

Business Cycles in the Fashion-Shoe Industry and the Controversies Surrounding Footwear Fashion in Switzerland (1920–1940)¹

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In autumn 1939, several thousand Swiss cinemagoers found themselves watching a cartoon commercial entitled *Frau Mode spielt auf!* (Lady Fashion Performs!).² On the screen, a woman in a red gown and a gold crown sat playing an organ [FIG. 1]. It was the eponymous and all-powerful Lady Fashion, busy creating fashions for clothes, shoes, and jewellery and setting the cycles in which they should come and go. Her harmonious melodies were commands, obeyed by a stream of putti who emerged from the organ pipes and began fitting out shops. Shop-window dummies in fashionable clothes and shoes sprang to life and began to bustle about. All the way down the value chain of the shoe industry, business began to boom.

But suddenly the organ-playing stopped; Lady Fashion pressed the keys in vain. Her hard-working putti flew to the rescue at once, but before the organ could be fixed, the damage was done. A clumsy boot, wholly inappropriate for Lady Fashion's



[1, 11] Film stills from “Frau Mode spielt auf!”, Bern 1939

sophisticated clientele, had escaped from the organ pipes [FIG. II]. On catching sight of it, the shop-window dummies fainted, and busy shoppers shrank back. It took tremendous efforts on the part of all concerned to get things running smoothly again.

After three-and-a-half minutes, this fanciful and symbolic commercial took on a concrete dimension. The cartoon figures, modelled on those of popular Walt Disney films,³ vanished from the screen; in their place, shoes appeared. Every type of footwear was represented—sensible walking shoes, bar shoes, elegant evening shoes, high-heeled sandals [FIG. III]—manufactured in every kind of material typically available at the time. Alongside appeared the words “C.F. Bally”, initially as a simple illuminated inscription, but later transforming into an animated logo. What the cinema audience was getting to see, as they waited for the main feature to roll, was *Bally's* autumn collection. The large shoe manufacturer, with outlets all over the world, had its headquarters in the Swiss town of Schönenwerd. And its autumn collection, of course, was certain to find favour with Lady Fashion.

This ad deserves a closer look for the way it reflects how the medium of film-making entered everyday life.⁴ Innovative companies had been cooperating with advertisers, film-makers, and cinema owners since the early 1930s.⁵ Thanks to their rich symbolism, deeply rooted in the collective memory, shoes were



22 [III] Production still from “Frau Mode spielt auf!”, Bern 1939

ideally suited to an advertising narrative. Much more inviting for analysis are two messages which the cartoon implicitly conveys, and which, as it turns out, could not have been more controversial:

- There is no rational way of explaining what drives “the creation of fashion, a phenomenon which affects every area of our lives”.⁶ From its obvious psychological and social effects, however, fashion may be likened to a metaphysical force.
- This force coordinates the fluctuation of supply and demand in the clothing market. The economic up- and downswings experienced by manufacturers in the fashion industry depend on how successfully the designers of fashion items are able to anticipate the material, social, and timing criteria which drive fashion itself.

My historical analysis begins with these advertising messages. The social and economic circumstances which gave rise to *Bally's* commercial, and within which its messages resonated, form the focus of this chapter. Specifically, I am interested in the economics of fashion footwear and the controversies which surrounded it. Did the fashion sector play a significant part in the shoe consumption of the interwar period? What was the attitude of the Swiss public to the controversial and sometimes paradoxical advertising messages? How did these economic cycles and controversies relate to one another? This chapter owes many valuable ideas to the transdisciplinary and currently very popular field of material culture studies. There is no room here for a critical discussion of its premises and conclusions; however, one of the central ideas of its theory and methodology is relevant here: fashion shoes, as “everyday objects”,⁷ should offer a way of approaching complex human-object relationships and, as “cultural emissaries”, provide “information about the state of culture and society”.⁸

I address the questions posed above in two stages. First, I trace consumer demand for fashion shoes. As quantitative evidence is always plagued by gaps and simplifications, I discuss instead compelling qualitative indicators and watershed moments. As fruitful sources of data and interpretation I draw, on

the one hand, on statisticians with an interest in the history of consumerism, and on the other, on the directors of *C.F. Bally AG*. Secondly, I follow the unfolding public discourse surrounding fashion shoes. Having assembled material from various sources, I examine it to uncover underlying attitudes. Of particular interest here are pressure groups and social scientists, both of whom became increasingly successful in shaping the social discourse of the 20th century.

