# PRACTICAL TO FASHIONABLE: A HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE REPURPOSING OF ENGLISH EQUESTRIAN BOOTS.

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#### Abstract

Practical to Fashionable: A Historic Review of the Repurposing of English Equestrian Boots

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With elite British males uniquely wearing the boots worn by equine sportsmen and cavalry officers off of the horse and pairing them with non-equestrian attire in the early 19th century, the role of the riding boot quickly changed from utilitarian accessory to fashion staple. Accordingly referred to as English equestrian boots, these pieces are now worn predominately by women and remain popular on city streets and fashion runways throughout the world. This research concentrates on the use and design of such footwear worn during the 19th and early 20th centuries using artefacts from the Bata Shoe Museum to identify the four main types of English equestrian footwear. Comparisons between these archetypes with the boots currently sold by Hermés, Ralph Lauren, and Gucci reveal that English riding culture has safeguarded their design and appeal. The gender transitions and socioeconomic status ideals that are connected to these pieces are also addressed.

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# To A.B and F.F

# **Table of Contents**

Author's Declaration	
Abstract	
Acknowledgements	
Dedication	
List of Figures	
Introduction	
Section 1: Identification of Four Types of Riding Boot Styles, Initial Design Purposes, and Subsequent Adaptations	
Military Origins	
English Equestrian Boots and Equine Sports	
Section 2: Transition to Non-Equestrian Female Fashion Accessory  English Riding Culture and Tradition	
Associations of Horse Riding Boots to Societal Status	
The Top Boot	
The Hessian Boot	
The Wellington Boot The Butcher Boot	
Saction 2: Today's Marketpless - A Casa Study of Harmás Dalph Layran an	d
Section 3: Today's Marketplace—A Case Study of Hermés, Ralph Lauren, an Gucci	u
Riding Traditions and Culture as Marketing Strategies: Hermés, Ralph	
Lauren, and Gucci's Brand Associations With Equestrian Imagery	
Hermés	
Ralph Lauren and the World of Polo	
Gucci Observations	
Ousci vations	••••
Conclusion	
Driving Factors for Classic Boot Designs	
Design Similarities and Differences in the Four Boot Styles	
Evolution of Boot From Elite to Widespread Use	
which and why women began wearing these books	• • • •

How Leading Luxury Brands Capitalized on Consumer Perception of	
Equestrian Boots	6
How Boots Changed Over Time	6
Primary Users of These Boots Today: Who and Why?	6
Future Studies	6
References	6
Appendix: Figures	7.

# **List of Figures**

1. Template of the Hessian Boot's topline. 2. Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of Wellington, by James Godby, 1812. 3. Unembellished Hessian boots, 1845–1865 4. Wellington letter to Hoby, 1815. 5. A Wellington Boot or The Head of the Army, by Paul Pry, 1827. 6. Wellington boot with turn round orientation, 1870–1899. 7. Template of the Wellington boot's turn round topline. 8. Wellington boot with straight top, 1817–1820. 9. Wellington boot with turn round orientation, 1840. 10. Construction differences between the Top boot and Wellington boot 11. Sir Roger Burgoyne Riding 'Badger', by James Seymour, 1740. Mr and Mrs Coltman, by Joseph Wright of Derby, 1769. 12. Captain George K.H. Coussmaker, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, 13. 1782. 14. George Harley Drummond, by Sir Henry Raeburn, 1809. 15. Black Top boots, 1890-1910 16. Top boots, 1820 17. Lord Glamis and his Staghounds, by Dean Wolstenholme, 1823. 18. Hedges and Fences, by Henry Alken, 1850-1851.

The Duke of Hamilton's Grey Racehorse, 'Victorious,' at

Newmarket, by John Wootton, 1725.

19.

20. Lord Portmore Watching Racehorses at Exercise on Newmarket Heath, by John Wootton, 1735. 21. Diamond, with Dennis Fitzpatrick Up, by Benjamin Marshall, 1799. 22. Memnon, with William Scott Up on Doncaster Racecourse, by John Frederick Herring, 1825. 23. Jockey Top boots, 1935–1958 24. Study of the Hunt Servant Adjusting the Girth of the Saddled Grey Horse on the Right, by George Stubbs, late 1750s 25. Gentleman's Carriages: A Cabriolet, by Charles Hancock, 1820-1830. 26. A Cabriolet, by Robert Havell, 1834. 27. Coachman's Livery, 1869. 28. Template of the Butcher boot 29. A Polo Game, by Lionel Edwards, 1904. 30. Polo players between chuckers, 1920s. 31. Butcher boots, first quarter of 20th century 32. The Polo Player, by Sir Alfred Munnings, 1929. 33. An illustration of the traditional Butcher boot juxtaposed next to the modified version. 34. A male Swedish dressage competitor during the 1924 Paris Olympic Games. 35. A photograph from the article "Prize Winning Filly Owned by Cobblers", 1948. 36. Butcher boots, 1910-1930. 37. Butcher boots, 1910-1940.

38. The Pack of Lord Cowdray wearing the Butcher boot, 1931 39. Butcher boots, 1930-1940. 40. Top boots with Butcher top, 1885-1915. 41. Top boots, 1965-1985. 42. Number of railway passengers in the U.K., 1830-1910. 43. Bulletin of Fashion, 1853. 44. Lord Cowdray, Viscount of West Sussex, 1931. 45. A Tailor at a Client's Home, by George Cruikshank, 1825. 46. All black Top boot, 1890 and 1910 47. James Taylor Wray of the Bedale Hunt with his Dun Hunter, by Anson Ambrose Martin, circa 1840. 48. Monsieur Sériziat, by Jacques Louis David, 1795. 49. Portrait of the Painter Isabey with his Daughter, by François Gérard, 1796. 50. Napoleon in Front of the Chateau de Malmaison, by François Gérard, 1804. 51. The Shoemakers, by E.B and E.C Kellogg of Hartford, Connecticut, 1855. 52. Child's Top boot, 1861-1865. 53. A May Morning in the Park (The Fairman Rogers Four-in-Hand), by Thomas Eakings, 1870-1880. 54. Carriage Driving, late 19th century. 55. A Pair of Polished Gentlemen, by James Gillray, 1801. 56. George "Beau" Brummell, by Richard Dighton, 1805.

The Meat Market, by James Pollard, unknown date.

57.

- 58. Shoeing Asses, by Cruikshank, 1809.
- 59. Male and female walking dress, 1810.
- 60. Unadorned Hessian Boots worn by Karl XIV Johan, King of Sweden and Norway, 1830.
- 61. Billy the Kid, 1879.
- 62. Unembellished child's Hessian, 1860-1870.
- 63. The Cloak-Room, Clifton Assembly Rooms, by Rolinda Sharples, 1818.
- 64. Unembellished Hessian Boots, 1918-1930.
- 65. Lady Worsley, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1779.
- 66. Amazones, 1893.
- 67. Safety Skirt, by Spalding, 1899.
- 68. "What She Wears", 1909.
- 69. A Busvine advertisement, 1927.
- 70. "Dressing for the Hunting Field", by Violet, Duchess of Westminster, 1928.
- 71. Two Busvines and a Cutaway, by Sir Alfred Munnings, 1878.
- 72. Foxhunting Girl, by Kauffman & Sons Saddlery, 1930.
- 73. Horsewoman, by Kauffman & Sons Saddlery, 1930.
- 74. Polo Girl, by Turkish Trophies Cigarettes, 1913.
- 75. B. Altman and Company Advertisement 1929.
- 76. "This year of sports will show a greatly increased demand for riding boots," 1930.
- 77. Polo Girl, by Kauffman & Sons Saddlery, 1930.
- 78. "Vanity Boot Shop Opens in Chattanooga," 1934.

- 79. A Manfield & Sons advertisement, 1930.
- 80. A Manfield & Sons adverstisement, 1934.
- 81. A Colt-Cromwell Co., Inc. advertisement, 1930.
- 82. A Colt-Cromwell Co., Inc. advertisment, 1930.
- 83. A Colt-Cromwell Co., Inc. advertisement, 1934.
- 84. A J-M-Connell Shoe Co. advertisement, 1930.
- 85. A J-M-Connell Shoe Co. advertisement, 1934.
- 86. The "Ladies High Heel Riding Boot", by Kirkendall, 1934.
- 87. Queen Elizabeth II and President Ronald Reagan riding horses, 1982.
- 88. Duc Attele, Groom a L'Attente or Duc Harnessed, Groom Waiting, by Alfred de Dreux, 1830.
- 89. The Duchesse d'Uzès with her hunting pack in front of the Château de Chantilly, by Hermés, 1931.
- 90. Hermés advertisement, 2006.
- 91. Hermés advertisement, 2006.
- 92. Kelly Caléche Perfume, by Hermés, 2007.
- 93. *Black Rider*, 2011.
- 94. *Black Rider*, 2011.
- 95. *Black Rider*, 2011.
- 96. Jumping Boots by Hermés.
- 97. Salma Hayek, by Mario Testino, 2005.
- 98. St. Moritz World Cup on Snow, by Polo Ralph Lauren, 2012.

99.	Polo Ralph Lauren Cologne, by Saks Fifth Avenue, 1986.
100.	Polo Modern Reserve Fragrance featuring Ignacio Figueras advertised by Ralph Lauren, 2009.
101.	The World of Polo Ralph Lauren Men's Fragrances advertised by Ralph Lauren, 2012.
102.	Holiday Campaign advertised by Ralph Lauren, 2012.
103.	Holiday Campaign featuring Ignacio Figueras advertised by Ralph Lauren, 2012.
104.	American Beauty advertised by Ralph Lauren, 2014.
105.	Equestrian Riding Boots, by Ralph Lauren.
106.	Sabeen Vachetta Riding Boot, by Ralph Lauren.
107.	Rubber Wellington Boot, by Ralph Lauren.
108.	Leather Wellington Boot, by Ralph Lauren.
109.	Equestrian Bridle-Print Wellie, by Ralph Lauren.
110.	Sage Vachetta Riding Boot, by Ralph Lauren.
111.	Vachetta Two-Toned Riding Boot, by Ralph Lauren.
112.	Sandra Calf Chain Riding Boot, by Ralph Lauren.
113.	"Riding High," 2010.
114.	"Riding High," 2010.
115.	Gucci featuring Casiraghi advertisement, 2010.
116.	Edimburg GG Flat Rain Boot, by Gucci.
117.	Black Rubber Rain Boot, by Gucci.
118.	Rubber Rain Boot, by Gucci.

119. Leather Wellington Boot, by Gucci Jamie Leather Riding Boot, by Gucci. 120. Embossed Interlocking G Low Heel Tall Boot, by 121. Gucci. 122. Maud Leather Tall Flat Boot, by Gucci. 123. Black Leather Boot, by Gucci. 124. Leather Riding Boot with Gucci Crest from Equestrian Collection, by Gucci. "1921 Collection" Riding Boot with Gucci Crest 125. Detail, by Gucci for women. 126. "1921 Collection" Riding Boot with Gucci Crest Detail by Gucci for men. 127. Victoria Equestrian Flat Leather Riding Boot, by Gucci. 128. Eleonora Brown Leather riding boot, by Gucci. 129. Leather Horsebit Boot, by Gucci. 'Rain' Flat Boot with Gucci Script Logo, by Gucci. 130.

## Introduction

Equestrian boots initially served as practical riding tools that aided men while horseback riding. The Hessian, Wellington, Top boot, and Butcher boot are the four main styles of riding footwear that are referred to as English equestrian boots. During the 19th century, British men wore these boots off of the horse as fashion markers of male virility, wealth, and elitism. These upper class gentlemen used these pieces in settings ranging from country fields to urban spaces as a signature style that suggested English sophistication, leisure, and standard of living. By the beginning of the early 20th century, a fashion change began as women incorporated these boots into their personal style. In this Master's Research Project, surviving examples of 19th and early 20th century male equestrian boots from the archives of the Bata Shoe Museum in Toronto are compared with contemporary boots from the Hermés, Ralph Lauren, and Gucci's Fall 2012–Winter 2014 collections. The analysis of these pieces shows that while the primary design of the male equestrian boots has remained virtually unchanged since the 18th century, aesthetic changes have occurred that have been motivated by female fashion considerations. Men have become a minor consumer of these pieces in a fashion context whereas the popularity of these boots continues to expand within all sectors of the female consumer market.

The paper is divided into three sections, starting with an explanation of the military origins in the United Kingdom of the Hessian and Wellington boots as well as the sport origins of the Top boot and Butcher boot. Details are provided on the physical characteristics of each type of boot that are discerned from object analysis of features such as design, construction, and

silhouette. Section 1 also includes the use of these boots in various horse riding activities found in the United Kingdom and abroad.

Section 2 presents the known fashion trends that prompted British male aristocrats and members of the bourgeoisie to dress themselves in the same type of boots worn by British equine sportsmen and cavalry officers. This section summarizes details of the pairing of the boots with urban attire for non-equestrian purposes and the ways that English equestrian riding boots allowed individuals to reference their wealth and status. It also provides a description of the influence that the English equine culture had on the French with respect to sparking Anglomania as well as the expanded use of these boots in the United States. The shift of the primary consumer of the boots from men to women by the 20th century is also examined.

Section 3 details the relationship of the three major luxury brands providing equestrian boots with the equestrianism: Hermés, Ralph Lauren, and Gucci English equestrian-inspired boots sold between 2012 and 2014. Each boot's characteristics in relation to the archetypical boots is explained using object analysis. This section also reviews the marketing strategy of each brand to utilize the nostalgia and allure of English riding, and accounts for how fashion has shifted a traditionally male form of footwear to a predominantly female market while essentially maintaining the same archetypical silhouette. The number of boots presently sold by the leading brands Hermés, Ralph Lauren, and Gucci to men and women is used to extrapolate that women have become the primary user of English equestrian riding boots in a fashion context.

Lastly, the paper presents a summary of findings and conclusions regarding the study's primary research questions.

# Section 1: Identification of Four Types of English Equestrian Riding Boot Styles, Initial Design Purposes, and Subsequent Adaptations

Throughout much of history, equestrian riding boots were practical tools that provided horseback riders protection against chafing and pinching from the saddle while securing the placement of the foot within the stirrup. By the 18th century in the United Kingdom, boots, whether used in warfare or for sport, were necessary riding attire that also looked good. Analyzing the Hessian, Wellington, Top boot, and Butcher boot, this section looks at parallels between the history of each boot's use and appearance while also conducting object analysis on artefacts and examining artistic representations such as paintings and photographs.

# **Military Origins**

The cavalryman or trooper who battled while mounted on horseback enjoyed a superior tactical advantage of fighting from a greater height and speed. Off the horse, the attire of such individuals reinforced the respect they earned in battle. They were considered to be the most prestigious fighters and cavalry officers spared no expense in having the most elaborate uniforms in the military (Matthews David, 2006, p. 130). Unlike foot soldiers wearing standard issue footwear of cheap and shoddy construction, cavalrymen were known to dress in expertly crafted bespoke boots made of the finest leather, ultimately advancing the need for the standardization of equine footwear (Sauro, 2010, p. 92). From this starting point, the use of boots such as the Hessian and the Wellington in a British military context will be analyzed within a 1770s to early 1900s historical framework.

#### The Hessian Boot

The Hessian boot was brought to the United Kingdom by German soldiers in the 1770s (Turner Wilcox, 1948, p. 120). The boot is named after the province of Hessen in Germany; this boot's uniqueness stems from its front topline, which is curved in such a way as to form the shape of the letter M. The manufacturing process of the boot is shown in Figure 1 (see Appendix) and illustrates how a V-shaped cut was made into the topline in order to achieve the Hessian's signature look. Without knee pieces, each bespoke measurement was customized so that the highest part of this boot reached to just under the kneecap of the wearer (de Garsault, 2009, p. 119). The entire upper was composed of polished leather. Decorations frequently included trimmings of gold or silver braiding along the topline and a single silk tassel that hung from the centre peak. Figure 2 shows a stipple engraving by James Godby dating to 1812 and depicts British soldier Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of Wellington wearing full dress military uniform, including a pair of Hessian boots. Positioned on an open balcony showcasing a panoramic view of boundless surrounding land, Wellesley's stance and facial demeanour reveal a sense of pride and triumph; with his hat (also known as the bicorne) and gloves left to rest on a table on the right hand side of the image, his sword sheathed, and open maps scattered about, it can be concluded that he is both surveying and showing off the United Kingdom's successful military exploits. Playing a vital role in both war and peace, these boots would have commanded authority—emphasizing the ability of humans to dominate nature while advertising the prestige of the country they fought for.

# The Unembellished Variation

Dating between 1845 and 1860, the artefact shown in Figure 3 is a variation of the traditional Hessian style as the cut of the topline is present but without the adornment of braiding and tassels. These black leather boots were believed to have been worn by a cavalry officer during the American Civil war having small feet yet tall and narrow calves. The boots measure 29 centimetres in length, 10.5 centimetres in width, and 36.5 centimetres in height. The front of the boot has a rounded-off square-toe accompanied by a high toe spring which according to June Swann (1982) was fashionable throughout Europe at this time. A 3.5-centimetre stacked leather heel is featured along with two leather pull straps attached to the inside of the boot. Practically speaking, whether made of leather or a woven material, these pull straps located near the topline on either side of the calf would have allowed the wearer to easily pull on the boots while inserting his foot as opposed to wedging and forcing the boot inward which would ultimately crush its shaft. Through my personal interaction, physical handling, and examination of the proportions of the boot shown in Figure 3, it is clear that the Hessian's signature topline was a comfortable design for walking thus contributing to the mass appeal of these boots (Crepidam, 1890, p. 207).

