Apprentices, tradesmen and servants all dressed in a similar manner. Defoe (1725) complained that women servants, new to town from the country, soon became corrupted by the influence of those of longer standing, “her neat’s leathern shoes are transformed into laced ones with high heels; her yarn stockings are turned into fine woollen ones, with silk clocks; and her high wooden pattens are kicked away for leathern clogs;...”

Furthermore, Defoe (1725) suggests that this practice encouraged further consumerism, in that servant girls;

“By their extravagance in dress, they put our wives and daughters upon yet greater excesses, because they will, as indeed they ought, go finer than the maid; thus the maid striving to outdo the mistress, the tradesman’s wife to outdo the gentleman’s wife, the gentleman’s wife emulating the lady, and the ladies one another; it seems as if the whole business of the female sex were nothing but an excess of pride, and extravagance in dress.”

The difficulty in differentiating ‘class’ in this way was exacerbated by the fact that many of the entertainments and public events of the period were open to all such as the pleasure gardens, promenades and assemblies.

This chapter has shown how the visual appearance of shoes and their various components altered over the century to reflect social, cultural and political changes within society. Shoe shape evolved from the seventeenth century with variations in toe and heel shape until a marked shift in circa 1780 which reflected the broader cultural move towards the neo-classical

style. The white tawed leather rand that was one of the most prominent features of the first half of the century disappeared altogether by the end. Toe shapes progressed from upturned needlepoints, through to a softer, more rounded shape in the mid-century only to return to sharply pointed toes by the 1790s. The top edges of tongues varied throughout the century but finished by disappearing almost entirely as the use of buckles and latches fell out of fashion. Fastenings, material and colours were determined by a mixture of practicality and fashion with some features offering the opportunity for ornament and display while others were necessitated by function. Silk was the most common fabric found as the visible upper layers in extant shoes but this may be more a reflection of shoes that were attractive to preserve rather than an overall summation of the fabrics used in the period.

Heels varied throughout the century but most were variations on two distinct shapes, that of the Louis heel or the Italian. Heel heights went up and down according to fashion but extremes at both ends of the spectrum can be seen throughout the century. Presumably, there were more considerations than fashion at play such as the amount of wear required from them and the occasions on which the shoe was to be worn.

An accurate assessment of size and wear has the potential to reveal much about eighteenth-century feet and bodies more generally. However, analytical criteria needs to be standardised before useful generalisations can be made. Soles prove a sound source of primary evidence to ascertain much of this information but it is one that is overlooked in much of the written sources. The number of alterations made in shoe uppers illustrate that shoes were made to suit the wearer in just the same way as other items of clothing and demonstrates the resourcefulness and thriftiness of those of the period.

Clogs, pattens and slapsles show that some shoes were not really practical at all. The examination of a significant sample of extant shoes of the eighteenth century has proved highly informative and has allowed both confirmation and clarification of the various written sources.

Part II

TRADE, MATERIALS AND CONSTRUCTION



SHOE MANUFACTURE AND CONSTRUCTION

Shoes are complex objects. They were constructed by a number of differently skilled craftsmen using materials that had already undergone a number of processes before even reaching the shoemakers. In fact the materials contained in one shoe with uppers of silk and lined with tawed leather and linen would take up to three years in the processing not including the weaving of the fabrics. This intricate series of processes will be described as well as the wider picture given of how the shoe trade was structured in the eighteenth century, showing how the shoemaker was actually the last person in a long chain of production. The following chapter will examine in more detail how the various materials required for shoemaking were produced.

The way in which a shoe has been constructed and the materials used are relevant in many ways to any conservation treatments that might be employed. An understanding of an object's construction provides an insight into how it may deteriorate, how it is affected by wear, where weak areas might lie and where access might be gained to allow the provision of support. It also allows the differentiation between original work and later repairs and adaptations. An analysis of construction techniques also gives an insight into the technology available in the eighteenth century and the structure of trade and commerce when it is realised just how many stages were required for one pair of shoes to reach its wearer.

Our knowledge of shoe construction during this period is relatively limited. It has been noted (Peterkin in Saguto, 2009, x) that despite shoemaking and its related trades (such as cobblers and translators ie renovators) being of great significance in the commerce and industry of the eighteenth century, little is recorded of it, particularly in comparison to other industries that were revolutionised towards the end of the period. As Saguto (2009, xiii) states it is “a field so vast and yet so little tilled.” Spinning and weaving, for example, are skills that to this day are desirable to learn and these hand working techniques are still relatively easy to acquire, the art of shoemaking using traditional techniques is not. There are a few re-enactors who aim to reproduce shoes as they would have been made originally, but their knowledge, too, is limited to the same information and what has been learnt has not been published. The tacit knowledge that would have been gained during a seven year apprenticeship and a life's work has now been lost. In addition, many of the necessary tools are no longer available or even known about. The textual sources are mainly contemporary manuals, of which the most comprehensive ones have only become available in English during the course of this study. For the purposes of the study, Garsault's *Art of the*



Figure 120
Northampton 1984.236 [16]



Figure 121
Clarks W17sD9 [19]

Shoemaker, first published in 1748 in French and translated into English by Saguto (2009), has been used as the main source of information about the way in which shoes were constructed and in what order. This has been supplemented by other, early nineteenth-century sources (such as *Boot and Shoemaker's Assistant*, 1853; Griffin, 1838; Mortimer and Dickenson, 1819; Phillips, 1818; Rees, 1813) which are deemed useful as they still predate mechanisation in the shoe industry and the methodologies described would have been very similar to those of the eighteenth century.

The shoes themselves, evidently, constitute a crucial material source for gathering information about their construction. The analysis of extant shoes has allowed many of the stages of construction as narrated to be confirmed and clarified. In particular, shoes that are now in poor condition give great insights into the methods and materials used in their construction. Examples of such shoes that were surveyed are detailed in Appendix III ie [11, 20, 46, 48] and shown in Figure 120. Shoes that have been found as concealed objects, such as [16, 19] are also often in a condition which allows closer examination of methodology. Figure 121 shows a concealed shoe from the Northampton Museum collection.

Parts of a shoe

The main parts of a shoe are as indicated in the diagram Figure 5, page 32. They comprise the uppers, ie the vamp, tongue, two quarters (which may or may not extend at the sides to form straps or latches), linings, stiffeners and bindings and the bottoms which are made up of the heel and two soles - the inner and the outer.

Order of construction

Before the actual construction of the shoes could begin, the last had to be selected and fitted up. Although wooden lasts were made by a last maker to standard widths and lengths (although not shaped for left and right) they needed to be adjusted to suit each customer depending on measurements taken of their feet. The length of the foot was measured using a size stick (Figure 122) while for the width, a strip of paper was used and marked. The



Figure 122

Details from: Diderot & d'Alembert (1763) *Cordonnier et Bottier Plate I, Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*. Paris

customer's name and the length of the foot was written on the strip which was then retained. Presumably only one foot was measured or an average taken of the two as both shoes were made the same. *The Boot and Shoemaker's Assistant* (1853) notes that ill-fitting shoes were not always the fault of the shoemaker. Customers were known to demand shoes of the wrong size to give the impression that they had perfectly shaped and sized feet and then put up with the consequences that this might have caused as evidenced in Chapter 2.

Lasts were generally made of birch or a softwood according to Garsault (Saguto, 2009) although Golding (1902) suggested beech or charme (hornbeam) were more common. The latter describes lasts as "complex structures made from many measurements" taken from the foot but they were not "made to resemble feet but instead to suit the shoe manufacture". Consequently the process of making lasts became a specialist trade. The last would be fitted up, or adjusted to suit, using pieces of leather or cork to pad it out where necessary: "... for fitting up a last is one thing but judgment and fitting the foot are another, which latter consists in a skilful adaptation of the last and its fitting-up to the contour or form, and requirements of the foot generally" (*The Boot and Shoemaker's Assistant*, 1853, 13).

The basic order of construction is outlined in Figure 123. The first stage was to cut the uppers and upper linings (Figure 124 F and G). "The most delicate part of the shoemaker's business is to cut his leather exactly to the shape wanted as the tailor does his cloth" (*The Book of Trades*, 1838, 267). It was this stage that tended to stay in the hands of the master as a great deal of experience was required to ensure that the leather was used in the most economical way but so that the different parts of the shoe were taken from the most appropriate parts of the skin. For example, Korn (1947, 87-90) states that as the insole had to last the whole lifetime of the shoe, a light but strong flexible leather was required and thus the belly or light shoulder material were the most suitable; where as the outer sole and top piece, being the parts that would receive the most wear, should be "cut from material possessing firmness, strength, water-resistance, tenacity of fibre, density, substance, permeability" ie the prime part of hide, the bend. O'Sullivan (1834) reinforces this by warning "In all women's work ... you must be careful to cut them even, smooth and exact,

Cutting/Clicking
Uppers and upper linings cut.

Closing
Vamp, quarters and latches and linings where closed, stitched together. Side linings may also have been applied.

Lasting

- Wooden heel trimmed to required shape and size and corresponding heel cover cut.
- Heel part of the insole (the seat) cut to shape against heel.
- Insole dampened and hammered to increase suppleness then tacked to last.
- Uppers and linings attached to insole.
- Toe puff, if used, attached to last.
- White rand sewn on to forepart (ie the part in front of the heel) with widely spaced stitches.
- Heel cover, dampened to increase suppleness, is moulded to heel and notches cut in the surplus to assist application.
- Heel cover then sewn to insole and quarters and turned back.
- Wooden heel (coated with white starch paste) forced into heel cover which is stretched and smoothed.
- Shank of leather inserted between heel seat and insole to strengthen the angle of the arch.
- Rand turned and laced, with thread, from side to side across the insole.
- Sole dampened and hammered to shape. Attached to insole and down the breast of the heel.
- Leather top piece sewn to the heel cover and attached to heel by two wooden pegs.
- Surplus leather cut away from sole leaving bevelled edge.
- White seam stitched all around the shoe.
- Shoe removed from last.

Finishing
Top edges and side seam bound with ribbon. Sole given the required finish.



Figure 124

C, D, E Wooden heels -
 C As supplied in the rough
 D Cut down, dressed
 E D shown in profile showing heel cup

F Vamp lining

G Quarter lining

L Uppers lasted

M Heel cover roughly shaped

N Leather heel band

O Finished shoe

S Guinche

T Woolf's tooth

Details from:
 Diderot & d'Alembert (1763)
Cordonnier et Bottier Plates I & II,
Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire
raisonné des sciences,
des arts et des métiers. Paris



Figure 125
 Round knife

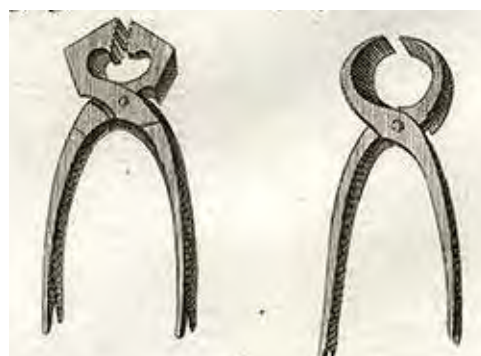


Figure 126
 Lasting pincers

to what you intend them to be, for when they are bound, there is then no remedy.” This operation is shown in Figure 127. The leather was placed grain down (flesh side up) on the cutting board and weighted down with a lead weight; paper patterns were placed on top and cut roughly around using a round knife (Figure 125). The leather would then be pulled out using lasting pincers which were made with teeth to provide a good grip (Figure 126) to ensure it was fully stretched. The patterns were used again to cut the shapes more accurately.



Figure 127
The shoemaker
The book of trades (1807)

It is likely that fabric uppers and linings were cut by different people. Garsault (Saguto, 2009) refers only to linings of white sheep leather; fabric outers are mentioned later, at the stage where they were to be pasted together. The requirements of leather and that of woven fabrics, where it is important to take account of the bias and the alignment of the weave and pattern, necessitated different skills. In addition, it was important that the lining fabric was cut differently on the weave to the outer layer so that the stresses taken from the creases made in the vamp during wear were taken by the lining not the outer layer. Figure 128 shows an example of upper shapes that were actually cut to cover an existing shoe [44] but it gives an indication of the shapes required. Paper patterns were used to ensure the most economical use of available materials. However, experienced cutters were able to forego their use, relying on the provided foot measurements. The operation of cutting the uppers was known as clicking. One unanticipated discovery during the survey was that the shapes, as cut, generate the form of the shoe. This was evidenced by using the shapes in Figure 128 and a pattern of the sole taken from shoe [27], cut out in thin Plastazote and sewn together as shown in Figure 129. As can be seen the resultant shape seems to automatically allow for a heel.



Figure 128
Clarks 1961.37.2 P [44]



Figure 129
Plastazote forma



Figure 130
Back seam (inner).
Saffron Walden
4659.70.372, [27]



Figure 131
Back seam
(outer). Hereford
505 [21]



Figure 132
Side seam (inner)
Gunnorsbury
75.2/19, [3]

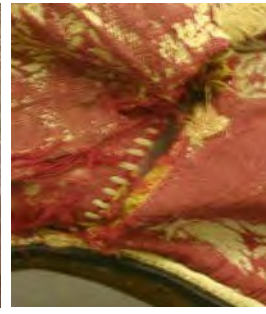


Figure 133
Side seam (outer)
Northampton
1975.172.3 P [33]



Figure 134
Whip stitch

The uppers would then have been closed. This operation was often carried out by women and commonly on an outwork basis. Closing involved joining the uppers together by means of linen thread. Various types of seams were used but, as shown in Figures 130-133, the most common type for uppers appears to be whip stitch shown in diagram form in Figure 134. It seems that relatively large stitches were used as they would be hidden by the topbindings. Uppers were closed using clams (“two tall nipping pieces of stave-like timber which were held between the worker’s knees” - Sparks, 1949, 28) to hold the uppers in position while they were stitched. Holes were made using an awl and sewing was known as stabbing. This task was carried out with workers sitting around a candleblock (“a heavy stool, about 3ft high, with a hole in the centre into which was fixed a movable holder to take the candle, their only means of illumination” - Sparks, 1949, 28.).

Men’s shoes often had heels made from stacked discs of leather. Wooden heels for women’s shoes were made by last makers and were provided in standard shapes and sizes such as that shown in Figure 124 C. These were modified by the shoemaker to the appropriate size (Figure 124 D). Garsault (Saguto, 2009, 67) advises that the heel needed to be wet before carving which was done with a dressing knife. The flat area at the top, where the heel meets the insole, was gouged out to form the heel cup. Great precision was needed at this stage to ensure that the heel was cut slightly narrower than the last and that allowances were made for the finished seams as if it was fitted too closely to the last the heel would be “neither smooth nor firm but liable to break at the sides in the wear, if not in the work” (Rees, 1813). The modified heel was then used as a template for cutting the heel cover by wrapping the leather around it and cutting by eye. This provided a roughly triangular piece of leather which would be made to fit more accurately at a later stage. Garsault (Saguto, 2009) states that heel covers were nearly always of white sheepskin that was then coloured by the shoemaker. There were tawyers who specialised in colouring leather so that the required colour could be obtained ready done. In addition, as is seen by most shoes examined, the heel covers often matched the fabric used on the uppers rather than being leather. This



Figure 135
Northampton 1969.19.4 P [31]



Figure 136
Nottingham CTLOAN 12/2, [96]

appears to have been pasted onto the heel rather than being moulded in the same way as leather so that this stage may have been different according to the materials used. In some cases [31, 96], the survey has shown, the fabric covers were lined with leather and then applied to the wooden heel. Figures 135 and 136 demonstrate this as the skin side of tawed leather can be seen under the textile layer.

The insole was then tacked to the heel cup using one tack (Figure 137) so that it could be trimmed ensuring that it was shaped to fit the heel exactly. Subsequently, the insole was fastened to the last with “the four tacks ... as usual” (Garsault, Saguto, 2009, 96), this meaning one near the toe, one in the middle and one on both sides of the heel seat (as seen in Figure 138). From the evidence of the shoes examined, the number of tacks and their positioning for this purpose varied according to the preference of the shoemaker. See [17, 22, 27, 33, 37, 48, 50, 58, 61, 65, 79, 84, 93] for further detail. Figure 138 also shows that the sock must have been joined (probably pasted) to the insole before it was lasted as it too has the tack holes, a method that appears to have been repeated in the given examples.

At this point a toe lining, known as a toe puff, might have been inserted which was a reinforcement strip of stiffer leather, moulded over the last, to provide shape and support to the toe end as seen in Figure 139. This was more often used where the uppers were all fabric and was sometimes inserted between the upper and the lining. It could be secured by stitching with the vamp or by pasting it to the vamp lining. From the survey, it is evident that toe puffs were not always used and when they were it was more likely to have been prior to 1785. Toe puffs are evident in the surveyed shoes, [3, 6, 9, 12, 13, 17, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 32, 35, 38, 40, 42, 46, 48, 53, 93].

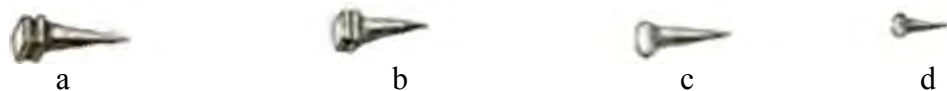


Figure 137
a Three-headed heel nail b Two headed sole-blocking nail c Lasting tack d Pin tack
Details from: Diderot & d’Alembert (1763) *Cordonnier et Bottier Plate I, Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*. Paris



Figure 138
Nottingham 1979.680 [102]



Figure 139
Northampton 1970.25.6 P [46]

For Garsault (Saguto, 2009) the next operation was to secure the vamp lining to the insole. He states at this stage that if fabric uppers were being used, the lining should be pasted and the fabric applied. All layers were then tacked around the insole. The upper fabric having been pasted to the quarter linings, the quarters were then closed, the back seam finished and placed “carefully in the centre of the heel of the last” (Saguto, 2009). There is an indication that if two layers of fabric were being used for the uppers and linings, they would be combined together prior to this stage. Care had to be taken with the paste as it could mark the silk. Where linen was used as the lining, a layer of cold wax was used to hold the layers together until they were sewn into the shoe. From the survey it can be seen that uppers and linings were pasted and held together but only in so far as it allowed the shoe to be made and was not always intended as a permanent fix. In shoes [16, 19, 33, 42, 48, 50, 56, 64, 65, 75, 82] the outer fabric is visibly separated from the lining. In shoe [27] the upper and lining could be felt to be pasted together during the conservation process. Shoe [93] shows evidence of paste by the fact that the uppers and linings have held together despite a large tear in the vamp. In some instances [1, 3, 18, 22, 29, 35, 46, 95], where uppers have applied decoration, the two layers are held together with the stitching or embroidery as seen in Figure 132. Hartwig (Saguto, 2009, 251) states that for cloth shoes the vamp linings would be linen but that quarter linings could be linen or sheepskin. This is borne out by the survey.

Side linings may also have been added in at this stage. These were strips of leather in the shape of a knife blade which were secured at the lower edge of the uppers for reinforcement and not visible from the outside (Figures 140 and 141). The quarters were then pulled over



Figure 140
Snowhill SNO100 [61]



Figure 141
Northampton 1984.236 [16]



Figure 142
Northampton 1984.236 [16]



Figure 143
Clarks W17sD2 [10]

along their sides and secured along the bottom edges with tacks. The tabs were held together at the instep with a tack. The side lining could also be pasted to the uppers at the closing stage. Side linings are visible on the following shoes - [17, 31, 54, 65, 75, 77 and 82]. On some shoes, the survey suggests, the sidelining could be an extension of the rand (for example [16] while in others, the two were separate often evidenced by the fact that the side linings are of brown leather while the rand is of white. The white rand (Figure 142) was then sewn on with big stitches close to the edge of the last being folded into thirds as they went. Figure 143 shows how the rand appeared on completion.

At this point in the construction, a shank may have been used, as well as bottom filling carried out. The shank was a strip of leather placed between the insole and outer sole along the waist of the shoe to provide extra strength in the wear. Figure 144 is a diagram showing a partly completed shoe on the last with a shank applied. This also shows the system of lacing or bracing the edges of the uppers across the insole. Figure 145 shows the indentation left by these laces (as well as small amounts of thread) on a leather insole [16]. Bottom filling was the use of leather scraps and skivings to build up any uneven areas that might cause discomfort to the wearer, prior to the application of the outer sole.

The heel cover, if leather, was then dampened to increase its suppleness and to allow it to be moulded to shape around the wooden heel. Notches were cut in the overhanging edges to allow for a better grip when the heel was actually in place on the shoe. The heel cover only, with the inside out, was then stitched to the insole and quarters beginning at the end of the

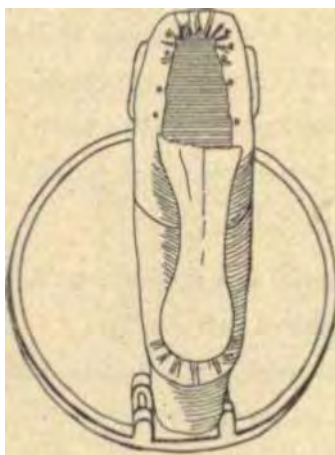


Figure 144
(Headley,
1882, 96)



Figure 145
Northampton
1984.236
[16]



Figure 146 Clarks W17sD3 [11]



Figure 147



Figure 148
Snowhill SNO117 [39]

white rand and working around the curve of the heel seat. Stitches were shortened around the curve to allow for a better fit, and hopefully no wrinkles, when the cover was pulled over the heel. When the stitching was complete, the cover was turned back and the wooden heel, smeared all over with white paste, was forced into place. Men's wooden heels were made with a hole running through them to allow for a heel nail to hold it in position on the last while the cover was applied. It is unclear whether this was the case for women's heels but Garsault (Saguto, 2009) fails to mention this in his instructions. Figure 146 shows the bottom of a heel with a fabric heel cover where it can be seen that nails were used to secure it to the shoe. However, it was important to ensure that the nails holding the heel were positioned correctly as the wood could split more easily if the nails were inserted in direct line with each other as can be seen in Figure 147. The heel cover was pulled down with pincers to stretch it over the heel and any excess was trimmed off. The heel was rubbed over with a 'guinche' (Figure 124 S) to smooth out the wrinkles and burnish the leather. A wolf's tooth was used for the same purpose (Figure 124 T). A band of leather was then tacked into place around the heel to hold it in position while the paste dried. It would seem that wrinkles were not always removed, as shown in Figure 148, for example. Many of the surveyed shoes exhibited the same problem which seemed to commence in around the 1730s. This might be an indication that shoes were being made more quickly and less carefully as a result of the ready-made trade. If the shoe was of a turnshoe construction (see glossary) the heel cover would not be sewn on until the shoe had been turned. *The Boot and Shoemaker's Assistant*, (1853, 68) states that

“the making of high-heeled shoes required considerable judgment and nicety of operation; the position required to be given to the heel, the aptitude of the eye and hand, necessary to the cutting down of the wood; the sewing in of the cover, kid, stuff, silk or satin, as it might be; the getting in and securing the wood or block; the bracking the cover round it, and the beautifully-defined stitching which went from corner to corner, all round the heel, demanded altogether the cleverness of first-rate ability.”

The outer sole would then have been prepared. These were often bought by shoemakers ready cut but oversized. To prepare the sole it was first soaked in water to make it supple



Figure 149
Northampton
1978.44.1 p [26]

and would then have been beaten over a moulding block “until it was shaped rather like a gondola” (Saguto, 2009, 68). The sole had to be sufficiently long to cover the whole of the foot as well as the heel breast. It was then fixed to the shoe uppers using tacks. The sole was trimmed to fit the exact dimensions of the last. The edges were cut to slant towards the vamp. This was known as skiving, an operation that aimed to reduce the thickness of the leather by shaving away the edges, in order to lessen the bulk of the final seam as can be seen in Figure 149. When applied to the instep of the sole the practice was known as feathering (Walford, 2007).

A slit known as a sole channel was cut into the leather “approximately 1/6 of an inch deep and ¼ of an inch from the edge of the sole” (Saguto, 2009, 69) all around the sole ending at the heel on each side. A channel opener or knife (Figure 150) was then used to open the slit sufficiently to allow for the awl (Figure 151) to create holes in the channel followed by stitching with large stitches using thick waxed thread. Beeswax was used for coating the awl so that it would slip in and out of the leather more smoothly. The purpose of the channel was to allow the stitching to be recessed, therefore protecting the stitches during wear as well as their being less visible (Figure 152). A channel was not made if English stitching was being used where the soles were “stitched aloft” (Saguto, 2009, 98) ie where the stitches were invisible. “Soles stitched English style last longer but they are also more expensive” (Saguto, 2009, 98). Of the shoes surveyed, there were many examples of both methods. The heel lift and top piece were fastened with small tacks.



Figure 150
Channel knife

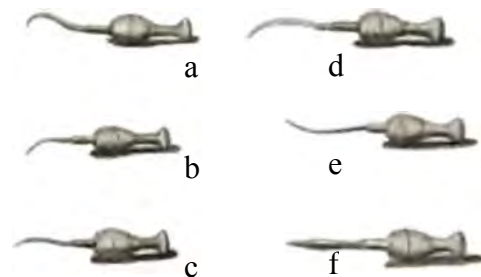


Figure 151
Awls

Details from: Diderot & d’Alembert (1763) *Cordonnier et Bottier Plate I, Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*. Paris



Figure 152
Clarks, W17sD4, [12]

Stitching was not carried out with a needle but using a hog's bristle fastened to the end of the thread to guide it through holes previously made using an awl. The thread was strengthened by the application of wax. The wax for black seams, ie the strongest, was made by boiling pitch, resin and tallow and then cooling in cold water. This was then shaped into balls of wax. Hemp thread was coated with the wax and bristles attached. According to Garsault (Saguto, 2009) the spinning of the hemp for this type of thread demanded great expertise and there were women who spun specifically for shoemakers. Phillips (1818, 342) implies that "for ladies' light-coloured shoes, and other fine work, different wax is of course used." This would imply the fine white seams when multi-stranded linen thread was used. This was coated with masheen made from white wax mixed with white lead or sulphur. Unlike stitching fabric where the needle goes from one side of the cloth to another, with leather stitching could be done differently. A straight awl (Figure 151, f) would produce a straight hole from the grain side to the flesh (Figure 153) whereas a curved awl (Figure 151, a-e) would allow the stitch to be inserted from the grain side or the flesh side and to reappear on the edge as shown in the diagram Figures 154 and 155. This stitch was known as split hole sewing and was the most commonly used in shoemaking. Stitches were supposed to be of regular size which varied according to the materials being used. For example, Rees (1813) states that for morocco leather there should be about twenty stitches per inch.

"Nothing more remains than to stitch the white seam, which starts at the end of the heel, going all around the shoe, joining first the white rand to the sole, then the turned-up portion of said sole with the holdover along the waist, and the same thing up the other side, ending where it began" (Garsault, Saguto, 2009, 99).

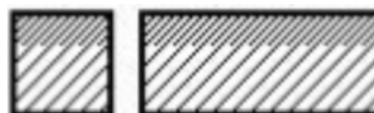


Figure 153

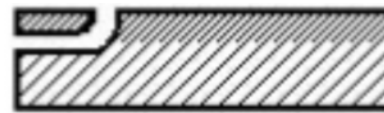


Figure 154

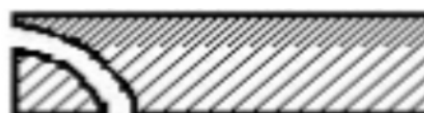


Figure 155

Carlson, M. (1999) *Basic holds* [online] Tulsa: University of Tulsa. Available from <http://www.personal.utulsa.edu/~marc-carlson/shoe/STITCH.HTM> [Accessed 28.3.14]



Figure 156
Clarks W17sD4 [12]

This is evidenced in Figure 156. Sparks (1949, 25) states that the needle felled edge of the eighteenth century was most cleverly executed and the heel-covering would not be easily beaten in more recent times. “In fact, shoemaking as an art-craft, was of a very high character at that time.” This is reiterated in *The Monthly Magazine* (1813, 128) where it is stated “that the art of shoe-making is brought to greater perfection in this country than in any other nation in the world” or at least “that Russia, Sweden, Germany, &c are far behind this country.”

“Lastly, ink the heel lifts and sole leather at the waist beneath the white stitching. Never black the soles around the foot of women’s shoes....Remove the heel band. Slip the last. Sew the straps to the tab portions of the quarters and finish by binding all around the top edges of the quarters, the straps and the tongue with a ribbon or galoon.” (Garsault, Saguto, 2009, 100)

Hartwig (Saguto, 2009, 102) states that for women’s shoes the edge of the sole remains russet, the edge coated with pitch barm and rubbed bright (Figure 156).

The outer sole would have been given a ‘bottom finish’. Walford describes this as the

“term for the finish on the bottom of a sole and included dyeing, waxing and wheeling (a fancy patterned iron that is sometimes used over the sole to produce a decorative sealed seam and is referred to in Britain as a fiddle finish.”

A fiddle finish can be seen in Figures 39 and 157 and appears on the following shoes in the survey:- [67, 72, 76, 77, 83, 84, 91, 93, 94 and 95]. From the survey, it can be seen that the fiddle finish was used from the 1780s when the lower, narrower shoe came into fashion. BBSATRA (1935, 98) informs that weak glue solutions were used to give the leather a rigidity and a glaze to the surface.



Figure 157
Nottingham
NCM 1979.680 [102]



Figure 158
Detail from: Diderot & d’Alembert (1763)
*Cordonnier et Bottier Plate I, Encyclopédie
ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des
arts et des métiers.* Paris



Figure 159
Nottingham
NCM 1881-76/1 [8]



Figure 160
Leicester
516.1951 [43]



Figure 161
Leicester
327.1959 [57]

The holes left on the sole from the lasting process would have been filled and were sometimes disguised by the use of a stamp (Figure 158) which came in different shapes from a floral or sunburst effect (Figure 159) or just a plain circle (Figure 160) which might then have been used in a more decorative way (Figure 161). There are examples of all the stamps throughout the century, according to the survey, but with the floral stamp used more in the first half the century [8, 12, 13, 27] and the ring stamp or plain punch mark more evident in the second half appearing on 22% of the shoes examined. Alternatively, the sole might have been given a rougher finish which resulted in a suede-like effect as the example shown in Figure 162. Of the total shoes surveyed, 21% had such a finish and this might well be greater as it was not always possible to see from photographs. The largest proportion of these were prior to 1760.

Manufacture during the eighteenth century and onwards

Although some of the components of shoes were mass produced in the eighteenth century (such as the textiles and tacks) the process of mechanisation was not introduced to shoe assembly until well into the nineteenth century. *The book of trades* (1838, 268), states “machinery has not hitherto been applied to shoemaking, but know not what improvements are yet in futurity.” Sewing machines for stitching the uppers came into use around 1850 while the closing machine appeared ten years later. Eventually machines would be used for nearly all the stages of shoe production. For the period under study, however, all shoes would have been made by hand.

The rapid expansion of the ready to wear market brought with it a requirement for some standardisation in sizing. Different countries devised their own systems. The English



Figure 162
Hereford 505 [21]

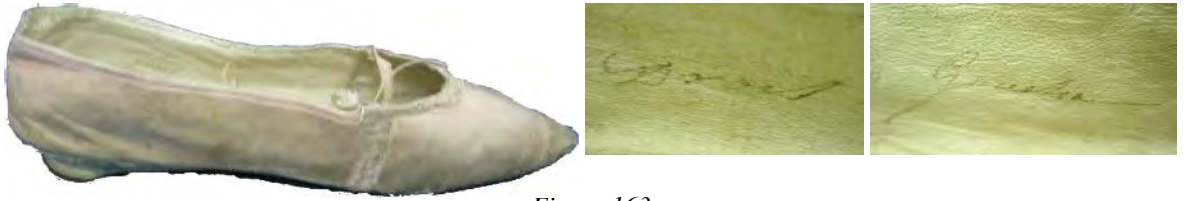


Figure 163
Droit (right) and gauche (left) written on quarter linings. Hereford 3606 [72]

system was based on increments of $\frac{1}{4}$ " starting with sizes 0-13 for children with 0 equating to 5" in length. Adult sizes commenced at 1 at $8\frac{1}{2}$ " through to 15 which was equal to 12". Although the system was not universally adopted until later (around the 1860s) there is evidence of its use during the eighteenth century. Although Swann (1989) refers generally to the existence of examples, none were found in the survey.

The use of different lasts for left and right feet did not come into common usage until the first quarter of the nineteenth century although Saguto (2009) suggests that some appeared from the 1780s onward. However, French shoes were marked left and right while still being constructed as straights. This gave them a perceived superior edge. English makers adopted the same policy prior to actually differentiating the shoes, as illustrated in Figure 163.

The manufacture of pattens and clogs

Garsault (Saguto, 2009, 100) states that women's clogs or galoshes were made by relasting the matching shoe. This was then used as the base for sizing the clog. The vamp of the shoe was covered with a fitting, with a second around the heel and a third under the waist. The insole of the clog was attached following the shaping of the shoe from the top of the heel, around the heel breast to the toe. It was made slightly narrower than the outer sole of the shoe. The vamp was attached in the same way as with shoes along with the passe-talon or heel cover and the cheeks as indicated in Figure 164. The void left under the arch was filled with cork, carved to shape and stuck to the insole with pitch. The cheeks were brought over the cork and held in place by a thread passing from one side to the other. The outer sole and top piece were then applied and stitched all the way around also taking in the passe-talon. On removal from the last (and therefore the shoe) the final seam between the cheek and the pass-talon was stitched.

Another type of overshoe is also mentioned by Garsault (Saguto, 2009, 100) which he terms chaussons. These were "put on very easily, protecting the fabric of the vamp and keeping the foot warm." Saguto (2009) describes chaussons as having "only half a sole with a vamp and a loop at the back to go around the heel and keep them on." It is assumed that these were similar to those pictured in Figures 106 a&b.



Figure 164
Leicester 77.1981 [104 and 13]

Shoemakers, cordwainers and associated trades

In most instances in referring to shoemakers and those employed in the trade the masculine pronoun is used. The number of women who were master shoemakers was very low and much of their involvement was as part of a family business. Women were employed, however, for stitching together the uppers and for binding ladies' shoes where the more delicate fabrics used required smaller, neater stitching (George, 1992).

London and its Environs (1761, 185) states that the Company of Cordwainers and Cobblers was incorporated in 1410. Apparently, at that time, the term shoemaker was not used and a cobbler was a dealer in shoes, with some status, and not the lowly repairer he was to become. By a later charter the name was changed to The Master, Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Cordwainers of the City of London. They comprised a Master, four Wardens, sixteen assistants and 180 liverymen who paid £10 to be admitted to the company. The information differs slightly on the website of the Worshipful Company of Cordwainers. It quotes its royal charter granted by Henry VI in 1439 which formally conferred its status as a guild giving its rights and permitting it to own property. It is 27th in the order of precedence of livery companies. Suffice to say, cordwainers, or practitioners of the art of the gentle craft as it was known, were an important body of artisans.

Phillips (1818, 345) suggests

“there are few trades more useful than that of a shoe-maker, and, perhaps, not many that are more profitable, when it is carried on to a considerable extent. Some shoe-makers carry on a snug private trade, without any show; others have large shops, and exhibit in them shoes of all sorts for ladies and gentlemen.”

This is supplemented by Mortimer and Dickinson (1819, 913), “Ladies’ shoe-makers have the most precarious part of this trade in their hands owing to the frequent change of fashion, not only in the form, but in the material of the article, in which they deal.” Campbell(1747, 219) qualifies this by stating that “This business affords reasonable profit to the Master but the Journeymen, specially in the men’s way, get but small wages, not above 9 or 10 shillings a week”. This is reinforced by the publication *Low-Life* (1752) which outlines a 24 hour period (midnight on a Saturday night to midnight on Sunday) in London. Between midnight and 1.00am on Sunday morning, “The shoemakers shops in Old Turnstile, Holborn and Cow Lane, near West-Smithfield, very full of customers;” but at the same time “the markets swarm with the wives of poor journeymen shoemakers ... who come to buy great bargains with little money.” On waking, after little sleep, the shoemakers arose to “break the fourth commandment” (ie remember the Sabbath Day) implying they worked all hours. They did however, attend church in their best clothes but by 11.00pm they were going to bed; “journeymen weavers, taylors, shoemakers and other impoverished tradesmen, taking off their apparel, as holding it by no longer tenure, than the opening of the pawnbrokers shops the ensuing morning.” This suggests that they needed to pawn their clothes in the morning in order to have enough money to survive the following week.

Riello (2002, 64) purports that London shoemaking was generally confined to family businesses passed down from father to son and with apprentices gleaned from the neighbouring counties. This enabled both knowledge and capital to be handed down from one generation to the next. The taking in of apprentices also provided a secondary source of income as they were paid for the provision of training. Figure 165 is Diderot’s impression of a small shoemaker’s shop.



Figure 165

Detail from: Diderot & d’Alembert (1763) *Cordonnier et Bottier Plate I, Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*. Paris

As has been demonstrated, shoes were rarely made by one person from start to finish and that different parts of the process were divided according to specialisms (Saguto, 2009, 2). The master was in charge of purchasing materials and controlling how they were used. He was also the one who dealt directly with the customers, measuring their feet and subsequently fitting up the last and cutting the appropriate sized patterns. Once the component parts were cut they were assembled by journeymen or dayworkers who often operated from different premises on an outwork basis. They were paid piece rate which varied according to the size and complexity of the shoes in question. Campbell (1747) suggests that ‘country shoemakers’ were employed in this way supplying London shoe shops as “the price of making being too large here to allow these shop-keepers to employ London workmen.” From the comments in *Low-Life* (1752) above it would seem that this was relative as journeymen in London did not seem to be particularly affluent. However, Campbell (1747, 219) states that “the hands in this branch are pretty constantly employed.” Journeymen had served their apprenticeship but were not yet master shoemakers or cordwainers. Many however stuck at this stage for want of the capital to establish their own businesses. The availability of those working in this way contributed to the establishment of shoe warehouses and the wholesale trade as it allowed the build up of a considerable stock of ready made shoes. Rees (1813) advised journeymen to always ensure they worked to the best of their ability as their produce was their worth. They should never cut corners to increase their output as shoddy work reflected badly on them from both the customers and the masters. They should keep from gathering in clubs and consequently avoid alcohol. Where possible they should avoid working in environments where more than two others were working as “breathing all day the confined breath of so many is exceedingly injurious to your health.”

Apprenticeships in shoe making could commence from the age of 14 lasting the prescribed seven years. Campbell (1747) states that “at coming out of this time (a youth would) be sufficiently qualified to set up for himself, or work journey-work.” Sparks (1949, 29) summarises the skills that apprentices would have to learn as cutting the uppers; upper closing; principles of lasting; sewing in the welts; stitching on the outer sole, sewing the upper to the sole and the art of making a handsewn turnshoe; heel making and finishing.

“The shoemakers’ work was long and tedious but by making a boot or shoe throughout they did have a real pride in their work which, as time went on, became ever more beautiful, although working with tools and under conditions which, to say the least, were crude in comparison with those in use today.”
(Sparks, 1949, 29)

He also notes that, by the end of the nineteenth century, apprentices only learnt particular tasks which became gender specific.

According to Riello (2002) the number of cordwainers' apprentices fell from 770 in the 1690s to only 340 in the 1720s and by the 1740s to around 180. This is qualified by the fact that the records only show those listed as apprenticed to members of the Cordwainers' Company and also that as few as 68% of those were actually learning shoemaking skills (as the Cordwainers' Company also had members practicing associated trades). The figures do, however, suggest a decline in the number of formal apprenticeships in the trade or maybe just a decline in the influence of the guild structure. Riello (2002) reports that there were concerns within the Company that the number of unregulated shoemakers was increasing and consequently reducing the profitability of their members. In 1738 a Commons Enquiry was initiated by London shoemakers as curriers had started cutting leather hides into smaller pieces. The shoemakers were buying entire hides at around £10 a time but the practice of selling pieces small enough to make one pair of shoes at 2 shillings each meant that journeymen did not need to invest the large amounts that were required to establish a business. The profit earned from two pairs of shoes would be sufficient to reinvest in more leather and provide subsistence for a family. This eliminated the need for Master shoemakers to provide the leather and therefore, the work. The Company requested parliament to enforce an Act passed in the reign of James I to prevent curriers selling part hides in this way. However, the opposition from both curriers and the small independent shoemakers was so strong (based on the argument that the monopoly of Company members was detrimental to both them and to consumers in general) that the Act was not only not enforced but was repealed altogether in 1739. Phillips (1818, 347) states that in the country, master shoemakers would buy whole and half skins from the leather dressers, cut out soles and uppers and then sell the parts on the wholesale market. Hazen (1836, 72) suggests that this practice of leather cutting became a trade "of considerable importance" in its own right, facilitating shoemakers with less capital to establish a business and smaller business to be less exposed to risk.

There was a tendency to specialise in making particular types of shoe ie ladies', men's, children's and boots etc. as different skills were needed for different types of construction. George (1992, 196) indicates that specialisms went even further with some makers only producing shoes worn by London chairman and also cites an example of one shoemaker who specialised in making shoes for those with disabilities who was employed by all the hospitals. Phillips (1818, 348) remarks that "greater ingenuity is required in manufacturing women's shoes." In addition, men's shoes and boots required the use of oils etc for moulding the leather whereas for women's shoes, where silks and other fabrics were used, such an environment had the potential to soil and damage the shoes. However, the women's shoe market was considered more profitable as fashion dictated regular changes. In more rural

areas and smaller towns however, such specialisms were not always possible and larger shops and warehouses supplied shoes for men, women and children.

Many shoemakers provided a very personal service. Figure 166 of 1784 shows a shoemaker fitting a pair of shoes for a fashionable young lady. She has removed a pair fastened with buckles to try on the more up to date slip-on pair. Figure 167 also shows a shoemaker in the act of fitting shoes. Both these illustrations reveal how important it was for shoemakers to appear smart and fashionably dressed. It was this type of scenario that caused concern for a young husband writing in *The London Chronicle* (1763, 524) who espied his wife through the keyhole with a man

“down on his knees before my wife, holding her right foot, with the shoe off, elevated some distance from the ground, and pressing it, seemingly with great earnestness, between both his hands; so as to convince me that he was going to shew the ardour of his passion, by kissing her ladyship’s toe, if I was not to make my appearance.”

He turned out to be Mr Upperleather, the shoemaker, in the process of measuring her ladyship’s foot. Although appearing as a subject for ridicule, these illustrations demonstrate that it was not an unusual practice for the shoemaker to visit customers in order to take measurements and to fit the finished products. However, they perhaps did not always live up to expectations as in *Low-Life* (1752) it refers to “Anathemas poured out very plentifully against taylors, shoemakers, barbers, hatters and mantuamakers for disappointing the persons who employed them the preceding week.” A bespoke service was regarded as superior to readymade. It was also advantageous for the customer in that larger shops and warehouses had fixed prices whereas an individual service meant price was more negotiable and credit was readily attained.

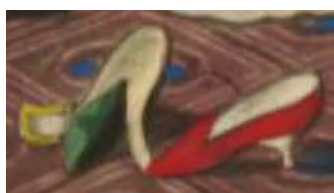


Figure 166
Carington Bowles (pub.) (1784)
*The fashionable shoe maker
trying on an Italian slipper.*
[mezzotint]
London: British Museum
1935,0522.1.185



Figure 167
Darly, M. (pub.)
(1775) *The macarony
shoe maker.* [etching]
London: British
Museum
1865,0610.112

However, it appears that as the century wore on the industry began to change. As transport networks developed, it became more common for shoes to be made in other parts of the country (such as Northamptonshire and Staffordshire) where labour costs were cheaper and then sold in London shops leading to a clearer division between manufacturers and retailers. Such was the increase in shops, particularly in London that Schama (2001, 365) suggests there was an estimated 20,000 shops in London with more and more of them having glass bowed windows fitted to enhance the effective display areas for their wares. The novelty of this method of display drew crowds of window shoppers, indeed according to Fanny Hill (Clelland, 1748, 4) “every sign or shop was a gazing trap.” *The Tatler* (1822, 163) in 1709 suggests that shop displays might have incited passions other than possession:

“The Censor having observed, that there are fine wrought ladies shoes and slippers put out to view at a great shoemaker’s shop towards Saints James’s end of Pall-mall, which create irregular thought and desires in the youth of this nation; the said shopkeeper is required to take in those eye-sores, or shew cause the next court-day why he continues to expose the same; and he is required to be prepared particularly to answer to the slippers with green lace and blue heels.”

For those outside London and other large towns it was possible to buy shoes and clothing on a mail order basis. Sometimes this involved sending an old but fitting item of clothing or shoes to the maker so that items could be supplied to the right size. Some traders provided cards for their long distance customers suggesting how best to take measurements and at what part of their body. It was also useful to have family members or contacts in the metropolis who would run such errands. Lambert (2010, 56-65) concludes that there were those in the towns that acted as agents for out-of-towners.

A new feature found in shops from about 1780 was that of a fixed price which had become easier to set with the advent of ready made goods. By the end of the century this had become the norm rather than the exception. This ties in with the opening of warehouses and emporiums. These were large shops often stocking more than one type of commodity and, in a way, the forerunners of the department store. Figure 168 illustrates such a store, run by Joseph Allin who promoted himself and his store in a trade leaflet dated 1803 (available online) in which he states that the shop is “for the accommodation of all sorts of customers, who may be provided with every necessary of life” and announces ‘multum in parvo’ (much in little) in large letters on the side of the building suggesting that the store stocks most items despite it being a relatively small space. He also stocked shoes -

“Sealskin and morocco shoes;
Coarse or fine you choose,
Home-made- false-made, very neat,
To suit the make of all your feet.”



Figure 168
 Allin's warehouse in Birmingham which operated from 1785-1813.
 Jones, C (1870s) *Untitled* [online] Birmingham: Mapping Birmingham.
 Available from <http://mappingbirmingham.blogspot.co.uk/2012/06/birminghams-old-curiosity-shop-ann.html> [Accessed 16.3.14]

Shops and warehouses catered more for the lower-middle and labouring classes with emphasis on lower prices (usually around 10-25% cheaper than bespoke) rather than the quality of workmanship and materials and, indeed, fit. However, Riello (2006, 101) states that “by the end of the Napoleonic wars, shoe warehouses and manufactures and depots had become an integral part of middle-class shopping practices.” This is confirmed in the diaries of Fanny Burney (2001, 89) in 1778, who served in the Royal Household, where she refers to having rescued her shoes “from the dark and dusty warehouse in which they were pent.” Riello further reports that while many shops were small scale there are records of inventories showing stocks of 500 to 1100 pairs and one shoemaker that employed 162 people. This may be supported by the fact that of the number of the shoes examined, particularly from later in the century, 19% exhibited fold lines on the uppers (as seen in Figures 169 and 170) that suggest that they had been folded and stored flat. A modern example of this is seen in Figures 171 and 172 where espadrilles are stored folded flat and stacked on shelves. They exhibit similar crease lines (Figure 171). If shoes were sold in this way rather than in shoe

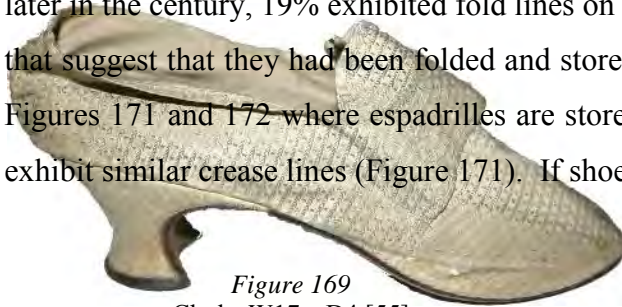


Figure 169
 Clarks W17+sD4 [55]



Figure 170



Figure 171
 Folded espadrilles showing crease lines



Figure 172
 Folded espadrilles stacked on shelves

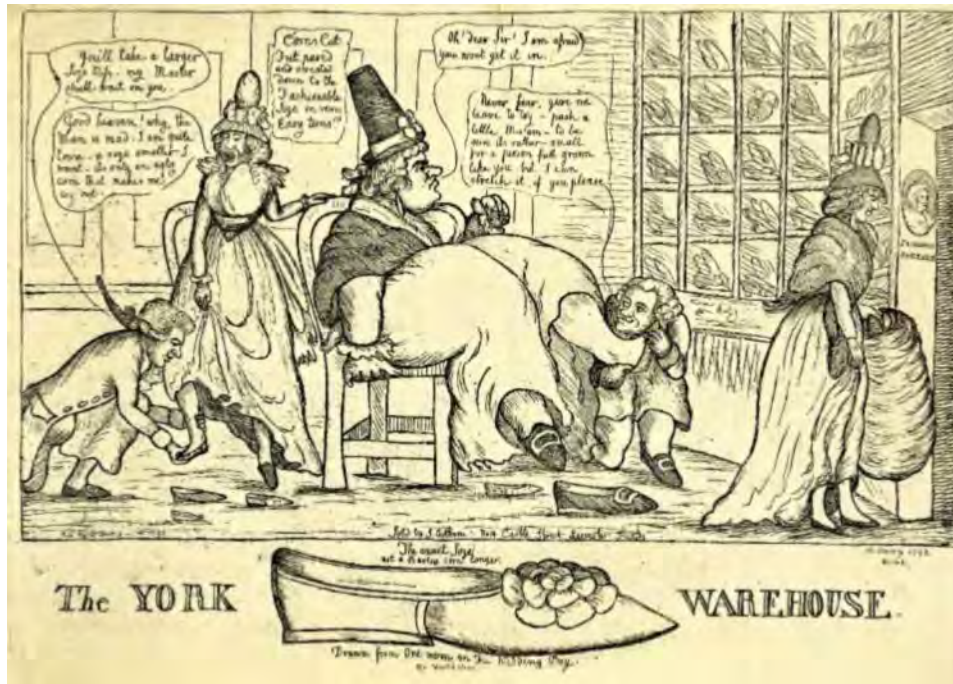


Figure 173
Unknown (1792)
The York [Shoe] Warehouse.
[etching] London:
British Museum.
1868,0808.6149

boxes, the amount of space required for storing 1100 pairs would have been much less. The fact that the crease lines are still so evident suggests that the shoes have not been overly worn.

The size of the ready-made clothing market may also have been underestimated in the past. Evidence suggests that a number of garments and accessories were available off the shelf rather than on a bespoke basis. Figure 173 shows a shoe shop with shelves of ready made shoes and with customers trying on several pairs. Figure 174 also shows the inside of a shoe shop and stresses the fact that their shoes were supplied ready made without the need for last fitting. Shoes were assumed to be bespoke but logic suggests that this was not always the case as the shoes were straights with no obvious differences between the two shoes of a pair; if they were truly bespoke they would taken into account the slight differences between an individual's feet.



Figure 174
Sayer, R. (pub.) (1794)
Smart shoes made to fit - without a last. [etching] London:
British Museum. 1885,0314.184



Figure 175
Rowlandson, T. (1780s) *Rag Fair, Rosemary Lane*.
[drawing on paper] London: British Museum 1880,1113.3509

Some shoes would have been obtained secondhand. Part of a servant's wages often included perquisites ie a right to cast off articles from their employers. This included clothing and shoes thus enabling servants to wear similar outfits to their mistresses albeit maybe slightly out of date. There is an example in *Pamela* (Richardson, 1980, 50) where she as a servant girl was given "three pair of fine silk shoes, two hardly the worse, and just fit for me (for my lady had a very little foot), and the other with wrought silver buckles in them." She also obtains a pair of plain leather shoes "but yet they are what they call Spanish leather." Such perquisites were not always worn by servant girls but were seen as an extra source of income as they could be readily sold. There was a thriving market for second hand clothing. Clothes brokers predominated in the area around Houndsditch and Rosemary Lane in London and open street markets were held there regularly resulting in the area being known as Rag Fair. This is illustrated in Figure 175 which shows shoes on sale. Shoes were often revamped by cobblers or translators.

The size of the market for shoes in the eighteenth century expanded greatly. Mui and Mui (1989, 240) state that "the demand for footwear exceed any other single article of wearing apparel. Shoes wore out very quickly in the eighteenth century and had to be replaced or mended, even by the poor." As Riello (2002, 96) points out, this was largely due to the great increase in population which more than doubled through the century rather than an increase in consumption which stayed roughly static at an estimated two pairs per person per annum. The supply of leather was also fairly static resulting in increased prices. The shoe industry was estimated to use 60-70% of the available leather (Riello, 2002, 96). The various wars

during the later half of the century ensured demand was high. The military provided each member with two pairs of boots as well as spare soles and heels. In 1793 a shoemaker that had entered into a fixed term and price contract with the Navy complained bitterly of the increase in price of leather and the reduction in its availability. This coincides with the period when women's shoes took on a much higher leather content thus exacerbating the problem. The period also saw an increase in the exportation of ready made shoes to North America and the West Indies.

From the survey, a number of shoemakers were identified by their labels. An example is shown in Figure 176. These are shown in the table overleaf (Figure 179). The sample group suggests that the majority of shoemakers using labels were based in London and in particular in what is now the City of London, around Oxford Street and Covent Garden. The two pairs held by the Colchester and Ipswich Museum Service seemed to have remained fairly local to their origin. Labels are more common from the 1780s onward when branding became more widespread.

Trade cards were commonly used to advertise shops, their wares and any patronage of note they might have. They came into common usage from about 1730 and aimed to supplement advertisements that appeared in newspapers. The earliest known shoemaker's trade card dates from 1733, two examples of which are shown in Figures 177 and 178 and labels adhered to the socks in shoes appeared from around 1750. Swann (1982, 31) "the labels suggest not just mass produced 'ready mades' but also pride of workmanship, which was so patently justified when the shoes are examined."



Figure 176
Hereford 3606 [72]



Figure 177
John Snowden, shoemaker - trade card. [online] Available from <http://spitalfieldslife.com/2012/06/20/further-trade-cards-of-old-london/> [Accessed 22.4.14]



Figure 178
Thomas Berry, clog maker - trade card. [online] Available from <http://spitalfieldslife.com/2012/05/03/the-trade-cards-of-old-london/> [Accessed 22.4.14]

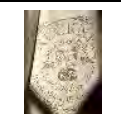


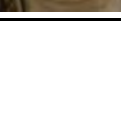


	Shoe	Date	Shoemaker	Details
	Northampton 1971.57p brocade buckle latchet [15]	1720s	John Carne	At the Blue Last The corner of Bow Church Yard in Cheapside from Mr. J—e's (label torn)
	Northampton 1968.223, silk brocade, buckle latchet [45]	1750s	Will Cooper	Against Lincoln's Inn, Chancery Lane, London
	Metropolitan Museum, 2009.300.1406a,b, silk buckle latchet	1760s	Tho Ridout	Shoe Maker, London (rest of label unclear)
	Snowhill SNO114, olive green slip-on [84]	1780s	Barry	Ladies Shoe Maker, from Mr Dodd's. Jermyn Street, St James's Lo(ndon) Gloc(ester).
	Clarks, W17+sD9 Black slip-on [67]	1785	Bruckner	Ladies' shoemaker No. 54 Moulton St, Brook Street, Hanover Square
	Hereford Museums 3606, pink kid slip-on [72]	1785	Buhot	Ladies' Shoemaker, No. 35 Broad Street, Golden Square, London.
	Metropolitan Museum, CI63.7.6a,b, satin buckle latchet	1780s	George Sympson	No. 156 Minories, London
	Hampshire County Museums, C1976.31.116, black slip-on	1790s	Baddeley	Boot and Shoe Maker, Oxford Street, London
	Carrow House, green kid slip-on	1790	Cocks	Shoemaker, Crompton Street, St. Anns, Soho.
	Colchester and Ipswich Museum Service, IPSMG: R.1928-149, black tie latchets	1790s	Doughty	Shoe Maker of Bungay (rest of label unclear)
	Colchester and Ipswich Museum Service, IPSMG:R.1948-139.10, black slip-on	1790s	Kemp	Boot and Shoe Maker, Bury
	Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.59.24.28a-b, purple slip-on	1790s	Ledger	Boot & Shoe Maker, No 11 Theobald Road, Near Bedford Row, London
	Killerton, 1360795, red slip-on	1790s	Sutton	Shoe Maker, to Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cumberland, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London
	Museum of Lincolnshire Life UG2565, red slip-on [94]	1790	Taylor & Sons	Shoemakers to Her Majesty Her Royal Highnesses the Princess Royal, Princess Mary, Princess Sophia, Cockspur Street, Charing Cross, London.

Figure 179

Campbell (1747, 220-221) describes patten and clog makers as a “species of the shoe-maker; they only deal in stronger materials.” The patten ring maker was a “class of smiths who work only for this branch, which is but poor bread.” He considers, however, that journeymen clog-makers were able to make a better living than journeymen shoemakers with an earning potential of 15 shillings a week. He suggests that “it requires more strength, but less ingenuity than the shoemaker, and, if I am not much mistaken, is not near so much overstocked.” Mortimer and Dickinson (1819, 1027-1033) suggests that a patten and clog maker could establish a business with between £50 and £100.

Translaters were those that renovated old shoes for the purposes of reselling. The implication is that their status in society was lower than that of a maker but higher than a cobbler.

Cobblers repaired shoes and it was deemed a lowly trade. Repairs would have been carried out many times before shoes were considered to have worn out. Indeed, it is said that some sons took great pride in wearing their father’s, or even grandfather’s, leather boots. Saguto (2009, 147) gives a translation of an eighteenth century Swiss essay fragment entitled *Der Shuster* which states that:

“the resoling of shoes is a useful thing whereby one often can spare a new pair. This trade is so much more affordable for the poorer sort because the shoes are not only repaired more times but also are gone over so often that the people can pay the shoemaker for the new shoes when they sell their old repaired shoes to the translator. By this they proceed swiftly, also protecting their feet from injurious accidents that could happen if they had put on the most beautiful new shoes in which one often acts with pomp and arrogance.”

Figure 180 from 1786-99 illustrates the cobbler’s lowly position. His repair work is carried out using similar tools to the shoemaker with the shoe held on this knee by a stirrup of leather. He is shown mending a woman’s shoe with small latches for a string or lace.



Figure 180
Details from Montgomery, J.
(1786-99)
The Cobbler.
[Etching] London: British
Museum 1982,U.4471



It seems likely that the fabrics used by the shoemakers would have been obtained as remnants from mantua makers and tailors. There has yet to be found proof of this but it would seem the most logical explanation as evidenced by the mismatch of brocade patterns between a pair of shoes and indeed, sometimes within a single shoe [11, 62]. There was a trade of piece broking of which Campbell (1747) seems to have had a low opinion. He describes a piece broker as a shopkeeper who

“buys from the honest taylor, shreds and remnants of all materials that go through his hands, and sells them again to such as want them for mending &c. However, whether he gets it fairly or not, he makes a pretty comfortable livelihood of his business.”

He goes on to remark that this trade was rarely learnt but that they were “generally decayed taylors: or some cunning men who have crept into the secrets of the trade.” It is likely that fabrics were obtained in this way particularly as Ashelford (1996, 139) states that cut and uncut velvet was usually used for men’s suits rather than women’s clothing suggesting that that such velvets used on shoes [80] must have come from tailor rather than mantuamaker. The ubiquity of silk evident in extant shoes suggests that it was readily available at a cost effective prices. This would have been unlikely if shoemakers were required to purchase full pieces from a draper.

Homemade shoes

There is evidence that shoemaking at home became a fashionable pastime for ladies. There are patterns in various magazines such as the *Lady’s Magazine*. Figures 181 and 182 shows an example of shoe uppers from an embroidery pattern book from around 1725 by Margaretha Helm held by the V&A.

The Tradesman (1810, 415) quotes a father that was persuaded to provide shoemaking tools and a teacher to his daughters on the assumption that he would save money on his bill at the shoemakers (“Each of my daughters destroy, upon average, eight pair of shoes annually, which cost them about six shillings per pair or £2.8/- per annum”). He found, however, that



Figure 181
V&A, E.1152-1933



Figure 182
V&A, E.3403-1932

“the study of shoe-making spoiled the symmetry of my daughters’ fingers; made them round-shouldered ...” The shoes they made were kept unworn as examples of their skills and the whole process cost him £8.8/-.

A letter in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (Urban, 1801, 983) complains of women undertaking what were perceived to be men’s occupations, the starting point being the fashion for amusing themselves making shoes.

“These shoes, I am told, are made, that is to say the soles of them, of flax twisted in a particular manner, which I cannot describe, but which makes a sole at once firm and repellent of wet. They also purchase leather (they will be tanners next) and cut it out for upper-leathers, and so waxing their thread, &c they compleat the whole process of shoe-making... I have been told, indeed, that a pair of shoes made as above will required upwards of a month (some say six weeks) and will be no more than eighteen pence under the trade price.”

Although rather tongue in cheek, the letter suggests that shoes made in the home were complete pairs and not just the uppers. How widespread the craze for shoemaking was is not clear but must have been prominent enough to merit such lampooning.

There is no real evidence of home-made shoes still extant that have been identified. It seems that there may have been a middle ground with uppers being embroidered at home and then taken to a shoemaker for making up. The V&A have several embroidered uppers still uncut (Figures 69-71). For this reason, it is very difficult to be sure which shoes were wholly professionally made and which were not.

Adaptations, repairs and maintenance

Appelbaum (2007, 138) comments that, “Information about traditional care and maintenance tells us a great deal about what owners knew about the physical susceptibilities of their possessions ... Evidence of high standards of care indicate expectations of longevity and imply a high regard for the objects concerned.”

As has been shown in chapter 2, shoes were altered to suit an individual’s needs. Panels were often let into the vamp or the tongue to allow for a required wider fitting due to the foot expansion of the original wearer or because the shoe was translated for a new one. Cuts were also made in the vamp, that were hidden by buckles during wear, for the the same reason.

There is evidence of special shoes being made to more specific requirements. Anne Boulton walked with a limp, possibly as a result of a club foot. Her shoes were made so that the left foot was built up using thick cork soles (Mason, 2005). Cork was used as it was lightweight, easily shaped, comfortable to walk on and reasonably resilient.

This chapter has discussed the processes involved in eighteenth-century shoe manufacture revealing how specialised each process became, resulting in a fragmented system that depended largely on out-workers. The primary evidence gleaned from the shoe survey has been used to support contemporaneous manuals and to provide further enlightenment where processes are unclear. The detailed study of shoes has given an increased awareness of a sector of consumerism and consumption during the eighteenth century and supports the idea that this was not only an upper class phenomenon but that the middle and lower classes also made a significant contribution. The complex nature of such shoes has been highlighted and will be elaborated further in the next chapter outlining the manufacturing processes of component materials.

MATERIALS USED IN THE MAKING OF WOMEN'S EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SHOES

This chapter follows directly on from the discussion of construction in Chapter 3 to give an overview of the materials used in the construction of shoes and how they were made. The materials from which shoes were made can reveal information about fashion, textile technology, economics, social conventions and economic policy. They are not only relevant to the study with regard to conservation and their treatments but also for the fundamental information they provide when viewing shoes as complex composite objects. There are many works, some of which are listed in the bibliography, which provide more in depth details of the materials concerned. The aim here is to provide sufficient data to assist with both conservation decisions and to aid understanding of shoe construction and style. The chapter also shows visually where various materials might be located on shoes.

From a conservation point of view, as Appelbaum (2007, 43) comments

“Knowledge of the history of technology allows the conservator to identify certain marks on objects as artifacts of the process of creation. Knowledge of the way an object was manufactured and the way it was used also suggests possible sources of weakness, damage or deterioration. Such knowledge helps conservators distinguish between signs of use and physical changes from other sources such as damage from handling.”

An understanding of the way component materials are processed and from what is crucial to ensure that the right substances and techniques are used in the conservation process so that further damage is not caused. It also provides an insight into what damage might occur and the conditions in which the shoes might be susceptible. The fact that several types of material are used together in one object could indicate that different parts of a shoe might deteriorate in dissimilar ways to others and at differing rates. These will be examined more closely in Chapter 6. The observation of the interconnection between the various materials may well also have implications for other objects with similar combinations.

“All objects contain information as well as having intrinsic values as artifacts. Their creators thought about what they were doing and chose materials and fabrication techniques from among those available to them, so every object embodies the technology of its time.” (Appelbaum, 2007, xxiii)

As well as the knowledge shoes can provide about the fashions and modes of dress of the period under study, it is also important to recognise that they also impart a great deal of information with regard to various processing and manufacturing methodologies of the time eg tanning, weaving, dyeing and printing. As the construction process of shoes has been

examined in detail it is equally appropriate to consider their components and how they in their turn were made. Although it has been illustrated how similar some extant shoes are, it should also be observed that there are very few fabrics used that are exactly the same. The closer inspection of shoes from the eighteenth century provides a valuable resource of the wide variety of fabrics available.

Leather and its use in eighteenth-century shoemaking

In the words of Garsault, “Leather is generally the material used to make shoes, boots, leggings etc. When anything else is used, it is purely for fancy or special reason.” (Saguto, 2009, 52). *The book of trades* (1838, 267) gives the reasoning “what is wanted in covering for the feet is evidently some substance able to keep out water, and at the same time sufficiently pliable to permit free motion. This want is admirably supplied by leather.” In addition to these qualities leather was readily available.

Throughout the period under examination shoes were made predominately of leather - it was always used for the sole (Figure 183) but was often used for the basis of the uppers (Figure 184), upper linings and the insole (Figure 185) as well. By the 1790s 50% of the shoes surveyed were all leather. It was chosen for its strength and durability but also was seen as a sign of status. In the early eighteenth century, leather shoes were identified “as a material sign of personal wealth: a visual manifestation of acquiring basic rank in society” but by the middle of the century even the poorest in the country had leather shoes (Riello, 2006, 30).

Properties of leather

Leather, according to the British standard (British Standards Institution, 1956) is defined as a “hide or skin with its original fibrous structure more or less intact, tanned to be imputrescible.” For the purposes of shoemaking the leathers most often used were those of calves, cow, sheep and goat. Thinner cowhides, ie those from older cows that have calved, were best suited for inner soles and uppers whereas thicker cowhides, especially those from



Figure 183
Clarks
W17sD7 [1]



Figure 184
Snowhill,
SNO100 [61]

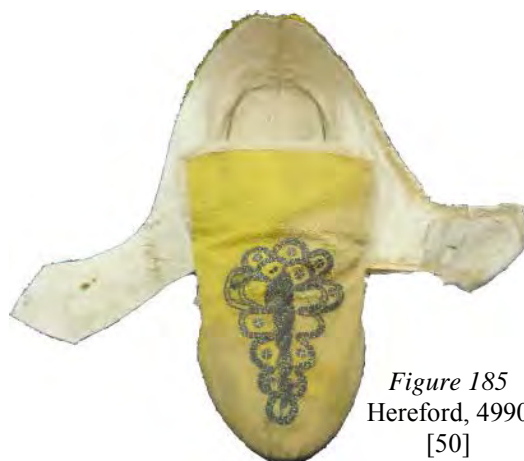


Figure 185
Hereford, 4990
[50]

heifers, were considered better for outer soles, the areas from the back shoulders and rump being the thickest. Bull hides provided thinner leather although they were stronger which were again deemed suitable for insoles and women's shoes; castrated bulls produced thicker hides. *The Monthly Magazine* of 1813 suggests that more unusual animal skins were experimented with for shoemaking such as seal skins (too brittle); dog skins (not available in sufficient quantity); buck and doe skins (too expensive) and horse leather. The use of horse leather for shoemaking was banned by law although this was later repealed. The leather produced was known as cordovan. No evidence of these leathers were found in the surveyed shoes.

The skin comprises several layers:- the thin, outer layer (epidermis); the middle layer (corium) and the inner fatty layer (Figure 186). Leather is made from the corium, the other layers being removed during tanning. The corium, comprising numerous fibres which interweave in three dimensions, are made up from the protein, collagen. Collagen is formed from long chain polymers in a helical structure which in turn coil together. On the death of an animal the larger coils break apart. The purpose of tanning is to hold the coils together to retain the strength and structure of the hide. If a skin was merely dried it would be hard and durable but would begin to putrefy and deconstruct on contact with water. Indeed, an animal skin is almost entirely soluble in boiling water forming a jelly-like substance. During tanning, the tannins react with the skin to form a cloudy precipitate which, with the combination of lime, harden leaving a substance that is insoluble in water ie leather.