Fashion Shoes as Everyday Consumer Goods

Whether or not shoes received the attention of leading haute-couturiers, fashion designers, commentators, and fashion-conscious consumers depended on the fashion silhouette. The First World War brought about sweeping innovations in the history of fashion that underlie all my observations in this essay.⁹ These innovations required every woman who wished to be considered *à la mode* to eliminate her curves, aided by suitable undergarments, and assume a boyishly flat silhouette—a look which was intended to signify her active involvement in professional and leisure activities. The dress style favoured by women known in France as *femmes garçonnés* and in the English-speaking world as *flappers* was severely cut and usually devoid of any textile ornamentation. Because dress hems now fell to somewhere between the ankle and the knee, the feet and legs had to be (re)integrated into the body image. Thus, the shoe became an inherent part of the negotiation of what constituted “fashion”. For producers, retailers, and consumers, one of the key criteria in buying and selling shoes became whether or not they were “fashionable”.

This new silhouette spread from the traditional fashion capitals of Paris and London and quickly took hold in the neighbouring European countries, including Switzerland. The turning point in dress codes represented by the First World War was grasped particularly early and accurately by Elsa Gasser.¹⁰ With a doctorate in economics, Gasser made her living as a journalist and statistician before becoming adviser to Gottlieb Duttweiler, the founder and director of the Migros supermarket chain. For the Department of Statistics of the City of Zürich, Gasser traced expenditure on clothing in the city and published

her longitudinal study under the title *Zürcher Index der Bekleidungskosten* (Zürich Cost of Clothing Index) in 1924.¹¹ Because of the heterogeneity of the 200 officially defined ranges of clothing quality and price, producing the required survey proved to be tremendously complex. Even today, opinions are divided in the discipline of fashion studies concerning the plethora of preconditions that must be met before any quantification can be attempted and the knowledge potential which such attempts may hold. It is clear that the fashion sector cannot be summed up by a single indicator.¹² Gasser's reports are valuable because they combine the quantitative data collected (household bills from working families and price notations from manufacturing, wholesale, and retail companies) with qualitative interpretations derived from interviews (Zürich Association of Textile Retailers and other selected sources). From the quantitative perspective, Gasser stressed "differences in the price trend", citing fashion as their most important driver: "Fashion has really revolutionized the cost of a lady's dress—and by that I mean the cost of a single lady's dress made for the mass market."¹³ Describing in more detail the change in the overall appearance of a lady's clothing, she wrote: "There is a far more pressing demand than before for a pleasing, modern design, both in clothes and, to a quite striking extent, in footwear."¹⁴ According to her surveys, the altered pattern of demand "stimulated, in particular, the consumption of cheaply manufactured goods".¹⁵

For our purposes, the most relevant indications of shoe consumption in the 1930s come from the publications of the Pricing Commission (Preisbildungskommission). Founded in 1926, the remit of this "non-political, scientific commission, working away behind the scenes" was to process "figures and factual material" relating to everyday goods and sectors which were important to the national economy.¹⁶ Thanks to its mandate from the Swiss Federal Council, the Pricing Commission had access to the budgets, inventories, and balance sheets of every market operator. In 1946 it presented an investigation into the shoe trade, in which, amongst other things, it arrived at the conclusion that "at least in the 12 years from 1928 to 1939, there has undoubtedly been a considerable expansion in consumption from approx. 8 to over 10 million pairs (excluding

rubber overshoes)".¹⁷ In Switzerland, two pairs of shoes were purchased per head per year. With regard to gender-specific similarities and contradictions, the Pricing Commission detected two patterns: while expenditure on men's shoes exceeded that of women in working-class families, the exact opposite was true in the case of clerical workers and civil servants: expenditure by women turned out to be almost 20 percent higher.¹⁸ Moreover, in all social classes, women preferred to buy brand-new shoes while men preferred to repair old ones.¹⁹ As for shoe prices, the Commission produced evidence that prices for the statistically defined "average shoe" had fallen consistently, apart from the 1927/28 season, and in the year 1935/36 had actually dropped to the prewar level.²⁰ Besides the development of new, i.e., more fashionable types of shoe, the reasons cited by the expert committee were the development of cheaper alternative materials, and rationalization and crises in the Swiss economy.