# The Wellington Boot

The Wellington boot has a Hessian body but an unadorned straight cut front topline. These black leather boots are believed to have been designed and introduced by Britain's Duke of Wellington in 1817 and are named after him (Sauro, 2010, p. 92). As a war hero, other fashion items such as hats and trousers were labelled under the Wellington name but "despite this proliferation of Wellingtoniana, only the boot retained his name" (Matthews David, 2006, p.

133). Figure 4 shows a letter addressed from Wellington to his bootmaker George Hoby on April 11, 1815. In this letter Wellington orders two new pairs of boots and writes: "The boot you sent me were still too small in the calf of the leg and about an inch and a half short on the leg." With the guidance of this kind from Wellington, Hoby was able to execute a boot style that would strongly influence menswear during the first quarter of the 19th century (Sauro, 2010, p. 92).

The image shown in Figure 5 from 1827 by Paul Pry depicts a Wellington boot placed in the middle of a field with a cannon on the left of the background and the city, on the right. Out of the top of the boot appears the head of a solider with a bicorne hat, similar to that found in Figure 2; it is no coincidence however as this image also represents the Duke of Wellington. Matthews David (2006) explains the perception of the Duke of Wellington with respect to his namesake Wellington boot:

He "stands" in front of the Horse Guards, who are parading before St. James's Palace, not far from the premises of Hoby, Wellington's bootmaker. Hoby had premises on St. James's Street which was located at the heart of London's centre for elite masculine consumption. ...The caption reads: "A Wellington Boot: Or the *Head* of the *Army*" and refers to his role as commander-in-chief of the British army. ... On the one hand, the image plays on the boot's association with class privilege and command; on the other, the title puns on the contrast between the connotations of head and foot. It invites us to see the Duke of Wellington as the "foot" of the army, contrasting the head as the seat of intellectual powers with the feet, which are literally "low" and represent all that is earthly and grounded…he was frequently quoted as stating that "a good pair of shoes" was the most important part of a soldier's equipment. (p. 134)

This caricature remarks that Wellington with his namesake boots, oversized spur, and large rowels is able to direct not only the horse; the horse represents not only the British army, but also the fate of the country. Of particular note is the association of the boot with class privilege and command as this is a continuous sentiment that is echoed by many admirers of English equestrian boots. It is of interest to note that a metal plate, also known as a spur rest, is attached to the back of the each heel shown in Figure 4. Cavalry riders used spurs and other artificial riding aids such as bits, whips, and crops for the purpose of directing the horse to move forward or laterally while riding. From the early to late 19th century, the Wellington boots enjoyed a multi-generational use and appeal, as shown in portraits such as the one presented in Figure 5.

Figure 6 shows a pair of Wellington boots dating between 1870 and 1899 that features an oval toe and red trim that remains visible only along the outside of the front topline of the boot. Like the Hessian, which extends up to the bottom of the knee, these boots are known for the placement of side seams on the inside and outside of the calf (Golding, 1935, p. 113). Upon close inspection, two seams are characteristically found on either side of the shaft. The topline is straight at the front, however gradually curving upwards towards the back of the leg, like the Hessian but in reverse orientation. According to June Swann (1982), the Wellington boot topline style varied between having the peak at the back and having a completely straight cut top (p. 35). Figure 7 is an illustration of the boot's template used when manufacturing the peak at the back. Figure 8 from the Northampton Museum and Art Gallery shows a straight topline dating between 1817 and the 1820s as well and Figure 9 from the Royal Scottish Museum shows a topline cut higher at the back that dates approximately to the 1840s. These are additional British examples of this varied topline and how both were used interchangeably throughout the nineteenth century.

Figure 6 measures roughly 50 centimetres in length, 10 centimetres in width, and exactly like the image shown in Figure 3, 36.5 centimetres in height. Additional features that recall the Hessian include a 3.5-centimetre stacked leather heel as well as pull straps, although these are made of green and yellow woven material. The placement of patent leather on the foot and back counter piece and kid leather on the shaft indicate that this boot was a part of a cavalry officer's uniform (Golding, 1935, p. 114). After physically handling these boots, it can be observed that on the inside of the top band of the boot is a maker's inscription printed in gold: "Craig and Davies, Makers, 45 Glasshouse St., London, W." A wreath of floral symbols encircles the "W" and references this manufacturer's location in West London. According to Charles Dickens, Jr. in his 1879 *Dictionary of London: An Unconventional Handbook* this part of London was a popular manufacturing district in the Victorian period (pp. 255-256).

# **English Equestrian Boots and Equine Sports**

From polo to dressage, there are many different types and disciplines of equestrian sport involving a rider and horse. The involvement of rich elites in such expensive activities boosted the requirement for quality riding boots that would aesthetically bestow these privileged participants an appearance that would distinguish them from the cavalry officer while conveying their superior class and status. Matthews David (2006) purports that "this connection with equestrianism is the key to understanding the authority these boots commanded, since they signalled the rider's membership of the horse-owning set" (p. 130). While many people rode horses for pleasure, this activity also allowed for connections to be made with others who enjoyed the social aspects of the sport. The design of the Top boot and the Butcher boot being

representative of the footwear of English equine sport origin are spotlighted to convey the history of their use and functionality within a British athletic context.

# The Top Boot

The Top boot was a leather boot that was distinguished by a folded over top, creating a stiff band along the topline. Although it had the same toe and vamp shape as the Wellington and the Hessian, this boot had a much lower heel and narrower shaft and as a result would have fit tightly against the calf of the leg. Figure 10 shows an image from June Swann's (2001) *History of Footwear in Norway, Sweden and Finland: Prehistory to 1950* that illustrates the differences in the shaft, topline, and heel between the Top boot and the Wellington. Also unlike the Hessian and the Wellington, this particular style has origins in equine sport and while jockeys, hunters, grooms and carriage drivers most popularly wore the "Red Top" version composed of a black body and contrasting tanned brown cuff, the all-black version appeared in hunting circles as well.

# Hunting

The design of the Top boot was especially useful in equine hunting activities as they provided the leg with protection from surface injury when jumping over fences and thorny bushes. In traditional English hunting circles, it was of utmost importance in that every individual element of the hunting costume functioned practically while imposing social distinctions (Griffin, 2007, p. 133). An important element of these conventions was the boot; wearing the "Red" or black top allowed for each rider's social status and skill to be identified by both fellow participants and observers (Mackay-Smith, Druesedow, & Ryder, 1984, p. 35). The "Red Top" was customarily worn by the captain or "Master of the Hounds" as this rider was

deemed the fastest and most aggressive of the pack while all the other participants wore the all black boot. In Hilary Davidson's (2006) article on red shoes, the colour red and its inclusion in footwear is argued to have great significance for masculinity, authority, wealth, and power (p. 273). Referring to tan brown Top boots as "Red Tops" may have been linked to the animal most prized in the hunt of which "the male red deer, or stag, was the largest and noblest of these" (Griffin, 2007, p. 12).

Figure 11 shows a painting from 1740 entitled Sir Roger Burgoyne Riding "Badger" by James Seymour features a man wearing an all-black Top boot. Figure 12 shows a portrait painting circa 1769 entitled Mr and Mrs Coltman by Joseph Wright of Derby. This piece shows a man in "Red" Top boots holding a riding crop, a barking hound and a woman seated sidesaddle on a white horse. The Southern Hound breed that is illustrated is of the type most commonly used in early foxhunting. Figure 13 shows an equestrian portrait of Captain George K.H. Coussmaker by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Dating to 1782, this piece depicts a gentleman wearing allblack Top boots and other accessories typically worn by foxhunters. Specifically, the top hat, the tailcoat and the sword were used. Although an uncommon foxhunting tool, a sword was often used to hunt boar and deer as these animals along with fox were often concurrently hunted in forests and fields (Mackay-Smith et al., 1984, p. 35). Strutt and Hone (1838) support this by stating: "the boar may properly be hunted and killed with either the sword or the boar spear" (p. 15) while Hummel (1994) speaks on the hunting of deer: "mostly common, however, the huntsman approached the stag brought to bay by the hounds and dispatched it with the sword" (p. 26). Often referring to red hunting coats as "riding pinks," Cabell Self (1979) argues that they got this name from a famous equestrian costume tailor named Pinke (p. 277); also associated

with danger, war, and death (p. 273), the use of this colour by hunting participants possibly would have acted as a symbol of the blood spilled as a result their efforts.

Figure 14 shows an equestrian portrait of George Harley Drummond painted by Sir Henry Raeburn in 1809. Also wearing "Red Tops," George stands with his left arm draped over the saddle-clad back of his grazing horse whose behind is predominately displayed to the spectator while his right hand holds onto a whip. The boots shown in Figures 11 through 14 have spurs on the heels. The association of the Top boot with authority and privilege within these images is pronounced. The artefact shown in Figure 15 dates between 1890 and 1910 is an example of the all-black leather Top boot. Measuring to around 30.5 centimetres in length, 9 centimetres in width, and 42.5 centimetres in height, the front of the boot has a round toe and a 2-centimetre high stacked heel. The physical examination of the boot indicates that the boot appears unchanged from the one shown in Figure 11 from 1740. As a very traditional event, "the essentials of the sport-riding to hounds in pursuit of a fox-remained unchanged. For its followers, the local hunt was an outpost of tradition" (Griffin, 2007, p. 217). Accordingly, the boots show a rather stagnant design despite the fact that almost two centuries have passed.

By the first quarter of the 19th century, an extraordinary surge in popularity and democratization within the sport extended the use of the "Red Top" to more members of the foxhunting pack. The "Red Top" increasingly symbolized the "trappings of high-status hunting—fine dress, special hunting music and vocabulary, and certain arcane rituals and traditions" (Griffin, 2007, p. 238). The artefact shown in Figure 16 dating to 1820 is a pair of "Red" Top boots with a stacked leather heel that is 2.5 centimetres high. Measuring 30

centimetres in length, 10 centimetres in width, and 47 centimetres in height, these boots with their extremely narrow toe, which potentially caused bunions and blisters and made walking uncomfortable for the wearer, fulfilled the desire of every fashionable man to display a very small foot (Turner Wilcox 1948, p. 132).

Figure 17 shows a painting by Dean Wolstenholme dating to 1823. Entitled *Lord Glamis and his Staghounds*, this piece depicts three foxhunters dressed in traditional equine hunting garb; all are wearing "Red Tops". Figure 18 shows a later print by British sporting artist Henry Alken dating between 1850 and 1851 also depicts three foxhunters wearing "Red Tops." The separation of the top of the boot with a tan colour became a fashionable way to distinguish the rider.

# **Horseracing**

Progressing beyond its association with foxhunting, the "Red" Top boot was used in multiple areas of equine sport and also made up an integral part of horse racing's competitive jockey uniform (Cavalry Officer, 1830, pp. 55-56). Figure 19 shows *The Duke of Hamilton's Grey Racehorse, 'Victorious,' at Newmarket* by British painter John Wootton. This piece dated circa 1725 shows a jockey carrying a saddle, stirrups, and reins in his left hand. He is wearing a silvery-blue doublet with matching trousers that with their lustrous appearance suggest that they are made of silk; a popular choice in uniform material in horseracing circles because of its effective ability to cut wind resistance ultimately allowing the horse to travel at speeds up to 30 miles per hour (Vamplew & Kay, 2005). Against such a light-coloured ensemble, the "Red Tops" that he wears draw the spectator's attention. Additional accessories include a black jockey

hat that sits atop his head and crop in his right hand. Dating to 1735, the image shown in Figure 20 is another representation by John Wootton entitled: Lord Portmore Watching Racehorses at Exercise on Newmarket Heath. The image depicts three horses being exercised by a jockey and two others. The lead rider appears to be a jockey as he is wearing the silk uniform and "Red" Top boots. On the right side of the scene, two men can be observed wearing formal coats and also wearing "Red Tops" indicating that they may be the patrons of the jockey. The selective use of the "Red Top" indicates the importance of these boots to connoting the elite members of the racing team. As hired professionals with a reputation for control and speed, "the social status of jockeys [was] similar to that of young warriors in a tribal society" (Fox, 1999, p. 128). The notoriety and glamour of their work gave jockeys a higher ranking position within the horse racing community. Figure 21, a work entitled *Diamond*, with Dennis Fitzpatrick Up by Benjamin Marshall from 1799 and Figure 22, entitled Memnon, with William Scott Up on Doncaster Racecourse by John Frederick Herring from 1825 show further depictions of the clothing worn by a jockey during this time period. In each painting, the jockey is wearing a silk jacket, a tightfitting hat, and "Red" Top boots. The height of the boots in each picture extends from the stirrup to the bottom of the saddle's fender.

By the early 20th century, the jockey uniform changed but the "Red" Top boots continued to be used. Figure 23 shows a pair of boots worn by the late American thoroughbred horseracing jockey John H. Adams. Standing at just under 5-feet tall, Adams was an active rider between 1935 and 1958 and until 1971 retained the record of having won more races than any jockey in America (Georgeff, 2003, p. 158). A functional enhancement is found in the addition of rubber soles which presumably would provide for extra sole to stirrup traction. It is important

Although with this alteration the boot appears to be the same as the traditional black bodied shaft with a folded over top, it is physically different in that there is no actual cuff. This alteration may have come about in order to suit an aerodynamic requirement necessary to avoid drag in the motion of air during horse racing. The retention of this colour contrast between the top and body of the boot provides testimony to the perceived value of the traditional importance of the "Red Top" within the horseracing community that spread beyond the historical roots of the United Kingdom.

# **Grooms and Carriage Drivers**

The Top boot with contrasting colour band was also used by coachmen employed by the elite. Figure 24 shows a painting by George Stubbs entitled *Study of the Hunt Servant Adjusting the Girth of the Saddled Grey Horse on the Right* dating to the late 1750s. In this piece, the servant tending to the saddle of a horse during foxhunting is wearing the "Red" Top boots. Figure 25 shows a work by Charles Hancock and called *Gentleman's Carriages: A Cabriolet* dating between 1820 and 1830 in which a groom attending a carriage wearing white-coloured banded Top boots. Figure 26, a print dating to 1834 entitled *A Cabriolet* and Figure 27, a photograph from Francis T. Underhill's 1896 manual *Driving for Pleasure*, show carriage grooms wearing "Red Tops." As was common at this time, many elite employers supplied the uniform and accessories such as footwear to be worn by their help. Together these images represent the expansion of the users of this type of boot.

Although scholars such as Turner Wilcox and Aileen Ribeiro argue that the wearing of the Top boot had begun in the middle of the 18th century in England (Ribeiro, 2002, pp. 214-216), looking at the image shown in Figure 19 from circa 1725, it stands to be reconsidered that the Top boot was worn a bit earlier in the century and is therefore the oldest style of English equine boots covered in this study.

#### The Butcher Boot.

The Butcher boot has the same overall body shape as the Top boot but is lacking the folded top band. It is also the tallest and most narrow style of boot when compared to the Hessian, Wellington, and Top boot. Its stacked leather heels also typically measure no higher than 2 centimetres tall. The illustration of this style shown in Figure 28 emphasizes that the Butcher boot "should have high fronts and counters [and] the back should be raised" (Golding, 1935, p. 112). This would have allowed for more support around the ankle, at the back of the heel, and the top of the calf. Another supportive feature was a very stiff shaft. According to Crepidam (1890): "In the third class, the leg is closed, and in addition it is lined with a stout, stiff lining, or it may be made of one substance; whichever method is used, the endeavour is to get as firm a substance as possible. The Butcher is of this class" (p. 205). A final unique feature is a curved topline often called the "Spanish Top"; Bedford Leno (1949) writes:

The Butcher is sometimes cut with a curve at the top of the leg, to permit the boot being cut the utmost possible height...this produces a low curve on the inside of the knee joint, and a high curve on the outer side of the calf corresponding to the difference of the shape of the leg inside. The curve is not noticeable in the boot, but greatly adds to its appearance on the leg. (p. 60)

Such construction ensured that the knee remain mobile while housed in such a rigid body. Giving the wearer's leg a long and lean look, this boot was available in black or brown dyed leather as it was worn by equine sportsmen who participated in polo, dressage and towards the end of the 19th century, foxhunting; the Butcher is the most recently introduced style.

# <u>Polo</u>

The game of polo was first introduced to British officers stationed in India and was brought to the United Kingdom by the end of the 1860s (Mackay-Smith et al., 1984, p. 51). Figure 29 shows a privately owned painting by Lionel Edwards dating to 1904 and depicts a polo game being played by seven men. The scene is filled with action as a man second from the left swings his mallet to hit the ball while two horses at the centre of the scene collide with each other. Although the composition is complex and vigorously painted, it can be identified that all of these men are wearing Butcher boots because of their narrow shafts and sleek toplines.