Leather is particularly appropriate for shoemaking as it is both plastic (ie will retain a shape into which it is moulded, for example around a last or foot) and elastic (able to recover its shape when stretched or compressed, as a shoe would be during wear). It is strong; flexible; relatively resistant to abrasion; easy to work with and lends itself to repair and maintenance. It is permeable so will permit air flow, allowing perspiration to escape, but when treated with wax for example on the outer sole, it becomes relatively water resistant. However, Rees (1813) warns against using water-proofed leather as

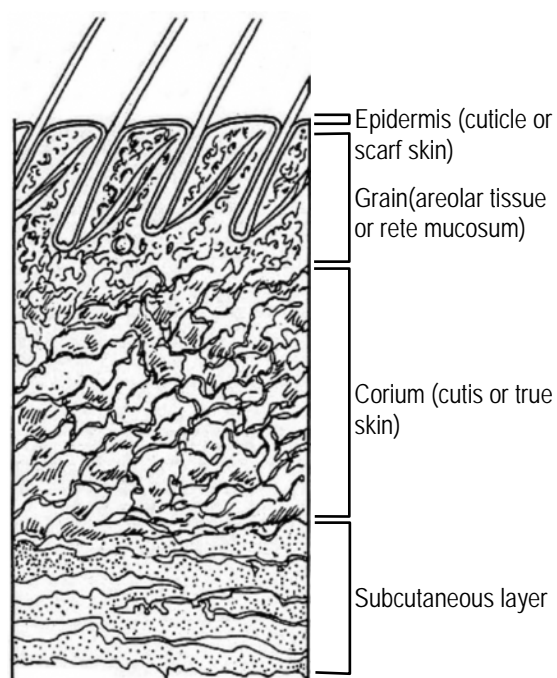


Figure 186
Vertical cross-section of calfskin

“it defeats its own ends, if it should really be so; because if it prevents the water to penetrate in, it will likewise prevent the perspiration of the foot to enter out through the pores of the leather, but will confine the perspirable matter to the foot, which will always be as if in a water bath.”

The manufacture of leather in the eighteenth century

It is important to understand the manufacturing process of leather as knowledge of the products to which the hides have been exposed, for how long and its consequent stability has a bearing on conservation treatments. From the various sources of contemporary literature and other texts it would seem that there were numerous variations on the leather producing processes according to the manufacturers, the source of the skin or hide and the end purpose. Methodology also varied from country to country. The main, and most common, stages of processing leather for shoemaking used in England are outlined in the diagram in Figure 187 and will be examined in more detail below.

The skins, kips and hides from which leather was produced were byproducts of the meat industry and supply was largely dictated by this. Good hides were those which had been well flayed (the skins were removed quickly after death by the slaughterer with no cuts). The skins should also be free from warbles or warble marks (Lalande, 1773, 31). Warbles were holes in the skin created by the gad fly which laid its eggs after creating a hole for them in the skins of cattle. Lalande also remarks (1773, 28) that “the quality of hides and skins is greatly influenced by the conditions under which the animal has grown, the nature of its food, the variety of breed, climate, the state of its constitution, its age and the time of year at which it has been slaughtered.”

Preparation or beamhouse operations

Green hides (with all the associated layers of flesh, hair, blood and filth) were supplied to leather workers straight from the slaughterhouse. If there was to be a delay of a week or more between slaughter and sale, the hides would be salted to retard decay. The first stage of the process was cleaning. As a good supply of water was necessary, leather works were often situated by a river. The subcutaneous fatty layer would be removed by scraping with a slightly curved knife in a method known as scudding or beaming over a beam board (the man on the right in Figure 188 is performing this operation). As illustrated in Figure 188 the skins were washed in the river, often tied to stakes, where the movement of the water helped to loosen unwanted matter. The skins were then left in vats to soak before liming. The hides might also have been trampled to soften them to improve water penetration. The process of washing, beaming and trampling was often repeated several times before progressing to liming. Lalande (1773, 6) states that cowhides take 24 hours to prepare while

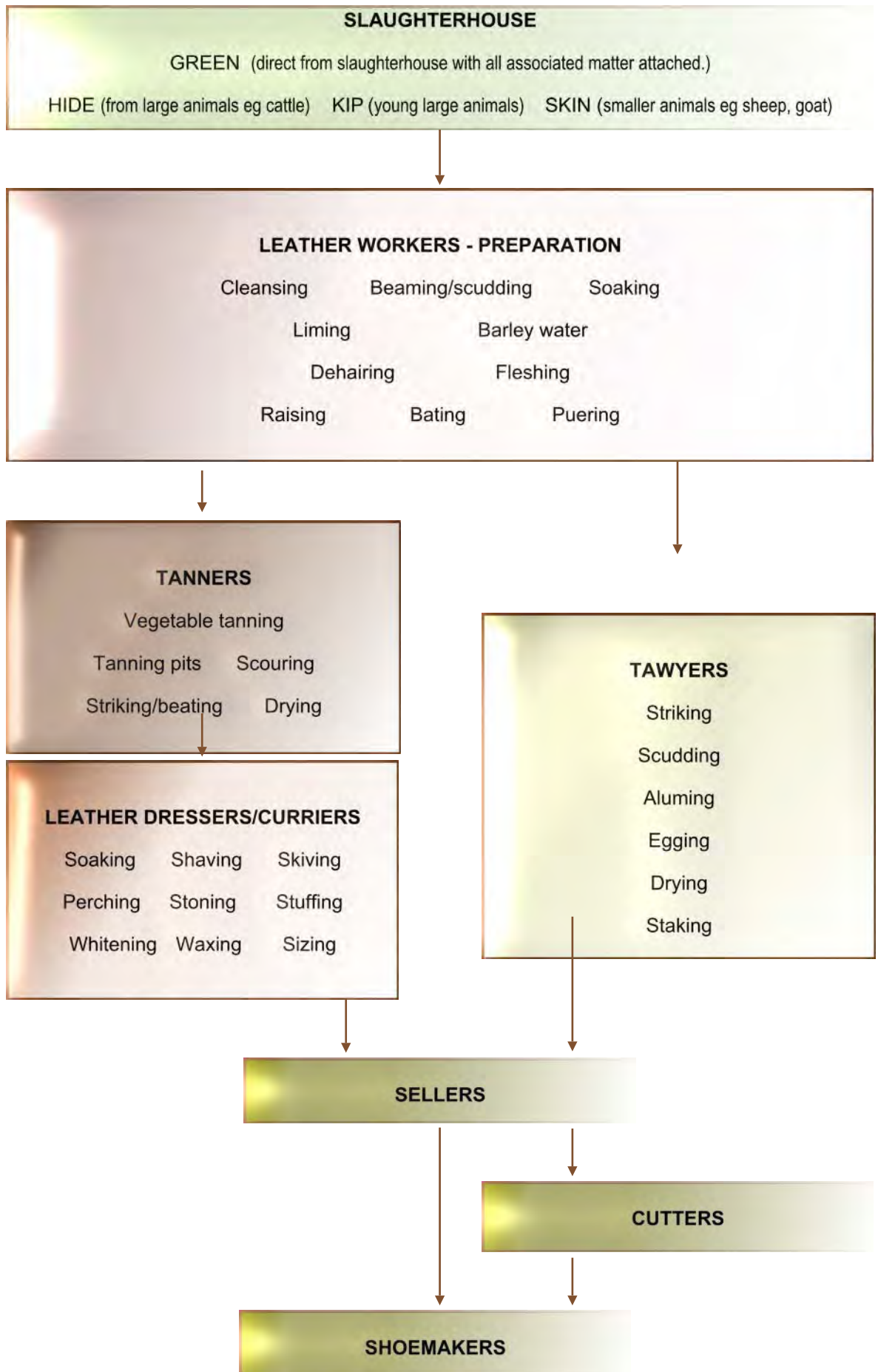


Figure 187
Processes of leather manufacture

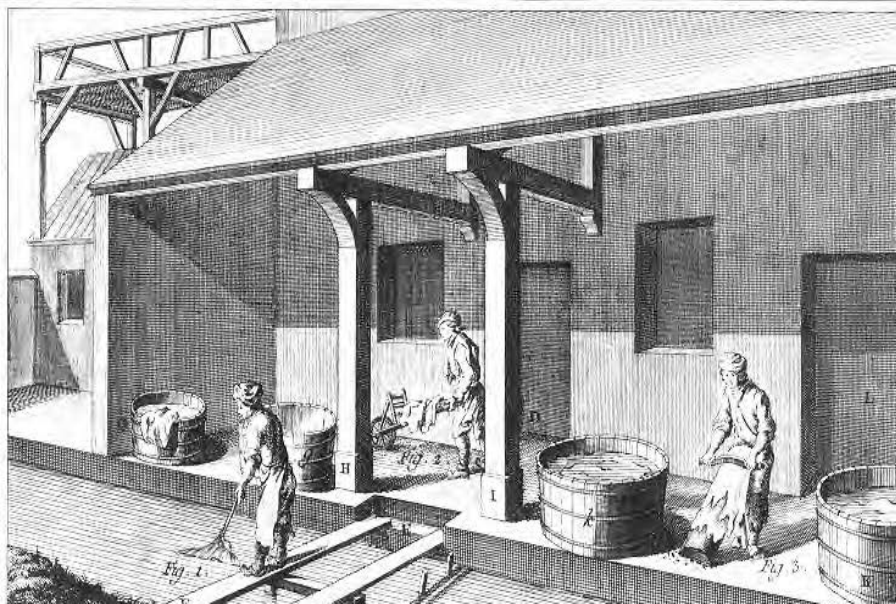


Figure 188
 Details from:
 Diderot & d'Alembert
 (1763) *Tanneur*,
 Plates III,
*Encyclopédie ou
 Dictionnaire raisonné
 des sciences, des arts
 et des métiers*. Paris

calfskins require 48 hours but that “the more they are soaked the better they will tann (sic) and the better they will be in every respect.”

Dehairing and fleshing

Liming was a process carried out to loosen and aid removal of the hair from the skin by swelling the fibres and dilating the skin pores. Watt (1885), states that liming is one of the oldest methods known for the removal of hair and, despite its disadvantages, was still the most widely used. The skins and hides were placed in large cisterns and steeped in a solution of lime as seen in Figure 189. The initial steepings were in pre-used lime solutions as the rotting remains within them provided a further source of bacteria to breakdown the hair follicles, and would last 2-3 days. The hides were then removed and folded in piles, while wet, for 4-5 days. These two stages would be repeated several times for approximately two months by which time the hair was loose enough to scrape off. This was done by putting the

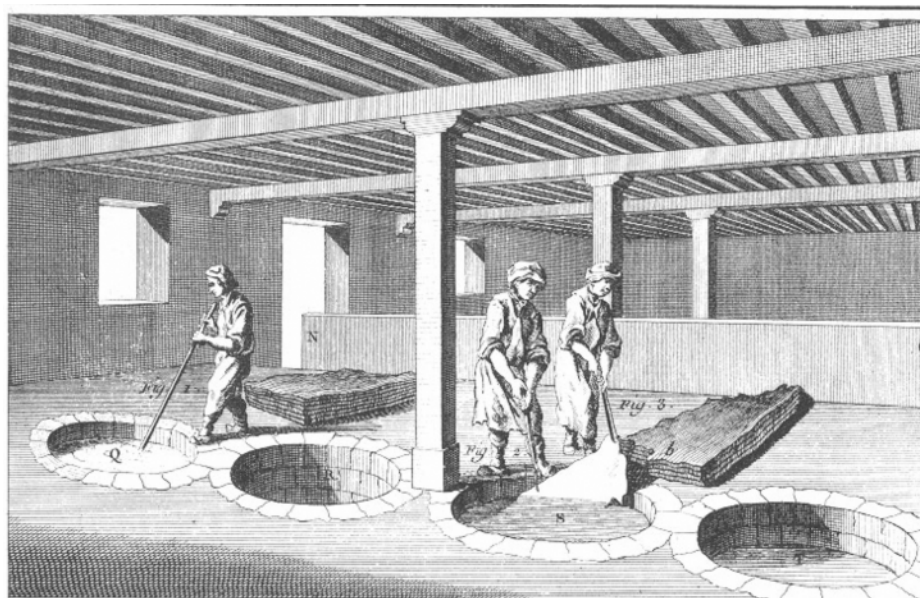


Figure 189
 Details from:
 Diderot &
 d'Alembert (1763)
Tanneur, Plates IV,
*Encyclopédie ou
 Dictionnaire
 raisonné des
 sciences, des arts et
 des métiers*. Paris

hides over a beam board using a blunt round or semi-circular unhairing knife (Figure 190). One man could dehair many dozen hides in one day (Watt, 1885, 120). After a further liming the hides would have been replaced on the beam, so that the flesh and fat could be cut away leaving only the corium exposed. At this point the hides appeared covered with white veins which “prove that the vessels of the hides have been properly discharged” (Lalande, 1773, 12) and were known as hides in tripe due to their resemblance in both colour and texture. The liming process was repeated on the de-haired skins for a further period of up to three months followed by a stronger lime solution for four months. The process had to be carefully monitored as hides left too long in strong solutions could burn. The length of time taken for the liming depended on the type of leather required: longer periods in weaker solutions were needed for softer leathers.



Figure 190
Detail from *Tanner and Currier* (1790)
[online] Available from
http://explorepahistory.com/display_image.php?imgId=1-2-12E2. [Accessed 14.4.14]

Gillespie (1959, plate 392) notes that hides could also be prepared for tanning by soaking in four progressively stronger solutions of barley water for 2-3 days in each. This process was obviously much quicker than liming but it required the skins to be turned and drained every 1½ hours and was therefore much more labour intensive. The process also needed large amounts of barley which was not always readily available as its use as a food had priority in years of short supply. It was only suitable for skins and hides of thinner grades as it helped nourish the skins, particularly of animals that were old or had been worked hard during their life. It was considered that limed hides had been better penetrated and were therefore more suitable for shoes for winter use whereas barley treated hides were better for summer use.

Heavy hides, such as bull or ox, might have been treated slightly differently. Instead of liming, the hides were suspended on poles in a smoke house. The heat and smoke aided putrefaction which loosened the hairs and other unwanted matter. The hides were then worked with a fleshing knife over a beam followed by immersion into pits containing weak sulphuric acid solutions. This process was known as raising as it aided the swelling process of the grain thus making it more susceptible to the tanning process. The hides, known as butts or backs (Phillips, 1818, 391), went on to be tanned in the same way as limed ones. Butts were principally used for sole leather.

Bating, puering and raising

A deliming process then took place. This removed the lime and softened the skin, opening the pores further to facilitate the penetration of the tannins. This could be done in two ways. Bating or puering (pureing) involved immersion in an infusion of bird (largely pigeon or hen) droppings known as bates or dog excrement (known as pure). The proteolytic enzymes contained within these substances helped remove the excess lime and resulted in a softer, smoother skin with clear grain. The bating process required up to twelve days where as puering took only a few hours.

The alternative deliming process was known as raising or drenching. It involved the immersion of the hides in liquids containing fermented grains (often barley or rye), stale beer or urine. “The action of the fermentation was to produce a complex mixture of organic acids and enzymes which dissolved the non-fibrous protein of the skin and removed excess lime.” (Kite and Thomson, 2006, 69). *The book of trades* (1838, 261) stated that “some prefer using a liquour made by means of sulphuric acid, oil of vitriol, in water.” Both of these processes were followed by a further washing and scraping to remove the resultant slime.

Tanning

The most commonly used method of leather production was vegetable tanning. Tanning pits were circular or rectangular, dug into the ground and lined with wooden planks or stone. Figure 191 shows tanning pits in the caves at Nottingham that were used up until the early eighteenth century, dug into the sandstone. The bottom of the tanning pits was lined with used ground bark, about six inches deep, covered with a layer of fresh bark about one inch deep (Lalande, 1773, 36). A hide was placed on top followed by more bark and another hide and so on until the pit was full, finishing with a layer of bark. The pits were then topped up with water. Pits could hold up to forty hides and would probably take about four hours to fill.



Figure 191
Tanning pits in
Nottingham caves.

According to Campbell (1747, 216) the bark used was generally oak which would have been stripped from the timber in the summer, sun-dried and “made small in a mill.” Sir Humphry Davy carried out research into the chemistry of tanning from 1800-1803 and confirmed that spring-cut bark contained up to 50% more tannins than that cut in the winter (Watt, 1885, 53). Other barks used included willow, birch and alder although they were not as effective as oak. *The Encyclopedia Britannica* (1857, 306) states that 4-6lbs of bark was required for every pound of leather and that “there is no doubt that the peculiar excellence of the sole leather of England is due in great measure to the superior oak-bark which we possess.”

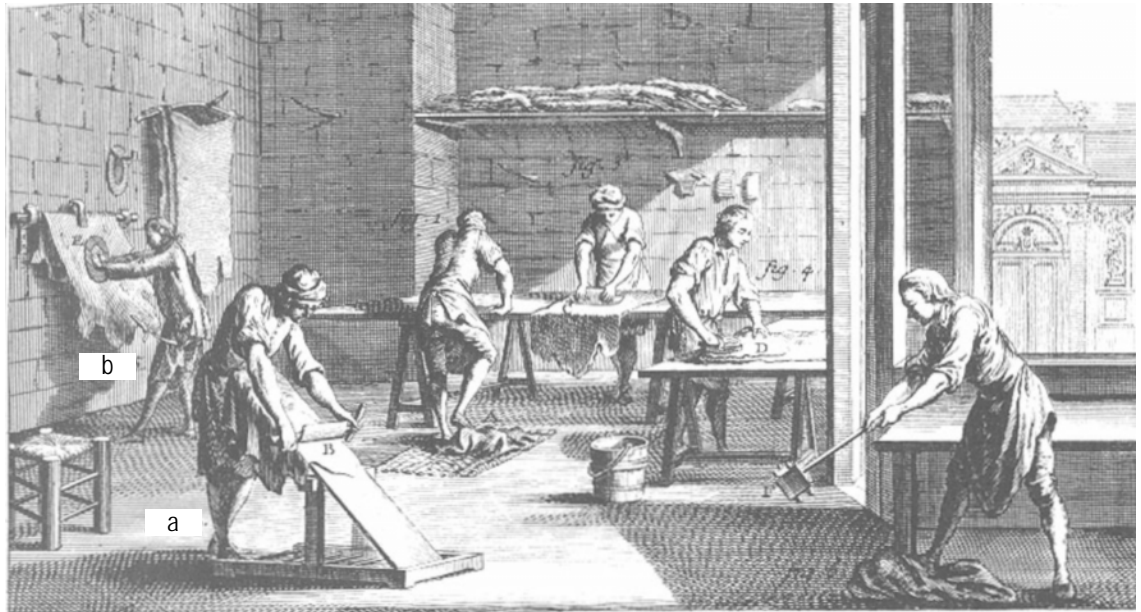
The hides would have been left in such pits until they had been fully penetrated which could take at least a year. Lalande (1773, 37) states that in London it never took longer than eighteen months while Riello (2002, 39) remarks that leather intended for soles should be tanned for at least twelve months and for uppers only nine but that generally 14-15 months was taken. *The book of trades* (1838, 263) reports that calf skins could be tanned in 2-4 months. The liquid in which the hides soaked was known as ooze or ouze. The resultant hides would then have been soft and pliant and reddish brown in colour.

On removal from the pits the hides were rinsed and left to dry, hung or stretched on poles, while being carefully monitored. If the hides dried too slowly they were susceptible to mould growth whereas as hides dried too quickly were liable to be hard, brittle and discoloured (Jenkins, 1972, 68). When semi-dry, the hides were rubbed, rolled, beaten with a mallet and/or trampled, particularly on the flesh side, to ensure a flat, even surface. They were then piled and covered with weighted boards. This process would be repeated a number of times over the drying period which could take up to one month. Lalande (1773, 48) reports that eight men could beat 30 hides in a day and that beating made a considerable difference to the quality of the hide. The hides were then numbered, weighed and stamped by an excise officer before they could be sold. Tanners were not permitted to carry out any further processes as these had to be done by curriers. Campbell (1747, 216) purports “as to tanning, it is generally performed in the country, and the hides ready tanned are sent up to London and bought by the several classes of leather dressers at Leadenhall Market.”

Dressing or currying

Once the tanning was completed the hides were sold to curriers for dressing as appropriate for their end use eg shoes, saddles and harnesses or coaches.

“The art of currying consists in dressing skins, after they are tanned, for the purposes of the boot and shoe makers ... by which they acquire the pliancy, smoothness, grain and colour necessary for the important purposes to which they are to be applied. The operations of the currier are chiefly mechanical and form a distinct branch of the trade.” (Watt, 1885, 334)



Detail from: Diderot & d'Alembert (1763) *Corroyeur, Plate I, Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*. Paris

The first stage of currying was the wetting of the leather followed by trampling or beating to encourage rehydration and increase its softness and suppleness. The flesh side of the skin was shaved or pared (as seen Figure 192, a). Perching may also have been carried out to improve suppleness as shown in Figure 192, b taking approximately one hour per skin. Following repeated wetting, the hide, grain side down, was placed on a scouring stone (most likely pumice) or “some other stone of good grit, by which means a white sort of substance is forced out of the leather, called the bloom, produced in the operation of tanning” (Phillips, 1818, 129). The flesh side was then worked with a slicker pushing the grain side against the stone. Stuffing followed which was the impregnation of the skins with dubbing (a mixture of tallow and cod liver oil) and further working with a slicker. Whitening was then carried out which involved further shaving of the flesh. This was a highly skilled process and would only have been carried out by an experienced currier. Waxing was where ‘colour’ (a mixture of lamp black, cod liver oil and dubbing, as well as, sometimes, stale tan liquor) was rubbed into the flesh side of the skin using a brush with circular movements to ensure a uniform coating followed by smoothing with a glass slicker. The final stage was sizing, when a mix of glue and cod liver oil was rubbed into the coloured side of the hide and again smoothed with a glass slicker to provide a polished finish completed by a further application of oil.

Campbell (1747, 216) states that “Soal-Leather (sic) requires but little Dress in comparison to Upper-Leather; and every different Species of Leather has a different Method of Dressing.”

If coloured leathers were required natural dyes and/or pigments were used at the currying stage.



Figure 193
Clarks Museum W17+sD2 [88]

Morocco Leather

Morocco leather had a distinctive finish with the grain drawn up into fine creases and was much prized for shoemaking. As Watt (1885, 290) remarks it was “remarkable for its glossy, wrinkled and fibrous appearance.” An example of a shoe made from morocco leather is shown in Figure 193. It was a process originally carried out in Morocco hence its name, but also in The Levant, Cyprus and Turkey.

Goatskins (or fells), usually male, were used to create morocco leather. Many of the processes were similar to English tanning but with notable differences as summarised in Figure 194. The skins were dried after slaughter with the hair left on. The first stage of preparation was drenching ie steeping the skins in stagnant water for a few days to soften them. They were then broken by scraping or rubbing them on the beam and subsequently limed for a month or so. On removal from the lime they were fleshed, de-haired, washed and pummelled with wooden pestles. Puering for about twelve hours followed and Lalande (1773, 205) reports that this was done with 14-15 quarts of dog excrement and water worked into a pap by hand. The skins then underwent scudding to remove any remaining unwanted matter.

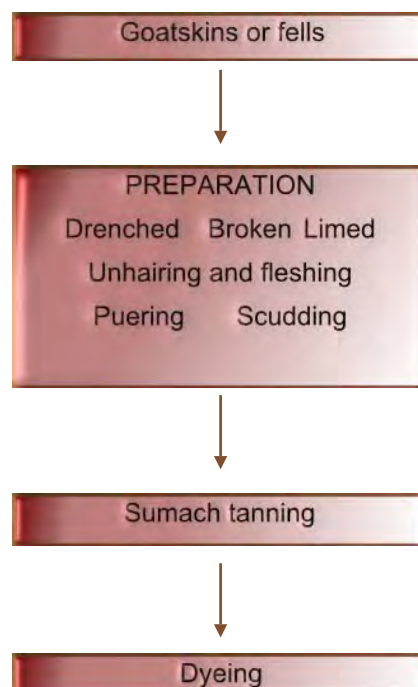


Figure 194
Processes of morocco
leather manufacture



Figure 195
Sumach tanning
[online].
Available from:
<http://boar.org.uk/aaiwxw3MusprattL9Fancy.htm>
[Accessed 14.4.14]

They were then ready for the tanning process. For this, the skins were folded and sewn together to form bags with the grain side out. A small hole was left so that they could be filled with a strong solution of sumach solution and then tied up with string. The bags were placed in a vat of hot, weaker sumach solution and stirred. This tanning process took only a few hours (Figure 195). Lalande (1773, 205) states that gall nuts were used instead of sumach if a yellow colour was desired. On removal from the vat the bags were pressed and piled together. The last two stages were then repeated. The bags were then undone and the sediment removed (which went on to be used as manure). The skins were washed and struck, ie scraped and rubbed, before drying.

The dyeing process began with the skins being softened in hot water. They were then paired, with flesh sides together, and mordanted with a solution of alum or tin. Next they were placed in a dye bath of cochineal and alum or tartar for half an hour. This procedure was repeated until the desired colour was reached. Following rinsing and drying, sesame oil was applied to the grain side. The resultant leather was soft, fine grained and bright red.

Garsault (Saguto, 2009) mentions that black or yellow morocco was also used by shoemakers but red was the most expensive to produce and therefore the most prestigious. Lalande (1773, 234) states “it is the most esteemed, the dearest and the finest of all leathers.” Black morocco for shoes was considered practical as it could be cleaned with a sponge dipped in vinegar to restore its colour without leaving black polish that would stain or soil the stocking.

Fellmongering

Skins such as sheep and goat were often treated in a different way. Sheepskins, for instance, were first processed by fellmongers whose job it was to remove the wool. This was done by hanging the skins in a warm environment until the wool became loose. It was then pulled

off and sorted for sale to wool merchants. Thomson (1992, 30) states that some fellmongers of the time coated the flesh side with a thick slurry of lime which penetrated the skin and killed off the roots of the wool without damaging the wool itself. The skins, now known as fells, were cleaned and salted before being passed to a whittawyer for tanning or more frequently for tawing. Vegetable tanned sheepskins were known as basils or bazils and these were used for the uppers of women's shoes (Saguto, 2009, 53).

Tawing

Whittawyers carried out the process of tawing summarised in Figure 187. The same preparation stages were used as those for tanning ie liming, dehairing, scraping and bating or raising. After raising the skins were struck or scudded ie worked over the beam with a blunt knife to remove any lime or extraneous matter. The skins were then put into wooden vats with alum, salt and water. This served to whiten and soften the skins and ensured that they did not harden on drying. If the finest quality was required, the skins would have been pasted with an emulsion made with egg yolks, flour and water and then trampled with bare feet until the emulsion had been fully absorbed. After drying, the resultant material was stiff and had to be softened and made more pliable by staking, a process of stretching and pulling over a blunt semi circular blade mounted on a wooden support as shown in Figure 196. *The book of trades* (1838, 265) maintains that

“the last operations to which this kind of leather is submitted, are polishing and graining. Being stretched tight on a smooth inclined board, the skin is smeared over with a little oil, and then polished by means of a glass ball held in the hand, a proceeding which required a great deal of labour. The graining, or inequality, of surface you may have noticed in these light leathers, is produced by rubbing it strongly with a ball of boxwood, round the centre of which small parallel grooves are cut.”



Figure 196
Staking. [online]
Available from
<http://patrickbaty.co.uk/2011/09/04/gilt-leather/> [Accessed 14.4.2014]



Figure 197
Nottingham
NCM 1948-103
[52]

The finished product was a white, fine grained, soft leather used for uppers and shoe linings (as in Figure 197) as well as gloves. Although similar, tawing is not the same as tanning. The process gives greater strength to the skins and prevents putrefaction. However, tawed skins are not truly leather as the tawing process is reversible and can be removed with water.

As well as sheep skins, tawing was also used on kid and goat skin and occasionally on calf. It seems likely that as so much white leather appears in extant shoes, although annotated as kid skin, it is actually tawed sheep skin as this was much more widely available and therefore more cost effective. Without closer examination aided by microscope it is difficult to be sure.

Leather trade and industry in the eighteenth century

The preparation and tanning of leather was a dirty and odorous business and consequently was usually confined to less populous areas and the country. Tanneries were required to be downstream so that they did not pollute water required by the townsfolk. They needed a great deal of space for a series of pits to ensure a continuous supply of tanned leather. Thus a certain amount of capital investment had to be sourced. Tanners were obliged to take out an annual licence in order to operate and tanned leather was subject to three pence per pound in excise duty.

For leather workers conditions were hard and there were inevitable health risks. The need to handle animal excrement meant that anthrax was a possibility which could prove fatal. In addition, the chemicals that were used caused respiratory conditions and lime was corrosive and could burn. However, there were also some benefits in that it has been found that the mould that formed on top of tanning pits during the long tanning periods was penicillin, the spores of which were regularly inhaled every time it was disturbed thus counteracting disease with its antibiotic properties (Kite and Thomson, 2006, 87). The general threat to public health from tanneries inevitably meant that they were situated out of town and therefore at a distance from the shoemakers.

The process of leather manufacture was part of a much wider industry. The slaughter of animals was largely for meat and the resultant hides a by-product with meat accounting for 90% of the total value of the animal (Riello, 2002, 25). However, the leather market itself was significant in the overall economy such that even the growing of oak for bark was considered an essential part of the farming economy. Watt (1885, 136) states that in the 1840s £5000 per annum was spent in London alone collecting and purchasing bate (pigeon dung). In turn, the by-products of the leather manufacturing process provided further income. The hair removed after liming was used by upholsterers and stone masons for plaster making. Calves hair was used in the manufacture of cloth, carpets and felting although it needed to

be well cleaned before selling on. The parings and fleshings were used for making glue. If they were well preserved and odourless the glue produced was used by paper makers; if not the glue was used by furniture makers. The spent lime, bark and tan liquor could all be used as fuel or manure.

Shoemaking accounted for 60-70% of leather usage (Riello, 2006, 24). Lalande (1773, ix) gives a break down for the cost of tanning leather for shoemaking shown in the table at Figure 198. He later states (1773, 128) that the profit on tanning 50 hides would be in the region of £5-£15 taking into account expenses for labour, raw materials and hides and the income from the sale of the leather as well as horns, hair, fleshings, parings and lime. Barley raised leather was more profitable as the process was quicker and was much adopted by the French. However, the resultant leather wore out sooner and therefore needed to be replaced more frequently. For this reason the French were reluctant to adopt the English way of working whilst acknowledging that the quality of the leather produced was superior. English hides weighed in the region of 60-70lbs and cost 30-40 shillings in the green state and sold for one shilling per pound in weight on tanning.

Riello states (2002, 35) that from 1790-1815 leather was much more expensive due to the increased demand from the military during the Napoleonic wars, coupled with reduced supply as cattle and hide importation had been blocked. Perversely this was the time when the style in women's shoes moved away from the textile covered uppers to leather shoes with textile trimmings. It may well be that at this time leather was seen as a desirable material to demonstrate wealth and status as silk had done previously.

	£	s	d
Cost of Tanning for Uppers			
100 hides @ £1/5/-	125	0	0
100 barrels of bark @ £6/10/- per ton	48	15	0
Journeymens wages for 18 months on 100 hides	7	16	0
One man will work 500 hides in one year, liming, masterings, etc at 1/- per hide	5	0	0
Total	186	11	0
Cost of Tanning for Sole Leather			
100 hides @ £1/5/-	125	0	0
100 barrels of bark @ £6/10/- per ton	48	15	0
Journeymen's wages for 18 months on 100 hides	7	16	0
Raising hides @ 2/- per hide	10	0	0
Total	196	11	0

Figure 198

Tanned hides would be taken to London and sold on to leather dressers at markets such as Leadenhall and Southwark. Phillips (1818, 131) states that shoe-makers and leather-cutters bought most of the goods at Leadenhall, “particularly their sole or butt leather.” Leadenhall market was made up of five courts or squares; the main one was surrounded by buildings used as sheds for butchers (mainly beef) and tanners. The square was used on a Tuesday for leather sales and on a Friday for raw hides. Fellmongers sold wool on Thursdays. Sheepskins were sold at Wood’s Close Market.

The word currier is derived from ‘coriamus’ which means a worker in leather. The term therefore only applies to those who work with leather that is already tanned. There was a very distinct line drawn between the two trades of tanning and currying. Curriers were supposed to operate under license from the Board of Excise, renewed annually, under which their premises were liable for inspection. Hides had to have a tanners’ duty mark to prove that tax had been paid otherwise they could be seized. There were strict rules to ensure that only hides which had been properly tanned could be curried and that currying was carried out within reasonable time scales with penalties of fines and forfeiture for non-compliance. “If Curriers do not curry leather, sent to them within sixteen days, between Michaelmas and Lady-Day, and in eight days at other times, they are liable to a forfeiture of 5l. 12 Geo. II. c. 25” (Phillips, 1818, 132). Campbell (1747, 216) states that leather dressers were able to make good profits but they had to hold a great stock and be prepared to allow large amounts of credit. He suggested that journeymen could make 15-20 shillings per week and apprentices could start work from the age of fifteen. Curriers were not restricted in their operating locations in the way that tanners were and tended to position themselves more centrally, nearer their point of sale to the shoemakers who in turn were located near their customer base. However, they were not allowed windows that opened onto the street (Clarkson, 1983).

The selling of leather was seen as a reputable and profitable business. Indeed the livery company was established in 1444 and ranks fifteenth in precedence out of the 144 livery companies in the City of London. However, it required a considerable investment to commence a business. Campbell (1747, 216) implies that little previous knowledge was required as only a relatively short time and experience was enough to teach “the common Faults, Properties, and Prices of Leather.” Even their shop keepers and book keepers could expect to earn between £20 and £40 per annum (Campbell, 1747, 216), nearly £29 being the average wage for an urban craftsman in 1747 (Clark, 2001, 9). There were 1500 leather sellers in England in 1811 compared to 1766 tanners and 1648 curriers (Riello, 2002, 29).

Leather cutters were the intermediary between the sellers and the shoemakers. The trade grew as the price of leather rose as shoemakers could not afford to buy whole hides at once

(Campbell , 1747, 216). Riello (2002, 80) states that an entire hide could cost £10 whereas smaller amounts could start from two shillings. The cutters would work out the most economical ways to cut out soles and uppers in various sizes from the hides, ensuring that the correct parts of the shoe were cut from the most appropriate parts of the leather. They then sold the parts on as required.

Garsault (Saguto, 2009, 53) states that white sheep’s leather or “fair basils” were used to make the vamps and quarters of women’s shoes “that is, to underlay the fabric that is applied over it” while cowhide was used for insoles and outer soles (for women’s shoes only). The use of white alum tawed leather for women’s shoes was for its softness and pliability. However, a material that is so light coloured for an object that is worn on the foot is questionable as it would inevitably be exposed to dirt, dust and perspiration, all of which were likely to cause discolouration. In addition, tawed leather was vulnerable to moisture as the tawing process could be reversed in water. Is this another indication of the status of the wearers of such shoes or that were only intended to be worn for limited periods and mainly inside?

Linen and its use in eighteenth-century shoemaking

In shoemaking, linen cloth was mostly used for upper linings and socks. It can be found used in this way on 70% of the shoes examined evidenced by Figure 199. It appears generally as a plain or tabby weave and varies in the thread count from very fine to relatively coarse, an example of which is shown in (Figure 200). The lining fabric needed to be of greater strength in both the warp and weft than the outer fabric as it was required to withstand most of the stresses caused during wear. Linen thread was used for the stitching of shoes and is especially visible as the white stitches around the sole, top piece, heel and heel breast as in Figure 201. It was known to be a strong fibre and was readily available and relatively inexpensive.



Figure 199
Linen lining
of the uppers.
Snowhill
SNO140 [65]

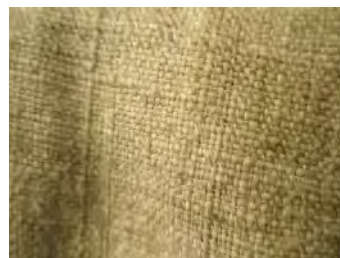


Figure 200
Detail showing
tabby weave of
an unbleached
linen.
Snowhill
SNO110 [38]



Figure 201
Heel of a shoe
showing the
white linen
thread stitches
around the
edges.
Clarks
W17sD4 [12]

An appreciation of the manufacture and properties of linen is consequently important to a conservator. As a cellulosic fibre it reacts differently to environmental factors than the materials (such as silk, wool and leather) to which it is closely attached, either by paste or stitching. An understanding of the way in which linen was produced is relevant as the chemicals and processes that the fibres underwent influences the conservation treatments that might be used to ensure that there are no negative interactions.

Properties of flax fibres and linen

Linen is derived from the bast fibres that run the length of the stem of the flax plant (*linum usitatissimum*). It is a “thick, regular fibre with a subdued lustre” (Gohl and Vilensky 1983, 51). Its colour can vary through pale white-yellow to fawn, brown to dark bluish grey depending on where it was grown and how it is retted. The resultant cloth when produced from Irish linen is near white/yellow whereas that from Holland and Germany is more silvery blue (Baines, 1977, 21).

The length of the fibre ensures that linen yarn is smooth and is therefore less likely to trap dirt and dust within it causing a greyed and dingy appearance, unlike cotton which has a slightly fuzzy surface. Flax can absorb and release water more readily than other fibres consequently linen was the most suitable fabric for items worn close to the skin that came into contact with perspiration such as undergarments and shoe linings. Linen was also best able to withstand the washing process. In addition, flax fibres have the ability to act as heat conductors.

Linen was available in different qualities and could therefore be used by all classes, the poorer having garments made from tow. Sheets and other household textiles were often made from linen as well as carpeting, canvas, tarpaulin, sail cloth and sacking. Finer linen damasks and pattern weaves were also very popular for table cloths, napkins and ecclesiastical use.

Processing and manufacturing of linen cloth in the eighteenth century

The production flow of linen cloth is shown in Figure 202 and is outlined in more detail below. A series of prints published in 1782 by William Hincks give an idea of the Irish linen industry and is used to illustrate the different stages of the manufacturing process.

The farming of flax was a labour intensive process with a crop requiring 82 days of labour as opposed to wheat which only required 25 (Clarkson, 1983, 476). After harvest, the stalks underwent the process of rippling followed by retting. Once dried, the retted fibres were beaten in order to break them down sufficiently before scutching to remove the unwanted stalks leaving the inner core known as lint; followed by hackling or combing the fibres into

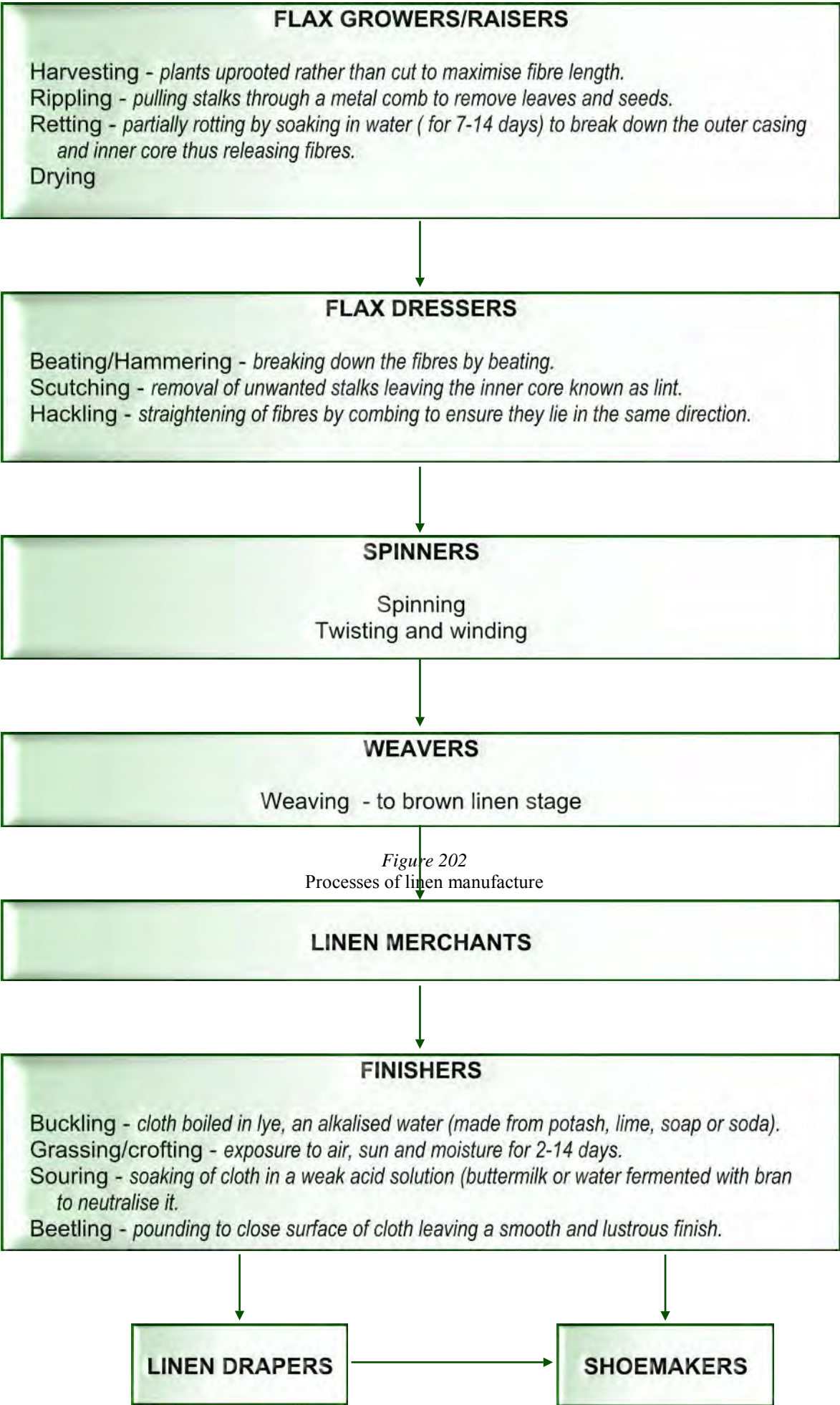




Figure 203
Hincks, W. (1791)
Irish linen industry -The common method of Beetling, Scutching, and Hackling the Flax, Plate 4. [stipple, etching on paper] London: British Museum 1877,0113.373



Figure 204
Hincks, W. (1791)
Irish linen industry - A Perspective View of a Scutch Mill, with the Method of Breaking the Flax, Plate 5. [stipple, etching on paper] London: British Museum 1877,0113.374

hanks for the spinning process using differing grades of hackles from coarse to fine (Figure 203). The process of beating and scutching became mechanised during the eighteenth century with the scutch mill being invented in Scotland where the first water powered mill was constructed in 1729. Figure 204 shows the interior of a scutch mill. The environment within the mill when scutching was taking place would have been full of dust causing inhalation problems for the workers. Campbell (1747, 318) comments of the flax dresser “There are but few in and about London, who follow this Branch, such as do barely make a Living by it: Their Apprentices do not require over and above much Strength or Ingenuity; the Wages of a Journeyman is from Nine to Fifteen Shillings a Week.” The longest fibres made the highest quality yarns, the next grade were known as tow and the remainder were used for thatching (Baines, 1977, 24).

The spinning of the yarn was normally carried out by women in their own homes. It was common practice for all women to spin yarns (not just flax but also wool) for themselves and their families and it was carried out as an evening pastime supplementary to their usual tasks. However, there were also those whose full-time occupation was spinning (Figure 205).



Figure 205
Hincks, W. (1791)
Irish linen industry - Spinning, Reeling with the Clock reel, and Boiling the Yarn, Plate 6. [stipple, etching on paper] London: British Museum 1877,0113.375



Figure 206
Hincks, W. (1791)

Irish linen industry - Winding, Warping, with a new improved warping Mill, and Weaving, Plate 7.
[stipple, etching on paper] London: British Museum
1877,0113.376



Figure 207
Hincks, W. (1791)

Irish linen industry - A complete Perspective View of all the machinery of a Bleach Mill, Plate 9. [stipple, etching on paper] London: British Museum
1877,0113.378

Mechanised spinning for flax was introduced towards the end of the eighteenth century but the length of the flax fibres complicated the process and thus the machines were only able to produce coarser yarns. Thus, for the period under study, virtually all linen would have been hand spun.

On removal from the spinning wheel the yarn was wound around a reel to form hanks (Figure 206) which subdivided into leas or cutts. A lea of linen was expected to equate to 300 yards. The number of leas produced from one hank determined the fineness of the yarn - the greater the number the finer the yarn.

At the weavers, the yarn was woven into cloth. Plain weaving was carried out on simple treadle looms with warp threads (ends) held under tension and the weft threads wound around a shuttle and then threaded between the warps at right angles. The warp threads had to be stronger and were therefore often more tightly twisted. They were also treated with a size such as flour and water or rubbed with soap or tallow to prevent the yarn fraying during the setting up of the loam (Baines, 1977, 16). When woven, the cloth was termed 'brown linen' and was sold to linen drapers for finishing. Brown linen markets were held weekly with several longer fairs held throughout the year.

Once sold, the cloth had to undergo a number of finishing processes, depending on the desired end result, to bleach it (Figure 207). Generally the first one was that of buckling followed by grassing or crofting. Particular areas of land with a good supply of water, were set aside for this process and were known as bleaching greens (Figure 208). Due to the nature of the process grassing was only carried out between March and October. The development of drying houses or roofed wooden buildings, with louvred sides, which provided protection from the elements whilst still allowing a good air flow, extended the period in which the process could be carried out but meant a considerable financial outlay.



Figure 208
Hincks, W. (1791)
*Irish linen industry - A Bleach Green taken
in the County of Downe, Plate 10.*
[stipple, etching on paper]
London: British Museum 1877,0113.379



Figure 209
Hincks, W. (1791)
*Irish linen industry - A Perspective View of a Lapping
Room, with the Measuring, Crisping or Folding the
Cloth in Lengths, Plate 11.* [stipple, etching on paper]
London: British Museum 1877,0113.380

Finally the cloth was soured, a procedure which could take three months (Tann 1971, 158). The process was accelerated in the 1750s when dilute sulphuric acid (oil of vitriol) was used as the neutraliser. By the 1780s a new beaching liquor derived from chlorine reduced the time even further so that output increased to over 10,000 pieces each year. Although chlorine gave a more brilliant whiteness it could cause the linen to yellow if not handled correctly. Dependant on the final use of the cloth, the linen could then have undergone beetling. The finished white linen would have been folded and packed (Figure 209) to be sold at the linen halls.

The linen trade and industry in the eighteenth century

Mortimer and Dickenson (1819, 1027-1033) suggest that a flax dresser would need from £50 to £100 to establish a business. However, the workers within the linen industry were among the mostly lowly paid in Europe (Gray, 2003, 161). “Irish weavers earned an average of 1s 5d per day for fine linen and 1s ½d per day for coarse linen” while Scottish weavers only from 10d to 1s 4d per day (Gray, 2003, 174). In relative terms however, the Scottish weavers were better off than their Irish colleagues when compared with other manual trades in their regions. As the stages prior to weaving were mostly carried out by women, average wages were much lower. Irish spinners earned 2½d - 6d per day and between 3d - 14d per day in Scotland. The spinners were loosely managed by a series of middle men who would buy their produce and supply the weavers. As they were geographically disjointed the spinners never became a cohesive group or guild. Pay therefore varied but was never enough to provide more than a basic subsistence (Baines 1977, 180). Weavers, however, were usually male.

Phillips (1818, 227-231) states that there were three distinct branches of linen draper. He describes the linen merchant as the trader who imported linen cloths for example from Ireland, Russia, Germany and the East Indies. The wholesale linen draper purchased stock from the linen merchant and also directly from the British manufacturers especially from Manchester, Blackburn and Paisley. They would employ travelling representatives to take samples around the country for purchase by retail linen drapers. “We believe there is no trade in England, in which more efforts are made to captivate the public, and more especially the ladies, by



Figure 210
The linen draper
(Phillips, 1818, 227)

a display of goods; and in London, this display is carried to a most costly and sumptuous extent.” He goes on to say that the displays put on in retail shops (Figure 210) aided by mirrors and lighting were “almost as dazzling to a stranger, as many of those poetical fictions of which we read in the Arabian nights’ entertainment.” The retail linen draper also sold cotton goods and the trade in London was so prolific that drapers in others parts of the country struggled to even match the London retail price from the wholesalers. However, to establish oneself as a linen draper a large amount of capital needed to be invested to ensure sufficient quantity and variety of stock: Mortimer and Dickenson (1819, 1027-1033) estimated between £250 and £600. Experienced salesmen would be paid in the region of £50 to £60 per year plus board (Phillips, 1818, 231). There was some suggestion that the trade was slightly nefarious in that the prices charged for articles depended on the salesman’s perception of the customer’s intelligence and ability to pay. Campbell (1747, 282) states that although a linen draper was only a buyer and seller of one commodity, requiring limited in depth knowledge, “his Education ought to be genteel, as his Stock in Business entitles him to the first Rank of Tradesmen.”

It would seem likely that shoemakers acquired their linen from the wholesale linen drapers. However, only relatively small amounts would be required for each shoe and the investment in a whole piece of linen might have been excessive. It is possible then that linen might have been bought from piece brokers or mantua makers.

Silk and its use in eighteenth-century shoemaking

Silk was used in various weave patterns and colours for the uppers and the heel covers of shoes. Over 75% of the shoes surveyed had some silk in their manufacture. A study of silk is useful not only for understanding how shoes were made and how they may deteriorate but



Figure 211
Snowhill SNO108 [62]



Figure 212
Clarks W17+sD1 [87]



Figure 213
Leicester 327.1959 [57]

also for dating purposes. Silk designs for some London weavers, for example, are well documented thus many silks can be dated to within a year or two of manufacture. Thornton (1965) implies that silks have only survived that were the best quality, maybe with silver and gold threads, and that the more ordinary brocades did not. The evidence of shoes should not be disregarded here as although it may not be possible to see full pattern repeats, a greater body of information survives than might at first be appreciated. Silk can also be found on shoes as embroidery thread or ribbon as topbinding and other decorations (Figures 211-213).

Properties of silk

Silk is produced by the silkworm, the larva of various species of moth particularly *Bombyx mori*, to form a cocoon. It is, in effect, a liquid protein that hardens into twin filaments of fibroin cemented together with sericin. Silk is a very long fibre which can be a few hundred metres long, or as the *New and complete dictionary* (1764, 2958) states, “enough to reach the length of six English miles.” It is a strong filament with a largely crystalline structure and thus not very elastic. It is less absorbent than wool and linen and is degraded by acids. Its use in shoes, therefore, would not seem to be the most obvious choice as perspiration is very acidic. However, when silk is used for uppers it is usually lined with either linen or leather which would have provided a barrier from direct contact with the foot. The linings were also required to support the silk which would generally have been too flimsy to stand alone. The use of silk for this purpose does seem to confirm that these types of shoes were intended to be used indoors. In contradiction to this, however, some clogs also had latches of silk (Figure 214).



Figure 214
Hereford
1978-472-2 [103]



Processing and manufacturing of silk in the eighteenth century

A summary of the silk manufacturing process is shown in Figure 215. The practice of breeding silkworms, or sericulture, was a precise science. The conditions for the silkworm to pupate had to be right: they needed feeding the correct type of leaves (usually mulberry); the perfect temperature (warm) and complete cleanliness. On hatching (Figure 216, 6), the emergent tiny caterpillar would have been placed on mulberry leaves. At this larval stage the caterpillar would moult four times with approximately four days between each (Figure 216, 7-9). The final larval stage lasted about a week during which the caterpillars were continually fed. When ready, the silkworms would weave their cocoons on pre-prepared twigs or paper cones as seen in Figure 216, 10-11. Figure 216, 12-13 shows the progress of a cocoon being spun which took between two and five days. The pupae needed to be killed prior to emergence so that the cocoons were left undamaged. This was done by the use of hot air, steam or suffocation. The resultant cocoons were varied in colour from white and shades of yellow to sea green.

The next stage in the process of silk making was reeling ie the unwinding of the cocoons. First, they were put into hot water in order to soften the gum or sericin. Then, by careful and gentle brushing, an end could be found which would unwind. Figure 217 shows this operation, with a furnace lit under a bath of hot water in which the cocoons were agitated. The resultant threads were fed onto large reels that were turned by hand. The silk thread was so fine that the several cocoons were combined as they were unwound, the number defined by the end purpose for the yarn. According to the *New and complete dictionary* (1764, 2959)

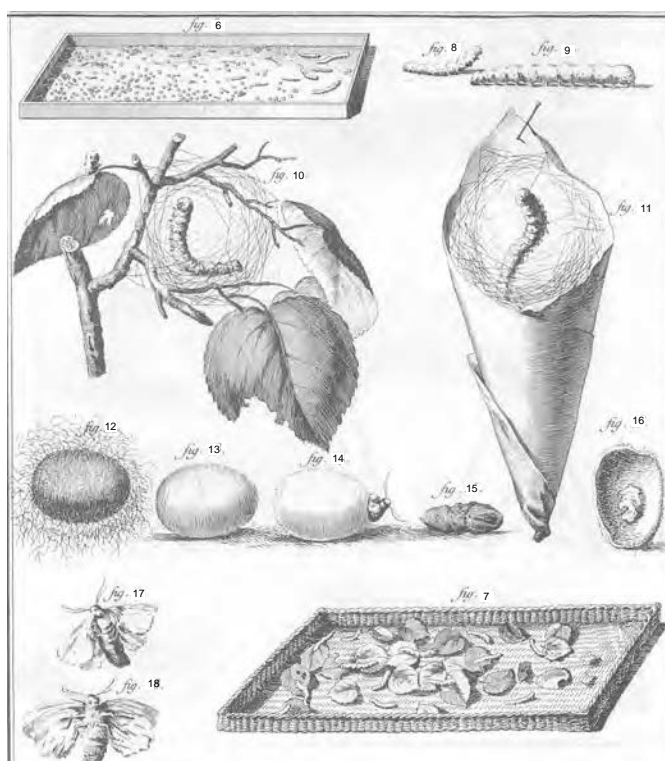


Figure 216
Details from:
Diderot & d'Alembert
(1763)
*Oeconomie rustique,
vers soie,
Encyclopédie ou
Dictionnaire raisonné
des sciences, des arts et
des métiers.* Paris

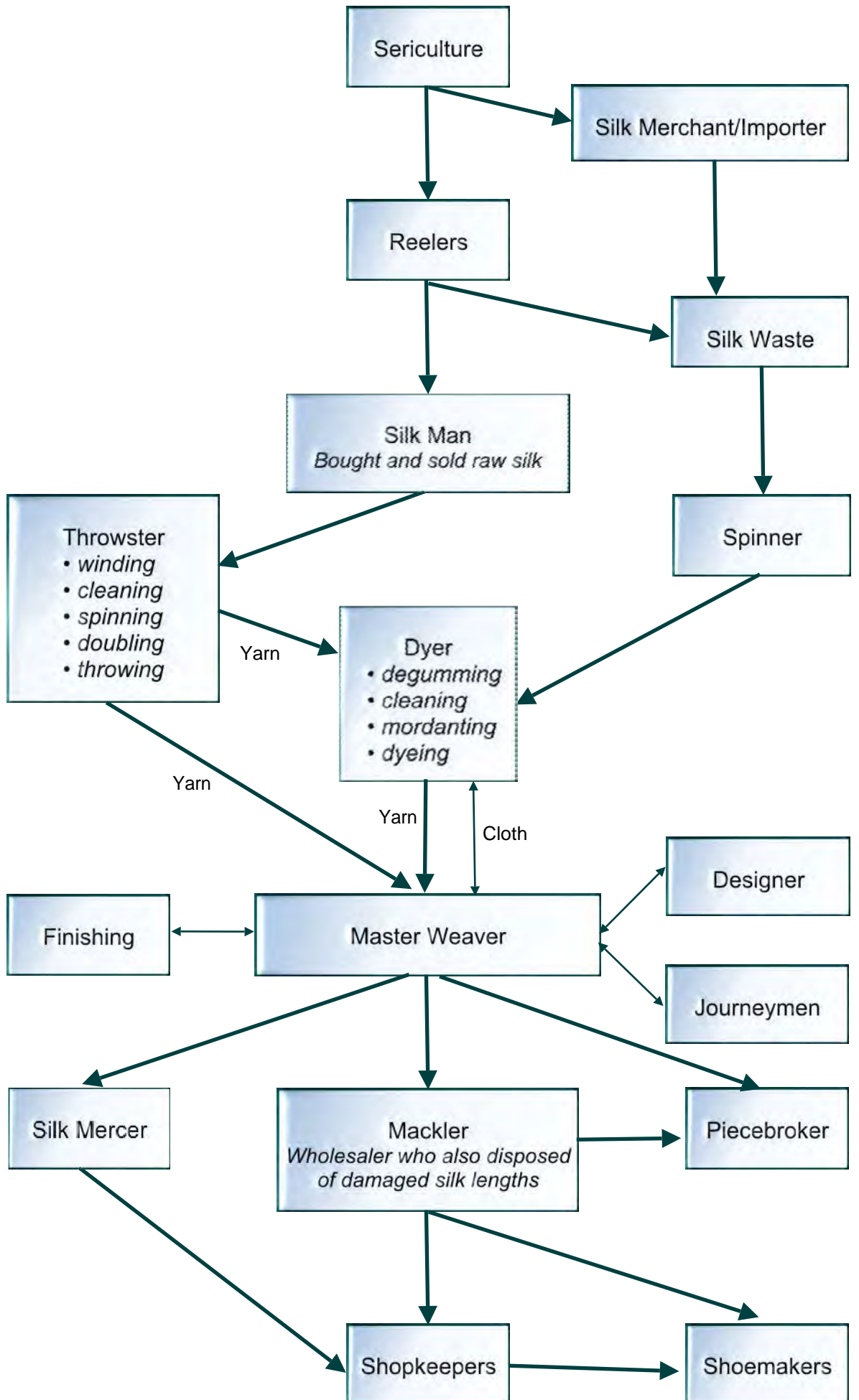


Figure 215
Processes of silk manufacture

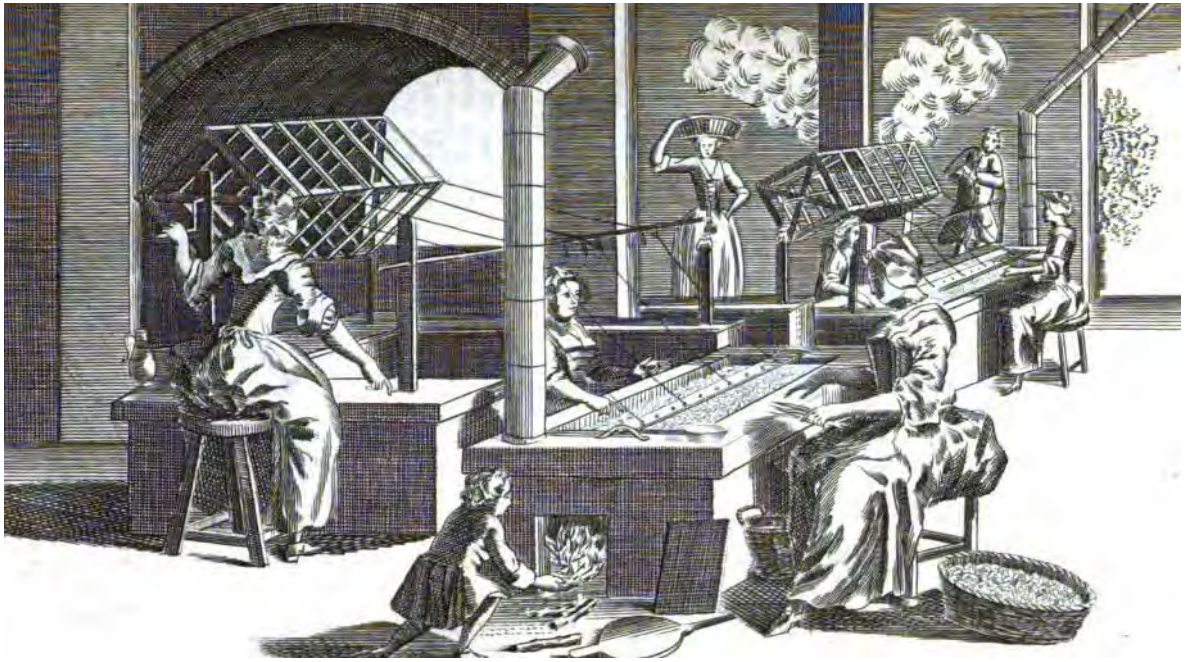


Figure 217
Silk reeling. (*New and complete dictionary*, 1764, 2961)

eight were sufficient for ribbands but velvets needed at least fourteen. Bush (2000, 13) states that anything from three to twenty could be combined. They were held together by the sericin which hardened again on drying. In this way, two people could reel about three pounds of silk a day.

The following stages in the production of silk took place in a throwing mill where a number of processes were carried out such as winding, cleaning, spinning, doubling and throwing to produce a continuous filament known as raw silk. The silk would first have been graded and washed. After drying, the skeins were put on the winding frames and wound onto bobbins (Figure 218). Cleaning was then carried out which involved passing the thread from one bobbin to another via a mechanism that Bush (2000, 15) describes as “an almost closed pair of scissors.” The gap on this could be varied according to the thickness of thread but any knots were unable to pass through and the thread was broken. The knots were removed and the threads rejoined. This job was often carried out by children as they had smaller hands.

Spinning, in the context of throwing, has a slightly different meaning than with linen, wool and cotton. The spinning of raw silk involved twisting to produce the required strength depending on its end

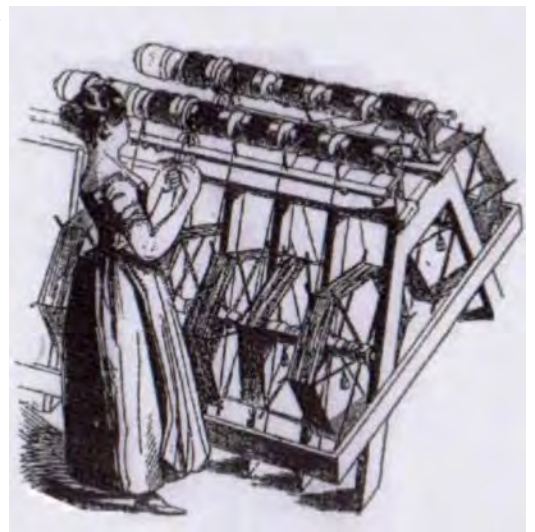


Figure 218
Silk winding machine.
(*Penny Magazine*, 1843, 165)

usage (Figure 219). Thread that was to be used for warps or for sewing required greater twist than those to be used as wefts.

Doubling involved putting two, three or four twisted threads together. After doubling, warp threads were put through the throwing machine which gave a second twist in the opposite direction to its initial twist forming solid, more elastic threads better able to withstand the friction they would have to bear during weaving. This was known as organzine. Threads intended for use as wefts were doubled after only slight, if any, spinning. This was then slackly twisted to between five and ten turns per inch, the finished product being known as tram. Generally, the more twist given to a thread, the stronger and harder it was but the less lustre it retained; little twist resulted in a bright, soft, glossy thread.



Figure 219
Silk throwing.
(*Penny Magazine*, 1843, 166)

During the process of producing silk thread there was some wastage at all stages; from cocoons left by emergent moths; the fluffy exterior of the cocoons that could not be reeled and shorter fibres shed during the other procedures. All of this was known as waste silk. The waste was washed, combed and spun in much the same way as cotton and linen. The resultant yarn was known as spun silk.

Yarn used for brocades had to be dyed prior to weaving. This was a more expensive process than piece dyeing the cloth when woven. For self-coloured fabrics, such as taffetas and grosgrains, yarn dyed silk provided a stiffer and thicker handle than if the cloth were piece dyed. The first stage in the dyeing process was degumming the skeins of yarn by putting them in muslin bags (to protect them from the heat) and boiling to remove the sericin. They were then placed in a copper of water and dyers soap which was heated until boiling and simmered for about two hours. This reduced the weight of the yarn by about 20% and left it soft, white and lustrous. After this, the skeins were immersed in a mordant which enhanced the ability of the dye to stick to the fibres and in some cases altered the colour produced from the dye. The contents of the mordant solution varied according to the dye subsequently used. Clear water was then used for rinsing pre dyeing. For dyeing, the skeins were suspended from dye sticks as seen on the left in Figure 220 and lowered into the dye bath or tank as shown. The skeins were turned regularly to ensure that all parts were submerged. On removal from the dye bath the skeins were wrung out and dried as shown in Figure 221. Once dry the skeins were wound onto bobbins.



Figure 220

Diderot & d'Alembert (1763) *Teinturier de riviere*, Plate I, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*. Paris

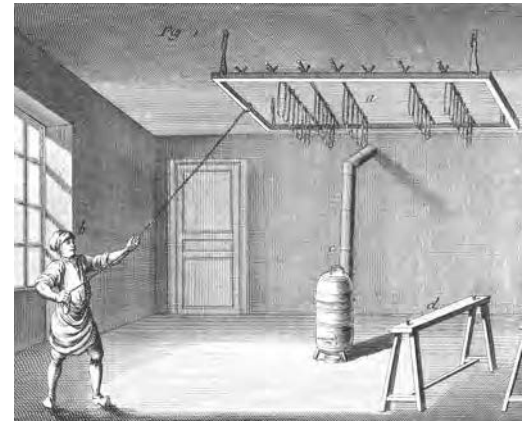


Figure 221

Detail from: Diderot & d'Alembert (1763) *Teinturier*, Plate VIII, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*. Paris

The dyes used were all natural as synthetic dyes were not introduced until the early nineteenth century. The silk intended for fabric next went to the weavers and was made in much the same way as linen. Silk was woven on both narrow looms and broad looms. The narrow looms began as simple inkle looms on which ribbons were woven. This progressed in the 1660s when a hand powered machine was developed which allowed several bands to be produced at the same time. In this way ribbons were woven from raw silk and ferrets (strong tapes) and galloons (a close weave ribbon used for trimming clothes and shoes) were woven from spun silk (Bush, 2000, 24). The fact that the spun silk was cheaper than raw silk explains why this type of ribbon was used so widely as a topbinding on shoes. In 1760 Joseph Stell invented a way of incorporating designs and weave variations into narrow loom weaving thus enabling the production of “flowered and figured goods” (Bush, 2000, 24).

Broadlooms were used for creating silk fabric. For most of the period under study drawlooms (Figure 222) were used which were able to produce a very fine fabric. Bush (2000, 25) states that “there were as many as six hundred warp threads per inch.” The drawlooms required at least two operators - a weaver and a stringpuller, “who stood beside the loom pulling on strings attached to ropes that controlled the yarns forming the pattern.” (Anquetil, 1996, 79).

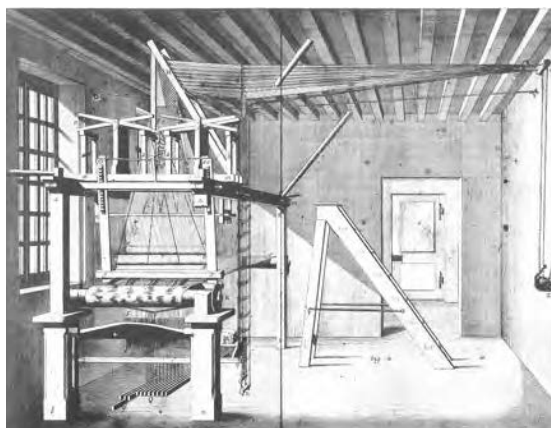


Figure 222
Diderot & d'Alembert (1772) *Soierie*, Plate LX, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*. Paris

Various adaptations were made throughout the eighteenth century but no huge advancements were made until the introduction of the jacquard loom from the 1820s and powerlooms in the 1830s.

If the woven silk was to be piece dyed it would have gone to the dyers at this stage. As with dyeing yarn, the fabric first needed to be boiled to degum it. Parry (2010, 473) states that “most eighteenth century silks received no further treatment after the silk yarns had been dyed.” She suggests, though, that satins were sometimes sized on the reverse with various substances to give them some body and it may well be the case that shoemakers used this type of satin.