By now it can be established that throughout the whole of the interwar period, there was a significantly increased demand from women for "fashionable" shoes. Not even the global economic crisis, which brought with it salary reductions, part-time work, and redundancies for hundreds of thousands of consumers, could dampen this consumer demand. However, fashion shoes should not be analyzed only from the point of view of consumption; it is crucial to take into account the spheres of production and distribution and to put consumption into this context. *C.F. Bally AG* provides an ideal example for doing this. Founded in 1851 as a small manufacturing firm, it grew to become a large corporation, thanks to systematic mechanization and rationalization. Even though no one has yet written a company history of the foremost company in the Swiss shoe industry which is sufficiently detailed for the purposes of research,²¹ *Bally* can nevertheless be identified as a pioneering "trailblazer"²² in early 1920s business.

During the First World War, *Bally* had seen an enormous leap in sales and profits. When the uncertain years of the transition economy in the immediate postwar period began, the parent company in Switzerland oversaw 21 retail and 4 wholesale companies, and a further 8 subsidiaries distributed across Europe, America, and Africa. With a view to achieving optimum

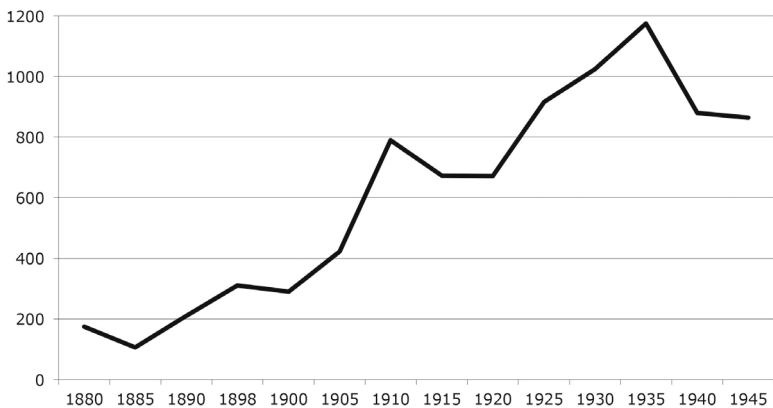
coordination between its many different subsidiaries, from its tannery to its wholesalers, *Bally* decided in the summer of 1921 to undergo corporate restructuring. A centrally managed holding company was founded, with its head office in Zürich.²³ “1922 will probably be the most important year for the *Bally* companies,” remarked co-owner and company boss of many years, Eduard Bally-Prior,²⁴ as he looked forward, with just caution, to the impending readjustment of internal material, product, and finance streams.

To a not inconsiderable extent, fashion was a contributing factor in this restructuring. If *Bally* wanted to sell its shoes in foreign markets, universally protected by prohibitively high tariffs, fashion was the area on which to concentrate its efforts.²⁵ And if *Bally* wanted to channel its surplus capacity into the highly competitive domestic market, fashion shoes were the only answer. A report from the financial year 1934/35 puts the company strategy in a nutshell: “Today our collection is already much more fashionable than it was before. We are being more daring, and we must be more daring still if we want to improve sales.”²⁶ The considerable managerial efforts needed to align mass production with the demands of footwear fashion are worthy of a study of their own. Two innovations which had a direct effect on the company structure must suffice here. In 1926, *Bally* took the daring decision to enter the retail market. Either by acquiring retail outlets or by buying shares in them, *Bally* took over responsibility for its own sales consultancy and retail operations. Arola was the name of this capital-intensive subsidiary, which built up a network of 72 stores in the space of 10 years, some of them situated in prime sites. From the point of view of those responsible at *Bally*, having their own retail operation meant having a channel “through which to trial fashions and fashion trends before rolling them out to the world of shoes”.²⁷ In 1934 Agor was founded; its purpose, according to its articles of incorporation, to extract the “maximum value from our monopoly status in the fashion world”.²⁸ Agor built up a media alliance to advertise new shoe creations with the help of famous graphic artists, photographers, filmmakers, and architects. *Frau Mode spielt auf!* is just one example of a long series of advertising campaigns.