Figure 30 shows a photograph dating to the 1920s and includes some of the best American polo players from this period: Pete Bostwick, Gerald Balding, Tommy Hitchcock, and John Hay Whitney of the Greentree team (Mackay-Smith et al., 1984, p. 51). Resting between chuckers, these men are all wearing Butcher Boots. Especially visible on the two men on the right, a thin strap referred to as a "Garter Belt" can be found extending above the topline and wrapping around the calf. Integrated at the discretion of the wearer into Butcher construction through the addition of a third loop (de Garsault, 2009, p. 118), this belt could be secured to Jodhpur pants and would have allowed for everything to stay in place while riding. Figure 31 shows a pair of brown Butcher boots that are most likely from the first quarter of the 20th

century. Produced by British boot manufacturer Tom Hill (Knightsbridge) Ltd., they measure to be roughly 25 centimetres in length, 8.5 centimetres in width, and 55 centimetres in height. Garter belts can also be found attached to the inside of each leg. Further use of the Butcher boot's garter can be exemplified in the image shown in Figure 32 from 1929 entitled *The Polo Player* by Sir Alfred Munnings which offers a visual reference of how this optional accessory was a tool most commonly utilized by polo players.

A variation of the Butcher boot emerged in the polo community which included lacing where the shaft meets the upper. Figure 33 includes an illustration of the traditional Butcher juxtaposed next to the modified version. The traditional Butcher was popular and has remained in use among polo players but the variant also gained a following as the lacing offered to some wearers more control and flexibility in the ankle while riding as well as added ease when putting on and removing these boots.

# **Dressage**

In a sport where achieving graceful movements while upholding the sophisticated appearance of both rider and horse is key to success, the Butcher boot's suitability for dressage competition starts with its stiff body which prevents the top and shaft from slouching and wrinkling (Bryant, 2006, p. 21). With these boots available in black as well as brown, the rules of dressage have allowed for male as well as female participants to wear either colour as long as they match with the saddle, girth, and bridle worn by the horse to allow for an uninterrupted, uniform look (Bryant, 2006, p. 34). As a result, this boot in a dressage context provides wearers with the most aesthetic versatility.

Figure 34 shows a photograph of a male Swedish dressage competitor during the 1924 Paris Olympic Games. Figure 35, *Prize Winning Filly Owned by Cobblers' Director*, is from a 1948 article that documents the successes of Maria Springer, who won 15 ribbons and seven trophies in dressage competitions in Los Angeles. In both of these images, the riders wear Butcher boots that are similar to Figures 36 and 37. Both of these pairs of boots are almost identical in design, they are also from the same period dating between 1910 and 1930. The boots shown in Figure 36 measure 29 centimetres in length, 10 centimetres in width, and 50 centimetres in height. Made of polished leather, these black boots were once worn by a female rider. The artefact shown in Figure 37, dating between 1910 and 1940 from Avignon, France, shows brown boots once worn by a male rider. They measure 28 centimetres in length, 9 centimetres in width, and 52 centimetres in height.

# **Foxhunting**

By the beginning of the 20th century, the Butcher boot also became quite popular in foxhunting. The time frame for the integration and widespread use of the Butcher boot in foxhunting is not certain. A key motive that overcame the tradition of Top boot use may be attributed to the inherent supportive features of the Butcher. Figure 38 shows a photograph that features an entire foxhunting group wearing the Butcher. Taken in 1931, the first man to the right of the scene can be found wearing the garter belt accessory. The artefact found in Figure 39, dating between 1930 and 1940, features a rounded toe, stacked leather heel, Spanish top, and garter belt. Measuring 30 centimetres in length, 10 centimetres in width, and 49 centimetres in height, these Butchers are representative of the type of boot worn to engage in such activities.

# Amalgamated Styles: The Top Boot and The Butcher Boot.

The Butcher boot curved topline that Bedford Leno (1949) referred to as the Spanish top became integrated with the Top boot forming a new silhouette with a unique hybrid variation. This style became quite popular by the end of the 19th century. Figure 40 shows an example of this amalgamated style dating between 1885 and 1915. These boots are English in origin and they measure to about 27.5 centimetres in length, 9.5 centimetres in width, and 31.5 centimetres in height. With a rounded toe, these boots have a stacked heel which measures to be 3 centimetres in height and feature the Spanish top of the Butcher and "Red Top" of the Top boot. Upon physical examination, these boots have a label that reads: "Peal and Co.- England, London W1, 487 Oxford Street." Located one kilometre north of the Glasshouse address of Figure 6, Karl Baedeker (1889) writes that this was a shoemaking district specifically dedicated to the production of elite gentlemen's boots (p. 24).

Figure 41 shows another pair of this type that date between 1965 and 1985. Canadian in origin, these boots were worn by an Olympic show jumping competitor and measure approximately 26 centimetres in length, 10 centimetres in width, and 44 centimetres in height. With both pieces displaying this topline, it can be observed that this variation gained widespread favour, allowing it to ultimately spread outside of the United Kingdom.

## **Accessories (Spurs)**

As discussed in the context of Figure 5, the spur was an accessory. It came on and off of the boot when needed through the attachment of pieces of leather and a buckle to the metal bracket known as the heel band. Spurs were used by the rider in order to control the movements

of a horse who needed extra training and guidance. de Garsault (2009) writes: "A spur block which is only a single piece of leather, is put on. Attached to the bootleg, outside above the spur rest, so that the rubbing of the spur iron will not damage it" (p. 118). Such spur rests or blocks found on all of the styles of boots covered in this study and their use can be found represented in all of the analyzed images in this paper's first section. Figure 15 shows an example of "Red Tops" that included metal spurs when acquired by the Bata Shoe Museum.

# Section 2: Transition to Non-Equestrian Female Fashion Accessory

By the beginning of the 19th century, the English equestrian boot transitioned from practical riding tool to fashion accessory. Wearing boots off the horse allowed one to communicate not only their respect of English equestrian traditions but also their notions about culture, wealth, class and status. The use of the boot within women's fashion changed the footwear's masculine association with riding horses in warfare or for sport; a point supported by the fact that women have become the majority users of the boot. This section details the style of each boot style in relation to tradition, fashion and the end user.

# **English Riding Culture and Tradition**

In the United Kingdom, riding on thoroughbred horses from the East such as Arabian Stallions and Turkish breeds was a pastime engaged by the royals and gentry until the mid-17th century (Landry, 2009, p. 15). They used their financial and social advantages to pursue activities that displayed their personal attributes such as their power to rule over animals and their skill to not only participate in equine sport but also excel in it. Accessories such as the equestrian boot were primarily confined to military, hunting, and travelling purposes and until the early 18th century it was not common for an Englishman to wear boots beyond the country field and in an urban setting (Ribeiro, 2002, p. 31). In the late 17th and early 18th century, many people thought that the horse was "an idealized version of the human self" (Landry, 2009, p. 16). More and more individuals associated the power of riding a horse with economic, class, and status ideals. Malcolm Barnard (2007) writes that "culture also refers us to the notions of cultural identity and difference; our cultural identity is descriptive of who we think we are, which group(s) we are members of, and which groups we are not members of" (p. 189). Many people

aspired to have a horse and the use of the riding boot increased through the growth of popular activities such as foxhunting, dressage, and polo. With multiple country estates all over the United Kingdom and the leisure time to pursue their self-aggrandisement, horse sportsmen became highly regarded by society for their athleticism, wealth, prestige and class. The establishment by the mid-17th century of what is called the "English Hunting Seat" (Landry, 2009, p. 3), promoted the English riding culture within the United Kingdom as being both materially and symbolically important to the English identity.

Foxhunting, for example, was a sport that required a significant amount of wealth; with most aristocrats hunting on average six days a week, costs associated with the sport went well beyond the owning and maintaining of horses to include staff for the keeping of a country estate, stable hands, groomers and even a personal attendant who was solely responsible for ensuring that the "Master" was always in clean riding clothes (Mackay-Smith et al., 1984, p. 36).

The prestige and association with wealth became even more pronounced as "during the mid-nineteenth century, the steel horse began to replace its flesh-and-blood predecessor as a form of practical transportation over long distances...the advent of the railroad transformed riding into a leisure activity pursued in both city and country" (Matthews David, 2002, p. 181). Figure 42 includes a chart that shows a steady increase in the amount of rail passengers of trains running in the United Kingdom from less than a million riders in 1830 to peaking at 1.75 billion total riders by the beginning of 1923. The cost of owning a horse became very expensive (Landry, 2009, p. 15) and the practice of riding horses became restricted to those who could afford the sport and also to those who used it as a personal way to show off their wealth. Figure

43 shows an engraving dating to 1853 from the Museum of Art at the Rhode Island School of Design called *Bulletin of Fashion*. Set in an urban park, a group of men along with one woman are represented in conversation with one another next to a building with a staircase; further off in the background a faintly depicted coach pulled by two horses can be found. Especially worthy of attention is the military man, standing third from the left, wearing cavalry boots while the man at the very end of the group with a bright blue vest wears all-black Top boots. This work represents the use of equestrian pieces with both military and sport origins in an urban context and conveys that by wearing these pieces wearers were able to dress fashionably, differentiate themselves from others and promote English equine culture. Works such as this allow us to consider how these accessories in the same way the public would have viewed them. Thorstein Veblen (1899) in *Theory of the Leisure Class* advocates:

In order to gain and hold the esteem of men it is not sufficient merely to possess wealth or power. The wealth or power must be put in evidence, for esteem is awarded only on evidence. And not only does the evidence of wealth serve to impress one's importance on others and to keep their sense of his importance alive and alert, but it is of scarcely less use in building up and preserving one's self-complacency. (p. 26)

Figure 44 shows a photograph from 1931 that depicts Lord Cowdray, Viscount of West Sussex, about to embark on a hunt (Mackay-Smith et al., 1984, p. 84). Mounted on a horse at the front of his country estate, Lord Cowdray is surrounded by clusters of hounds while servants stand in service holding trays with refreshments. Clearly, a considerable amount of money was needed to sponsor and participate in such activities.

Public spaces such as horseracing arenas allowed the elites to not only participate in their hobbies but also to socially gather and expand their network. Both Figures 20 and 21 cited earlier feature reference a location called *Newmarket* within their titles. Located in Suffolk, United Kingdom this popular racetrack exemplified

the classic ground of racing, and it is here only that this delightful sport may be said to exist in perfection. ...The number of spectators seldom exceeds five hundred, and they are mostly of the highest classes, the majority on horseback, with perhaps, a few close carriages and barouches for invalids and ladies. The earliest period at which horse-racing was practiced at Newmarket was, as we have before stated, in the reign of James I., who permanently established the meetings and first attended in person in the third year of his reign, viz., in the year 1605 and from that date Newmarket seems to have been the spot most distinguished for the frequency of the sport and Royal patronage accorded, as also in having retained its racing celebrity down to the present time. (Saunders, Otley, & Co., 1863, pp. 159-161)

A visit to the racetrack was a social occasion, affording people the opportunity to wear their best fashion and socially connect within members of their class. Riders not only literally lifted themselves off the ground but also elevated their social standing by flaunting their ability to possess elite animals and engage in racetrack activities. Wearing boots and clothing made from high quality materials not only referenced English riding culture but was also a way for the elite to show off and social climbers to network. George Simmel's (1921) statement that "at first glance we know with whom we have to do" (p. 359) infers that the practice of looking and copying what others were doing was prevalent in English riding circles. The association of horse riding with an elite and privileged class of people became one of the greatest advertisements of

the equine tradition and the fashion of the wealthy. As this image of privilege spread throughout Great Britain, beyond the elites to the general public, equestrian clothing and in particular the boots became a symbol of money and power.

## **Associations of Horse Riding Boots to Societal Status**

Many aspired to be like the elite and it became "socially 'swank' to ride" (*Boot and Shoe Recorder*, 1930, p. 36) resulting in rapid expansion of riding schools, turf events, horse shows and hunts, compelling all of these new riders to require their own set of clothing and riding boots that would fit into the riding culture. Used in everyday fashion since the early 19th century because of its popularity that extended to the growing middle class, wearing the English riding boot was a way to "imply that its wearer belonged or aspired to belong to the horse-owning classes" (Matthews David, 2002, p. 250). The boot was used for non-riding purposes of fashion to promote self-aggrandisement, social climbing, and public display of self. Expensive clothing and luxurious fashion accessories were often used in prescribed ways in order to suit the environment, the activity and the people that would be encountered. As Veblen (1899) notes:

In addition to showing that the wearer can afford to consume freely and uneconomically, it can also be shown in the same stroke that he or she is not under the necessity of earning a livelihood, the evidence of social worth is enhanced in a very considerable degree. Our dress, therefore, in order to serve its purpose effectually, should not only be expensive, but it should also make plain to all observers that the wearer is not engaged in any kind of productive labour. (p. 188)

Wellington boots for example were not only expensive to purchase but also costly to maintain; their shiny polished surfaces required constant upkeep as well as the purchasing of polish and the

employment of a boot shiner (Matthews David, 2006, p. 130). Comparing the price point at which these boots were sold to consumers with the average income in the early 1800s further emphasizes their high price: the Hessian on a Northampton price list cost one pound while the Wellington upon its introduction was sold at a higher price of one pound, eight shillings (Swann, 1982, p. 35). Adjusting for inflation, one pound, eight shillings in 1817 has an equivalent value of approximately US\$240 or 145 British pounds today; while the cost of the Hessian, would convert to about US\$140 dollars or 85 British pounds today. Taking the annual wage of the average citizen in 1817 into account, "the average wages in husbandry may be related at twelve shillings per week: take the wife's earnings at two shillings, the total of the year will amount to thirty-six pounds, eight shillings" (Malthus, 1817, p. 385). Considering that "bread for five persons, [cost] ten shillings per week" (Malthus, 1817, p. 386) and an average total of three pounds was spent on clothing and furniture in one year (Malthus, 1817, p. 386), the cost of these boots was significant. Spreading beyond the United Kingdom into France, the United States, and Canada, the riding boot provided an opportunity to cultivate a personal image affiliated with wealth, status, and power.

## The Top Boot

English dandy George "Beau" Brummell, son of a politician and of middle class background, was a former military officer who while serving in the personal cavalry regiment of the Prince of Wales was able to become close friends with the future King George IV and enter into his social circle. Most noted for wearing equestrian boots, Brummell helped encourage their transition from pieces to be worn solely for practicality to fashionable items in non-equestrian

settings. Ian Kelly (2013) comments on the equine inspiration behind Brummell's look and his influence on others to dress in the same manner:

Brummell took inspiration from a quite separate aesthetic: English country horsemanship. This contextualized in a sporty and military milieu the arrestingly body-formed clothing. It also equated masculine corporality with horseflesh. ...It was exceptionally well modelled on him, but it came to suit, quite literally, everybody. ...The style made an immediate impact. This was not so much because Brummell had been an innovator, although in small part he had. His impact came because the style required a re-education of many men—notably Brummell's friend the Prince of Wales. The prince became a devotee of this pared-down style, and is depicted dressed in exact imitation of Brummell as late as eighteen twelve. (Chapter 5: A Dandiacal Body)

According to George Simmel, Brummell's ability to garner the attention of the upper classes enabled a style that became fashionable because "the design allows or enables the social prestige of a social group to be attached to it" (as cited in Barnard, 2007, p. 187). The Brummell way of dressing spread very quickly and was used not only in London but also adopted by foreigners who sought the increasing homogeneity of men's dress at this time (Kelly, 2013). The desirable fashion of the Top boot-look that Brummell promoted can be found in both painting and within museum archives. Dating to circa 1825, the image shown in Figure 45 is a print by caricaturist George Cruikshank called *A Tailor at a Client's Home*. On the left of the scene is a man sitting with his legs crossed with a newspaper in hand called *Dispatch* while a top hat and crop are placed next to him. On the right, a man stands with his legs apart while a tailor takes measurements of his shoulders; a pair of "Red Tops" can be found leaning against the side of a table. It is interesting to note that this scene takes place inside of a room with walls that are

covered in paintings of equine hunting and sporting themes. As a whole, the scene references the extreme devotion with equestrian culture and the associated fashion. Dating between 1890 and 1910, the artefact shown in Figure 46 is another example of the all-black Top boot. English in origin, these boots were worn by a child: measuring around 22 centimetres in length, 7 centimetres in width, and 32 centimetres in height. The front of the boot has a round toe and an approximately 2-centimetre high stacked heel. These boots are similar to those shown Figure 9 in that the fashion of wearing these pieces allowed for fathers and their sons to achieve a similar look.

By the beginning of the 1820s, a fashion trend had emerged in the United Kingdom where Top boots had cuffs that were dyed almost completely white (Turner Wilcox, 1948, 119). Figure 47 shows a painting by Anson Ambrose Martin entitled *James Taylor Wray of the Bedale Hunt with his Dun Hunter* from circa 1840. This piece depicts the "White Top" Top boot being used in a foxhunting setting but it failed to catch on with the many devotees of tradition. The all-black colour endured. The "Red Top" was the most favoured and most worn version of the Top boot with its appeal and use extending beyond the sporting field not only in the United Kingdom but also in international markets.

