

IZZA KLOBUKA



FROM BEHIND THE HAT

Fotografija na naslovnici:

Oddelek za opremljanje klobukov – šivalnica (foto: Sara Šifrar Krajnik)

Izza klobuka From behind the Hat

ZBORNIK COLLECTION OF PAPERS

Škofja Loka, september 2020

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Pričujoča publikacija je nastala v sklopu projekta Zaljubljeni v ustvarjalnost, v katerem sta sodelovala Loški muzej Škofja Loka in Razvojna agencija Sora – Rokodelski center DUO Škofja Loka, sofinancirali pa sta ga Republika Slovenija in Evropska unija iz Evropskega sklada za regionalni razvoj. Cilj projekta je bila nadgradnja tradicionalnih rokodelskih znanj in veščin, ki se bodo utrile v sedanjosti in prek ustvarjalne turistične ponudbe zaživele tudi v prihodnosti. Za ohranjanje tradicionalnega rokodelskega znanja je pomembno, da se to ustrezno dokumentira, širi in je dostopno javnosti. Loški muzej je v projektu prevzel prav to nalogo, njen rezultat pa je publikacija Iz za klobuka.

Publikacija predstavlja pomembno vez med preteklostjo in sodobno rokodelsko ustvarjalnostjo. Mojca Šifrer Bulovec v njej predstavlja klobuk kot del noše, zgodovino in bonton nošenja klobukov, zgodovino klobučarstva na Loškem in postopke izdelave klobuka. Biljana Ristić dodaja kronološki pregled zgodovine tovarne Šešir, ki jo umešča tudi v širše družbeno in gospodarsko dogajanje v posameznih obdobjih. Dodatno osvetlitev tovarne dodaja Tadej Curk, ki predstavlja njeno javno podobo v lokalnih tiskanih medijih, skozi pripoved fiktivnega lika Viktorja Klobučnika pa še izbrane spomine nekdanjih zaposlenih v tovarni Šešir oziroma njihovih sorodnikov. Publikacijo zaključuje članek študentke etnologije in kulturne antropologije Sare Šifrar Krajnik, ki znanje preteklosti poveže s sedanjostjo in nam predstavi sodobne rokodelce in rokodelke ter njihove izdelke.

This publication was created as part of the project In Love with Creativity, a joint project of the Škofja Loka Museum and the Sora Development Agency – Arts & Crafts Center of Škofja Loka, co-financed by the Republic of Slovenia and the European Union from the European Regional Development Fund. The aim of the project was to build on the traditional artisanal knowledge and skills, which will be broadened in the present and also revived through a range of creative tourist services in the future. In order to preserve the traditional artisanal skills, it is important for them to be documented, promoted and made available to the public. This in particular was the task taken on by the Škofja Loka Museum and the result is the publication titled From behind the Hat.

The publication represents an important link between the past and contemporary artisanal creativity. In one of the papers included in the publication, Mojca Šifrer Bulovec presents hats as part of the national costume, the hats' history and etiquette, the history of hat-making in the area of Škofja Loka and the hat-making process. Biljana Ristić provides a chronological historical overview of the Šešir hat factory, placing it in broader social and economic contexts in individual periods. Tadej Curk sheds additional light on the hat factory through a paper focused on how the hat factory was presented in the local print media over the years and through an account shared by the fictional character Victor Hatter, which includes factory-related memories of the former factory employees and their relatives. The publication concludes with a paper by Sara Šifrar Krajnik, an ethnology and cultural anthropology student, who places traditional knowledge alongside present-day creativity and presents contemporary artisans and their products.

Mojca Šifrer Bulovec

Klobuk se predstavi!

Uvod

Prispevek *Klobuk se predstavi!* želi na kratko predstaviti, kaj klobuk je, zakaj se uporablja, kaj sporoča, kdo ga nosi, iz katerih materialov je narejen, katere obrti so povezane z njim in bonton, ki se je oblikoval v povezavi s klobukom. V drugem delu je podrobneje predstavljena klobučarska obrt v Škofji Loki, ki ji lahko sledimo od 17. stoletja naprej do sedemdesetih let 20. stoletja.