By way of an interim conclusion, we can say that the 1920s and 1930s represented a unique highpoint for the fashion shoe, so far as both the relative proportion and the absolute number of fashion shoes are concerned. A corresponding economic boom has been noted for the London clothing industry in the same period.²⁹ As can be seen from the graph below³⁰ [FIG. IV], there was a fashion-induced expansion in the range of shoes available; for example, in the spring season of 1935, *Bally* offered its predominantly female clientele 1175 shoe products. "Any novelty or caprice was enough to make a fashionable product out of," admitted the manager of the *Bally* corporation, Hermann Stirlin, in a moment of retrospective self-criticism.³¹ A strong impetus came from customers' ever-greater demand for fashion shoes. It is important to see that *Bally* anticipated this trend and fuelled it further by its deliberate company strategy and reorganization. Analyzing the resulting consumer boom, it is impossible to say whether the producer was led by the customer or the customer by the producer.

Shoe Fashion in Everyday Discourse

What was the social response to the triumphant march of the fashion shoe? We can say right away that the discourse surrounding fashion footwear also experienced a boom. Lady Fashion, as envisioned at the beginning of this article, may have



[iv] Shoe items on offer from Bally Schuhfabriken AG (spring catalogues)

been the artificial creation of a cartoon studio, but a review of hundreds of articles, brochures, and analyses from the sphere of the shoe industry shows that “Lady Fashion” was omnipresent outside the movie theatres too. The *Bally* ad played on three images so regularly invoked in the context of sartorial objects and practices as to have become everyday figures of speech.³² While the metaphor of a “Lady Fashion” emphasized, on the one hand, the supposedly gender-specific characteristics of volatility, impulsiveness, and unpredictability, the idea of a “fashion queen” highlighted fashion’s powerful, imperious, and subjugating aspects. The image of the “scourge of fashion”, on the other hand, focused more on the damage, illness, and injuries for which fashion was held responsible.

The fascinating thing about metaphors of this sort is that they not only organize the way people speak but also the way they think and act. As George Lakoff and Mark Johnson have convincingly shown, they were and are used in everyday life to adapt the new and unknown, reduce fear and anxiety, express what cannot be said in ordinary discourse, and turn the future into something which can be shaped and planned.³³ In the metaphors we are discussing here, several strands of discourse converge—discourses which were circulating transnationally, and which in equal measure defined problem areas and offered solutions to them.³⁴ They maintained their potency, because various social players in the interwar period tried to imbue them with their own messages, in a game of repetition and modification. In what follows, without making any claim to be exhaustive, I summarize the five most prominent discursive strands surrounding fashion footwear.

1. One of the most pronounced critics of fashion shoes was the women’s movement.³⁵ In the interwar period, empowered by its involvement in the semi-state-controlled war economy during the First World War, it articulated behavioural requirements and prohibitions for every sphere of everyday life. “What a lack of culture and style, what ephemerality and extravagance the concept of fashion implies: from shoes with high heels, from thin stockings which often hardly last a day and must be endlessly darned [...]—it is one long

chain of extravagance, impracticality, and ephemerality."³⁶ Fashion became a problem because it was held responsible for consumer spending on items as short-lived as they were expensive; spending, moreover, which threatened to break the hard-pressed budgets of blue-collar, white-collar, and middle-class working families. Whenever the economic outlook was bleak, the condemnation of the fashion shoe intensified. Aware that women were responsible for the entire household domain, handling expenditure on food and clothing amounting annually to as much as four billion Swiss francs,³⁷ the women's movement tried to curtail shoe fashion. As a national economic indicator, the fashion shoe was always more explosive when it was associated with the bio-deterministic argument that women were inclined to make impulsive and irrational purchasing decisions.³⁸