# French Fashion and Anglomania

The wearing of riding boots in a non-equine setting was initially met with ridicule in France as commented by La Rochefoucauld in 1784 who wrote in *Mélanges sur l'Angleterre* or *On life in English country houses* that: "In the morning you come down in riding boots and a shabby coat" (Swann, 1982, p. 28). However as the Revolution against the French Monarchy

took place in the late 1780s, the advancement of democracy prompted the flamboyant fashions of the upper classes to be abandoned in favour of a more egalitarian form of dress. The simple but noble dress of the English equestrian costume, especially the Top boot became fashionable, sparking what is now referred to as "Anglomania" (Chenoune, 1993, p. 9). Monsieur Sériziat (Figure 48) by Jacques Louis David from 1795 is an example of the pervading of English riding style into France during the Revolution and not only represents the wearing of "Red Tops" but also tells of the popularity of the simplicity of English dress at this time. Here as well as in François Gérard's Portrait of the Painter Isabey with his Daughter from 1796 (Figure 49) is the depiction of a man wearing a simple jacket and riding boots. Of particular note are the significantly sized pull straps left hanging outside of the topline which by the 1780s "were worn with great swagger with mock straps dangling outside, while the real loops for pulling on were hidden inside" (Swann, 1982, p. 28). Appearing outside of the topline in Figure 16, this once utilitarian feature was transformed by the French into a unique embellishment. The artefact shown in Figure 15 being French in origin from 1820 serves as examples of this trend prevailing in France. With the mock straps are noticeably bigger in Figure 48 than 49 and Figures 15 and 40 through 46, these pieces reveal that there were some differences between those used for sport and those for fashion. Without drastically altering the unadorned clothing and accessories adopted from the English, the French were able to make small adjustments such as mock straps and narrow toe to the Top boot that would have allowed for the equestrian look to remain intact while conforming to French fashion predilections. The complete embrace of the Top boot in France was reflect by its integration during the Napoleonic era into Napoleon's personal image of leadership as depicted in François Gérard's 1804 Napoleon in Front of the Chateau de Malmaison (Figure 50).

It was not until the end of the 19th century, 100 years after the fashion first began in France, that the mock strap embellishment was embraced in the United Kingdom. Along with British items shown in Figures 39 and 46 and Canadian-made shown in Figure 40 which all include mock straps stitched down at the outside of the shaft, the trend also applied to both "Red Tops" and the all-black Top boot.

### The United States of America

The timeframe in which the Top boot became popular in the United States is not exactly known but is inferred to be the mid to late 19th century from the following works of art. The image shown in Figure 51 dates to circa 1855, a lithograph by E.B and E.C Kellogg of Hartford, Connecticut entitled *The Shoemakers*, shows Top boots in production. The depiction of this American bootmaker's workshop is notable due to the large quantity of Top boots in various stages of manufacture. In this scene, four workingmen are shown cutting, nailing, pattern making, and sewing the boots in an almost assembly line fashion. Throughout the print, a large variety of wooden shoe size forms to fit a wide range of boot sizes are shown. This illustration of the progressive assembly of the pieces suggests a high consumer demand for the Top boot; parts being added from workstation to work station until the finished boot is produced results in a faster assembly and less labour. The finished Top boots displayed in the window are of different overall sizes indicating that they were manufactured for a variety of customers. The artefact shown in Figure 52, dated between 1861 and 1865, is an example of an American "Red" Top boot. These boots measure to approximately 18 centimetres in length, 7 centimetres in width, and 23 centimetres in height. The heel measures 2 centimetres in height while other features include a rounded toe and pull straps. Given their small proportions, a child once wore these boots. It

appears that "Red Tops" are the primary commodity being manufactured and sold in this establishment.

Other images of the estimated period that show the use of the "Red Top" include Figure 53, a painting by American artist Thomas Eakins titled *A May Morning in the Park (The Fairman Rogers Four-in-Hand)* from approximately 1879 and 1880. Figure 54 shows a photograph of one of the two men riding in a Stanhope Carriage from the end of the 19th century who is also wearing "Red Tops." These pieces provide evidence that as the 1800s started to close, the Top boot style was being produced and used in America.

Handmade in the United Kingdom until latter part of the 19th century, the demand for the Top boot became so overwhelming that many English equestrian manufacturers were forced to adopt mechanical production in order to meet the quantity and time constraints. Turner Wilcox (1948) writes: "by this time they found that all necessary machinery was American-controlled and that they must hire from and pay royalties to the Americans for the use of their machines" (p. 140). The boots shown in Figure 52 are marked "Size 8" suggesting that they were mass-produced rather than bespoke. Not being bespoke, these pieces shed light on the implementation of standardized sizes by the end of the 19th century. While the machine-made boots allowed for the style to gain widespread success and use, handmade Top boots remained the most coveted and luxurious (Turner Wilcox, 1948, p. 140).

#### The Hessian Boot

The Hessian boot started to gain acceptance in the United Kingdom during the late 18th century as they gained exposure outside of a military setting to become a coveted male fashion accessory to be worn by elite men on and off the field. The image shown in Figure 55 by James Gillray from 1801 called A Pair of Polished Gentlemen mirrors the contemporary consciousness of choosing between the Hessian and "Red" Top boots. Gillray parodies the notion of two gentlemen going head to head to show off their choice of boot. He depicts an open book with the title Essay on Blacking referencing the act of "Blacking" which is the application of black polish to boots so that they have a shiny, glossy finish. This may have been used by the artist to tell the spectator that in order to be considered stylish, one must wear either the Hessian or the Top boot. Within this time period, the Hessian became the de facto choice of gentlemen as Turner Wilcox (1948) comments that: "the [Hessian] boot was first looked upon with derision, in comparison with the handsome Top boot; but, as happens time and time again, the scoffed-at newcomer became the very height of fashion" (pp. 119-120). The increased used of Hessian boots in a nonequestrian setting are found in the following artwork. Figure 56, a watercolour painting from 1805 by caricaturist Richard Dighton, shows Beau Brummell standing with one hand on his hip holding a glove while the other hand is dropped by his waist holding a top hat. The mixing of urban clothing with dark Hessian boots makes Brummell stand out. Figure 57 shows a painting by James Pollard entitled *The Meat Market*. Although the exact date of this painting is unknown, Pollard was an active artist from the early 1800s until his death in 1867. At a meat store, a man is set apart from the rest as he is wearing Hessian boots, a topcoat, and top hat while inspecting hams and other animal carcases. This shows how people wore the Hessian even for everyday tasks.

Figure 58 shows a print made by Cruikshank and published in 1809 by Laurie & Whittle, a publishing house located on Fleet Street in London. Titled *Shoeing Asses*, the scene is set inside of a bootmaker's shop where two gentlemen are being assisted by a shopkeeper and a cobbler. Both Hessian boots and "Red Tops" can be identified as hanging on the walls; the gentleman on the left who is getting his sole fixed is wearing "Red Tops" while the man looking at spurs is wearing Hessians. By the mid-19th century, wearing of Hessian boots is still mentioned in Charles Dickens' *A Christmas Carol* from 1843 who describes these pieces when detailing the appearance of Marley, whose ghosts to visit the Scrooge in the story: "Marley in his pigtail, usual waistcoat, tights and boots; the tassels on the latter bristling, like his pigtail, and his coat-skirts, and the hair upon his head" (p. 11). The Hessian was so popular that the style was referenced in popular culture.

While the exact catalyst that propelled civilian interests towards wearing the Hessian is not precisely known (Turner Wilcox, 1948, p. 120) there seems to be three motivations that accounted for the change. Firstly, the Hessian suited evolving fashion: breeches, which were short trousers that fastened just below the knee, were most commonly worn by men at this time and while fashionable, were especially known to cause varicose veins and therefore extremely uncomfortable to wear. "As tightly fitting, ankle-length pantaloons began to replace knee breeches in the gentleman's wardrobe, Hessian boots [became attractive because they] conveniently covered the wearer's lower leg and replaced buckled shoes and silk hose" (Matthews David, 2006, p. 130). Not only did these boots encourage the use of a much healthier form of leg wear but when worn with the new high-waisted pantaloons appeared to lengthen the leg which was deemed attractive. Secondly, that Beau Brummell influenced many to follow his

own style of incorporating the Hessian with pantaloons into the everyday wardrobe (Jesse, 1844, p. 62). Eventually, the popularity of Brummell's look increased the "accessibility of the pieces that he wore, [wearing the Hessian] even West End 'loungers,' who had no intention of riding anywhere, could give the appearance of readiness to mount a horse and gallop toward revolution" (Kelly, 2013, Chapter 5: A Dandiacal Body). An example of how much Brummell influenced others is shown in Figure 59 entitled *Male and Female Walking Dress* from 1810. In this illustration, a couple is modelling the fashion of the day; the man dressed similarly to Brummell with the tailcoat and Hessian boots communicates that these pieces were suitable for being on foot rather than on horseback only. Thirdly, the need that wealthy men have to communicate their affluence through their dress would have motivated them to wear an expensive boot such as the Hessian. Veblen (1899) writes.

the requirement of expensiveness is so engrained into our habits of thought in matters of dress that any other than expensive apparel is instinctively odious to us. Without reflection or analysis, we feel that what is inexpensive is unworthy. A cheap coat makes a cheap man. (p. 117)

For many, it is important to wear clothes that are visibly recognisable as expensive and considered to be a luxury commodity by others. To achieve a certain look Brummell had to dress in clothes of a specific standard in order to be perceived as one of the elite.

Examples of the use of the Hessian outside of the United Kingdom can be found in Figure 60 worn by Karl XIV Johan, King of Sweden and Norway. These boots are located in the collection of the Livrustkammaren Museum in Stockholm, and they most likely date to 1830 because of their shallow square toe. In the United States, the Hessian boot was popular from the early 19th century and remained in favour for a long time (Swann, 1982, p. 43). Figure 61 shows

an 1879 ferrotype photograph of Irish American William H. Bonney, Jr. also known as Billy the Kid, the outlaw. He is wearing Hessians that are like those shown in Figures 3 and 60; unadorned by braiding and tassels and worn with their pull straps hanging out of the top. The image of a criminal wearing these boots is fitting as June Swann (1982) noted that wearing the Hessians unconventionally in the United States eventually became the style of choice for many people (p. 43). Figure 62 shows another American example which dates between the 1860s and 1870s. These boots are unadorned however retain the Hessian topline. Other similar features include a square toe and a stacked leather heel. Measuring to approximately 16.5 centimetres in length, 6.5 centimetres in width, and 23.5 centimetres in height, these boots were once worn by a child. Made of leather, the vamp and counter is composed of black patent leather while the shaft leather is dyed a deep red colour; cotton pull straps are also included. As a whole these boots speak to the popularity of the Hessian and their use in the United States by not only non-military men but also children.

## The Wellington Boot

The use of the Hessian boot eventually reverted back to its military origins remaining an important part of the cavalry uniform (Swann, 1982, p. 34) through to the end of the 19th century. The Wellington boot was preferred as they allowed pants to be untucked at the wearer's discretion without having to worry about the Hessian's tassels and braiding creating lumps under the fabric (Matthews David, 2006, p. 130). The painting by Rolinda Sharples called *The Cloak-Room, Clifton Assembly Rooms* shown in Figure 63 dating to 1818 shows a formal scene with the majority of men assembled wearing long pants over their footwear. The Hessian boot is only worn by two men in military uniform—one wears a black pair while the other has an unusually pale tan pair; the pant legs of their uniform are tucked into the Hessian boots. Figure 64 shows a

pair of Wellington boots dating to circa 1918 to 1930. British manufacturer Faulkner & Sons located in both London and Cambridge in the United Kingdom made these boots. Measuring 27 centimetres in length, roughly 10 centimetres in width, and 38 centimetres in height, attributes include a rounded toe with a foot and back counter piece cut in patent leather and green edging as found in Figure 3; pull straps can also be found inside and like Figure 9, features a turn round oriented topline. Overall these pieces serve as an example of the Wellington's use in the military in the early 20th century as by 1931, Plucknett remarked that the leather Wellington boot was seldom used in a fashion context (p. 70).

## The Butcher Boot

By the mid-1700s horseback riding slowly started to extend to upper class females. At that time, clothing and footwear for the female rider was severely constrained by popular sexist beliefs such as societal convictions that it was unbecoming of a female to sit with her legs in an astride position and false notions that the hymen would be destroyed: "Women ride upon a side-saddle to preserve this membrane" (Thomas, 1878, p. 6). Proper etiquette dictated that women learn to ride their horse sidesaddle with the legs on the left side of the horse. The long skirt and feminine riding attire is featured in Sir Joshua Reynolds's painting from 1779 entitled *Lady Worsley* (Figure 65). Here the horse woman is wearing a hat, jacket, and a long red skirt that almost completely covers her feet; she is not wearing riding boots as her slightly heeled slippers accented by bows peak out from under her billowing skirt. By the late 19th century, both sexes engaged in the pastime of riding horses (Matthews David, 2002, p. 181). Figure 66 includes an illustration from 1893 of two women, one riding sidesaddle and the other sitting on a saddle astride like a man. The latter woman is wearing a safety skirt that provided a "false front, a swathe of

fabric that covered the legs" (Matthews David, 2002, p. 186) so as to give the appearance of being both off and on the horse on which she sat sidesaddle. Anyone sitting astride on a horse would have been compelled to utilize boots for protection rather than using dainty shoes for decorum. Figure 67 shows a very early picture from 1899 of a woman wearing Butcher boots as she is perched on a stick to show how she would actually sit on a horse. The safety skirt covers up the legs of the woman and would allow her to wear any boot of her choice without concern for her outward appearance. Clothing and accessories convey and conform to society's opinion of social norms and gender ideals. "By establishing dress that is gender appropriate, people internalize their gender role in society by learning how to act like one's gender and to learn what is expected of them by society in their gender role" (Eicher & Roach-Higgins, 1992, pp. 19-20).

Concurrently, women began to shun traditional roles and conventions as suffrage movements accelerated throughout the 19th century in both the United Kingdom and the United States. The use of the safety skirt became less required as the role of women in society changed. Unisex fashion trends emerged; the female riding costume shifted towards the darker, masculine aesthetic and "as men's dress became more sombre, the women's riding habit followed" (Matthews David, 2002, p. 182). Riding sidesaddle or astride became optional and dependent on the woman's preferences. Empowered women were provided with the opportunity to participate in many activities that were previously confined to men. In Figure 68, a Martin and Martin advertisement that appeared in a May 20, 1909 article from *Vogue* magazine called *What She Wears*, shows a Butcher boot as the footwear of choice for riding. In addition, a tennis shoe and walking shoe are shown indicating that there was a market for the sale of specialized sporting shoes to women. Figure 69 shows an advertisement from American *Vogue* magazine from 1927.

The woman is wearing a shorter skirt that actually shows off her Butcher boots. The equine blazer is masculine but tailored with a relaxed design that is fitted with notch lapels, a welt pocket, and fitted arms. This Busvine brand of riding attire was made by a London tailor who was renowned for being the "riding habit maker by special appointment to the Princess of Wales, the Royal Princesses, the Empress of Austria, [and] the Empress of Germany" ("Girl's Gossip," 1890, p. 633). The attire shown in Figure 69 is a stark contrast to the ruby red riding outfit shown in Figure 63 and provides visual confirmation of the shift in societal attitudes about women riding horses. Additional photos, drawings, and paintings from the late 19th to early 20th century show women riding horses for sports events with their Butcher boots.

## **Foxhunting**

Foxhunting was one of the first equine sports to embrace female participants and "Dressing for the Hunting Field" (Figure 70) by Violet Nelson, Duchess of Westminster from February 15, 1928 is a "how to" guide on how the woman should properly dress for foxhunting. This piece published in Vogue magazine outlined specific aspects of the foxhunting habit including gloves, blower hats with veils, long john underwear, and Butcher boots. The author emphasizes that it was important "for sport's sake to be both comfortable and smart when riding to hounds, but that it is every woman's duty, as well" (p. 74). The article focuses on the total package with special attention to creating an image that is both functional and fashionable. The Butcher boot referenced in the article is a bespoke piece made to fit the writer's proportions and appears quite tall and narrow. The image shown in Figure 71 entitled *Two Busvines and a Cutaway* was painted by Sir Alfred Munnings and is privately owned. Although undated this piece was made between the 1920s and 1930s and includes two women and a one man on

horseback. The man at centre is wearing the red foxhunting coat and "Red" Top boot while the two women are riding aside and wearing Butcher boots. What is interesting about this piece is the inclusion of the Busvine name. Wearing the habits made by Busvine tailors, this piece is not only recording the participation of women in equine sport such as foxhunting but acts as an advertisement for the company. Images shown in Figures 72 and 73 are from 1930 showing catalogue photographs of items sold by Kauffman & Sons Saddlery in New York. These advertisements would have enjoyed mass circulation especially in magazines and newspapers read by women. The advertisement targets both sidesaddle and astride female riders. This date coincides with the transitional period when "side saddle riding went out of fashion by the end of the 1930s [and] Jodhpur pants, cut to the ankle and worn with Jodhpur boots, were introduced for women in the 1920s" (Mackay-Smith et al., 1984, p. 68). The fashionable riding ensembles that are shown include both the Jodhpur and long safety skirt version of the riding attire. The same female model is wearing different hats but the same Butcher boot is used for each variation of dress indicating their status as a must have accessory. The observation that the same Butchertype boot is worn indicates that the advertisement is trying to show women the flexibility of wearing the same boots with different outfits. As well, the clean lines of the boot and the availability of black or brown dyed leather allowed it to be worn in multiple sport disciplines.