Types of Weave

The relevance of identifying different weave patterns in this context is manifold. Apart from the considerations required for the conservation purposes, which will be examined in greater detail in chapter 6, the weaves are also important for informing us about the shoes they covered. Simple plain weaves were relatively cheap while damasks and brocades were progressively more expensive. This gives some indication of the cost of a shoe when made and to the type of lady that might have worn it. It might also suggest whether such a shoe was worn indoors or outdoors.

The most basic weave is a plain or tabby but in silk this same pattern is known as taffeta. It gives a firm, strong cloth that appears the same on both sides. It is created by the weft (on the shuttle, usually seen as horizontal) passing over and under the warp (the thread held under tension and usually vertical) alternately as shown in Figure 223. A variation on this weave pattern was grosgrain, as seen on the ribbons for topbinding (Figure 274), where ribs were created by the use of differing numbers of warps and wefts per inch or by different thicknesses.

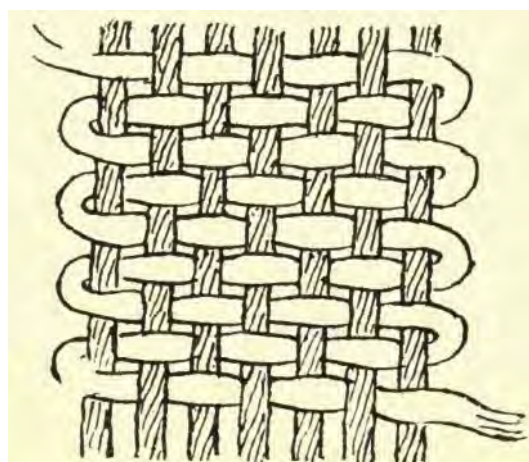


Figure 223
Plain weave.



Figure 224
Plain weave on binding. Satin weave above. Gunnersbury 75.2/19 [3]

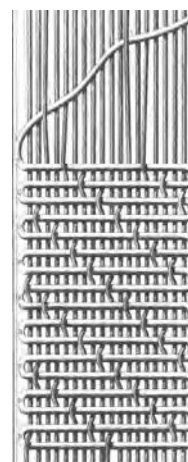


Figure 225
Twill weave.

Figure 226
Satin
weave.

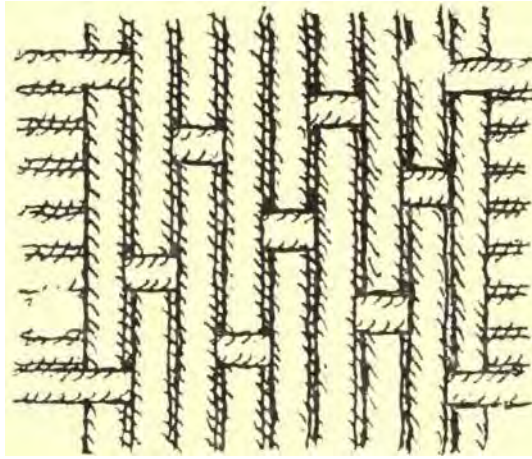


Figure 227
Snowhill,
SNO143
[41]



A further variation was the twill weave where the sequence of weft threads passing over the warps was offset forming diagonal lines on the cloth running either from left to right or from right to left (Wolfensberger, 1921, 21) as shown in Figure 225.

Satin weaves are shown in Figures 224 and 226. In this much more of the warp thread was exposed as the wefts went over one warp and under four or more (with eight being common in the early eighteenth century) giving a smooth, glossy surface on the face of the cloth and a more matt finish on the reverse. Rothstein (1990, 294) comments,

“a satin has a smooth and apparently unbroken surface which reflects the light admirably and is especially suitable for silks ... it continued to be an important weave when the whole conception of silk design changed radically in the late 18th century.”

A satin weave had more warp threads per inch than a plain weave in order to compensate for the smaller number of inter-sections of warp and weft. Satin weave was used for shoe uppers throughout the eighteenth century and features on 27% of the shoes surveyed.

Damask weaves combined both satin and plain (or twill) weaves to create patterns evidenced by the difference in lustre of the two weaves as seen in Figure 227. Damask was also used for shoes throughout the century and features in 8% of surveyed shoes appearing most often in the 1740s. Rothstein (1990, 286) states that “damasks were a material widely made and sold throughout the period. They are listed on most trade cards and were described in the 1765 Select Committee report as ‘common things.’”

Brocade was widely used for dresses and shoe uppers during the eighteenth century and appears on 22% of the shoes surveyed as shown in Figure 211. “Brocade in its truest sense refers to a woven silk where the coloured weft threads which make the pattern are carried only across the width of the motif using small shuttles” (Kerry, 2007, 17). An example is shown in Figure 228 featuring the face of the cloth with the verso in Figure 229. Although



Figure 228
Brocade - face. Leicester



Figure 229
Brocade - verso. Leicester

often used as a term in its own right, it should really be used in conjunction with the background weave, for example Figures 228 and 229 show a brocaded taffeta.

Other weaves which feature heavily from the 1770s as uppers might be termed figured silks. These are “cloths woven in one colour with pattern created solely by the use of different textured weaves” (Kerry, 2007, 12). From this definition, damask too is strictly a figured silk but the term is used in this study to describe silks where small patterns, often geometric, have been created as shown in Figures 230-232.

Silk designs

Several excellent books have been written about silks and their design from this period that provide far more and better details than are required here (see Bibliography). A very brief overview is given overleaf in Figure 233, as the designs featured on silks used for shoes are an aid to dating. Quite often the style of the silk and that of the shoe do not appear to agree and it is assumed that shoemakers used leftover fabrics from manutamakers or indeed reused silk that had already been made up. An awareness of the subject does at least, however, provide a ‘not before’ date.

Much of the present knowledge of silks woven in England at Spitalfields stems from the records and pattern books of two designers; James Leman working in the first twenty years



Figure 230
Hereford 4990 [50]

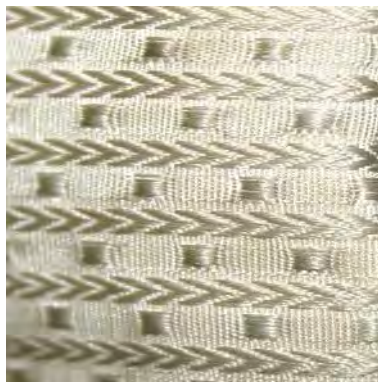


Figure 231
Clarks W17+sD4 [55]



Figure 232
Snowhill SNO136 [64]




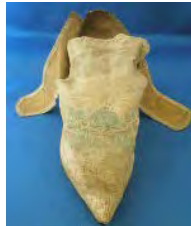


Date		Design	Example
1700s		Bizarre - semi-abstract, elongated designs featuring plants and animals, often with a diagonal slant to the pattern	
	1707-8	Incorporates archways, pergolas, canopies and fences	
	1709-10	Chinoiserie and japonaiserie	
1710s		Transitional period. Profuse semi-naturalistic flowers outlined in contrasting colour or shade.	
	1716	Asymmetrical	
1720s		Lace patterns, flowers, fruits and stylised palmettes; dominant dark green with bluish pinks and pale mauve.	
	1718-1722	Stripes - broad or narrow and decorated.	
1730s		Straight pattern repeats; three dimensional effects; bright colours on white grounds; large designs; points rentrés for shading. Reintroduction of asymmetrical patterns	
1740s		Rococo. Flowers more naturalistic in both size and form. Emergence of definite English style.	
1750s		Brocades with white grounds; strong yellow popular as well as red tinged with purple; flowers in cartouches; zigzag patterns.	
1760s		Less naturalism. Vertical stripes of various widths; swags, fur and feather effects.	
1770s		Advent of Neo-Classicism. Repeats halved in length from 20-22.5cms to 7.5-10cms.	
1780s		Less flowers; small stripes; small zigzags; doodles; spots; stars. Dark grounds popular.	
1790s		Red and black backgrounds with pseudo-classical patterns. Brocade no longer as fashionable so style change was much slower.	

Figure 233

or so of the eighteenth century; and Anna Maria Garthwaite designing from about 1729 to 1750. These records enable the changes in design to be tracked accurately throughout the first half the century. As French designs were so closely followed, they also provided a means of dating silks from all over Europe during this period. Thornton (1965, 30) remarks that “one ought to be able to date almost all eighteenth-century rich, figured silks to within a very few years - say five at the outside.”

Design was linked in with fashion and, as has already been noted, the designs changed far more frequently than the style of dress. Rothstein (1990, 62) remarks

“The silks of high fashion were essentially ephemeral; once their season had passed, if not given away or sold, they were future museum objects. They were not produced in large quantities or for stock; patterns and colours changes as they do today.”

She suggests that in 1765 only four pieces of each pattern were woven. A piece was the length of fabric produced on the loom but this could vary according to the order and there seems to be no definitive records as to how long pieces actually were. Thornton (1965) surmises that the change of patterns each year began around the 1660s in France. Paris very much led the fashions with their designs copied and adapted all over Europe, as Campbell (1747, 197) remarks “nothing that is mere English goes down with our modern ladies; from their shift to their topknots they must be equipped from Dear Paris.” As the design and weaving process was a relatively slow one, English weavers were always one step behind the French imports. French designers were a much more integral part of the process and were often directors in the weaving companies whereas English designers were more likely to be freelance and therefore perhaps had less incentive to ensure the success of their designs (Thornton, 1965, 24). The art of designing was not just restricted to the ability to draw; knowledge of the weaving process was required to appreciate the time and cost implications of a pattern. An understanding as to how patterns were repeated across the width and along the length of cloth to give seamless joins and a cohesion to the overall effect was necessary. The pattern also had to be readily transferable to the graphs needed to instruct the weaver how to set up the drawloom so that the design did not become distorted. Bizarre patterns were large and repeats could be up to 3 feet long, which were displayed well on sac backs and mantuas. However, long repeats were more costly to weave. Rothstein (1990, 27) suggests that it was deemed good progress for a drawloom weaver to produce a yard a day.

English brocades were identifiable by their pale or white background, especially in the middle decades of the eighteenth century as the French usually favoured darker colours. Thornton (1965, 60) purports that, from the 1730s onwards English grounds were nearly always white or off white but that yellow, light blue and a brownish purple were also occasionally used.

One particularly notable feature of pattern weaving was the introduction in the 1730s by Jean Revel of Lyons, of a system for shading called ‘points rentrée’ which “consists of making the threads which form adjacent patches of colour interlock so that the dividing line between the two colours is no longer hard but blurred” (Thornton, 1965, 119). This enabled the introduction of more naturalistic depictions of nature as it allowed a feeling of three dimensionality.

Silk trade and industry in the eighteenth century

Production of silk occurred in England from the fifteenth century but it enjoyed limited success due to an inability to rear silk worms on a commercial basis. Raw silk therefore had to be imported from Persia, China, Bengal and Turkey and thrown silk from Italy. The eighteenth century saw the height of the industry in England when it was estimated that there were 15-18,000 looms in Spitalfields alone (SRUA 1951, 91) although silk throwing was said to employ 40,000 men, women and children in the mid seventeenth century which, even if this figure was exaggerated, shows the existence of a sizeable industry. Weavers at this time specialised in narrow loom ribbon weaving. The immigration of French Huguenots, which began after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, brought more expertise in broadloom weaving and design. Many settled in Spitalfields, which was outside the City, and therefore not subject to the control of the Guilds. *London and its environs* (1761, 53) states Spitalfields was a

“place of considerable extent on the east side of Bishopsgate street, formerly fields belonging to St Mary Spital: but now formed into a great number of streets, lanes and alleys, wherein the weaving business is carried to the greatest perfection by the descendents of French refugees, especially silks, and the richest brocades.”

Thornton (1965, 54) states that by the end of the seventeenth century London weavers were already claiming they could meet the demands for silk in England themselves. Their prosperity was enhanced by the ever increasing demands of fashion and by the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1713) when French commerce went into recession thus benefiting English trade by removing the main competition in silk weaving. By 1719 English exports amounted to £62,000 (Thornton, 1965, 56). The London silk trade benefited by being close to their markets and buyers; close to the water for exports and good government support in the form of bills restricting imports. However, it was limited by the need to import all raw materials (trade which was hampered by foreign wars) and by the lack of recognition that silk designers needed to be properly trained and allowed to use their own ideas and not just copy French ones.

The industry was one that fluctuated between periods of great prosperity and almost destitution for its workers. White (2012, 218) describes the silk industry “in general, an

industry of small-scale production, much of it relying on self-employed artisans, a flexibility readily exploited by the masters who could stop production at a moment's notice." This was reiterated by George (1992, 185) quoting Bresson, the son of a velvet weaver, in 1838: "there never was a time in my recollection when some in the weaving trade could not earn very large sums and others next to nothing."

The industry had declined by the end of the century as fashions had changed and brocades were no longer in demand. The introduction of more machinery further reduced the number of workers required. This resulted in a downturn in the fortunes of Spitalfields itself which by 1837, according to the *Penny Magazine* (1837), was "dirty and narrow streets; many old tumble-down houses; windows patched with paper, pasteboard or perhaps the broken pane stuffed out with an old hat."

Silk throwsters employed mostly women and Campbell (1747, 260) states that the wages were small although those "spinning the hard silk and winding it ... may make good bread of it." George (1992, p185) comments that throwing was often done on an outwork basis with those thus employed being "the poorest of the poor." She states that from about 1732 "silk-winding was a common occupation in London workhouses." From the mid century, much of silk throwing moved out of the London area with the establishment by John and Thomas Lombe in 1718 of the first mechanised throwing mill in Derby using water-powered machines first used in Italy. Following this and the decrease on excise duty on raw silk from China and India, further mills were set up in Congleton (1752), Macclesfield (1756) and Leek.

Silk cloth was commissioned and sold by the master weavers. It was they who would employ the designers and put out work to journeymen. White (2012, 218) states that "silk was worked and woven in the master's own workshops above or behind his dwelling house, its characteristically wide windows or 'weavers' lights' providing as much daylight as possible for the fine work involved." Hogarth's impression of such a room is shown in Figure 234 from a series entitled *Industry and Idleness*. Figure 235 shows the industrious apprentice



Figure 234
Hogarth, W. (1747) *The fellow 'prentices at their looms - Industry and Idleness, Plate I* [etching engraving on paper] London: British Museum 1868, 0822.1572



Figure 235
 Hogarth, W. (1747)
The industrious 'prentice a favourite and entrusted by his master - Industry and Idleness, Plate IV
 [etching engraving on paper]
 London: V&A E.1284-1990

having been promoted to the counting house with a view of a number of looms and quilsters winding silk onto the shuttles in the background. Alternatively, much work was also put out to weavers who owned their own looms or rented looms on a daily basis. Campbell (1747, 259) asserts that “the plain silk weaver requires but little ingenuity, but the weavers of flowered silks, damasks, brocades and velvets are very ingenious tradesmen.” He suggests that journeymen weavers could earn 18-21 shillings per week although George (1992, 181) quotes that even brocade weavers could not earn above 15-18 shillings per week in 1761.

Woven silks were sold through silk mercers who specialised in all silks and the highest quality woollen cloths, in London. Regionally drapers would offer a wider range of fabrics. A huge investment was needed to stock a silk-mercenary's shop and such men were usually wealthy with the power to influence what was woven knowing what would sell. They also imported French silks so that the designs could be copied by or influence the English designers (Thornton, 1965, 78). Campbell (1747, 198) suggests that a mercer would need at least £10,000 worth of stock from which profits were small. He also implied that a mercer would require certain qualities namely,

“he must be a very polite man and skilled in all the punctilios of city-good-breeding; he ought, by no means to be an awkward clumsy fellow, such a creature would turn the lady's stomach in a morning, when they go their rounds to tumble silks they have no mind to buy. He must dress neatly, and affect a court air, however far distant he may live from St James's. I know none so fit for that branch of business, as that nimble dancing, talkative nation the French: our mercer must have a great deal of the Frenchman in his manners, as well as a large parcel of French goods in his shop; he ought to keep close intelligence with the fashion-office at Paris, and supply himself with the newest patterns from that changeable people.”

Mortimer and Dickinson (1819, 1027-1033) suggest that a silk mercer only required £1500-£3000 to establish a business. This is perhaps a reflection of the drop in popularity of brocades and increase in demand for plainer, and therefore cheaper, weaves. Thornton (1965, 79) suggests that most of those who patronized the mercers' shops were members

of the upper classes ie “ royalty, members of the aristocracy and the higher clergy, the most prosperous merchants and men of business, and, of course, the members of the fashionable set together with its hangers-on.” However, there were many types of silk falling within a wide ranges of prices. At the lower end of the scale were the various plain materials, with a simple taffeta costing in the region of eight shillings a yard according to Thornton (1965, 80). The next range was the simple patterns and stripes which according to Styles (2010, 23) cost from five to six shillings a yard. The most expensive were those with complicated designs involving several colours and materials such as gold threads. Thornton (1965) suggests that these could cost anything from twenty to seventy shillings per yard intimating that the fabric for a lady’s silk dress might cost between £10 and £60 although a mantua maker might only be paid £2 or £3 for making it up.

Wool and its use in eighteenth century shoemaking

As noted in chapter 2, wool was used mainly for uppers and decorative elements in shoemaking. Wool was used as it was readily available, cheaper than silk and more hard wearing, resulting in more practical shoes. From the sample, the shoes and clogs with a woollen element are:- [23, 31, 53, 69, 81, 83, 93, and 103]. Swann (2000) also mentions that wool was sometimes used to stuff the end of pointed toes. Sample [91] is an example of this






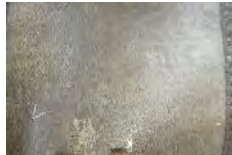


	
Hereford 1867 [69]	
	
Snowhill SNO101 [81]	
	
Snowhill SNO113 [83]	
	
Hereford 857 [93]	

Figure 236
Wool satin weaves.

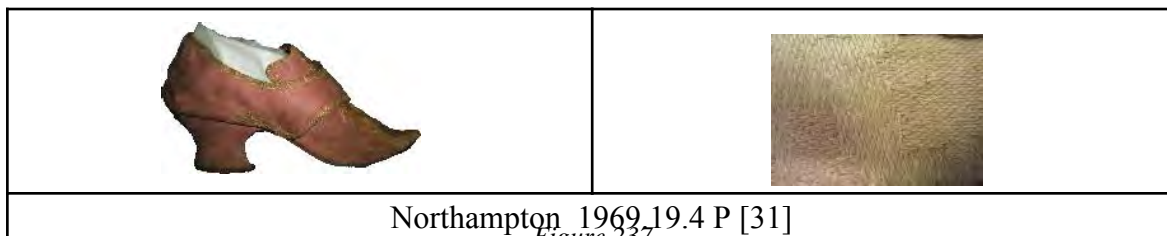


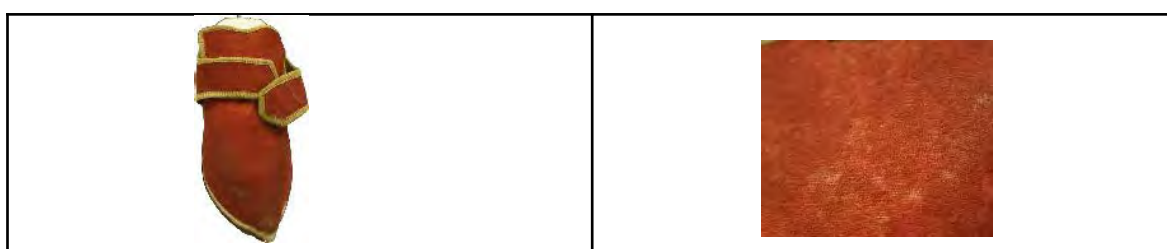
Figure 237
Wool damask.

although there are few more. It may well be that these stuffings have been lost over time and not considered relevant.

Woollen cloth was produced in a variety of weave patterns and qualities. A number of these are evident in the samples. For example, callimanco (calamanco/calimanco) uppers were regularly used as it was a glazed woollen fabric which, although not waterproof, was more suitable for repelling water. Samples [69, 81, 83 and 93] are of callimanco with a satin weave and are shown in Figures 49 and 236 (which also show details of weave structures). From the samples it appears that callimanco was not available prior to 1780. Whether or not it was manufactured before then; whether it was more appropriate to the style of later shoes or whether it is just that earlier ones have not survived is impossible to say.

Wool was also used in other weave types most notably as a damask weave (Figure 237). As with silk, damask was more expensive to produce and would have reflected greater financial means. In sample [31] this is reinforced by the relatively impractical colour (pink) for shoes.

Stuff (another wool based cloth) shoes are referred to in contemporary documents, as has been noted in Chapter 2. Although an extant pair has not been found during this research, [23] (Figure 238) might be considered an example, despite not being classified as such. A



Leicester 133.191 [23]



Hereford 1978-472-2 [103]

Figure 238
Stuff shoes and linings.

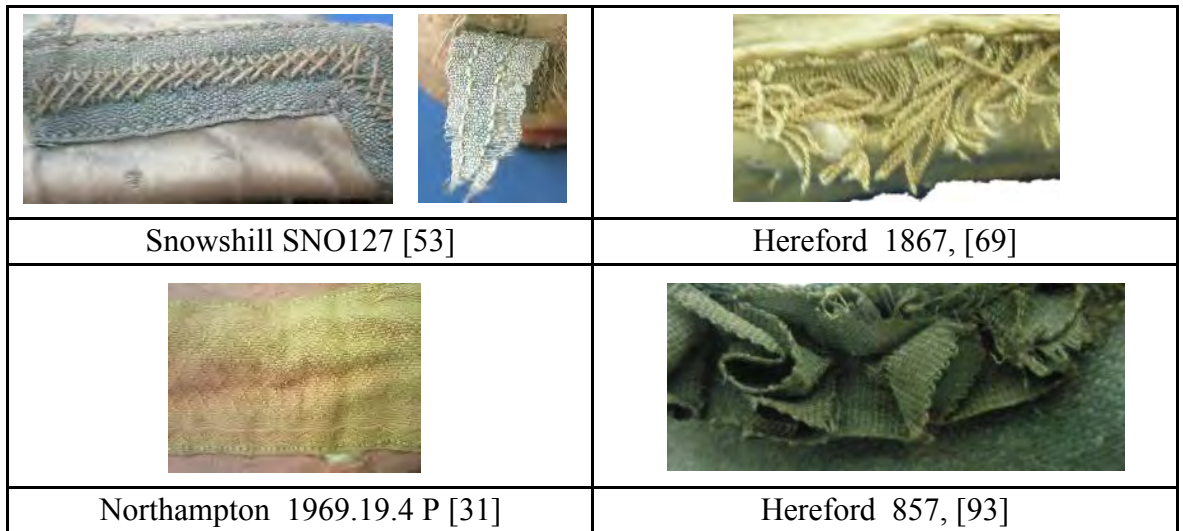


Figure 239
Wool trimmings.

plain weave wool was however, used as a lining in a pair of clogs [103] in the sample as shown in Figure 238.

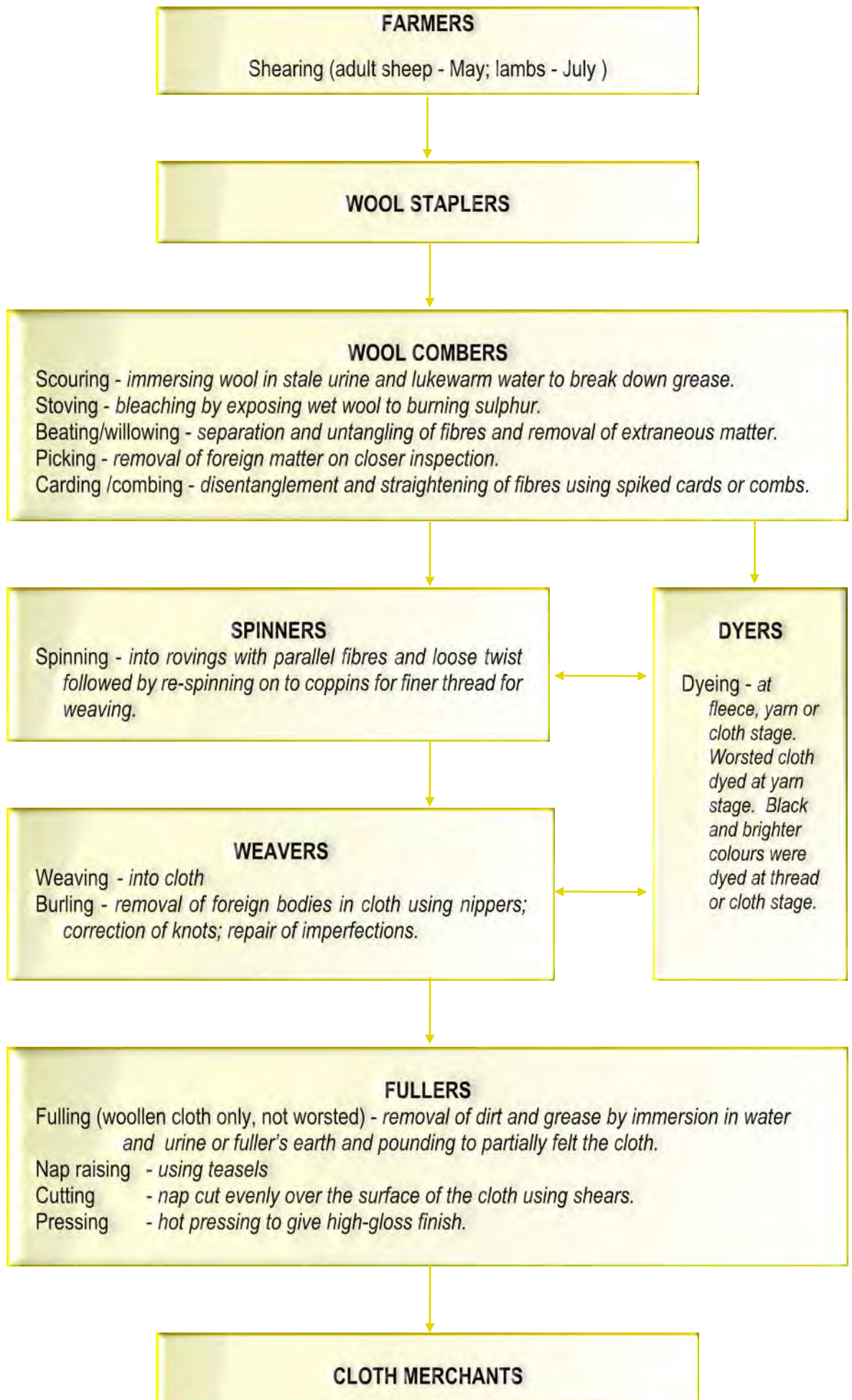
Decorations applied to shoes could also be made from wool. Figure 239 shows braid on the vamp of [31], fringing on [69], ruffled ribbon on [93] and ribbon used as a binding on [53], all of wool.

Properties of wool

Wool is obtained mainly from sheep although it can also come from the goat and camel families. For the purposes of the study, only sheep wool will be described. Wool fibres have an inner core enclosed in an outer skin which is made up of small irregular, overlapping scales which give them a crimped appearance. They are composed of keratin, a form of protein. They are usually off-white to cream in colour depending on the breed of sheep. Under a microscope, the fibres are characterised by an overlapping surface cell structure appearing as scales. The quality of the wool varies throughout the fleece with the finest from the head area and the coarsest from the tail. The shortest wool grows on the head and some parts of the belly while the longest is on the flanks.

Processing and manufacturing of wool in the eighteenth century

The main processes in wool manufacture are summarised in Figure 240 and will be explained further. After shearing, the fleeces were sold to wool staplers who in turn sold them on to wool-combers for processing. Firstly, the fleeces were washed and scoured leaving a semi-white colour, sufficient if the wool was to be dyed. Figure 241 illustrates these processes with the image on the left showing where the wool was washed and the coyriddle or sieve (3) which retained the wool while permitting a flow of water through it. The image on the



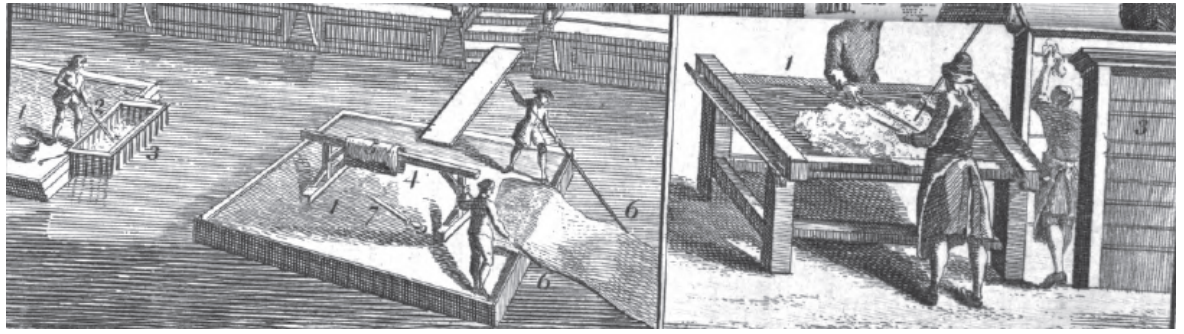


Figure 241
Universal Magazine (1749, 83)

right shows wool being beaten on a hurdle with poles (3) on which it hung to dry. If a true white finish was required, the wool had to undergo stoving or sulphuring. Sulphur was burnt which when combined with the moisture from the wet wool formed sulphurous acid which acted as a strong bleaching agent (Tann, 1971, 160). As this process left the wool feeling harsh, white cloth was most often used for flannels, blankets and hose. The wool was then beaten or willowed. This is pictured on the right side of the image in Figure 241, 1. The more the wool was beaten at this stage the softer it became and therefore better for spinning. Subsequently, it was picked to remove any extraneous matter released in the beating process.

To ensure that the fibres were relatively tangle free and straight, the wool was carded using cards set with wires, pins or spikes which are pulled against each other (see Figure 243, F). In some instances one card was fixed so that the carder had both hands free to work the other card against the wool and handle the wool at the same time. “During the process the operator sprinkled oil on to the wool to make the working easier and so avoid fibre breakage.” (Ponting, 1973, 112).

The worsted yarn necessary for the finer fabrics as seen on shoe uppers, was produced by combing. This operation is shown in Figure 242. Heated combs were used in pairs to comb the wool from one to another repeatedly until it was very smooth. It was then fixed onto a spike in the wall (as shown) and was drawn out into a fine sliver of about five or six feet in length. The combing process meant that the fibres were lying parallel which, when spun, resulted in a smoother yarn that could be more tightly twisted.



Figure 242
 The wool-comber.
(The book of trades, 1806, 1)

The wool was next sent to spinners, who were often individuals working from home or small workshops, employed by master wool-combers. The wool was first spun into rovings and then re-spun to give a fine yarn. Figure 243 shows the process of spinning at (A). The yarn was spun onto coppins (conical spindles) which when full were removed from the spinning wheel and moved onto a reel (B) for making into skeins.

Yarn used for warp ends would be made one third finer than those intended for wefts and twisted more tightly as they were required to be stronger and needed to withstand greater tension. Warp threads were also used for worsted caps, stockings and gloves. Yarns spun for wefts were wound, using a wheel, onto spools which laid into shuttles ready for weaving.

Wool weaving was usually carried out on a broad loom as illustrated in (Figure 244). Although fairly large, a loom was often accommodated in the home so that weaving could be undertaken at times to suit the weaver. Benson and Warburton (2002, 8) report that:

“Country weavers were often also farmers, known as yeoman weavers, most common in Pennine regions where land was not good enough to sustain a living. They were independent weavers who bought their own wool, spun and wove it into standard cloth and took their piece to market, usually by packhorse, to towns like Huddersfield and Rochdale. A typical yeoman weaver, Cornelius Ashworth of Waltroyd near Halifax, wrote in his diary in November 1782: ‘a fine frosty clear droughty day. Sized a warp and churned in the forenoon. In the afternoon wove 5 yards.’”

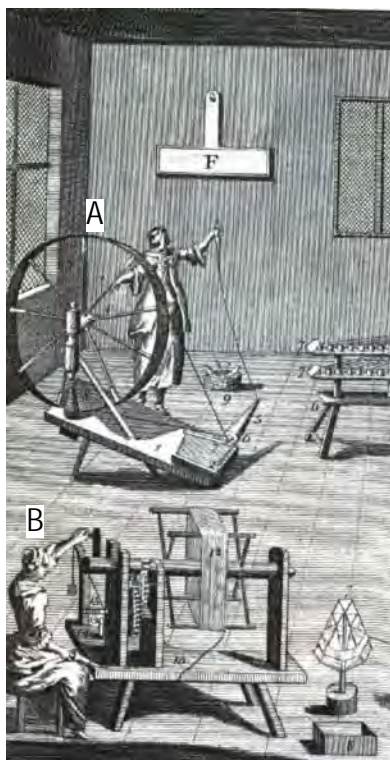


Figure 243
Spinning and reeling.
Universal Magazine (1749, 180)

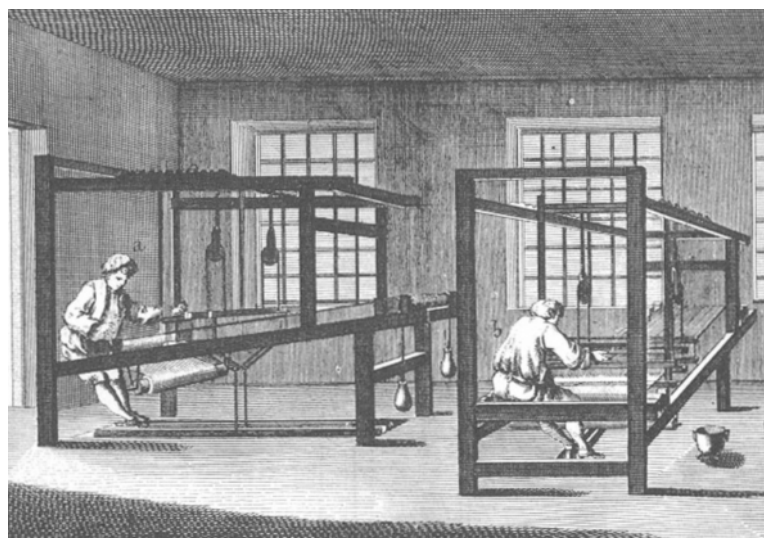


Figure 244
Detail from:
Diderot & d'Alembert (1763) *Tisserand, Plate I,*
Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des
métiers. Paris

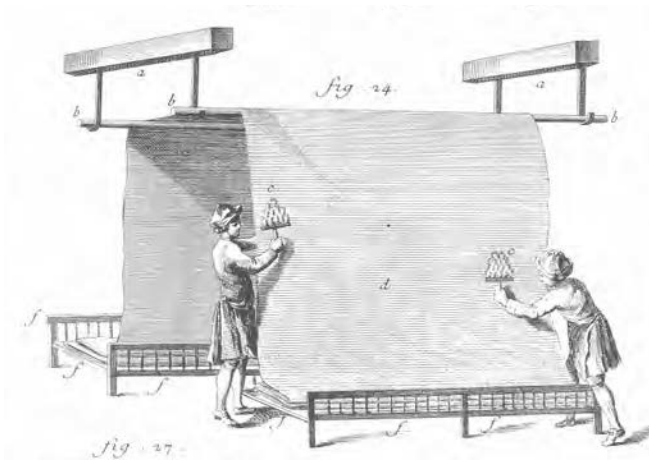


Figure 245
 Details from:
 Diderot & d'Alembert (1763) *Draperie, Plate VII, Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*. Paris

Burling was carried out after weaving and/or after fulling. Fulling, a process by which the cloth was cleaned and thickened, was often carried out in a fulling mill, a small building of one or two storeys high, powered by a water wheel (Dickenson, 1979, 127). The nap was then raised using handles (“pieces of crossed wood with teasels fitted in them” Ponting, 1973, 113) as shown in Figure 245. The nap was then cut evenly over the surface of the cloth using shears which opened and closed with a lever, as seen hanging on the wall on the left side of Figure 246. The cloth was then stretched on a rack secured by tenterhooks and allowed to dry. The final process of pressing the cloth gave a high gloss finish.

The wool trade and industry in the eighteenth century

Campbell (1747, 199) states that the wool stapler was the “sheet anchor of Great Britain: he is the first man into whose hands that valuable branch of our trade the wool comes.” The wool stapler bought the fleeces from the farmer and sorted them according to quality and suitability for particular end purposes. He then sold on as appropriate. Large stocks were required and warehouse space necessary. Consequently, although great skill was not required to become a stapler, sufficient capital was. Campbell (1747, 199) suggests that a genteel education was also needed as it was “reckoned a very reputable business.” Campbell (1747,



Figure 246
 Cropping.
 Leeds City Council (2003)
 Industrial Leeds:
 development 1700-1780.
 [online] Available from
http://www.leodis.net/discovery/discovery.asp?page=2003219_348858059&topic=200335_73055447&subsection=2003724_305675686 [Accessed 14.4.14]



Figure 247
 Merchants in the coloured Cloth Hall
 Leeds City Council (2003) *Industrial Leeds: development 1700-1780*.
 [online] Available from
http://www.leodis.net/discovery/discovery.asp?page=2003219_348858059&to pic=200335_73055447&subsection=2003724_305675686 [Accessed 14.4.14]

194) considers similar qualities to have been required for woollen drapers; he “ought to be a man of good natural sense, a good accountant, and should be able to pen a letter in a mercantile style, that is, plain and concise, without any flourishes of rhetoric, or any needless compliments.” Woollen drapers bought cloth from the cloth halls in various towns throughout the country, for example Leeds and Halifax, and had it dyed and finished as necessary. A scene of the interior cloth hall is shown in Figure 247. Drapers supplied cloth to the tailors, wholesale to shops throughout the country as well as directly to private customers.

The amount of investment required for fulling was considerable, consequently fullers usually rented their mills. Cash flow was difficult as the cloth had to be fulled before payment was received. Dickenson (1979, 136) remarks that wealthy fullers generally had other occupations as well. Campbell (1747, 194) was of the opinion that fulling was a “labourious prosperous business everywhere” but usually took place out of London.

The Cloth Fair in Smithfield, London had been the site of a major annual fair for cloth selling at Bartholomew tide and by the eighteenth century, although now a street, still was home to several eminent woollen drapers. The Clothworkers were one of the twelve principal companies of London and was incorporated in 1482. In 1761, *London and its environs* (1761, 148) reports that there were 154 liveried members and that “They have a very large estate, out of which they annually pay to the poor about £1400.” Even to this day the Clothworkers give away considerable sums to the education of those concerned with textiles and their conservation.

Wool played a significant part in England’s economy, and indeed, had done so since the middle ages. The value of woollen exports in 1720 was £3 million and this rose to £4 million by 1750 (Derry and Blakeway 1969, 305). A third of these went to north America. “At home and overseas, the west of England supplied broadcloth for the upper classes and Yorkshire the cheaper stuff for the masses, while many other districts had their own speciality, such as Norfolk worsteds” (Derry and Blakeway, 1969, 305). Phillips (1818, 6) reports that:



Figure 248
Norwich callimanco shoes. New England Antiques Journal [online] Available from https://www.antiquesjournal.com/pages04/Monthly_pages/sept07/deerfield.html [Accessed 15.4.2014]

“a pack of wool weighs 240lbs and, it is said, will employ more than sixty persons a week to manufacture it into cloths, viz, three men to sort, dry, mix and make it ready for the carder; five to scribble it; thirty five women and girls to card and spin it; eight men to weave it; four to spole it; and eight to scour, nail, pack and press it.”

Norwich Stuffs were a renown light to medium weight worsted cloth with the addition of silk which provided an extra decorative effect and added lustre. “Inventive permutations of weave, colour, pattern, and finish (hot-pressed glazing being a favourite technique) resulted in a wide variety of textiles virtually unique to Norwich: plain camlets, checked camletees, crapes and bombazines, flowered damasks, and striped callimancoes” (Fawcett, 1985, 152). The fabrics were commonly used for dressmaking and tailoring as well as furnishings but were occasionally used for shoe uppers (Figure 248, dated 1730).

Although the woollen cloth industry achieved a certain level of mechanisation by the end of the eighteenth century with Arkwright establishing a system of carding, drawing and spinning worsted yarn by 1785; the process of wool combing continued to be carried out by hand until well into the nineteenth century.

Cotton and its use in eighteenth-century shoemaking

Cotton as a fabric appears in shoes of this period mainly as linings but occasionally as uppers. An example of a shoe that was recovered in printed cotton chintz is shown in Figure 249.



Figure 249
Northampton Museum
1961.37.2 P [44]

Linings which appear to be of linen may well have a cotton mix within them. As access to individual fibres is inevitably restricted, microscopic analysis is not always possible.

Cotton is also significant in this study because of its use for dress fabric in the later part of the eighteenth century. This meant that shoe fashion changed with buckles and ribbon ties disappearing leaving a slip on style that was less heavy looking, to match the dresses. It is interesting to note that although Indian printed cotton fabrics had been emulated from the beginning of the eighteenth century, few remain as shoe uppers, begging the question - is that because cotton was not widely used or because it has not survived? It might have been that as cotton was much cheaper than silk, the shoes that were covered in this way were more accessible to those with lower incomes and have been worn out. As Lemire (2010, 206) states “cotton textiles assumed a particular importance for the women of the lower social ranks offering the means to a brighter, more vibrant public appearance.”

Properties of cotton

Cotton is a very fine, regular fibre of about 10-65 mm in length. Fibres grow around the seeds formed in a pod or boll of the cotton plant (*Gossypium*). In their natural state, fibres vary from near white to light tan in colour depending on their growing environment. Microscopically, they are easily identified by convolutions that are formed after the boll bursts open and the fibres dry out and collapse inwards.

Cotton has the ability to conduct heat energy which minimises destructive heat accumulation and enables it to withstand hot ironing temperatures. It is very absorbent. However it is weakened by acids and it should be noted that human perspiration is acidic ranging from pH4-4.5 on the skin surface.

Cotton was used for many ready made undergarments and shirts as it was washable. The fact that it was available in many different qualities meant that it appealed to a wide range of individuals.

Processing and manufacture of cotton cloth in the eighteenth century

A summary of the cotton manufacturing process is given in Figure 250. Cotton bolls were picked (Figure 251) and made into bales. The cotton gin (Figure 252), invented by Eli Whitney in 1793, mechanically separated the cotton lint from the seed pod vastly increasing the amount of cotton that could be processed thus making its production much more profitable and large scale. At this stage the cotton was exported, arriving in English mills in this raw state.

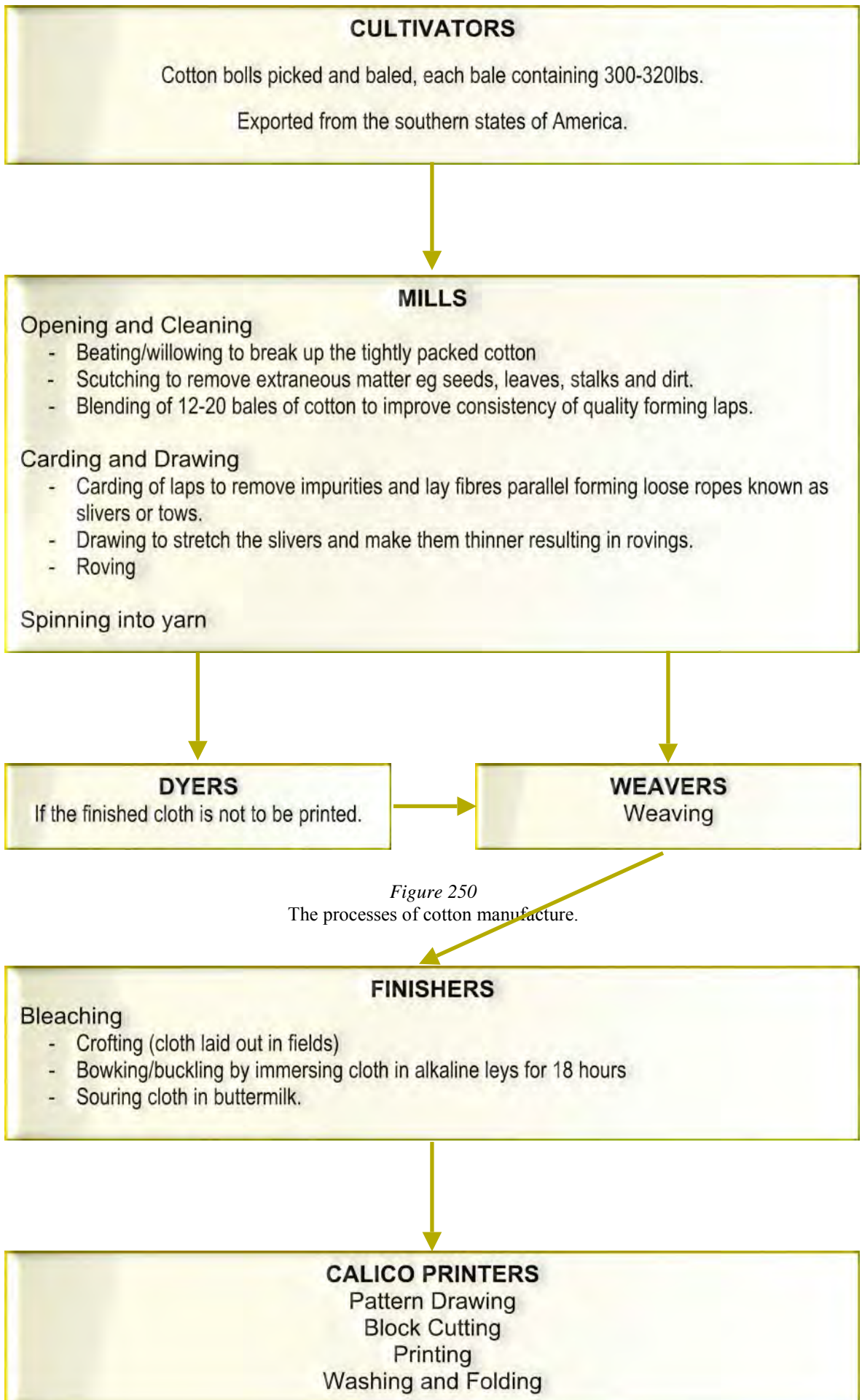


Figure 250
The processes of cotton manufacture.



Figure 251
Harper's Weekly (2.2.1967) *Cotton picking.*
[online] Available from
<http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/exhibits/ahd/slavery3b.html>.
[Accessed 15.4.14]



Figure 252
American Enterprise (undated) *Whitney cotton gin.* [online] Available from
<http://americanenterprise.si.edu/portfolio/whitney-cotton-gin-courtroom-model-1800/> [Accessed 15.4.14]

The bales would have been disentangled and the cotton cleaned. The processes used to this end were similar to those used for linen. These operations were carried out by hand until the introduction of machinery towards the end of the century. The resultant laps were carded into slivers. Carding was one of the first stages of cotton production that became fully mechanised; Figure 253 shows one of Arkwright's carding machines. The slivers were stretched and made thinner, by drawing them through two rollers to form rovings.

The rovings were then spun into yarn. If heavier and stronger threads were required, for example for sewing, several yarns were twisted together. Spinning was done entirely by hand in the earlier part of the eighteenth century until machines were developed and widely adopted (most notably – 1764 Hargreaves' Spinning Jenny, 1768 Arkwright's horse-powered Frame followed in 1771 by a water-powered one). "By 1788 some twenty thousand jennies and 143 Arkwright-type mills were in use and the spinning wheel was virtually obsolete" (Aspin, 2004, 12). Figure 254 shows a spinning jenny in operation.



Figure 253
Miller, I. (undated)
Cotton spinning:
Murray's Mills, Ancoats
[online] Available from
http://thehumanjourney.net/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=60&Itemid=114
[Accessed 14.4.14]

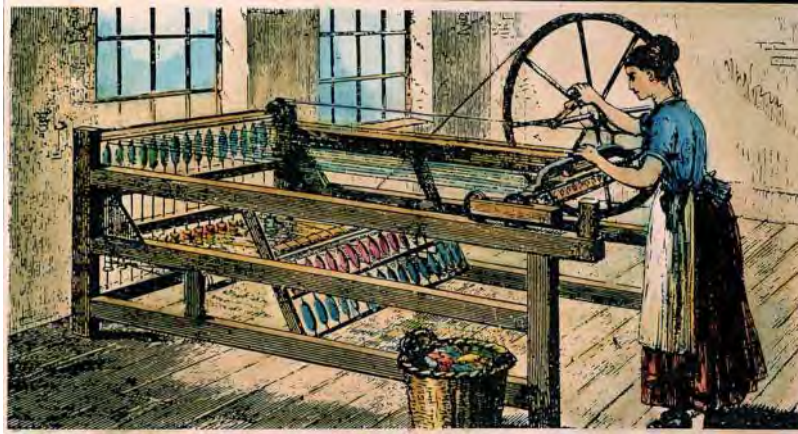


Figure 254

AP European History (2013)

The impact of the dual revolutions: 19th century art. [online]
 Available from <http://gerberapeuro.blogspot.co.uk/> [Accessed 14.4.14]

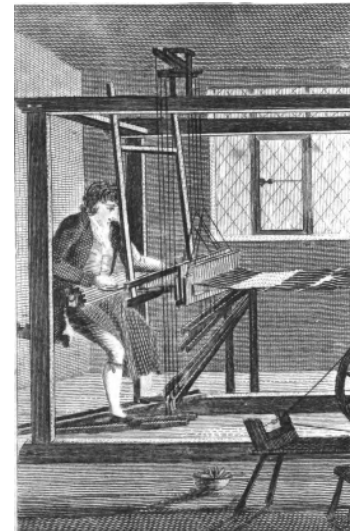


Figure 255

The weaver.
 (Phillips, 1818, 425)

The spun yarn was sent to the dyers unless the finished cloth was intended for printing, when it would have gone straight to the weavers. The cloth would have been woven on hand looms as shown in Figure 258. Mechanisation was not fully introduced until the nineteenth century.

The yarn was woven in various different ways. Calico was the fabric most likely to be used for shoe uppers. This was a plain woven fabric known for its strength and durability and was much used in the eighteenth century when it was printed with various patterns. Cotton velvets were produced in Lancashire which may also have been used for uppers. Figure 256a shows a velvet upper (detailed in Figure 256b); whether this is silk or cotton or a mixture is difficult to determine without fibre analysis. Cotton used for shoes linings would also be of a plain weave.

The cloth had then to be bleached by crofting (as shown in Figure 257). As with linen, the crofting process was slow and required a great expanse of grassland. Crofting was alternated with two other stages, that of bowking or bucking (immersion in alkaline leys made from wood or plant ash for about eighteen hours); and souring (in buttermilk). In between these stages the cotton was washed by hand in running water in streams or becks. The whole operation could take up to 8 months but was accelerated, as with linen, by the introduction



Figure 256a
 Hereford 2899 [70]



Figure 256b

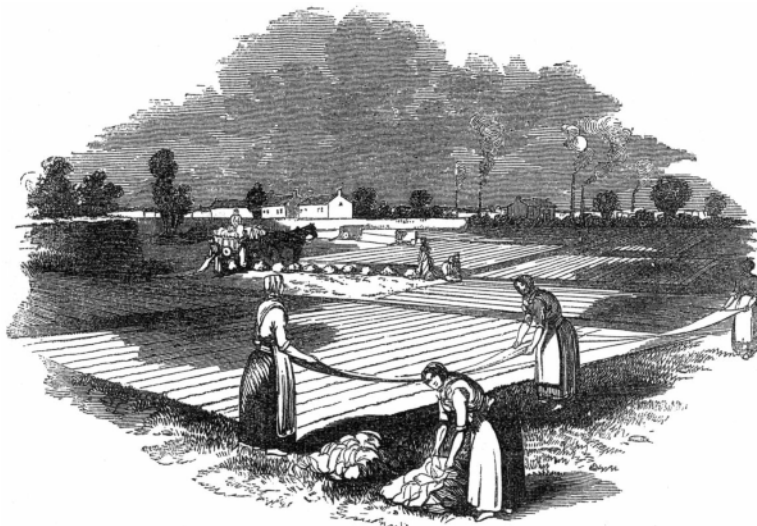


Figure 257
The Vale of Leven (undated)
Renton: a brief history
from 1715-2008.
[online] Available from
<http://www.valeofleven.org.uk/renton.html>
[Accessed 14.4.14]

of sulphuric acid for souring followed, in 1785, by a chlorine based bleaching powder which reduced the whole process to only a few days (Aspin, 2004, 24-25).

The final stage, if a patterned fabric was required, was at the calico printers. “Textile printing is a complementary process to bleaching because the pattern can be applied only on a good clear surface, and both activities required plenty of water, land and power, which meant water-power for most of the eighteenth century” (Chapman, 1983, 33). For this reason, although cotton printing started in London in 1676, the effect of the increase in population and manufacturing led to the loss of clear water and land became too expensive, resulting in the main printing areas moving out of London, mainly to Lancashire.

The design to be printed was drawn on paper and divided into sections. The pattern from each section was carved into wooden blocks. The fabric was prepared by soaking it in a mordant of alum and lead mixed with water in order for the fabric to hold the dye on printing and to retain it on washing. The fabric was then rolled out onto a long table (Figure 258),



Figure 258
The calico printer.
(*Book of trades*, 1807, 96)

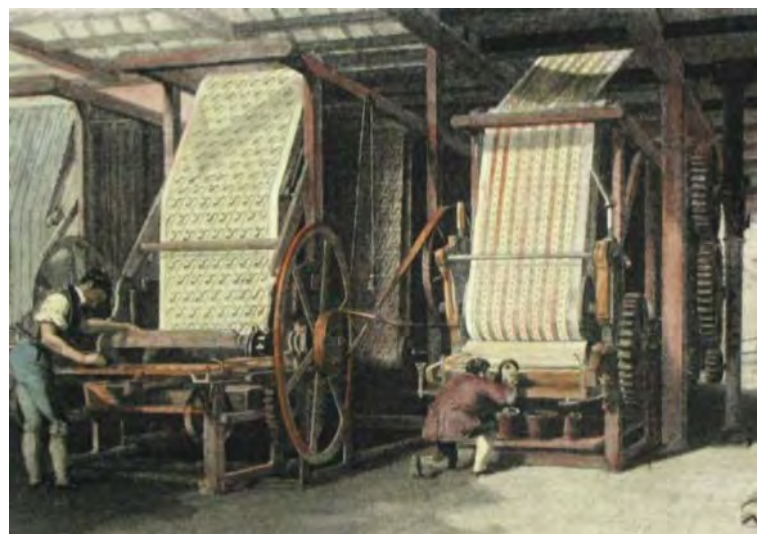


Figure 259
Unknown (1834) *Calico Printing Machines*
[hand-coloured engraving]

the block covered with the appropriate colours and printed onto the cloth. Great care was needed to ensure that joins were made accurately. The printing continued in this way until the whole piece of cloth was worked through. On completion the cloth was washed to remove any accidental stains, dried and folded for shop use. This process, was speeded up by the introduction of Thomas Bell's cylinder machine in 1785 (Figure 259) which, although only capable of printing simple patterns or pattern outlines for block printing, meant that five hundred pieces of cloth could be printed in a day as opposed to only six pieces by hand blocking.

Cotton trade and industry in the eighteenth century

The beginnings of the great growth in the cotton industry began in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and ended as Britain's principal source of wealth. It was this industry that played a significant part in the industrial revolution and led to huge changes both in the working lives and environments of many of the population. The eventual ubiquity and relative cheapness of cotton allowed far more variety in clothing and increases in wardrobe sizes for those on lower incomes. Styles (2010, 40) comments that of the five thousand or so scraps of fabric that were left with babies at the Foundling Hospital "it is rare for the same pattern to recur among the hundreds of different printed designs. Evidently, the choice of cheap printed fabrics available to consumers in the mid eighteenth century was immense."

"All cotton goods made in Europe prior to the Industrial Revolution were made with linen warps because of its strength, and cotton used only in the weft. This produced a type of cloth known as fustian ..." (Baines, 1977, 27). For this reason, it is likely that some of the upper linings and socks examined may well have contained cotton.

Spinning would have been carried out at home by outworkers but it soon became clear that as demand for cotton cloth increased the spinners were unable to keep up with the weavers. and could cause considerable delay with weavers standing idle. This necessitated the introduction of machinery which revolutionised production. Large cotton mills were created, usually of brick. An example is shown in Figure 260 of a mill in Manchester. Mill towns developed, where housing was built or adapted especially for the factory workers, for example at Cromford where Arkwright adapted existing buildings for his first factory. These provided a substantial improvement in living conditions and the principle of care for workers was initiated and developed further in the next century. Conditions in the factories however, were not always for the betterment of the workers. The environment was hot and humid in order to prevent the cotton drying out too much. This meant there was much dust in the atmosphere resulting in eye infections and lung diseases.



Figure 260
Manchester cotton mill. *Book of trades* (1838, 204)

Calico printing was “reckoned a very good business for both the master and his journeyman” (Phillips, 1818, 83). Pattern drawers were paid as to the complexity of the design and apprentices were required to have “a genius of drawing, a good eye and a delicate hand” (Phillips, 1818, 83). Campbell (1747, 115) was not so particular. He suggested a drawer should have “a fruitful fancy, to invent new whims to please the changeable foible of the ladies, for whose use their work is chiefly intended.”

The evidence of the use of cotton in shoemaking is limited. It is highly likely that cotton was used for linings, possibly mixed with linen but this is difficult to confirm. However, the increased availability of cheaper and more practical cotton fabrics had a big impact on fashion of the period which is likely to have resulted in a greater demand for shoes to be worn with the new, gaily coloured prints.

Metal and its use in eighteenth-century shoemaking

Metals are used in shoe construction in various ways, from tacks and nails holding the shoe to the last, to metal threads used in brocades (Figure 261), braids (Figure 262), spangles (Figure 263) and embroidery (Figure 264) on the uppers as well as buckles (Figure 265) for



Figure 261
Snowhill
SNO108 [62]



Figure 262
Northampton
1979.189 [35]



Figure 263
Northampton
1977.120.5 P [51]



Figure 264
Northampton
1978.44.1 P, [26]



Figure 265
Snowhill



Figure 266
Snowhill SNO107 [37]

fastening. Of the shoes examined, 24% have metal threads present in one form or another.. Buckles generally are not part of the equation when it comes to conservation as few shoes survive with the buckles with which they would originally have been worn. However, the obvious damage to the shoes caused by the chape of the buckles and the inevitable rust marks are an issue (Figure 266). This will be dealt with in chapter 6.

Properties of metal

The property that characterises all metals is their ability to reflect light and appear shiny. Most metals encountered on shoes are visible and are used to create added glitter when reflected in candlelight, as well as to display the wealth and status of the wearer. As a century when emulation of the gentry was practiced by those lower down the social scale, cheaper metals were used to provide the same level of glamour. Gold and silver would have been used for very expensive buckles but the metal threads used in weaving and embroidery would have been made from silver gilt. Up until the eighteenth century, metal threads contained a much high proportion of precious metal hence why many older textiles with such embroidery retain their colour and reflective qualities. After this period it was much more common to use cheaper metals which were more susceptible to tarnish. Metals that were commonly used in this way were gold, silver, brass, copper and iron. Alternatively, a type of counterfeit gold and silver was made using a copper base which was plated with silver and then gilded.

Manufacture of metal threads in the eighteenth century

Metal threads could be made in four main ways: a thin metal strip; a wire; or either a wire or a strip wrapped around a fibrous core usually of silk, as shown in Figures 267 and 271. There were variations on this with different finishes and surface textures but the principles are the same. For all the methods, the starting point was with the wire-drawer.

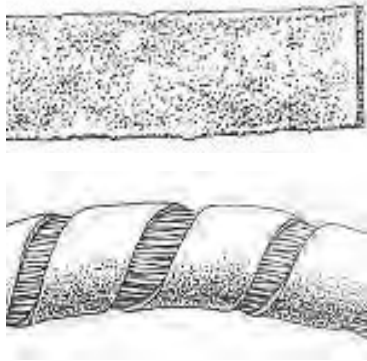


Figure 267
Metal strip and metal strip wrapped around fibrous core



Figure 268
Snowhill
SNO144 [54]



Figure 269
Hereford 4990 [50]

The strip could be made by beating a block of silver into a thin sheet from which the strips were cut. If a gilt finish was required the block would have been gilt on one side prior to flattening. Alternatively, wire could be put through a flattening mill where it was passed between two rollers to flatten it. An example of a metal strip used in weaving is shown in Figure 268 and, in embroidery, in Figure 269.

Wire, according to Campbell (1747, 148), began as a cylindrical ingot of silver which was drawn through a mill in which was a steel plate, perforated with holes of varying dimensions, with a wheel that turned the spindles, as shown in various forms in Figure 270. The ingot passed through the largest hole first and subsequently through successively smaller ones until the required fineness is achieved. Purl, used for embroidery, was made by coiling the wire around a small needle which was then withdrawn. Figure 272 shows the use of purl in a detail from a clog upper.

Spangles (similar to sequins) were made by twisting gold or silver wire around “a stick of the bigness they want the spangles” (Campbell, 1747, 152). These were then cut off in rings and flattened. Spangles were widely used on the uppers of shoes, mainly from the 1780s, although earlier examples are found as shown in Figure 273.

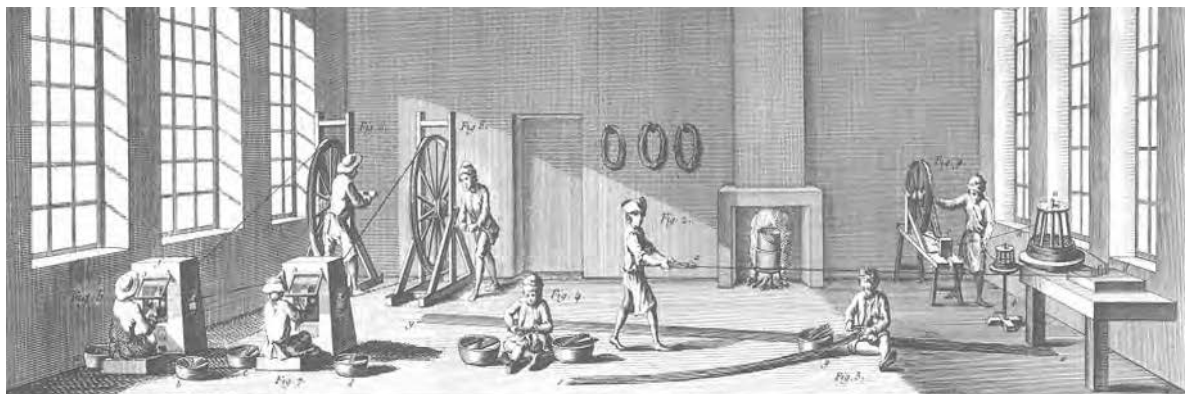


Figure 270
Detail from: Diderot & d'Alembert (1763) *Epinglier*, Plate II,
Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers. Paris

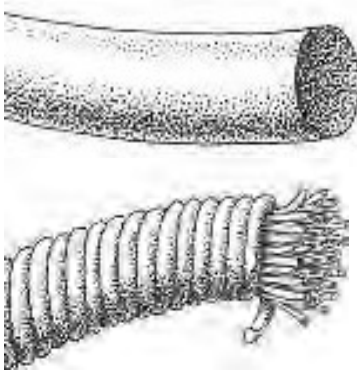


Figure 271
Metal wire and metal wire
wrapped around fibrous core

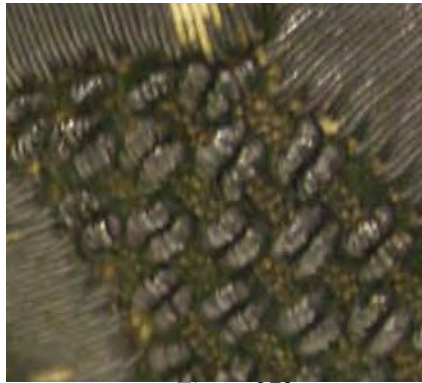


Figure 272
Leicester
328.1958/1 [105]

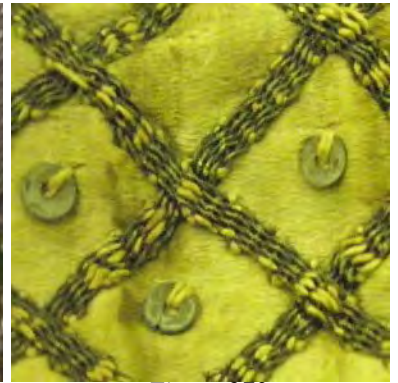


Figure 273
Northampton
1970.25.6 P [46]

For metal threads, the wires or strips were wrapped around a fibre core. This was usually silk, of different colours depending on the final effect sought: white or light yellow silk was used for silver threads and a darker shade of yellow was used for gold threads. The core of the thread seen in Figure 274 suggests that the overall appearance was silver whereas in Figure 275 the core is more yellow suggesting that this lace appeared gold. It was usually ensured that the core yarns were not too tightly twisted and in an opposite direction to the metal. Some threads were wrapped twice and occasionally even three times. Much care was needed for this work to ensure that the metal wire did not tarnish, including avoiding any moisture on the hands.

Metal thread was purchased by the lace man who employed orrice weavers to produce the braid or lace that was used for trimming costume and accessories. This was woven in a similar way to silk damasks and brocades although with smaller looms. Figure 276 shows a detail of such a lace. Campbell (1747, 151) remarks that the French made finer lace than the English although the English lace had a higher metal content which, due to the more moist English climate, was apt to tarnish.



Figure 274
Gunnersbury 2901/2 [29]

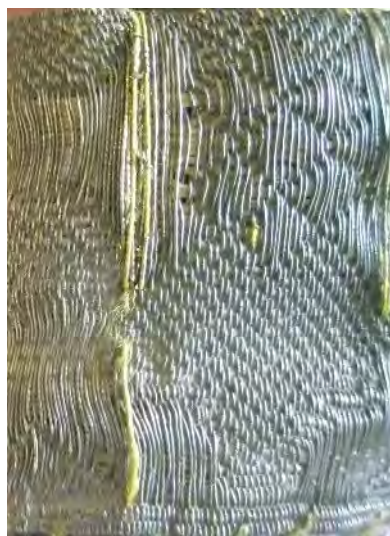


Figure 275
Gunnersbury 2605/1 [4]



Figure 276
Clarks W17sD2 [10]

Metal thread trade in the eighteenth century

The Lace-Man, or the seller of gold and silver lace, was the one who financed the production of metal threads and braids. These he sold to both the public and other end users such as the mantuamaker, tailor and shoemaker. Campbell (1747, 146) states that the occupation required a relatively large amount of capital to establish a business (£5000) and the possession of certain qualities:

“He ought to speak fluently, although not elegantly, to entertain the Ladies; and to be Master of a handsome Bow and Cringe; should be able to hand a Lady to and from her Coach politely, without being seized with the Palpitation of the Heart at the Touch of a delicate Hand, a well-turned and much exposed Limb, or a handsome Face: But, above all, he must have Confidence to refuse his Goods in a handsome Manner to the extravagant Beau who never pays, and Patience as well as Stock to bear the Delays of the sharpening Peer, who pays but seldom.”

Metal thread spinners could expect to earn 12-15 shillings a week according to Campbell (1747, 149) and both men and women were employed in this occupation. However, women were “much given to pilfering the stuff and have a trick of moistening the silk to make up the deficiency of weight” (Campbell, 1747, 149). They were supplied with their materials by the lace-man and then paid so much an ounce of completed thread. Embroiderers that used such materials would require £50-£150 to commence a business (Mortimer and Dickinson, 1819, 1027-1033).

Orrice weavers were also supplied with their materials measured in weight. It was expected that the same weight in lace was returned either in completed pieces or in cuttings. They were paid by the yard and according to the complexity of the pattern. They could expect to earn 15-18 shillings a week. Campbell (1747, 151) states that they required a

“lively apprehension, to make a compleat (sic) workman in this trade, and he must not be of a weakly constitution; for the weight they are obliged to move with the treadles, require a greater degree of strength than weavers employed in the manufacture of coarser materials.”