Pri pisanju prispevka sem se opirala predvsem na podatke iz monografije Janje Žagar z naslovom *Pokrivala*. Za lokalno zgodovino pa sta zelo pomembna prispevka napisali Doroteja Gorišek (*Loški klobučarji*) in Meta Sterle (*Klobučarska obrt v Škofji Loki od srede 18. do srede 20. stoletja*). Pri svoji raziskavi sta pregledali arhivske vire, predvsem pa sta zabeležili še žive spomine informatorjev na terenu. Zato sta njuna prispevka še toliko bolj pomembna tako za lokalno kot tudi za slovensko zgodovino obrti.

Kaj je klobuk?

Klobuk je pokrivalo z navadno tršim oglavjem (štulo) in krajci, ki ga nosimo na glavi. Izjema je damski klobuk, ki je lahko tudi brez krajev.

Klobuk nas ščiti pred vremenskimi nepravilnostmi – mrazom, dežjem, soncem idr. Zaradi svoje izpostavljenosti lege, saj stoji na vrhu glave, ima lahko tudi prestižen pomen in nakazuje na položaj posameznika v družbi. S klobukom lahko nosilec izraža pripadnost določeni družbeni, etnični, narodni ter verski in poklicni skupini, opozarja na svojo ekonomsko moč in včasih tudi zakonski stan. Oblika klobuka se zaradi modnih vplivov že stoletja spreminja.¹

In kaj je moda? ”Moda je produkt socialnih zahtev družbe, deluje pa na vsakega posameznika posebej; ustvarja vzorce posnemanja, ki jim posamezniki sledijo na različne načine, s tem pa razkriva njihovo pripadnost enim in nepripadnost drugim družbenim skupinam. Moda torej nudi socialno oporo: v enotnem ravnanju združuje težnjo po socialnem izenačevanju in težnjo po individualnem razločevanju in spremembi. Moda oblikuje periodične spremembe in sili k ravnanju v okviru vsakokratne mode.”²

Uporaba klobukov v moški oblačilni kulturi vse do konca srednjega veka ni bila splošno razširjena.³ Na Slovenskem etničnem ozemlju jih viri prvič omenjajo pri obredu ustoličevanja koroških vojvod v 11. in 13. stoletju. Tedaj so koroški kmetje nosili sive klobuke s sivo vrvico.⁴ Kot

pokrivalo so čepice, z izjemo srede 15. stoletja, prevladoval nad klobuki vse od 15. do 18. stoletja, ko klobuki postanejo prevladujoče pokrivalo fevdalcev in meščanov. J. V. Valvasor (1689) poroča, da so kmetje klobuke nosili na Gorenjskem, Dolenjskem, Kočevskem in v delu Istre.⁵

V žensko oblačilno kulturo klobuk dolgo ni prodr. Nadomeščale so ga peče (naglavne rute) in avbe (t.j. priležno pokrivalo, ki pokriva celo glavo, razen obraza). Šele konec 16. stoletja so ženske višjih družbenih plasti pod vplivom španske mode za določene namene začele uporabljati klobuke, ki so po obliki posnemali moške.⁶



Detajl slike sv. Lucije s prosilci meščanskega in kmečkega stanu. Moški in ženska iz višje družbene plasti imajo klobuke, ki so nastali pod vplivom španske mode. Zanje je značilno visoko in proti vrhu zoženo oglavje ter ravni krajci. Delavnica Jamškov iz Škofje Loke, 1655 (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).

1 Žagar, 2004, str. 115.

2 Žagar, 2004, str. 10.

3 Žagar, 2004, str. 115.

4 Žagar, 2004, str. 118.

5 Žagar, 2004, str. 118–119.

6 Žagar, 2004, str. 116.