# <u>Polo</u>

The Meadow Brooke Polo Club found on Long Island, the oldest operating polo club in the United States was established in 1881 and was one of the most sought after venues to both watch and participate in the sport. The increased popularity of polo prompted many women to not only participate in the sport but to want to wear the attire as well. Influences and representations promoting the fashionability of the sport can be found in advertisements such as *Polo Girl* (Figure 74) from the 1913 series "Hamilton King Girls" issued by Turkish Trophies Cigarettes and Hamilton King is a commercial colour lithograph that focuses on a woman who with the exception of a large hat, is dressed in a masculine manner with a long tan coloured coat and jodhpur pants tucked into Butcher boots. With mallet in hand, this piece functioned as an advertisement that encouraged women to purchase cigarettes based on the premise that female smokers who smoked this brand of cigarettes would aspire to be like this represented woman—affluent, sporty, and fashionable.

Figure 75 shows an advertisement from B. Altman and Company dating to 1929 showing two men who are both wearing Jodhpur pants and Butcher boots; however, one man has on the full polo player's uniform while the one of the left is wearing country wear by dressing up the look with a jacket, scarf, and fine hat. The image reinforces the idea that the Butcher boot is the one essential ingredient in obtaining this look. As a result, there was an increased demand for these boots as "riding is no longer a sport that is confined to the wealthy, leisure class and with its popularization comes the opportunity for real volume in riding boots" (*Boot and Shoe Recorder*, 1930, p. 37). An article from March 29, 1930 called: *This Year of Sports Will Show a Greatly Increased Demand for Riding Boots* (Figure 76) further reflects this democratization of the boot: "No longer are riding costumes economically beyond the reach of the average income. A demand for freedom of body movement simplified fashion show that now young and old may enjoy, at a small cost, the thrill of a gallop in unceremonious but modish attire" (*Boot and Shoe Recorder*, 1930, p. 36). Again from the 1930 catalogue photographs of items sold by Kauffman & Sons Saddlery in New York, the image shown in Figure 77 features a woman wearing a polo

outfit that is almost exactly like those worn by the men including the Butcher boots. This image supports the notion that women were actively involved in the sport and used the standardized polo uniform worn by men.

## **Advertisements**

The rising interest in the Butcher boot for women may be attributed to factors such as the increased participation of women in equestrian sport and increased fashion advertisements that use equestrian imagery to encourage women to buy boots. The Butcher boot's clean lines, small toe, and polished leather may have appealed to women which in turn encouraged them to use the boot as part of their personal fashion statement. Women became interested in the unisex look but "while there was increasing acceptance of men's clothing for the upper body for women from the middle to the end of the nineteenth century, the taboo against the use of trousers by women was overcome only during the twentieth" (Crane, 2000, p. 123). Beginning in the early 20th century, integration of this boot into women's everyday dress in the United Kingdom and United States appears to have happened slowly over a lengthy period of time.

The promotion of fashion advertisements such as the article "Vanity Boot Shop Opens in Chattanooga" (Figure 78) published in 1934 notes that almost 3,000 female shoppers visited the riding boot store during the first days of opening. It also mentions that the store was the "ninth of a rapidly growing chain in Southern territory" (p. 106). This type of brisk expansion indicates a large demand for boots by women for "vanity" and looks rather than function during that period. The main American distributors of riding boots were J.M Connell Shoe Co. from Massachusetts, Manfield & Sons from Philadelphia, and Colt-Cromwell Co., Inc. from New York City. They

promoted their business as well as the Butcher boot from 1930 through 1948 to both a female and male target market. Figures 79 and 80 show Manfield & Sons advertisement from 1930 and 1934, respectively, showing Butcher boots for sale. Figures 81, 82, and 83 show circa early 1930s advertisements by Colt-Cromwell Co., Inc. that are also intended for both sexes and proudly feature "Imported English boots." It can be observed that the men's boots cost \$11.50 in Figure 81 and \$12.50 in Figure 82; increasing in price by one dollar in the same year. Veblen (1899) writes "we find things beautiful, as well as serviceable, somewhat in proportion as they are costly. With few and inconsequential exceptions, we all find a costly hand-wrought article of apparel much preferable, in point of beauty and of serviceability" (p. 117). Viewing Figure 82 in the lens in which Veblen writes, the mention of the expensive price would have added to their appeal.

The J-M-Connell Shoe Co. 1930 advertisement, shown in Figure 84 is an illustration of a woman riding a horse and an image of a Butcher boot below it. The advertisement specifically targets females and there is no mention of male consumers. Figure 85 shows another Connell ad from 1934 but differs in that it makes plain that the riding boots that they sell are available in men's and women's sizes. By 1934, some manufacturers such as Kirkendall from Nebraska were promoting their boots specifically to women. Figure 86 shows an ad that promotes the "Ladies High Heel Riding Boot" which has a Butcher boot silhouette with the addition of a higher heel. This is an early example of the riding boot's promotion to women as a "smart, modish boot" in terms that implied their use as a fashion accessory.

Since the 1940s, women have increasingly become the primary consumer of boots, especially the Butcher boot which has continued to be a riding and fashion accessory for women

all over the world. Figure 87 shows a photograph of Queen Elizabeth II and President Ronald Reagan casually riding together upon his official visit to the United Kingdom in 1982. Both world leaders are dressed very similarly; wearing brown Butcher boots, tweed coats, and tan pants. This photograph confirms the continued aristocratic attraction to riding, with the pastime remaining an integral part of British and American culture.

# Section 3: Today's Marketplace—A Case Study of Hermés, Ralph Lauren, and Gucci

In this section, luxury fashion brands Hermés, Ralph Lauren, and Gucci and their selection of riding boots from their Fall 2012–Winter 2014 collections will be discussed. Each one of these brand's association with equestrian imagery is explored in relation to the ways they communicate their values, images, and products to consumers. Their targeted gender of the brand positioning and product development is noted. For each brand, the consistency of the marketing ideas and value proposition to the target audience are examined. In each of these brand collections, the English equestrian boots that they provide are examined in relation with the artefacts discussed in Section 1. Object analysis will be conducted in order to determine if the contemporary Wellington, Top boot, and Butcher boot's silhouettes have remained intact or been altered.

# Riding Traditions and Culture as Marketing Strategies: Hermés, Ralph Lauren, and Gucci's Brand Associations with Equestrian Imagery

While luxury brands already existed in the 19th century, their endurance in the marketplace in a post-industrial revolution society may be attributed to factors such as the emancipation of women, increased spending power of women, brand targeting of female consumers, product design changes from male to female, globalization of foreign brands, and even the increased fluidity of movement through social classes. There are many reasons for the purchase of a luxury item with some, such as 19th-century French dramatist, poet, and novelist Alphonse de Lamartine putting forward the idea of becoming emotionally attached to inanimate

objects (Kapferer & Bastien, 2012, p. 23). The appeal of these brands stems from their ability to craft products that customers love to possess because they afford them the opportunity to buy into a desired lifestyle. According to Kapferer (2006) in his article "The Two Business Cultures of Luxury Brands," there are two strategies that coexist in our market: "one rooted in history, rarity and craftsmanship, often associated with European luxury brands [such as Hermés], and another based upon stories, image and marketing finesse, often linked to American success [as found especially in Ralph Lauren]" (p. 76). Hermés, Ralph Lauren, and Gucci continue to enjoy great success based on their ability to connect with a customer who desires luxury and a better everyday life. Kapferer and Bastien (2012) write that

to enjoy luxury you have to devote time to it, and conversely, luxury is an opportunity to enjoy some free time. Let's take that a little further: one of the most significant aspects of our society is that not only have we monetized the relationship to time (interest rates) but also created from it a basis for imagining it. (p. 22)

The vision includes affluence, gentility, and social esteem. It is essentially based on the notion of being able to achieve a better existence by using time and money to acquire not only the right clothes but also to be in the right setting with the right people.

Ralph Waldo Emerson said: "Riding a horse is not a gentle hobby, to be picked up and laid down like a game of solitaire. It is a grand passion. It seizes a person whole and once it has done so, he/she will have to accept that his life will be radically changed" (as cited in Amara, 2011, p. 4). Hermés, Ralph Lauren, and Gucci have constructed their brand identity through imagery that includes an intimate association with equestrianism. Their well-conceived brand positioning strategy takes advantage of the special affection that people have with horses, the

glamour of equestrianism, and the appeal of a royal lifestyle. The marketing of their products is an invitation to customers to live life to the fullest; visiting a luxury store to see, touch, and purchase fine boots and clothing is in itself a way to live that dream.

#### Hermés

Parisian Thierry Hermés in 1837 initially established the modern luxury brand Hermés as a harness and bridle workshop for the carriage trade. It is still known for its horse and carriage logo that was inspired by French animal portrait artist Alfred de Dreux's Duc Attelé, Groom à L'Attente or Duc Harnessed, Groom Waiting from circa 1830 (Figure 88). Figure 89 shows a Hermés advertisement from 1931 that features a picture of the Duchesse d'Uzès with her hunting pack in front of the Château de Chantilly. The headline "What's best for the horse and best for the rider, is best for the onlooker, too" reinforced the article caption stating that everyone in this equestrian setting is completely outfitted in Hermés. The company heritage in this area continues to drive the creation of many of the contemporary products from Hermés; In addition to ancillary businesses such as producing silk scarves, ties, and handbags, they still specialize in the production of leather products for equine purposes such as saddles, riding boots, and other accessories for horses, riders, and the barn. This tradition remains a company core value as exclaimed by Xavier Guerrand-Hermés, great-great grandson of the founder, in a *People* magazine interview in the 1980 when he said "Our first customer was a horse" (as cited in Shapiro, 1980, pgh.1). Hermés uses this association with the horse in their marketing of their brand identity as they are actively involved in the equine sporting world having sponsored annual dressage events such as the Saut Hermès at the Grand Palais in Paris. Their continued intentional connection of the Hermés brand with the horse and rider is further exemplified in ongoing advertisements and promotional videos. Figures 90 and 91 show Hermés advertisements found in American *Vogue*'s September 2006 issue. The representations of a woman with a long orange strap attached to a horse are intended to give the marketing message a voice within a contemporary artistic setting. The woman, dressed in alternatively a fur mantle or leather cape, carries a leather crop as she navigates the horse down cobblestone streets that is actually the Seine riverbanks in Paris. The images imply a continuous bond between the modern world and a long-past era as they seamlessly blend modern style with past traditions. The horse on a leash is presented in a way familiar to one walking a dog on the Parisian streets and acts as an intentional subliminal message about who should be man's best friend. The woman wearing Hermés products is not only purchasing a high-quality coat or cape but is actively participating in a fun lifestyle. This marketing connection of a modern women with a horse while wearing luxurious clothing remind the viewer of the equine traditions of Hermés as well as inform them of new product offerings.

The image shown in Figure 92 from American *Vogue*'s November 2007 issue specifically references the classic traditions of the Hermés Butcher boots but in a different context; a model wearing the boots while carrying a horse whip is shown walking on a paved walkway near the beach with the sun setting in the background. The actual product being targeted for sale is a bottle of Hermés Kelly Caléche perfume that leisurely dangles off the whip. *Black Rider* is an example of a promotional video that Hermés launched in October of 2011 and is still in use today. In this video (photographically summarized in Figures 93 through 95, Hermés uses the sport of dressage to demonstrate the trust relationship existing between a woman and her horse as they perform various riding techniques. The message to the viewer is that familiarity, faith,

and trust in an old acquaintance are not only guiding principles in sport but also with a company such as Hermés. A relationship between past and present ensures that a consumer fundamentally experiences a confidence that their purchase is not only made of the best quality materials but that it is also of a timeless style. The video features the woman dressed in Butcher boots with spurs secured by a leather strap, jodhpurs with suede leather inserts, and a well-fitting riding coat. The horse wears a bridle, reigns, saddle, and saddlecloth. As a whole, the video showcases the many equestrian products sold by Hermés so that the viewer's processing of the message is done in a way that instils a sense of the values and traditions of the company brand. These pieces communicate a brand image that connects Hermés products with the class and style of equestrianism. The continued success of Hermés is a testament of the value of their marketing strategy; linking their current products with the roots of the company in the equine business, relating equestrian wear with ideas of classic splendour, and attaching their reputation of providing luxury goods to the faithful character of horses.

The Hermés English equestrian boot in relation with the artefacts discussed in Section 1 is limited to the Butcher as they do not offer Top boots or Wellington boots. The only English equestrian style boot currently sold by Hermés is the *Ladies Jumping Boot* shown in Figure 96. This piece is made for women and retains the Butcher boot's silhouette. The design in the shaft and toe shape as well as the construction of the *Ladies Jumping Boot* is essentially the same as that of the 1928 artefact shown in Figure 23. The Hermés boot has a rounded toe and garter belts; the only fashionable addition to be found is that the garters are not removable and are opened and fastened around the calf of the leg by a "Turn Key" buckle made from ruthenium metal. This boot is shown in Figure 97 from the June 2005 advertisement spread for American *Vogue*. The

image was shot by photographer Mario Testino showing actress Salma Hayek wearing the *Ladies Jumping Boot* while riding a white horse on a beach. The same boot is shown in Figure 92 from 2007. Available in black and brown, the Hermés Butcher boot has remained popular and is currently available in stores and online on their website at a price tag of US\$3,055.

# Ralph Lauren and the World of Polo

In 1967, designer Ralph Lauren began a fashion label under his own name in New York City. His *Polo Ralph Lauren* launched in 1972 and features equestrian-inspired collections for both men and women. Lauren is inspired by traditional riding clothes, accessories and English equine culture (Voguepedia "Ralph Lauren"). Famous for its polo player logo, Polo Ralph Lauren is the youngest yet arguably the most equestrian oriented lifestyle brand on the market. Expanding outside of the United States and into London in 1981, the company has seen a steady increase in worldwide sales reporting an annual income of more than US\$5 billion in the year 2000 which increased to US\$13 billion by 2011 (Ralph Lauren, 2014). The Ralph Lauren Corporation has been the official outfitter of the American Olympic teams and sponsors annual equine events such as the United Arab Emirates Ladies Polo Tournament in Dubai and the St. Moritz Polo World Cup on Snow in Switzerland. Figure 98 shows an advertisement for St. Moritz Polo World Cup on Snow which Ralph Lauren has sponsored since 1985. This association is used in their advertisements such as that shown in Figure 99 from 1986 for Polo Ralph Lauren's cologne available at the high-end department store Saks Fifth Avenue with an accompanying slogan of "A man's cologne in the Polo tradition"; a photograph of competing polo players wearing Hessians can be found superimposed on top of the bottle.

In 2009, Lauren expanded their connection with equine sports when they recruited one of the top polo players in the world, Ignacio "Nacho" Figueras, who has competed with royal patrons of the sport such as Prince William and Prince Harry. Nacho is now the face of Polo Ralph Lauren's fragrance, clothing, and accessories and the Lauren label has become a status symbol for equestrians and non-equestrians alike. Such company brand strategies "are pure creations of marketing built around persons who symbolize the brand but were not designers themselves" (Kapferer, 2006, p. 75). Figure 100 shows an advertisement featuring Figueras promoting Ralph Lauren's Polo Modern Reserve Fragrance from the Fall/Winter 2009 campaign. Figure 101 shows another image from the Spring/Summer of 2012 advertising The World of Polo Ralph Lauren Men's Fragrances. In this image, an abundance of polo shots are dispersed throughout in a way that greatly emphasises both the lifestyle and high standard of living achievable through equestrian sport. Figure 102 shows an advertisement from Ralph Lauren's 2012 Holiday Campaign featuring Figueras riding a horse with his Butcher riding boots being a key element of the shot. Figure 103 shows an image from the same series that has two male models wearing Polo Ralph Lauren equestrian gear inferring that anyone wearing these products can achieve the same look and lifestyle. These images all work together allowing Lauren to create his own iconographic story for the brand in such a way that according to Kapferer (2006) compensates for a lack of true history (p. 75). The use of an active professional polo player like Figueras by Lauren in his advertisements gives voice to those enduring values that equestrian traditions represent in the minds of consumers. Figueras both reflects and validates the consumer aspirations and transforms Polo products from articles of clothing to necessary life choices. The use of Figueras as a principal character within his real-world polo surroundings validates the use of archetypal boots and updated clothing within a new setting. Lauren further references equine

tradition in their current style guide accessible on the website ralphauren.com. In order to achieve a specific look for the upcoming season, consumers use the convenience of their computer to see and purchase the latest products from the Ralph Lauren collection.

Even though Lauren uses advertisements that feature mostly men, their English Equestrian boots are targeted mainly to women. Their marketing strategy features two storylines that appeal to women and revolve around themes of American aristocracy: the Great Gatsby and the "American Beauty." In particular, images of a woman wearing equestrian riding boots in *American Beauty* (Figure 104) includes imagery of a dog and a polo field that invoke not only notions of romanticism but also of the good things that America represents to the world. Lauren has created different collections that specifically target a certain market segment using some particular fashion enhancements as well as at a different price point. Ralph Lauren sells the archetypical Wellington and amalgamated versions of the Top boot and Butcher boot.