Campbell (1747, 219) claims that buckles of lower grade metals, such as steel or brass, were made in the country rather than in London. In his words “This trade is rather piddling than laborious, and required some fancy to invent new fashions.” Journeymen could earn in the region of 15-20 shillings per week. Buckles of higher quality, composed of precious metals and jewels, were made by silversmiths or jewellers. Wright (1922, 134) states that buckles were often made from tutania. This was a silver coloured alloy of copper, antimony, zinc and tin which was patented by William Tutin in 1770.

Wood and its use in eighteenth-century shoemaking

Wood is used in shoe construction in the heel area. The heel itself is made from wood and as were the pegs that sometimes held the heel in place. Figures 146 and 147 show part of a wooden heel from an extant shoe. As wooden heels are usually covered, a common way of confirming their base is by the presence of woodworm holes, as in Figure 277. Wood was also used in the making of pattens.

Garsault states that alder was always used for women's heels whereas Hartwig (Saguto, 2009, 101) equally firmly states that lote wood (Lotus) was "used for fabric shoes, since this wood is light, but, for calfskin shoes, the heels are solid beech wood." Grisellini (Saguto, 2009, 101) affirms that heartwood (the central harder and stronger section of a branch or trunk formed by many species of trees) was always used. Mortimer and Dickinson (1819) suggest that birch was used in Great Britain for women's shoe heels and for complete wooden shoes in France. X-radiography that was carried out on several pairs of eighteenth-century shoes and clogs from Hampshire County Council Museums Services reveals that all pairs examined had wooden heels. In some images, the wood shows "concentric circles in a horizontal direction, where the grain of the wood will be at its strongest" (Howard and Holmes, 2007, 289). The wood used in the clogs has been identified as a coarse grain softwood, possibly alder. Swann (2010) suggests that heels were usually made from beech or pine. As there are differences of opinion this is obviously a subject in need of greater research and analysis.

Heel makers would cut rough heel shapes as in Figure 124 C which were then adjusted as appropriate by the shoemaker. Last and heel makers were a very necessary element of the shoemaking process but Campbell (1747, 218) states that it was

"a laborious employment to make them, though they are much assisted by a kind of engine, with which they cut them... They make wooden heels for men and women's shoes but neither heels or lasts required a great share of ingenuity: it is but a poor business and the wages of a journeyman but small."

Mortimer and Dickinson (1819, 1027-1033) suggest that between £50 and £100 was required to set up in business as a last, heel and wood patten maker.



Figure 277
Clarks W17sD10 [20]

Paper and its use in eighteenth-century shoemaking

From a construction point of view, paper was not used in shoemaking. However, it is relevant from a conservation viewpoint due its use as shoemakers' labels. As has been noted in Chapter 3, labels were more widely used from the 1780s onwards although there are earlier examples. Figure 278 shows an example.

Manufacture of paper in the eighteenth century

White paper was made from recycled linen rags and thus possesses similar qualities to that of linen.

The rags were sorted, washed and whitened before processing in the paper-mill where Campbell (1747) describes them being pounded in water until reduced to a pulp. The pulp was conveyed to a large vat, as shown in Figure 279. The mould, a frame made up of many wires, was plunged into the vat, held horizontally. On removal, the water fell through the holes between the wires and left a thin layer of the pulp which formed a sheet of paper. These sheets were piled up, interleaved with felt, and then the pile was put in a press, as shown on the left in Figure 279. The sheets were pressed three or four times and then hung to dry, as seen in the background of the same image. On drying, the paper needed to be sized so that it was able to take ink printing. The size was made from alum added to "shreds and parings collected from the tanners, curriers and parchment makers" (*The book of trades*, 1807, 69). The sheets were dipped in the size and then pressed again and hung to dry. Finally the paper was pressed, sorted and folded ready for sale. The whole process took about three weeks.



Figure 278
Clarks W17+sD9 [67]



Figure 279
The paper maker
Book of trades (1807, 63)

Adhesives and their use in eighteenth-century shoemaking

Starch paste made from wheat was sometimes used to adhere textile uppers to the leather lining. It was also used to adhere the heel cover to the wooden substrate. Swann (2010) suggests that rye was used for stronger adhesives.

Starch was extracted from the coarser grit that remained after sieving ground wheat for flour. According to Gillespie (1959, plate 451) the wheat was then left in barrels of water for about three weeks. The scum formed on the top was removed and the remains sieved and rinsed three times. The pure starch solution remaining would be left to settle for three days during which time the starch crystallised and the water could be skimmed off. The starch was then packed in baskets and left to dry. On removal from the baskets the cakes of starch were air dried on open shelving before being powdered and baked at a low heat in a drying room. It was then ready to be made up to paste. The process of starch making is shown in Figure 280.

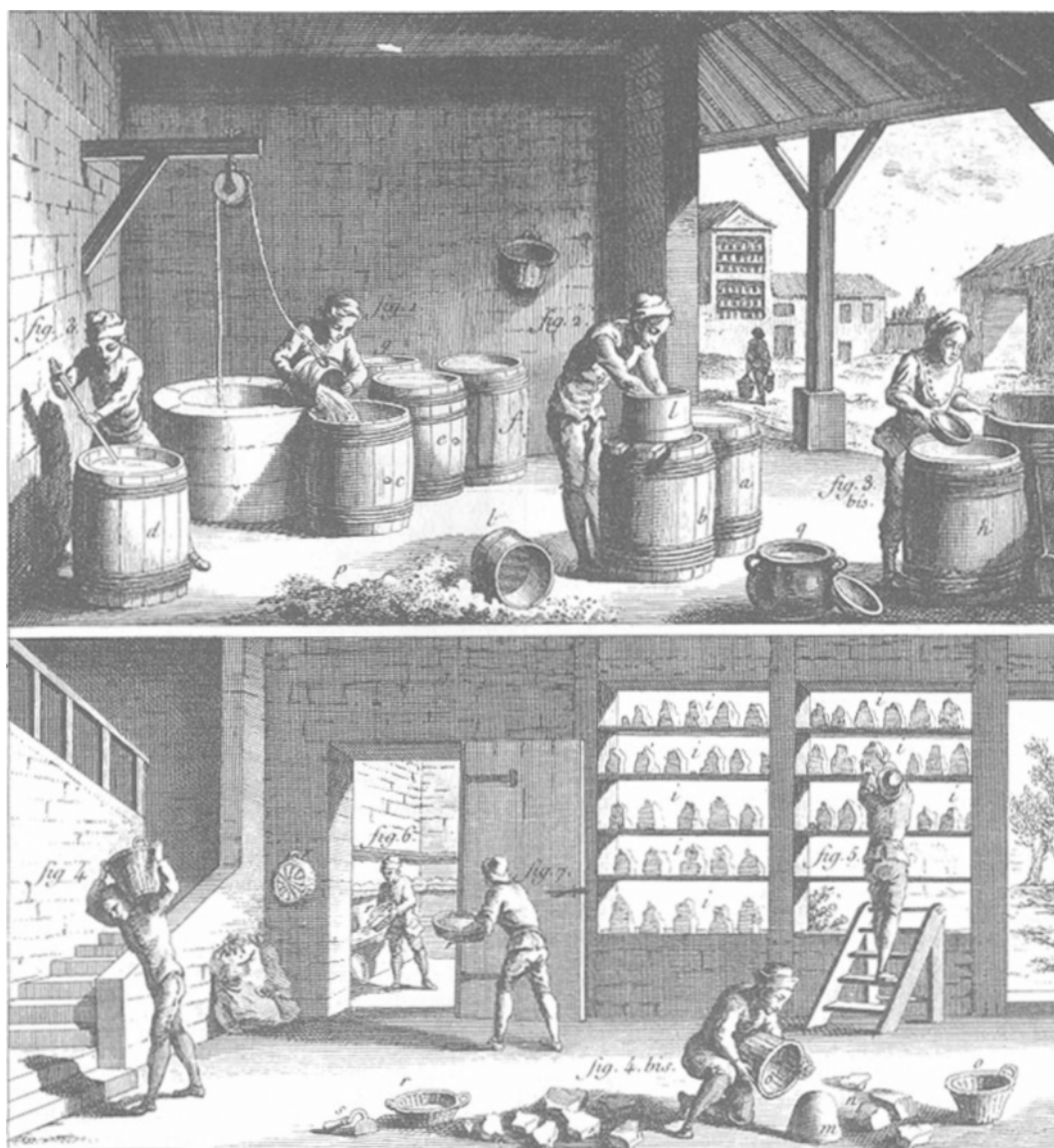


Figure 280

Details from: Diderot & d'Alembert (1763) *Amydonnier*, Plate I, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*. Paris

Cork and its use in eighteenth-century shoemaking

Cork was sometimes used for insoles and as a filler between the insole and outer sole. The void between arch and the sole on clogs could also have been filled with cork. It was used too, as mentioned in Chapter 3, for shoes which had to be built up for use by those with a club foot or one leg shorter than the other. No evidence of cork was found in the shoes surveyed but generally speaking it should not be visible in a finished shoe. It is, therefore, not surprising that none is evident.

Cork was obtained from the bark of a cork tree. It was lightweight but resilient. It was buoyant hence its use for swimming aids and life jackets. Cork was also easily cut and shaped and was relatively cheap.

The bark was removed by a vertical incision being made from top to bottom with horizontal ones around the circumference of the tree at the top and bottom of the first incision. The bark was then peeled away. The cut bark was weighted down with stones in a pit or pond in order to flatten it. On removal it was dried out and sold on.

Cork was mainly used for bottle stoppers. Consequently cork cutters were not well paid or highly regarded. As has been noted, cork was also cut for different ends. Figure 281 shows a cutter at work, with swimming aids hanging from the ceiling.



Figure 281
The cork cutter
Book of trades
(1807, 143)

Thus it is evident that not only was shoe construction complex but was reliant on the interdependency of a whole string of crafts and processes, each subject to their own commercial circumstances. Shoes were the end product of a highly complex chain of manufacturing. Some trades, such as tanning, were heavily dependent on shoe sales and fluctuations in fashion and the use of shoes could have a major impact on an already convoluted supply chain. This study raises questions about the implications of the interdependence between such a diverse range of trades and crafts; how they were affected by consumption patterns and how fluctuations in one related trade could influence the economics of shoe production (for example, if silk brocade was produced more cheaply, thus making shoes cheaper and more readily available would it negate the desirability of shoes made with this fabric?).

Part III

SHOES: CONSERVATION AND CULTURAL HERITAGE



Conservation, as a term given to the preservation of artefacts, is relatively new (less than a hundred years) but the process of keeping and valuing items from the past is not. The fact that so many pairs of shoes have survived is testament to the fact that they were seen as items of value to the wearer and her descendants and to collectors of historic objects. This thesis is written in such a way as to be understandable to both conservators and non-conservators. Some explanations, therefore, might seem simplistic or unnecessary to those with conservation experience but aims to make the issues clearer to those without.

As most collections have only a limited number of such shoes (most with less than ten pairs) it would seem that there has never been a consistent and systematic approach to the conservation of shoes generally. The largest scale programme of treatment found has been that by the Textile Conservation Centre (TCC) of part of the collection from Northampton Museum, covering 550 pairs and single shoes from all eras including 46 from the eighteenth century.

Eighteenth-century women's shoes exhibit a significant visible proportion of textiles on the shoe and have consequently tended to be treated by specialist textile conservators. This, however, disregards the fact that a critical part of the shoe is made of leather, as well as other materials, which are not part (or only a very small part) of a textile specialist's training. It is also unlikely that many textile conservators will ever have to treat many pairs of shoes over a career, never mind in a short enough space of time, to form a consistent approach. It may well be argued that this does not matter and that any object should be assessed and treated individually. This is true to a point but there is no harm and very real benefits to a common approach being taken. This applies, in principle, to tapestry conservation, for instance, where procedures are similar throughout the world, with adaptations made to suit particular requirements. As Appelbaum (2007, xxiv) states "A single methodology does not mean an imposed uniformity. Asking the same questions for all treatments means finding different answers."

Conservation literature tends to specialise in particular materials - in this instance mainly textiles or leather. For leather conservation there are really only two publications (Kite and Thomson, 2006 and Waterer (1972a), the former of which is very thorough with regard to leather but not so on composite objects such as shoes. Waterer's (1972a) work was written in the early days of conservation science and has become quite outdated, utilising methodologies that would no longer be employed. Textile conservation books are more widely available but the only one that gives practical treatment advice (Landi, 1992) lacks details of the treatment of the textile elements of shoes. This next section therefore aims to bring

together the limited published knowledge combined with more practical observations regarding the conservation of eighteenth-century shoes.

The following chapters look in more detail at the conservation process commencing with the purpose of conservation and the ethical codes and dilemmas that face conservators before any treatment is carried out. This is followed by an examination of the factors that cause deterioration in shoes and the ways in which they may be counteracted for different materials. Consideration will be given to the implications for storage and display. Finally, a suggested approach for future decision making and treatment options is provided.

THE PURPOSE AND GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF CONSERVATION

This research has raised a number of queries regarding the purpose of conservation for eighteenth-century shoes. There are some that would argue that conservation should be restricted to the provision of proper storage and display only (ie preventive conservation) with no remedial or interventive work allowed. There is some merit in this argument while there is still so little collaboration between collections to have a full understanding of the significance of their holdings in relation to others. Until this is established, valuable evidence might be lost or masked by conservation treatment. However, remedial work is essential in some cases to ensure an object has any future.

At this point it is helpful to differentiate between conservation and restoration or repair. The purpose of conservation is to stabilise an object with the minimum amount of intervention. According to the professional guidelines set out by the European Confederation of Conservator-Restorers' Organisations (ECCO) (2002) used currently by the Institute of Conservation (ICON) "conservation consists mainly of direct action carried out on a cultural heritage with the aim of stabilising condition and retarding further deterioration." Whereas, "restoration consists of direct action carried out on damaged or deteriorated cultural heritage with the aim of facilitating its perception, appreciation and understanding, while respecting as far as possible its aesthetic, historical and physical properties." In other words, restoration seeks to present an object as it is presumed to have looked when first made. Many of the treatments carried out on historic objects incorporate some elements of both conservation and restoration.

Kite (1996, 737) suggests that

"knowledge of the properties of materials that objects contain is essential before conservation is undertaken. It is also essential that the object be understood within its historical context to appreciate how it may have been used or related to in its own time."

I would go further in that what is also required is an awareness of the present day narrative and how an object fits not only within the collection to which it belongs but in the collection of similar extant objects elsewhere.

ECCO (2002) also states that "diagnostic examination consists of the identification, the determination of the composition and the assessment of the condition of the cultural heritage; the identification, nature and extent of alterations, the evaluation of the causes of deterioration and the determination of the type and extent of treatment needed. It includes the study of

relevant existing information.” Pye (2001) provides a model for object assessment and decision options with regard to treatment which can be summarised as:-

- Assess the state of an object by visual examination, the checking of existing records and discussion with the owners, and/or colleagues.
- Actions
 - Do nothing as no significant improvement could be made; too much risk involved; treatment too expensive (in terms of money, space or time).
 - Preventive treatment by controlling external factors and the environment; the provision of support to minimise stress and the elimination of pests.
 - Remedial conservation.
 - Restoration which would be visible on close inspection.

This model addresses the main considerations of any conservation treatment and expresses the requirement of full information prior to decisions being made. This, as will be evidenced in chapter 6, is not always possible. In the case of eighteenth-century shoes, it is intended that this research will fill some of the current gaps for conservators. The model also makes plain that the action of no treatment is as much a considered decision as those which lead to more interventive actions.

Article 9 of ECCO’s code (2002) states that

“the conservator-restorer shall strive to use only products, materials and procedures which, according to the current level of knowledge, will not harm the cultural heritage, the environment or people. The action itself and the materials used, should not interfere, if at all possible, with any future examination, treatments or analysis. They should also be compatible with the materials of the cultural heritage and be as easily and completely reversible as possible.”

This expresses an ideal but it is rare that a treatment can ever be fully reversible. As Keyserlingk (1992, 44) observes

“we should admit that the question of reversibility of treatments is not realistic. As soon as an artifact is touched it is altered. Most textiles, especially costumes, have been changed through use and time. Removing these historic traces might be justified from a curatorial or conservation point view, but it still represents a non-reversible act.”

Appelbaum (2007, 241) confirms that materials used in conservation should not interfere with an object and goes on to state that

“the materials that treatment leaves on the object are supposed to be chemically dissimilar to the original ones for reason of detectability, reversibility and optimal aging characteristics. This policy protects research value, prevents misunderstanding of the actual state of the object and makes future treatment safer and more efficient.”

This again is not always possible as the use of chemically dissimilar materials may not be detectable with the human eye and without a laboratory facility to trace it. If full records of such treatments are not made available with an object then research value is not preserved or misunderstandings prevented. Some of the treatments employed by conservators do indeed obscure evidence and hinder closer inspection as has been observed during the survey.

It can be concluded, then, that generally, the main aims for conservation are to use the minimum level of intervention necessary and to make that intervention as reversible as possible.

The aims of the TCC/Northampton project were (Thompson, 2000):-

- to increase access to the collection and the information it embodies by making it more suitable for display and study.
- to enhance public understanding of science by providing information about the techniques used for shoe conservation.
- to build up further knowledge about the materials and techniques used to construct boots and shoes, patterns of wear, degradation trends and conservation and mounting techniques through targeted research projects.
- the museum wished to make their entire collection displayable and understandable when, at the start of the project, only 10% was.
- the museum stipulated that, where possible, all evidence of their construction and use should be preserved.
- the museum required internal support forms to be created for both storage and display.

Whether these aims were met will be examined more closely in the following chapters. It should be pointed out, however, that if the third aim had been fully achieved there would be less need for this research. Any information gained during this project was retained by the TCC and the museum but little if any was made more public.

The practice of conservators is governed by a code of ethics which varies slightly from country to country but generally has the same purpose. Much of the code is expressed in the aims of conservation as previously detailed but there are many issues that arise which require due consideration in light of the code of ethics. Some of these will be discussed in more detail. It should be noted that some of these codes have been updated and ICON is currently undertaking a review of theirs. However, the development of such codes illustrates how the



Figure 282
Northampton 1984.236.390 [16]



Figure 283
Northampton 1959-60.85.1 [78]

process of, and attitudes towards, conservation are not static and continue to change as time progresses.

It has already been observed in chapters 2, 3 and 4 that much evidence of shoe construction is gleaned from those shoes which are in a particularly poor condition such as those in Figures 282 and 283. The first inclination of a conservator may well be to straighten creases, support weak seams and remove damaging repairs. These actions, however, would eradicate many of the details that make such a shoe of interest. It is in this context that improved awareness and information about such shoes that are extant is necessary. As Appelbaum (2007, 140) remarks, “not every object needs, or is suitable, to be a data source” but unless it is known where a particular object sits in relation to similar ones held elsewhere, how can a decision be made with certainty? It is this dilemma that this thesis aims to assist by providing, in one source, the information that at present is widely scattered and not easily available within the time frames in which most conservators work.

The United Kingdom Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works (now incorporated into ICON) Code of Ethics (1988) states:

“Each member must strive to preserve cultural property for the benefit of future generations but he/she must make every effort to maintain a balance between the preservation of cultural property and the need to use, understand and appreciate it.”

Their Rules of Practice state: “No aspect of cultural property should be altered nor should material be removed from it without justification.” This is reiterated by VeRes (1991), the Dutch Association of Professional Restorers, Code of Ethics which states:

“In all activities such as reparation of damage, the filling of gaps and the removal of materials and/or parts, the restorer shall act with as much restraint as possible; restoration should only be carried out after painstaking research, and naturally with consultation with the person commissioning the restoration.”

The need for consultation with all parties is stressed by the Code of Professional Ethics (1990) distributed by the International Council of Museums which states:

“There are often difficult decisions to be made in relation to the degree of replacement or restoration of lost or damaged parts of a specimen or work of art

that may be ethically acceptable in particular circumstances. Such decisions call for proper co-operation between all with a specialized responsibility for the object, including both the curator and the conservator or restorer, and should not be decided unilaterally by one or the other acting alone.”

The American Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works (AIC) Guidelines for Practice (1994) puts more emphasis on the role of the conservator in the decision making process stating, “The conservation professional performs within a continuum of care and will rarely be the last entrusted with the conservation of a cultural property.”

Their Code of Ethics also lays the burden of responsibility on the conservator with points II and III,

“all actions of the conservation professional must be governed by an informed respect for the cultural property, its unique character and significance, and the people or person who created it. While recognizing the right of society to make appropriate and respectful use of cultural property, the conservation professional shall serve as an advocate for the preservation of cultural property.”

This is reiterated by the Australian Institute for Conservation of Cultural Material Code of Practice (1984).

Jonathan Ashley-Smith (1994, 11) makes the point that ethics are transitory by nature and what is valued today may not be in the future. This implies the importance of the notions of minimum intervention and sustainability. What are currently viewed as acceptable treatments may be deemed impermissible in the future. The book, *Changing Views of Conservation* (Brooks and Eastop, 2011) illustrates how attitudes and approaches to textile conservation have changed vastly over a period of forty years.

The principle of sustainability as applied to conservation is to ensure that whatever is done to an object today does not affect the enjoyment of that object for future users and gives rise to the axiom of reversibility which underlies all current remedial conservation work. As Muñoz Viñas (2005, 195) observes,

“Each time an object is modified, some of its possible meanings are strengthened, while others are restricted forever. The principle of sustainability in conservation mandates that future users should be taken into account when decisions are made.”

The increasing awareness and adoption of this principle within the conservation world has led to an increase in preventive conservation and an attitude of minimum intervention when it comes to remedial work.

June Swann (1989, 2000, 2010) argues very effusively for the abstention of conservators with regard to shoes as she feels that much evidence can be lost through well meaning interventions. In support of this, is the rapid advancement in scientific techniques which enable the materials present to be analysed, from dirt to the DNA present in the leather.

Figure 284
Snowhill
SNO127 [53]



Figure 285
Snowhill
SNO107 [37]

Bower et al (2010) discuss the extraction of DNA from historic parchment which despite its limitations is set to provide valuable evidence about the breeds of animal skins used, even down to their coat colour, docility and vulnerability to disease enhancing knowledge not just of parchment but adding to that of animal husbandry over a period of time. This information would also be obtainable from leather and would give insight to the sources of leather used in eighteenth-century shoes providing information of both breed and location. The implications for conservators is to avoid treatments which might contaminate the DNA (possibly through the use of adhesives derived from animal products) or increase its susceptibility to deterioration. In addition, soiling may provide valuable evidence of where a shoe had been worn. Porter (1991, 19) states “the omnipresence of animals meant that streets were awash with dung” as may be shown on the heels in Figures 284 and 285. As Pye (2001, 133) remarks “removal of accretions can reveal one form of evidence while destroying another.”

The conservator’s expertise lies in the field of possessing the practical skills required to protect an object and to safeguard its future. Thorough knowledge of shoe history and manufacture is not a requirement and, indeed, shoe conservation as a subject is only dealt with in a practical way in educational establishments if any shoes are available for study which is not always the case. Thus, it must be acknowledged that a conservator may well not have sufficient experience to determine the historical relevance of such shoes. On the other hand, curatorial staff may also have a more general knowledge rather than a specialism in shoe history and even those who are experts may have little appreciation of the structural implications of previous repairs. It is clear then that, where possible and appropriate, wider consultation is necessary. The owner or curator plays an important part in the decision making process for conservation treatment. It is their responsibility to decide on the level of intervention to be carried out on advice from a conservator. As shown, they often lack the required information. In consequence, in giving their instructions, they do not necessarily consider the placing of their object within a nationwide framework but only their own requirements for display and interpretation. This can leave conservators in a dilemma,

especially those in private practice, as their livelihood depends on their clients. Where an object is owned by an organisation rather than an individual the number of people involved in the decision making process is also greatly increased. All will have their own priorities in terms of the finished article and the final decision can result in compromises reached between individuals rather than the requirements of the object being met. The strength of individual personalities can influence the outcome more than the strength of their actual arguments. Organisations such as the National Trust and English Heritage are also accountable to their members. This has implications not only for cost but for how the conserved article appears. Is it more important from the visitors' perspective to give a clearer impression of how a shoe would have looked in its full glory rather than maintain the impression of past usage? If this is so then maybe the public's needs are greater than those of the object. Sarah Staniforth, (2004, 16) of the National Trust stated that the purpose of sustainable conservation "is for people. We're not doing it for the objects." Appelbaum (2007, 25) confirms this by stating that as treatments are supposed to fulfil the needs of the "ordinary viewer at first view" it must address those requirements. Perhaps, in the longer term, it would be better to educate the viewers in the value of an item that looks less than pristine and all that it can reveal rather than changing the object to suit the perception. Museums are surely intended to provide information about the past not just exhibit perfect specimens that might not even have been observed, other than by the elite, at the time of manufacture.

Muñoz Viñas (2005, 90) suggests "The techniques and target state of the conservation process should be determined by scientific means. ... Subjective impressions, tastes or preferences should be avoided; instead decisions should be based upon objective facts and hard data." This is all very well where such facilities are available to produce such data but in most situations this is not the case.

In ICON's Code of Conduct, Draft v10 (2013, 4.8i and ii) it states that

"you must create records of the condition of objects before undertaking any conservation procedures and document any investigations, analysis, decisions made and procedures undertaken as well as subsequent results and observations. You must ensure such documentation is provided to the owner or custodian of the conserved item or structure ..."

Although full documentation of conservation treatment is usually now kept and anything removed retained with it, this assumes that the owner of the object has the facilities to ensure that the records are kept in an accessible place, linked to the object, and that they will continue to do so in the future. This is obviously not always so. From the collections visited and museums surveyed, very few were able to say if their shoes had been conserved and if so,



Figure 286
Lincoln L.CNUG 927 2693 [7]



Figure 287
Hereford 2005-202 1 [42]



Figure 288
Hereford 4775 [49]

when. Until the conservation report is seen as an integral part of an object's record and not viewed as unrelated records to be filed under conservation generally, vital information can be lost as soon as staff changes are made and connections are lost.

Past repairs and alterations (such as those seen in Figures 286-288) need recording and understanding and full consideration before they are altered in any way. Repairs removed merely because they are ugly is an unnecessary action and deprives our successors of a complete knowledge of an object's history. The fact that we still have evidence of past approaches to repair, restoration and conservation within the shoes themselves is evidently of great significance. Not all methods have been written about and our knowledge therefore is only available in the actuality. If this is lost then the knowledge is also lost and is irreplaceable. Oddy (1994, 5) emphasises this fact stating that old repairs and restorations have a historical importance which "may relate to the history of aesthetic appreciation or it may relate to the history of conservation. In either case, restoration carried out before 1920 must be examined and recorded, and only removed when neither the curator nor the conservator feel that it serves any documentary purpose."

Shoes are viewed as objects which tell about our past from differing angles. The means of manufacture and the materials used are indications of social and economic life. The changes they have undergone during their lifetime tells a story which may be equally relevant to the shoes' contribution to social history. How does one determine which of these indicators is the most important? Brandi (1996, 224) states,

"from a historical point of view, an addition to a work of art is nothing more than new testimony to human activity and, thus, is part of history. In this context, an addition is not different from the original stock and has the same right to conservation. ... Therefore, from a historical point of view, only the conservation of an addition is unconditionally legitimate, while its removal always needs justification, or should at least be done in a manner that will leave a trace both of itself and on the work of art."

A further factor to consider is the additional damage the removal of past treatments may incur. This must be finely balanced against the advantages for removal. Further original material may be lost in the process particularly when removing past interventions in areas of

degraded silk. As there is very little that can be done to retain silk when it is in this condition should it be assumed that this will be lost anyway and should not be taken into consideration?

It is not only the current state of a pair of shoes that needs to be contemplated. Some knowledge of their anticipated future is also required to ensure that appropriate treatments are carried out that will not jeopardise this.

The following chapter will examine in more detail the reasons why shoes may need to be conserved; what factors contribute to their deterioration and what approaches might be taken to remedy them.

AGENTS OF DETERIORATION AND TREATMENT APPROACHES

Agents of deterioration and their effect on shoes and their component materials

The purpose of this chapter is to examine how shoes from the eighteenth century deteriorate and why, and to observe more specifically how the materials used in such shoes might behave over lengthy time periods and in varying environments. The major factors that prevent shoes staying as pristine as the day they were made are many and will be dealt with generally, followed by more specific details as to their effect on individual materials.

The use and wear of shoes evidently plays a large part in their initial deterioration (and, as has been shown, provides information about the social history of that period) but subsequently, the environmental factors to which they have been exposed during storage and, possibly display, are the most influential. The main points to be considered are relative humidity, temperature, light, particulate deposition and biological damage. It is beyond the scope of this research to examine how materials are damaged at molecular level and the chemical reactions that take place to cause the visible signs of deterioration. The information provided summarises the main works on the subject (such as Tímár-Balázs and Eastop, 1998; Kite and Thomson, 2006; Thomson 1986) and gives an overall awareness of the types of damage that can occur under particular conditions and how it can be most easily detected. It should also be noted here that the manufacturing processes undergone by textiles and leather particularly can cause inherent weaknesses in the fibre structures and reference should be made to chapter 4 where this is dealt with in more detail.

The term relative humidity (RH) relates to the amount of moisture in the air expressed as a percentage of the maximum amount of moisture the same volume of air at the same temperature could contain. The lower the rate therefore, the dryer the air. This is one of the main agents of deterioration, particularly in combination with temperature. Different materials behave dissimilarly at the same level of relative humidity and this causes difficulties for composite objects, like shoes. The recommended relative humidity range for textiles is 50-65% with 5% maximum change over 24 hours. For leather it is a slightly wider range of 40-65% and for wood a much smaller range of 45-50%. Generally speaking therefore the conditions required for shoes would seem to be around 50%. The recommended temperature range for all the materials used in shoes is 5-19°C with 5°C

maximum change over 24 hours. For both these factors, fluctuations in levels can create as many problems as extremes of one or the other. Although a compromise needs to be reached with regard to relative humidity, a stable environment is the most important for shoes and their mixed materials.

The effects of light (particularly ultraviolet) on organic materials are cumulative and irreversible causing a general weakening of the structures and fading of colours. This is shown in Figure 289 where a darker colour is seen in an area that was creased and therefore less exposed to the light. Light is hard to control in that certain levels are required for display purposes; for careful handling and examination, as well as for conservation treatments. Boersma (2007, 48) gives examples of suitable light levels being 200 lux for a living room whereas 500 lux is necessary to read a book. The recommended levels for textiles are 50 lux (ie the illuminance) and $10\mu\text{W}/\text{lumen}$ which is a measure of the level of ultraviolet radiation (Boersma, 2007, 48). In order to control exposure to light while allowing for the requirements of different situations, a maximum annual exposure is adopted: for textiles this is 145,600 lux hours. This means that when shoes are not required for any purpose they should be kept in total darkness.

Particulate deposition varies from very fine dust particles to larger granules as seen in Figure 290. Solid dirt leads to mechanical damage due to friction between fibres, while the sharp edges of a particulate can cut the fibres. Dust results in discolouration (yellowing, grey, greyish brown) which is often impossible to remove, especially if caused by metal-containing dust particles. It can also act as a catalyst for other deterioration processes. Carbon black and dust attract and absorb acid or alkaline agents in the air causing chemical reactions in the fibres.



Figure 289
Snowhill SNO128 [9]



Figure 290
Snowhill SNO110 [38]



Figure 291
Nottingham NCM 1881 76a [8]



Figure 292
Snowhill SNO113 [83]

Damage caused by insects is often specific to material type but when they are in close contact with others the effects can be more widespread. Most damage is caused by insects in their larval stage eating their way through fibres. However, their excretions can also cause staining and their remains provide sustenance for other insects and pests. There is evidence of insect damage on a number of the shoes surveyed for example Figure 291 shows woodworm exit holes on a wooden heel and Figure 292 shows moth eaten quarters.

If shoes have been subject to poor storage in the past (for example in attics) they may have become exposed to pests such as rats, mice and bats all of which can have an adverse effect by chewing or by the deposition of urine and faeces.

Organic materials are also susceptible to fungi that appear in the form of mould and mildew. These are microorganisms which feed particularly, but not exclusively, on cellulosic fibres causing disfiguration on the surface of the materials but also weakening the underlying fibre structures. Spores can remain inactive in fibres for hundreds of years but the right conditions can trigger germination. Thus, it is vital that the environment in which shoes (or indeed any other objects of similar materials) are kept is well controlled and maintained. Of the shoes surveyed only one clog showed some signs of mildew as seen in Figure 296.

Leather

Few leathers are actually exactly the same. “They vary according to the chemicals used in hide pretreatment, the chemicals that occur naturally in the tannin extracts that are used in the tanning process and the chemicals used for the various finishing operations” (Florian 2006, 36). How leather reacts to subsequent use and environments therefore varies. However, certain generalisations can be made.



Figure 293

Hereford
1978-472-2
[103]

Leather is liable to crack and tear below 40%RH and suffers loss of flexibility. The effects are exacerbated in the additional presence of high temperatures. High levels of relative humidity gives rise to potential biological threat such as mould. Leather is particularly vulnerable to this. High levels of damp can also cause staining on leather. The clogs shown in Figure 293 appear to have been exposed to high RH levels or had more direct contact with moisture as both staining and mildew are present. White tawed leather is particularly vulnerable to high relative humidity in storage areas (Vest, 1999, 70). Fine crazing in thick leather is often the result of excessive fluctuations in levels of relative humidity.

Leather can become hard and brittle in too high temperatures or when temperatures fluctuate regularly causing dimensional changes. Leather loses the ability to absorb water vapour resulting in shrinkage and loss of strength. On vegetable tanned leather this is evidenced by flaking grain delaminating from the corium layer and embrittlement. For tawed leather, “heavy deterioration is not reflected in the physical state of the leather structure” and cannot be “judged by visual examination.” (Vest, 1999, 70).

Photooxidation causes damage to the polymers in leather which leads to the loss of mechanical strength, embrittlement, cracking, crazing, solubility changes, lowering of pH and colour change especially on dyed leather (Kite and Thomson, 2006, 39). Direct sunlight is the most damaging due to the implications of combined heat. Waterer (1972b, 260) says of sunlight or strong light “the colour of certain leathers, particularly those which have been vegetable tanned and are light in colour, can be seriously affected within a few hours.”

Dirt is a problem for leather in that it is deposited in the cracks and grain crevices in the leather making complete removal difficult if not impossible.

Leather is not in itself usually prone to insect attack although tawed leather may be susceptible to silverfish. It is usually the materials with which leather is combined that



Figure 294
Delaminating leather.
Snowhill SNO102 [48]



Figure 295
Dirt ingrained leather.
Nottingham
NCM 1881/78 [60]



Figure 296
Embrittled, cracked and
delaminated leather.
Gunnersbury 2831 [92]



Figure 297
Embrittled, cracked and
delaminated leather.
Snowhill SNO113 [85]

attract insects as can be seen in Figure 294 where woodworm has bored through the wooden heel and consequently the leather heel cover.

Aged leather is acidic, ranging from a pH range of 2.5-4 (Kite and Thomson, 2006, 116). While not contributing directly to deterioration in leather itself, this is noteworthy for the implications it may have on the other materials present in shoes.

Some examples of deteriorated leather are shown in Figures 294-297.

Linen

The linen used in shoes is generally a lining fabric and is not as exposed as the outer materials. It is therefore afforded some protection from its environment.

High levels of relative humidity (above 65%) can cause linen fibres to swell resulting in dimensional changes and possibly leading to the migration of dyes. RH levels below 40% can induce inflexibility in the fibres with subsequent desiccation and powdering.

Too much heat can cause severe degradation of linen fibres especially if they have previously been bleached. It is likely most of the linen used in shoe manufacture would have been bleached in the production process although not during subsequent cleaning as tableware might have been. The fibres become less flexible, more friable and often exhibit a brownish discolouration. Linen linings in shoes are prone to discolouration due to wear and perspiration. It would be difficult, therefore, to differentiate the exact cause of such discolourations and, indeed, it may well be the cumulative result from all factors.

Linen fibres turn yellow/brown or fade in sustained light exposure becoming acidic and suffering weakened mechanical strength. Their strength is reduced by 50% after 350 hours exposure to ultraviolet light (Tímár-Balázs and Eastop, 1998, 35).

Linen fibres usually have a high resistance to acids and alkalis but degraded fibres become very sensitive to both. The presence of acids accelerates photo-deterioration. As part of the

manufacturing process as described in Chapter 4, linen cloth undergoes time in both alkaline and acid solutions. If these are not thoroughly rinsed or neutralised the fibres can be more susceptible to photo-deterioration.

Silk

Silk is the most sensitive of all natural fibres. Howell (1992, 11) states that “silk loses its physical properties as it ages, and this loss of its nature is accelerated by certain environmental factors.... The fragility of aged silk material is a major problem in textile conservation.” Examples are shown in Figures 298 and 299.

Below 40% relative humidity silk fibres become inflexible and prone to desiccation. Above 65% RH they are susceptible to dimensional changes as well as the possible migration of dyes. The fibres swell but expand differently in each fibre as well as in different directions potentially leading to further damage. Degraded silk is particularly vulnerable when wet.

Silk yellows in higher temperatures particularly when combined with strong light levels. This can also result in the desiccation of fibres.

Visible light results in fading. Ultraviolet light also causes yellowing (as well as shades of brown, grey or light-pink) and photo-deterioration. Silk’s resilience to light varies according to its pH value. Its maximum resistance is when the pH is 10, decreasing rapidly above pH11 and below pH3 and less so if the pH is neutral (Tímár-Balázs and Eastop, 1998, 46). The dyes and mordants used can also influence pH and the rate of deterioration. Fading may indicate a loss of strength but some dyes are less light fugitive and therefore mask the weaknesses that might have occurred in the silk fibres.

Acids mechanically weaken and embrittle silk fibres. Sulphuric acid in particular swells fibres in the width but shrinks them by 30-40% in length resulting initially in enhanced sheen and softness and is thus a methodology used in silk crêpe production. However, in the



Figure 298
Cracking and embrittled silk.
Snowhill SNO104 [82]



Figure 299
Split and degraded silk.
Hereford 505 [21]



Figure 300
Hereford 3339 [22]

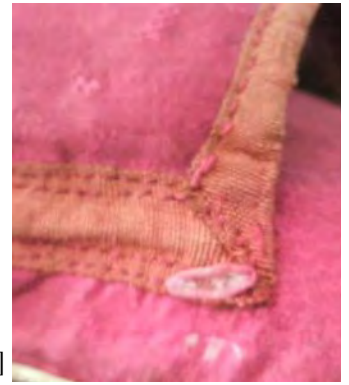


Figure 301
Snowhill SNO125 [40]

longer term the fibres are more susceptible to further damage. Perspiration is acidic and results in discolouration, weakness and embrittlement. Figure 300 shows the results of wear and perspiration on a silk lining that has been almost lost. Alkalis cause less damage than acids. There is little obvious change in mechanical strength but resistance to further deterioration can be lowered. Prolonged exposure can result in yellowing/fading and eventually, complete destruction. Concentrated solutions can dissolve fibres.

Silk is not usually subject to direct attack by insects as most chew their way through to reach more attractive materials. However, soiled and stained silk can be appealing to moths and book lice, too, can be tempted in the absence of anything better. Figure 301 shows the cast case of a clothes moth on a shoe.

The weighting of silk, particularly with iron and lead, can result in severe desiccation and shredding. However, the silks of the eighteenth century escaped most of this practice and of the shoes examined there is no evidence of deterioration caused by silk weighting.

Where silk is constrained it is likely to crack and split due to the differing dimensional reactions of its substrates to environmental conditions. Examples of this are shown in Figures 302-304 where silk has cracked and degraded when constrained by the stitching and pastes used to construct the shoes. Silk mounted on wood, as with heel covers, is particularly vulnerable.



Figure 302
Leicester
L.C77. 1981 [13]



Figure 303
Gunnorsbury
2605/1 [4]



Figure 304
Snowhill
SNO133 [28]

Wool

Wool is particularly affected by high levels of relative humidity. As wool is hygroscopic it is able to take up 200% of its dry weight. This leads to dimensional changes which differ from 35-40% transversely and only 1-2% longitudinally (Tímár-Balázs and Eastop, 1998, 51). Wool is more likely to suffer mechanical damage while damp and also degrades ten times faster in such conditions.

Visible light causes fading or dulling to wool fibres combined with a loss of strength. Ultraviolet light particularly causes photo-deterioration especially in presence of moisture evidenced by yellowing (which occurs ten times faster in humid conditions) and changes to its mechanical properties.

Wool is generally resistant to acid although it may promote yellowing and changes to the molecular structure. The weakening of the polymer system may increase its vulnerability to further degradation. However, oxidised wool dissolves in weak alkalis (a 5% sodium hydroxide dissolves wool completely). The initial stages would be seen as yellow/grey/brown discolouration combined with stiffness and embrittlement. Wool is also vulnerable to iron mordants which were often used in dark coloured dyes (especially brown and black) giving rise to degraded (if not disintegrated) wool fibres.

Wool fibres are attractive to various species of moths and beetles whose larvae graze on the surface of the wool (as seen in the lighter coloured patches on the tongue in Figure 308) as well as eating straight through it (Figures 305-308). Their soiling can reduce the bond linking thus leaving the fibres more vulnerable to enzyme attack. A cast clothes moth casing and further damage is shown in Figure 309. Most of the shoes viewed with wool based uppers had some evidence of moth damage.



Figure 305
Leicester 133.1919 [23]

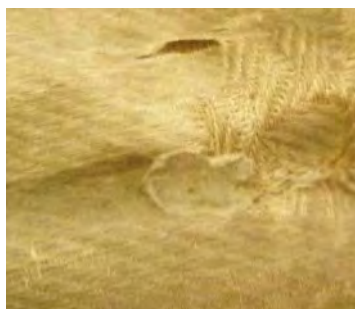


Figure 306
Snowhill SNO139 [17]



Figure 307
Northampton 1969.9.4 P [31]



Figure 308
Snowhill SNO101 [81]

Cotton

Cotton, like linen, was most likely to have been used for shoe linings and the probability of exposure to the extremes of environmental conditions would have been limited. It behaves in much the same way as linen although it is perhaps more resilient. The inflexibility, desiccation and powdering caused by lower levels of relative humidity do not occur in cotton until 30% RH. In higher temperatures, particularly when combined with strong light levels, cotton yellows which can result in desiccation and causes it to lose the ability to bond with water resulting in rigidity and weakened mechanical strength.

Cotton is fairly resistant to alkalis although extreme swelling may occur in strong solutions (eg 10-22% potassium hydroxide). Acids, however, despite a very slow reaction will eventually result in rigidity, embrittlement, mechanical weakness and eventual destruction. Light damage to cotton is evidenced by fading and yellowing. Its strength is reduced by 50% after 900 hours exposure to ultraviolet light (Tímár-Balázs and Eastop, 1998, 35). Insects which attack wood may also attack vegetable fibres like cotton, for example wood boring beetles. For the most part cellulose fabrics are safer from insect damage except where they are in contact with other, more attractive, materials.

Metals

As seen in Chapter 4 the metals used in shoemaking are found mostly in tacks (which would in all likelihood be covered); in embroidery and trimmings and for the buckles used to fasten the shoes. Metals are susceptible, in different degrees, to environmental conditions and especially to levels of relative humidity above 40%. Iron can be affected with levels as low as 15%. This manifests as corrosion which, when iron is present, is seen as rust. This is illustrated in Figures 309-312.

Metals can also react to the chemicals in the atmosphere leading to dry corrosion producing metal oxides or sulphides. This results in a dull and tarnished appearance. Most of the metal



Figure 309
Badly rusted buckle in situ.
Snowhill
SNO116 [2]



Figure 310
Satin stained by rust.
Snowhill
SNO117 [39]



Figure 311
Corroded iron tacks causing
splitting in wood.
Clarks W17sD3 [11]



Figure 312
Tarnished threads
Gunnerybury
2605/1 [4]



Figure 313
Tarnished threads and
linen lining stained by rust.
Snowhill SNO107 [37]

threads used for braids and embroidery on shoes have suffered from this with exposed silver and silver gilt becoming a grey/brown colour from the formation of silver sulphide. The damage caused by this is largely visual as the sulphide itself can provide a protective barrier that prevents further deterioration. Tarnished threads are seen in Figures 312 and 313.

One of the most significant consequences of metal corrosion products on shoes is the damage that it can cause to textiles which are stained and weakened (Figure 316). The corrosion products can also react with the textile fibres leaving holes.

Wood

Unless heel covers have been damaged the wooden heels are unlikely to be exposed to light. They would still, however, be subject to the effects of relative humidity and temperature undergoing dimensional changes. Both beech and alder were woods that were commonly used for turnery but both were considered fairly soft and brittle, prone to warping and cracking (Figure 314). As heels were relatively small the impact of these tendencies was limited but worth noting. Beech particularly, is known to be predisposed to woodworm. An example of this is shown in Figure 291.



Figure 314
Clarks 17sD3 [11]



Figure 315
Snowhill SNO114 [84]



Figure 316
Northampton 1971.57P [15]



Figure 317
Lincoln UG2565 [94]

Paper

As has been noted, paper in the eighteenth century was largely made from linen rags and therefore, behaves in much the same way as linen. Paper was used for makers' labels which usually appear on the insole or sock. The most likely sources of deterioration are therefore wear and tear including the acidity of perspiration and yellowing caused by light exposure if the shoes to which the labels were attached were displayed or stored incorrectly. Examples are shown in Figures 315-317.

Factors which affect the whole shoe

The wearing of shoes is obviously detrimental to their condition and the process of deterioration, therefore, could be deemed to have begun as soon as they were placed on feet.

The survey revealed several common areas that appear to have been most vulnerable to wear. As would be expected, the most obvious is damage caused to the sole and top piece through walking on less than smooth surfaces. This too is the area most likely to have been repaired. Lalande (1773, 124) states that if the grain side of the leather is outermost "as soon as it is worn, nothing will remain to defend the rest of the sole and the leather will take the water with the greatest facility." Figures 318-320 show examples of wear on a sole and top pieces.

Heels too were vulnerable areas which were likely to get scuffed. This is more evident on those shoes with leather heel covers such as those in Figures 321-322 although the back strap



Figure 318
Clarks W17sD10 [20]



Figure 319
Hereford 2005-202 1 [42]



Figure 320
Lincoln UG2565 [94]



Figure 321
Snowhill
SNO114
[84]



Figure 322
Leicester
327.1959
[57]

or lacings were often damaged on those with textile covers (Figures 323-324). Wooden heels could split through wear if care had not been taken in manufacture as explained in Chapter 3.

Staining of light coloured heel covers could be caused by a number of factors such as careless handling in the making; the use of unsuitable materials (for example some glues could cause staining if they were too acidic) as well as the more obvious factor of soiling through use.

The wrinkling of heel covers (Figures 325-326) could be due to the shrinkage of the wooden heel which might happen due to improperly seasoned wood in the early stages of a shoe's life or later due to environmental changes. BBSATRA (1935, 109) states that "Experiments have shown that wood heel blocks expand and contract by as much as 10% in varied atmospheres. Imperfectly dried timber will certainly shrink." They suggested that shoemakers should take in a stock of readymade heels so that they could acclimatise to the environment before shoe manufacture. Whether or not this practice was employed in the eighteenth century is unclear but in the days before centrally heated homes fluctuations in temperature would have been slower. Wrinkled heel covers may also have been caused at the manufacturing stage with the improper preparation of the cover and lack of care in the covering operation.

General wear and tear resulting from normal usage results in the weakening and abrasion of fibres. Accidental damage causes tears, holes and other damage. BBSATRA (1935, 82) states that "when a fabric shoe is worn there is a considerable weakening at the vamp creases of those strands lying in the heel-to-toe direction." Other common areas which show wear



Figure 323
Lincoln
UG2565 [94]



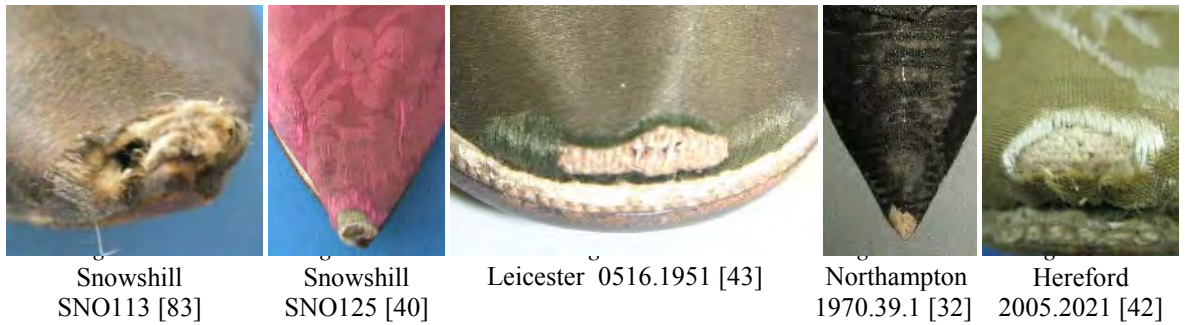
Figure 324
Snowhill
SNO133 [28]



Figure 325
Leicester
133.1919 [23]



Figure 326
Northampton
1977.33.5.P [25]



are the tip of the toe, particularly pointed and needlepoint toes, and the side seam joining the quarters to the vamp. The toe tip would inevitably become damaged through wear particularly as the foot would not have reached the end of the shoe so that the action causing harm would not necessarily have been felt by the wearer giving them the opportunity to avoid it. Examples can be seen in Figures 327-331. The fabric covering this part of the shoe is held under tension with little allowance in the seam. The shape of needlepoint toes exacerbated this by its sharpness. It is quite possible that this factor would have eventually have led to the loss of fibres in this area even without much wear. Side seams would have been under strain when the shoe was put on and taken off. They were only joined with stitching which might have been expected to give during use. In fact there are examples in the shoes surveyed of repairs done in this area. Failed side seams are shown in Figures 332-334.

Latchets received much use and handling. When worn with a buckle they became squashed and pierced as seen in Figure 335. Consequently many holes are seen in latchets along with imprints left by buckles either in creasing or staining from metal corrosion (Figures

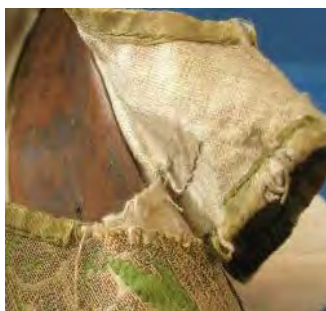


Figure 332
Snowhill SNO108 [62]



Figure 333
Snowhill SNO143 [41]



Figure 334
Hereford 4991 [75]



Figure 335
Northampton 2005.33 [59]



Figure 336
Snowhill SNO110 [38]

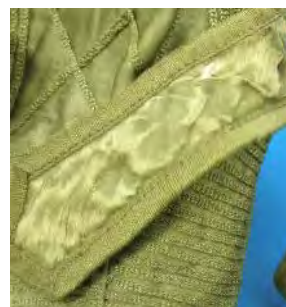


Figure 337
Hereford 3339 [22]

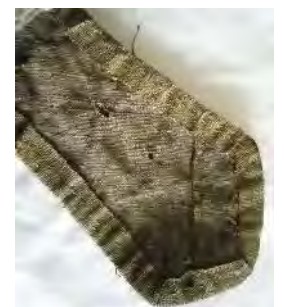


Figure 338
Gunnorsbury 2901/2 [29]

336-338). The use of buckles leaves indelible marks but they are very much part of the history of shoes as they could not have been fastened without them. Latchets, too, were much repaired, replaced or removed altogether.

As well as mechanical damage due to wear, shoes also suffer as a result of perspiration which affects the insole, sock and upper linings. BBSATRA (1935, 146) informs that “perspiration consists largely of water, but it holds in solution many different kinds of solids, and it is more precise to say that it is an emulsion of both solids and liquids.” It can contain a mixture of sodium or potassium phosphates, chlorides and sulphates with sodium chloride being the most ubiquitous. In addition there is cholesterol, sebum, fatty acids, gelatine with keratin, cast off skin, urea and lactic and hydroxy acids. Unhealthy individuals may secrete uric acid, blood and glucose. “Some of these ingredients, particularly the hydroxy and lactic acids, are especially harmful to leather; they cause shoe uppers to become brittle and show cracky deterioration” (BBSATRA, 1935, 146). The combination of perspiration with heat and moisture is harmful to leather but the tannins contained therein can help to reduce the effect. The result is a darkening of the leather. Perspiration causes discolouration and staining of white tawed leather and linen linings as can be seen in Figures 339-341. The moisture and friction can also result in a failure of glue holding the sock in place causing it to curl at the edges as also shown in the same figures.

Once shoes have become objects for collection and preservation they are still vulnerable to mechanical damage from mishandling and poor storage and display. Abrasion results in a fuzzy fibre surface due to the lifting of shorter constituent fibres. Persistent abrasion against the same area of a textile results in splitting, shredding and breakage of fibres. Breaks in fibres caused by tension result in a torn, frayed appearance at the fibre edge as opposed to the sharp, clean ends of cut fibres. The consequences of poor collection care will be detailed further.



Figure 339
Hereford 857 [93]

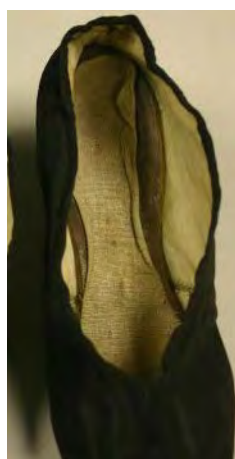


Figure 340
Leicester 3.1932 [77]



Figure 341
Nottingham NCM 1881-77 [79]

Conservation Methods

These next sections will examine the different conservation treatments that are commonly used for particular types of material and how they might be utilised in the context of a shoe. The consequences of these methodologies on other neighbouring material types will also be discussed. From the research undertaken it does not appear that many extant shoes have been actively conserved and, if they have received treatment, it has largely been by a textile conservator.

Cleaning

As has been shown, dirt and staining can be detrimental and should therefore be removed where possible. The soiling may have been acquired during the object's use and/or through subsequent handling and storage. For example, the cream satin shoes in Figure 342 had been kept in store wrapped in black tissue paper whose dye had leached onto the shoes. Alternatively, the discolouration seen in Figure 343 is more likely to have come during wear as the cleaner tongue would have been hidden by the lachets. The source of the dirt may play a part in deciding whether its removal is desirable and the ethics of this has already been discussed in chapter 5. However, looking at each material in isolation, the most usual cleaning methods will be outlined.

Textiles

Cleaning products may differ according to the fabric type but in principle there are four main categories of cleaning for textiles, these being:- surface cleaning, wet cleaning, solvent cleaning and the use of enzymes.



Figure 342
Clarks W17+sD8 [66]

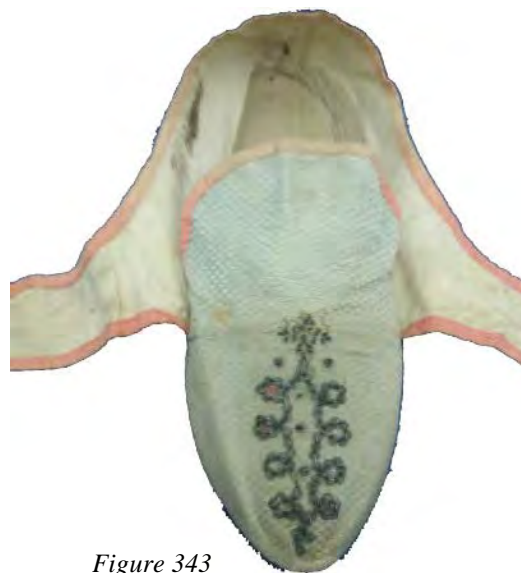


Figure 343
Hereford 4391 [74]

Surface cleaning involves the use of vacuum suction to remove loose particles of dirt. Depending on the delicacy and condition of the fibres this may be using a museum vacuum with controllable suction or a very light vacuum pick up. A mesh or net can be placed over the end of the vacuum nozzle to avoid picking up and loosening non-dirt particles. Alternatively mesh may be placed over the fabric and vacuumed through. This holds fibres in place while small loose particles are removed. A soft brush may be used to sweep away dirt which can then be caught by the vacuum from the air rather than the object. This would seem to be the easiest method to use for shoe cleaning although a decision would need to be made that the particulate dirt wanted removing

A secondary method of surface cleaning is the use of a smoke (or dry cleaning) sponge. These are made from vulcanised rubber and act as an eraser on dry surfaces lifting away more ingrained soiling. They can leave behind tiny flakes of rubber which may need vacuuming up later. This is also a possibility for cleaning shoes although it would depend on the condition of the fabric to be cleaned. Anything too friable would be easily rubbed away.

Wet cleaning, as the name suggests, involves the use of water for washing away dirt and soiling. As well as cleaning, wetting the fibres gives the opportunity for realigning and straightening distorted pieces and the closing of tears and holes. Deionised water, in which the positively and negatively charged ions have had their charges removed to prevent reactions at a molecular level within the object, should be used. Various detergents may also be used depending on the fabric and the nature of the soiling. In the case of shoes, wet cleaning in its usual form would be extremely difficult as the fabric is not removable from the shoe and cannot therefore be treated in isolation. It may be possible to use wet cleaning principles on a smaller scale using swabs. However, this can have the disadvantage of leaving tide marks around the dampened areas.

Solvents may also be used for cleaning. They have the advantage over water in that they evaporate much quicker thus allowing drying time to be much reduced. They can also be more effective on particular types of soiling especially fatty or oily deposits. However, it has the same disadvantage as spot cleaning with water in that tide marks can be left. A number of solvents can be used and it must be ascertained which would give the best clean with the least implications for the health and safety of the conservator. Commonly used solvents are acetone and industrial methylated spirits. A poultice (a medium that serves as a reservoir for the solvent) such as agar or agarose, might be used to apply solvent. This has the advantage of not saturating the ground material. Due to the problem of multi-layered materials with shoes, this might be the safest way in which to apply solvent cleaning.

“When dissolved in heated water and cooled, agarose forms a rigid three-dimensional polymer network with pores. These pores can hold solutions and can be combined with chelators, enzymes and even water miscible solvents. depending on the concentration of agarose used, the pore size will differ thus affecting the amount of solution released, and therefore can be tailored for each treatment” (Shaeffer, and Gardiner, 2013).

This use of agarose has been adopted from paper conservation techniques and textile conservators are currently experimenting further.

Enzyme cleaning is a more targeted method of cleaning. Enzymes are proteins produced by living organisms, a common example being in the intestines of animals. They have the ability to break down various substances and are quite specific in that one type of enzyme will only digest one substance. The use of enzymes can be quite costly and care must be taken to ensure the correct methodology of usage and storage to obtain the best results. It also means that it is necessary to have a proper identification of the soiling as there is a danger that the use of the wrong enzyme could result in loss of fibre as well. For instance, carbohydrases break down starch but also cellulose so that they can be effective in removing old starch paste on silks but care must be taken if used on linen and cotton. In so far as shoes are concerned, this methodology has the same disadvantages as the previous two due to the multi-layering of materials. The true nature of any staining would be hard to ascertain without laboratory conditions.

BBSATRA (1935, 84) suggests that white satin shoes could be rubbed over lightly with watery acetone. As a recommendation from a trade research association this was presumably carried out on new shoes. How effective it would be for aged dirt is not known without experimenting.

Leather

Surface cleaning, as for textiles, would involve the use of low suction vacuum cleaners with a brush to remove surface dirt. Smoke sponges can also be used as well as Wishab erasers (a special filled vulcanised latex) which are graded to be suitable for three different levels of surface hardness. Ordinary pencil erasers can sometimes prove effective.

Wet cleaning should be kept to a minimum with leather as to wet it completely would lead to distortions, in addition to the movement of salts and tannins resulting in tidemarks and hardening (Kite and Thomson, 2006, 125). Deionised water is applied by the use of swabs aiming only to remove the dirt and not wet the substrate. On occasions the addition of a non-ionic detergent to act as a wetting agent aiding penetration into the dirt has proved to be effective but it must be ensured that the area treated is rinsed to remove traces of the detergent.

For solvent cleaning, white spirit is most commonly used as it is the “mildest organic solvent for use with leather” (Kite and Thomson, 2006, 125) but acetone, ethanol and isopropyl alcohol may be used to good effect depending on the nature of the soiling.

As has already been noted, tawed leather is reversible in water and therefore is not easily, safely cleaned. Although, Vest (1999, 69) notes that tawed leather becomes more water resistant during the ageing process, the exact levels of resistance reached are not easy to measure and the worst must always be assumed. However, she goes on to say (1999, 70) that “very deteriorated leather can be damaged irreparably by shrinkage through a water based conservation treatment.” Sponges are the only real option but they often have limited effect. Small areas may be cleaned with white spirits but this can cause yellowing which usually disappears on drying but not always. Waterer (1972a, 31) notes that Draft Clean powder (soybean oil fibres ground into a powder and mixed with 5% or less of talcum powder) could be used to clean the flesh side of tawed leather by rubbing them in and then brushing them away.

Waterer (1972a, 17) recommends cleaning sole leather with a 2% solution of potassium oleate soap, (Vulpex) in white spirit, rinsed with solvent and dried at room temperature.

Metals

There are a number of different methods used for cleaning metals and for shoes it would depend on the context. Iron nails and tacks would be better able to withstand the use of glass bristle brushes, for instance, to remove corrosion. Metal threads, however, are very difficult to clean and indeed anything that would remove tarnish would also remove a layer of what would already be very thin metal. Rust removers based on orthophosphoric acid such as Jenolite could be used but the proximity of other materials susceptible to acids would make this type of treatment hazardous for the object. Dirty or grimy silver would usually be treated with a non-ionic detergent and finished with a long-term silver cloth whereas a light tarnish might be cleaned with long term foam, rinsed and well dried. A heavily tarnished piece of silver requires silver dip (formic acid and thiourea) followed by non-ionic detergent and distilled water applied with a swab. These treatments also present the problem not only of acid but too much water on tawed leather. No one has yet come up with a definitive way to clean metal threads in situ: all methods inevitably leave some corrosion products and most result in retarnishing after a relatively short period of time. As Finch (1972, 219) states “One cannot expect to get startling results from poor quality or worn metals”. This begs the question, what is the point of cleaning? Unless it can be guaranteed that the shoes would be kept in a low hydrogen sulphide environment cleaning actually could be considered to be more harmful than beneficial.

Glass bristle brushes should only be used in extreme cases and adequate protection must be worn by the conservator. Thorough cleaning of the object and work area post treatment are also essential to avoid future handlers getting glass splinters.

Paper

Similar methodologies can be used for paper as textiles. Sponge cleaners are widely used as are different types of erasers. Enzymes may also be used with the same caveats that have already been discussed.

Consolidation, repair and support

Textiles

Support for textiles can be provided in a number of ways but usually involves the use of an extra layer of fabric, be it underneath the textile being conserved to provide a base for any stitching while remaining largely unseen; or as an overlay holding weak areas together. In the second instance, overlays are usually of an open weave fabric or mesh such as nylon tulle, silk crepe-line or Stabiltex (polyester), in order to prevent further loss and splitting whilst leaving the original fabric still visible. This may be applied by stitching or adhesive and, on occasions, both. Figures 344 and 345 illustrate this method with nylon tulle being used as an overlay and presumably secured with adhesive which is now failing and the tulle is loose. Unfortunately, there is no record of when or where this treatment was carried out.

The use of an underlay of support fabric is more difficult in the case of shoes as it is not always possible to get access to both sides of the fabric and depends on the shoe textile being in quite poor condition where the splits and tears allow access. An example is shown in Figure 346. In this instance a silk underlay, dyed to match the background colour of the brocade, has been used with couching stitches used to secure loose threads.



Figure 344
Hereford 3100 [5]



Figure 345
Hereford 3100 [5]



Figure 346
Northampton 1968.223 [45]



Figure 347
Metropolitan Museum



Figure 348
Snowhill SNO127 [53]

Couching may also be used without a support fabric by using the shoe lining as the support as seen in Figure 347. This in itself raises some ethical issues as already discussed. Where stitching methods are used, threads and couching must be taken far enough over the affected area else it can cause further weaknesses in the surrounding areas. It also introduces stitch holes where there would not have been any which could create confusion for subsequent researchers. In other cases adhesive only might be used. Figure 358 shows that some loose threads of satin have been stuck down to the tawed leather lining.

In the case of the TCC/Northampton project, the majority of eighteenth-century shoes were treated with crepeline overlays applied using Lascaux, an acrylic adhesive, activated by solvents (Figure 349) and some with extra couched stitching as seen in Figure 350.

Leather

Leather, over time, can become dehydrated and distorted and the first process of treatment would be to rehumidify it. Great care must be taken not to allow the fibres to become saturated as the process only intends to allow reshaping; too much moisture could lead to shrinkage particularly if exposed to heat (even if only sunlight) during the operation. Rehumidification can be applied through a purpose built humidification chamber or through less sophisticated methods such as an ultrasonic humidifier and a homemade polythene tent or box depending on the dimensions of the object concerned. It should be borne in mind, however, that exerting force to reshape can weaken the leather causing breakages and cracking. The introduction of humidity could also trigger a fungal attack.

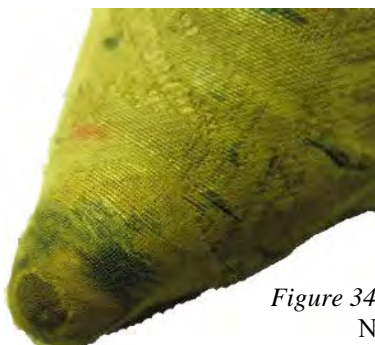


Figure 349
Northampton 1922.23 [14]



Figure 350



Figure 351
Northampton 1968.223 [45]

Waterer (1972a, 17) suggests that worn soles (such as Figure 351) should be treated with a mixture of refined neats-foot oil mixed in equal measures with hexane or 1.1.1 trichloroethane (Genklene) but qualifies this to state that the treatment might cause darkening and an alternative where this could be an issue was to use micro-crystalline wax. The use of 1.1.1 trichloroethane was banned in 1996 and hexane is known to be toxic. This proposed treatment is now therefore obsolete although alternative, safer solvents may perform a similar function. However, the use of this chemical combination may be found on previously treated items and conservators should be aware.

Support materials may be used to strengthen leather or to mask missing areas in the same way as textiles. Kite and Thomson (2006,126) refer to the materials that might be used in this instance. New leather might be used although a perfect match would be difficult as modern tanning methods are different. However, it would provide a strong support and would act similarly to changes in environmental conditions although possibly not at the same rate. Spun-bonded polyester fabrics eg Reemay or Vilene have a number of advantages for use as supports. They are available in a variety of weights; they have no weave structure and therefore create no uneven tensions; they are lightweight with good body but are manipulable; they provide an obviously modern repair and can be coloured to match the object; and finally they have flexibility enough for small repairs, and yet are strong enough to provide support without imposing their own stresses. Japanese tissue paper is suitable for repairs where it is important for repair to give way before the object. Its appearance often resembles old partially degraded leather and it is easy to colour and adhere (Kite and Thomson, 2006, 126).

An example of an Egyptian leather shoe that has been rehumidified and consolidated using Reemay coloured with acrylic paints is shown in Figures 352 (before) and 353 (after).

For stitching that has become loose or lost, Waterer (1972a, 37) recommends re-stitching if possible or supporting with a backing fabric and using polyvinyl acetate (PVA) to stick the loose threads down to retain the appearance. There are a number of adhesives appropriate for leather conservation, as with textiles, with most being mutually compatible. Those which



Figure 352
Egyptian shoe before treatment.
(Haldane, 2010, 90)



Figure 353
Egyptian shoe after treatment.
(Haldane, 2010, 90)

are water based such as wheat starch and PVA need to be used with care for reasons already given.

In the past it was considered appropriate to apply dressings to leather, particularly those which appeared denatured. However, Kite and Thomson (2006, 128) state that, “The over application of dressings to leather can often cause irreversible damage so they should not be applied as a routine treatment and in many circumstances should be avoided entirely.”

Metals

The treatment of metals in the forms in which they are used in shoes is difficult. It mainly relies on preventative measures such as low RH and an anaerobic environment be it in the form of storage or the application of a lacquer to prevent oxygen exposure. Inhibitors to slow down the rate of corrosion might also be used such as eg anti-tarnish cloths for silver.