2. Under the banner of hygiene, experts began to study the foot and the garment that encased it for protection and support. It was not so much the material used for the sole and upper which attracted contributions to the debate, as the shape of the shoe itself. Arnold Heim, a far-travelled and widely-read Zürich scientist, may be cited here as an especially eloquent critic: "Nowadays foot complaints are enormously widespread. For the motto of modern society is 'better to suffer than to renounce fashion'. It is this motto, not hygienic considerations, which the large manufacturers pursue, for whom the only important concern is their business."³⁹ Heim demanded that consumers and producers restrict themselves to classic shoe designs, which respected the anatomy of the foot. In the 1930s, the way in which the shapes of shoes were changing to suit the dictates of fashion came to the attention of doctors who had dedicated themselves to the prevention of deforming and degenerative conditions.⁴⁰ Contemporary research suggested that the foot complaints caused by fashion shoes would be inherited by the next generation and could entail a heavy burden for the future economy and defence capability of the Swiss people.⁴¹
3. In the fashion discourse of the 1920s and 1930s, the voice of industry was very audible.⁴² In the opinion of its representatives, the transformation of the shoe from a basic commod-

ity to an item of optional expenditure was worrying.⁴³ In this context we may quote the Schweizerischer Werkbund (Swiss Association for Art and Design), whose president, Georg Schmidt, declared in accusatory tones in a lecture in 1944: "One has only to take a walk through one of our consumer-goods factories—whether it be a shoe factory, a carpet factory, a chair factory, a lamp factory, or a porcelain factory—to see how producers are also held victim by [the scourge of] fashion!"⁴⁴ Schmidt's criticism was aimed at the curtailment of product life cycles, as well as at the practice, observable in industry, of neglecting aesthetic and material considerations in product design. In addition, trade-union representatives were afraid that "Lady Fashion" could destroy the livelihoods of shoe repairers and bespoke and orthopedic shoemakers. Severe criticism was levelled by the industry journal *Schweizerische Schuhmacher-Zeitung* at the large shoe companies: "The public has been plied with a surfeit of fashion items of the most extreme kind, and the speculation that it would always be possible to keep increasing sales of such items has backfired, and roundly at that. The result is a sales crisis, price cuts, losses, fire sales, and general price erosion."⁴⁵ One-man companies were close to ruin, it declared, and the risk exposure involved in the production, sale, and repair of fashion shoes was no longer acceptable. When the shoe industry, as a result of cut-throat competition, began to focus more strongly than ever on the fashion-shoe sector, the fashion-critical discourse reached its peak. In 1936, the magazine *Schuhhandel*, the second biggest business periodical of the Swiss shoe industry, issued a demand for a fashion commission, which would meet three or four times a year and include representatives of all the professions involved. What the initiators had in mind was an "on-going control of fashion"⁴⁶ following international models.⁴⁷

4. The distortions of the Swiss shoe market in the 1930s called for regulation by the state authorities.⁴⁸ In the context of commissioning preparatory reports, social scientists were asked to evaluate the fashion phenomenon. It was regarded as a foregone conclusion that fashion would complicate

companies' manufacturing technology and process organization and delay the achievement of optimum economic production.⁴⁹ The scientists consulted were also aware of other controversial aspects of shoe consumption. "Like the economist, the sociologist must also express his concern that broad swathes of consumers are feeling increasingly dissatisfied with the artificial creation of fashions in the realm of footwear, because their income does not allow them to keep up with every stage of the manufacturers' race to bring out the latest models."⁵⁰ It was thought that fashion items had the potential to cause disturbance, sufficient, in the case of Switzerland—a "classless society"—to lead to social conflict. At this point, the discipline of applied psychology entered the debate, in the person of Franziska Baumgarten-Tramer.⁵¹ The private lecturer teaching at the University of Bern believed that mass psychological damage was being suffered by women as a result of commercially motivated changes of fashion. In 1938, in the periodical *Gesundheit und Wohlfahrt*, she published the following diagnosis: "It is, thus, a matter of a failure of knowledge, capability, and will."⁵² Many women, she held, did not know which clothes and shoes were in fashion, so that they were unable to make a choice; many women did not have the financial means to keep up with the changes in fashion; and many women gave up fashion for reasons of good sense, but in return were punished by social disdain.