The Wellington boots by Lauren are primarily designed for female consumers. Figure 105 shows the *Equestrian Riding Boot* having a stacked heel measuring to about 3.5 centimetres high, interior bootstraps for the wearer's convenience, and a shaft measuring to about 40 centimetres in height. These dimensions are similar with the classic Wellington boots shown in Figure 6 that have been dated from 1870 to 1899. Some fashion variations in the Lauren version include the modified spur heel bands without rowels; as they are non-functioning, this element only provides wearers with a trendy look. Also for fashion purposes, the heel band is secured by a leather strap that wraps around the foot and back counter piece of the boot multiple times. The boots are made of leather and are only available in tan brown at a cost of US\$250. Figure 106

shows the *Sabeen Vachetta Riding Boot*, another Wellington-inspired design, which compared to the 1870 to 1890 dated boots in Figure 6 shows similar rounded toe and equivalent shaft height of approximately 40 centimetres. Construction differences from the classic Wellington design include an approximately 2-centimetre high stacked heel that is much lower than that found in boots shown in Figures 6 through 9 and elastic side gores that are placed at the back of the shaft. Fashion differences include leather straps which wrap once around the foot and back counter piece, secured by a buckle extending to just under the heel and sole of the boot. Available in dark brown, tan brown, or black these pieces cost US\$995.

Additionally, Lauren has also produced fun fashion boots for children that are based on a Wellington boot design. Figure 107 shows a picture of the Fall 2013 Girls fashion show exhibiting a rubber boot worn by the pre-teen aged girl on the left of the image. It is completely black with the only ornamentation being the placement of the Ralph Lauren white polo player and pony logo on the outside of the shaft. From the same runway show as Figure 107, Figure 108 shows a leather boot that Lauren has crafted in tan colour on the font and back counter pieces and dyed bright orange on the shaft. The mock straps found coming out of the top of the boot are for fashion.

Lauren has also created new boots that amalgamate the archetypal Butcher boot with the Top boot. These boots display some design, construction, and fashion difference when compared to the archetypes. An example is shown in Figure 109 called *Equestrian Bridle-Print Wellie*; the term "Wellie" is used to refer to its rubber composition. Intended for adult women, this boot has garter belts wrapping around the shaft about 8 centimetres below the topline, and is fastened with

buckles and secured by belt loops. Introduced in early 2014, these pieces cost US\$79, are available in black or red, and are covered in a bridle print to reference equestrianism. Figure 110 shows a leather Butcher and Top boot amalgamation for women called the Sage Vachetta Riding Boot. It is available in brown or black leather. Fashion enhancements include the straps that wrap around the foot and back counter piece and around the underside of the boot where a stirrup would traditionally be found when riding and miniature stirrup motif on the leather strap. With a stacked leather heel measuring approximately 2.5-centimetre high, these boots are handmade and sold for US\$1,100. Another instance of the hybrid boot blend, shown in Figure 111, is called the Vachetta Two-Toned Riding Boot. Attributes include a 2.5-centimetre high stacked leather heel, mock straps included on the outside of the topline, and inverted "Red" Top boot colouring with a black cuff and brown body; a zipper is located on the inside of the calf. Although initially costing US\$249 and put on sale in early 2014 for about US\$195, this discounted price can be attributed to the selling of the few smaller-sized boots that were left in stock. A final example shown in Figure 112 is called the Sandra Calf Chain Riding Boot having a 2.5-centimetre high stacked heel and a strap that wraps around the foot as well under the sole; instead of a spur at the counter, a chain can be found. Hand burnished, this piece is currently for sale and is available in brown or black leather for US\$1,250. The Ralph Lauren combination boots consisting of Butcher boot and Top boot silhouettes are altered products that are based on the archetype designs discussed in Section 1.

#### Gucci

Gucci was founded by Guccio Gucci in Florence, Italy in 1921 for the production of footwear and other accessories after dictator Mussolini imposed an international trade embargo

on Italy in 1935 (Gucci, 2014). Gucci is most known for its integration of equestrian detailing such as a boot variation referred to as the English eggbutt bit into the design and construction of many of their products. The eggbutt bit piece of metal or pattern that emulates the appearance of a mouth bit used on horses. It is a Gucci signature marker that is applied to various areas on their products; exploiting the appeal of the English riding tradition to become "a pre-eminent modern luxury empire. Known for its equestrian motifs, it continues to speak to a modern clientele" (Holt Renfrew, 2008, p. 18). Gucci, although Italian in origin and French owned since 1999 (Gucci, 2014), has become a status symbol that designs and sells functional yet aesthetically pleasing English equestrian riding boots to be worn in a number of spaces and contexts. Gucci has been able to promote its equine collection as elegant and aristocratic through collaborations with spokespeople bearing aristocratic titles such as Charlotte Casiraghi, fifth in line to the throne of Monaco. Images in Figures 113 and 114 from the 2010 American Vogue article *Riding* High illustrate Casiraghi's relationship with the fashion label through her involvement in equestrianism. Figure 115 shows an advertisement for the brand promoted by Casiraghi at that time and features images of her in Gucci equestrian apparel while riding a horse. Gucci reinforces their brand associations through their product placement of equine clothing and accessories in numerous dressage events around Europe. They continue to sponsor Show jumping sporting events that appeal to elites such as Gucci Paris Masters, the Gucci Grand Prix, and Grand Slam Masters. This targeted connection of their brand with equestrian and elitism is a marketing formula that has worked well for Gucci's desire to be recognized as a provider of classic fashion

The Gucci boots discussed below are from their contemporary collection and include the Wellington, Top boot, and Butcher boot styles. Beginning with the Gucci Wellington based boots, Figure 116 shows a boot for women called the *Edimburg GG Flat Rain Boot* that has a raised trim that wraps in a upside down "U" around the foot and back counter piece—traditionally where the patent leather would have ended and the dyed leather would have began, as found in many of the artefacts included in this study. The boot's variations from the classic Wellington design include the form of the heel and sole, which has indented grooves that have been implemented for added traction when walking. The seams, although traditionally located on both the inside and outside of the sides of the shaft, have been moved to the back of the leg. There is also a fashion pattern of printed interlocking Gs that can be found covering the entire boot in order to communicate that these pieces are a Gucci product. The boots are available in black, grey/blue, and beige and the retail cost is US\$280.

Figure 117 illustrates the *Black Rubber Rain Boot*, which is available for men. It has a colour band across the front of the rim of the topline. In comparison to the upside down "U" shaped detailing as found in the *Edimburg GG Flat Rain Boot*, here this feature can be found located much higher up on the shaft. Another difference is that the heel is less defined as the sole at the front of the boot is about the same height as at that at the back, creating a platform-like effect. Unlike the *Edimburg GG Flat Rain Boot*, these boots are only available in all black and has Gucci's signature green and red band wrapping around the side of the sole as well as interlocking Gs that are placed on the counter. Sold at a higher price point, these boots cost US\$335.

Figure 118 shows the *Rubber Rain Boot* by Gucci. They are the child-sized version of *Black Rubber Rain Boot*. With three colour variations (pink, brown, and blue) these boots are available to be worn by infant and toddler girls and cost US\$145. Similarly, Figure 119 shows a leather boot that is available for toddlers ages 2 through 4. These pieces have an embossed interlocking Gucci "G" on the outside of the shaft below the topline. Along with a rounded toe, a zipper can be found on the inside of the calf. Available in completely black or brown they cost US\$545. The fact that toddlers will outgrow these boots in a very short period of time speaks to the "superior status of those who are able to afford the indulgence" (Veblen, [1899], Conspicuous Consumption: Women, Luxury Goods and Connoisseurship). With Gucci selling these boots in a children's wear market, they are able to not only increase their short-term revenues but possibly "attract new customers to the brand in a long-term. According to James McNeal, ... brand consciousness begins as young as two years old" (Stankeviciute, 158).

The Gucci Top boot based products include the item shown in Figure 120 that is referred to as the *Jamie Leather Riding Boot*. The Top boot silhouette is retained and is similar to archetypical 1820s' boot shown in Figure 15; the stacked heel measures approximately 1.5 centimetres. Unavailable in a contrasting top, purchasers can select between an all-black finish like those traditionally used in foxhunting or brown for those partial to the stark look. Other modifications include the addition of the fashionable English eggbutt bit that is placed at the front of the boot and secured by a mock strap. A zipper is also present and located at the back of the shaft to allow for ease of access for the foot. Handmade in Italy, these boots cost US\$1,550.

Figure 121 shows the *Embossed Interlocking G Low Heel Tall Boot* for a female consumer. This Top boot is only available in all black polished leather or all brown suede leather. Differences between this piece and the one shown in Figure 120 include an interlocking "G" logo that is located on the outside seam of the top band. It is similar to the 1930s jockey boot shown in Figure 23 and has a fake banded top that is formed by stitched detailing. The heel measuring to approximately 5.5 centimetres tall is a construction enhancement; just as the boot shown in Figure 86 from the 1934 Kirkendall advertisement similarly promoted the use of the high heel in equestrian-style footwear for women. While the all-black polished leather boot has a price point of US\$1,395, the brown suede has a lower price tag of US\$1,175 dollars; a U\$220 price difference that may be attributed to the fact that polished leather requires an extra step in the finishing process.

The Gucci Butcher boot inspired products include the boot shown in Figure 122, the *Maud Leather Tall Flat Boot*. They are made for women and have a low flat heel (measuring roughly 2.5 centimetres as shown in Figure 8). The classic style traits of the Butcher boot can be found here and it is available in three variations: polished leather and suede leather completely covered in embedded interlocking Gs, and plain polished leather. Referred to as the "Guccissima," this patterned print in the polished leather version is available in all black and brown and costs US\$1,100. The suede version is only sold in black and comes with a price tag of US\$995 while the all-black plain polished leather version costs the same as the decorated polished leather versions. Marketed as being equestrian-inspired (Gucci, "Maud Leather Tall Flat Boot"), the only physical modification made to this boot in comparison to the traditional Butcher boot is the addition of a zipper located at the back of the leg as shown in Figure 120.

Figure 123 shows another women's boot called the *Black Leather Boot*. What is unique about this boot is the placement of a very thin and dainty English eggbutt horsebit with an engraved interlocking "G" on the lowest part of the counter where it meets the heel. A zipper can be found on the inside of the calf and this piece has a heel that is lower than the one shown in Figure 122, measuring to 1.5 centimetres in height. Costing US\$1,395, Gucci markets this item as an "everyday boot" (Gucci, "Black Leather Boot") and it is the most expensive Butcher boot style sold by this company.

Figure 124 shows the *Leather Riding Boot with Gucci Crest From Equestrian Collection*. Completely black, this piece does not have a zipper and is modelled by a woman that is wearing other items from the Gucci equestrian collection (i.e., tan breeches, white turtleneck, and quilted jacket). With a heel height the same as shown in Figure 122, these boots have pull-on bootstraps that are made of green and red striped Gucci fabric. Compared to the other Gucci Butcher boot pieces, the uniqueness of these boots is from the placement of a Gucci crest detail on a mock strap which folds over the topline. The boots cost US\$1,250.

The 1921 Collection Riding Boot with Gucci Crest Detail is a special Butcher boot edition produced by Gucci in 2011 in honour of their 90th anniversary (Figure 125). It was available for 2 years until Fall 2013. Figure 126 shows a woman's boot having similar toe shape as the 1910 to 1940 dated boots shown in Figure 36. Figure 126 shows a pair of men's boots from the same collection. Stylistically, the only difference between boots shown in Figure 124 and Figure 125 is the circumference and diameter of the shaft of the male boot because of the need to accommodate a wider calf. Also only available in brown, these boots have been

"fashionably" enhanced as darker leather dye has been applied in various areas of the boot to provide them with an aged and worn look. According to Kapferer and Bastien (2012), this application of an antique finish provides an element of complexity so the luxury "item is a 'lived-in' product rather than an undistinguished, utilitarian product that we would immediately replace, or rather get rid of, as soon as it starts to fail or is technically superseded" (p. 23). These boots cost US\$1,160.

Figure 127 shows the *Victoria Equestrian Flat Leather Riding Boot* for women, which was only sold by Gucci from the Fall/Winter of 2012 through 2014. Available in black or brown, these boots have adjustable and removable garter belts. With a heel height that measures approximately 1.5 centimetres, the boot is similar to the 1910 to 1940 dated boot shown in Figure 31 as well as to those in the 1930 to 1940 dated boot shown in Figure 37. Construction differences include a hidden elastic insert on the side and a zipper at the back that like the one shown in Figure 120 allows for added functionality. The upside down "U" shaped detailing around the foot and back piece can be found higher along the shaft. These boots were sold for US\$1,340.

Another limited production boot is the *Eleonora Brown Leather Riding Boot* shown in Figure 128. They were sold during the Fall/Winter of 2012 through 2013 and available in black or brown with a 2-centimetre high heel; this boot is similar to the 1930 to 1940 dated boots shown in Figure 37. Eleonora is an interesting name that may have been selected by Gucci to conjure up nostalgic images of the past. The difference between the classical Butcher and this piece is the fashion placement of a garter belt embellished with a spur shaped motif about 13

centimetres below the topline and around the shaft of the boot as similarly shown in Figure 129. They sold for US\$1,160.

Gucci amalgamations of the Butcher boot and Top boot can be seen in Figure 129 called *Leather Horsebit Boot*. Available for women in all brown or black, other specifics include a 2 centimetre high stacked heel and a horsebit detail on the back where the counter meets the heel (like the one shown in Figure 123). Also present are functioning green and red stripped pull straps as shown in Figure 120. Padded lining has also been added for extra comfort. The boot costs US\$1,350.

Figure 130 shows a rubber boot for women called "Rain" Flat Boot with Gucci Script Logo. Launched in early 2014, these pieces cost US\$295. These boots are only available in black and are decorated by an interlocking "G" print that can be found wrapped around the shaft.

### **Observations**

The luxury fashion brands Hermés, Ralph Lauren, and Gucci strongly use targeted marketing that emphasises the brands' association with equestrian imagery. The love of horse, sport, lifestyle, and the respect of English riding traditions is used by these companies to communicate their brand identity and corporate values. Their marketing is based on a luxury value proposition that appeals to consumers desiring high quality and classically designed fashion.

The marketing focus of these brands is targeting the female consumer as their advertisements, products, and website are primarily geared towards women. These brands have many more boot styles available for women and girls to purchase in comparison to men and boys; perhaps there is a higher demand for these pieces amongst women than men because the fashion of the boot is specially formulated to appeal to females. Hermés has one boot for women; Ralph Lauren has eight boots for women; Gucci has 11 boots for women and two for men. Based on the total available boots provided for women compared to those available for men, the female to male ratio is 10:1.

Many of the boots provided by Hermés, Ralph Lauren, and Gucci are based on the classic Butcher, Wellington, and Top boot archetypical silhouette as found in the 18th and 19th centuries. Since 2007, Hermés has been selling the same single pair of English equestrian Butcher boots that are essentially the same as the 1928 originals. On the other hand, Ralph Lauren predominately sells the Butcher and Top boot amalgamated style to a vastly expanded market place. Gucci sells a little bit of everything to everyone; it is trying to capture new market share and is aware of the success that Ralph Lauren has with their hybrid boot styles.

All three of these brands use variations in the boot's fashion, construction, and design to target their customers. Fashion enhancements include buckles on the garter, modified spur heel bands, colours, and logos. Construction changes include the height of the heels, elastic side gores, location of seams, and the use of rubber instead of leather. Other construction-related variations such as the placement of a zipper on the inside of the calf shown in Figures 111, 119, and 123 are made to better suit the new setting in which the boots are used. A zipper is extremely

useful when putting on and taking off the boot on a daily basis in an urban setting. The zipper would be impractical in boots used as practical tools when riding a horse as the saddle and zipper would interact in such a way as to cause extreme chafing on the wearer's leg while riding. The design changes compared to the archetypical silhouette are most noticeable when the boots are amalgamated. The hybrid versions are generally targeted at a young market and include changes in materials, heel height, toe shape, and the use of bright colours.

#### Conclusion

Holt Renfrew, a high-end Canadian department store, proclaimed in its 2008 Fall trend report that the equestrian boot is a must have fashion item, a staple of the urban wardrobe (Holt Renfrew, 2008, p. 5). In this MRP, the English Equestrian boots observed are the Hessian, Wellington, Top boot, and Butcher boot in relation to their design, customary use, class, and gender appeal. Further, the findings have been applied in order to recognize a possible connection between historical equestrian traditions and the use of the boots in contemporary fashion. The research findings and conclusions are reviewed below.

# **Driving Factors for Classic Boot Designs**

This study begins with an examination of the use of the boots in a military and sports context as this parameter represents a critical inflection point for each boot's design evolution. As men were the only target customer for these early boots, the military and equine sports are a common point regarding the design of each boot. In the military setting, the initial boot specifications were based on the cavalry requirement of a practical riding boot that not only helped them to ride a horse in comfort but also protected them during fierce battles. At the same time, the choice and design of the equestrian boot style used by a sportsman was not only based on sporting constraints but also on the image he wished to project when he was off the horse. Concurrently, the association of the equestrian boot with military and sportsmen strongly appealed to royal, wealthy, and elite consumers who propagated the use of the boot in a non-equine context.