Paper

The more common methods of paper conservation are less applicable in the case of the shoes under study. The main aim is usually to clean and support paper but this would involve removal from the shoe which would not be desirable. Localised humidification might be used in order to straighten or flatten raised areas but this again presents the issue of water.

Conserved shoes

As has been mentioned, the largest project of shoe conservation that has been found is that by TCC/Northampton (Thompson, 2000). Their methodologies generally involved surface cleaning either with a low powered vacuum or wet cleaning if textiles were detachable such as ribbon ties. Humidification was used to realign creased and deformed fibres carried out

by a direct technique (where a wet compress was applied to a shoe over a membrane of Gore-Tex) or by an indirect technique using an ultrasonic humidifier. During this process support forms were employed in the shoes. Lace decorations were reshaped using tweezers.

Support for damaged textiles was often a silk crepe line overlay coated with adhesive (12% w/v Lascaux 498H (50%) and 360HV (50%) in deionised water) reactivated with acetone or heat. The mix of Lascaux 498H and 360HV is used by leather conservators as it is relatively easy to remove and does not penetrate the leather. This was supplemented with stitching where necessary and, if possible, original stitch holes were used. Missing areas were filled with dyed silk. Loose threads were consolidated with Klucel G in water and IMS. Klucel G dispersed in ethanol or isopropyl alcohol is also used by leather conservators as a consolidant of friable and flaky surfaces as it holds the surface together without penetration. Tarnished metal threads were left untreated.

Of the shoes that have been conserved that I have been able to observe, all work has been neatly carried out. However, it does seem that the emphasis was on appearance rather than retaining access to all parts of the shoe. Some shoes were obviously intended for display as they are almost too neat and tidy. Although some shoes were conserved to retain access such as [46] many were not.

A few of the shoe records in the Northampton Museum mention in-house conservation where the leather was treated with renaissance wax and copper corrosion on tacks was removed with a brush. It is unclear whether the eighteenth-century shoes were treated in this way. Records of conservation elsewhere have not proved possible to trace but only six pairs were reported as having had conservation treatment in the survey of museums with costume collections.

Combined approaches to conservation treatments

One of the original premises of this research was to examine methods of textile and leather conservation and to ascertain whether they were compatible or whether leather treatments might be harmful to textiles and vice versa. What has emerged is that this question should actually be wider, in that, is the combination of materials used in shoemaking and the way in which they are combined mutually compatible for longevity? The short answer to this is - not always. Appelbaum (2007, 60) states that

“the behaviour of some objects is a combination of the behaviours of individual components, each interacting with others, ... each of a number of different materials ... manifests aging in its own way. Altered properties of each - embrittlement, weakening, cracking, expansion and contraction, changes in conformation affect the aging of others and also affect the structure and aesthetics of the whole.”

The materials used do not have exactly the same requirements for ideal environmental conditions and inevitably compromises have to be achieved. For instance, to prevent corrosion, metals should be kept at less than 40% relative humidity and iron as low as 15%. This atmosphere is too dry for leather and textiles which would become embrittled and weakened.

An eighteenth-century shoe, therefore, has inherent weaknesses caused by the combination of materials used and the way in which it is constructed. However, it was not made with the intention of being in a museum display in 300 years time. Boersma (2007, 26) states that “textiles held under tension will degrade more quickly than those that are relaxed.” The textiles used for the uppers are all held under a certain amount tension. Leather reacts with its environment quite readily, undergoing dimensional changes which can lead to further stress for textiles adhered to it. Old vegetable tanned leather becomes quite acidic as has been shown. This has the potential to mechanically weaken silk and this may be evidenced with the amount of silk on the shoes surveyed that has degraded. Both cotton and linen or a combination of both have been used for linings and socks. They are both more resistant to acid than silk but over time can become embrittled. Linen, when it is already degraded, can become very sensitive to acids. Wool retains moisture which can rot silk in close proximity to it as is the case with top bindings on wool uppers.

The need for the consideration of all material elements of shoes as far as conservation is concerned is evident. Waterer (1972b, 243) states that “The conservator must not only be knowledgeable as to what can be done with various kinds of leather, but must also know what cannot be done without harm to the other component materials, as well as how these can be treated without harm to the leather.” Kite (1996, 735) reiterates this and although referring to embellished leather gloves, the same principles apply -

“gloves made from leather may have been fashioned from goat, pig, sheep, deer, cattle, other mammal or reptile skins. The decorative element may incorporate metal threads, metal spangles, lace, ribbons, glass beads, precious stones ... or a variety of other elements. The conservator may therefore have to consider the properties of any or all of these materials when formulating a treatment strategy as well as the general principles involved with the treatment and storage of three dimensional textile or organic objects.”

The most obvious source of conflict between leather and the textile elements is moisture. As has been mentioned tawed leather is potentially reversible in water leading to a complete breakdown. Great care must therefore be taken with any treatment that involves the introduction of moisture such as rehumidification. In addition to the vulnerability of tawed leather, there is the problem of textiles constrained on a leather substrate which is prone to dimensional changes with the increase in humidity resulting in splits and tears to the textiles.

Wet cleaning for shoes is not a viable option as such although there may be ways around the problem such as the use of poultices, possibly those based on agarose, to apply solvents.

It is clear from the above and previous chapters that an understanding and appreciation of the way in which materials are produced and the causes of their deterioration is vital in being able to make sound decisions on conservation treatments which are in any way irreversible, that is, virtually all.

Storage

Having visited a number of repositories during the course of the research, it can be concluded that the way in which shoes are stored varies considerably. It ranges from pull out trays on which the shoes are placed to old shoe boxes or large boxes containing a number of shoes. They are stuffed with tissue paper, black tissue paper, polyester wadding, Ethafoam, Melinex and various soft fabrics.

There are two main elements to take into account for storage purposes. These are, firstly, how shoes are supported internally and secondly, how the shoes are kept. There are various requirements for perfect storage as well as a closely controlled environment. Access should be possible with the amount of handling required kept to a minimum. The internal stuffing should be supportive while preventing distortions forming. Boersma (2007, 96) states that three dimensional shapes are best preserved “when fully supported by a specially made mount.” The study and examination of a shoe should be possible with supports being easily removable and, almost more importantly, effectively replaced.

Reiner-Moffatt (1988) reports on the principles of support padding for shoes at the Bata Shoe Museum in 1988. She identifies the main issues as the collapse of the toe and the sagging of the quarters if unsupported. She suggests that the toe should be padded with unbuffered acid-free tissue. “If the ‘leather’ toe support has separated from the textile [as it may in the eighteenth-century shoes] it may be necessary to insert tissue between the layers to give the textile a smooth appearance.” The rest of the front part should be supported with rings made of acid free tissue paper rolled around a ‘sausage’ of polyester wadding made to fit the size of the shoe. Three or four such rings would be used to fill the vamp. To support the quarters she recommends a strip of acid free card which is fitted in the back part of the shoe. One end is bent over the top line and secured in position with plastic clips. The other end of the card is bent over and clipped to the top line. Latchets should be held in a closed position with a band of muslin secured with a plastic clip. If metallic threads are present she proposes the use of a polythene zip-lock bag to enclose the shoes and to incorporate the use of a sulphur-absorbing strip to prevent tarnish.

Swann (1989, 12-14) had concerns about Reiner-Moffat's advice. She felt that any internal support should be easily removable and replaceable and that rolled polyester wadding as a method of stuffing was unsuitable as "it is continually trying to unroll, and thus creates pressure on the upper." She suggests that acid free tissue paper is easier to mould to the shape of the shoe: "a small piece in a narrow toe, and then one piece for the rest of the vamp satisfies both support and student. So many old shoes retain the shape, the character of the wearer, it is much more interesting to retain this, rather than force the moulded shoe to look like new." This is reiterated by Kite and Thomson (2006, 117)

"shoes are easily crushed and whether they are in storage or on display, they should be lightly padded out to hold their shape. The padding should hold them in their original shape, if unworn, or to the shape of the last wearer. If the leather is stiff it may be necessary to humidify it first. Acid-free tissue paper is the most easily moulded to the shape of the shoe or boot."

This advice also has its disadvantages. For instance, acid free tissue can either be buffered or unbuffered. Buffered acid free is cheaper but the paper is made from wood or cotton pulp and is acidic; chemicals are used to bring the level back to neutral but they are not effective forever and the paper would need to be replaced after 5-10 years. In addition, sometimes too much buffering is applied leaving the tissue slightly alkaline which may be equally harmful. Replacing storage packaging regularly would become a huge exercise for museums with many objects in store and also necessitates increased object handling with the potential for further damage. It would seem sensible, if possible, to invest slightly more time and money in the first place using materials that will remain inert and not need replacing. Whichever type of tissue is used, if it has been removed and replaced several times in order to examine a shoe, it becomes torn and worn thus losing the ability to support the shoe (Figure 354) or it becomes so scrunched up that more paper is added resulting in overstuffing, distortion and loss of the shaping created by the wearer. In addition, no support is given to the quarters which have a tendency to collapse inward and downward as in Figure 355. The use of scrunched tissue may also cause damage to, often weak, silk linings during removal and insertion.



Figure 354
Northampton 1959-60.85.1 [78]



Figure 355
Leicester L.C.3.1932 [77]



Northampton 2000.27 [58]



Figure 357
Northampton 1968.223[45]

Hughes (2000) looked at developing inner supports for shoes as her MA thesis linked to the TCC/Northampton project. She carried out a survey of 28 museums with large shoe collections and found that 18 used puffs or sausages of acid free tissue paper and none used ready made forma. The reasoning behind this seemed largely to be budget led rather than object led. She goes on to recommend the use of Plastazote cut to fit the shape of sole and covered in cotton stockinette to support the toe and vamp; with a block of Ethafoam placed at the end of pointed toes. These blocks should then be covered with silk jersey to give a smooth surface thus facilitating easy removal from the shoe. She suggests that the same methodology should be used for the quarters with an added attachment of Melinex (a polyester film) to support the tongue if applicable. This method is illustrated in Figure 356. A Tyvek (spun-bonded polyethylene olefin fibres) strip can be used to secure the lachets in place (Figure 357). A variation on this was to use an open support of covered Plastazote to support the quarters which allows the insole, sock and label if present to remain visible (Figure 357).

Plastazote is a dense, inert, closed-cell, polyethylene foam available in a range of densities and thicknesses. It is relatively easy to carve into any shape required and is widely used for costume mounting. However, it is also quite costly in comparison to polyester wadding and large collections with limited budgets are not able to justify the cost of materials or the time it takes to mould a shape for each shoe. I have found that a sheet of 2mm thick Plastazote can easily be sewn to fit the shape of a shoe by taking a rough copy of the uppers (Figure 358). With a split down the vamp, it provides a forma which is easily inserted and removed; retains its own shape and keeps the shoe uppers under a limited amount tension thus holding its shape without losing distortions caused by wear as seen in Figure 359.

Ethafoam is also an inert, polyethylene foam but with an open-cell. It, too, is available in different densities, thickness and shapes including a triangular rod as seen in use as a support for a sling back heel in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 360). Despite its many uses, it is also relatively expensive and is not able to be used as widely as might be hoped.



Figure 358



Figure 359
Saffron Walden
4659 70.372 [27]

Boersma (2007, 97) suggests that “Shoes can rarely be supported by one rigid support shape as too much tension would be imposed on the object during insertion and removal of the support.” A rigid support in two or three parts may solve this problem: a separate support for the toes and the ball of the foot, one for the ankle and, if necessary, one for the instep. These supports can be made from plastic foam, covered with wadding and a smooth fabric such as silk jersey (in order to reduce friction when inserting the support). The separate support parts can be linked by pieces of cotton tape, so that even the toe support can be removed easily. Other museums have found cheaper alternatives such as polyester wadding covered with calico as in Figure 364 which shows a support for a shoe in the Snowhill Collection of the National Trust. Cotton calico is a good, cheap fabric, widely used in costume collections. If it gets dirty it is easily washed although it may shrink if not thoroughly washed prior to use. This type of support is easy to use and could be made in standard sizes as it would be soft enough to fit to shape. Often collections have volunteer helpers who could assist with the bulk manufacture of such supports. However, the amount of actual support they provide is minimal.

Melinex, a clear, polyester film, which is available in a variety of thickness and is easily cut to suit, is sometimes used as an extra support, particularly for trimmings. Figure 365 shows rolls of Melinex used to keep loops on this slapssole shoe in place. However, care is needed so that the Melinex provides a secured rolled support so that it does not create tension in weak areas as it tries to unroll back to a flat sheet.



Figure 360
Metropolitan Museum



Figure 361



Figure 362
Southend S7721



Figure 363

Once supported internally, shoes must then be kept in such a way as to prevent damage and deterioration. As Cassar (1995, 121) states “the safe storage of objects requires their separation from the outdoor environment. ... The minimum storage requirements can be stated quite simply: a clean, watertight, accessible and pest-free space.” Such requirements are met in differing ways amongst the various collections surveyed by Hughes (2000) and those visited. Hughes found that of the 28 museums, ten stored shoes directly on shelving units; seven in boxes containing one or two pairs; five in boxes containing several pairs and one in a drawer unit. This was borne out by the shoes that were surveyed with most of the smaller and older collections storing their shoes in boxes either individually as pairs, or with several pairs in one box. Usually these were acid-free boxes although not always. The Clarks collection was stored in their own branded shoe boxes, with non-acid-free tissue which was sometimes black as shown in Figure 363. However, this is perfectly understandable when put into context of a factory producing shoes with a packing system that has proved effective for new shoes. Even black tissue paper is recommended by BBSATRA (1935, 140) for shoes with metal threads as it excludes the light and retards tarnishing. Where resources in terms of funds, staff and time are limited it becomes a huge task to repack a whole collection but Clarks are hoping to undertake this task in 2014/15.

Kite and Thomson (2006, 116) point out that old vegetable tanned leathers are acidic with pH values of 2.5-4. Consequently acid free storage materials are not so important although if combined with other materials eg paper or textiles, they should be used. To enclose materials in an environment which might actively cause them damage seems insensible. It is one of the reasons that in larger museums shoes are often kept in more open storage on fixed or pull out shelves as seen in Figures 364 and 365. Figure 365 shows some of the new storage at the recently opened Clothworkers’ Centre for the Study and Conservation of Textiles and Fashion, part of the V&A Museum.



Figure 364
Store room, Bata Shoe Museum, Toronto.
(2012)



Figure 365
Clothworkers' Centre for the Study and
Conservation of Textiles and Fashion (V&A, 2013)

For those that use boxes, individual shoe boxes are preferable as bigger boxes seem to encourage over packing with many items stacked on top of each other. If larger boxes are used they should be shallow enough that there can only be one layer. A variety of methods appear to have been used to protect shoes in boxes. Figures 366 and 367 show two options used in Northampton where the shoes have a barrier of acid free tissue around them and the rest of the box is padded with scrunched tissue. Figures 368-370 are examples of cases at Southend Museum, made from Plastazote where cut outs have been made so that the heels are indented, preventing them from sliding around in the case. The Metropolitan Museum in New York, uses a case within a box to enable easy removal as shown in Figures 374 and 375. In Figure 374 a pair of shoes is shown tied in place on a tray which also has indented spaces for heels. Figure 375 shows a lift out tray made from Correx (a synthetic corrugated board of polypropylene and polyethylene), with a raised divider which also acts as a handle.

Also contained in shoe boxes might be tarnish inhibitors such as Carosil capsules or sulphur strips to prevent metal thread tarnishing further. Silica gel, which acts as a desiccant might be used to help control humidity but is only truly effective in airtight containers. This is available both loose and in sachets. There is also a version in orange which turns pale yellow when the gel has become saturated.



Figure 366
Northampton 1979.38.3P



Figure 367
Northampton 2000.27 [58]



Figure 368
Southend S7722



Figure 369
Southend S7724



Figure 370
Southend S7725



Figure 371



Figure 372

As is evident, there are many ways in which shoes are stored and protected. All of these have advantages and disadvantages and the methods chosen are governed by a number of factors, primarily: cost, staffing, space available and time. It does seem that the more simple systems are the better. Those where there are multi layers of packing and inner supports made up of several parts are much more likely to cause further damage as soon as the shoes are accessed.

Display

There are a number of considerations to take into account when allowing shoes to be put on display or made accessible for study purposes. The method required can be dictated by the type of display. For instance, an exhibition of solely shoes where they are seen in isolation, would allow for more detailed viewing and the inside of the shoes would be as relevant as the outside. Where costume is the focus of an exhibition shoes might to be shown in context and so mounted on 'feet'.

At the time of the survey of museums (excluding Northampton and Clarks) only around 4% of extant shoes were on display. The V&A has a display of three shoes in the British Galleries ranging from 1660-1710 as shown in Figure 373. All these shoes have an inner support covered in grey fabric. For the purposes of showing the shoe shape of the late seventeenth/early eighteenth centuries this display is successful but the way in which they have been mounted shows little about shoe history. Equally a pair of shoes from 1735 are displayed as an example of Spitalfields silk (Figure 374) along with other examples such as gowns and waistcoats. Again, the silk pattern is visible but does not display the context in



Figure 373
V&A Museum



Figure 374
V&A Museum

which these shoes would have been worn. Shoes, therefore, appear to be shown as objects rather than part of an ensemble in costume displays seen in conjunction with contemporary fashions. This evidences the fact that shoes have more than one story to tell and puts into perspective the requirements from a conservation point of view. Shoes that have been more obviously worn are not desirable to demonstrate Spitalfields silk for instance. In these instances the appearance of the shoe would be more important than concealing or removing other evidence. The problem with this is that these displays are not always permanent and when they are changed the same objects may be displayed in a different context with differing requirements of their appearance.

The Museum of London displays some of their eighteenth-century shoes with costume from the period. Figure 375 shows a dress worn by Ann Fanshawe when her father was Lord Mayor of London between 1752 and 1753. Figure 376 is a view of the Pleasure Garden room suggesting a scene from Vauxhall. In both these instances shoes are displayed as they might have been worn and are therefore presented in the original context. However, the ability to take any real notice of shoes is limited.

Museums which specialise in shoes obviously have different types of display. They do not necessarily have the matching costumes to present shoes with. However, there is more of a



Figure 375
Museum of London 83.531



Figure 376
Museum of London - Pleasure Gardens



Figure 377
Clarks Museum,
Showcase 1650-1750



Figure 378
Northampton Museum - shoe gallery

concentration on the history of shoes and shoemaking and consequently the requirements for conservation are variant. Shoes which are in a poor condition but demonstrate more about the construction, it might be decided, are best left untouched. In this instance the appearance of damage and dirt can be reduced by careful positioning and lighting in the display case. Figure 377 is a showcase from Clarks Museum entitled 1650-1750 illustrating the development of shoes throughout this period. Figure 378 is a view of one of Northampton Museum's galleries. In both it can be seen that the shoes are displayed in glass cases resting on glass or Perspex shelves. There are no internal support for shoes visible.

Hughes and Vardy (2007, 42-43) report on the use of rare earth magnets (neodymium) for displaying moccasins at a greater than 45 degree angle. The magnets were incorporated inside the support used within the toe of the shoes and in the heel. A stainless steel plate was secured to the display board, the "resulting impression was that of the moccasin magically floating in place." This system may not work as well for heeled shoes but is worthy of consideration as it would be easier to view the inside of the shoe as well, although it would obviously conceal the sole.

Internal supports must also be considered. For research purposes it is important for the inside of the shoe to be visible so that linings can be observed as well as makers' labels, owners names and shoes sizes for example. Haldane (2010), a textile conservator at the V&A created a support for an Egyptian shoe, with a similar shape to those from the 1790s, which was to be part of an exhibition. The support was made from buckram using, as a mould, a support that had previously been in the shoe (shaped Reemay panels stitched together, stuffed with polyester wadding and covered with silk display fabric). Buckram was used as an invisible mount was desired and Perspex had to be avoided due to curatorial and design constraints.



© V&A



© V&A



Figure 381
© V&A



Figure 382
© V&A

The old mount was covered with cling film and a buckram shell built up using several layers of fine linen and wheat starch paste (Figure 379). This was covered with brown silk (Figure 380) and supported internally with painted Reemay padded with polyfelt where the mount touched the quarters (Figure 381). If an old mount had not been available a mould could first have been constructed but this would then have become a lengthy process and one which is only likely to be used where small numbers are required or where there are many members of staff available. The finished mount in situ is shown in Figure 382. This system seems to have worked well. However, it may not be so successful with higher heeled shoes.

Perspex is a polymethylmethacrylate, inert, transparent plastic which can be moulded with heat to form mounts. As it is clear it allows the inside of a shoe to remain visible but it is quite rigid when moulded which can make insertion and removal into the shoe a delicate operation. It can also be undesirable as it carries an electrostatic charge which attracts dust. Not all museums would have access to the facilities for making such moulds and the cost would prove prohibitive if they had to be specially commissioned. A recent exhibition at the Queen's Gallery, Buckingham Palace (*In Fine Style*, 2013) featured a pair of seventeenth-century mules. These were displayed supported on a Perspex 'cradle' which fitted under the toe and heel breast and was raised on metal rods. This supported the shoe well and allowed both the sole and the inside of the uppers to be visible. This type of mount would be subject to the same constraints as Perspex generally and might not be cost effective for a large exhibition of shoes.

Flecker (2007, 176) advises the use of training tapes to persuade costumes to stay together rather than providing fastenings. This methodology would work well for training latches to stay in position. Cotton tape is secured by tying or pinning around the area to be held and left for a minimum of 3-4 days in order to 'train' the item to remain in place. However, if a shoe is to be displayed in an upright position the latches may fall into place naturally.

Handling while preparing shoes for display should be kept to a minimum. Gloves should be worn while mounting or examining to avoid the oils in the skin contaminating the object, leaving marks and residues that have the potential to cause further deterioration. This is particularly the case where metal threads are involved as perspiration is quite acidic and leads to tarnishing as previously discussed. However, gloves can make it harder to handle delicate objects so a sensible view should be taken as to the most appropriate method.

A HOLISTIC APPROACH TO THE CONSERVATION OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SHOES

As has been demonstrated, shoes are important and can make a significant contribution to current knowledge of art and social history. Their worth is becoming more recognised due to the increase in material culture based research thus their conservation should be seen as a more specialised field of study. Records of the decision making process with regard to conservation treatments are not readily available. Perhaps it is assumed that the judgments required are learnt only through experience or will present themselves in an obvious way for each case. However, it has been shown that there are many factors to be taken into account when considering such treatments. The fact that time and budgets for current treatments are limited does not necessarily mean that these factors can be ignored. Inevitably decisions will always be subjective but this does not mean they should be made without due consideration and justification. The same conclusion may not be reached every time, indeed it may not even be the same for each shoe of a pair. It is largely a judgement call and one cannot be so formulaic as to say this applies to every object but a consistent approach does not dictate the outcome. The point being that making recommendations for a consistent approach does not mean that all shoes should be conserved in the same way, or even at all, but that the same considerations are taken in each case. The final outcomes will inevitably be variant.

For this reason it is not possible to give a definitive solution for the conservation of all eighteenth-century shoes. As Muñoz Viñas (2009, 47) observes “the acceptable minimum for a conservation intervention cannot be properly determined by any absolute principle: it is the result of subjective judgement.” What this thesis does propose is the application of a more uniform approach to such objects. Based upon Ashley-Smith’s (1994a) ethics checklist that was created to produce a more consistent approach to treatments between conservators of different specialisms at the V&A, a series of questions has been developed by the author and is shown in Figure 383. This checklist provides a framework for all concerned with the care of eighteenth-century shoes to undertake any proposed treatment from the same standpoint and to consider the full consequences of any intervention. This holistic approach ensures that all parties have an equal opportunity to fully understand the implications of conservation. The nature of these questions will be discussed in greater depth in the following pages.

ASSESSMENT

- What is the purpose of the assessment eg display, storage, research, condition survey?
- Is the appearance of the shoe marred? Does it matter? Why?
- What is the historical significance of the shoe and does any deterioration suffered have a relevance to it?
- Is it possible that the significance of the shoe might change in the future and would any proposed treatment have a bearing on this?
- Will the environmental conditions in which the shoe is kept change after treatment and what are the implications?

CLEANING

- What is the purpose of cleaning?
 - to remove harmful dirt
 - to improve appearance. Why is this necessary?
- Can all parts of the shoe be cleaned without damage to others?
- If only some parts can be cleaned, would it make those areas look out of place in comparison to the rest?

REMEDIAL CONSERVATION

- What are the aims of remedial conservation in this instance?
- Does the conservator have sufficient knowledge and experience to make decisions about and treat all parts of the shoe?
- If parts are missing, should they be replaced? Is there sufficient evidence of how it would have looked?
- Would the process improve the appearance of the shoe significantly and at what cost?

PAST REPAIRS AND RESTORATION

- Are the repairs contemporary with the wearing of the shoe?
- Are the repairs historically significant in terms of social history or conservation history?
- Are the repairs structurally damaging the shoe?
- Are the repairs still effective or have they failed?
- Could the repair itself be conserved without causing further problems?
- Do past repairs interfere with the proposed conservation treatment? Which should be modified?
- What damage would removal cause compared to the harm of leaving it?

CLIENT REQUIREMENTS

- What are the imposed limitations of the project in terms of time, money and staffing?
- What are the client's wishes?
- Have all parties been consulted and fully understand the consequences of any decisions made?

SUSTAINABILITY

- Would the proposed treatment remove evidence that could be of future significance?

RECORDS

- How will records be kept? In what format? In what location?
- Is the reasoning behind decisions made recorded?

Figure 38/

Conservation Assessment

Establishing the purpose of such an assessment will ultimately determine what type of treatment a shoe might undergo. As Cane (2009, 167) remarks “the received view of museum conservators and indeed the general public is that objects are treated because they are perceived as being in need of treatment to make them durable, but this is rarely the only reason for an object coming to the attention of the conservator.”

If the shoe was to be wanted for display then the focus of the exhibition must be ascertained. The shoe’s appearance might be perceived to be the aim but as Finch (1977, 21) states “a piece does not have to be spectacular to be important.” If the shoe were being used as an example of a concealed object, it would be inappropriate for it to look pristine. If it were a representative of Spitalfields silk, appearance would be important but it might be preferable to retain access to the verso, if the uppers were loose, in order to see how the original colours were more likely to have appeared prior to fading. If a shoe were to appear in context with a contemporary outfit then it should perhaps appear in a similar state of wear. Ashley-Smith (1999, 59) determines that “for most museum objects, the value for the main user (the visitor) rests in all the information to be gained from surface features. Changes in colour, texture, decoration or image can have a dramatic impact.” Maybe this suggests that the information provided for visitors needs to highlight what changes have occurred and for what reason rather than changing the appearance of an object to suit the visitors’ expectations. Compromises might be achieved so that the aesthetic value of a shoe might be improved while retaining research access in areas that are less visible. In any case, is it possible to be certain how a shoe originally looked? Appearance is inevitably marred to some extent even after the first wearing. If the view of the shoe is to be limited it might be better to use a replica.

It should also be borne in mind that any changes that are made during a conservation treatment might then restrict the value of a shoe in terms of its versatility for display purposes. Some treatments may aid the telling of one narrative while obscuring or destroying others. As much thought and time devoted at this stage is as necessary as that required in the actual execution of the chosen path. “Conservation conserves nowhere near as much as it ‘produces’ a particular order of things.” (Buchli, 2006, 168).

Cleaning

As has been shown in Chapter 6 adequate cleaning systems that suit both textiles and leather are limited. If only some areas are cleaned, would the contrast to other parts be too strong and obscure the overall effect? It should be borne in mind, however, that few cleaning

methods allow objects to appear as new as many of the factors that cause loss of colour and a brown/grey/yellowed effect are irreversible anyway.

It should be thoroughly considered what is to be gained by cleaning. In many instances removal of granular dirt is important to reduce potential damage to the fibres but at what cost in terms of loss of evidence of how and where a shoe was worn. As Muñoz Viñas (2009, 52) observes “every possible interaction of the conservator has inherently negative consequences.” Appelbaum (2007, 206) enforces this by questioning whether although damage and deterioration may be part of an object’s history, is it of historical significance?

Remedial Conservation

Again, it is important to ascertain the purpose of any intervention. “Different people have different views, and that the determination of the ‘right’ amount of conservation is a subjective matter” (Muñoz Viñas, 2009, 50). There is often an instinct to repair or restore an object that appears in poor condition, as Stanley-Price (2009, 32) points out “the idea that the object may have a greater value in its incomplete state, than if it is reconstructed, runs counter to this strong compulsion.” It is partly for this reason that this research has been carried out so that all parties involved in making conservation related decisions are aware that the value of deconstructed and damaged shoes is equally important to the body of knowledge as those that appear more whole and perfect. If parts are missing that need replacing it would be preferable, and most probably as easy, to produce a replica.

The Museums and Galleries Commission Standards in the Museum Care of Costumes and Textiles (Paine, 1998, 18) states that no work, “not even such apparently simple tasks as washing and pressing, let alone ‘mending’ should be carried out on museum costume or textiles without the guidance of a suitably qualified conservator.” This is all very well but it suggests that a qualified textile conservator would know how to treat the leather content of shoes or that a leather conservator would know how to treat textiles which is most definitely not always the case. Does this mean that every time a museum requires a composite object to be assessed it must consult with several conservators with different specialisms?

As with cleaning, it must be assessed how any remedial treatment improves the appearance and prolongs the life of a shoe and at what cost. Would leaving it in its current state actually be harmful? This would depend on whether the environment in which it is to be kept remains fairly constant and the materials that have deteriorated have reached a stage when they will not get much worse provided the shoe was well-cared for in the future.



Figure 384
Saffron Walden 70,372 [27]



Figure 385
Saffron Walden 70,372 [27]

Any interventions carried out have to serve the purpose for which they were intended. For instance, there is a danger when following the principles of unseen intervention that too little stitching does not actually achieve anything. While not wishing to make any support stitching appear clumsy, there does need to be a compromise so that the intervention secures loose threads and aims to prevent further loss. In Figure 384 the stitching carried out is so loose that it serves little purpose.

The choice of conservation materials used is also of significance. For example, the use of starch paste to secure uppers to linings as in Figure 385 mimics what would have been used during manufacture but should it be possible to differentiate between the two? Any adhesive that is strong enough for good adherence would, by necessity, penetrate fibres and therefore be irreversible and may also cause staining.

Past repairs and restoration

As has been described in chapter 2, repair work was regularly carried out during the period of wear and shoes were often kept in use until they were no longer able to be repaired. Consequently there is much evidence of such repair work already lost and we are reliant on written evidence that it ever happened at all. When considered in this way, if a more universal approach is not taken by conservators, then a repair or stitch removed in all innocence by an individual, repeated in many other situations, has a far more wide-reaching effect to the body of knowledge that is retained.

Contemporary repairs are obviously an important part of a shoe's history and should only be removed if absolutely necessary. In most circumstances the conservation of the repair will be as valid as the conservation of the shoe itself. Later conservation type treatments may

also have a significance to illustrate how such approaches have changed over time particularly with regard to overlays treated with adhesive.

Client requirements

Proposed treatments are inevitably likely to be constrained by the resources available in terms of time, money and staffing. These should be fully established prior to the assessment. Assuredly, there will always be conflict between what should happen in the ideal world and what is practical in actuality. Private conservation practices, as well as many museum conservators, are limited by resources.

Individual owners may well have different priorities and requirements for their objects according to the level of significance they hold. Discussions are therefore needed between all parties concerned and they should all be aware of the implications of any decisions reached. It is often the conservator's role to ensure that their clients understand.

Sustainability

To reiterate previous chapters, sustainability for the future is a most relevant consideration prior to treatment decisions. Any change that is made, be it a removal or an addition, has an impact on an object's future use and purpose. A careful balance must therefore be maintained that any intervention will help preserve the life of a shoe without compromising its value to a collection. "It would be an extreme precautionary action to preclude any form of treatment for all objects" (Ashley-Smith, 2009, 15) but all options must be evaluated.

Records

All conservators are expected to keep records of the treatments they have carried out. For objects belonging to private individuals, these might be simplified in the report given to clients. Paine (1998, 21) states that museums "must have a policy covering the management and documentation of conservation treatments" with full records kept of any condition assessment, remedial work or preventive measures taken. These are often not linked to the objects to which they refer thus depriving researchers of the complete knowledge of an object unless they think to ask specifically for conservation records as well. It is rare therefore to have a complete record of an object along with any treatments it might have received and the reasonings behind those treatments. Much information is left disregarded when object research is carried out. Ashley-Smith (1999, 304) confirms "even where historic records of condition and treatment exist they are rarely compiled in a way that is useful to a future researcher." As it is often the conservator only who has the full access to an object and to parts not normally visible, the records of their findings are essential to more completely

understand an object. It is not unheard of for museums to destroy old conservation records thereby losing the link between them and the objects they concern. As Kemp (2009, 70) remarks

“I suggest that an understanding of any fault-lines between the application of conservation’s codes of ethics and its actions, and between the material authenticity of an object and the authenticity of the observer’s experience, can be neatly rounded out in the object record, a record that should become a major part of any institution’s current knowledge economy, as well as systematic transmission to the future.”

Appelbaum (2007, 312) states that “scientific research happens but further progress would be made by better dissemination of information than for more detailed research.” The same claim could be made with regard to shoe history; museums need to be aware of where their objects lie in the scheme of things.

The dissemination of information, despite today’s access to many sources, still appears to be limited. Whether this is lack of inclination or lack of opportunity is unclear. Ashley-Smith (1999, 342) comments that:-

“conservators and curators are spending large amounts of time surveying their collections, to assess their condition and to make sure the objects are still where they left them ... the observations made during such surveys are not made widely known which makes any epidemiological studies of the effects of different types of care or treatment very difficult.”

As these surveys and subsequent treatments are often funded by grants or public money, the results and conclusions reached should be publicly accessible. Conservators cannot be expected to know about all textiles, for example, let alone all materials; or all objects, specifically shoes. There is a need to rely on curators, owners and references for knowledge pre-treatment. At present, records seem to be secret with very little cross referencing between conservators unless one happens to know someone who has worked on similar objects. For example, despite email requests and conversations with various staff members, the TCC were reluctant to share any information on their general approach to shoes and their extensive project on shoes would have been unknown if I had not been provided with the information by the museum itself. Even at this museum the fact that certain shoes have been conserved is not listed on the shoes’ records.

Storage and Display

The main recommendation for storage and display is to ensure regular monitoring to spot early signs of deterioration that may be prevented or reduced with quick action. Knowledge of past storage environments can give an indication as to how an object might react if exposed to same in future therefore as much information as possible is needed before treatment.

It may well be that supports that are used for display purposes can also be used for storage and vice versa. It is therefore worth considering both these elements when deciding on which systems to adopt.

Alternatives to the display of shoes might also be considered such as replicas, 3D printing or digital imaging. Depending on the message that it is aimed to convey such alternatives may also provide greater visitor participation and therefore understanding.

Adaptability of methods

The conservation methods applied to eighteenth-century shoes can obviously be applied to shoes from other periods. For example, those pictured in Figures 386 and 387 had been stored with eighteenth-century shoes but were actually much later. They had probably been made as costume pieces. However, the deterioration process is just the same and the same methodologies could be used for conservation purposes.

The methodologies may also be used for other composite objects made up of similar materials for example gloves and handbags. Upholstered furniture also requires similar considerations.

Conservators are privileged to have unique opportunities for object handling and examination. It is crucial therefore that they have full knowledge of the item they are conserving. As has been shown, shoes are complex composite objects and any intervention has the possibility of not only prolonging the life of a shoe but also garnering information that would not normally be accessed. The checklist provides points of consideration to make certain that

interventions might restrict further interpretations and research. Conservators are aware of the consequences of the requests they make to clients.



Figure 386
Hereford
4998



Figure 387
Hereford 4998

CONCLUSION

This thesis has demonstrated that women's eighteenth-century shoes are an important, fertile but undervalued historical resource, the extant examples of which need to be cared for in such a way that does not diminish their worth.

The thesis aimed to examine what the analysis of the physical nature of such shoes could add to our knowledge of eighteenth-century history. By positioning the shoes within eighteenth-century culture, using both primary and secondary sources, it has demonstrated that they reflect broad economic and social patterns and are, in fact, an integral part of them. The study of shoes can broaden our understanding of the eighteenth century and shed light on manufacturing processes and their organisation while raising questions that offer further opportunities for research. It adds a new perspective on fashion history and offers tantalising glimpses into our understanding of the eighteenth-century body, its shape and representation.

The systematic analysis carried out during the research is the first attempt to understand eighteenth-century shoes based on extant objects and therein lies its strength. It has highlighted the inadequacies, inconsistencies and inaccessibility of current records. As has been demonstrated, extant shoes are spread over a wide geographical area and as such there has been no specific study that encompasses the whole corpus. This research has partly addressed this issue but much work still remains to be done. However, the fact that the shoe samples were taken from several differing types and sizes of museum (some focused on shoes and others with more diverse collections) ensured that a good representation of the extant corpus of shoes was gained. The sample was large enough to show the many similarities as well as more individual characteristics. A larger sample examined at the same point is unlikely to have revealed any more significant information although further examination done now may well, as the information a shoe can provide is better defined. The study has also stressed the requirement for better interdisciplinary research and co-operation to ensure the use of this resource is maximised.

The eighteenth-century shoe was a complex, multi-material object that performed a fundamental function and yet had high symbolic value. Shoes had to be strong, well engineered and fashionable. Shoe construction was complicated and its analysis allows a perspective on the inter-relationship of a wide range of trades, crafts and manufacturing processes. Closer analysis of the constituent materials of shoes and their associated trades attests that the shoe is an end product of a long and convoluted chain of manufacturing and production.

The study of shoes is possible due to a good extant corpus of objects in British museum collections but this valuable cultural asset needs to be managed in a well informed and professional manner. Another aim of the thesis was to understand what implications the composite nature of shoes have for the conservators. What has been demonstrated is that while there are no definitive methodologies for conservation treatments, a more holistic approach to their care is required. This should involve combined action from both curators/keepers and conservators. At present it seems that conservators have full responsibility without full knowledge. This study narrows the gap as far as eighteenth-century shoes are concerned but the problem must exist for a wide range of composite objects.

The conservator's role, however, should not be overlooked. As research is not always part of this, particularly when the timescale for treatment is short and funding does not permit, work is sometimes carried out where thought is given only to practicalities of the treatment and not necessarily the implications. Conservators do not have the time or the resources to fully research each item and therefore shoes, which have largely gone to textile conservators, have been treated like a casualty patient - patch up and go. The opportunity for adding to the depth of knowledge about such objects is therefore lost or, if taken, the information gleaned is not fully exploited. The more holistic approach recommended in chapter 7 could also be used for other composite objects especially when they are only a small part of a diverse collection.

In order to facilitate studies of this type, museums need clearer access policies and greater accessibility to their collections. During the period of study, access to collections via the Internet has become much more widespread and will continue to do so with both Clarks and Northampton commencing the digitisation of their collections in 2014. Although this enables collections to be compared and contrasted and provides greater awareness of what is held in storage, it does not always give the detail that is required. Technology has become more sophisticated and experimentation is currently being carried out on the use of haptic technology to allow the physical sensation of touch via the computer screen. Although these advances greatly increase the possibility of wider study in the future, nothing, as yet, replaces the value of physical examination of a large number of similar objects: detailed object analysis should be the foundation of studies of this nature.

The use of primary material evidence for this study has been invaluable. As has been demonstrated the combination of this with other contemporaneous sources provides a much more complete picture not only about shoes but about life and women of the eighteenth century. The shoes are a primary source unmediated by artists, engravers or someone's memory. As such they present a strong claim to be taken as the single most valuable source

to information in this area. Objects in poor condition have proved an equally valuable reserve of data as those in a good state of repair, if not more so particularly with regard to manufacturing techniques and the materials used. The main weaknesses of the use of primary evidence derive from access. It is important to be able to handle and examine closely enough similar objects to establish patterns. This is not an easy task. In addition, objects in museums are isolated from their original contexts so that it is important to have at least an overview as to what that context might have been.

For other researchers contemplating similar projects the following recommendations for gathering material evidence should be taken into account when developing methodology:-

- Have a basic remit before beginning a survey. Decide how information should be taken and recorded. Determine how measurements will be taken and in what unit. How will materials and colours be classified?
- How will the information gained be used and in what format?
- Take photographs of as many details as possible but ensure that there is a list of standard images for all objects so that comparisons can easily be made.
- Be aware of how lighting can alter images, particularly colour. Make notes at the time as it is easy to forget the true object in detail in hindsight.
- Look at enough similar objects to be able to draw comparisons and establish norms.
- Do not disregard objects in poor condition as they can be valuable information sources - just ensure that they are handled more carefully.
- Be adaptable and do not ignore features because they are not on the list. Remember to pay attention to that new feature during future examinations.
- Do not make assumptions but react to what the object is actually revealing.

Part of the value of such research lies in the dissemination of the information gained and the ability for others to easily add to it. Forums such as the Dress and Textile Specialists group, the Costume Society and the Institute of Conservation, for example, provide some opportunity for discussion but nowhere provides a complete picture. In the current context where publicly funded research is increasingly required to be 'open access' it seems a shame that the rich body of research that is contained within museum records is not easily accessible. Conservation records rarely seem to be amalgamated with object records and it is questionable whether historians (and some curators) appreciate the full potential and implications of conservation interventions. All of this points towards the need for more constructive dialogue

between historians, curators and conservators and a greater recognition of the symbiotic relationship they could enjoy.

Shoes are an important factor in understanding eighteenth-century material culture and history. The thesis has demonstrated that our knowledge of eighteenth-century culture can be greatly enhanced by detailed study of the extant shoes in British museum collections. The richness of the resource is such that this thesis is merely the first stage in what could be.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I

GLOSSARY

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CURRENCY, PRICES AND COST OF LIVING




GLOSSARY

TERM	DEFINITION AS USED IN THESIS (T) and OTHER DEFINITIONS (O)	
Arch	<i>T</i>	The side and bottom of the foot below the instep on the inner side and by extension the corresponding part of the shoe or last (Walford, 2007).
Back seam	<i>T</i>	Seam which joins the quarters.
Back strap	<i>T</i>	A strip of material covering the back seam (Mackenzie, 2004).
	<i>O</i>	Strip of leather covering the back seam (Swann, 1982).
	<i>O</i>	A British term for a strip of leather or other material strengthening the back seam of a boot or shoe. If it is made of textile it serves a purely decorative purpose and the strip of material can be referred to as a galloon (Walford, 2007).
Ball	<i>T</i>	The widest fleshy part on the bottom of the foot directly across the joints behind the toes. The corresponding part of a shoe's sole is more correctly referred to as the tread (Walford, 2007).
Bottom	<i>T</i>	The underpart of shoes: soles, welt, heel (Swann, 1982).
Bracing	<i>T</i>	When an upper is lasted on to an insole, the lasting margins have to be held in position until welt or sole is attached. This can be done by nails or by bracing thread criss-crossing and pulling the margins inwards (Thornton and Swann, 1986).
Breast (heel)	<i>T</i>	The front surface of a heel that faces the toe.
Brocade	<i>T</i>	Wide definitions - generally patterned by means of supplementary wefts which may or may not be continuous. (Emery, 2009)
	<i>O</i>	A brocading weft: a weft participating in the formation of design effects in textiles which have a ground weft and whose movement is limited to the width of the design it produces. CIETA. In the 18th century, textiles patterned in this way were referred to as 'brocades' (Rothstein, 1990).
	<i>O</i>	A weaving technique with a pattern, usually worked in a different coloured or metallic threads. The threads float on the reverse so it is not reversible (Walford, 2007).
	<i>O</i>	If they are but adorned and worked with some flowers or other figures they are called brocades (Mortimer and Dickenson, 1819).
Buckle strap	<i>T</i>	As lachets (Saguto, 2009).
Callimanco/ calimanco/ caimanco	<i>T</i>	Worsted fabric, satin weave with glazed surface. (Buck)
	<i>O</i>	Woollen fabric which could be plain, striped or checked but had a glazed finish (Cumming, 2004).
Chausson	<i>T</i>	A type of women's galoshes or overshoes in the form of little slippers. Chausson may have also meant a type of women's galoshes that had only half a sole with a vamp and a loop at the back to go around the heel and keep them on (Saguto, 2009).
Clog	<i>T</i>	Leather-soled overshoe with straps across the instep, sometimes made to match the shoe with which they were worn (Pratt and Woolley, 1999).
Damask	<i>T</i>	A patterned textile with 1 warp and 1 weft in which design is formed by a contrast of binding systems which give shiny warp faced areas and matt weft face areas - reversible (Parry, 2010).
	<i>O</i>	A reversible fabric, usually of linen, silk or cotton, characterized by a flat jacquard woven pattern (Walford, 2007).

Domed sole	<i>T</i>	Modern term used to define a sole rounded up at the sides as seen in early 18 th century footwear (Walford, 2007).
Fore part	<i>T</i>	The front of the shoe, sole etc. (Swann, 1982)
French heel	<i>T</i>	Pompadour, hourglass, louis - the heel's name reflects its 18 th century origin as a breasted heel whose neck is in a graceful reverse curve to harmonize with the curve formed by the sole as it continues down the breast. The heel is usually waisted with a flaring bottom section (Walford, 2007).
Galloon/galoon	<i>T</i>	Narrow, close-woven ribbon or braid used for trimming clothes and shoes (Bush, 2000).
Gimp	<i>T</i>	A kind of silk twist, lace or edging, used in trimming garments etc, chiefly manufactured at Manchester (Mortimer and Dickenson, 1819).
Grain	<i>T</i>	The outer surface of a piece of leather, originally bearing the hair etc. Uppers normally have the grain side outwards except for suedes (Swann, 1982).
Grosgrain/grogram	<i>T</i>	A kind of stuff, made of silk and mohair, something coarser and thicker than tafferty (Mortimer and Dickenson, 1819).
Heel	<i>T</i>	A solid raised base or support attached to the sole of the shoe under the back of the foot (Walford, 2007).
Heel cover	<i>T</i>	Piece sewn in with the inseam outside the upper, which when folded down encases and holds the wooden heel to the shoe (Saguto, 2009).
Heel neck	<i>T</i>	The back face visible when viewing a shoe from the back (Walford, 2007).
Heel seat	<i>T</i>	Immediately below the heel of the foot (Walford, 2007).
Heel sock	<i>T</i>	Directly below wearer's heel and above heel of shoe (Saguto, 2009).
	<i>O</i>	The rear end of insole or sole on which the heel of the foot rests (Thornton and Swann, 1986).
	<i>O</i>	Thin piece of leather/textile that covers the inside surface of the heel seat of an insole, pasted on after shoe made (Saguto, 2009).
Heel stiffener	<i>T</i>	Leather inserted between lining and uppers held with paste (Saguto, 2009).
	<i>O</i>	A reinforcement at the back of the shoe to stiffen the quarters - also known as a counter (Walford, 2007).
Heel lining	<i>T</i>	As above but sewn to inside of uppers with no lining.
Hygroscopic	<i>T</i>	Ability to adsorb and desorb moisture from the air.
Insole	<i>T</i>	The foundation or structural sole inside the shoe or boot to which the uppers are directly joined by the inseam and upon which the wearer's foot generally rests (Saguto, 2009).
	<i>O</i>	The inside bottom part of a shoe on which the foot rests (Swann, 1982).
	<i>O</i>	The sole to which the upper and the outer sole are attached to make the shoe. Not to be confused with a sock (Walford, 2007).
Instep	<i>T</i>	The area on the top of the foot, and the corresponding part of the shoe, between the rear of the toes and the front of the leg (Walford, 2007).
	<i>O</i>	The raised area on the top of the foot above the toes (Pratt and Woolley, 1999).
Italian heel	<i>T</i>	A high thin heel made of wood and usually covered, it has tapering sides and neck and often employs a wedge extension that partially fills the hollow beneath the waist to add strength to the heel. Fashionable in the 1780s and early 1790s and known as an Italian heel to reflect its origin; the heel style disappeared with the term in the mid 1790s (Walford, 2007).
Laces	<i>T</i>	Braid used to decorate the front of the uppers - removable (Walford, 2007).
Last	<i>T</i>	Carved or moulded form on which the shoe is made (Pratt & Woolley, 1999).

Latchets	<i>T</i>	Straps which fasten across the instep by means of a shoe-tie or buckle (Pratt and Woolley, 1999).
	<i>O</i>	The top fronts of the quarters extended into straps (Swann, 1982).
	<i>O</i>	The extension of the quarters into straps resting on the instep that have eyeholes for closing with a ribbon or lace. Technically, latchets do not quite touch each other and are closed only with a ribbon or lace, while straps overlap and fasten with a buckle (Walford, 2007).
	<i>O</i>	The top fronts of the quarters are extended into straps which pass over the instep of the foot, sometimes resting on the tongue of the shoe vamp. These straps or latchets may either not quite touch each other, in which case they may be joined by a string or ribbon, or they may overlap and be joined by a buckle (Thornton and Swann, 1986).
Lining	<i>T</i>	The interior part of an upper usually divided into the same sections as the outer, ie vamp lining, quarter lining etc (Thornton and Swann, 1986).
	<i>O</i>	An added layer of material attached to the inner side of the upper. In the back part only it is referred to as the quarter lining, but if it reaches the toe it is called a full lining (Walford, 2007).
Louis heel	<i>T</i>	Heel of medium height, sharply curving inwards at the back, front and sides and flared slightly at the base. Probably named after Louis XV (Pratt and Woolley).
	<i>O</i>	A heel of which the breast is covered with a downward extension of the sole (Swann, 1982).
Mordant	<i>T</i>	Substance used to fix dyes and also to vary the colour produced from a particular dye source.
Morocco	<i>T</i>	A sumac-tanned goatskin originally made in Morocco and usually finished in red (although black, green and blue are also common after 1780). It is soft and firm with a fine grain (Walford, 2007).
Mules	<i>T</i>	Shoe without heel quarters (Pratt and Woolley, 1999; Swann, 1982).
	<i>O</i>	Light house-shoe without quarters leaving heel exposed (Bossan)
	<i>O</i>	Backless slipper with no quarters primarily for indoor wear (Saguto, 2009).
Outer sole	<i>T</i>	Sole of a shoe that makes contact with ground (Saguto, 2009).
Patten	<i>T</i>	Overshoe with a wooden sole raised on an iron ring (Pratt and Woolley, 1999).
Piece Sole	<i>T</i>	Reinforcement on the back of the outer sole under heel seat - strengthener (Saguto, 2009).
Plain weave	<i>T</i>	The simplest form of weaving where the weft is woven under one warp end and over the next.
Pump	<i>T</i>	A light shoe with a close fit and no fastening. In the eighteenth century the word identified a low-heeled shoe (Riello and McNeil, 2006).
	<i>O</i>	Shoe with thin sole, soft or patent uppers and flat heel (Pratt and Woolley, 1999).
Quarters	<i>T</i>	The sides of a shoe upper joining the vamp at the front and each other at the back of the heel. It seamed here, if is called the back seam (Swann, 1982).
	<i>O</i>	Part of the shoe upper covering the sides and back of the foot (Pratt and Woolley, 1999).
	<i>O</i>	The sides of a shoe upper that join the vamp at the front and meet at the back of the heel, where they are usually joined by a seam (Walford, 2007).

Rand	<i>T</i>	Narrow strip of leather between the upper and sole, sometimes used as a decorative feature (Pratt and Woolley, 1999).
	<i>O</i>	A narrow strip of leather in the sole or heel seams (Swann, 1982).
	<i>O</i>	A welt inserted between the sole and upper, the rand was usually in a contrasting colour to the rest of the footwear and was folded over and sewn through from the side All rands are welts but not all welts are rands (Walford, 2007).
	<i>O</i>	A strip of leather, usually thinner and broader than a welt, applied outside the uppers and seam into the shoe during inseaming then rolled downward underneath the shoe and braced in place to create a lip or flange to which the outer sole or heel was subsequently stitched (Saguto, 2009).
	<i>O</i>	A long narrow strip of leather of roughly triangular cross-section included in an upper/bottom seam (or elsewhere) to make it more waterproof or decorative (Thornton and Swann, 1986).
Relative humidity	<i>T</i>	The ratio of water vapour in the air to the amount held if fully saturated expressed as a percentage.
Rep	<i>T</i>	Plain weave fabric with a ribbed surface.
Rondeur	<i>T</i>	Heel sock but sides wrapped over edges of insole before lasting.
Satin	<i>T</i>	A type of woven fabric characterised by a smooth lustrous surface and a silky appearance ... and ... a type of weave characterised by long floats of one set of elements and more or less evenly distributed single 'ties' of the other, on each face (warp floats on 1 and weft threads on other) (Emery, 2009)
Shank	<i>T</i>	A reinforcement in the waist of a shoe, between sole and insole, necessary when the shoe has a heel (Swann, 1982).
	<i>O</i>	A strip of wood or leather used to reinforce the waist of a shoe between the sole and insole. It keeps the shape of the arch when the shoe has a heel (Walford, 2007).
	<i>O</i>	Reinforcement of leather ... placed centrally between the insole and outer sole of a shoe ... in the waist, that extends back under the heel and forward almost to the tread or joints to stiffen the bottom through the waist and prevent the soles from sagging in front of the heel breast as well as preventing the bottoms from flexing anywhere other than where the foot does, across the tread (Saguto, 2009).
Side seam	<i>T</i>	The seam connecting the vamp to the quarters. It can be of any design, straight, dog legged or curved (Walford, 2007).
Skive	<i>T</i>	The term used for reducing the edge of leather, usually with an oblique cut, when seaming (Thornton and Swann, 1986).
Slipper	<i>T</i>	Name for a mule which was used from the later seventeenth century onwards (Pratt and Woolley, 1999).
	<i>O</i>	An indoor slip-on shoe with no fastening or closure (Walford, 2007).
	<i>O</i>	Strictly speaking, any shoe which can be slipped on with no fastening, but it has become the convention to restrict its use to light indoor wear (Thornton and Swann, 1986).
	<i>O</i>	Shoes described as slippers tended to have small, low peg heels (Mortimer and Dickenson, 1819).

Sock	<i>T</i>	Material inside the shoe covering all or part of the insole (Swann, 1982).
	<i>O</i>	The thin lining of leather or cloth glued onto the insole inside a shoe. A heel sock covers only the heel area of the insole; a half sock covers the insole from the waist to the heel and a $\frac{3}{4}$ sock covers the insole from the ball to the heel. It is decorative and functional as it hides any nail heads or stitches used in construction and is usually where the brand of maker's name is printed (Walford, 2007).
	<i>O</i>	Nineteenth century term for covering whole of insole - pasted in place (Saguto, 2009).
Sole	<i>T</i>	The bottom or under surface of a shoe or boot, excluding the heel (Walford, 2007).
Sole stamp	<i>T</i>	Stamp to seal holes made by nails used to attach sole to last before attaching to upper (Swann, 1982).
Spangle	<i>T</i>	Similar to sequin but with cut through to the middle as diagram. 
Suede	<i>T</i>	Vegetable tanned, velvety surfaced leather ... previously known as ooze, it is made from the grain side of the leather that has been sanded to raise the nap (Walford, 2007).
Stiffener	<i>T</i>	A reinforcement inside the quarters (Swann, 1982) not stitched but held between lining and quarters (Saguto, 2009).
Straights	<i>T</i>	Shoes not shaped to distinguish between left and right, so could be worn on either foot (Pratt and Woolley, 1999).
	<i>O</i>	Shoes made symmetrical, for either foot, not right and left (Swann, 1982).
Stuff	<i>T</i>	A worsted material.
Tabby weave	<i>T</i>	See plain weave. Classified by weight: that is more or less warp threads and wefts to the centimetre. Heavier tabbies often slightly ribbed and could be watered (Parry, 2010).
Taffeta	<i>T</i>	Plain weave silk cloth characterised by its stiff, crisp feel and lustrous surface. Lighter fabric than tabby (Parry, 2010).
Throat	<i>T</i>	Shaped part of the vamp resting on the instep of the foot (Pratt and Woolley, 1999).
	<i>O</i>	The centre of the rear end of the vamp resting on the instep of the foot (Swann, 1982).
	<i>O</i>	The front edge of a shoe's opening or the central portion of the vamp resting on the instep of the foot. It is usually a place for decoration, such as bows and ornamental buckles. The throat line may be rounded, squared, peaked, tabbed or serrated (Van-dyked) (Walford, 2007).
	<i>O</i>	Extension of the vamp on the instep (Bossan, 2007)
Tickling	<i>T</i>	A heavy cotton or linen twill woven cloth with a lengthwise woven stripe, sometimes in a contrasting colour. It was used in eighteenth century shoes, particularly as linings (Walford, 2007).
Toe puff	<i>T</i>	A reinforcement inside the toe end of the vamp (Swann, 1982).
		Used inside the toe area to protect the wearer's toe and keep the shape of the shoe's toe - also known as toe box (Walford, 2007).
Toe stiffener	<i>T</i>	Toe reinforcement made of thinner leather especially in women's cloth shoes. Held between lining and vamp not stitched (Saguto, 2009).

Tongue	<i>T</i>	Part of the vamp which extends under the latches or eyelet tabs (Pratt and Woolley, 1999).
	<i>O</i>	An extension of the vamp under the latches (Swann, 1982).
Topbinding/top edge/binding/top band	<i>T</i>	The top of the uppers (Swann, 1982).
	<i>O</i>	Used to join the parts of the upper equivalent to closing. (Thornton and Swann, 1986).
Top piece	<i>T</i>	The bottom piece of the heel which rests on the ground (Swann, 1982).
Tread	<i>T</i>	The widest part of a sole that comes in contact with the ground, corresponding with the ball of the foot (Walford, 2007).
Turnshoe	<i>T</i>	There appears to be much confusion over the term turnshoe. Mackenzie (2004) uses the term to describe most of the shoes from the eighteenth century held by the Wade Collection. Clarks Museum also refer to [66, 67, 68, 89 and 90] as being handsewn, turnshoes. Swann's (1982, 90), definition of turnshoe is "Shoe made inside out and then turned, leaving sole seam on the inside." This allows many types of shoe to be termed 'turnshoe'. For eighteenth-century shoes a more precise definition is required. The term is from the 1750s describing pumps - lightweight shoes with no heels (Carlson, 2005). A more precise definition is a one soled shoe where the sole is sewn directly to the uppers with no welt or insole and then turned inside out, thus none of the shoes examined were of turnshoe construction.
Upper	<i>T</i>	The part of the shoe which covers the top of the foot (Pratt and Woolley, 1999).
	<i>O</i>	The part which covers the top of the foot. It normally consists of vamp, quarters and lining (Swann, 1982).
Vamp	<i>T</i>	The front section of the upper covering the toes and part of the instep (Pratt and Woolley, 1999/Swann, 1982).
Vandyked edge	<i>T</i>	A serrated edging of lace or other material (Pratt and Woolley, 1999).
Velvet	<i>T</i>	A pile weave in which the pile is produced by a pile warp that is raised in loops above the ground weave by the introduction of rods during weaving. The loops may be subsequently cut. CIETA (Rothstein, 1990).
Waist	<i>T</i>	The narrow part under the arch of the foot and sole (Swann, 1982).
	<i>O</i>	The narrowest part of the sole under the arch of the foot and also the narrowest part of the heel (Walford, 2007).
	<i>O</i>	The middle portion of the shoe in front of the heel seat and behind the tread. (Saguto, 2009).
	<i>O</i>	The part of the sole between forepart and heel (Thornton and Swann, 1986).
Warp	<i>T</i>	A collective term for the threads that are held under tension on the loom around which the weft is woven. An individual warp thread is known as an end.
Weft	<i>T</i>	The threads that are woven around the warp threads.
Welt	<i>T</i>	A narrow strip of leather sewn around the edge of the upper and insole to help attach the sole (Pratt and Woolley, 1999).
	<i>O</i>	A narrow strip of leather sewn round the edge of the upper and insole. The sole is then attached to the welt (Swann, 1982).

Eighteenth-century currency, prices and cost of living

Currency

£1 = 240 pence (d) or 20 shillings (s)

1 shilling = 12 pence

1 guinea = 21 shillings

Average wages in the eighteenth century

Leather dresser journeymen	15-20 shillings per week (1747)
Leather seller	£20-40 per annum (1747)
Unskilled labourer	8-12 shillings per week
Skilled worker	£2-4 per week
Housemaid	4-6 guineas per annum (1700-1760) 6-8 guineas per annum (1760-1800)
Footman	14-16 guineas per annum (1700-1760) 20 guineas per annum (1760-1800)
Spitalfields weaver	£2-3 per week
Female labourer in textile industry	£2.2s per annum (1778) £4.11s per annum (1790s)
Middle class	£50-£80 per annum (1750-1775) £80-£100 per annum (1775 onwards)
Squires	£300-£800 per annum
Wealthy squires	£2000 per annum from estates

Typical prices in the eighteenth century

Standard rent for London artisan	2 shillings 6 pence
Loaf of bread	4 pence
Pot of ale	1 pence
Meal in London tavern	1 shilling 6 pence
Muslin neckcloth	3-6 shillings (1781)
Silk hat	6 shillings 10½ pence (1781)
Linen gown	20 shillings 6 pence (1781)
Women's stuff or calf shoes	3 shillings 6 pence (1791)
Stays	3 shillings 6 pence
White cotton stockings	11 pence minimum
Novel	7 shillings 6 pence

Sources: Campbell (1747); George (1992); Marshall (1974); Mui & Mui (2009); Porter (1991)

Appendix II

THE SURVEY - METHODOLOGY



Methodology

In order to ensure that the data compiled from the survey was comparable, a standardised method of recording the information was designed.

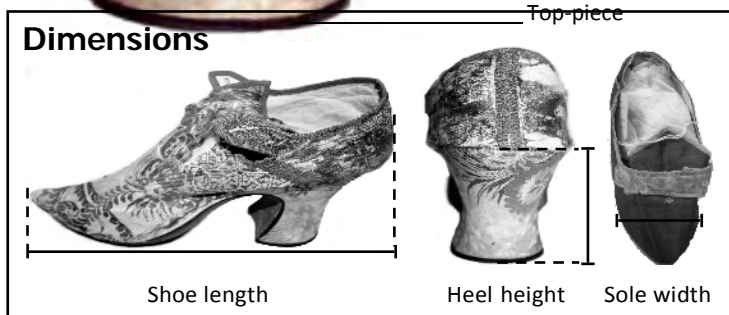
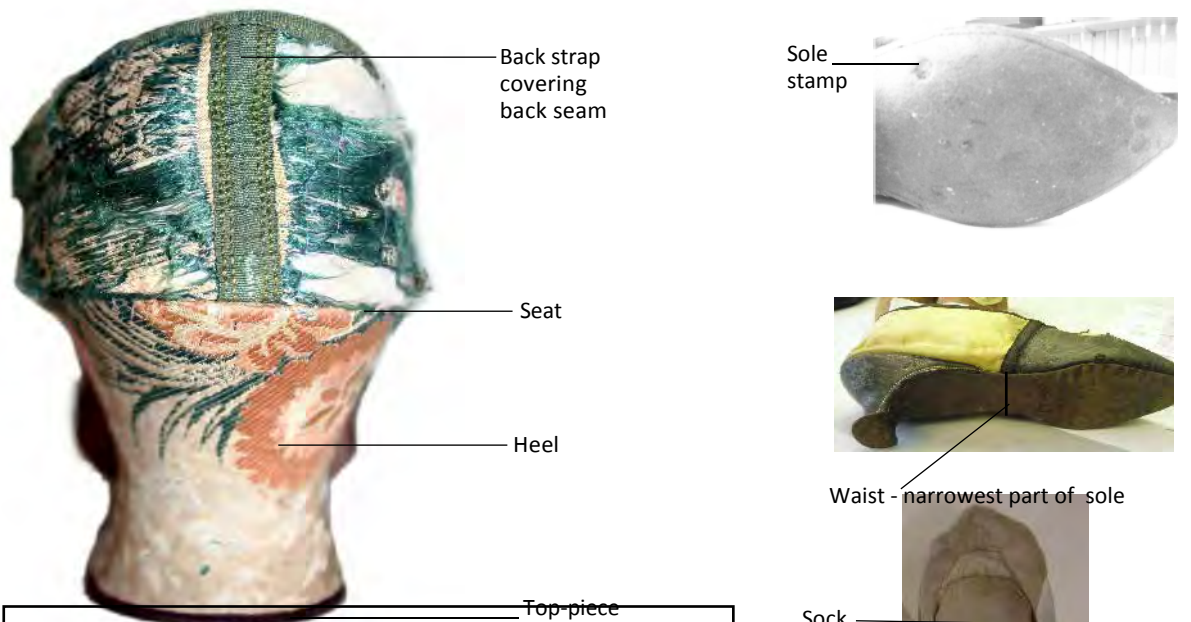
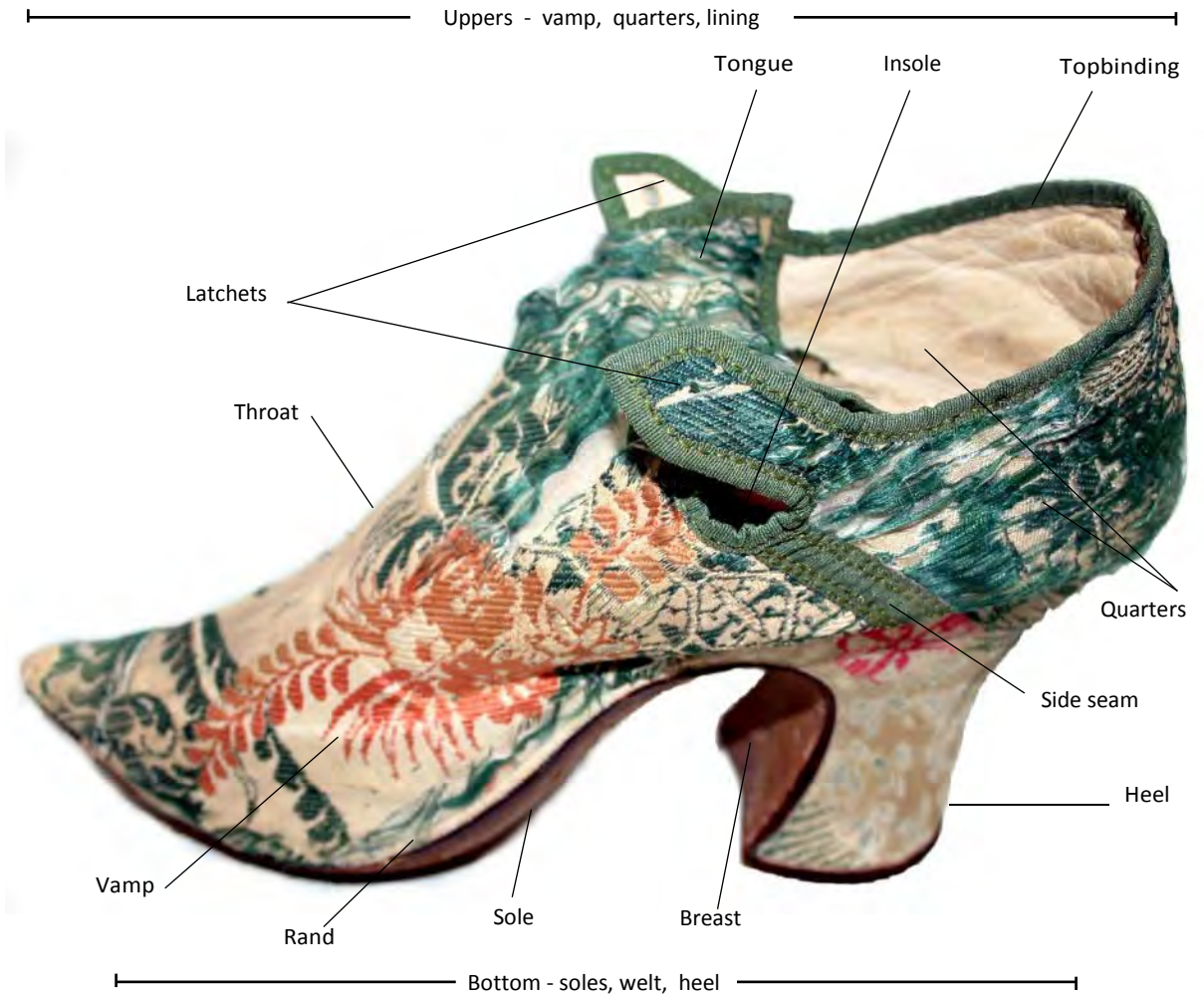
A form was compiled to be completed for each shoe so that consistent information was retrieved on each occasion. As some features were common to many, and to save time during the examination process, a coded system was drawn up so that information could be quickly recorded as detailed in the following pages. The forms also catered for a mini condition survey with obvious damage noted. The method of recording was improved and refined during the research as a result of reflecting on experience gained during the fieldwork. Consequently some extra fields were added so that the shoes surveyed initially may have some incomplete areas.