5. A fifth and final strand of discourse can be detected in the discussion surrounding "Lady Fashion". For Switzerland, the Second World War did not mean military action, but it did mean shortages, rising prices, and the falling quality of everyday items. To prevent the sort of shortages which had occurred towards the end of the First World War,⁵³ state rationing programmes and statutory economic measures were introduced.⁵⁴ Because it was not known how long the war would last, the mood was tense: a shortage of materials was not compatible with product variety. In particular, trade unionists and social-democratic activists protested about unequal consumer opportunity and irresponsibly invested production resources.⁵⁵ This discontent crystallized around

the concept of luxury. The pros and cons were even debated by the Swiss Federal Assembly,⁵⁶ where National Council member Adolf Gloor brought the following motion in 1942: "Is the Bundesrat [Federal Council] prepared to enact the necessary legislation to ensure that the available raw material is not used for fashion articles?"⁵⁷ During the Second World War, fashion shoes came to exemplify waste, decadence, and what could be done without.

How is this indefatigable discourse about "Lady Fashion" to be explained? One of the themes exhaustively examined by material culture studies is the polyvalence of everyday items, which allows them to be perceived and interpreted in many different ways, depending on the context. Obviously, the more fundamentally the speakers disagree, the further apart these interpretations become. Nevertheless, it is striking that the interventions by social scientists were so numerous and so critical. There are plausible reasons for this level of engagement:

- Firstly, we may note a secular trend towards the "scientification of society".⁵⁸ During the 19th century, and to an even greater extent in the 20th century, businesses, officials, and parliaments increasingly called on representatives of the social sciences to explain and manage areas of conflict. The rational analysis of seemingly irrational social phenomena, like footwear fashion, was a challenge which such scholars and scientists willingly took up. While the first systematic attempts at theorization can be dated to the end of the 18th century, the second half of the 19th century saw theoretical contributions of lasting value being made by representatives of psychology, sociology, and economics.⁵⁹
- Secondly, these academics should be taken seriously as concerned members of society. Everyday items and sartorial practices offered the ideal opportunity to popularize established knowledge and concepts. Gabriele Mentges argues that fashion very frequently had the "function of mediator and patron of new knowledge".⁶⁰ Such fashion-specific interventions were presumably made, though, not only with the intention of enlightening society, but also in the

service of state control. Raising the problem of footwear fashion seemed to academics a good way of demonstrating the socio-political usefulness of their own disciplines and acquiring financial resources for them. Fashion had arrived as a subject of everyday discourse.

- Thirdly, *C.F. Bally AG* saw and presented itself in its many commemorative publications and exhibitions as a “modern” company, receptive to scientific knowledge from whatever source. Ivan Bally, the driving force behind the company and the man who bore all the political exposure, was a promoter of “scientific management”.⁶¹ His example was emulated by other leading executives, who saw themselves as working at the interface of industry and science. By engaging in knowledge-exchange groups and conferences and contributing to publication series, *Bally* representatives entered into dialogue with many of the social scientists mentioned above and discussed the correct, scientific way of dealing with “Lady Fashion”—whether it was the director of Agor reflecting on a call for photographers for a fashion campaign,⁶² the manager of the sales department explaining to an exclusive group of textile entrepreneurs the organizational principles for dealing with the “problems of fashion for business”,⁶³ or Ivan Bally himself attempting to refute the nature-versus-culture conflict between foot and shoe, complained of by Arnold Heim.⁶⁴

All in all, it appears that those responsible at *Bally* understood very well how embedded in the national economy their economic activities were. As director Fritz Streuli put it:

The shoe, as a social product, is thus subject to the watchful criticism of the consumer. Rather like bread and milk, its specifications and prices are keenly followed by the public. This ensures that, for two quite different reasons, one aesthetic and the other social, there is a limit to how much we can achieve.⁶⁵

The booms in fashion-shoe consumption and the controversies surrounding footwear fashion were thus closely interlinked.