## **Design Similarities and Differences in the Four Boot Styles**

This study details the historical design and construction changes of each boot style over a time period spanning the 18th century to 20th century. Items such as the pomp and pageantry of the embellishments found on the Hessian boot, the versatile design of the Wellington, the elitism of the Top boot, and the clean lines of the Butcher boot which appealed to minimalists in the 20th century are detailed. Artefacts from the Bata Shoe Museum are used to establish base line parameters of the archetypical boot. These measurements are used for purpose of comparison with the historical styles in Section 1 as well as contemporary variations as found in Section 3.

# **Evolution of Boot From Elite to Widespread Use**

Historical figures such as Beau Brummell along with the popularization of sport gave impetus to the use of the boots by many people. The increased use of these boots by people beyond borders of the United Kingdom reflects the many societal changes and geographical/cultural exchange of fashions based on Anglophilia that occurred from the 18th century to the present. In fact, the boot's association with people of class, male gender, and financial elitism helped to increase the allure and sales of these boots.

### When and Why Women Began Wearing These Boots

Although the exact time frame when women started wearing the boots is not known, this study finds that class, tradition, emancipation, and fashion played roles in this adaptation of the boots by women. Women wearing pants tucked into their boots has become a ubiquitous style in modern society that would not be on display under a long skirt or not appropriate with the shorter skirts of the 1920s.

## How Leading Luxury Brands Capitalized on Consumer Perception of Equestrian Boots

The leading brands of Hermés, Gucci, and Ralph Lauren fully understand the significance of General John Burgoyne's remark *in The Lord of the Manor* from 1780 that boots have become so popular that they are used at all hours especially when not on horseback (Swann, 1982, p. 28). This study reviews market branding and product positioning with respect to representing these boots as articles of fashion that have transcended their original practical purposes. These brands successfully reference the English equine tradition and its elite associations through their marketing and advertisements. These companies outfit many equine athletes as well as sponsoring equestrian events; being highly involved in the sporting world, they have a strong presence both off and on the horse, bridging the past with the present. This study finds that the major boot offerings of each brand have become fashion staples that satisfy contemporary desires and are capable of accessorizing a wide range of wardrobe selections.

## **How Boots Changed Over Time**

The Hessian boot is no longer used in fashion. The rubber Wellington boot is more popular than the leather version. The Butcher boot is the most popular style when analyzing the number of offerings from the brands. The amalgamation of the Butcher boot and the Top boot is becoming increasingly popular among a younger target market.

## Primary Users of These Boots Today: Who and Why?

Hermés, Gucci, and Ralph Lauren specifically target female consumers for use of their boots in an urban setting. Although no statistics detailing the use of the boots by gender or age was discovered, it strongly appears that women are the primary users of these boots today. As

discussed in Section 3, these brands have about a 10 to 1 product offering for women versus men. The number of brand offerings for women in comparison to those for men provides evidence that the wearing of these boots by males is not popular. The equestrian boots that are used by men are for riding horses in sport-related activities or in formal military dress. These boots fell out of favour for men for fashion reasons such as the rising popularity of more functional boot styles like parachute boots and ankle boots that were better suited to wearing looser trousers. Another reason may be a possible connection between the use of the equestrian boot in ultra right wing military units. Incorporated into cavalry regiments by World War I and into the Nazi uniform as a propagandistic tool during World War II, the Butcher boot was restricted to a functional role (Sauro, 2010, p. 175) and by 1935 it was no longer in vogue for men to be seen wearing boots everyday (Swann, 1982, p. 75). In particular, the image of Nazi SS officers with their polished Butcher boots may have been a detriment for men to wear these boots after World War II. This association of the boot with the evil Third Reich has been reinforced in popular culture with innumerable World War II movies that use this image to emphasize the intimidating nature of the uniform.

#### **Future Studies**

It would be worth comparing the branding strategies, riding boots, and prices points of Hermés, Ralph Lauren, and Gucci with the mass-market equestrian boots of non-luxury footwear retailers to get a sense of how much the branding and quality affect their appeal, cost, and demand.

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# **Appendix: Figures**

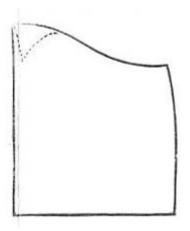


Figure 1. Template of Hessian boot's topline. 1



Figure 2. Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of Wellington, by James Godby, 1812.<sup>2</sup>

Source: Crepidam (p. 207).
 Source: National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 3. Unembellished Hessian boots, 1845–1865.<sup>3</sup>



Figure 4. Wellington Letter to Hoby, 1815.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Source: Bata Shoe Museum, Toronto [P83.0181.AB]. <sup>4</sup> Source: Bata Shoe Museum, Toronto [P.98.13].



Figure 5. A Wellington boot or the Head of the Army, by Paul Pry, 1827.<sup>5</sup>



Figure 6. Wellington boot with turn round orientation, 1870–1899.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Source: The British Museum, London. <sup>6</sup> Source: Bata Shoe Museum, Toronto [S86.0181.AB].

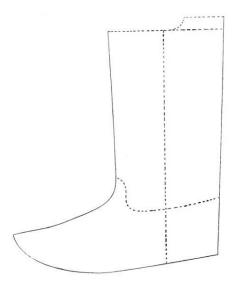


Figure 7. Template of the Wellington boot's turn round topline.<sup>7</sup>

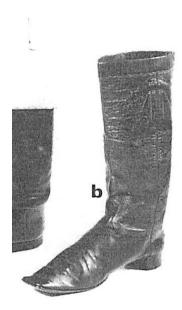


Figure 8. Wellington boot with straight top 1817–1820.8

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Source: Golding (p. 116). <sup>8</sup> Source: Swann (p. 34).



Figure 9. Wellington boot with turn round orientation, 1840.9

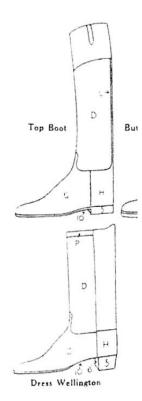


Figure 10. Construction differences between the Top boot and Wellington boot. 10

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Source: Swann (p. 43). <sup>10</sup> Source: Swann (p. 94).



Figure 11. Sir Roger Burgoyne Riding "Badger," by James Seymour, 1740. 11



Figure 12. Mr and Mrs Coltman, by Joseph Wright of Derby, 1769. 12

<sup>11</sup> Source: Yale Center for British Art, New Haven. 12 Source: Ribeiro (p. 114).



Figure 13. Captain George K.H. Coussmaker, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1782. 13



Figure 14. George Harley Drummond, by Sir Henry Raeburn, 1809.  $^{14}$ 

<sup>13</sup> Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
14 Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 15. Black Top boots, 1890-1910.  $^{15}$ 



Figure 16. Top boots, 1820.16

<sup>15</sup> Source: Bata Shoe Museum, Toronto [S85.0223.A-H]. Source: Bata Shoe Museum, Toronto [P84.0100.A-J].



Figure 17. Lord Glamis and His Staghounds, by Dean Wolstenholme, 1823. 17



Figure 18. Hedges and Fences, by Henry Alken, 1850–1851. 18

<sup>17</sup> Source: Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.
18 Source: Mackay-Smith, Druesedow, & Ryder (p. 19).



Figure 19. The Duke of Hamilton's Grey Racehorse, "Victorious," at Newmarket, by John Woolton, 1725. 19

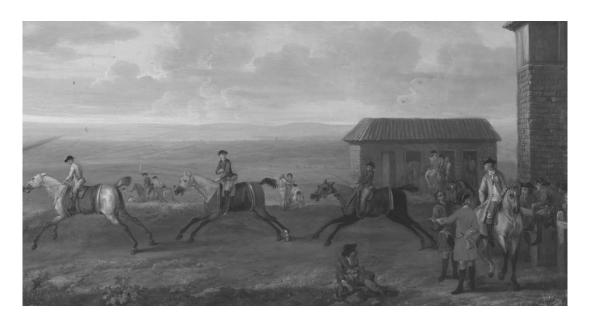


Figure 20. Lord Portmore Watching Racehorses at Exercise on Newmarket Heath, by John Wootton, 1735.

Source: Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.
 Source: Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.



Figure 21. Diamond, with Dennis Fitzpatrick Up, by Benjamin Marshall, 1799.<sup>21</sup>



Figure 22. Memmon, with William Scott up on Doncaster Racecourse, by John Frederick Herring, 1825. 22

Source: Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.
 Source: Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.



Figure 23. Jockey Top boots, 1935–1958.<sup>23</sup>

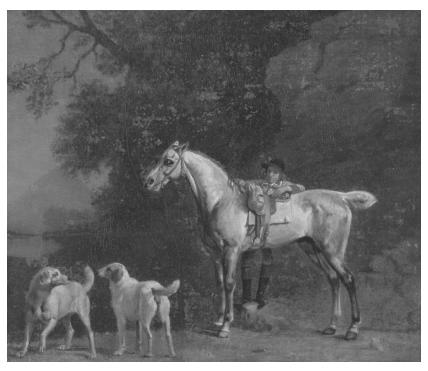


Figure 24. Study of the Hunt Servant Adjusting the Girth of the Saddled Grey Horse on the Right, by George Stubbs, late 1750s.<sup>24</sup>

Source: Bata Shoe Museum, Toronto [P93.0022.AB].
 Source: Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.



Figure 25. Gentleman's Carriages: A Cabriolet, by Charles Hancock, 1820–1830.<sup>25</sup>



Figure 26. A Cabriolet, by Robert Havell, 1834.<sup>26</sup>

Source: Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.
 Source: The Museums at Stony Brook, New York.



Figure 27. Coachman's Livery, 1869.<sup>27</sup>

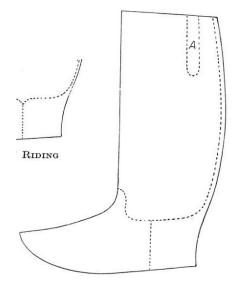


Figure 28. Template of the Butcher boot.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Source: Mackay-Smith et al. (p. 112). <sup>28</sup> Source: Golding (p. 116).



Figure 29. A Polo Game, by Lionel Edwards, 1904.<sup>29</sup>



Figure 30. Polo Players Between Chuckers, 1920.30

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Source: Laffaye, H. (2012). *Polo in Britain: A history*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co. (p. 149). Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers.

<sup>30</sup> Source: Mackay-Smith et al. (p. 51).



Figure 31. Butcher boot, first quarter of 20th century. 31

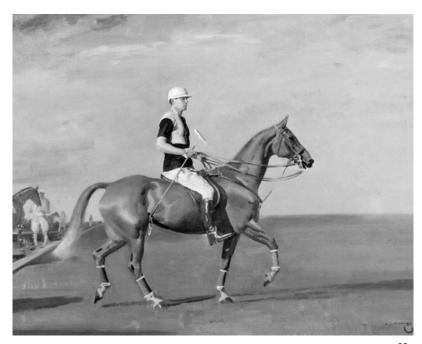


Figure 32. The Polo Player, by Sir Alfred Munnings, 1929.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Source: Bata Shoe Museum, Toronto [S85.0058.A-L]. Source: Private collection.



Figure 33. Traditional Butcher boot juxtaposed next to modified version. 33



Figure 34. Male Swedish Dressage Competitor During 1924 Paris Olympic Games. 34

<sup>33</sup> Source: Bryant (p. 21).
34 Source: IOC: Official Website of the Olympic Movement [SAAEP026].

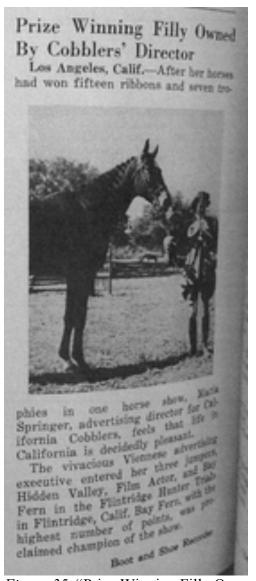


Figure 35. "Prize Winning Filly Owned by Cobblers", 1948. 35



Figure 36. Butcher boots, 1910-1930.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Source: Prize Winning Filly Owned by Cobbler's Director. (1948, May). Boot and Shoe Recorder: The Magazine of Fashion Footwear, 90.

Source: Bata Shoe Museum, Toronto [P88.0102.AB].



Figure 37. Butcher boots, 1910-1940.<sup>37</sup>



Figure 38. The Pack of Lord Cowdray wearing the Butcher boot, 1931.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Source: Bata Shoe Museum, Toronto [P88.0223.Di-viii]. <sup>38</sup> Source: Mackay-Smith et al. (p. 84).



Figure 39. Butcher boots, 1930-1940.<sup>39</sup>



Figure 40. Top boots with Butcher top, 1885-1915.40

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Source: Bata Shoe Museum, Toronto [S81.0232.AB]. <sup>40</sup> Source: Bata Shoe Museum, Toronto [P84.0101.AB].



Figure 41. Top Boots, 1965-1985. 41

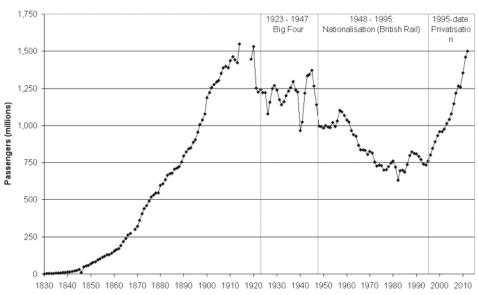


Figure 42. Number of railway passengers in the U.K., 1830-1910. 42

<sup>41</sup> Source: Bata Shoe Museum, Toronto [P03.0039.AB].
42 Source: Association of Train Operating Companies. (2008). *The Billion Passenger Railway: Lessons from the* Past, Prospects for the Future (p. 5). London, UK: Author.



Figure 43. Bulletin of Fashion, 1853. 43



Figure 44. Lord Cowdray, Viscount of West Sussex, 1931.44

<sup>43</sup> Source: The Rhode Island School of Design Museum, Rhode Island. Source: Mackay-Smith et al. (p. 84).



Figure 45. A Tailor at a Client's Home, by George Cruikshank, 1825. 45



Figure 46. All black Top boot, 1890 and 1910.46

<sup>45</sup> Source: Chenoune, F. (42-43). 46 Source: Bata Shoe Museum, Toronto [S85.0028.AB].



Figure 47. James Taylor Wray of the Bedale Hunt with his Dun Hunter, by Anson Ambrose Martin, circa 1840. 47



Figure 48. Monsieur Sériziat by Jacques Louis David, 1795. 48

Source: Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.
 Source: The Louvre Museum, France.



Figure 49. Portrait of the Painter Isabey with his Daughter, by François Gérard, 1796.<sup>49</sup>



Figure 50. Napoleon in Front of the Chateau de Malmaison, by François Gérard, 1804. 50

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>Source: The Louvre Museum, France. <sup>50</sup>Source: Anderson Black, J., & Garland, M. (1985). *A History of Fashion* (p.165). London, United Kingdom: Orbis Publishing Limited.



Figure 51. The Shoemakers, by E.B and E.C Kellogg of Hartford, Connecticut, 1855. 51



Figure 52. Child's Top boot, 1861-1865. 52

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Source: Rexford, N. E. (2000). Women's shoes in America, 1795-1930 (p. 14). Kent, OH: Kent State University Press.
<sup>52</sup> Source: Bata Shoe Museum, Toronto [P81.0280.AB].



Figure 53. A May Morning in the Park (The Fairman Rogers Four-in-Hand), by Thomas Eakings, 1870-1880. 53



Figure 54. Carriage Driving, late 19th century. 54

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup>Source: Philadelphia Museum of Art, Pennsylvania. <sup>54</sup>Source: Private Collection.



Figure 55. A Pair of Polished Gentlemen by James Gillray, 1801.55



Figure 56. George "Beau" Brummell, by Richard Dighton, 1805. 56

<sup>55</sup> Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Source: Kelly, I. (Chapter 5: A Dandiacal Body).



Figure 57. The Meat Market, by James Pollard, unknown date. 57



Figure 58. Shoeing Asses, by Cruikshank, 1809.58

<sup>57</sup> Source: Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.
58 Source: Bossan, M.J. (2004). *The Art of the Shoe* (p. 58). New York, New York: Parkstone Press Ltd.



Figure 59. Male and Female Walking Dress, 1810.<sup>59</sup>



Figure 60. Unadorned Hessian Boots worn by Karl XIV Johan, King of Sweden and Norway, 1830.60

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Source: Laver, J. (1969). *A Concise History of Costume* (p. 157). London, United Kingdom: Thames and Hudson <sup>60</sup> Source: The Livrustkammaren Museum, Stockholm, Sweden.



Figure 61. Billy the Kid, 1879.61



Figure 62. Unembellished child's Hessian, 1860-1870. 62

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Source: Airy, H. (1993). *Whatever happed to Billy the Kidd?* (p. Chapter 1: Flight from Fort Sumner). Santa Fe, NM: Sunstone Press. <sup>62</sup> Source: Bata Shoe Museum, Toronto [S82.0293.AB].