Svoj razcvet je ženski klobuk doživel šele v času po francoski revoluciji (1789). Vse do 1. svetovne vojne je bil klobuk privilegij žensk iz višjih družbenih plasti. V omenjenem obdobju je bil edino in skoraj obvezno pokrivalo, ki ga je bilo primerno nositi izven doma. Revnejše meščanke, uradnice, učiteljice so ga začele nositi šele pred 2. svetovno vojno, medtem ko se na podežlju ni uveljavil.⁷ Predstavljal je ločnico med mestnimi in podeželskimi ženskami, ki so si na glavo zavezovale rute. Oblika ženskih modnih klobukov v 19. in prvi polovici 20. stoletja je poudarjala ali celo dopolnjevala modno urejeno frizuro. To je bil korak na poti osvoboditve žensk, saj so si pred tem morale lase stoletja skrivati pod pečo, avbo ali lasuljo.⁸

Iz zgodovine klobuka je razvidno, da je lahko narejen iz različnih materialov. Splošno so bili razširjeni klobuki iz volnene polsti, boljši iz goveje in zajčje dlake. Klobuke iz slame poznamo že od antike naprej. Šivali so jih tudi iz tekstila (žameta, svile, platna, bombaža idr.) ter iz naravnega usnja.⁹ Seveda so ljudje v preteklosti, za delovno pokrivalo uporabljali materiale, ki so bili dosegljivi v neposredni okolici - tako so si klobuke izdelali iz bukove drevesne gobe, jih spletli iz koruznega ličja ali kostanjevih in lipovih vejic.¹⁰ V novjšem času so se naravnim materialom pridružili še umetni.

Da je bil klobuk lepši, so ga krasili z vrvicami in visečimi cofi, kovinskimi zaponkami ali svilenimi trakovi, ovitimi okoli oglavja. Za trakove so zatikali različna živalska peresa (ruševca, šoje, noja idr.) ali pa sveže ali posušeno cvetje. Ob raznih priložnostih, npr. ob naborništvu, so si klobuke okrasili s pisanimi trakovi iz krep papirja.¹¹ J. V. Valvasor piše, da so si moški, ko so šli na svatbo, pripasali sabljo, na glavah pa so nosili okrašene klobuke: » ... svileni trakovi na klobukih plapolajoči, in veliki štirioglati, iz preluknjane zlate pene narejeni in s kosmato svilo prevlečeni šopki ... Nosijo tudi šopke iz pušpana in jih znajo na svoj način s čudno iznajdbo okrasiti z biseri, ... bela posušena ajdova zrnca rabijo za bisere, ki jih prilepijo na pušpanove liste. Z njimi se pri svatovskem sprevodu močno postavljajo ... Tako išče uboštvo zvijačo in njegova preproščina ravna pametneje, kakor razum tistih, ki porabijo veliko denarja za dragulje.«¹²

Klobučarstvo kot obrt

Za izdelavo klobukov so se razvile posamezne obrti. Klobuke iz volnene polsti ter goveje in zajčje dlake so izdelovali klobučarji, ki se na Slovenskem prvič omenjajo sredi 15. stoletja v Ljubljani, širša proizvodnja polstenih klobukov pa se začne v 17. stoletju. Klobučarji so delovali predvsem v mestih, združeni v cehovske organizacije.¹³ Posamezni klobučarji, ki so klobuke za kmečko prebivalstvo izdelovali iz volnene polsti, pa so bili najverjetneje samouki.



Ločanka s slamnikom, konec 19. ali začetek 20. stoletja (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).



Skupina moških iz Selc v Selški dolini, oblečenih v narodno nošo, 1909 (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).



Naborniki – vojaški obvezniki pred služenjem vojaškega roka, Gorenja vas pri Retečah, okoli leta 1940 (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).



Poroka Ločanke Milene Flis z Zagrebčanom Hodkom, 1920 (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).



Gojenke 3. in 4. razreda meščanske samostanske šole v Škofji Loki. Na sprehodu so se pred soncem zaščitile s slamniki (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).



Terezija Dagarin, žena glavnika Luka Dagarina, iz Pušala pri Škofji Loki (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).