A list of photograph angles that should be taken was also drawn up but again was not fully employed initially.

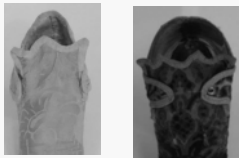




A consistent way of taking such measurements was devised and implemented as detailed in Chapter 1. The dimensions taken are shown on page 301.



Shoes that were likely to yield pertinent information were selected for the survey. It also seemed important to make a selection from some of the most extensive collections as well as some of the smallest to ascertain typical collection items. Northampton Museum was selected as being the largest shoe collection in the country and they therefore were able to offer a wider cross section. They provided a record of all the shoes they held appropriate to the study. Shoes were then selected for examination that fitted in with time periods less well represented elsewhere or were examples of particular materials or use and repair. Nottingham had a sizeable collection of eighteenth-century shoes from the Museum of Costume which has been closed for several years. The Wade Collection from Snowhill is the National Trust's largest costume collection. Hereford Museums is local to Berrington Hall (where the Wade Collection is housed) and hold a significant collection of shoes. The Clarks Museum hold a substantial collection (66 pairs), only a sample of which was examined more closely due to restrictions on access, time and resources. Museums with smaller collections were chosen so that their complete holding could be seen and it was interesting to compare them with the larger collections. The survey was carried out as shown in the table overleaf.



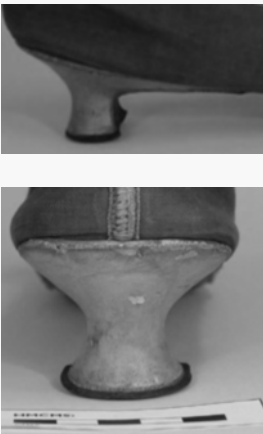


Collection [Abbreviated as]	Date	Shoes held	Shoes seen	% of total seen
Saffron Walden Museum [Saffron Walden]	January 2007	10	1	10
Museum of Lincolnshire Life [Lincoln]	13 August 2008	2	2	100
Nottingham Museum [Nottingham]	18 February 2009	19	19	100
Charles Wade Collection, Snowhill held at Berrington Hall by The National Trust [Snowhill]	10-14 May 2010	25	25	100
Hereford City Museums [Hereford]	12 May 2010	18	18	100
Clarks Museum [Clarks]	26 August 2010	66	10	15
Northampton Museum [Northampton]	21 February 2011	143	18	13
Gunnersbury Park Museum [Gunnersbury]	29 September 2011	4	4	100
Leicestershire County Council [Leicester]	12 June 2012	5	5	100
		292	102	35

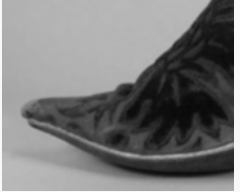





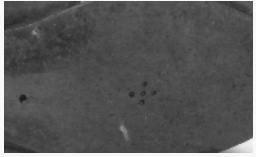
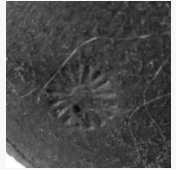


MATERIALS			
L	LEATHER	T	TEXTILE
LC	Cow	TS	Silk
LB	Calf	TSB	Brocade
LG	Goat	TSD	Damask
LK	Kid	TSV	Velvet
LS	Sheep	TSS	Satin
LO	Other	TSR	Ribbed/gros grain
LW	Suede	TSW	Watered
		TSE	Embroidered
M	METAL	TSP	Plain weave
MA	Metal strip	TSO	Other
MB	Metal strip, fibrous core	TL	Linen
MB1	MB around fibrous core	TLP	Plain weave
MB2	MB around MB	TC	Cotton
MB3	Metal strip around MB	TW	Wool
MB4	2 x MB twisted together	TWS	Sateen
MBX	MA wound round MB held together with MA		
MC	Wire	W	WOOD
MC1	2 x MC twisted		
MCD	MC with fibrous core	C	CORK

TONGUE		
GV	Van Dyke or cupid's bow	
GS	Square	
GU	Slight U shape	
G	Slight inverted U shape	
GP	Pointed	

LATCHET		
FB	Buckle	
FR	Pierced/slit buttonholed	
FU	Unmarked	
FQ	Equal length	
FN	Unequal length	

HEEL		
HL	Louis heel (French, pompadour, hourglass, Pinet, spool). The heel is usually waisted with a flaring bottom section. JW	
HLP	Pompadour (French) As Louis but much higher and thinner.	
HI	Italian heel (peg)	
HH	Heel positioned beneath heel of foot.	
HN	Heel positioned under instep.	

TOE		
EN	Needlepoint - upper overhangs the sole.	
ES	Square	
EB	Blunt	
ED	Domed - square toe blocked into a curved or domed shape on the upper.	
EP	Pointed	
EU	Upturned	

SOLE DECORATION		
SDR	Stamp - ring	
SDF	Stamp - floral	
SDB	Bi-colour pattern/fiddle pattern	
SDS	Suede	
SDO	Other	

CONDITION			
CA	Excellent. Little or no damage, little surface dirt, previous repairs fulfilling function.		
CB	Good. Minor damage and/or loss, surface soiling, repairs causing some distortion and/or disfigurement.		
CC	Fair. Noticeable damage and loss appearing disfigured with visible accretions.		
CD	Poor. Considerable and/or significant loss of original or added material or major damage/breakage or disfigurement. May be endangering other objects and surfaces.		
STABILITY			
SA	Stable - condition not expected to deteriorate within the next 10 years. Strong, supported, clean, complete, unsoiled.		
SB	Potentially unstable - not expected to deteriorate within next 5-10 years. Some: soiling/staining, surface dirt; surface damage; small holes, fading, unslightly repair, distortion.		
SC	Unstable/steady deterioration - change evident in next 1-5 years. Ingrained/impacted soiling, significant staining, splitting, holed, torn, frayed, stretched, distorted, heavily creased, pile/weft loss, tarnished, faded/dicoloured, fragile.		
SD	Highly unstable - change evident within 1 year. Heavily soiled/stained, embrittled, shattered, split, torn, missing components, significant loss, friable, powdering, disintegrating, extremely fragile.		
DETERIORATION			
SHOE		TEXTILE	
S1	Loose parts	T1	Lost warp/weft
S2	Stitching undone/broken seams	T2	Stained
S3	Wear	T3	Embrittled silk
S4	Distortion due to poor storage	T4	Swelling/stretching
S5	Distortion due to wear	T5	Shrinkage
S6	Repair for use	T6	Discoloured
S7	Unravalled braiding	T7	Faded
S8	Loss of trimmings/decorative elements	T8	Ingrained soiling
S9	Conservation repair	T9	Detached fibres
S10	Distortion due to manufacture	T10	Rubbed
LEATHER		T11	Splitting
L1	Delamination	T12	Holes
L2	Crazing	T13	Creased
L3	Cracking	METAL	
L4	Discoloured	M1	Tarnish
L5	Split	M2	Corroded
L6	Holes	M3	Lost gilt
L7	Scuffed	M4	Other
L8	Embrittled	GENERAL	
L9	Foxed	G1	Insect activity - dead
		G2	Insect activity - live
		G3	Mould

Survey No.		Identifying image			
Shoe Description	Single/pair; latched/slip-on/ mule/clog				
Date	As given [date as used for survey]				
Colour	Main or background colour, supplementary colours				
Collection	Name of collection				
Ref	Collection reference number				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	In centimetres (Dimensions provided by museum)	Heel height	In centimetres (Dimensions provided by museum)	Backstrap length	In centimetres
Sole width	In centimetres (Dimensions provided by museum)	Sole depth	In millimetres	Top piece depth	In millimetres
Materials	Codes as listed [presumed materials]				
Vamp & Lining	Colour and materials for vamp and lining	Quarters & Lining	Colour and materials for quarters and lining		
Latchets & Lining	Colour and materials for latches and lining. Type as codes	Tongue & Lining	Colour and materials for tongue and lining. Shape as codes		
Topbinding	Colour, fabric, width in millimetres	Backstrap	Colour, fabric, width in millimetres		
Toe	Shape as codes	Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	Toe puff or heel stiffener present - material.		
Rand	Material and colour if present	Sock	Material if present.		
Insole	Material	Sole	Material, surface finish and decorations according to codes		
Heel	Shapes as codes	Top piece	Material		
Comments	Observations made not included in museum record. <i>Museum/collections records in italics and indented.</i>				
Condition	Observations on condition. Condition code, stability code, deterioration codes.				
Storage	How and where shoe kept.				
Date of survey	Date survey carried out	Figure Nos.	Figure numbers in main body of thesis.		

FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
<p data-bbox="517 439 671 472">Photograph</p>	<p data-bbox="1106 439 1260 472">Photograph</p>
REAR VIEW	SOLE
<p data-bbox="517 1079 671 1113">Photograph</p>	<p data-bbox="1106 1079 1260 1113">Photograph</p>
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS
<p data-bbox="517 1785 671 1818">Photograph</p>	<p data-bbox="1106 1785 1260 1818">Photograph</p>

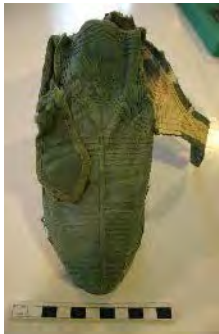
MUSEUM CONTACTED	No. of PAIRS of SHOES	No. EXAMINED	No on display
Bath Fashion Museum	35	0	0
Brighton Museum and Art Gallery	some		
Bristol City Council	13	0	
Carrow House Costume and Textile Study Centre	38	0	
Chertsey Museum	11	0	
Clarks Museum	66	10	
Colchester and Ipswich Museums	13	0	
Cowper and Newton Museum, Olney	1	0	1
Farnham museum	5	0	?
Gallery of Costume (Platts Hall)	50	0	
Glasgow - Burrell	5	0	2
Gunnersbury Park Museum, London	4	4	0
Hampshire Museums	30	0	
Hereford	18	18	0
Hull	4	0	
Kensington Palace	3	0	1
Killerton, National Trust	19	0	
Leeds	10	0	
Leicestershire Museums	5	5	0
London College of Fashion	4	0	
Museum of Lincoln	2	2	0
Museum of London	135	0	
National Trusts (Other collections)	2	0	
Northampton	143	18	
Nottingham	19	19	0
Pickfords House Museum Derby	14	0	1
Plymouth City Museum and art Gallery	1	0	0
Provost Skene's House	1 single	0	0
RAMM Exeter	2	0	
Saffron Walden Museum	10	1	1
Salisbury museum	3		3
Sherborne Museum	1	0	0
Snowhill	25	25	2
Somerset County Museums Service	17	0	9
Southend	4	0	
Springhill Costume Museum, Moneymore, National Trust	6	0	
St John's House, Warwick	5	0	0
Victoria and Albert	115	0	5
York Castle	35	0	0
Total	873	102	25

Appendix III


THE SURVEY - COMPLETED FORMS

1700s



Survey No.	1				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches.				
Date	1700-1710 [1700s]				
Colour	Blue				
Collection	Clarks Museum				
Ref	W17sD7				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22cm	Heel height	7cm (23/4")	Backstrap length	5.5cm
Sole width	8.4cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	3mm
Materials	L, LW, TLP, TSO, TSR, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Blue silk taffeta with applied braid (2mm wide) giving striped effect and lined with undyed plain weave linen. 18.5cm length		Quarters & Lining	Blue silk taffeta with applied braid (2mm wide) giving striped effect and lined with white kid leather. 15 cm length.	
Latches & Lining	Blue grosgrain - 1cm wide. FB		Tongue & Lining	Blue silk taffeta with applied braid (2mm wide) giving striped effect and lined with undyed plain weave linen. GV	
Topbinding	Blue grosgrain - 10mm wide		Backstrap	Would have been blue grosgrain - 10mm wide	
Toe	EB, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	White kid leather.		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather SDS	
Heel	Blue silk taffeta with applied braid (2mm wide). HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p>Dogleg side seam. Second shoe on display.</p> <p><i>C.1700-10. Buckle shoe. Blue corded silk. 23/4" Louis heel. Rounded blunt toe. White kid rand. Upper and heel decorated with blue silk braid applique - called "lace". Quarters lined in white kid; vamp in white canvas. Straights. Cupid's bow shaped top to tongue. Brown leather insole. Significance: toe shape and width of arch suggest a comfortable shoe but the heel and lace are typically English where lace was common later 17th and early 18th centuries. Condition: worn/poor. Acquired: May 10th 1973 from William Filgate, Disrenny House, Co. Louth. Cost £20. Pair.</i></p>				
Condition	Taffeta splitting and frayed especially around heel breast. Distorted due to lack of support. Cording coming loose and unravelled. Backstrap lost. Top-binding lost in places. Latches - seams undone and silk fraying. CC, SC, S2, S3, S4, S7, S8, T1, T7, T11				
Storage	In shoe box with black tissue. 1 shoe on display, one in store.				
Date of survey	26 August 2010		Figure Nos.	183	

FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	HEEL SEAT AND QUARTER DAMAGE
	

Survey No.	2				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latchet				
Date	Early 18th century [1700s]				
Colour	Black				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO116				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	23cm (23cm)	Heel height	3.5cm (3cm)	Backstrap length	6.5cm
Sole width	7.2cm	Sole depth	4mm	Top piece depth	
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSO, TSR, TSS, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Black satin with undyed plain weave linen lining.		Quarters & Lining	Black satin with white kid leather lining.	
Latchets & Lining	Black satin with white kid leather lining. Grosgrain ribbons on quarters, later addition. Buckles in situ. FB		Tongue & Lining	Black satin with black figured silk. Insert of black silk taffeta lined with white plain weave linen added at later date. GS	
Topbinding	Black grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide.		Backstrap	Black grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide.	
Toe	EB, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	White kid leather		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather	
Heel	Covered with black silk satin with white stitching. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p>Ribbon ties - 2 layers folded over making 4 - added later. Buckle in place on both shoes. Shoes made wider at a later date by splitting the tongue and vamp and adding an insert of silk taffeta.</p> <p><i>Mackenzie (2004, 8) - listed as men's shoe.</i></p> <p><i>Bradfield (1995, 8)</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Vamp worn and lost fabric over toes. Tongue lining - silk split and linen folded back. Latchets - linings dirty, rust marked, scrunched inside buckle. Heel cover is slightly worn, collapse of back seam area and creases formed. Ribbons badly degraded and fragile. Sole - evidence of wear with accretions. Top piece scuffed. Metal on buckle corroded in places. Accretion on sole which could be impacted straw. CB/C, SA/B, S3, S6, T1, T8, T9, L7, M2.</p> <p><i>1982 examination - toes worn, latchets perforated, ribbons frayed (one missing).</i></p>				
Storage	In cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store; cotton sateen covered polyester wadding forma and cotton tape tied around to help keep latchets closed.				
Date of survey	13 May 2010		Figure Nos.	27, 38, 88, 309	







<p style="text-align: center;">FRONT FACING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SIDE VIEW</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">REAR VIEW</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SOLE</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">INSOLE/SOCK & LINING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">INSERT IN TONGUE/VAMP AND BUCKLE ON LATCHET</p>
	

1710s









Survey No.	3				
Shoe Description	Single, straight, latchet				
Date	1710 [1710s]				
Colour	Pale green				
Collection	Gunnersbury Park Museum				
Ref	75.2/19				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	21.7cm (23cm)	Heel height	9cm (8.94cm)	Backstrap length	6cm
Sole width	6.5cm (7cm)	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	1mm
Materials	L, LK, TL, TSR, TSS, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Silk satin with braid geometric pattern. Braid 2mm width.		Quarters & Lining	Silk satin with applied braid. Lining white linen.	
Latchets & Lining	Silk satin lined with white linen. FB, slight point, 12cm long.		Tongue & Lining	Silk satin with applied braid cream silk satin lining. GS	
Topbinding	Grosgrain ribbon - 12-13mm wide		Backstrap	Grosgrain ribbon - 14mm wide	
Toe	EN		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	Toe puff of brown leather	
Rand	White kid		Sock	None	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown sueded leather SDS	
Heel	Silk satin with applied braid. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown sueded leather	
Comments	<p>The upper decorated with parallel strips of light green silk braid. Dogleg side seam.</p> <p><i>Lady's shoe, early 18th century 1710. On display 1997-98. Desc: silk lined linen (?) upper, pointed toe. 89mm heel. Upper and back upper edge of heel decorated with parallel strips of braid, in geometric pattern. Upper has tongue and plain latches. Silk and braid is light green. All edges trimmed with cloth tape. Interior tongue lined with silk. Sole is thick, shaped leather. Louis XV style curved wooden heel. Hand stitched. Dim: 230mm long x 138mm high x 70mm wide (approx). Cond: good, silk discoloured, tongue lining splitting. Prov: transferred from Hounslow Library. 7/92 consultation SEM with June Swann - shoe is late 1710s or very early 1720s.</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Generally good; staining on toe; damage to latches from buckle use; linings dirty; tongue lining split with some loss.</p> <p>CC, SB, S3, T2, T6, T7, T11</p>				
Storage	In cardboard box wrapped in tissue with tissue support.				
Date of survey	29 September 2011		Figure Nos.	38, 66, 132, 224	




FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS
	


Survey No.	4				
Shoe Description	Single, straight, mule				
Date	1710-1720				
Colour	Red				
Collection	Gunnersbury Park Museum				
Ref	2605/1				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22.3cm (21cm)	Heel height	7cm	Backstrap length	N/A
Sole width	7cm (6cm)	Sole depth	3mm	Top piece depth	4mm +1mm
Materials	L, LK, TS, MB, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Red leather covered with metal thread embroidery and lace braid band 45mm wide. Red silk lining woven in stripes of plain and satin weave.		Quarters & Lining	None	
Latchets & Lining	None		Tongue & Lining	None	
Topbinding	None		Backstrap	None	
Toe	EN		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	White kid leather		Sock	Red silk half sock	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather	
Heel	Red leather with white stitching. HL, HH		Top piece	Thin layer of white leather over brown leather.	
Comments	<p>Red leather with upper heavily embroidered with silver thread; lining of red striped silk.</p> <p><i>Lady's mule, 1710-20. Desc: half upper, pointed toe, with 70mm heel; covered with red leather. Upper solidly embroidered with heavy silver; top, open edge hemmed with gold cotton (?) thread; red and white striped silk lining. Interior of sole is leather covered with same silk lining above heel. Curved Louis XV style heel. Thick leather sole more narrow than upper. White trim where upper and sole are joined. Bottom of heel covered with thin, shaped light coloured leather. Hand stitched. Dim: 210mm L x 60mm W x 100mm H. Cond: at some time during 1960s woodworm holes in heel treated by R Bickerdike (with xylamon?). Oct 86: good; silver tarnished and slightly worn with gold thread showing through. Lining splitting and discoloured. Exhib: Hogarth's Century 1997-8. 7/92 = SEM + June Swann = c1710-20. V. valuable item (£1000-2000 insurance estimate).</i></p>				
Condition	Woodworm in heel treated in the 1960s - holes left. Metal thread tarnished and there are areas where the silk core is exposed. Sole lining - embrittled and discoloured. Worn. CB, SB, S3, T3, T6, L4, L6, M1, M3				
Storage	In box wrapped in tissue with loose polyester wadding support.				
Date of survey	29 September 2011		Figure Nos.	38, 96, 275, 303, 312	




FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	HEEL SHOWING WOODWORM HOLES
	







Survey No.	5				
Shoe Description	Single, straight, latchet				
Date	1700-1730 [1710s]				
Colour	Cream, green, blue, brown, pink				
Collection	Hereford City Museums				
Ref	3100				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	24.5cm	Heel height	5.5cm	Backstrap length	5.8cm
Sole width	8cm	Sole depth	3mm	Top piece depth	4mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSB, TSR, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Silk brocade lined with white plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Silk brocade lined with white kid leather.	
Latchets & Lining	Silk brocade. FB		Tongue & Lining	Silk brocade lined with white plain weave linen. GS	
Topbinding	Green grosgrain ribbon - 12mm wide		Backstrap	Green grosgrain ribbon - 12mm wide	
Toe	EN, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	White kid leather		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather SDS	
Heel	Covered with silk brocade. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	Dated 1700-1730. Dogleg side seam.				
Condition	Some split silk on the toe area exposing the lining. Fabric quite creased particularly on the back quarters. Some loss of fibre where backstrap meets the seat. The whole of the shoe has been covered with nylon tulle which is coming adrift in several places. It does not appear to be effective and it is difficult to ascertain its purpose. CB, SB, S3, S9, T1, T11, T12, T13				
Storage	Metal drawer lined with Plastazote; stuffed with polyester wadding				
Date of survey	12 May 2010		Figure Nos.	344, 345	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
SIDE VIEW	
	

Survey No.	6				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1700-1730 [1710s]				
Colour	Yellow				
Collection	Hereford City Museums				
Ref	1978-472-1				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	24.5cm	Heel height	5cm	Backstrap length	7cm
Sole width	8.3cm	Sole depth	1mm	Top piece depth	4mm
Materials	L, LK, TSD, TSR, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Yellow silk damask lined with white kid.		Quarters & Lining	Yellow silk damask lined with white kid.	
Latches & Lining	Yellow silk damask. FB		Tongue & Lining	Yellow silk damask lined with damask. GS	
Topbinding	Yellow silk grosgrain ribbon - c.12mm wide.		Backstrap	Yellow silk grosgrain ribbon - c.13mm wide.	
Toe	EN, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	Toe puff of brown leather	
Rand	White kid leather		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather SDS	
Heel	Covered in yellow silk damask. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	Buckle marks on true left one shoe, true right on the other. Dogleg side seam.				
Condition	General slight soiling. Top piece - some delamination. CA, SA, S3, T8, L1				
Storage	Metal drawer lined with Plastazote; stuffed with polyester wadding.				
Date of survey	12 May 2010		Figure Nos.	108	

FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	VAMP & BROCADE - DETAIL
	

Survey No.	7				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	Early 18th century [1710s]				
Colour	Pink				
Collection	Museum of Lincolnshire Life/Usher Gallery				
Ref	LCNUG 1927/2693				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	25.5cm	Heel height	4.5cm	Backstrap length	
Sole width		Sole depth		Top piece depth	
Materials	L, LK, TSD, TSR, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Pink damask with white kid leather lining.		Quarters & Lining	Pink damask with white kid leather lining.	
Latches & Lining	Pink damask with white kid leather lining. FB		Tongue & Lining	Pink damask. GU	
Topbinding	Pink grosgrain ribbon		Backstrap		
Toe	EN, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	White kid leather		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather. SDS	
Heel	Pink damask. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p>Buckle on one shoe 3 diamanté clover shaped. Dogleg side seam.</p> <p><i>1 of a pair of shoes of pink brocade covered leather with large low heels and pointed toes; the sides of the shoe cross over at the tongue at the front.</i></p> <p><i>*NOTE the shape of the shoes is very characteristic of the early 18th century.</i></p> <p><i>EXHIBITION/DISPLAY: 'Frocks and Fripperies: Ladies' Dress and Accessories from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century,' 1.7.1995 - 24.3.1996 NOTE exhibition at two venues; Usher Gallery, finished 8.10.1995; Museum of Lincolnshire Life, finished 24.3.1996</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Vamp - silk split , faded and discoloured. Quarters - previous repair on 1 (ladder stitch, appears quite old); collapsed where sole and rand meet. Tongue - good colour, protected by latchet. Topbinding ribbon split in some places. Latches - damask faded. Heel - damask marked. Lining - some foxing on kid. Sole - signs of wear (adhesive remains from previous identification label).</p> <p>CC, SB, S3, S6, T1, T2, T6, T7, T11, L9</p>				
Storage	In store since 1998, donated in 1969. Stuffed with, and wrapped in, tissue paper. Kept in box.				
Date of survey	13 August 2008		Figure Nos.	286	







FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
NON-FADED AREA SHOWN BENEATH LATCHETS	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	REPAIR
	

Survey No.	8			
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches			
Date	1700-1720 [1710s]			
Colour	Black			
Collection	Nottingham City Museums and Galleries			
Ref	NCM 1881.76/1			
DIMENSIONS				
Length	22.2cm (22.2cm)	Heel height	5.7cm (5.6cm)	Backstrap length
Sole width	6.4cm (7.6cm)	Sole depth		Top piece depth
Materials	L, LK, TSR, MB, W			
Vamp & Lining	Black leather with central 4mm wide braid (silver thread and cream silk).		Quarters & Lining	Black leather with brown leather lining.
Latches & Lining	Black leather trimmed with pale colour ribbon. FB		Tongue & Lining	Black leather with braid. GS
Topbinding	Pale coloured grosgrain ribbon.		Backstrap	Pale coloured grosgrain ribbon.
Toe	EP, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	
Rand	White kid leather		Sock	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather, 3 x SDF.
Heel	Red leather. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather
Comments	<p><i>Black leather, red leather, ribbon of white linen and silver thread (pattern of multi zigzag lines forming lattice). Straights; 5.6cm high stout Louis heel of wood covered with red leather, stitched in white thread along edges, large black leather tip, leather sole with sharply pointed upward turned toe; upper of 3 pieces of black leather, plain vamp cut with high tongue, seamed to 2 long heel pieces, centre back seam, each heel piece cut with a curved strap with rounded end ('latches') for buckle, overlapping on tongue; white kid rand; top edges and back seam covered with white silk corded ribbon; 2 strips of white and silver ribbon, sewn together at long edges, applied at centre of vamp from the toe up to near the top edge of the tongue. Lining: sock of thin brown leather. 1700-1720. L22.2cm W7.6cm, leather.</i></p>			
Condition	<p>Vamp - cracked, split leather. Braid - splits and loss particularly over toe. Topbinding - much loss and splits. Latches - one split in 2, held together with adhesive treated crepeline (Lab no. 364, early 1980s). Heel - scuffed on one shoe, the other shoe showing signs of woodworm. Sole and top piece good. All leather uppers very brittle and dry. CC, SC, S3, S8, T9, T11, T12, L3, L7, L8, M1.</p>			
Storage	In store, stuffed with tissue.			
Date of survey	18 February 2009		Figure Nos.	36, 61, 159, 291

<p>FRONT FACING & DETAIL OF TOE</p>	<p>SIDE VIEW</p>
	
<p>REAR VIEW</p>	<p>SOLE</p>
	
<p>INSOLE/SOCK & LINING</p>	<p>LATCHETS</p>
	


Survey No.	9				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1700-1730 [1710s]				
Colour	Pink, red, silver				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO128				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	20.2cm (18.7cm)	Heel height	8cm (7.6cm)	Backstrap length	6.7cm
Sole width	7cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	2mm and 4mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSR, TSS, MB, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Pink silk satin lined with white plain weave linen. Decorated with silver braid (5cm) stitched through the lining.		Quarters & Lining	Pink silk satin lined with white kid leather.	
Latches & Lining	Pink silk satin lined with white kid leather. FR with buttonhole stitch in darker pink thread.		Tongue & Lining	Pink silk satin lined with white plain weave linen. Initial E written in ink on lining on one shoe. GU	
Topbinding	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 11mm wide with contrasting pink stitching.		Backstrap	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 11mm wide with contrasting pink stitching.	
Toe	EP, with very slight EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	Brown leather toe puff.	
Rand	White kid leather with internal brown leather welt.		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather with deep last holes.	
Heel	Covered with red leather with white stitching. HL, HH		Top piece	2mm layer of white kid leather then brown leather	
Comments	No pasting between vamp and lining. Ribbon ties - cream grosgrain ribbon 3.4cm wide x 24cm long in both shoes. Silk used in different weave directions on quarters. <i>Mackenzie (2004,6) - Turnshoe construction "where shoe is made inside out."</i>				
Condition	Uppers faded and rubbed; lost warps leaving weft floats, especially bad adjacent to backseam on one shoe and on sides of vamp closest to rand; stained, moth casing found on one shoe next to small area of lost warp. Crease lines on vamp and on quarters at heel seat. Silver in braid is tarnished. Ribbon ties are foxed. Heel breast leather is cracked and delaminating, cover is scuffed. Top piece is very dirty. Rand is dirty. CC, SB, S3, S5, T1, T2, T7, T8, T9, T10, L1, L3, L7, M1, G1. <i>1982 examination - uppers worn, silver braid tarnished. Also assessed 2009 by NT.</i>				
Storage	In cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store; calico covered polyester wadding forma.				
Date of survey	13 May 2010		Figure Nos.	25, 59, 289	



FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	'E' ON TONGUE & LATCHETS
	

1720s




Survey No.	10				
Shoe Description	Single, straight, latchet				
Date	1725				
Colour	Green				
Collection	Clarks Museum				
Ref	W17sD2				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22.5cm	Heel height	7cm (2 1/2")	Backstrap length	6cm
Sole width	7.5cm	Sole depth	3mm	Top piece depth	1mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSD, TSR, TSS, M				
Vamp & Lining	Green damask with applied silver lace (50mm wide) with picot edge. Lined with pink/beige plain weave linen. Length - 17.5cm		Quarters & Lining	Green damask. Lined with pink/beige plain weave linen. Length - 10cm	
Latchets & Lining	Green damask. Lined with pink/beige plain weave linen. FR		Tongue & Lining	Green damask with applied silver lace (5cm wide) with picot edge. Lined with yellow satin. GV	
Topbinding	Green grosgrain ribbon 12mm wide.		Backstrap	Silver lace as front but 20mm wide.	
Toe	EN, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	White kid leather.		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather. SDS.	
Heel	Green damask cover with same lace as backstrap - 7cm long. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Comments	<p>Looks to have been let out, with slit made and edged with the same green grosgrain ribbon as topbinding. Split covered by braid.</p> <p><i>1725. Lace shoe. Green silk brocade, gold wire braid. Inverted welt. Heel cover stitched in as welted backed with s... down over inserted heel and stitched around ta... piece. Straights. Heel: 2 1/2" self covered thick Louis. Uppers: green silk brocade, high V tab, 1 eyelet hole in l... silk lace (1/2 pair only) gold braid applique 2" wide ... vamp, 3/4" wide down back and heel. Canvas lining. Sole: sueded leather. Condition: good/worn. Pair. From: Wright, Canterbury, 1954.</i></p>				
Condition	Generally very good. Signs of wear. Braid metal threads tarnished. CA, SA, S3, S6, M1				
Storage	Shoe box.				
Date of survey	26 August 2010		Figure Nos.	9, 22, 39, 60, 143, 276	





FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	DETAIL OF CENTRAL BRAID
	


Survey No.	11				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, lachets				
Date	1725				
Colour	Cream, brown, green, pink				
Collection	Clarks Museum				
Ref	W17sD3				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	23.5cm	Heel height	7.5cm	Backstrap length	6cm
Sole width	7.5cm	Sole depth	3mm	Top piece depth	
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSB, TSR, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Brocade upper lined with undyed plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Brocade upper lined with undyed plain weave linen.	
Lachets & Lining	Brocade upper lined with undyed plain weave linen. FB		Tongue & Lining	Lined with brocade facing. GS	
Topbinding	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 14mm wide.		Backstrap		
Toe	EN, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	White kid leather		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather. SDS	
Heel	Brocade cover. HL, HH/N		Top piece	Missing - revealing wooden heel.	
Comments	<p>One shoe on display. Dog leg side seam. Vamp and heel brocades seem to be different on one shoe.</p> <p><i>1725 buckle shoe. White silk, hand sewn embroidered floral brocade. Manufacturing process: inverted welt ie stitchwork. 2½" self covered heel. High tab. Multicoloured floral canvas lining. Leather insole. Leather sole, moulded around heel. Condition: fair/worn (worn in heel block). Acquired 1954. Pair.</i></p>				
Condition	Brocade faded and very dirty. Wooden heel split with corroded nails. CC, SC, S3, S5, T1, T3, T7, T8, T11, T12				
Storage	One in shoe box wrapped in black tissue and one on display.				
Date of survey	26 August 2010		Figure Nos.	146, 147, 311, 314	




FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	HEEL SHOWING MISSING TOP PIECE AND REVEALING WOODEN FORMA
	

Survey No.	12				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1725				
Colour	Red, cream				
Collection	Clarks Museum				
Ref	W17sD4				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	21.2cm	Heel height	7cm (21/2")	Backstrap length	6cm
Sole width	8cm	Sole depth	3mm	Top piece depth	3mm
Materials	L, LK, TW, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	White and red ribbed twill weave wool lined with white kid leather. 19cm		Quarters & Lining	White and red ribbed twill weave wool lined with white kid leather. 7.5cm	
Latches & Lining	White and red ribbed twill weave wool lined with white kid leather. FR, FQ		Tongue & Lining	White and red ribbed twill weave wool lined with white kid leather. GV	
Topbinding	Red grosgrain ribbon - 12mm wide.		Backstrap	Red grosgrain ribbon - 13mm wide.	
Toe	EN, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	Brown leather toe puff.	
Rand	White kid leather.		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather with white stitching. SDS, 3 x SDF.	
Heel	Red leather cover with white stitching. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Comments	<p>High brown leather side lining.</p> <p><i>1725. Lace shoe, red and white striped linen. Handsewn, inverted ¾ welt. Heel cover sewn in as welt around over inserted heel block and sewn around tab and top piece. 21/2" Louis heel covered in red glaze. High tab. One eyelet hole - latches. Bound with red silk braid. Lined in white sheep ie leather sole. Straights. Condition: good (worm in heel). Acquired Sept 28th 1967 from Mr Searle, Somerton from Miss -, Broad Street, Somerset (left to her by Mr Jennings died 1897) - pair. Associated with cat. nos. W17pD1</i></p>				
Condition	Heel scuffed, kid linings dirty; upper dirty but good general conditions. Topbinding faded. CB, SA, S3, T7, L7.				
Storage	In Clarks shoe box, in store.				
Date of survey	26 August 2010		Figure Nos.	152, 156, 201	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS
	







Survey No.	13				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latchet and single clog [104].				
Date	1720				
Colour	Green				
Collection	Leicestershire County Council				
Ref	LC77.1981				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22cm	Heel height	7.3cm	Backstrap length	6cm
Sole width	7.5cm	Sole depth	1mm	Top piece depth	2mm
Materials	L, LK, TSB, TSR, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Green and cream brocade with white kid leather lining.		Quarters & Lining	Green and cream brocade with white kid leather lining.	
Latchets & Lining	Pierced latchets of brocade lined with white kid leather. FR, FQ 4cms long.		Tongue & Lining	Green and cream brocade white kid leather lining. GS	
Topbinding	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 12mm wide with herringbone stitch on either side of seam.		Backstrap	As topbinding - 10mm wide with herringbone stitching on both sides in co-ordinating silk.	
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	Toe puff present but not visible.	
Rand	White kid leather		Sock	None	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather with white stitching. SDF x 2	
Heel	Red leather covered heel with white stitching. HL, HH, quite straight.		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Comments	Details given relate to shoe. Details for clog are given in [104] unless specified otherwise. From Papillon Hall with associated story and provenance. Therefore, displayed quite frequently. Two holes are visible in the tongue through which the tie would have looped to secure tongue in place.				
Condition	Much of brocade lost on the quarters but what remains is held down by some sort of glue - could be the original. Much of topbinding lost. Accretions on top piece. Hole in heel cover. In need of conservation. CD, SC, S2, S3, T1, T7, T11, L1, G1				
Storage	In store.				
Date of survey	12 June 2012		Figure Nos.	37, 38, 105, 302	


<p style="text-align: center;">FRONT FACING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SIDE VIEW</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">REAR VIEW</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SOLE</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">INSOLE/SOCK & LINING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SHOE IN CLOG - SIDE VIEW</p>
	







Survey No.	14			
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches			
Date	1720			
Colour	Cream, pink, gold			
Collection	Northampton Museum			
Ref	1922-23.20 P			
DIMENSIONS				
Length		Heel height	5cm (21/2")	Backstrap length
Sole width		Sole depth		Top piece depth
Materials	L, LK, TSB, TSR, [W]			
Vamp & Lining	Brocade lined with white plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Brocade lined with white plain weave linen.
Latches & Lining	Brocade. FB		Tongue & Lining	Brocade lines with green silk. GV.
Topbinding	Pale blue grosgrain ribbon.		Backstrap	Pale blue grosgrain ribbon with a line of blue cross stitch on each edge. Same on side seam.
Toe	EN, slight EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	
Rand	White kid leather.		Sock	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather
Heel	Brocade coved. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather
Comments	<p><i>Latchet shoes, buckle shoe, footwear, 1720 circa. Pair of women's green, pink and gold brocade shoes, pointed toes. 21/2" Louis heel with straight back line covered in brocade. Narrow latches to buckle over high tongue line in green silk. Pale blue binding. White kid rand. Leather sole and heel.</i></p>			
Condition	<p>Conserved by TCC 5 March 2001. Silk crepline overlays on vamp and topbindings. Secured by adhesive and stitching. CB, SA, S9</p>			
Storage	<p>Four part forma - padded support for vamp, open form for quarters, Melinex under tongue and polyester wadding in toes. Tyvek band for latches. In box lined with acid free tissue paper.</p>			
Date of survey	21 February 2011		Figure Nos.	349, 350


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	ABOVE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	AS STORED
	







Survey No.	15					
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches					
Date	1720-1729					
Colour	Yellow, silver					
Collection	Northampton Museum					
Ref	1971.57 P					
DIMENSIONS						
Length	22.2cm	Heel height	5cm (17/8")	Backstrap length	6cm	
Sole width	7.5cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	4mm	
Materials	L, LK, TSB, TSD, TSR, MB, [W]					
Vamp & Lining	Yellow brocade with silver thread. Lined with green/grey damask.		Quarters & Lining	Yellow brocade with silver thread. Lined with green/grey damask.		
Latches & Lining	Yellow brocade with silver thread. Lined with green/grey damask. FB, FQ		Tongue & Lining	Yellow brocade with silver thread. Lined with green/grey damask. GP		
Topbinding	Yellow grosgrain ribbon - 14mm wide		Backstrap	Yellow grosgrain ribbon - 12mm wide		
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	None		
Rand	White kid leather		Sock	Brown leather		
Insole			Sole	Brown leather. SDS, SDR		
Heel	Silk covered with silk brocade. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather		
Comments	<p>High side lining - comes 3cm above sock internally. Dogleg side seam. Label in one shoe - Made by John Carne AT THE BLUE LAST the corner of Bow Church Yard in Cheapside from Mr (part lost).</p> <p><i>Latchet shoe, buckle shoe, footwear, pair of women's yellow and silver silk brocade shoes. Oval toes. 17/8 inch high covered heel. Pointed straps to buckle over tongues. White kid rand. Blue brocade lining. Brown leather sock. Leather sole and heel. Straights. Maker John Carne.</i></p>					
Condition	Very dirty. Heel has woodworm. Metal thread tarnished to black and loose strands. CC, SB, S3, T8, T9, M1, G1					
Storage	In shoe box stuffed with acid free tissue paper.					
Date of survey	21 February 2011		Figure Nos.	11 November 1900		

FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK, LINING & LABEL	LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS
	

Survey No.	16				
Shoe Description	Single, straight, latchet				
Date	1720-1729				
Colour	Green				
Collection	Northampton Museum				
Ref	1984.236				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22.8cm	Heel height	6cm (2")	Backstrap length	5.5cm
Sole width	7cm	Sole depth	1.5mm	Top piece depth	4mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSB, TSR, W				
Vamp & Lining	Green brocade lined with yellow plain weave linen (quite coarse).		Quarters & Lining	Green brocade lined with yellow plain weave linen (quite coarse).	
Latchets & Lining	Rounded ends. Green silk lined with green ribbed silk and white topstitching. True right side - 10cm; left - 12cm. FB, FN		Tongue & Lining	Green brocade lined with yellow plain weave linen (quite coarse).	
Topbinding	Green grosgrain ribbon - 11mm wide.		Backstrap	Not much left - looks to be c 14mm wide, green grosgrain ribbon.	
Toe	EP		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	None	
Rand	White kid leather.		Sock	None	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather, sueded.	
Heel	Wood covered with white kid leather. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p>Insert between sole and insole over heel part of foot for extra strengthening. Dogleg side seam. Possibly concealed.</p> <p><i>Latchet shoe, buckle shoe, footwear, 1720-1729. Single woman's green ivory and blue brocade buckle latchet shoe. Pointed toe 2?Inch white kid covered Louis heels. Latchets to buckle over shaped tongue. Yellow lining. White kid rand and side lining. Brown leather insole. Leather sole and top piece. Sole loose. Straights. Possibly concealed.</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Poor but left unconserved as concealed. Gives good insight into construction. Brocade is torn, frayed and split. All over dirty with bad brown staining on quarters. Heel covering is very dirty. CD, SC, T1, T2, T7, T8, T11, L4, L7</p>				
Storage	In store in shoe box lined with acid free tissue with minimal stuffing of acid free tissue. Would benefit from more support.				
Date of survey	21 February 2011		Figure Nos.	120, 141, 142, 145, 282	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	DETAILS OF DAMAGE
	






Survey No.	17				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1720s				
Colour	Cream, blue, pink				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO139				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	23.2cm (21cm)	Heel height	5.5cm (5.1cm)	Backstrap length	6.5cm
Sole width	7.5cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	3mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSB, TSR, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Silk brocade, with cream ground, lined with yellow ochre plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Silk brocade, with cream ground, lined with yellow ochre plain weave linen.	
Latches & Lining	Silk brocade with cream ground, lined with yellow ochre plain weave linen. FB		Tongue & Lining	Silk brocade with cream ground, lined with yellow ochre plain weave linen. GS	
Topbinding	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide.		Backstrap	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide	
Toe	EN, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	Brown leather toe puff.	
Rand	White kid leather and brown leather side lining.		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather. SDS	
Heel	Silk brocade, with cream ground cover, with white stitching. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather, polished with 2 punches.	
Comments	<p>Dog leg side seam.</p> <p><i>Mackenzie (2004,12, 17) - turnshoe construction.</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Vamp stained, misshapen and very dirty. Toe puff peeping through. Quarters - collapsed at back seam; dogleg side seams failing; insect damage on one shoe. Tongue creased and collapsed; heavily stained and soiled. Topbinding - break at backseam. Latches - marks of buckle usage and seams failing at vamp. Linings, very dirty and discoloured. Sole and top piece worn. Rand - dirty. Brocade generally very faded and discoloured.</p> <p>CC/D, SD, S3, S10, T1, T6, T7, T11, T12, L3, G1.</p> <p><i>1982 examination - worn, seam torn where latches leave uppers.</i></p>				
Storage	In cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store, toes stuffed with tissue. These shoes desperately need some proper support.				
Date of survey	13 May 2010		Figure Nos.	38, 306	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	INSECT DAMAGE ON QUARTERS
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS
	


1730s









Survey No.	18				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights				
Date	1730				
Colour	Cream				
Collection	Clarks Museum				
Ref	W17sD8				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	23cm	Heel height	6cm	Backstrap length	6cm
Sole width	8cm	Sole depth	3mm	Top piece depth	3mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSO, TSR, TSS, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Cream silk satin with applied braid (2mm wide) giving striped effect and lined with undyed plain weave linen. 16.5 cm		Quarters & Lining	Cream silk satin with applied braid (2mm wide) giving striped effect and lined with undyed plain weave linen. 12.5cm	
Latchets & Lining	Cream silk satin lined with undyed plain weave linen. FB, FQ		Tongue & Lining	Cream silk satin with applied braid (2mm wide) giving striped effect and lined with undyed plain weave linen.	
Topbinding	Cream grosgrain ribbon 12mm wide.		Backstrap	Cream silk grosgrain ribbon 12mm wide.	
Toe	EP, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	White kid leather.		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather. SDS	
Heel	Cream silk satin with applied braid (2mm wide) giving striped effect. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	Some bubbling on heel cover. Dogleg side seam.				
Condition	Generally grubby and some staining on vamp. Some corrosion stains on latches so evidence of buckle use. Accretions on sole. CB, SB, S3, T2.				
Storage	Shoe box (with black tissue paper).				
Date of survey	26 August 2010		Figure Nos.	09 January 1900	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	
	

Survey No.	19			
Shoe Description	Single, straight, latchet			
Date	1730s			
Colour	Blue and white			
Collection	Clarks Museum			
Ref	W17sD9			
DIMENSIONS				
Length	23.5cm	Heel height	5cm	Backstrap length
Sole width	8.5cm	Sole depth		Top piece depth
Materials	L, LK, TL, TLP, [W]			
Vamp & Lining	Blue and with striped linen - twill weave. White kid lining.		Quarters & Lining	Blue and with striped linen - twill weave. White kid lining.
Latchets & Lining	Blue and with striped linen - twill weave. White kid lining. FB		Tongue & Lining	Blue and with striped linen - twill weave. White kid lining. GS
Topbinding	Faded blue wool(?) twill weave ribbon.		Backstrap	Covered by patch.
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	Brown leather toe puff.
Rand			Sock	Evidence of plain weave linen at toe but not sure.
Insole			Sole	Brown leather and white stitching.
Heel	Black (?) leather cover. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather and white stitching.
Comments	Concealed shoe. Old repair and patch to quarters over the back seam.			
Condition	Extremely poor condition in all respects but to be left in current state due to its provenance as concealed shoe. Many accretions. CD, SC, S6			
Storage	Shoe box.			
Date of survey	26 August 2010		Figure Nos.	121


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW 1
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	SIDE VIEW 2
	







Survey No.	20					
Shoe Description	Single, straight					
Date	1730					
Colour	Cream, green					
Collection	Clarks Museum					
Ref	W17sD10					
DIMENSIONS						
Length	23cm	Heel height	6cm	Backstrap length	6cm	
Sole width	7.2cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	3mm	
Materials	L, TLP, TSB, TSD, TSR, M, W					
Vamp & Lining	Brocade lined with pink plain weave linen with applied central braid of metal thread.		Quarters & Lining	Brocade lined with pink plain weave linen.		
Latchets & Lining	Brocade lined with pink plain weave linen. FB		Tongue & Lining	Brocade lined with pink damask.		
Topbinding	Brown gold grosgrain ribbon and green replacement on quarters.		Backstrap	Brown gold grosgrain ribbon - much lost.		
Toe	EN, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener			
Rand			Sock			
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather		
Heel	Brocade heel cover. HL, HN		Top piece	Brown leather		
Comments	Dogleg side seam. Woodworm treated glitter specks. Shoe is in such poor condition that it may have been concealed - no mention on record.					
Condition	Very poor. Woodworm in the heel. Sole and top piece - worn but good. Brocade, very dirty and in poor condition. Tongue lining splitting and coming away. Metal threads tarnished. Dirt on insole. CD, SC, S3, S6, T1, T2, T7, T8, T9, T11, T12, L1, M1, G1					
Storage	Shoe box.					
Date of survey	26 August 2010			Figure Nos.	277, 318	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS
	



Survey No.	21				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1730				
Colour	Cream and silver.				
Collection	Hereford City Museums				
Ref	505				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22.5cm	Heel height	7cm	Backstrap length	
Sole width	7.5cm	Sole depth		Top piece depth	2mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSR, TSS, MA, MB [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Cream silk satin with applied metal lace (silver). Lined with pink and white striped plain weave linen (slightly different on each shoe).		Quarters & Lining	Cream silk satin lined with white kid leather.	
Latches & Lining	Cream silk satin lined with white kid leather. FB, FO		Tongue & Lining	Cream silk satin with applied metal lace, lined with cream silk satin. GS	
Topbinding	Cream grosgrain ribbon		Backstrap	Cream grosgrain ribbon under metal lace - loose. Green selvedge of satin visible on back seam.	
Toe	EP		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	White kid leather.		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather	
Heel	Covered with cream satin with metal lace applied up the back. HH, HL		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	Embroidery stitched on through the lining. <i>Cream satin shoes with metal bead trim on front, tongue and back. Satin covered heel, pointed toe. Badly damaged at back c.1730.</i>				
Condition	Topbinding lost in many places and failing in others. Satin failed completely on quarters, lost and flapping. Quarters and back seam are collapsing downwards without support resulting in folds and creases leading to splitting and permanent deformation. Some crude repair work carried out. Remains of stitching in the latches - were they sewn together or had buckles? Metal lace tarnished and appears black and is coming detached and unravelled. Some of the metal wrapping on fibre core is coming undone. Staining on satin - possibly due to metal corrosion. Linings are dirty and creased. CD, SD, S1, S2, S3, S4/10, S6, S7, T1, T8, T9, T11, T13, M1.				
Storage	Metal drawer lined with Plastazote; stuffed with polyester wadding				
Date of survey	12 May 2010		Figure Nos.	131, 162, 299	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEWS	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	FAILING SILK UPPER REVEALING STRIPED LINEN LINING
	

Survey No.	22				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1730s				
Colour	Green/brown				
Collection	Hereford City Museums				
Ref	3339				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	21.5cm	Heel height	8cm	Backstrap length	5.5cm
Sole width	6.5cm	Sole depth	1mm	Top piece depth	4mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSR, TSS, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Green/brown silk satin with applied braid 2mm wide forming a geometric pattern. Lining of plain weave linen through which braid is stitched then covered by satin lining.		Quarters & Lining	Green/brown silk satin with applied braid 2mm wide forming a geometric pattern. Lining of kid beneath satin.	
Latches & Lining	Green/brown silk satin with white kid leather interlining and satin lining. 1 longer than the other. FB, FN		Tongue & Lining	Green/brown silk satin with applied braid 2mm wide forming a geometric pattern. Lining of plain weave linen through which braid is stitched then covered by satin lining. GS	
Topbinding	Green/brown grosgrain ribbon, 14mm wide		Backstrap	Green/brown grosgrain ribbon, 13mm wide	
Toe	EN		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	Brown leather toe puff.	
Rand	White kid leather.		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown sueded leather. SDS, 2 x SDR	
Heel	Cover of silk satin with applied braid 2mm wide. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown sueded leather. 2 x SDR	
Comments	Straights but left and right discernible through latchet perforation and one latchet longer than the other. <i>Very good, large heels, very pointed toes, latches one longer than the other. Square toe.</i>				
Condition	Vamp - toe stiffener showing through. Latches - silk splitting. Quarters - silk lining worn and exposing kid beneath. Few signs of wear. CB, CB, T1, T11, T12.				
Storage	Standing in metal drawer with polyester wadding padding.				
Date of survey	12 May 2010		Figure Nos.	31, 300, 337	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS
	







Survey No.	23				
Shoe Description	Single, straight, latchet				
Date	1730s				
Colour	Red				
Collection	Leicestershire County Council				
Ref	133.1919				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	23.4cm	Heel height	5.5cm	Backstrap length	6.6cm
Sole width	7cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	2mm
Materials	L, TC or TLP, TSR, TW, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Red plain weave wool with a felted or brushed finish. Lined with plain weave linen or cotton with a glazed type finish.		Quarters & Lining	Red plain weave wool with a felted or brushed finish. Lined with plain weave linen or cotton with a glazed type finish.	
Latchets & Lining	Red plain weave wool with a felted or brushed finish. Lined with plain weave linen or cotton with a glazed type finish. FB, FQ		Tongue & Lining	Red wool lined with pink silk taffeta. Cupid's bow GV	
Topbinding	Pink silk grosgrain ribbon - 12mm wide		Backstrap	Pink silk grosgrain ribbon - 12mm wide with 3 vertical lines of stitching.	
Toe	EN, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	Brown leather toe puff.	
Rand	White kid leather		Sock	None	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Sueded brown leather. SDS	
Heel	Red leather heel cover with white stitching. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Comments	Some cockling on heel cover. Dog leg side seam.				
Condition	Heel cover stained leather, scuffed and lifting. Moth holes and grazing marks on upper. Wool lost on tip of toe. Tongue lining is split and faded. Accretions on top piece. CB/C, SB, S3, T7, T8, T11, T12, L1, L7, M1.				
Storage	In box wrapped in acid free tissue.				
Date of survey	12 June 2012		Figure Nos.	22, 38, 50, 238, 305, 325	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS
	







Survey No.	24				
Shoe Description	Single, straight, latchet				
Date	1730-1739				
Colour	Green				
Collection	Northampton Museum				
Ref	1970.25.4.P				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	21.5cm	Heel height	9cm	Backstrap length	5.2cm
Sole width	7.5cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	5mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSD				
Vamp & Lining	Green silk damask with plain weave linen lining.		Quarters & Lining	Green silk damask lined with white kid leather.	
Latchets & Lining	Green silk damask lined with white kid leather. FB, FQ		Tongue & Lining	Green silk damask lined with plain weave linen and strip at top of twill weave silk. GU	
Topbinding	None		Backstrap	None	
Toe	EN, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	Brown leather toe puff.	
Rand	White kid leather		Sock	Brown leather	
Insole			Sole	Brown leather sueded. SDR	
Heel	Green damask covered. HL, HN		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p>No topbinding or backstrap - double line of stitching in green thread instead. Small opening at the back of the heel at the top of the back seam.</p> <p><i>Star stamps over holes in sole - not evident.</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Some fading, silk worn over toe. Latchets show buckle usage. Linings - dirty and stained. Structure generally sound.</p> <p>CB, CB, S3, T1, T7, T8</p>				
Storage	In store, in box.				
Date of survey	21 February 2011		Figure Nos.	37	


<p style="text-align: center;">FRONT FACING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SIDE VIEW</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">REAR VIEW</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SOLE</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">INSOLE/SOCK & LINING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS</p>
	

Survey No.	25				
Shoe Description	Single, straight, latchet				
Date	1730				
Colour	Cream				
Collection	Northampton Museum				
Ref	1977.33.5.P				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	23cm	Heel height	5.5cm	Backstrap length	7.3cm
Sole width	8cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	5mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSD, MA, MB, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Cream silk damask with applied gold lacing. Lined with plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Cream damask with plain weave linen lining.	
Latchets & Lining	Cream silk damask with plain weave linen lining. FB, FQ		Tongue & Lining	Cream silk damask with applied gold lacing. Lined with plain weave linen.	
Topbinding	Cream silk - 12mm wide		Backstrap	Gilt gimp - 13mm wide	
Toe	EN, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	Not visible but toe present.	
Rand	White kid leather		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather.		Sole	Brown leather, sueded. SDS, 2 x SDR	
Heel	Cream silk damask cover with applied braid - a continuation of backstrap. HL, HH		Top piece	White kid leather over brown leather.	
Comments	<p>Some cockling on heel cover. Green and yellow stripes on damask selvedge visible at the back seam. Dog leg side seam - part covered with gimp as backstrap.</p> <p><i>Vendors label</i> - not found</p>				
Condition	<p>Some tarnish on metal threads but still obviously gilt. Some signs of wear. Top piece stained.</p> <p>CB, CB, S3, L4, L7, M1, M3</p>				
Storage	In box in store.				
Date of survey	21 February 2011		Figure Nos.	58, 326	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS
	






Survey No.	26				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1730				
Colour	Grey/blue				
Collection	Northampton Museum				
Ref	1978.44.1 P				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22cm	Heel height	9.8cm (3.8")	Backstrap length	6cm
Sole width	8cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	3mm
Materials	L, LK, TSP, TSR, TSS, MB, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Grey/blue satin heavily embroidered with metal thread lined with white kid leather.		Quarters & Lining	Grey/blue satin lined with white kid leather.	
Latchets & Lining	Grey/blue satin lined with white kid leather. FB, FQ		Tongue & Lining	Grey/blue satin lined with cream plain weave silk and linen interlining.	
Topbinding	Blue/grey grosgrain ribbon - 12mm wide.		Backstrap	Blue/grey grosgrain ribbon - 12mm wide.	
Toe	EN, slight EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	Brown leather	
Rand	White kid leather		Sock	Brown leather	
Insole			Sole	Brown leather. SDS	
Heel	Covered with silk satin (cockled and creased) with white stitching. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p>Dogleg side seam.</p> <p><i>Pair of women's slate blue satin shoes embroidered in silver thread. Needlepoint overhanging toes. 3.8 inch covered heels. Latchets to buckle over high flared tongue, lined pale blue, silk. Embroidery with floral motif on vamp and top of tongue. White kid rand and quarter lining. Brown leather sock. Leather sole and top piece. Straights.</i></p>				
Condition	Split silk on quarters and vamp where it meets the sole. Tarnished metal thread. Marks on latches from buckle use. CB, SB, T11, M1				
Storage	In box, in store.				
Date of survey	21 February 2011		Figure Nos.	149, 264	

FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	VAMP EMBROIDERY DETAIL
	

Survey No.	27				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1730s				
Colour	Cream, green, orange, pink				
Collection	Saffron Walden Museum				
Ref	4659 70.372				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22cm	Heel height	7.5cm	Backstrap length	
Sole width	7cm	Sole depth		Top piece depth	
Materials	L, LK, TSB, TSR, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Brocade lined with white kid leather.		Quarters & Lining	Brocade lined with white kid leather.	
Latches & Lining	Brocade lined with white kid leather. Pointed and pierced. FR		Tongue & Lining	Brocade lined with white kid leather. GU	
Topbinding	Green grosgrain ribbon.		Backstrap	Green grosgrain ribbon.	
Toe	EN, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	White kid leather		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather, SDS, 2 x SDF	
Heel	Covered with brocade. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	Diagonal side seam. Selvedge visible on back seam. Imprint of brocade pattern visible on kid lining. Now conserved.				
Condition	Much silk loss. Leather - all good although linings slightly soiled. CB, SA, S3, S9, T1, T3, T6, T7, T8, T9.				
Storage	Supported by Plastazote forma and covered plastic strip to provide a small amount of tension along the length of the shoe.				
Date of survey	January 2007		Figure Nos.	18, 110, 130, 359, 384, 385	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEWS
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE & QUARTER
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS & DETAIL OF BROCADE
	

Survey No.	28				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1735				
Colour	Cream, green, pink, brown, yellow				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO133				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	21cm (20cm)	Heel height	6cm (6cm)	Backstrap length	6.2cm
Sole width	7.6cm	Sole depth	1mm	Top piece depth	5mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSB, TSP, TSR, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Silk brocade with cream ground lined with yellow plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Silk brocade with cream ground lined with yellow plain weave linen.	
Latches & Lining	Silk brocade with cream ground lined with yellow plain weave linen. Brocade is seamed. FB		Tongue & Lining	Silk brocade with cream ground lined with yellow plain weave linen although remains of pink silk lining visible. GS	
Topbinding	Green grosgrain ribbon - 11mm wide and 19mm wide around latches.		Backstrap	Green grosgrain ribbon - 11mm wide.	
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	White kid leather		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather	
Heel	Covered with brocade with some creasing. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p>Natalie Rothstein dated fabric as 1735-6 English shoe originally dated 1720-30. Writing in ink on vamp lining <i>Br 5 23</i>. Straights but left and right discernible from wear patterns on sole and opposite latches showing most buckle wear.</p> <p><i>Mackenzie (2004, 14) "They are of a turnshoe construction with white rand."</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Vamp splitting and breakdown of brocade resulting in exposure of lining, creasing and distortion. Some collapse at backseam/seat area. Evidence of buckle usage on latches. Backstraps - very worn and areas of loss. Some repairs carried out on latches and side seams - rather crude. Wear on sole and top piece which also has a corroding nail. Brocade faded. Pink lining in tongue degrading and shedding fibres onto padding. Insole - leather worn and cracking in toe area. CC, SB/C, S3, S5, S6, T1, T11, T13, L3, M2</p> <p><i>1982 examination - brocade in bad repair and particularly worn at vamp centre and sides at welt.</i></p>				
Storage	In cardboard box in Sunny Room Store lined with tissue; polyester wadding (3 thicknesses)				
Date of survey	13 May 2010		Figure Nos.	38, 46, 110, 304, 324	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEWS
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS & DETAIL OF WRITING ON VAMP.
	







1740s










Survey No.	29				
Shoe Description	Single, straight, latched				
Date	1745				
Colour	Yellow				
Collection	Gunnersbury Park Museum				
Ref	2901/2				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	20.2cm (22.4cm)	Heel height	5cm (8.1cm)	Backstrap length	6cm
Sole width	6cm (7.5cm)	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	3mm
Materials	L, TLP, TSS, MA, MB, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Silk satin with applied metal thread braid and spangles. Wide braid (16mm) x 2 down centre.		Quarters & Lining	Silk satin with applied metal thread braid and spangles. Linen lining.	
Latchets & Lining	As above. Lined with linen. FB, FQ, Length - 11cm		Tongue & Lining	As vamp, yellow silk lining. Applied braid of 14mm in width.	
Topbinding	Metal thread grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide		Backstrap	Braid c15mm width. Most now gone.	
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	None	
Rand	White kid		Sock	None	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather	
Heel	Silk satin with applied metal thread braid and spangles. HL, HN		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p>Gold silk upper with sequined latticed braid. No buckle present. Dogleg side seam.</p> <p><i>Decorated fabric upper with pointed toe, 81mm heel. Lattice braid with sequins on gold silk upper lined with linen (?). Decorative trim around upper edge, tongue and latches. Closed with curved, rectangular steel buckle. Buckle decorated with 6 bead-like ornaments. Tongue lined with gold silk. Shaped leather sole. Louis XV style heel. Dim: 224mm long x 132mm high x 75mm wide (approx). Condition: fair, gold silk extremely frayed, metal decoration tarnished and torn, buckle rusty (October 1986) 1981, 1975: Exhibitable but understandably worn, particularly the yellow silk. Exhib: Exhibited Nov 1979 - March 1980 'Golden Jubilee Exhibition' period 1 highcase. Shown in talk on 'Costume 1750-1930' August 1982. The original card states that buckle was removed in Jan 1961.</i></p>				
Condition	Very dirty and in poor condition. Satin on uppers split and dirty. Heel cover very stained. Metal threads and spangles are black with tarnish and threads are unravelling exposing core fibre. The braid on the vamp is coming undone. Holes in latches from buckle usage. CC, SC, S3, T1, T2, T9, T11, L7, M1, M3				
Storage	In cardboard box wrapped in tissue with tissue support.				
Date of survey	29 September 2011		Figure Nos.	38, 67, 110, 274, 338	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW & HEEL	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	DETAIL
	





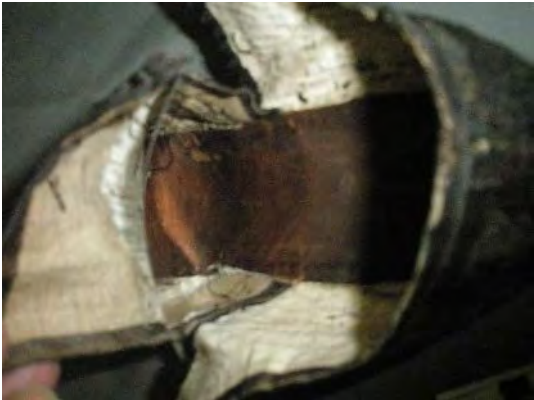

Survey No.	30			
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches			
Date	1740-49			
Colour	Brown, yellow, cream, pink			
Collection	Northampton Museum			
Ref	1951-2.17			
DIMENSIONS				
Length		Heel height		Backstrap length
Sole width		Sole depth		Top piece depth
Materials	L, LK, TSB			
Vamp & Lining	Silk brocade.		Quarters & Lining	Silk brocade lined with plain weave silk. Back seam covered internally by same ribbon as backstrap.
Latchets & Lining	Silk brocade. FB,		Tongue & Lining	Silk brocade. GV
Topbinding	Mustard coloured grosgrain ribbon.		Backstrap	Mustard coloured grosgrain ribbon with cross stitches over the back seam..
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	
Rand	White kid leather		Sock	Brown leather
Insole			Sole	Brown leather SDS, SDR x 5
Heel	Silk brocade cover. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather
Comments	<p>Dogleg side seam covered as backstrap with cross stitch embroidery. Vandyked tongue.</p> <p><i>Worn by Miss Thorpe at her wedding to John William Pierce. She was donor's great grandmother. Golden guineas were attached to the soles as she wished to walk to her wedding on gold. Nail stamps on sole.</i></p>			
Condition	Very good condition. CB, SA,			
Storage	On display.			
Date of survey	21 February 2011		Figure Nos.	