- 1 This essay is based on the PhD thesis by Wild, Roman: *Auf Schritt und Tritt. Der schweizerische Schuhmarkt 1918–1948*; Zürich 2019.
- 2 Production of *Frau Mode spielt auf!* was entrusted to the Pinschewer film studio. The commercial cost just short of 22,000 Swiss francs and took up around five percent of Bally's approved advertising budget. The film was shown in 58 cinemas in German-speaking Switzerland. It did not reach screens in the Suisse Romande (French-speaking cantons) until 1940. See the Historical Archives of Bally Schuhfabriken AG, Agor AG Zürich, Annual Report and Accounts 1939; Amsler 1997.
- 3 Tomkowiak 2008.
- 4 See Kurtzig 1926; Schlaepfer 1943.
- 5 See Bochsler/Derungs 1998.
- 6 Zimmermann 1943.
- 7 See König 2005.
- 8 König/Papierz 2012, p. 284.
- 9 Amongst the extensive literature deserving of special mention: Mundt 1989; Specker 2000.
- 10 See Bochsler 2014.
- 11 Gasser 1924.
- 12 It is impossible to detect a fashion factor from price series, influenced by price rises, currency fluctuations, and market trends. The amount of work needed to construct auxiliary indices can scarcely be justified. Occasionally, economists even subsume fashions as a residual value. Answers to the question, raised mostly by economists, "Fashion: Why People Like It and Theorists Do Not" can be found on the one hand in the unschooled perspective of researchers in sartorial matters and on the other in the limited modelability of the pattern of consumption. See Andreozzi/Bianchi 2007; Honeyman/Godley 2003; Polese/Blaszczyk 2012.
- 13 Gasser 1924, p. 124.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 129.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 125.
- 16 Kaufmann 1952.
- 17 Pricing Commission 1946, p. 31.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 31.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 32.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
- 21 For contemporary studies, cf. Büchi 1930; Schmid 1939; Bally Schuhfabriken AG 1951; Wild 2019.
- 22 Plumpe 2014, p. 18.

- 23 Toggweiler 1926.
- 24 Historical Archives of Bally Schuhfabriken AG, Eduard Bally: "Bd. 1: Geschichte C.F. Bally AG; Bd. 2: Statistische Tabellen"; Schönenwerd 1921, esp. vol. 1, p. 1645 (on CD-ROM).
- 25 Kamber 1933.
- 26 Historical Archives of Bally Schuhfabriken AG, report from Arola to the board of directors about the financial year 1934/35.
- 27 Bally Arola Service 1946.
- 28 Historical Archives of Bally Schuhfabriken AG, Agor AG Zürich, Annual Report and Accounts 1935.
- 29 Godley/Kershen/Schapiro 2003.
- 30 Historical Archives of Bally Schuhfabriken AG, sales catalogues 1880–1950; my own collection of data.
- 31 Stirlin 1943, p. 78.
- 32 Outside the shoe industry, common figures of speech concerning fashion are listed in Dingel 2006; Wild 2010; Tramer 2014.
- 33 Lakoff/Johnson 1998.
- 34 See Landwehr 2009; *ibid.* 2010.
- 35 See Stämpfli 2002.
- 36 David 1921, p. 102.
- 37 See Staudinger 1929, p. 37.
- 38 See Wolff 1912.
- 39 Heim 1942, p. 265. Heim also drew attention to his fears of degeneration through several series of articles, *ibid.* 1941; *ibid.* 28.9.1956.
- 40 See Thomann 1992; Linder/Saltzman 1998; Breyer 2011.
- 41 Author unknown 1942.
- 42 See Angst 1992.
- 43 Gnägi/Nicolai/Wohlwend 2013.
- 44 Schmidt/von Grüningen/Mussard 1944, p. 20.
- 45 Author unknown 1931.
- 46 Author unknown 1936.
- 47 On international fashion institutes and fashion commissions see Sudrow 2010, pp. 153–166.
- 48 See Wild 2016.
- 49 Kaufmann 1944, p. 32.
- 50 Pricing Commission 1946, pp. 85f.
- 51 For her career and publications, see Daub 1996.
- 52 Baumgarten-Tramer 1938, p. 638.
- 53 Wild 2013.

- 54 Author unknown 1941.
- 55 Droux 2004.
- 56 See Duttweiler 1942.
- 57 Author unknown 1942.
- 58 A pioneering work is Raphael 1996.
- 59 Mentges 2015, pp. 31–39.
- 60 Ibid., p. 36.
- 61 Jaun 1986, pp. 108–123, 202–253.
- 62 Klinger 1942.
- 63 Streuli 1944.
- 64 History of Science Collections of the ETH Library, HS 494: 293: Arnold Heim (1882–1965), Geologe, Forschungsreisender; Manuskripte, Fotografien, Dias, Separatsammlung aus dem Nachlass; Material zum Aufsatz “Schuhe oder Füße? Ein Mahnruf”.
- 65 Streuli 1944, p. 15.