RAZPREDELNICA kaže razširjenost klobučarske obrti v posameznih obdobjih.

leto	število klobučarskih mojstrov na Kranjskem ¹⁴	število klobučarskih mojstrov v Škofji Loki ¹⁵
1762	23	1
1870	93	5 (1869)
1890	90	4
1925*	69	3
1964**	34	1

* število klobučarjev v Slovenskem delu Kraljevine SHS

** število klobučarjev v SR Sloveniji¹⁶

Središče izdelovanja slamnikov je bilo od druge polovice 18. stoletja v Ihanu, od tod pa se je v 19. stoletju zelo hitro širilo v naselja na območju Domžal, tudi Mengša in Kamnika, vse do bližnjih vasi v Zasavju. Iz ržene in pšenične slame so pletli kite in iz njih šivali slamnike. Do leta 1845 so slamnike šivali ročno, s pojavom šivalnega stroja pa pride do dviga kvalitete slamnikov in do razmaha slamnarske proizvodnje.¹⁷

Z razvojem ženskih klobukov se je v mestih razvila modistovska obrt, ki so jo lahko pred uvedbo obrtnega zakona leta 1859 izvajale tudi ženske. Modistka se je ukvarjala z dodelavo polizdelkov – tulcev iz polsti ali slame ter s popravilom starih klobukov in njihovo dodelavo (barvanjem, šivanjem podlog, krašenjem s peresi, pentljami, umetnim cvetjem idr.). Nove klobučke je lahko sešila tudi iz tekstila.¹⁸ Med obema vojnoma je v Škofji Loki delovala modistka Frančiška Jesenko, ki je imela svojo dejavnost registrirano v obrtnem registru.¹⁹

Mestni klobučarji niso izdelovali klobukov le po naročilu, temveč so jih izdelovali kot serijske, t. i. konfekcijske izdelke.²⁰ Poleg svojih klobukov so nekateri prodajali še klobuke tujih izdelovalcev in s tem povečali izbiro v lastnem

7 Žagar, 2004, str. 135.

8 Žagar, 2004, str. 136.

9 Žagar, 2004, str. 118, 122, 131, 134.

10 Žagar, 2004, str. 133.

11 Žagar, 2004, str. 130.

12 Rupel, 1977, str. 114–115.

13 Žagar, 2004, str. 149.

14 Žagar, 2004, str. 149.

15 Sterle, 1978, str. 96.

Iz kartoteke Loškega muzeja: v Škofji Loki so bili leta 1925 trije klobučarji: Janez Debeljak, Spodnji trg 33, je delal do leta 1927, Pavle Jamnik, Spodnji trg 32, do leta 1944, Jernej Tavčar, Cankarjev trg 11, do leta 1967.

16 Žagar, 2004, str. 152.

17 Bogataj, 1989, str. 169.

18 Žagar, 2004, str. 154, 155.

19 SI ZAL, ŠKL 63, t. e. 133, Obrtni register 1921.

20 Žagar, 2004, str. 150.

lokalu. V to jih je silila tudi konkurenca tovarniških izdelkov, ki so k nam začeli prihajati k nam predvsem iz tujine.²¹ Boljše konfekcijske izdelke so uvažali z Dunaja, iz Gradca, Milana idr.²² Naši slamnikarji so konfekcijsko izdelane slamnike za prodajo izdelovali že vsaj od 18. stoletja naprej.²³ Klobuke so na Slovenskem poleg domačih obrtnikov ponujali tudi potujoči in sejemski trgovci.²⁴

Industrijska izdelava klobukov se je na Kranjskem začela v Ljubljani v 40. letih 19. stoletja. Fabrikanta Janez Zupanc in Schubert sta začela klobuke izdelovati iz svile.²⁵ Prvi tovarni slamnikov v Domžalah sta odprla Franc Cerar in Pavel Mellitzer leta 1857.²⁶ Na ozemlju današnje Slovenije je z izdelavo polstenih klobukov pričela Tovarna klobukov Šešir v Škofji Loki leta 1921.