Sharples, 1818.<sup>63</sup> Figure 63. The Cloak-Room, Clifton Assembly Rooms, by Rolinda



Figure 64. Unembellished Hessian Boots, 1918-1930.64

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Source: Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol. <sup>64</sup> Source: Bata Shoe Museum, Toronto [P05.0002.AB].



Figure 65. Lady Worsley, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1779.65



Figure 66. Amazones, 1893.66

<sup>65</sup> Source: Harewood House, Leeds. 66 Source: Mackay-Smith et al. (p. 78).

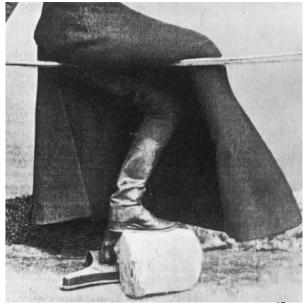


Figure 67. Safety Skirt, by Spalding, 1899.67



Figure 68. "What She Wears", 1909. 68

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Source: Matthews David (2002), (p. 78).
 <sup>68</sup> Source: Fashion: Riding Boots, Tennis and Walking Shoes. (1909, May 20). *Vogue*, 948.



Figure 69. A Busvine Advertisement, 1927.69



Figure 70. "Dressing for the Hunting Field", by Violet, Duchess of Westminster, 1928. 70

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Source: Mackay-Smith et al. (p. 69).
<sup>70</sup> Source: Nelson, V. M. (1928, February). Fashion: Dressing For The Hunting Field. *Vogue*, *15*, 74-75, 132.



Figure 71. Two Busvines and a Cutaway, by Sir Alfred Munnings, 1878. 71



Figure 72. Foxhunting Girl, by Kauffman & Sons Saddlery, 1930.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Source: Private Collection.
72 Source: Mackay-Smith et al. (p. 87).



Figure 73. Horsewoman, by Kauffman & Sons Saddlery, 1930.<sup>73</sup>



Figure 74. Polo Girl, by Turkish Trophies Cigarettes, 1913.74

Source: Mackay-Smith et al. (p. 87).
 Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 75. B. Altman and Company Advertisement 1929. 75



Figure 76. "This year of sports will show a greatly increased demand for riding boots," 1930. 76

 Source: Delis-Hill, D. (p. 141).
 Source: This year of sports will show a greatly increased demand for riding boots. (1930, March 29). *Boot and* Shoe Recorder: The Magazine of Fashion Footwear, 36-37.



Figure 77. Polo Girl, by Kauffman & Sons Saddlery, 1930. 77



Figure 78. "Vanity Boot Shop Opens in Chattanooga," 1934. 78

Source: Mackay-Smith et al. (p. 87).
 Source: Vanity boot shop opens in Chattanooga. (1934, April 7). *Boot and Shoe Recorder: The Magazine of* Fashion Footwear, 106.

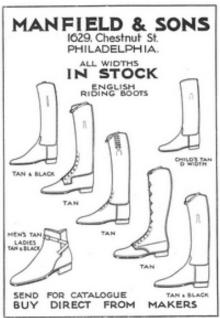


Figure 79. A Manfield & Sons advertisement, 1930.<sup>79</sup>



Figure 80. A Manfield & Sons advertisement, 1934.80

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Source: Manfield and Sons. (1930, March). *Boot and Shoe Recorder: The Magazine of Fashion Footwear*, 229, 97.

Source: Manfield and Sons. (1934, March). *Boot and Shoe Recorder: The Magazine of Fashion Footwear*, 249, 117.

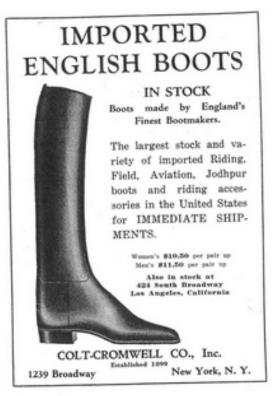


Figure 81. A Colt-Cromwell Co., Inc. advertisement, 1930.81

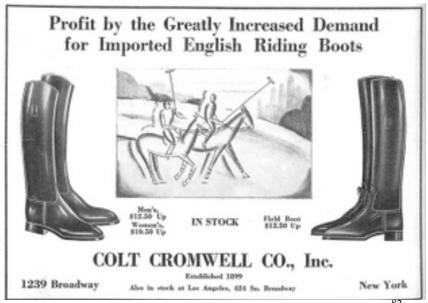


Figure 82. A Colt-Cromwell Co., Inc. advertisment, 1930.82

<sup>81</sup> Source: Colt Cromwell Co. (1930, March). Boot and Shoe Recorder: The Magazine of Fashion Footwear, 229,

<sup>50.
&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Source: Colt Cromwell Co. (1930, March). *Boot and Shoe Recorder: The Magazine of Fashion Footwear*, 229, 74.



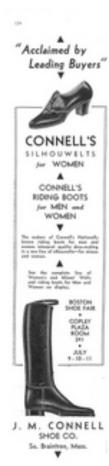
Figure 83. A Colt-Cromwell Co., Inc. advertisement, 1934.83



Figure 84. A J-M-Connell Shoe Co. advertisement, 1930.84

<sup>83</sup> Source: Colt Cromwell Co. (1934, March). *Boot and Shoe Recorder: The Magazine of Fashion Footwear*, 249, 56.

<sup>56, &</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Source: J. M Connell Shoe Co. (1930, March). *Boot and Shoe Recorder: The Magazine of Fashion Footwear*, 229, 95.



*Figure 85.* A J-M-Connell Shoe Co. advertisement, 1934. 85



*Figure 86.* The "Ladies High Heel Riding Boot", by Kirkendall, 1934. 86

<sup>85</sup> Source: J. M Connell Shoe Co. (1934, March). Boot and Shoe Recorder: The Magazine of Fashion Footwear, 249, 124. <sup>86</sup> Source: Kirkendall. (1934, March). *Boot and Shoe Recorder: The Magazine of Fashion Footwear*, 249, 60.



Figure 87. Queen Elizabeth II and President Ronald Reagan riding horses, 1982.87

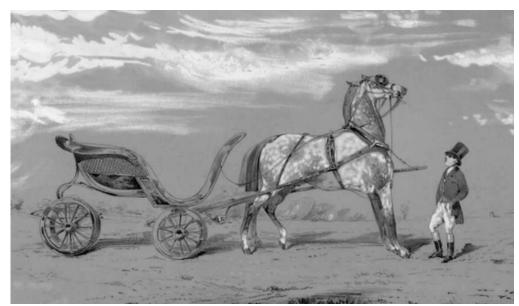


Figure 88. Duc Attele, Groom a L'Attente or Duc Harnessed, Groom Waiting, by Alfred de Dreux, 1830. 88

116

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Source: Blair, D. (2012, December 28). Ronald Reagan ignored Queen's Windsor Castle invitation. *The* Telegraph. Retrieved from http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/9769558/Ronald-Reagan-ignored-Queens-Windsor-Castle-invitation.html

88 Source: The Emile Hermés Museum, Paris.



Figure 89. The Duchesse d'Uzès with her hunting pack in front of the Château de Chantilly, by Hermés, 1931. 89



Figure 90. Hermés advertisement, 2006. 90

117

<sup>89</sup> Source: Hermés. (1931, December 1). The Duchesse d'Uzès with her hunting pack in front of the Château de Chantilly. *Vogue*, 8.
90 Source: Hermés. (2006, September 1). Beneath the Parisian sky. *Vogue*, 213-214.





Figure 92. Kelly Caléche Perfume, by Hermés, 2007. 92

<sup>91</sup> Source: Hermés. (2006, September 1). Beneath the Parisian sky. *Vogue*, 215-216. 92 Source: Hermés. (2007, November 1). Kelly Caléche. *Vogue*, 18-19.



Figure 93. Black Rider, 2011. 93



Figure 94. Black Rider, 2011.94

<sup>93</sup> Source: Hermés. (2013, September 1). Black rider. *Hermés 2014*. Retrieved from http://lesailes.hermes.com/na/en/cavalier\_noir.
94 Source: Hermés. (2013, September 1). Black rider. *Hermés 2014*. Retrieved from http://lesailes.hermes.com/na/en/cavalier\_noir.



Figure 95. Black Rider, 2011. 95



Figure 96. Jumping Boots by Hermés. 96

<sup>95</sup> Source: Hermés. (2013, September 1). Black rider. *Hermés 2014*. Retrieved from http://lesailes.hermes.com/na/en/cavalier\_noir.
<sup>96</sup> Source: Hermés. (2013, September 1). Jumping boots. *Hermés 2014*. Retrieved from

http://usa.hermes.com/woman/shoes/boots/jumping/configurable-product-z-women-jumping-35445.html.

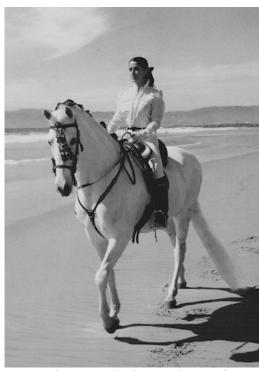


Figure 97. Salma Hayek, by Mario Testino, 2005. 97



Figure 98. St. Moritz World Cup On Snow, by Polo Ralph Lauren, 2012. 98

Source: [Photograph by Mario Testino]. (2005, June 1). Free spirit. *Vogue*, 173, 170-177, 240-241.
 Source: Polo Ralph Lauren: St. Moritz. (2012). *Models.com*. Retrieved from http://models.com/work/polo-ralphlauren-holiday-campaign.



Figure 99. Polo Ralph Lauren Cologne, by Saks Fifth Avenue, 1986. 99

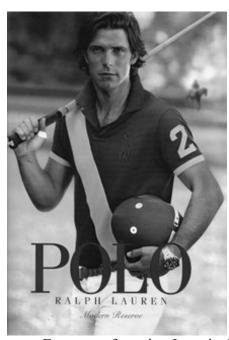


Figure 100. Polo Modern Reserve Fragrance featuring Ignacio Figueras advertised by Ralph Lauren, 2009. 100

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Source: Saks Fifth Avenue. (1986, December 1). Polo Ralph Lauren cologne. *Vogue*, 71.
<sup>100</sup> Source: Polo Modern Reserve. (2009). *Models.com*. Retrieved from http://models.com/work/polo-ralph-laurenthe-world-of-polo-ralph-lauren-mens-fragrances-contract-2012-ss-12/98429.

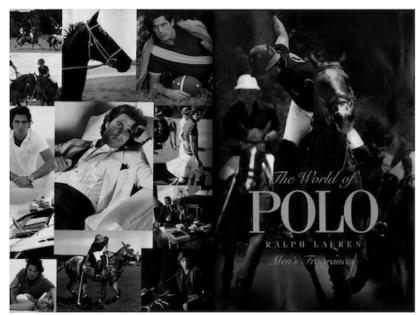


Figure 101. The World of Polo Ralph Lauren Men's Fragrances advertised by Ralph Lauren, 2012. 101



Figure 102. Holiday Campaign advertised by Ralph Lauren, 2012. 102

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Source: The World of Polo Ralph Lauren Men's Fragrances. (2012). *Models.com*. Retrieved from http://models.com/work/polo-ralph-lauren-the-world-of-polo-ralph-lauren-mens-fragrances-contract-2012-ss-12. Source: Holiday Campaign. (2012). *Models.com*. Retrieved from http://models.com/work/polo-ralph-laurenholiday-campaign/136241.



Figure 103. Holiday Campaign featuring Ignacio Figueras advertised by Ralph Lauren, 2012.  $^{103}$ 

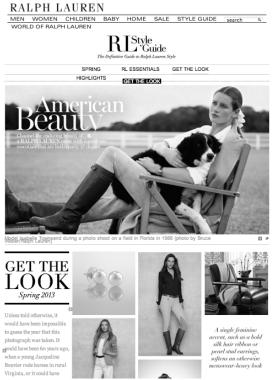


Figure 104. American Beauty advertised by Ralph Lauren, 2014. 104

<sup>103</sup> Source: Holiday Campaign. (2012). *Models.com*. Retrieved from http://models.com/work/polo-ralph-lauren-

holiday-campaign/136238.

Ralph Lauren. (2014, January 20). American Beauty. Retrieved from http://global.ralphlauren.com/enus/rlstyleguide/women/getthelook/Pages/AmericanBeauty.aspx.



Figure 105. Equestrian Riding Boots, by Ralph Lauren. 105



Figure 106. Sabeen Vachetta Riding Boot, by Ralph Lauren. 106

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Ralph Lauren. (2014, January 15). Equestrian Riding Boots. Retrieved from http://www.ralphlauren.com/product/index.jsp?productId=21869646&cp=1760782.1898624.1899799&view=99&ab =ln\_women\_cs2\_boots&parentPage=family.

106 Ralph Lauren. (2014, January 15). Sabeen Vachetta Riding Boot. Retrieved from

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Figure 107. Rubber Wellington Boot, by Ralph Lauren. 107



Figure 108. Leather Wellington Boot, by Ralph Lauren. 108

Ralph Lauren. (2013, August 7). Rubber Wellington boot. Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/RalphLauren/
Ralph Lauren. (2013, August 7). Leather Wellington boot. Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/RalphLauren.



Figure 109. Equestrian Bridle-Print Wellie, by Ralph Lauren. 109



Figure 110. Sage Vachetta Riding Boot, by Ralph Lauren. 110

Ralph Lauren. (2014, January 15). Equestrian Bridle-Print Wellie. Retrieved from http://www.ralphlauren.com/product/index.jsp?productId=13276795&cp=1760782.1898624.1899799&ab=ln\_wome n cs2\_boots&view=99&parentPage=family

Ralph Lauren. (2014, January 15). Sage Vachetta Riding Boot. Retrieved from

http://www.ralphlauren.com/product/index.jsp?productId=24666406&cp=1760782.1898624.1899799&ab=ln\_wome n cs2 boots&view=99&parentPage=family.



Figure 111. Vachetta Two-Toned Riding Boot, by Ralph Lauren. 111



Figure 112. Sandra Calf Chain Riding Boot, by Ralph Lauren. 112

Ralph Lauren. (2014, January 22). Vachetta Two-Toned Riding boot. http://www.ralphlauren.com/product/index.jsp?productId=213998956&cp=1760782.1898624.& view=99&ab=in\_women\_cs2\_shoes&parentPage=family.

112 Ralph Lauren. (2014, January 20). Sandra Calf Chain Riding boot. Retrieved from

http://www.ralphlauren.com/product/index.jsp?productId=21196556&cp=1760782.1898624.& view=99&ab=in women cs2 shoes&parentPage=family.



Figure 113. "Riding High," 2010. 113



Figure 114. "Riding High," 2010. 114

 <sup>113 [</sup>Photograph by Vicki Woods]. (2010, September 1). Riding high. *Vogue*, 668-669.
 114 [Photograph by Vicki Woods]. (2010, September 1). Riding high. *Vogue*, 670-671.

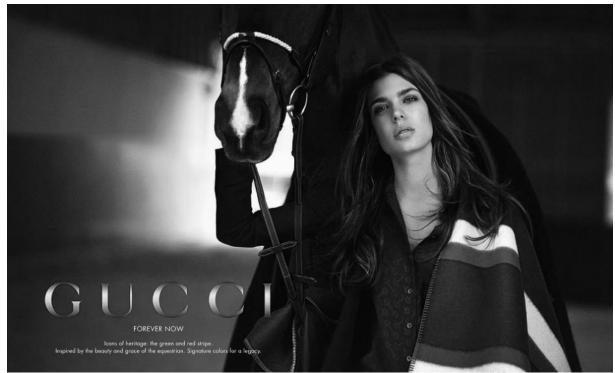


Figure 115. Gucci featuring Casiraghi advertisement, 2010. 115



Figure 116. Edimburg GG Flat Rain Boot, by Gucci. 116

<sup>[</sup>Photograph by Vicki Woods]. (2010, September 1). Riding high. *Vogue*, 672. Gucci. (2014, January 16). Edimburg GG flat rain boot. Retrieved from http://www.gucci.com/us/styles/248516J87108360#.



Figure 117. Black Rubber Rain Boot, by Gucci. 117



Figure 118. Rubber Rain Boot, by Gucci. 118

<sup>117</sup> Gucci. (2014, January 14). Black Rubber Rain Boot. Retrieved from http://www.gucci.com/us/styles/202752J87C01060#.
118 Gucci. (2014, January 14). Child's Rubber Rain Boot. Retrieved from http://www.gucci.com/us/styles/257767J87108346#.

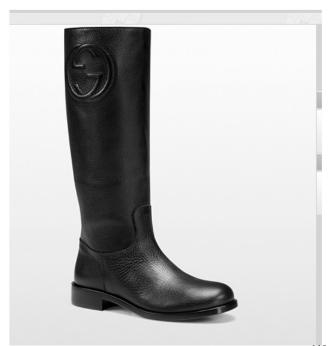


Figure 119. Leather Wellington Boot, by Gucci<sup>119</sup>



Figure 120. Jamie Leather Riding Boot, by Gucci. 120

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Figure 126. "1921 Collection" Riding Boot with Gucci Crest Detail by Gucci for Men. 126

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Figure 128. Eleonora Brown Leather riding boot, by Gucci. 128

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Figure 130. 'Rain' Flat Boot with Gucci Script Logo, by Gucci. 130

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