<p style="text-align: center;">FRONT FACING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SIDE VIEW</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">REAR VIEW</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SOLE</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">INSOLE/SOCK & LINING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">TONGUE & PAIR</p>
	







Survey No.	31				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1740				
Colour	Pink				
Collection	Northampton Museum				
Ref	1969.19.4.P				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22cm	Heel height	5.5cm (2 1/4")	Backstrap length	5.5cm
Sole width	7.2cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	4mm
Materials	L, LK, TSR, TW, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Pink wool damask with applied pink wool braid from toe to tongue. Lined with white kid leather.		Quarters & Lining	Pink wool damask lined with white kid leather.	
Latches & Lining	Pink wool damask lined with white kid leather. FB, FQ		Tongue & Lining	Pink wool damask lined with white kid leather.	
Topbinding	Pink grosgrain ribbon - 12mm wide.		Backstrap	Pink grosgrain ribbon - 12mm wide.	
Toe	EN, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None but white kid leather side lining.		Sock	Brown leather	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather. SDR	
Heel	Pink wool damask cover but there appears to be white kid leather beneath. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p>Dog leg side seam. Tongue has been slit and extended using a darning type stitch on both shoes under applied braid (not wool, could be silk).</p> <p><i>Pair of women's pink wool (camlet) buckle latchet shoes. Upturned needlepoint toe. 2 1/4 inch covered heel. Rounded straps to buckle over medium high tongue, silk edge binding and over seams. Broad chequered band up front, white kid lining. Brown leather sock, leather sole and top piece. Straights.</i></p>				
Condition	Moth holes in wool on heel cover, vamp and braid. There is a loss of silk on the backstrap. Damask is faded and dirty. Buckle damage evident on latches. CC, SB, S3, S6, T1, T12, G1				
Storage	In box in store.				
Date of survey	21 February 2011		Figure Nos.	89, 135, 237, 239, 307	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	TONGUE INSERT
	

Survey No.	32					
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches					
Date	1740-49					
Colour	Black					
Collection	Northampton Museum					
Ref	1970.39.1.P					
DIMENSIONS						
Length	22.8cm	Heel height	6.5cm (21/2")	Backstrap length	5.5cm	
Sole width	7cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	3mm	
Materials	L, LK, TSS, [W]					
Vamp & Lining	Black silk satin with applied braid - much lost. Lined with cream silk with plain weave linen interlining.		Quarters & Lining	Black silk satin with applied braid - much lost. Lined with kid leather.		
Latches & Lining	Black silk satin with applied braid - much lost. Lined with white kid. FB, FQ		Tongue & Lining	Black silk satin with applied braid - much lost. Lined with cream silk with plain weave linen interlining. GS		
Topbinding	Black grosgrain ribbon - 13mm wide.		Backstrap	Lost		
Toe	EN		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	Toe puff - brown leather		
Rand	White kid		Sock			
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather		
Heel	Covered with black silk satin with applied braid - much lost. White stitching. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching.		
Comments	TCC conserved. Crepline over topbinding obscures weave. Label on sole stating "worn by Queen Elizabeth in 1598" <i>Pair of women's black silk braided shoes. Narrow black braid applied to uppers and to back of heel. With contemporary silver buckles.</i>					
Condition	Holes and rust marks on latches from buckle usage. Topbinding splitting. Silk lost on toe. Woodworm holes in heel. CB, SA, T11, L9, G1					
Storage	In store, in shoe box lined with acid free tissue. Support of polyester wadding covered with silk jersey and Melinex as stiffener. The tongue is also support by Melinex.					
Date of survey	21 February 2011		Figure Nos.	330		


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS
	




Survey No.	33				
Shoe Description	Single, straight, latchet				
Date	1740-1749				
Colour	Red/dark pink, cream				
Collection	Northampton Museum				
Ref	1975.172.3.P				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	24cm	Heel height	5cm	Backstrap length	7cm
Sole width	8cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	3mm
Materials	L, LK, TSB, TSR				
Vamp & Lining	Red and cream brocade lined with yellow linen.		Quarters & Lining	Red and cream brocade lined with white kid leather.	
Latchets & Lining	Red and cream brocade lined with white kid leather. 11.5cm FB, FQ		Tongue & Lining	Red and cream brocade lined with yellow linen. GS but slightly rounded.	
Topbinding	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 13mm wide.		Backstrap	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 13mm wide. Two double vertical lines of stitching on either side of the ribbon.	
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	None	
Rand	White kid leather.		Sock	Brown leather	
Insole			Sole	Brown sueded leather with white stitching. SDR x 3	
Heel	Damask cover with white stitching. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p>Fold lines on vamp and quarters suggesting that the shoes have been kept flat (sold flat?).</p> <p><i>Latchet shoe, buckle shoe, footwear, 1740-1749, ring stamps on sole.</i></p>				
Condition	Brocade frayed and split. Latchets come away from vamp with failure of side seam. Creases in damask on quarters. Topbinding very frayed, weave structure almost lost. CC, SB, S2, S3, T1, T11, T13				
Storage	In store, in box packed with acid free tissue.				
Date of survey	21 February 2011		Figure Nos.	38, 133	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS
	



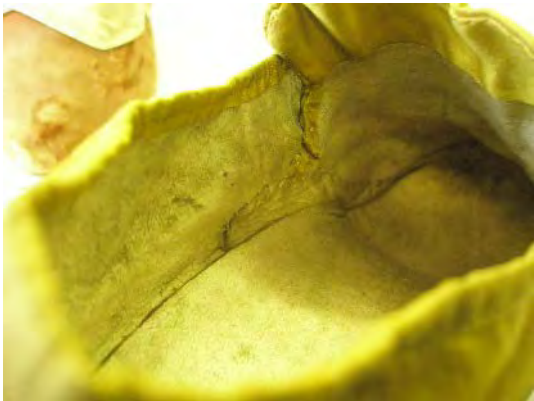

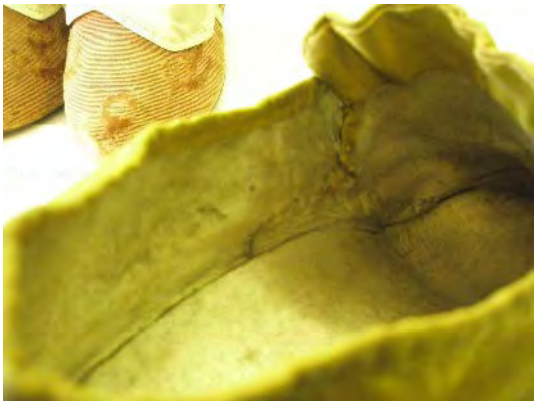

Survey No.	34			
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches			
Date	1740-1749			
Colour	Pink, black			
Collection	Northampton Museum			
Ref	1975.195.P			
DIMENSIONS				
Length		Heel height		Backstrap length
Sole width		Sole depth		Top piece depth
Materials	L, LK, TSR, TSS, [W]			
Vamp & Lining	Pink silk satin applied black braid.	Quarters & Lining	Pink silk satin applied black braid with white kid leather lining.	
Latches & Lining	Pink silk satin outlined with black braid with white kid leather lining . FB	Tongue & Lining	Pink silk satin applied black braid. GS	
Topbinding	Black grosgrain ribbon.	Backstrap	Black grosgrain ribbon.	
Toe	EP	Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	White kid leather.	Sock		
Insole	Brown leather.	Sole	Brown leather.	
Heel	Heel cover of pink silk satin with black braid applied up the back level with backstrap. HL, HH	Top piece	Brown leather.	
Comments	Satin badly faded and appears cream. Dog leg side seam. Blue and white striped selvedge of the satin is visible at back seam.			
Condition	Loss of topbindings and some braid resulting in linings and uppers separating. Generally sound. Satin failed on latches. CB, SB, S3,T7, T11			
Storage	In store, with TCC made supports.			
Date of survey	21 February 2011		Figure Nos.	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	INSIDE QUARTERS
	

Survey No.	35				
Shoe Description	Single, straight				
Date	1740				
Colour	Cream, gold				
Collection	Northampton Museum				
Ref	1979.189				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	23cm	Heel height	4.4cm (17/8")	Backstrap length	6.6cm
Sole width	6.8cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	2mm
Materials	L, LK, TSS,MB, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Cream silk satin with applied gold braid - c3mm wide. Lined with cream satin.		Quarters & Lining	Cream silk satin with gold braid. Lined with cream satin.	
Latchets & Lining	Cream silk satin with gold braid. Lined with cream satin. Rounded ends, equal length (c7.3cm) FB, FQ		Tongue & Lining	Cream silk satin with gold braid. Lined with cream ribbed silk. GS	
Topbinding	Cream silk grosgrain ribbon - 12mm wide.		Backstrap	Cream grosgrain ribbon with gold gimp either side and gold herringbone embroidery.	
Toe	EN, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	Brown leather toe puff	
Rand	White kid leather		Sock	Brown leather	
Insole	Not visible.		Sole	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Heel	Pink satin with gold braid applied down the back. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p>Evidence of missing from central vamp - stitch holes and gap in other decoration. Join in leather on sole or maybe added as repair.</p> <p><i>Rows of narrow braid applied to upper and heel. Probably originally had broad strip of braid up vamp. Vamp split and resewn. Mrs E Paton.</i></p>				
Condition	TCC conserved with crepline on vamp and tongue, support provided. Satin lining is quite badly split. Vamp has been previously split and resewn. Appears quite dirty and metal threads tarnished. CB, SA, S3, S6, S9, M1, M3				
Storage	In store, in shoe box lined with acid free tissue and support with 3 pieces of polyester wadding covered with silk jersey. Tyvek strip held with Velcro to keep latches in place but had slipped so achieved little.				
Date of survey	21 February 2011		Figure Nos.	262	


<p style="text-align: center;">FRONT FACING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SIDE VIEW</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">REAR VIEW</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SOLE</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">INSOLE/SOCK & LINING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS</p>
	

Survey No.	36			
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches			
Date	1730-1750 [1740]			
Colour	Yellow			
Collection	Nottingham City Museums and Galleries			
Ref	NCM 1931.94			
DIMENSIONS				
Length	21.5cm (22.9cm)	Heel height	5.7cm (6cm)	Backstrap length
Sole width	6.6cm (7cm)	Sole depth		Top piece depth
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSR, TSS, W			
Vamp & Lining	Yellow satin with white plain weave linen lining.		Quarters & Lining	Yellow satin lined with white kid leather.
Latches & Lining	Yellow satin lined with white kid leather. FB		Tongue & Lining	Yellow satin with yellow satin lining. GS
Topbinding	Yellow grosgrain ribbon.		Backstrap	Yellow satin
Toe	EP		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	
Rand	White kid leather		Sock	White kid
Insole			Sole	Brown leather
Heel	Yellow satin. HL, HN		Top piece	Brown leather
Comments	<p>Dogleg side seam.</p> <p><i>Bright yellow satin; straights; pointed toes, waisted high heel. 6cm high satin covered wood heel, large leather tip; leather sole with sharply pointed toe, white kid rand; upper of 3 pieces of satin, plain vamp cut with a pointed strap ('latches') for buckle, overlapping on tongue, edges and seams bound yellow grosgrain ribbon. Lining: coarse white linen in toe; side lining and sock of white kid. 1730-1750. L. 22.9cm; W. 7cm, silk.</i></p>			
Condition	Vamp, quarters, tongue, topbinding, backstrap and latches - good condition but greyed, some weakening along seams; dusty type dirt. Lining very dirty with some slits. Uppers generally - severe creasing from lack of support on quarters. CC, SB, S2, S4, S10, T8, T13.			
Storage	Stuffed with tissue in store.			
Date of survey	18 February 2009		Figure Nos.	108


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	DETAIL SHOWING DIRT, CREASING AND WEAR
	

Survey No.	37				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1740				
Colour	Cream				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO107				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	21.5cm (18.5cm)	Heel height	6cm (6.4cm)	Backstrap length	
Sole width	7.4cm	Sole depth	1mm	Top piece depth	
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSD, TSR, MB, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Cream silk damask lined with plain weave linen. Embellished with 50mm wide band of silver metal brocade.		Quarters & Lining	Cream silk damask lined with plain weave linen.	
Latches & Lining	Cream silk damask lined with plain weave linen. Fabrics seamed on all latches. FB, FQ		Tongue & Lining	Cream silk damask lined with plain weave linen. Embellished with 50mm wide band of silver metal brocade. GS	
Topbinding	Cream silk grosgrain ribbon - 15mm wide.		Backstrap	Cream silk grosgrain ribbon - 15mm wide.	
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	White kid leather.		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather with white stitching. SBS	
Heel	Covered with cream silk damask. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Comments	Braid attached on vamp by stitching with silk but is secured at toe with upper. Dogleg side seam. <i>Mackenzie (2004,20)</i>				
Condition	Lace braid metal threads are tarnished. Vamp - severe splitting in damask and lining along the join with the sole in 1 shoe. Quarters - vertical drooping, damask splitting along the seat. Latches - seams coming apart in places. Holes and damage from buckle usage and rust markings on linings. Top piece - evidence of wear and soiling with some loss on the edges. Linings - dirty but in tact. All uppers generally dirty with some staining. Some repairs have been carried out on side seams and latches. Moth casing found on quarters but no evidence of damage. Accretions on top piece. CC, SB, S3, S6, T1, T4/5, T6, T8, T11, T12, M1 <i>1982 examination comments latches damaged and rust spotted in buckle area. Silk worn.</i>				
Storage	In cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store; calico covered wadding support which does not really provide enough support.				
Date of survey	13 May 2010		Figure Nos.	38, 266, 285, 313	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS
	







Survey No.	38				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1740s				
Colour	Green				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO110				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	23.5cm (22.8cm)	Heel height	7cm (7.6cm)	Backstrap length	
Sole width	8.2cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSD, TSR [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Green silk damask lined with white plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Green silk damask lined with white kid leather.	
Latches & Lining	Green silk damask lined with white kid leather. Seamed (now split). FB		Tongue & Lining	Green silk damask lined with white plain weave linen. GS	
Topbinding	Green silk grosgrain ribbon - 11mm wide.		Backstrap	Missing but stitch marks suggest it was 25mm wide.	
Toe	EN, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	Leather toe puff.	
Rand	White kid leather		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Heel	Covered with green silk damask (cockled). HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Comments	Stitches (quite large) holding the topbinding to the lining of the tongue have come through to the damask in places. Shoe originally dated 1700-1730 but amended to 1740s when Natalie Rothstein dated the silk as English, 1742-44. Dogleg side seam. <i>Mackenzie (2004, 22) - turnshoe construction.</i>				
Condition	Vamp - damask lost on tip of toe, but small areas of damage to damask near latches (possibly caused by buckle catching). Poor repair carried out on side seam. Quarters - vertical distortion on back seam leaving harsh creasing; stitching on seam itself beginning to fail. Backstraps lost altogether, evidenced only by stitch marks. Latches - seam undone, hole and marks left caused by buckles with some rust stains; generally grubby. Heels - some creasing/cockling at time of manufacture; lining showing through at seat (possibly due to lost backstrap); scuffing and loss of fabric at top-piece. Grey powdery accretions on both heels (might be remains of glue which secured a trimming that included the backstrap and finished at the top piece). Top piece - loose white accretions. All linings dirty. Evidence of wear and fading throughout. CC, SB, S2, S3, S5/10, S6, S7, S8, T2, T7, T8, L7, L9 <i>1982 examination - latchet split on 1 shoe, points of toes worn through damask. Back seam stitched badly.</i>				
Storage	In cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store, stuffed with polyester wadding.				
Date of survey	13 May 2010		Figure Nos.	14, 15, 38, 200, 290, 336	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	SIDE SEAM
	







Survey No.	39					
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches					
Date	1740s					
Colour	Yellow					
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust					
Ref	SNO117					
DIMENSIONS						
Length	20cm (16.5cm to heel end, 16.38cm)	Heel height	8.5cm (8.9cm)	Backstrap length	5.7cm	
Sole width	7cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth		
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSR, TSS, [W]					
Vamp & Lining	Yellow silk satin with white plain weave linen lining.		Quarters & Lining	Yellow silk satin with white kid leather lining.		
Latches & Lining	Yellow silk satin with white kid leather lining. Seams on the inside of the latches. FB		Tongue & Lining	Yellow silk satin with white plain weave linen lining and yellow silk satin facing on upper part. GSD		
Topbinding	Yellow grosgrain ribbon - 13mm wide.		Backstrap	Yellow grosgrain ribbon - 13mm wide.		
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener			
Rand	None		Sock			
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather		
Heel	Covered with yellow silk satin, some cockling. HLP, HN		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching 4mm in from edge.		
Comments	<p>Fabric dated by Natalie Rothstein as 1730-50, shoes originally dated 1720s. Weltd construction white kid leather. Straights but discernible left and right from wear patterns. Top piece will not sit flat. Dogleg side seam.</p> <p><i>Mackenzie (2004 30) "It is of a turnshoe construction with decorative white stitching at heel edge."</i></p> <p><i>Bradfield (1995, 17)</i></p>					
Condition	<p>Vamp soiling around toe on one shoe, other heavily stained. Tongue - large split through satin and lining. Some attempt has been made at repair but this too has now failed. Topbindings and backstrap - some loss of warp/weft leading to splits and loose threads. Latches - signs of buckle usage with ingrained corrosion stains on one; dirty and some delamination on linings. Quarters - some creasing on back seam; linings very dirty. Sole - signs of wear but otherwise good. Heel covers cockling. CC, SB, S3, S6, T2, T3, T8, T11, L1</p> <p><i>1982 examination - fair, both vamps split, latches perforated, satin dirty.</i></p>					
Storage	In cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store, no padding.					
Date of survey	13 May 2010		Figure Nos.	38, 40, 86, 108, 148, 310		

FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS
	

Survey No.	40				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1740s				
Colour	Red				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO125				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	24cm (22.5cm)	Heel height	6cm (5.7cm)	Backstrap length	6cm
Sole width	8.3cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	3mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSD, TSR, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Red silk damask lined with white plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Red silk damask lined with white kid leather.	
Latches & Lining	Red silk damask lined with white kid leather. Seam on 1 latchet. FB, FQ		Tongue & Lining	Red silk damask lined with white plain weave linen. GS	
Topbinding	Red grosgrain ribbon - 12mm wide.		Backstrap	Red grosgrain ribbon - 12mm wide.	
Toe	EN, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	Brown leather toe puff.	
Rand	White kid leather.		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather	
Heel	Covered with red silk damask with white stitching. Some creasing. HL, HH.		Top piece	Brown leather with nail hole.	
Comments	<p>No signs of pasting between damask and lining. Long dogleg side seam.</p> <p><i>Mackenzie (2004, 18) "the construction is turnshoe and they have a white leather rand."</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Toe stiffener exposed on toes (lining and damask worn through). Split and rubbed damask with long vertical slit along the backseam on one shoe. Splits on side seams with old repair in black thread now failing. Latches show buckle usage with kid lining also rust marked. Topbinding is loose on one latchet. Linings - all dirty. Moth casings found but no obvious damage caused. One shoe CB, SA; other CC, SB, S2, S3, S6, T1, T8, T10, T11, L7, G1</p>				
Storage	In cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store, cotton covered polyester wadding forma.				
Date of survey	13 May 2010		Figure Nos.	38, 301, 328	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	SIDE SEAM & REPAIR
	







Survey No.	41				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1740s				
Colour	Yellow				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO143				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22cm (26.7cm)	Heel height	6.5cm (5.7cm)	Backstrap length	5.5cm
Sole width	7cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	3mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSR, TSS, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Yellow silk damask lined with undyed plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Yellow silk damask lined with undyed plain weave linen.	
Latchets & Lining	Yellow silk damask lined with undyed plain weave linen. FB		Tongue & Lining	Yellow silk damask lined with undyed plain weave linen. Lining marked with JR in ink.	
Topbinding	Yellow grosgrain ribbon - 13mm wide		Backstrap	Yellow grosgrain ribbon - 13mm wide	
Toe	EB, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	White kid leather		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather with white stitching. SDS	
Heel	Covered with yellow silk damask with white stitching. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Comments	<p>Natalie Rothstein dated silk as 1740-43; shoes previously dated 1720-30. Described as Bunting Yellow. Fold lines on vamp and quarters suggesting that the shoes have been kept flat (sold flat?). Dogleg side seam.</p> <p><i>Mackenzie (2004, 18) "It is a turnshoe construction. The brown leather sole is decorated with punch holes" Bradfield (1995, 31)</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Side seam failing on both sides. Some soiling on damask. Rand dirty. Sole - worn 'edging paint' around sole. Whitening on heel breast. Marks of buckle usage on latches.</p> <p>CB, SB, S2, S3, S10, T8, L7</p> <p><i>1982 Examination - worn, seam torn where latches leave uppers.</i></p>				
Storage	In cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store, cotton covered polyester wadding forma. In box with SNO144.				
Date of survey	13 May 2010		Figure Nos.	31, 108, 227, 333	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	SIDE SEAM FAILING
	





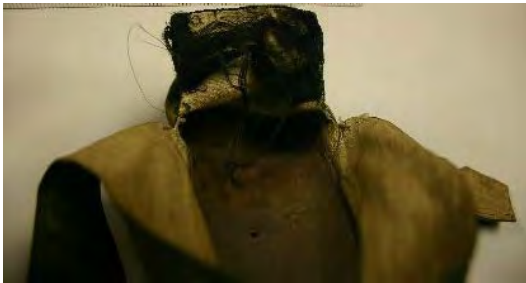

1750s










Survey No.	42				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1750				
Colour	Brown, cream, some blue				
Collection	Hereford City Museums				
Ref	2005-202/1				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	21.4cm	Heel height	6.5cm	Backstrap length	6.8cm
Sole width	8.2cm	Sole depth	1mm	Top piece depth	2mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSB, TSR, W				
Vamp & Lining	Brocade lined with red, white and blue striped plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Brocade lined with white kid leather.	
Latches & Lining	Brocade. FR		Tongue & Lining	Brocade lined with green/brown taffeta. GU	
Topbinding	Grosgrain ribbon 13mm wide		Backstrap	Grosgrain ribbon 12mm wide	
Toe	EB, EU, lined with coarse plain weave linen.		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	Toe puff - brown leather	
Rand	White kid leather		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather	
Heel	Wood covered with brocade. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p>Obvious wear on both sides of shoes therefore left and right not definite. There was some mention of a fabric sample of the dress being available but could not be found on the day.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>18th Century brocade shoes worn by bride on her wedding in 1750.</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Rand discoloured in some places. Topbinding disintegrating along quarters. Toe lining exposed. Top piece - well worn with areas lost exposing worn wood beneath and with some accretions (may be straw). Brocade on vamp splitting. Much repair work carried out particularly on the latches and vamp. CC, SC, S3, S6, T3, T7, T9, T11, T13, L5, L6.</p>				
Storage	Metal drawer lined with Plastazote; stuffed with polyester wadding.				
Date of survey	12 May 2010		Figure Nos.	90, 91, 92, 287, 319, 331	

<p style="text-align: center;">FRONT FACING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SIDE VIEW</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">REAR VIEW</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SOLE</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">INSOLE/SOCK & LINING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">REPAIR ON SPLIT SILK</p>
	

Survey No.	43				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1750s				
Colour	Green				
Collection	Leicestershire County Council				
Ref	516.1951				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	20.5cm	Heel height	5.5cm	Backstrap length	5.5cm
Sole width	7cm	Sole depth	4mm	Top piece depth	3mm
Materials	L, LK, TSS, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Green satin, undyed plain weave linen lining.		Quarters & Lining	Green satin lined with buff plain weave linen.	
Latches & Lining	Green satin lined with buff plain weave linen. FB		Tongue & Lining	Green satin lined with black satin. GS	
Topbinding	None - double row of stitching in green thread.		Backstrap	None - double row of stitching in green thread.	
Toe	ER		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	None	
Rand	White kid leather		Sock	None	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Sueded leather. SDS, SDR x 4	
Heel	Green satin covered with white stitching. HL, HN		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	Satin on heel has lifted from wood, causing ripples particularly near the top piece. Dogleg side seam.				
Condition	Satin failing and split on the quarters and toe areas. Lining split on toe of 1 shoe. Side seams are starting to fail. Satin is faded and browned. Buckle damage and corrosion stains on latches. Rand is dirty. Tongue lining is shredded. CB, CB, S3, T1, T7, T9, T13				
Storage	In box stuffed with polyester wadding, wrapped in acid free tissue and stored on shelves. To be put in an acid free box with description and photo on outside before shelving.				
Date of survey	12 June 2012		Figure Nos.	15, 38, 160, 329	







<p style="text-align: center;">FRONT FACING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SIDE VIEW</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">REAR VIEW</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SOLE</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">INSOLE/SOCK & LINING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS</p>
	


Survey No.	44				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1750				
Colour	Cream, pink				
Collection	Northampton Museum				
Ref	1961.37.2.P				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22cm	Heel height	5.5cm (2 1/4")	Backstrap length	6cm
Sole width	7.5cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	4mm
Materials	L, LK, TC, TSS, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	1 Printed cotton 2 Cream satin. Both lined with white plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	1 Printed cotton 2 Cream satin. Both lined with white plain weave linen.	
Latchets & Lining	1 Printed cotton 2 Cream satin. Both lined with white plain weave linen. FB, FQ		Tongue & Lining	1 Printed cotton 2 Cream satin. Both lined with white plain weave linen and then pink silk.	
Topbinding	1 Pink silk satin ribbon - 13mm wide. 2 Cream grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide.		Backstrap	1 Pink silk satin ribbon - 13mm wide. 2 Cream grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide.	
Toe	ER		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None		Sock	White plain weave linen.	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather, part sueded	
Heel	1 Printed cotton cover in 2 pieces. 2 Cream satin cover. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p>1 Printed cotton stuck over satin. Pieces for shoe 2 are present loose. Mrs Castle written in ink on shoe 2.</p> <p><i>Pair of women's cream silk buckle latchet shoes. Fairly pointed toe. 2 1/4" high covered heel, Louis shape extended into wedge under arch. One of pair covered with floral printed cotton of later date. Floral printed cotton for other shoe as pieces - vamp; 2x quarters with latches; 2 sections of heel cover; pink edge binding. Worn by Mrs Castle.</i></p>				
Condition	Shoe 1 in good condition but heel cover coming loose around the edge. Some soiling. Shoe 2 has much satin lost and what remains is covered with the remains of adhesive. 1CB, SB. 2 CC, SB, S3, T1, T8, T11				
Storage	In store, in box, stuffed with tissue paper.				
Date of survey	21 February 2011		Figure Nos.	95, 128, 249	







FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	COTTON PIECES & WRITING ON QUARTER
	


Survey No.	45				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, lachets				
Date	1750				
Colour	Cream, green				
Collection	Northampton Museum				
Ref	1968.223				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	23cm	Heel height	5cm (2")	Backstrap length	5.5cm
Sole width	7.5cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	2mm
Materials	L, LK, TSB, TSR, TSS, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Brocade lined with hessian/linen. Writing in ink but too far down to read easily		Quarters & Lining	Brocade lined with white kid leather.	
Lachets & Lining	Silk brocade lined with pink silk (remains visible) and white kid leather. FB, FQ		Tongue & Lining	Brocade with pink satin lining.. GS	
Topbinding	Green silk grosgrain ribbon - 11mm wide		Backstrap	Green grosgrain ribbon - 13mm wide	
Toe	EN, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	None	
Rand	None		Sock		
Insole	Brown/red leather		Sole	Leather - reddened but not lost	
Heel	Covered with silk brocade. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather with red paint/stain around the edges.	
Comments	TCC conserved. Loss of brocade on heel cover reveals white kid leather lining. White kid side lining. Dogleg side seam. Label - <i>Made by Willm Cooper Against Lincoln's Inn, Chancery Lane, London. Maker William Cooper, London. Remains of red paint on heel and sole.</i>				
Condition	Conserved. Net overlay on loose brocade wrapped under brocade not fixed to lining. Net over whole quarters and tongue on one shoe. The other side has had more extensive conservation. Buckle damages on lachets and corrosion stains. Woodworm in heel. CB, SA, S3, S9, L3, G1				
Storage	In store in shoe box lined with acid free tissue. Supported with Plastazote, polyester wadding covered with silk jersey. Tyvek strap with hook and loop tape holding lachets in place.				
Date of survey	21 February 2011			Figure Nos.	346, 351, 357



FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE & LABEL	LATCHETS & CONSERVATION
	


Survey No.	46				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1755				
Colour	Blue				
Collection	Northampton Museum				
Ref	1970.25.6.P				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22cm	Heel height	7cm	Backstrap length	6cm
Sole width	7cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	2mm
Materials	L, LK, TL, TS, TSS, M, MB, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Blue satin decorated with braid of metal threads applied in diamond pattern with a spangle in the centre of each. Lined with blue and white striped twill weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Blue satin decorated with braid of metal threads applied in diamond pattern with a spangle in the centre of each. Lined with blue and white striped twill weave linen.	
Latches & Lining	Blue satin edged with braid of metal threads. Lined with blue and white striped twill weave linen. FB		Tongue & Lining	Blue satin decorated with braid of metal threads applied in diamond pattern with a spangle in the centre of each. Lined with blue and white striped twill weave linen.	
Topbinding	Blue satin ribbon.		Backstrap	2 strips of gimp on either side of where the strap would have been.	
Toe	ER		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	White kid leather toe puff.	
Rand	White kid		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather	
Heel	Blue satin decorated with braid of metal threads applied in diamond pattern with a spangle in the centre of each. HL, HN		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p>Dogleg side seam. TCC conserved.</p> <p><i>Oval toe. Embroidered with all over silver trellis design with sequin in the centre of each diamond ... striped lining marked 22... Top piece has been repaired.</i></p>				
Condition	Top piece coming away from heel. The upper has come away from the whole of one side of the shoe enabling it to be lifted to reveal the inside. It has been conserved in the same state to retain information for research purposes. CB, SB.				
Storage	TCC supports				
Date of survey	21 February 2011		Figure Nos.	6, 7, 54, 110, 139, 273	







FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	TOE PUFF
	

Survey No.	47				
Shoe Description	Single, straight, latchet				
Date	1740-1760 [1750]				
Colour	Brown				
Collection	Nottingham City Museum and Galleries				
Ref	NCM 1881-79				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22.3 cm	Heel height	4.8cm	Backstrap length	
Sole width	9cm	Sole depth		Top piece depth	
Materials	L, W				
Vamp & Lining	Brown leather with no lining.		Quarters & Lining	Brown leather with no lining.	
Latchets & Lining	Brown leather with no lining. FB		Tongue & Lining	Brown leather with no lining.	
Topbinding	None		Backstrap	None applied - 2 lines of stitching.	
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None		Sock	Brown leather	
Insole			Sole	Brown leather	
Heel	Cover of leather. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p><i>4.8cm high waisted thick heel of wood, covered with calf, large leather tip; leather sole, broad rounded toe; upper of 3 pieces of calf; plain vamp cut with tongue; stepped seams at aides on to 2 long heel pieces, centre back seam, each heel piece cut with a pointed strap ('latchets') overlapping on tongue; 2 lines of stitches making welt around heel piece just below the top edge; lining: none, brown leather sock.</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Good condition over all. Some cracking and crazing of the leather. CB, SA, L2, L3</p>				
Storage	In store, stuffed with tissue paper.				
Date of survey	18 February 2009		Figure Nos.	39	

FRONT FACING




Survey No.	48				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, mules				
Date	1750s				
Colour	Pink				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO102				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	21cm (16.5cm)	Heel height	9cm (6.4cm)	Backstrap length	
Sole width	7.5cm	Sole depth	3mm	Top piece depth	
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSD, TSS, MB, W				
Vamp & Lining	Pink silk satin lined with white kid leather. Embroidered with metal thread in lacy pattern.		Quarters & Lining	N/A	
Latchets & Lining	N/A		Tongue & Lining	GP	
Topbinding	N/A		Backstrap	N/A	
Toe	EN, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	Brown leather toe puff	
Rand	White kid leather		Sock		
Insole	White kid leather		Sole	Brown polished leather with scoring; white stitching from heel breast to waist.	
Heel	Wooden heel covered with white highly polished leather. HLP, HN		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Comments	<p>Lining leather turned under the insole at heel end but pasted on top with edges exposed in the toe. The lining of the vamp is taken down under the sock on to the insole. The point of the toe is unlined. Slight indication of left and right feet from wear patterns on sole. Embroidery padded - metal thread held down with white 2ply S twist silk. It is stitched through silk before application to the upper. This suggests that the lining and the upper were only secured at the edges, maybe by paste and then fairly large stitching.</p> <p><i>Mackenzie (2004, 26) "They are of a welted construction."</i> <i>Bradfield (1995, 27)</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Much silk loss on the uppers and the remaining is worn, faded and grubby. Embroidery is loose in places and the metal thread is tarnished. Stains throughout. Some loss of top piece which exposes the wooden heel beneath the leather cover. Nails on top piece are corroding. Vamp leather splitting. CC, SC, S3, S7, S8, , T1, T2, T3, T6, T7, T9, L1, L4, L5, M1, M2</p> <p><i>1982 examination - pink satin vamp in good condition, to protruding. Vamp top edge worn through complete. Heel scratched and damaged at top piece. Assess in 2009 by NT.</i></p>				
Storage	In cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store.				
Date of survey	13 May 2010		Figure Nos.	38, 39, 294	

<p>DETAIL OF EMBROIDERY ON VAMP</p>	<p>HEEL DETAIL</p>
	
<p>VAMP SHOWING LINING AND REVERSE OF EMBROIDERY.</p>	<p>SOLE</p>
	
<p>INSOLE/SOCK & LINING</p>	<p>TOE</p>
	

1760s











Survey No.	49				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1760s				
Colour	Blue and white				
Collection	Hereford City Museums				
Ref	4775				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22cm	Heel height	7cm	Backstrap length	6.6cm
Sole width	7.6cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	4mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSR, TSS, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Cream silk satin with white plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Would have been cream silk satin lined with white kid. Most missing.	
Latches & Lining	FR tied with tape behind bow.		Tongue & Lining	Cream silk satin, the top part lined with cream taffeta. GS	
Topbinding	Silk grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide		Backstrap	Silk grosgrain ribbon which would have been 10mm wide.	
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None		Sock	White plain weave linen.	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown suede. SDS	
Heel	Covered with cream silk satin. HI, HLP, HH		Top piece	Brown leather with white top stitching.	
Comments	<p>Bow stuffed with wool/animal hair.</p> <p><i>Pair cream satin and suede shoes c1760s. Padded bow on front trimmed with fringing. Fairly high French heel covered with satin. Poor condition. Satin edging missing. The suede is the lining which would have been covered with satin and this has eroded.</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Vamp and bow - evidence of insect activity. Quarters - satin entirely lost exposing the sueded side of the kid lining which is now very grubby. Topbinding - most is lost with some remains on the tongue and behind the bow trim. Backstrap - most lost but enough evidence remains to ascertain type and width. Sock lifting, holes. Sole - evidence of wear. CD, SC, S2, S3, S8, T1, T3, T12, L4, G1</p>				
Storage	Metal drawer lined with Plastazote; stuffed with polyester wadding.				
Date of survey	12 May 2010		Figure Nos.	72, 288	

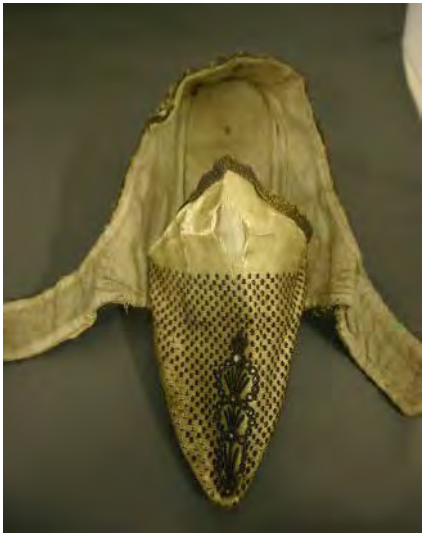





FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS
	


Survey No.	50				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1760				
Colour	Yellow and cream				
Collection	Hereford City Museums				
Ref	4990				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	20.5cm	Heel height	6.5cm	Backstrap length	6cm
Sole width	6.6cm	Sole depth	1mm	Top piece depth	3mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSO, TSR, TSS, MA, MB, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Yellow figured silk lined with white plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Yellow figured silk lined with white kid leather.	
Latches & Lining	Cream silk satin lined with white kid leather. FB		Tongue & Lining	Yellow figured silk lined with pink silk damask. GS	
Topbinding	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide.		Backstrap	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide.	
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None		Sock	White kid leather	
Insole			Sole	Brown leather. SDR, SDS, SDO	
Heel	Covered with cream silk satin. HLP, HN		Top piece	Brown leather, white stitching	
Comments	<p>Figured silk triangles with slight rib effect. Embroidery on vamp of metal threads MA, MB and spangles. Soles with initials IE into both shoes.</p> <p><i>Yellow silk trimmed sequins, metal thread, cream, satin flaps and heel Italian high, slightly pointed toe. Seams coming apart.</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Latches - satin badly disintegrating and shredded leaving lining exposed. Seam failed between vamp and latches so both left flapping. Some rust marks possibly from buckle usage. Topbinding lost and failed around quarters and onto latches. Splitting in silk on vamp. Silk on lower vamp badly faded and discoloured. Some creasing on heel cover and on quarters. Some missing spangles, others bent, metal thread tarnished.</p> <p>CD, SC, S1, S2, S3, S8, T1, T6, T7, T8, T9, T11, M1.</p>				
Storage	Metal drawer lined with Plastazote; stuffed with polyester wadding				
Date of survey	12 May 2010			Figure Nos.	18, 53, 185, 230, 269










FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE & ENGRAVED INITIALS
	 
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	DETAIL OF EMBROIDERY
	







Survey No.	51				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1760-1769				
Colour	Ivory, red				
Collection	Northampton Museum				
Ref	1977.120.5 P				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	24cm	Heel height	5cm (2")	Backstrap length	5.2cm
Sole width	5.5cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	4mm
Materials	L, TLP, TSS, MB, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Cream satin with red silk dashes embroidered and applied gold sequins. Lined with undyed linen.		Quarters & Lining	Cream satin with red silk dashes embroidered and applied gold sequins. Lined with undyed linen.	
Latchets & Lining	Cream satin trimmed with metal thread gimp. Lined with undyed linen with white kid leather inner layer. FB FQ.		Tongue & Lining	Cream satin edged with metal thread gimp and lined with undyed cotton. GP	
Topbinding	Gold gimp - 5mm wide.		Backstrap	Gold gimp - 14mm wide.	
Toe	ER		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	None	
Rand	None		Sock	Linen - plain weave.	
Insole			Sole	Leather. SDS	
Heel	Cream satin with red silk dashes embroidered and applied gold sequins and white stitching. HL, HH		Top piece	Leather	
Comments	<p>Dogleg side seam.</p> <p><i>Pair of women's ivory and red figured silk buckle latchet shoes, embroidered in silver. Fabric with regular pattern of short dashes. Roundpoint toe, 2 inch high covered thin Louis heel with edge extensions. Latchets to buckle over pointed tongue. Vamp embroidered in silver with circles fixing paste beads. Sequin added above each dash. Braid binding. Linen lining and sock. Possibly French made. Worn.</i></p>				
Condition	Spangles loose and some lost leaving loose red threads. Metal threads tarnished with some loss exposing fibre core. Satin split on tongue. CC, SC, S3, T9, T11, M1, M3				
Storage	In store, in shoe box lined and stuffed with acid free tissue.				
Date of survey	21 February 2011		Figure Nos.	12, 68, 263	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS
	







Survey No.	52				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1760				
Colour	Green, pink, multi				
Collection	Nottingham City Museum and Galleries				
Ref	NCM 1948.103				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22.5cm (23cm)	Heel height	3.5cm (3.5cm)	Backstrap length	
Sole width	7.5cm	Sole depth		Top piece depth	
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSB, TSR, TSS, W				
Vamp & Lining	Silk brocade with white plain weave linen lining.		Quarters & Lining	Silk brocade with white kid lining.	
Latches & Lining	Green satin lined with white kid leather. FB		Tongue & Lining	Silk brocade with green satin and white plain weave linen lining. GP.	
Topbinding	Cream grosgrain ribbon.		Backstrap	Cream grosgrain ribbon	
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None		Sock	White kid leather	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather	
Heel	Green satin, cream top stitching. HL, HN		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p>Some ripples on heel cover from manufacture. Some repair work carried out on right quarter of 1 shoe with large darning type stitch.</p> <p><i>Brocade (droguet de soie), woven with vertical zig-zag stripes of fancy twill in pale purple, sprays of flowers in lilac-pink, white and yellow-green with puce details; straights; waisted stout Louis heels. 3.5cm high heel of wood covered with mid-green silk satin, leather tip and sole, almond shaped toe; upper of 3 pieces of brocade; plain vamp, cut with seam; heel pieces with short sloped side seams and centre back seam; heel pieces cut with flared and pointed straps, covered with green satin ('latches'), for buckle, overlapping on tongues; all edges and seams covered with white silk grosgrain ribbon. Lining: white linen in toe, white kid heel lining and sock. 1750-1770 L 23cm W 7cm, silk.</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Vamp - brocade split, loss of fibres particularly over toe. Quarters - loss of ground weave, left with floats of silk. Much overhang from quarters on heel. Previous repairs - quite crude. Tongue fair with some damage to ribbon binding. Topbinding - splitting on fold. Backstrap - much lost on one shoe, replaced with similar ribbon on other with original beneath. Fastenings - evidence of buckle use, one latchet stained, much darker green than others. Insole and lining - very dirty. Sole - little sign of use. CC, SC, S3, S6, T1, T9, T11</p>				
Storage	Stuffed with tissue.				
Date of survey	18 February 2009		Figure Nos.	93, 197	

<p style="text-align: center;">FRONT FACING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SIDE VIEW OF QUARTER & HEEL</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">HEEL & QUARTER</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SOLE</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">INSOLE/SOCK & LINING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">OVERHANGING QUARTERS & CRINKLED HEEL COVER</p>
	

Survey No.	53				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1755-65				
Colour	Blue, red				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO127				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	23cm (20.5cm)	Heel height	5.3cm (5cm)	Backstrap length	6cm
Sole width	7.5cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	3mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSR, TSS, TW, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Blue silk satin lined with white plain weave linen. Side seam has herringbone stitch worked on pale blue 2 ply silk loosely twisted.		Quarters & Lining	Blue silk satin lined with white kid leather.	
Latches & Lining	Blue silk satin lined with white kid leather. FB/FR		Tongue & Lining	Blue silk satin lined with white plain weave linen. GS.	
Topbinding	Blue grosgrain ribbon - 12mm wide.		Backstrap	Blue grosgrain ribbon of wool (?) - 13mm wide with herringbone stitch worked on ribbon only.	
Toe	ES		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	Brown leather dome in toe.	
Rand			Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather	
Heel	Covered with blue satin then painted red; white stitching. HL, HN		Top piece	Brown leather, white stitching.	
Comments	Left and right discernible through wear patterns on sole. Latches have been cut down with piercing made for strings but there is evidence of previous buckle use. The heels have been painted red over the satin but misses some areas and goes over onto the uppers in others - presumably not done professionally. Fold lines on vamp and quarters suggesting that the shoes have been kept flat (sold flat?).				
Condition	Shoes in poor condition generally. Linings - all grubby. Satin has failed in many places and in some is completely lost. Some attempt has been made to adhere loose threads to the kid lining but this has not proved effective. The topbindings and backstrap are lost or in poor condition leaving layers exposed and vulnerable. Large brown encrusted stain one side seam of one shoe with other smaller areas of staining all over. Heels have brown particulate accretions. CD, SB, S3, S8, T1, T2, T7, T9, T11, T12, T13, L4. <i>1982 examination - uppers of both shoes in extremely poor condition. Silk worn throughout at quarters, heels and latches to expose leather lining. Also assessed in 2009 by NT when listed as CD, CD.</i>				
Storage	In cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store; vamps stuffed with tissue.				
Date of survey	13 May 2010		Figure Nos.	24, 38, 94, 239, 284, 348	

FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS & HEEL AND SIDE SEAM
	

Survey No.	54				
Shoe Description	Single, straight, latchet				
Date	1760s				
Colour	Cream, gold, silver				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO144				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	20.1cm (21.4cm/ 25.4cm)	Heel height	9.5cm (9.2cm)	Backstrap length	5.8cm
Sole width		Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	4mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSO, TSR, TSS, MA, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Striped fancy ribbed silk with white plain weave linen lining.		Quarters & Lining	Striped fancy ribbed silk with white kid leather lining.	
Latchets & Lining	Cream silk satin with white kid leather lining. FB		Tongue & Lining	Striped fancy ribbed silk with white plain weave linen lining. Upper part lined with green and cream striped silk. GP	
Topbinding	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide.		Backstrap	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide.	
Toe	EPB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	N/A but white kid leather side lining.		Sock	White plain weave linen - loose.	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather, smoother on waist than toe.	
Heel	Cover of cream silk satin pasted to white plain weave linen. HLP, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p>Upper fabric - fancy rib silk in cream and gold coloured stripes with a supplementary stripe of silver coloured metal strip.</p> <p><i>Mackenzie (2004, 28) "It is of a turnshoe construction. There is indecipherable writing on the kid quarters." Bradfield (1995, 53)</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Silk in very poor condition on quarters especially but also failing on the vamp and latches. Hole created on vamp exposes a black plain weave fabric that looks like wool. Side seams have failed. Topbinding and backstrap - weak and failed in places. Generally dirty with stains and foxing. Metal strips in weave of uppers is tarnished and coming loose in some areas. Sock is loose but stiff with paste and stained. The whole shoe needs support to stand properly as it is extremely unstable if left alone. CC, SC, S3, S10, T1, T2, T8, T9, T11, L7, M1.</p> <p><i>1982 examination - fabric very worn, especially on quarters. Assessed by NT in 2009 as CC, SC.</i></p>				
Storage	In cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store, with cotton covered polyester wadding forma. In box with SNO143.				
Date of survey	13 May 2010		Figure Nos.	31, 38, 268	







FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS
	


1770s




Survey No.	55				
Shoe Description	Single, straight, latchet				
Date	1770s				
Colour	Cream				
Collection	Clarks Museum				
Ref	W17+sD4				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	24.5cm	Heel height	6cm	Backstrap length	5.5cm
Sole width	8cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	5mm
Materials	L, TSO, TSR, [W].				
Vamp & Lining	Cream figured silk lined with plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Cream figured silk lined with plain weave linen.	
Latchets & Lining	Cream figured silk lined with plain weave linen. FB		Tongue & Lining	Cream figured silk lined with plain weave linen. GS	
Topbinding	Cream grosgrain ribbon 8mm wide		Backstrap	Cream grosgrain ribbon 8mm wide	
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	N/A		Sock	Undyed plain weave linen.	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather with white stitching. SDS, 3 x SDR	
Heel	Cream figured silk. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Comments	Silk weave - chevron stripes with alternating blocked stripes - pattern formed by contrast of satin and plain weave. Fold lines on vamp and quarters suggesting that the shoes have been kept flat (sold flat?).				
Condition	Staining on heel cover - generally grubby. Some cracking on sole leather. Sock discoloured. CB, SB, S3, T2, T6, L2				
Storage	Shoe box, black tissue paper as wrapping and stuffing.				
Date of survey	26 August 2010			Figure Nos.	169, 231




FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	DETAIL OF FABRIC
	







Survey No.	56				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, lachets				
Date	1775				
Colour	Blue and cream				
Collection	Hereford City Museums				
Ref	3340				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	23cm	Heel height	7cm (2 1/2")	Backstrap length	5.3cm
Sole width	7cm	Sole depth		Top piece depth	
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TS, TSR, M, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Blue silk lined with white plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Blue silk lined with white kid leather.	
Lachets & Lining	Blue silk lined with white kid leather. FB		Tongue & Lining	Blue silk lined with brown silk taffeta. GP	
Topbinding	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide.		Backstrap	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide.	
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None		Sock	White plain weave linen.	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather	
Heel	Cream silk covered. HI, HN		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Comments	<p>Embroidery spangles, MA (purl) and trefoils appear to be paper coated with metal (painted?) All stitched with yellow thread suggesting that the spangles may originally have been gilt. Silk has a triangular pattern weave with a slight rib. Lachets are seamed on one side (same) on each shoe.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Pair of pale blue silk shoes with cream satin edging and heel French 21/2" sequin trim on toes and painted, silk c1775.</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Metal threads etc tarnished. Foxing and metal corrosion products visible on lachet lining (suede side). Topbinding completely loose on one shoe and dangling; beginning to fail elsewhere and on the other shoe. One lachet and its lining are therefore completely separated. Backstrap nearly worn away. Hole with torn edges in sock on quarters. Dirty with some fading. One shoe does not sit flat and is skewed to one side, also has some collapse at heel seat/backseam. CC, SC, S1, S2, S3, S5/10, T6, T7, T8, T12, T13, L9, M1</p>				
Storage	Metal drawer lined with Plastazote®; stuffed with polyester wadding				
Date of survey	12 May 2010		Figure Nos.	18, 47, 110	


<p style="text-align: center;">FRONT FACING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SIDE VIEW</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">REAR VIEW</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SOLE</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">DETAIL OF EMBROIDERY ON VAMP</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">LATCHETS</p>
	







Survey No.	57				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, mules				
Date	1770s				
Colour	Blue				
Collection	Leicestershire County Council				
Ref	327.1959				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	23cm	Heel height	6cm	Backstrap length	
Sole width	7.6cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	3mm
Materials	L, LK, TS, TSS, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Satin with polychrome silk embroidery of flowers in a basket. Lined with brown leather.		Quarters & Lining	None	
Latchets & Lining	None		Tongue & Lining	None	
Topbinding	None		Backstrap	None	
Toe	ER		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	None	
Rand	None		Sock	White kid leather ¾ sock taken around the insole.	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather with white stitching. SDR x 2 blocks of 4.	
Heel	White kid covered heel . HL, HN		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Comments	Decorative shoe stamps in a diamond pattern of 4 on sole and waist. One sole also marked with what could be interpreted as an L, possibly for left, although the wear patterns on the sole are similar so hard to confirm.				
Condition	Embroidery silk badly faded on one. The binding is lost on the vamp therefore the layers are evident. Heel cover scuffed. Insoles very dirty. CC, SB, S1, S3, S8, T1, L4, L7				
Storage	In box stuffed with polyester wadding and wrapped in acid free tissue.				
Date of survey	12 June 2012		Figure Nos.	37, 38, 81, 98, 161, 213, 322	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	DETAIL OF EMBROIDERY
	

Survey No.	58					
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches					
Date	1770					
Colour	Black					
Collection	Northampton Museum					
Ref	2000.27					
DIMENSIONS						
Length	21.7cm	Heel height	5.8cm	Backstrap length	5.5cm	
Sole width	7cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	4mm	
Materials	L, TLP, TSS, [W]					
Vamp & Lining	Black satin lined with undyed plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Black satin lined with undyed plain weave linen.		
Latches & Lining	Black satin lined with undyed plain weave linen. FB		Tongue & Lining	Black satin lined with silk. GP		
Topbinding	None - line of black stitching securing lining to vamp.		Backstrap	None - 2 parallel lines of black stitching with back seam between.		
Toe	EP		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	None		
Rand	None		Sock	Brown leather		
Insole			Sole	Brown leather continuing down heel breast where it is a much light colour. SDR x 2		
Heel	Black satin with white stitching. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather		
Comments	<p>Fold lines on vamp and quarters suggesting that the shoes have been kept flat (sold flat?).</p> <p><i>White finishing under arch. Wearer Byron. These shoes cannot have been worn by the wife of the poet as they are too early in date.</i></p>					
Condition	Satin splitting and frayed, particularly on quarters with a large split down the vamp to the toe. Signs of buckle usage on latches. Support made by the TCC so presumably the decision was taken not to take conservation any further. CC, SC, S3, T9, T11, L7					
Storage	In store, in shoe box lined with acid free tissue. Support by TCC silk jersey covered polyester wadding and separate Melinex for tongue.					
Date of survey	21 February 2011		Figure Nos.	356, 367		

FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	SHOE WITH CUSTOM MADE SUPPORTS
	


Survey No.	59				
Shoe Description	Single, straight, latchet				
Date	1770				
Colour	Cream, pink				
Collection	Northampton Museum				
Ref	2005.33				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	20.5cm (18cm)	Heel height	7cm (7cm)	Backstrap length	5.8cm
Sole width	6.5cm (6.7cm)	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	4mm
Materials	L, LK, TSB, TSV, M, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Cut and uncut velvet lined with plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Cut and uncut velvet lined with plain weave linen.	
Latchets & Lining	White leather. Linings unseen as buckle not removed. FB.		Tongue & Lining	Cut and uncut velvet lined with blue and cream brocade. G n	
Topbinding	Cream silk ribbon - 8mm		Backstrap	Cream silk ribbon - 8mm	
Toe	ER		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None		Sock	Brown leather	
Insole			Sole	Brown leather. SDS, SDR x 2	
Heel	Covered with white kid leather. HL, HN		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p>Buckle in situ with chapes piercing latchets. Written in ink on quarters - Mrs Pratt on one side and something indecipherable on the other.</p> <p><i>Rectangular brass buckle attached that has been covered in silk and embroidered with sequins using pin and yellow threads. Handwritten label with shoe reads: This slipper was worn by Mrs Essex of Worcestershire in the year 1770, grandmother of Mrs Eleanor Bammant - shoe passed down the female line of the family to each successive generation called Eleanor.</i></p>				
Condition	Some insect damage led to holes through it. Much of backstrap lost. Some loss of pile. CC, SB S3, T1, T3, T7, L7				
Storage	In box, in store, stuffed with acid free tissue.				
Date of survey	21 February 2011		Figure Nos.	48, 335	







FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE & TONGUE LINING	WRITING ON QUARTERS
	


Survey No.	60			
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latchets			
Date	1760-1780 [1770]			
Colour	Red			
Collection	Nottingham City Museum and Galleries			
Ref	1881-78/1			
DIMENSIONS				
Length	21.6cm	Heel height	2cm	Backstrap length
Sole width	7.6cm	Sole depth		Top piece depth
Materials	L, TLP, W			
Vamp & Lining	Red morocco leather with undyed plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Red morocco leather with undyed plain weave linen.
Latchets & Lining	Red morocco leather with undyed plain weave linen. FB, FQ		Tongue & Lining	Red morocco leather with undyed plain weave linen. GS
Topbinding	None		Backstrap	None
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	
Rand	None		Sock	
Insole			Sole	Brown leather
Heel	Red leather cover.		Top piece	Brown leather
Comments	<i>Shoes/pair of red morocco leather: low heels. 2cm high large tapering heel of wood covered with morocco, large leather tip; leather sole, broad rounded pointed toe; upper of 3 piece of morocco, plain vamp on to 2 long heel pieces, centre back seam and short side seams, each heel piece cut with a strap ('latchets') for buckle, overlapping on vamp.</i>			
Condition	Dirty and well worn. Leather cracked and stained. Signs of buckle use on latchets. Structure is sound. CB, SB, S3, L2,L3,L4, L7			
Storage	In store			
Date of survey	18 February 2009		Figure Nos.	51, 295

FRONT FACING



Survey No.	61				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1770s				
Colour	Red				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO100				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22cm (22.5cm)	Heel height	6.5cm (5.5cm)	Backstrap length	
Sole width	7cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSR, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Red leather, unlined.		Quarters & Lining	Red leather with butted back seam and white stitching with half lining of white kid leather (deep welt?)	
Latches & Lining	Red leather, unlined. FB		Tongue & Lining	Red leather, unlined. GP	
Topbinding	Red/orange plain weave silk ribbon.		Backstrap	Red/orange plain weave silk ribbon.	
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	White kid heel stiffener? (see quarters)	
Rand	None		Sock	White plain weave linen taken around insole.	
Insole	Not visible		Sole	Brown leather	
Heel	Covered with red leather. HLP, HN		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p><i>Mackenzie (2004, 30) "covered Louis heels... the shoes are of turnshoe construction."</i></p> <p><i>Bradfield (1995, 35)</i></p>				
Condition	Vamp - minor scuffing and some evidence of use. Quarters - squashed vertically; seams becoming loose in some areas. Tongue - good with some slight markings. Topbinding and backstrap good but with some fading. Latches - small holes from buckle usage; tip of one latchet bent back (permanent fold created). Heel lining - good but dirty. Heel covering - some scuffing and delamination. CB, SB, S2, S3, S4, T7, L1, L7				
Storage	In cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store				
Date of survey	13 May 2010		Figure Nos.	52, 140, 184	

FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS
	

Survey No.	62				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	(1740s, Mackenzie, 24) [1770s]				
Colour	Cream, green, pink, blue, silver				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO108				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	21.5cm	Heel height	5.5cm	Backstrap length	
Sole width	7.8cm	Sole depth	1mm	Top piece depth	
Materials	L, W, TSB, MB, TLP, TSR				
Vamp & Lining	Silk brocade lined with white plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Silk brocade lined with white plain weave linen.	
Latches & Lining	Silk brocade lined with white plain weave linen. FB		Tongue & Lining	Silk brocade lined with white plain weave linen. GP	
Topbinding	Pale green silk grosgrain ribbon 15mm wide.		Backstrap	Pale green silk grosgrain ribbon 15mm wide.	
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather with obvious signs of wear.		Sole	Brown leather	
Heel	Covered with cream silk damask/brocade. HI, HN		Top piece	Brown leather, white stitching, protruding nail so won't sit flat.	
Comments	<p>Left and right shoe discernible by wear patterns on sole and lean of shoes. Brocade dated 1725, English by Natalie Rothstein. Heel shape veers towards the Italian suggesting a dating of 1770s and is similar to SNO121 although fabric much earlier; if it had been covered in anything other than brocade it would have been dated later.</p> <p><i>Mackenzie (2004, 24) - "they are of turnshoe construction."</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Metal thread lost or unwrapped in some places in the brocade and tarnished. Wear on insole and lining of quarters creased. Latches damaged from buckle usage. Brocade rubbed and embrittled in places with floating wefts, slightly grubby. Side seams undone on both shoes. Seams on latches splitting. Topbinding and backstrap - silk splitting and stitching failing in places. Heel covering very dirty and fabric splitting at seat with some cockling throughout. There is a small hole which looks like a woodworm bore hole.</p> <p>CB, SB/C, S1, S2, S3, S7, S8, T1, T6, T8, T9, T11, M1, possibly G1.</p> <p><i>1982 examination - both damaged at back top seam and vamp side of 1 shoe.</i></p>				
Storage	In cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store, calico covered wadding forma.				
Date of survey	13 May 2010		Figure Nos.	38, 80, 211, 261, 332	

FRONT FACING



SIDE VIEW



REAR VIEW



SOLE










INSOLE/SOCK, LININGS & SIDE SEAM










JOIN OF FABRIC ON TONGUE










Survey No.	63				
Shoe Description	Single, straight, latchet				
Date	1770				
Colour	Green, cream				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO121				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22.7cm (22.5cm, 22.2cm)	Heel height	7.2cm (5.4cm)	Backstrap length	6cm
Sole width	7.5cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	
Materials	L, TLP, TSR, TSS, MB				
Vamp & Lining	Cream silk satin lined with white plain weave linen. Decorated with metal thread floral embroidery.		Quarters & Lining	Cream silk satin lined with white plain weave linen.	
Latchets & Lining	Green silk taffeta lined with white plain weave linen. FB		Tongue & Lining	Cream silk satin lined with white plain weave linen. GP	
Topbinding	Green silk grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide.		Backstrap	Green silk grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide.	
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather with scoring along heel breast and into sole. White label stating Odd Dutton.	
Heel	Covered with green taffeta lined with plain weave linen with some cockling. HL, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	Probably Charles Wade cat. No. 12 "Odd shoe from Dutton Collection, dark blue silk and white satin embroidered with silver (in bad state), very high narrow heel." Bought from Mrs Solomon for £7.00. <i>Mackenzie (2004, 36) "turnshoe construction".</i>				
Condition	Shoe has a very definite list and is difficult to get it to stand without support. Loose grit like debris released on moving. Tongue - satin creased resulting in splitting. Throughout uppers, satin in poor condition with splitting and lost warps/weft; dirty and faded. Metal thread tarnished. Quarters at back seam very squashed and in need of support. Small piece missing from top piece. CD, SD, T1, T7, T8, T9, T11, M1 <i>1982 examination - poor, silk worn at heel, welt and toe. Embroidery pulled. Colour faded and dirty. Toe protruding through silk. Heel worn at left. Lining dirty.</i>				
Storage	In cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store, stuffed with calico covered polyester wadding.				
Date of survey	13 May 2010		Figure Nos.	18, 38	

FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE & LABEL
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	QUARTERS WITHOUT SUPPORT & SIDE SEAM
	

Survey No.	64				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1765-1775 [1770s]				
Colour	Cream				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO136				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	21.3cm (25cm)	Heel height	7.5cm (7cm)	Backstrap length	
Sole width	6.8cm	Sole depth	1mm	Top piece depth	
Materials	L, TLP, TSO, TSR, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Cream fancy-ribbed silk lined with white plain weave linen.	Quarters & Lining	Cream fancy-ribbed silk lined with white plain weave linen.		
Latches & Lining	Cream fancy-ribbed silk lined with white plain weave linen. FB	Tongue & Lining	Cream fancy-ribbed silk lined with white plain weave linen. GP		
Topbinding	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide.	Backstrap	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 9mm wide.		
Toe	EB	Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener			
Rand	None	Sock	White plain weave linen taken around insole.		
Insole		Sole	Brown leather with white stitching. SDS.		
Heel	Covered with cream fancy-ribbed silk. HI, HN	Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching		
Comments	Fold lines on vamp and quarters suggesting that the shoes have been kept flat (sold flat?). <i>Mackenzie (2004, 32)</i>				
Condition	Quarters - staining which is resulting in breakdown of fibres and holes. Partial collapse at back seam area. Tongue creased. Linings stained all over. Latches/vamp - evidence of buckle usage with staining on vamp showing imprint. Vamp - breakdown of silk leaving split in silk - taffeta strip has been inserted to disguise damage but this too is now damaged. CC, SB, T2, T8, T12, T13. <i>1982 examination - silk worn on one quarters. Latches perforated, grubby.</i>				
Storage	In cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store, polyester wadding in toe only. On display during the 2010 season.				
Date of survey	13 May 2010		Figure Nos.	31, 38, 41, 232	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS
	

Survey No.	65				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1770s (1770-1786)				
Colour	Cream, pink				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO140				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22cm (24cm)	Heel height	6.5cm (7.5cm, 6cm)	Backstrap length	5.6cm
Sole width	7cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	3mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSR, TSS, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Cream fancy ribbed silk lined with white plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Cream fancy ribbed silk lined with white plain weave linen.	
Latches & Lining	Pink silk satin lined with white plain weave linen. FB		Tongue & Lining	Cream fancy ribbed silk lined with white plain weave linen. GP	
Topbinding	Pink silk grosgrain ribbon - 8mm wide.		Backstrap	Pink silk grosgrain ribbon - 8mm wide.	
Toe	EP, slight EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	N/A but white kid leather side lining.		Sock	White plain weave linen taken around insole.	
Insole			Sole	Brown leather with white stitching. SDS, SDB	
Heel	Pink silk satin. HI, HN		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Comments	<i>Mackenzie (2004, 38) "turnshoe construction"</i>				
Condition	Vamp - stained with outline of buckle; toe areas worn. Quarters - silk frayed with lost warp/weft in some areas particularly around the back seam; biro mark. Fading and staining throughout. Latches - signs of buckle usage and a few rust marks. Leather elements - generally good. CC, SB, S1, T1, T2, T7, T9, T11 <i>1982 examination - uppers worn, latches perforated, binding unstitched on one. Grubby.</i>				
Storage	In cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store, polyester wadding in toe only. On display during the 2010 season. When ins store has polyester wadding forma covered with cotton.				
Date of survey	13 May 2010		Figure Nos.	28, 38, 199	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	HEEL
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS
	

1780s










Survey No.	66				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1780s				
Colour	Cream				
Collection	Clarks Museum				
Ref	W17+sD8				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22cm	Heel height	6.5cm (2 1/4")	Backstrap length	5.5cm
Sole width	7cm	Sole depth	1mm	Top piece depth	4mm
Materials	L, TLP, TSR, TSS, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Cream silk satin lined with undyed plain weave linen. Length 14.5cm		Quarters & Lining	Cream silk satin lined with undyed plain weave linen. Length 16.5cm	
Latches & Lining	Cream silk satin lined with undyed plain weave linen. FB, FQ		Tongue & Lining	Cream silk satin lined with undyed plain weave linen. EP	
Topbinding	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide		Backstrap	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide	
Toe	EP with slight EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	None	
Rand	None		Sock	Undyed plain weave linen.	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather with white stitching. SDS	
Heel	Cream silk satin. HLP, HN		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching	
Comments	<p>Fold lines on vamp and quarters suggesting that the shoes have been kept flat (sold flat?).</p> <p><i>Handsewn turnshoe 2 1/4" Italian heel self covered. Long quarters, short vamp, pointed tab, canvas lining. Straights. Condition: worn/disintegration of satin. Acquired: Dec 1953 from Walter Higgus, Glastonbury.</i></p>				
Condition	Uppers very dirty; silk badly split at toe end and along join of insole. Latches very bent and scrunched. Heels scuffed and stained. Failed side seam. CD, SD, S2, S3, S4/10, T2, T8, T10, T11				
Storage	In cardboard Clarks shoe box wrapped and stuffed with black tissue paper.				
Date of survey	26 August 2010		Figure Nos.	109, 342	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	SHOES AS STORED
	







Survey No.	67				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, slip-on				
Date	1785				
Colour	Black				
Collection	Clarks Museum				
Ref	W17+sD9				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	23cm	Heel height	4.5cm	Backstrap length	5cm
Sole width	6.2cm	Sole depth	4mm	Top piece depth	1mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TS, TSR				
Vamp & Lining	Black silk with white plain weave linen. 13cm		Quarters & Lining	Black silk with white kid leather. 14cm	
Latchets & Lining	None		Tongue & Lining	Black silk with white plain weave linen. GP name label Warner stitched in.	
Topbinding	Black grosgrain ribbon 8mm wide.		Backstrap	Black grosgrain ribbon 8mm wide.	
Toe	EP		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None		Sock	White glazed linen close weave. Label.	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather. SDB.	
Heel	Black leather cover with white stitching. HI, HH		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Comments	<p>Silk triangular weave.</p> <p><i>1785. Tie shoe, black spotted silk. Trade label: Bruckne, No 54 S. Moulton Street, Brook St. Handsewn, turnshoe. 11/2" Louis waisted black kid covered heel. Pointed tongue. Silk topline binding ties in front of tongue. White stitching around breast of heel. White sheep lining to quarters, vamp lined in - Condition: unworn/fair). Acquired 1952 from Roger Warner. Associated with cat. nos. W17+sD4. Pair.</i></p>				
Condition	Much loss of silk. Sock dirty. Leather sound. CC, SC, T1, T3, T9, T11				
Storage	Melinex forma, shoe box				
Date of survey	26 August 2010		Figure Nos.	278	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS
	






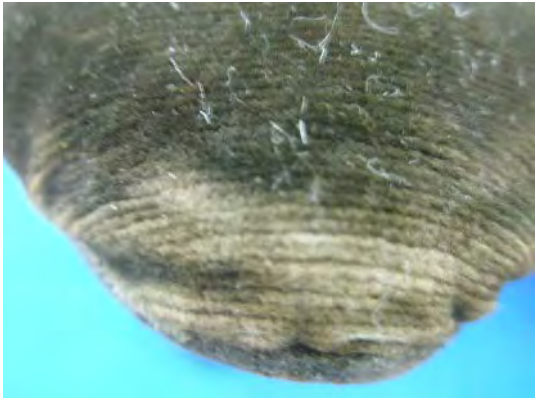
Survey No.	68				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1780s				
Colour	Pink, cream				
Collection	Clarks Museum				
Ref	W17+sd45				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22.5cm	Heel height	6.5cm (21/4")	Backstrap length	5.2cm
Sole width	6.5cm (21/2")	Sole depth	1mm	Top piece depth	3mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TS, TSR, MB, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Pink and cream figured silk satin lined with pink plain weave linen. Decorated with metal thread embroidery, spangles and beads. Length - 15cm		Quarters & Lining	Pink and cream figured silk satin lined with white kid leather. Length - 16cm	
Latches & Lining	Pink and cream figured silk satin lined with white kid leather. FB		Tongue & Lining	Pink and cream figured silk satin lined with dark pink ribbed fabric.	
Topbinding	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide.		Backstrap	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide.	
Toe	None		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None		Sock	White plain weave linen.	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather with white stitching. SDS	
Heel	Covered with pink and cream figured silk satin. HI, HN		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Comments	<p><i>C. 1780. Heeled slipper with latches to fasten over central tongue. Silk repeating pattern of pink dots on ivory background. White kid quarter lining, fabric vamp lining and sock. Pointed toe, silver embroidered. 21/4" self coloured Italian heel. Leather sole continues to form heel breast. Leather top piece. Pointed tongue. Topline and straps bound in cream silk. Straights. Handsewn turnshoe. Length around edge, centre heel to toe: 10"; width at widest part of sole 2 1/2 ". Pair/worn/poor condition - silk rotten and missing in parts. Sequins missing from embroidery; attempts have been made to repair by sticking and stitching. Bought for £20 from Mrs Brooks, 3 Riudgway, Ashcott. October 1982 together with lavender basket threaded with green silk ribbon, age unknown; and fabric draw string shoe bag (37/29) November 1982.</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Silk split and lost with frayed edges. These have been stuck down to the lining at some stage leaving hardened stained areas and some large stitches on quarters. Topbinding split (the inside part having been lost). Latches - buckle usage - have now been stitched together closed. Metal thread tarnished and core fibre exposed in places. Distorted and wonky not helped by support. Dirty and faded. CD, SC. S3, T2, T11, M1</p>				
Storage	Clear Melinex type forma around uppers, cut to shape; stuffed with tissue in shoe box. 1 shoe in store, 1 on display.				
Date of survey	26 August 2010		Figure Nos.	11	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	DETAIL OF EMBROIDERY ON VAMP
	





Survey No.	69				
Shoe Description	Single, straight, slip-on				
Date	Late 1780s [1780s]				
Colour	Light brown				
Collection	Hereford City Museums				
Ref	1867				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	24.5cm	Heel height	5.5cm	Backstrap length	8cm
Sole width	7.2cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	3mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSP, TSR, TW, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Light brown wool callimanco lined with white plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Light brown wool callimanco lined with white kid leather.	
Latchets & Lining	None		Tongue & Lining	Light brown wool callimanco decorated with silk ribbon loops. GP	
Topbinding	Cream grosgrain ribbon and fringe.		Backstrap	Cream grosgrain ribbon	
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None		Sock	Undyed plain weave linen.	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather	
Heel	Covered with light brown callimanco. HI, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	Fringing - wrapped wool? Fold lines on vamp and quarters suggesting that the shoes have been kept flat (sold flat?). <i>Light brown calamanco, fringing round, mothy.</i>				
Condition	Sock very dirty. Bad insect damage with holes throughout the uppers. Topbinding largely lost around the quarters. Fringe coming loose and unravelling. Backstrap - ribbon wearing through. Tongue - floppy and needs support. Some creasing and support required for the quarters. CC, SC, S1, S8, T1, T7, T9, T11, T12, G1				
Storage	Metal drawer lined with Plastazote; stuffed with polyester wadding				
Date of survey	12 May 2010		Figure Nos.	236, 239	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	DETAIL OF TRIM
	

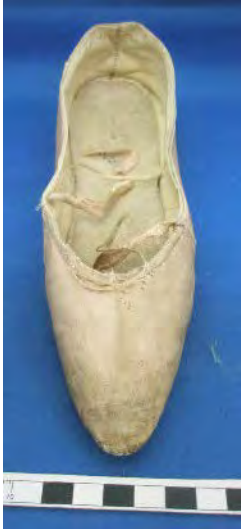




Survey No.	70				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	C1790 on label, 1775-80 on shoe [1780s]				
Colour	Black				
Collection	Hereford City Museums				
Ref	2899				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	23.5cm	Heel height	3cm	Backstrap length	7cm
Sole width	8cm	Sole depth	3mm	Top piece depth	4mm
Materials	L, TLP, TSR, TSV, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Black velvet.		Quarters & Lining	Black velvet lined with undyed plain weave linen.	
Latches & Lining	Black velvet lined with plain weave linen. FB		Tongue & Lining	Black velvet. GP	
Topbinding	Black grosgrain ribbon		Backstrap	Black grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide.	
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None		Sock	Undyed plain weave linen	
Insole			Sole	Brown leather SDR x 5	
Heel	Covered with black velvet. HI, HN		Top piece	Brown leather semi-oval.	
Comments	<i>Brown velvet, gently pointed toes, Wurtemberg heel.</i>				
Condition	Black velvet faded to brown, particularly on toe. Topbinding lost in places particularly at back seam on quarters. Very dusty. CB, SB, S3, T7, T11				
Storage	Metal drawer lined with Plastazote; stuffed with polyester wadding.				
Date of survey	12 May 2010		Figure Nos.	256	

FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	FADING ON TOE
	







Survey No.	71					
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches					
Date	Late 18th century [1780s]					
Colour	Black/brown					
Collection	Hereford City Museums					
Ref	2900					
DIMENSIONS						
Length	22.6cm	Heel height	4cm	Backstrap length	6cm	
Sole width	7cm	Sole depth	2-3mm	Top piece depth	4mm	
Materials	L, TLP, TSR, TSS, [W]					
Vamp & Lining	Black/brown silk satin lined with white plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Black/brown silk satin lined with white plain weave linen.		
Latchets & Lining	Black/brown silk satin lined with white plain weave linen. FB		Tongue & Lining	Black/brown silk satin lined with white plain weave linen. GS		
Topbinding	Black grosgrain ribbon - 1cm wide		Backstrap	Black grosgrain ribbon - 1cm wide		
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener			
Rand	None		Sock	White plain weave linen.		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather		
Heel	Covered with black leather. HI, HN		Top piece	Brown leather, semicircle		
Comments	<i>Dark brown satin, leather, Wurtemberg heel, very plain</i>					
Condition	Vamp silk split and peeling away from side. Colour faded to dark brown from black. Topbinding on latches split and worn. Sock- curled and peeling away from insole. Extensive damage to latches from buckle use. Heel covering scuffed and delaminating. CC, SC, S3, T1, T7, T11, L1, L7					
Storage	Metal drawer lined with Plastazote; stuffed with polyester wadding					
Date of survey	12 May 2010			Figure Nos.		