Bonton obnašanja s klobukom

V povezavi s klobukom, se je skozi stoletja izoblikoval tudi bonton obnašanja z njim. Tako je veljalo:

- »Klobuka ali cilindra ne posajaj postrani na uho, nego naravnost ali nazaj napol čela.«²⁷
- »Če srečaš na cesti odličnega gospoda, ga pozdraviš tako, da snameš klobuk in se obenem na lahko prikloniš.«²⁸
- »Kdor govori na ulici z odlično damo, naj se ne pokrije, nego obdrži klobuk v roki. Dama ga nato pozove, naj se pokrije.«²⁹
- »Klobuk moraš sneti, če srečaš pogreb, če gre mimo procesija katerekoli veroizpovedi ali pa duhovnik, ki nese popotnico. Odkrije se tudi pred vsako cerkvijo, v kateri se nahaja Najsvetejše pred Križanim, kakor tudi kadar zveni angelovo češčenje. Dober katoličan naj se tega tudi v mestu ne sramuje.«³⁰
- »Po pokopališču hodi odkrit in z dostojnim spoštovanjem.«³¹
- »Pogreba se po možnosti udeležimo v črni ali vsaj temni obleki s črno ovratnico, klobukom in rokavicami.«³²
- »Na deželi in v manjših mestih moraš takoj, ko vstopiš v gostilno, sneti klobuk, vse navzoče pozdraviti, kolikor je mogoče in šele potem sesti. Sicer se pa pri nas tudi v velikih lokalih, ko se vstopi, klobuk sname.«³³
- »Ko stopiš v kupe (vagona), na vsak način pozdravi vse potnike skupaj in položi klobuk na polico ali mrežo. Klobuka ne smeš obdržati na glavi, pač pa si smeš nadeti polletno čepico.«³⁴
- »Dobro vzgojen človek bo na vozu, v tramvaju ali avtobusu vedno odstopil prostor, ki bi ga smel zasesti, ženski, pa naj bo še tako preprosta, starčku in betežnemu človeku; Dami ponudi sedež tako, da privzdigneš klobuk ali se vsaj prikloniš in rečeš: »Prosim, milostljiva« ali »Prosim, ali Vam smem ponuditi sedež?«³⁵
- »Kar se klobuka tiče, ga ženska tako v javnih lokalih ne odlaga.«³⁶

- »Na koncerte in v gledališče pride dama navadno brez klobuka, ako sedi v parterju, da ne zakriva zadaj sedečim pogleda na oder. V loži lahko sedi v klobuku ali brez njega. Kajpada se ti večerni klobuki razlikujejo od dnevnih: lažji so in razkošnejši ter morajo biti seveda v skladu s toaleta.«³⁷
- »V tuji hiši se vselej odkrij in ostani odkrit tudi tedaj, če se ti naroči, da bi se pokril! Na kmetih imajo čudno navado, da so v sobi vsi pokriti, zato silijo tudi tujca, ki je prišel k njim, da naj obdrži pokrivalo na glavi.«³⁸
- »Dama na posetu (obisku) ne odlaga v predsobi niti plašča niti klobuka, nego ostaja oblečena.«³⁹
- »Prva priča (tovariš) drži med poroko ženinov cilinder, prva družica nevestin šopek.«⁴⁰

Zgodovina klobučarstva v Škofji Loki

V srednjem veku so se škofjeloški meščani ukvarjali z različnimi obrtni, med drugim tudi s klobučarstvom. Mestni obrtniki so se po strokah združevali v cehe. Če je bilo obrtnikov ene stroke premalo, so se pridružili istovrstnemu cehu v sosednjem mestu. Tako so se leta 1633 škofjeloški klobučarji pridružili kranjskim in skupaj z njimi ustanovili klobučarski ceh sv. Janeza Evangelista in Janeza Krstnika. Ceh je prevzel posebnosti t. i. – Schenkhandwerk – t.-j., da so dajali potujočim pomočnikom poleg prenočišča še darilo v denarju.⁴¹ Enotne smernice za vse cehe so bile leta 1732 postavljene s patentom o rokodelstvu.

Sredi 18. stoletja (1752.) sta bila v Škofji Loki dva klobučarja, hišni lastnik Jernej Eksler, ki je imel svojo klobučarsko delavnico v Mestu 45, in gostač Martin Rečelj. Prvi je imel letni dohodek 21 goldinarjev, drugi pa 28 goldinarjev.

V popisu mestnih prebivalcev v Loki leta 1869 med obrtniki najdemo pet klobučarskih mojstrov: Valentina Burgarda, Blaža Vavpotiča, Janeza Dermoto, Jurija Debeljaka in Uršulo Vavpetič, ki je obrt vodila po smrti moža Janeza.

Čez 21 let (1880) je v mestu še vedno pet klobučarskih mojstrov. Uršuli Vavpetič in Janezu Dermotu se pridružijo Andrej Jamnik, Tomaž Tavčar in Gregor Dolenc.⁴²

Popis prebivalstva leta 1931 pa kaže na nazadovanje te obrti, saj sta v Loki le še dva klobučarska mojstra: Jernej Tavčar in Pavle Jamnik.

V obdobju od srede 18. stoletja do 60. let 20. stoletja v Škofji Loki naštejemo 13 klobučarskih delavnic. Šest jih je delovalo na Spodnjem trgu, tri na Mestnem in dve na Cankarjevem trgu, po ena pa v Karlovcu in Kapucinskem predmestju.⁴³ V omenjenem obdobju je v Škofji Loki delalo 154 klobučarjev – vajencev, pomočnikov in mojstrov.⁴⁴

Klobučarska obrt se je dedovala iz roda v rod, znanje je od očeta prehajalo na sina. V primeru, da ni bilo moškega naslednika, so domačo hčer poročili z izučenim klobučarjem, ki je po poroki postal lastnik hiše in delavnice. Če je klobučarski mojster umrl in ni imel naslednika, je klobučarsko delavnico prevzela in vodila njegova žena, vdova, v najslabšem primeru so delavnico prodali ali pa je prenehala z delom.

V okviru obrtne proizvodnje so v procesu nastajanja klobučarskih izdelkov sodelovali mojster, pomočniki in vajenci. Vajenci so se pri mojstru učili dve, tri ali tri leta in pol. Starši so mojstru na začetku (nekaterim pa na koncu učne dobe) plačali 10 do 15 forintov, svojim otrokom pa so bili v času vajeniške dobe dolžni preskrbeti obleko. Mojster jim je poleg znanja nudil še prehrano in prenočišče.⁴⁵ Klobučarji so začeli z delom ob 4. uri zjutraj in delali do 19. ure zvečer, le ob nedeljah in praznikih so bili prosti.⁴⁶

Leta 1889 je bila v Škofji Loki ustanovljena obrtna šola, ki so jo morali obiskovati tudi klobučarski vajenci. Pouk je potekal šest mesecev, učenci so najprej obiskovali pripravljalni tečaj, nato pa še 1. in 2. letnik obrtne šole. Imeli so naslednje predmete: slovensko in nemško branje, pisanje, računstvo in verouk, risanje pa so bili klobučarski vajenci opravičeni.⁴⁷

Med letoma 1889 in 1928 je obrtno šolo obiskovalo 26 klobučarskih vajencev, od tega jih je enajst hodilo le eno leto, trije dve leti, osem tri leta, nekateri pa so znanje »še dodatno utrjevali«, saj so jo trije obiskovali štiri leta, eden celo pet let. Kot kaže, klobučarski mojstri svojih vajencev niso redno pošiljali v šolo, saj je mnogi med njimi niso zaključili.⁴⁸ Po zaključeni vajenski dobi so pred komisijo opravili pomočniški izpit. Še v 19. stoletju je bila navada, da so pomočniki morali za nekaj let v tujino, kjer so nabirali znanje pri različnih mojstrih. Rekli so jim vandrovc. Do mojstra so pristopili s posebnim pozdravom v verzih, s katerim so zaprosili za službo. Točna vsebina pozdrava žal ni ohranjena. Če mojster ni imel dela zanje, jih je bil dolžan prenočiti in nahraniti. Pomočniki so morali biti na poti pokriti s klobukom, ki so ga izdelali sami.⁴⁹ Po opravljeni učni dobi so nekateri naredili tudi mojstrski izpit.



Vhod v klobučarsko delavnico Mesto 79, danes Spodnji trg 5, po domače pri Klobčarju. Na tej hiši je ohranjen tudi star vhodni portal »na koleno«, ki je vodil v cehovsko delavnico. Tak vhod s prodajnim okencem je še posebej značilen za območje Sredozemlja. V Škofjo Loko so ga skoraj gotovo zanesli furlanski stavbarji (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).