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	VAMP DAMAGE
	

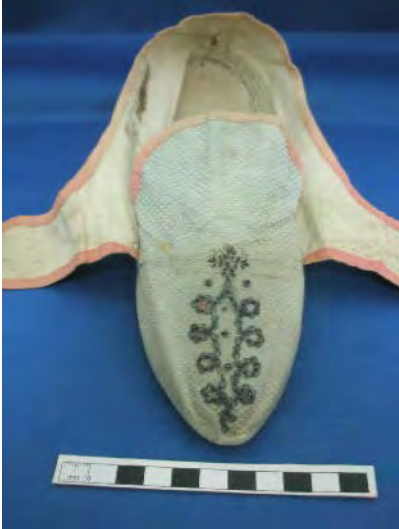


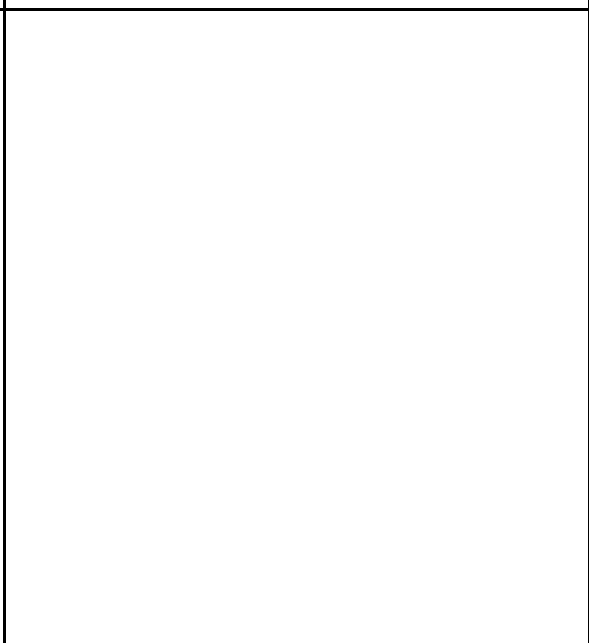


Survey No.	72				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, slip-on				
Date	1785 [1780s]				
Colour	Pink				
Collection	Hereford City Museums				
Ref	3606				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22.5cm	Heel height	2.5cm	Backstrap length	4.5cm
Sole width	5.3cm	Sole depth	Less than 1mm	Top piece depth	
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSR, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Pink kid leather lined with plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Pink kid leather lined with white kid leather. Handwritten 'gauche' in one shoe and 'droit' in other.	
Latchets & Lining	None		Tongue & Lining	None	
Topbinding	Pink grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide. Has drawstring.		Backstrap	Evidence of pink grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide but now lost.	
Toe	EP		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None		Sock	Plain weave linen sock around insole.	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather, white stitching. SDB, SDR	
Heel	Covered with white kid leather. HI, HH		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Comments	<p>Sole and top piece - all one. Shoes are straights but are marked left and right (gauche and droit) on the quarter linings and on the sole. Label on sock - Buhot, Ladies Shoemaker, No. 35 Broad street, Golden Square London - with some numbers lower down followed by Oxford St (or Oxfords[hire]). Label on sole stating 1785 shoes belonging to Betsy Bugue(?) Afterwards Mrs New, ... Martha's own mother. Fold lines on vamp and quarters suggesting that the shoes have been kept flat (sold flat?).</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Pink kid shoes with white kid covered heel, curving wedge, pointed toe. Remains of drawstrings, label inside - Buhot Ladies Shoemaker. Dirty and tatty.</i></p>				
Condition	Very dirty. Topbinding coming away leaving drawstring loose. Sole shows signs of wear. Lining and quarters apart due to loss of topbinding. Quarters and back seam becoming creased and requires support. S1, S2, S3, S5/4, S8, L4, CC, SB				
Storage	Metal drawer lined with Plastazote; stuffed with polyester wadding				
Date of survey	12 May 2010		Figure Nos.	163, 176	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LABEL	WRITING ON QUARTERS
	


Survey No.	73				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1780s				
Colour	Cream				
Collection	Hereford City Museums				
Ref	4366				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	23cm	Heel height	5cm	Backstrap length	5.6cm
Sole width		Sole depth	3mm	Top piece depth	5mm
Materials	L, TSR, TSS, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Cream silk satin lined with white plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Cream silk satin lined with white plain weave linen.	
Latches & Lining	Cream silk satin lined with white plain weave linen. FB		Tongue & Lining	Cream silk satin lined with white plain weave linen. GP	
Topbinding	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide.		Backstrap	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 11mm wide.	
Toe	EP		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	N/A		Sock	White plain weave linen.	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather	
Heel	Cream satin covered. HI, HH		Top piece	Brown leather, white top-stitching	
Comments	<p>Fold lines on vamp and quarters suggesting that the shoes have been kept flat (sold flat?).</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Fairly low peg top heels covered with satin, leather soles.</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Latches - evidence of buckle use, very dirty but generally sound. Collapse of quarters without support. Heavily creased due to manufacture. Backstrap ribbon failing. CB, SA/B, S5, T1, T2, T8, T13</p>				
Storage	Metal drawer lined with Plastazote; stuffed with polyester wadding (too big).				
Date of survey	12 May 2010		Figure Nos.	109	

<p style="text-align: center;">FRONT FACING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SIDE VIEW</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">REAR VIEW</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SOLE</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">INSOLE/SOCK & LINING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS</p>
	


Survey No.	74				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	Late 18th century [1780s]				
Colour	Blue and pink				
Collection	Hereford City Museums				
Ref	4391				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	23.5cm	Heel height	3cm	Backstrap length	5.5cm
Sole width	7.2cm	Sole depth	1mm	Top piece depth	1.5mm
Materials	L, TLP, TSO, TSR, M, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Blue figured silk lined with undyed plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Blue figured silk lined with undyed plain weave linen.	
Latchets & Lining	Pink figured silk lined with undyed plain weave linen. FB, FQ		Tongue & Lining	Blue figured silk lined with pink silk. GS	
Topbinding	Pink grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide.		Backstrap	Pink grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide.	
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None		Sock	White plain weave linen.	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather	
Heel	Covered with pink figured silk. HI, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p>Silk figured with triangular pattern. Loopy pattern embroidery on vamp made up of black spangles and metal purl with some pink spangles, although some missing. Ink writing on lining of quarters Mrs/Miss W??? (has become too blurred to read properly). Fold lines on vamp and quarters suggesting that the shoes have been kept flat (sold flat?).</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Pink and pale blue with black sequin trimming. Gently pointing toes. Late 18th century.</i></p>				
Condition	One shoe particularly has collapsed at the quarters/back seam areas. The silk is badly split. Sock peeling away from insole. Rust stains present on vamp - maybe from buckle. CC, SB, S3, S5/10, S8, T1, T2, T7, T11, T12,				
Storage	Metal drawer lined with Plastazote; stuffed with polyester wadding				
Date of survey	12 May 2010		Figure Nos.	343	




FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING SHOWING WRITING	VAMP DETAIL
	


Survey No.	75				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1780				
Colour	Blue and cream				
Collection	Hereford City Museums				
Ref	4991				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	20.6cm	Heel height	5cm	Backstrap length	
Sole width	6.6cm	Sole depth	1mm	Top piece depth	3mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSR, TSS, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Blue satin lined with white plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Blue satin lined with white kid leather.	
Latches & Lining	Blue satin lined with white kid leather. FR		Tongue & Lining	Blue satin lined with cream satin. GS	
Topbinding	Cream grosgrain ribbon -10mm wide.		Backstrap	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide.	
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None - white kid leather side lining.		Sock	White kid leather	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather	
Heel	Covered with cream satin. HL, HN		Top piece	Brown leather, white stitching.	
Comments	<p>Construction - kid welt appears to have been pasted to the linen lining of the vamp. There appears to be no pasting between the lining and the satin. Latches - buttonhole stitch around piercing seems quite clumsy and may have been done later or maybe cut down from buckle latches - if so the cuts on the vamp would have been hidden by the buckle.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Blue satin lined with kid shoes c. 1780 with two flaps with eyelets for ribbon.</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Shoes are in poor condition. The satin on the vamp has split and is lifting away all along the side seam on the true left on one shoe and true right on the other. The back seam joining the quarters is failing and the backstrap is disintegrating. Both shoes have a hole surrounded by brown staining on the uppers beneath the latchet join. The satin at the base of the quarters has also split and is loose in many places. CD, SC/D, S1, S3, T1, T2, T6, T7, T8, T9, T11</p>				
Storage	Metal drawer lined with Plastazote; stuffed with polyester wadding				
Date of survey	12 May 2010		Figure Nos.	26, 84, 85, 334	







<p style="text-align: center;">FRONT FACING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SIDE VIEW</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">REAR VIEW</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SOLE</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">INSOLE/SOCK & LINING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">PIERCED LATCHET</p>
	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	DECORATION ON VAMP
	

Survey No.	77				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, slip on				
Date	1785-1790				
Colour	Black				
Collection	Leicestershire County Council				
Ref	3.1932				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	24cm	Heel height	4.5cm	Backstrap length	
Sole width	6.5cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSR, TSS, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Black satin lined with white plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Black satin lined with white kid leather.	
Latchets & Lining	None		Tongue & Lining	None	
Topbinding	Black grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide. Black drawstring tied under vamp - 3mm wide.		Backstrap	Black grosgrain ribbon 6mm wide.	
Toe	EP, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	None	
Rand	None but white kid leather side lining.		Sock	White plain weave linen.	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather. SDB fiddle pattern; SDR x 3	
Heel	Black satin. HI, HH		Top piece	Brown leather, white stitching	
Comments	Can see where the shape of a foot has been on the vamp, from a side view, where toe finished in relation to the toe on the shoe. Fold lines on vamp and quarters suggesting that the shoes have been kept flat (sold flat?).				
Condition	Some old repairs down the vamp of one shoe; satin frayed and worn in places. On the tip of the toes the lining has been stained black to disguise the loss of satin. Sock peeling away from insole. CC, SB, S3, S6, T1, T11				
Storage	In box wrapped in acid free tissue paper.				
Date of survey	12 June 2012		Figure Nos.	38, 82, 340, 355	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	WORN TOE
	







Survey No.	78				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1780				
Colour	Dull yellow (mustard)				
Collection	Northampton Museum				
Ref	1959-60.85				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	19.7cm	Heel height	6.4cm	Backstrap length	6cm
Sole width	7.2cm	Sole depth	3mm	Top piece depth	5mm
Materials	L, TLP, TSS				
Vamp & Lining	Yellow satin lined with undyed plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Yellow satin lined with undyed plain weave linen.	
Latches & Lining	Pointed ends. Yellow satin lined with undyed plain weave linen. FB, FQ		Tongue & Lining	Yellow satin lined with undyed plain weave linen GP	
Topbinding	Silk grosgrain ribbon - c 8mm wide.		Backstrap	Silk grosgrain ribbon - c 8mm wide.	
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	None	
Rand	None		Sock	Brown leather	
Insole			Sole	Brown leather, SDS, SDR	
Heel	Wood covered with undyed plain weave linen and would have been covered with matching silk. HI, HN		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Comments	<p>Concealed shoe. Fold lines on vamp and quarters suggesting that the shoes have been kept flat (sold flat?).</p> <p><i>Previous owner James Hart. One of the show pieces of Mr Hart, a high class shoemaker whose business was established in 1913. Building work, Potterspury, Northamptonshire. Built in under the windowsill of a Cromwellian cottage. Italian heel (slender and wedged).</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Heel covering completely lost with some loss in the linen lining revealing the wood. Satin very dirty and discoloured with some foxing. Satin split and frayed. Rust marks on latchet probably from buckles. CD, SB, S2, S3, T1, T2, T6, T8, T11, T13</p>				
Storage	In store, in shoe box lined and shoe stuffed with acid free tissue.				
Date of survey	21 February 2011		Figure Nos.	283, 354	


<p style="text-align: center;">FRONT FACING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SIDE VIEW</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">REAR VIEW</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SOLE</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">INSOLE/SOCK & LINING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS</p>
	







Survey No.	79			
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches			
Date	1780			
Colour	Black			
Collection	Nottingham City Museum and Galleries			
Ref	NCM 1881.77			
DIMENSIONS				
Length	21cm (21.6cm)	Heel height	4cm	Backstrap length
Sole width	5.5cm (5.7cm)	Sole depth		Top piece depth
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSS, W			
Vamp & Lining	Black satin with white linen lining.	Quarters & Lining	Black satin with white kid leather lining.	
Latches & Lining	Black satin. FB	Tongue & Lining	Black satin. GP	
Topbinding	None - uppers and linings joined by line of black stitching.	Backstrap	None - 3 lines of stitching around back seam.	
Toe	EP	Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None	Sock	White kid	
Insole	Brown leather	Sole	Leather	
Heel	Black satin. HI, HN	Top piece	Leather	
Comments	<p><i>1770-1790 Italian heels. 3.8cm high covered wood heel, curved and tapering down to small tip of leather wedge underfoot: leather sole, with pointed toe and continuing under wedge; upper 3 pieces of satin plain vamp cut with pointed tongue; 2 long heel pieces, each cut with a strap ('latches') for buckle, overlapping on vamp, centre back seam and inverted U shaped seams on to vamp, all seams with double line of stitches. Lining: foundation and toe lining of coarse white linen, white kid sock. L. 21.6cm W. 5.7cm; silk.</i></p>			
Condition	<p>Quarters badly split, scuffed and lost fibres. Fastenings worn along edges, some surface loss, linings very dirty. Insole - leather sock lifting away from insole, very dirty. Sole, top piece and tongue in good condition. Old repair on quarter. CC, SC, S3, S6, T1, T6, T10, T11, T12, L4.</p>			
Storage	Stuffed with tissue, wool and calico.			
Date of survey	18 February 2009	Figure Nos.	341	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	DAMAGE TO QUARTERS
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS
	





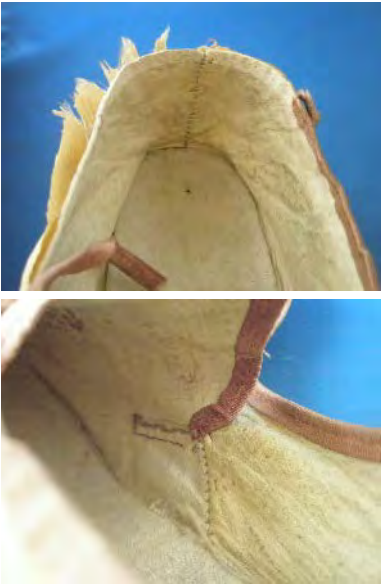

Survey No.	80			
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches			
Date	1785			
Colour	Red; white			
Collection	Nottingham City Museum and Galleries			
Ref	NCM 1966.8			
DIMENSIONS				
Length	20cm (20.3cm)	Heel height	8cm (7cm)	Backstrap length
Sole width	6.8cm (7cm)	Sole depth		Top piece depth
Materials	L, TLP, TSR, TSS, TSV, W			
Vamp & Lining	Red uncut velvet with cut pattern now faded to pink. White linen lining.		Quarters & Lining	Red velvet with uncut pattern now faded to pink. White linen lining. Marked H3 on one shoe only.
Latches & Lining	White silk satin lined with white linen. FB		Tongue & Lining	Red velvet with uncut pattern now faded to pink. White silk lining. GS
Topbinding	Cream grosgrain ribbon.		Backstrap	Cream grosgrain ribbon.
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	
Rand	None		Sock	White plain weave linen around insole.
Insole			Sole	Brown leather. SDS, SDR x3
Heel	Cream satin. The heel comes to a sharp point at the back. HI, HN		Top piece	Brown leather
Comments	<p><i>Red uncut velvet, woven with diaper of a flower on a curved stem with a large leaf of tabs and a small trefoil leaf; white satin; straights; high 'Italian' heels. 7cm high heel of wood covered with satin, curved and tapered down to leather tip, wedge under foot, sueded leather sole, pointed toe, upper of 3 pieces of velvet, the vamp cut with tongue, cranked side seams on to 2 heel pieces, centre back seam; each heel piece with an applied flared and pointed tab ('latches') of satin over linen canvas, for buckle, overlapping on tongue; all edges and seams bound with white silk grosgrain ribbon. Lining: white linen canvas, white silk woven with white flowers and coloured stripes behind tongues. Mark in one shoe only, handwritten in ink H3. 1780-1790. L 20.3, W 7cm, silk. Elizabeth Hurt of Alderwasley, Co Derby married Thomas Webb Edge (1756-1819) in 1785.</i></p>			
Condition	Vamp, quarters, topbinding and backstrap much faded but otherwise good. Sole and top piece - good. Latches - good with evidence of buckle use. Heel - sharp crease resulting in split in silk; discoloured. CB, CB, S4, T7, T8, T13.			
Storage	Stuffed with 3 sheets of tissue.			
Date of survey	18 February 2009		Figure Nos.	15


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
DETAIL OF VELVET ON VAMP	WRITING ON QUARTER LINING
	

Survey No.	81				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1780				
Colour	Black				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO101				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22.5cm (26.7cm)	Heel height	4.5cm (3.8cm)	Backstrap length	
Sole width	7.9cm	Sole depth	2-3mm	Top piece depth	
Materials	L, TLP, TW, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Black wool with white plain weave linen lining.		Quarters & Lining	Black wool with white plain weave linen lining.	
Latches & Lining	Black wool with white plain weave linen lining. FB		Tongue & Lining	Black wool with white plain weave linen lining. Miss Mielly? handwritten on lining. GP.	
Topbinding	None - line of stitching around upper edges and latchet.		Backstrap	None	
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None		Sock	White twill weave linen.	
Insole	Not visible.		Sole	Brown leather, polished finish and skived around heel. SDS	
Heel	Covered with black wool. HI, HN		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Comments	<p>No extra stiffening between wool and lining therefore not able to self support.</p> <p><i>Mackenzie (2004, 32) - states writing says Miss Molly.</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Examined in 1982 (no specific information gained). Vamp, quarters and tongue all show signs of moth damage with grazing holes. Side seams have come unstitched and back seams appear to be becoming unstitched. Latches - some marking from buckle usage. Staining. Linings generally dirty. Much less insect damage on second shoe and seams more in fact.</p> <p>CC, SC, S2, S4, T2, T7, T13, G1</p>				
Storage	In cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store, stuffed with calico covered polyester wadding forma.				
Date of survey	13 May 2010		Figure Nos.	236, 308	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS
	







Survey No.	82				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1775-85 (1780s)				
Colour	Pink				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO104				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	21.2cm (20cm)	Heel height	6.5cm (6cm)	Backstrap length	
Sole width	5.9cm	Sole depth	1mm (2mm)	Top piece depth	
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSO, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Pink chequered weave silk lined with white plain weave linen. French knot effect embroidery.		Quarters & Lining	Pink chequered weave silk lined with white kid leather.	
Latches & Lining	Pink chequered weave silk lined with white kid leather. FB		Tongue & Lining	Pink chequered weave silk lined with white plain weave linen. GP	
Topbinding	Pink silk grosgrain ribbon.		Backstrap	Pink silk grosgrain ribbon.	
Toe	EB, slight EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None -side lining palpable under linen lining.		Sock	White plain weave linen.	
Insole			Sole	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Heel	Pink silk taffeta covered. HI, HN		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Comments	<p>Vamp decoration - created by ribbon threaded through silk and lining at intervals giving a French knot effect. Left and right just discernible from wear patterns on sole. Heel weave directions slightly different on each shoe; the one more on the bias has more cockling and bubbles and the silk has failed to adhere properly to the base.</p> <p><i>Mackenzie (2004, 42) - Spor weave silk; turnshoe construction.</i></p>				
Condition	<p>One shoe is significantly worse than the other. Heel covering - very dirty with some loss. Silk uppers - very dirty, worn around the toes and splitting badly on the quarters of one shoe in particular, exposing the lining beneath. Latches have signs of buckle usage with holes and creasing and are beginning to split. Topbinding - has come detached on quarters of worst shoe. Sole and top piece evidence of wear. CC, SB, S1, S3, S10, T1, T2, T3, T6, T8, T11</p> <p><i>1982 examination: one in bad repair. Assessed in 2009 as CC, SC.</i></p>				
Storage	In cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store, stuffed with calico covered polyester wadding forma.				
Date of survey	13 May 2010		Figure Nos.	38, 298	

<p>VAMP - FRONT FACING</p>	<p>SIDE VIEW</p>
	
<p>REAR VIEW</p>	<p>SOLE</p>
	
<p>INSOLE/SOCK & LINING</p>	<p>LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS</p>
	

Survey No.	83				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, slip-ons				
Date	1780s				
Colour	Black				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO113				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	26cm	Heel height	4cm	Backstrap length	
Sole width	6.5cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSR, TWS, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Black glazed wool sateen lined with white plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Black glazed wool sateen lined with white kid leather. Extra strip of white kid (7mm wide) reinforcing top of back seam.	
Latchets & Lining	None		Tongue & Lining	None	
Topbinding	Black silk grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide.		Backstrap	Black silk grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide.	
Toe	EP		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	Heel stiffener in brown leather.	
Rand	None		Sock	White plain weave linen $\frac{3}{4}$ sock (toe not covered).	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Polished leather/suede contrast with white stitching around heel breast. SBS, SDB, SBR x 5	
Heel	Covered with black leather with white stitching. HI, HH		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Comments	<p><i>Mackenzie (2004, 44) "Toe is needlepoint ... The heel is Italian shaped ... The sole continues to the heel breast as on a Louis heel."</i></p> <p><i>Bradfield (1995, 78)</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Fabric (both wool and lining) worn through at toe tip. Vamp and quarters - moth holes and surface grazing. Large split in fabric in true left quarter. Topbinding - splitting in several places and discoloured on the inner quarters. Sock edges lifting and grubby. Sole - some cracking of the leather in the toe area. Linings all dirty. Heel - scuffed and delaminating particularly around seat.</p> <p>CC, SB, S3, T6, T8, T11, T12, L1, L3, L7, G1</p> <p><i>1982 examination - worn at heel and toe.</i></p>				
Storage	In cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store, stuffed with calico covered polyester wadding. In the same box as SNO114.				
Date of survey	13 May 2010		Figure Nos.	49, 236, 292, 327	

FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE & DRAWSTRING WITH LEATHER WELT
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	WHITE STITCHING ON SIDE AND BACK SEAMS.
	


Survey No.	84				
Shoe Description	Single, straight, slip-on				
Date	1780s				
Colour	Olive green, cream				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO114				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	25cm (23.2cm)	Heel height	5cm (4.5cm)	Backstrap length	4.5cm
Sole width	7cm	Sole depth	3mm	Top piece depth	
Materials	L, TSR, TLP				
Vamp & Lining	Olive green leather (morocco?) lined with plain weave linen. Decorated with cream grosgrain ribbon decoration.		Quarters & Lining	Olive green leather lined with plain weave linen.	
Latchets & Lining	None		Tongue & Lining	Olive green leather lined with plain weave linen. GP	
Topbinding	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 7mm wide.		Backstrap	Cream grosgrain ribbon - 7mm wide. Little left but evidence remains.	
Toe	EP		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None		Sock	White plain weave linen. Patched in toe.	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather, white stitching. SDB	
Heel	Covered in white-cream leather, highly polished. HI, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p>Label on socks reads Barry Ladies Shoe Maker, from Mr Dodd's, Jermyn Street, St James's Lo(ndon) Gloc(ester). Decoration on vamp - plain weave linen oval shape with loosely pleated ribbon around edge and rosette of grosgrain ribbon (1.3cm/½" wide) in centre.</p> <p><i>Mackenzie (2004, 44, 52) - turnshoe construction</i> <i>Bradfield (1995, 78)</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Leather generally worn and discoloured, possibly embrittled, some delamination. Topbinding and backstrap - much of silk is lost resulting in uppers and linings separating. The ribbon on the rosette is torn and frayed (possibly eaten when cp. SNO113). The sock is dirty and is lifting from the insole. Heel - very dirty, scuffed and delaminating, small hole (woodworm?) Top piece - small piece missing. CC, SB, S3, T1, T3, T6, T7, T8, L1, L4, L7, L8, G1 (poss).</p> <p><i>1982 examination - bad general condition.</i></p>				
Storage	In cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store, stuffed with polyester wadding. Stored in same box as SNO113.				
Date of survey	13 May 2010		Figure Nos.	42, 73, 315, 321	






<p>DETAIL OF VAMP DECORATION</p>	<p>SIDE VIEW</p>
	
<p>REAR VIEW</p>	<p>SOLE</p>
	
<p>INSOLE/SOCK & LINING</p>	<p>LABEL & HEEL</p>
	

Survey No.	85				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, slip-ons				
Date	1780s				
Colour	Black				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO141				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	23.4cm (2.8cm)	Heel height	6.5cm (4.5cm)	Backstrap length	6cm
Sole width	8.2cm	Sole depth	3mm	Top piece depth	4mm
Materials	L, TC, TLP				
Vamp & Lining	Black leather lined with white plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Black leather lined with white plain weave linen.	
Latchets & Lining	None		Tongue & Lining	Black leather lined with white plain weave linen. GP	
Topbinding	Black cotton(?) twill tape (11mm wide). Fine cream cord drawstring.		Backstrap	Black cotton(?) twill tape (11mm wide).	
Toe	EB		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None		Sock		
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather with dark coloured stitching.	
Heel	Cover with black smooth, polished leather. HI, HH		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Comments	Left and right discernible from wear patterns. <i>Mackenzie (2004, 40) "Peg heel, flat slipper... They are of turnshoe construction."</i> <i>Bradfield (1995, 73)</i>				
Condition	Vamp and quarters - well worn with cracking, crazing and delamination of the leather. Tongue on one shoe - leather lost on tip exposing lining. Brown suede side of leather also exposed. Backstrap partly lost on one shoe. Topbinding - some loss, previous repair carried out with large oversewing stitches. Some loss of fibres and creasing on the linings. Heel cover scuffed and marked. CC, SB, S3, S6, L1, L2, L3, L7, T1, T13. <i>1982 examination - well worn.</i>				
Storage	In cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store,				
Date of survey	13 May 2010		Figure Nos.	38, 297	




<p style="text-align: center;">FRONT FACING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">QUARTERS</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">REAR VIEW</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SOLE</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">INSOLE/SOCK & LINING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">DETAIL OF TONGUE</p>
	


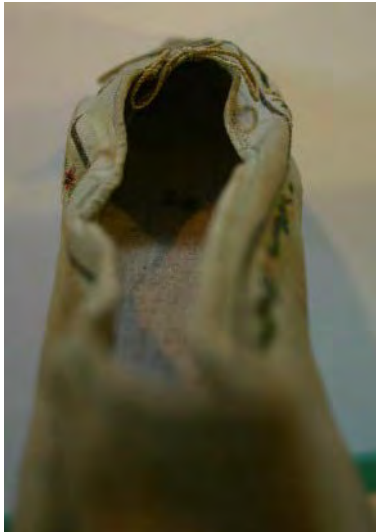

Survey No.	86				
Shoe Description	Single, straight, slip-on				
Date	1780-1790				
Colour	Pink, yellow				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO138				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	30.5cm	Heel height	1.9cm	Backstrap length	
Sole width		Sole depth		Top piece depth	
Materials	L, TLP, TW, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Yellow printed leather with plain weave linen lining.		Quarters & Lining	Pink printed leather with plain weave linen lining.	
Latchets & Lining	None		Tongue & Lining	None	
Topbinding	Yellow wool.		Backstrap		
Toe	EP, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	Kid heel stiffener.	
Rand	None		Sock	White plain weave linen.	
Insole			Sole	Brown leather	
Heel	Covered in pink leather. Low, small. HI, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p><i>Mackenzie (2004, 46) - "uppers of kid with yellow vamp and pink quarters, printed with black honeycomb design. The toes are needlepoint, domed and upcurved. in Chinese taste. ... turnshoe construction"</i></p> <p><i>Bradfield (1995, 78)</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Separation of lining and quarters. Upper separating from sole one one shoe. Sock peeling and curling away from insole.</p> <p><i>1982 examination - poor, leather faded, stitching breaking down at heels. V. dirty.</i></p> <p><i>2009 assessment - leather in poor condition, needs to be assessed by a leather conservator. Wool binding is worn, breaking down and has areas of loss at the seat.</i></p>				
Storage	On display but otherwise in cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store stuffed with calico covered polyester wadding forma.				
Date of survey	13 May 2010		Figure Nos.		


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW 1
	
ANGLED VIEW	SIDE VIEW 2
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	
	

COMPLETED SURVEY FORMS 1790-1800




Survey No.	87				
Shoe Description	Single, straight, slip-on				
Date	1790				
Colour	Pale blue				
Collection	Clarks Museum				
Ref	W17+sD1				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	25.5cm	Heel height	3cm	Backstrap length	5.5cm
Sole width	6.5cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	3mm
Materials	L, TC, TSR, TSS, M, MB, W				
Vamp & Lining	Pale blue silk satin lined with close plain weave cotton(?) Embroidered with silk, spangles and metal thread onto the satin only.		Quarters & Lining	Pale blue silk satin lined with close plain weave cotton(?)	
Latchets & Lining	None		Tongue & Lining	None	
Topbinding	Pale blue grosgrain ribbon forming a channel for cord drawstring.		Backstrap	Blue grosgrain ribbon 10mm wide.	
Toe	EP, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	None	
Rand	None		Sock	White plain weave linen taken around insole.	
Insole			Sole	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Heel	Wood covered with satin with white stitching. HI, HH		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Comments	1 back seam, the rest of the upper in one piece. Fold lines on vamp and quarters suggesting that the shoes have been kept flat (sold flat?). Metal thread applied in satin stitch over gold coloured satin ribbon which would suggest that it was originally gilt.				
Condition	Part of heel cover missing exposing wooden heel. Satin splitting in places. Sock dirty and stained. Metal threads tarnished with exposed core fibre in places. Uppers generally dirty but there are minimal signs of wear. Grubbiness could have been caused by wrapping in black tissue which also failed to prevent tarnish. CB, SB, T2, T11, T12, M1, M3				
Storage	Shoe box, black tissue paper wrapping and stuffing.				
Date of survey	26 August 2010			Figure Nos.	22, 212

FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	VAMP EMBROIDERY
	

Survey No.	88			
Shoe Description	Single, straight, slip-on			
Date	1790			
Colour	Red			
Collection	Clarks Museum			
Ref	W17+sD2			
DIMENSIONS				
Length		Heel height		Backstrap length
Sole width		Sole depth		Top piece depth
Materials	L [W]			
Vamp & Lining	Red morocco leather, unlined.		Quarters & Lining	Red morocco leather, unlined.
Latchets & Lining	None		Tongue & Lining	None
Topbinding	None - line of red stitching.		Backstrap	
Toe	EP		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	
Rand	None		Sock	
Insole			Sole	
Heel	Red morocco leather heel cover. Low HI, HH.		Top piece	
Comments	Two piece upper.			
Condition	Sides falling in together - needs some support. CB, CB			
Storage	Clarks shoe box with black tissue paper, stuffed with white tissue paper in vamp.			
Date of survey	26 August 2010		Figure Nos.	-623,466


SIDE VIEW



Survey No.	89			
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, slip-on			
Date	1790			
Colour	Purple			
Collection	Clarks Museum			
Ref	W17+sD5			
DIMENSIONS				
Length		Heel height	3cm (1 1/4")	Backstrap length
Sole width		Sole depth		Top piece depth
Materials	L, LK, TSR, [W]			
Vamp & Lining	Purple leather.		Quarters & Lining	Purple leather with white kid leather lining with an added leather strip supporting quarters.
Latchets & Lining	None		Tongue & Lining	None
Topbinding	Purple grosgrain ribbon.		Backstrap	
Toe	EP		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	
Rand	None		Sock	
Insole			Sole	Brown leather
Heel	Purple leather cover with white stitching. HI, HH		Top piece	Brown leather
Comments	<p>2 piece upper. Fold lines on vamp and quarters suggesting that the shoes have been kept flat (sold flat?).</p> <p><i>Ladies pump, purple glace kid. Handsewn turnshoe. 1 1/4" waisted self covered Louis heel, white edge stitched around. Draw strings through topline braid. White canvas lining. Pointed toe. Leather sole. Straights. Condition: unworn/faded. Acquired:- June 22 1953 from Cecil D Wright, 24 Palace Street, Staple gate Antiques. Pair.</i></p>			
Condition	Faded leather but otherwise sound. CB, CB, S3, S6, L2, L7			
Storage	Clarks shoe box wrapped in black tissue with Melinex support in quarters.			
Date of survey	26 August 2010		Figure Nos.	170


SIDE VIEW



Survey No.	90			
Shoe Description	Single, straight, slip-on			
Date	1790			
Colour	Red			
Collection	Clarks Museum			
Ref	W17+sD11			
DIMENSIONS				
Length		Heel height	3cm (1 1/4")	Backstrap length
Sole width		Sole depth		Top piece depth
Materials	LK, TLP, TSR			
Vamp & Lining	Red leather with undyed linen lining.		Quarters & Lining	Red leather with undyed linen lining. White leather strip to reinforce top of back seam.
Latchets & Lining	None		Tongue & Lining	None
Topbinding	Pink (red) grosgrain ribbon encasing drawstring.		Backstrap	
Toe	EP		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	
Rand	None		Sock	
Insole			Sole	Brown leather with white stitching.
Heel	Red leather heel cover with white top stitching. HI, HH		Top piece	Brown leather
Comments	<p>2 piece upper. Fold lines on vamp and quarters suggesting that the shoes have been kept flat (sold flat?).</p> <p><i>1790, pump, red kid, handsewn turnshoe, 1 1/4" self covered Louis heel, white topstitching. Drawstrings edging top line. Linen lining, leather heel grip, pointed toe. Condition:- unworn/good. Single.</i></p>			
Condition	What looks like ink stain on quarter. Hole in heel - woodworm. CB, SB, T7, L4, G1			
Storage	Shoe box with white tissue paper and Melinex support.			
Date of survey	26 August 2010		Figure Nos.	109

SIDE VIEW



Survey No.	91				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, slip-ons				
Date	1790s				
Colour	Black				
Collection	Clarks Museum				
Ref	W17+sD18				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	27.5cm (10 1/2")	Heel height	3.5cm (1 1/4")	Backstrap length	6cm
Sole width	7.5cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	2mm
Materials	L, TLP, TSR, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Black leather, brown fabric lined with undyed plain weave linen. Decorative white chain stitch embroidery. Length - 7cm		Quarters & Lining	Black leather, brown fabric lined with undyed plain weave linen. Length - 27.5 cm	
Latches & Lining	None		Tongue & Lining	None	
Topbinding	Black grosgrain ribbon 9mm.		Backstrap	Black grosgrain ribbon 9mm	
Toe	EP, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	2 layers of wool in toe.	
Rand	None		Sock	Undyed plain weave linen around insole.	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Heel	Black leather with white stitching, HI,HH		Top piece	Brown leather with white stitching on heel breast. SDB, SDR x 3	
Comments	<p>Black leather (3.5 at 1/4) with upper part (2cm) of brown twill weave fabric (cotton sateen?).</p> <p><i>1790s. Heeled slippers. Black glace kid golosh/brown cloth upper. Length 10 1/2". Straights. Leather sole and 1 1/4" semi-wedge heel (Louis style). Black galloon along top line of upper and double lines of stitching along top line of golosh - white thread. Very polished toe. Canvas lining and sock. Pair. Worn/fair leather very worn. Given by Mr George Hayward to J Edwards and Son Ltd, 61 Deansgate, Manchester, May, 1974.</i></p>				
Condition	Worn. Does not sit very flat. Stitching coming undone on backstrap and top binding. Sock - very dirty. Brown fabric lost at quarter. CC, SC, S3, S8, T1, T8, T11, L1, L2, L7.				
Storage	Stuffed with white tissue paper.				
Date of survey	26 August 2010			Figure Nos.	15

FRONT FACING



QUARTER & DRAWSTRING



REAR VIEW



SOLE








INSOLE/SOCK & LINING










DETAIL





Survey No.	92				
Shoe Description	Single, straight, slip-on				
Date	1790s				
Colour	Brown				
Collection	Gunnersbury Park Museum				
Ref	2831				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	24cm (25.4cm)	Heel height	7.5cm (8.9cm)	Backstrap length	4cm
Sole width	5cm (6.6cm)	Sole depth	1.5mm	Top piece depth	3mm
Materials	L, LK, TL, TSR, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Leather cut out to reveal linen lining.		Quarters & Lining	Leather with white kid lining.	
Latchets & Lining	None		Tongue & Lining	None	
Topbinding	Black grosgrain ribbon with white stripe (selvedge) on the inside edge. - 8mm wide		Backstrap	Black grosgrain ribbon - 8mm wide. Most missing.	
Toe	EP		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None		Sock	White plain weave linen.	
Insole			Sole	Punch marked, leather. SDR	
Heel	Leather heel cover. HI, HH		Top piece	Brown leather, white stitching	
Comments	<p>Dark brown (once purple?) Leather with ladder style pattern cut in vamp revealing lighter fabric beneath. Drawstring within topbinding.</p> <p><i>Lady's shoe, 1790s. Desc: silk lined with linen (?), Upper, pointed toe. 89mm heel. Upper is dark brown (?) With ladder style pattern cut in toe, exposing lighter layer. Diagonal stitching approx 1/3 length from toe either side, with one row covered with black cloth tape. Upper edge covered with same except at toe where upper is split. Vertical seam above heel. Linen (?) Lining. Thin curving heel. Hand stitched. Dim: 254mm long x 199mm high x 66mm wide (approx). Cond: fair, leather badly cracked, finish wearing off, upper stitching at heel coming apart, lining curling at edges. Italian heel: side seams close to toe, sharply pointed toe - SKW. Prov: donated by Dr and Mrs Ducat deposited by Brandford and Chiswick Library Committee, July 1952. 7/92 SEM & June Swann = 1790s = sandal shoe; ladder style to simulate Greek sandals. Style is widespread in Western Europe at the time.</i></p>				
Condition	Leather delaminating and cracked. Sock lifting. Hole in top of vamp. Heel badly scuffed. Top of back seam failed. CC/D, SC, S2, S3, L1, L3, L7				
Storage	In box wrapped in tissue with fabric and tissue support as well as kapok.				
Date of survey	29 September 2011		Figure Nos.	38, 296	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	QUARTER & BACK SEAM DAMAGE
	







Survey No.	93				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, slip-ons				
Date	1790s				
Colour	Black				
Collection	Hereford Museum				
Ref	857				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22.4cm	Heel height	7cm	Backstrap length	
Sole width	6cm	Sole depth	2mm	Top piece depth	4mm
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSR, TW				
Vamp & Lining	Black glazed wool lined with natural coloured/beige plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Black glazed wool lined with white kid leather.	
Latchets & Lining	None		Tongue & Lining	None	
Topbinding	Black grosgrain ribbon - 10mm wide encasing black S twist cord drawstring.		Backstrap	Black grosgrain ribbon - 8mm wide.	
Toe	EP		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	Folded leather and linen in toe.	
Rand	None		Sock	White plain weave linen.	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Brown leather, fiddle pattern contrasting leather and suede. SDB, SDR x 5.	
Heel	Covered with black leather with white top stitching. HI, HN		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p>Pleated ribbon decoration on one shoe. Drawstring around both to tighten. Closed side seams with grosgrain covering. Writing on quarters - Mrs W??? Fold lines on vamp and quarters suggesting that the shoes have been kept flat (sold flat?).</p> <p><i>Pair of black shoes c 1790s. Black gathered ribbon trim on the bridge of foot of one shoe, split down the middle of the other. Fairly high Italian kid heel, pointed toes.</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Large split down the centre vamp on one shoe through wool and lining (hole used to tie label through). Linings of toes visible through lost wool. Heel cover scuffed and delaminating. Some small holes in the vamp maybe due to insect damage. All linings very dirty with some stains. Sock coming away from insole and is creased and stained from wear. Some collapse of quarters when unsupported - wadding not really sufficient. CD, SC, S1, S3, S8, T2, T8, L1, L4, L7, G1.</p>				
Storage	Metal drawer lined with Plastazote; stuffed with polyester wadding				
Date of survey	12 May 2010		Figure Nos.	87, 236, 239, 339	


<p>DETAIL OF VAMP DECORATION</p>	<p>SIDE VIEW</p>
	
<p>REAR VIEW</p>	<p>SOLE</p>
	
<p>INSOLE/SOCK & LINING</p>	<p>WRITING ON QUARTER</p>
	







Survey No.	94				
Shoe Description	Single, straight, slip-on				
Date	1790				
Colour	Red				
Collection	Museum of Lincolnshire Life/Usher Gallery				
Ref	UG2565 or LCNUG 1927/2565B				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	24cm	Heel height	3.5cm	Backstrap length	
Sole width	8.2cm	Sole depth		Top piece depth	
Materials	L, TSR, TLP				
Vamp & Lining	Red leather		Quarters & Lining	Red leather with undyed linen lining.	
Latchets & Lining	None		Tongue & Lining	None	
Topbinding	Beige grosgrain ribbon - most likely was red.		Backstrap	Beige grosgrain ribbon - most likely was red. Top stitching matching.	
Toe	EP		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None		Sock	Undyed linen with label.	
Insole	Brown leather		Sole	Leather, white top stitching around heel end. SDB	
Heel	Red leather. HI, HH		Top piece	Leather	
Comments	<p>Label "Taylor & Sons, shoemakers to Her Majesty Her Royal Highnesses the Princess Royal, Princess Mary, Princess Sophia, Cockspur Street, Charing Cross, London." 1785-95 Princess Royal married in 1797 when became Queen of Wurtemberg.</p> <p><i>1 of a pair of red leather shoes, with low heels and very pointed toes; marked with makers name and address. EXHIBITION/DISPLAY: 'Frocks and Fripperies: Ladies' Dress and Accessories from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century,' 1.7.1995 - 24.3.1996 NOTE exhibition at two venues; Usher Gallery, finished 8.10.1995; Museum of Lincolnshire Life, finished 24.3.1996</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Quarters - some cracking of leather. Topbinding and backstrap ribbon split and degraded towards the backstrap and vamp, repair carried out but also failing. Insole - peeling away from edges slightly; otherwise good. Sole - limited wear, outlines of previous accession number stickers. Top piece -split around heel. Label torn and worn away in places. CC, SB, S6, T3, T11, L2, L3, L5</p>				
Storage	<p>Costume store since 1998. Displayed in Usher Gallery to 8.10.95 and in MLL to 24.3.96. Stuffed with tissue (not shaped), wrapped in tissue in box.</p>				
Date of survey	13 August 2008		Figure Nos.	317, 320, 323	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LABEL
	

Survey No.	95				
Shoe Description	Single, straight, slip-on				
Date	1795				
Colour	Red and white				
Collection	Nottingham City Museum and Galleries				
Ref	CTLOAN 12/1				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	24.8cm (24.8cm)	Heel height	5.5cm (4.8cm)	Backstrap length	
Sole width	6.4cm (6.4cm)	Sole depth		Top piece depth	
Materials	L, TLP, TS, TSR, W				
Vamp & Lining	Red morocco leather cut away to reveal white taffeta with pink (faded red) silk chain stitch bows and loops. Coarse linen lining.		Quarters & Lining	Red morocco leather. Coarse linen lining.	
Latchets & Lining	None		Tongue & Lining	None	
Topbinding	White grosgrain ribbon.		Backstrap		
Toe	EP		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None		Sock	Coarse linen around insole	
Insole			Sole	Brown leather, SDB	
Heel	Red morocco leather. HI, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p>Some padding between lining and silk insert in the vamp.</p> <p><i>Red morocco leather, white silk grosgrain; straight; 'Italian' heel. 4.8cm high heel of wood covered with morocco, curved and tapered down to leather tip, wedge under foot; leather sole, sharply pointed toe, upper of 3 pieces of morocco, the vamp with cut out wavy edge inverted chevron, crescents each side, graduated navette shaped and oval holes down to point of toe, all with insertions of grosgrain embroidered with bowknot, linked ovals and serpentine lines in red silk chain stitch; top edge bound red silk ribbon; lining: coarse unbleached linen throughout. 1790-1800. L 24.8cm; W 6.4cm, leather.</i></p>				
Condition	Vamp silk insert is damaged and dirty. Quarters - tired. Insole - dirty. Sole - good, some scuffing. Leather is generally embrittled. CC, SB, S3, T1, T3, T8, L1, L2, L3, L8,				
Storage	In store, stuffed with tissue.				
Date of survey	18 February 2009		Figure Nos.	74	

FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
VAMP	DETAIL OF CUTAWAY
	


Survey No.	96			
Shoe Description	Single, straight, latched			
Date	1795			
Colour	Red, cream			
Collection	Nottingham City Museum and Galleries			
Ref	CTLOAN 12/2			
DIMENSIONS				
Length	21cm (22.3cm)	Heel height	7cm (6.4cm)	Backstrap length
Sole width	6.5cm (6.4cm)	Sole depth		Top piece depth
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSR, TSS W			
Vamp & Lining	Crimson satin lined with plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Crimson satin lined with white kid.
Latchets & Lining	Cream satin stitched together, white kid lining. FB		Tongue & Lining	Crimson satin. GP
Topbinding	Cream grosgrain ribbon.		Backstrap	Cream grosgrain ribbon.
Toe	EP		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	
Rand	None		Sock	White plain weave linen fixed around insole.
Insole			Sole	Brown leather
Heel	Cream satin over white kid. HI, HN		Top piece	Brown leather
Comments	<p>Fold lines on vamp and quarters suggesting that the shoes have been kept flat (sold flat?).</p> <p><i>Crimson satin, cream satin trimming; straight, 'Italian' heel. 6.4cm high heel of wood covered with white satin, curved and tapered down to leather tip, wedge under foot, leather sole, sharply pointed toe; upper of 3 pieces of crimson satin, the vamp cut with pointed tongue; sloped side seams to 2 heel pieces, centre back seam; each heel piece with an applied flared and pointed strap ('latchets') for buckle, over white kid covered with white satin, overlapping on tongue; all seams and top edge bound white corded silk ribbon; lining: coarse white linen sock and in toe, white kid in heel. 1790-1800. L 22.3cm, W 6.4cm, silk.</i></p>			
Condition	Vamp - loss of silk over toe. Topbinding - much loss and some loose fibres resulting in split between the satin and kid. Backstrap - mainly lost. Latchets - silk badly split, loss of weft; end of 1 tucked into split silk of the other. Heel - badly split and stained. Severe creasing. Insole and lining - good but dirty and discoloured. CD, SC, S2, S8, T1, T2, T6, T8, T11, T13.			
Storage	In store, stuffed with tissue.			
Date of survey	18 February 2009		Figure Nos.	136

<p style="text-align: center;">FRONT FACING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SIDE VIEW</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">HEEL & QUARTERS</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SOLE</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">INSOLE/SOCK & LINING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">HEEL DETAIL</p>
	

Survey No.	97				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, slip-ons				
Date	1790-1900				
Colour	Black				
Collection	Nottingham City Museum and Galleries				
Ref	NCM 1895-88				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	24cm	Heel height	2.5cm	Backstrap length	
Sole width	5.7cm	Sole depth		Top piece depth	
Materials	L, LK, TLP, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Black leather lined with plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Black leather lined with plain weave linen.	
Latchets & Lining	Black leather lined with plain weave linen. FR		Tongue & Lining	Black leather lined with plain weave linen. GP	
Topbinding	Black kid leather		Backstrap	Black kid leather	
Toe	EP		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None		Sock		
Insole			Sole	Brown sueded leather. SDS	
Heel			Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p><i>Black kid; laces; straights; low heels. 2.5cm high, waisted stout heel of wood covered with kid, leather tip; sueded leather sole, pointed toe; upper of 3 pieces of kid, plain vamp cut with slightly arched tongue, curved side seams to 2 long heel pieces, centre back seam, each heel piece cut with a small rounded sur worked with an eyelet hole, almost meeting on tongue; edges piped with kid. Lining: coarse off-white linen throughout. Fastening: laces through eyelet holes. Marks: handwritten in ink on side lining, "Miss Fuller No! By" Label: one one sock only, black printed white paper oval, Edwd. Moggridge, Late Clark, Wholesale & Retail Boot & Shoe Maker, 44 Ludgate Hill, London, from his Warehouse, Cranbourn St, Merchants & Captains supplied on the lowest terms," the Prince of Wales's feathers at top.</i></p>				
Condition	Leather scuffed on topbinding but otherwise sound. CB, SA, L7				
Storage	In store				
Date of survey	18 February 2009		Figure Nos.		


FRONT FACING



Survey No.	98				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, slip-ons				
Date	1790-1810 [1790s]				
Colour	Black				
Collection	Nottingham City Museum and Galleries				
Ref	NCM 1920-11				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	24cm	Heel height	2cm	Backstrap length	
Sole width	7cm	Sole depth		Top piece depth	
Materials	L, LK, TLP, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	Black leather lined with plain weave linen.		Quarters & Lining	Black leather lined with tan coloured kid leather.	
Latchets & Lining	None		Tongue & Lining	None	
Topbinding	Black leather		Backstrap		
Toe	EP		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand			Sock	White linen	
Insole			Sole	Brown leather	
Heel	Black leather cover, HI, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p><i>Shoes/ pair of. Black calf, upturned toes, wedge heels, 2cm high wedge heel of wood covered with calf, tapering to leather tip; leather sole, sharply pointed toe; upper of 3 pieces of calf, the vamp with sloped side seams on to 2 long heel pieces, centre back seam; sharply pointed upward turned toe projecting beyond the point of the sole; narrow throat, bound with calf; the welt seam stitched I white linen thread. Lining: coarse white linen in toe, tan kid in sides, sock of coarse white linen over brown leather.</i></p>				
Condition	Leather scuffed, cracked and crazed. Structure sound. CB, SB, S3, L2, L3, L7				
Storage	In store				
Date of survey	18 February 2009		Figure Nos.		


FRONT FACING



Survey No.	99				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, slip-ons				
Date	1790-1800				
Colour	Black, blue				
Collection	Nottingham City Museum and Galleries				
Ref	NCM 1960-79				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	25.4cm	Heel height	3.2cm	Backstrap length	
Sole width	6.4cm	Sole depth		Top piece depth	
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSR, W				
Vamp & Lining	Blue and black kid with plain weave linen lining.		Quarters & Lining	Black kid with plain weave linen lining.	
Latchets & Lining	None		Tongue & Lining	None	
Topbinding	Black grosgrain ribbon.		Backstrap	Black grosgrain ribbon.	
Toe	EP		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand	None		Sock		
Insole			Sole	Brown leather	
Heel	Black leather cover. HI, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p><i>Shoes/pair of black kid, blue kid insertions; pointed toes; low wedge heels; straights, 3.2cm high, black kid covered wood heel, curved and tapering down to small tip of leather, wedge under foot; leather sole with sharply pointed toe and continuing under wedge; upper of 4 pieces of black kid, tapering side vamp pieces with sloped seams on to 2 long heel pieces with centre back seam; the vamp with a large V shaped piece of blue kid, deep curved throat edge, decorated with 5 inverted curved chevrons of black kid across the blue kid and linking the 2 black kid side pieces; all visible seams stitched in white linen thread; throat edge, side and back seams covered with black silk ribbon; drawstring under throat binding. Lining: coarse white linen throughout.</i></p>				
Condition	Leather scuffed but structurally sound. CB, SB, L7				
Storage	In store				
Date of survey	18 February 2009		Figure Nos.	74	


FRONT FACING








Survey No.	100				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, slip-ons				
Date	1790-1800				
Colour	Black, white				
Collection	Nottingham City Museum and Galleries				
Ref	NCM 1960-80				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	26.7cm	Heel height	3.8cm	Backstrap length	
Sole width	4.6cm	Sole depth		Top piece depth	
Materials	L, LK, TSR, W				
Vamp & Lining	Black and white kid leather.		Quarters & Lining	Black leather	
Latchets & Lining	None		Tongue & Lining	None	
Topbinding	Black grosgrain ribbon		Backstrap	Black grosgrain ribbon	
Toe	EP		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand			Sock		
Insole			Sole	Brown leather	
Heel	Black kid cover. HI, HH		Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p><i>Shoes/pair of black kid, white kid insertions; pointed toes; straights; 'Italian' heels 3.8cm high heel of wood covered with black kid, curved and tapering down to small tip of leather, wedge under foot; leather sole, sharply pointed toe; upper of 3 pieces of black kid; V shaped vamp, deep curve below throat with band of white kid, a kite shaped cut out with 5 graduated chevrons of black kid backed with white kid below; sloped side seams to 2 long heel pieces, centre back seam; throat edge and seams covered with black silk petersham ribbon.</i></p>				
Condition	Good condition. CA, SA				
Storage	In store				
Date of survey	18 February 2009		Figure Nos.	74	







FRONT FACING



Survey No.	101				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, slip-ons				
Date	1790				
Colour	Black and yellow				
Collection	Nottingham City Museum and Galleries				
Ref	NCM 1996-13				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22cm (9.3cm)	Heel height	5.2cm (5.4cm)	Backstrap length	
Sole width	5.5cm (5.4cm)	Sole depth		Top piece depth	
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TS, W				
Vamp & Lining	Black leather cut away with yellow silk beneath.		Quarters & Lining	Yellow silk with undyed plain weave linen lining	
Latchets & Lining	None		Tongue & Lining	Black kid with van dyked bottom edge. GP	
Topbinding	Black plain wave ribbon		Backstrap	Black plain wave ribbon	
Toe	EP		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener		
Rand			Sock		
Insole	Plain weave light coloured fabric that appears different to linen linings - wool?		Sole	Leather	
Heel	Black leather. HI, HH		Top piece	Leather	
Comments	<p><i>Yellow silk, black kid, pointed toes; straights; 'Italian' heels. 5.4cm high heel of wood covered with kid, curved and tapered down to leather tip; leather sole, pointed toe; upper of 3 pieces of silk, the vamp with sloped side seams to 2 heel pieces, centre back seam; the vamp covered with a curved triangle of kid, cut with vandykes and 4 graduated chevrons, the top one with a stylised leaf at centre point, revealing the silk below; top edge and seams bound black silk ribbon. Lining: white linen sock and in toe, cream linen in heel. 1780-1800. L 9.3cm; w 5.4cm, silk.</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Vamp - leather embrittled, satin discoloured; quarters - split, small holes and stains; top-binding, backstrap and lining - good; insole - very good; sole and top-piece - good with some signs of wear; heel - scuffed, top surface lifted in places. CB, SB, S3, T6, T11, T12, L1, L7</p>				
Storage	Stuffed with polyester wadding covered with polyester fabric; tissue.				
Date of survey	18 February 2009		Figure Nos.	20, 74, 83	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	DETAIL
	


Survey No.	102				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, latches				
Date	1790				
Colour	Green and yellow				
Collection	Nottingham				
Ref	NCM 1979.680				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	23cm (24.2cm)	Heel height	3.8cm (3.8cm)	Backstrap length	
Sole width	7cm (6.7cm)	Sole depth		Top piece depth	
Materials	L, LK, TLP, TSS, W				
Vamp & Lining	Green satin with white linen lining.	Quarters & Lining	Green satin with white linen lining.		
Latches & Lining	Pierced latches, not stitched - would have had a string, small. FR, FQ	Tongue & Lining	Green satin with white linen lining. GS		
Topbinding	Yellow kid	Backstrap	Yellow kid		
Toe	EP	Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener			
Rand	None	Sock	White linen		
Insole	Brown leather	Sole	Brown leather with white stitching along heel breast. SDR x 10		
Heel	Yellow kid. HI, HH	Top piece	Brown leather		
Comments	<p><i>Green satin, yellow kid, straights; 'Italian' heels, 3.8cm high heel of wood covered with kid, curved and tapered down to leather tip, wedge under foot, leather sole, sharply pointed toe; upper of 3 pieces of satin, plain vamp cut with short tongue with concave top edge, sloped side seams to 2 long heel pieces, each cut with a rounded short tab, centre back seam, top edges and seams bound in kid. Lining: white linen throughout. Fastening laces through a pair of worked eyelets in tabs. 1790-1800 L 24.2cm W 6.7cm silk</i></p>				
Condition	<p>Vamp - some scuffing particularly on toe, otherwise good. Quarters - some scuffing and dirty but otherwise good. Topbinding - some stitching failed. Backstrap and heel dirty. Fastenings, sole and top piece good. Insole - yellowed, some lifting away from sole. Lining yellowed. CC, SB, S2, S3, L1, L4, L7, T8.</p>				
Storage	Stuffed with tissue topped with layer of kapok and cotton fabric.				
Date of survey	18 February 2009		Figure Nos.	22, 31, 138, 157	


FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
HEEL DETAIL	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	PUNCHED LATCHET
	

COMPLETED SURVEY FORMS CLOGS




Survey No.	103				
Shoe Description	Pair, straights, clogs				
Date	1700-1730 [1710s]				
Colour	Cream, red, green				
Collection	Hereford City Museums				
Ref	1978-472-2				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	23.5cm	Heel height	1cm (0.8")	Backstrap length	N/A
Sole width	8.5cm	Sole depth	3-4mm	Top piece depth	3mm
Materials	L, TSB, TSR, TW, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	None		Quarters & Lining	None	
Latchets & Lining	Silk brocade tied with black silk taffeta ribbon - 32mm wide (folded). Lined with red wool.		Tongue & Lining	None	
Topbinding	Green grosgrain ribbon.		Backstrap	None	
Toe	EP, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	None	
Rand	None		Sock	None	
Insole	Brown leather with white stitching.		Sole	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Heel			Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	<p>Red leather (Morocco?) Covered cheeks and pass-talon.</p> <p><i>Pair of clogs or overshoes 1700-1730. Leather sides, pointed, straight 0.8" heel, inside rises to 1" to allow the heel of a shoe. Latchets of cream satin embroidered in greens and greys bound with green? with black ribbon through 2 eyelet holes.</i></p>				
Condition	Insole - some delamination and crazing of the leather. Sole - signs of wear. Latchet lining - signs of insect grazing. Signs of mildew on inside latchets and red leather. CC, SB, S3, L1, L2, G1, G3.				
Storage	Metal drawer lined with Plastazote; stuffed with polyester wadding				
Date of survey	12 May 2010		Figure Nos.	214, 238, 293	


<p style="text-align: center;">FRONT FACING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SIDE VIEW</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">REAR VIEW</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SOLE</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">INSOLE/SOCK & LINING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">LATCHETS - SHAPE & LININGS</p>
	





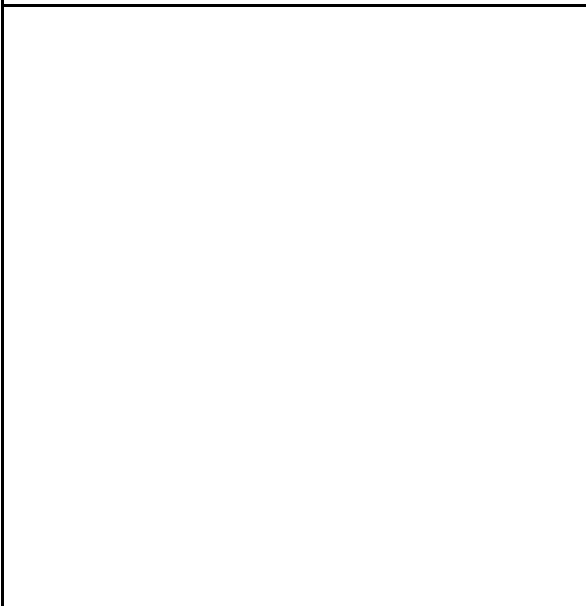

Survey No.	104					
Shoe Description	Single, straight, clog					
Date	1720					
Colour	Red					
Collection	Leicestershire Museum					
Ref	LC77.1981					
DIMENSIONS						
Length	20.5cm	Heel height	1cm	Backstrap length	N/A	
Sole width	7cm	Sole depth		Top piece depth		
Materials	L, TSR, TSV, MB [W]					
Vamp & Lining	None		Quarters & Lining	None		
Latchets & Lining	Red velvet embroidered with metal thread embroidery. Coordinating ribbon tie - 30mm wide. FR		Tongue & Lining	None		
Topbinding	Green grosgrain ribbon.		Backstrap	None		
Toe	EP, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	None		
Rand	None		Sock	None		
Insole	Brown leather with white stitching.		Sole	Brown leather with white stitching.		
Heel			Top piece	Brown leather		
Comments	Cheeks and pass-talons - red leather with decorative stitching in white linen thread as on heels and sole.					
Condition	Good - leather dirty. Much of binding on latches is lost. Pile on velvet missing in places. Ribbon tie is very dirty and ends frayed. CC, SB, T1, T7, T8, L4, L7					
Storage	In store					
Date of survey	12 June 2012		Figure Nos.	105, 164		


<p style="text-align: center;">FRONT FACING</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SIDE VIEW 1</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">SIDE VIEW 2</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SOLE</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">EMBROIDERY</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">LATCHETS</p>
	





Survey No.	105				
Shoe Description	Single, straight, clog				
Date	[1720s]				
Colour	Green				
Collection	Leicestershire Museum				
Ref	328.1958/1				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	18cm	Heel height	Allows for 5.4cm shoe heel	Backstrap length	N/A
Sole width		Sole depth	4mm	Top piece depth	
Materials	L, LK, TSR, TSV, MB [W]				
Vamp & Lining	None		Quarters & Lining	None	
Latchets & Lining	Green velvet embroidered with metal thread embroidery lined with white kid leather with brown leather beneath. FR		Tongue & Lining	None	
Topbinding	Green grosgrain ribbon.		Backstrap	None	
Toe	EP, slight EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	None	
Rand	None		Sock	None	
Insole	Brown leather with white stitching.		Sole	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Heel			Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	Cream grosgrain ribbon tie. Cheeks and pass-talons - green velvet				
Condition	Kid leather lining loose. Topbinding split. Heel cover wrinkled. Metal threads tarnished and some loss exposing core fibre. Pile on velvet missing in places. Ribbon tie - ends frayed. CC, SB, S3, T7, T11, M1, M3.				
Storage	In store				
Date of survey	12 June 2012		Figure Nos.	104, 272	

FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
DETAIL OF LATCHET LINING	DETAIL OF EMBROIDERY
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS
	

Survey No.	106				
Shoe Description	Single, straights,clog				
Date	1720-1730				
Colour	Red				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO118				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22.3cm	Heel height	3.2cm	Backstrap length	N/A
Sole width		Sole depth	5mm	Top piece depth	
Materials	L, LK, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	None		Quarters & Lining	None	
Latches & Lining	Red leather large holes pierced for ties, lined with white leather. FR		Tongue & Lining	None	
Topbinding	None		Backstrap	None	
Toe	EP		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	None	
Rand	None		Sock	None	
Insole	Red leather with white stitching.		Sole	Brown leather with white stitching.	
Heel			Top piece	Brown leather	
Comments	Red leather cheeks. <i>Mackenzie (2004, 10)</i>				
Condition	Worn dirty 'sock' lifting but generally sound. CB, SB, L4, L7				
Storage	In cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store				
Date of survey	11 May 2010		Figure Nos.		

FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
INSOLE/SOCK & LINING	LATCHETS
	

Survey No.	107				
Shoe Description	Single, straights, clog				
Date	1720s				
Colour	Red, green				
Collection	Snowhill Wade Costume Collection, The National Trust				
Ref	SNO122				
DIMENSIONS					
Length	22.3cm	Heel height		Backstrap length	N/A
Sole width		Sole depth	4mm	Top piece depth	
Materials	L, TSV, TW, [W]				
Vamp & Lining	None		Quarters & Lining	None	
Latchets & Lining	Green velvet lined with striped wool. FR		Tongue & Lining	None	
Topbinding	Green ribbon.		Backstrap	None	
Toe	EP, EU		Toe Puff/Heel Stiffener	None	
Rand	None		Sock	None	
Insole	Brown leather with white stitching.		Sole	Brown leather SDF x 3	
Heel			Top piece	Brown leather SDF x 1	
Comments	<p>Red leather covered cheeks and pass-talons with decorative white stitching.</p> <p><i>Needlepoint toe. Heel stacked. Top piece leather 4.5cm sole straights, shaped, worn, thickness 0.4cm. Instep height 3.5cm straps from instep extending to vamp. Straps lined with wool. Green binding of wool ribbon to strap edges. White contrast stitching to sides at instep and sock edge. Size 22.3cm</i></p> <p><i>Mackenzie (2004, 10)</i></p>				
Condition	Pile on velvet missing in places and is faded. Insole leather - cracked and delaminating. Worn. Loss of wool latchet lining. CC, SB, S3, T7, L1, L3				
Storage	In cardboard box, lined with tissue, in Sunny Room Store.				
Date of survey	11 May 2010		Figure Nos.		

FRONT FACING	SIDE VIEW
	
REAR VIEW	SOLE
	
DETAIL OF INSIDE LATCHET	LATCHET DETAIL