21 Žagar, 2004, str. 152; Žagar, 2004, str. 152.

22 Žagar, 2004, str. 150. Konfekcijski klobuk je serijsko izdelan klobuk.

23 Žagar, 2004, str. 152.

24 Žagar, 2004, 149.

25 Žagar, 2004, str. 152.

26 Brojan, 2012, str. 157.

27 Govekar, 1926, str. 206.

28 Terseglav, 1918, str. 66.

29 Govekar, 1926, str. 128.

30 Terseglav, 1918, str. 70.

31 Terseglav, 1918, str. 136.

32 Terseglav, 1932, str. 161.

33 Terseglav, 1918, str. 155.

34 Terseglav, 1932, str. 176.

35 Terseglav, 1932, str. 189.

36 Govekar, 1926, str. 216.

37 Govekar, 1926, str. 216.

38 Kosi, 1920, str. 6.

39 Govekar, 1926, str. 154.

40 Govekar, 1926, str. 29.

41 Žontar, 1939, str. 196.

42 Sterle, 1984, str. 80.

Leta 1880 je bilo v Škofji Loki z okolico 6 klobučarjev, v Poljanski in Selški dolini pa po 2, skupaj 10.

43 Sterle, 1978, str. 96.

Klobučarske delavnice so podrobneje predstavljene na koncu prispevka.

44 Sterle, 1978, str. 106.

45 Sterle, 1978, str. 104.

46 Sterle, 1978, str. 112.

47 Sterle, 1978, str. 102.

Pripravljalni tečaj je potekal trikrat na teden. Ob ponedeljkih od 17. do 19. ure, ob petkih od 17. do 18. ure in ob nedeljah od 8. do 12. ure. V prvem letniku so imeli pouk ob petkih od 17. do 19. ure in ob nedeljah od 10. do 12. ure. V drugem letniku so obiskovali pouk ob ponedeljkih od 17. do 19. ure in ob nedeljah od 8. do 10. ure in popoldne od 13. do 14. ure.

48 Sterle, 1978, str. 105.

49 Gorišek, 1958, str. 174.

Predstavitev klobučarskih izdelkov in njihova izdelava

Loški klobučarji so izdelovali moške in otroške klobuke,⁵⁰ izjemoma in le po naročilu tudi ženske.⁵¹ Poleg klobukov so iz polsti naredili tudi nizke in visoke škornje ter copate, med in po drugi svetovni vojni pa še natikače in vložke za čevlje. Za opekarne, trgovine z usnjem in tapetnike so delali posebne „filcplošče“, za gostilničarje cedilnike za vino, za voznike tramvajev (ki so takrat še vozili v Ljubljani) in furmane pa rokavice s palcem.⁵²

Glavne surovine za omenjene izdelke so bile ovčja volna, dlaka kunca, divjega zajca in goveja dlaka. Doroteja Gorišek navaja, da so klobučarji nabavljali material v tovarnah na Dunaju, v Trstu, Pragi in Budimpešti.⁵³ Po material so hodili z vozom in konjsko vprego. Na glavi so nosili čepico s cofom, čez katero so poveznili klobuk.⁵⁴ Ovčjo volno so kupovali tudi pri kmetih na Selškem in Poljanskem. Najkvalitetnejša je bila čim krajša dlaka jezersko-solčavske pasme ovce. Pri usnjarjih v Železnikih, Šmartnem pri Litiji in Šoštanju so kupovali dlako, ki so jo morali pred uporabo še razbarvati. Dlaka divjega zajca je bila finejša kot od domačega. Klobuke so delali iz kunčje dlake, lahko so mešali kunčjo dlako in volno, po prvi svetovni vojni so najpogostejše klobuke izdelovali iz ovčje volne. Copati, škornji, rokavice so bili narejeni iz ovčje volne in goveje dlake.⁵⁵

Postopki izdelave klobuka in drugih klobučarskih izdelkov so bili naslednji:

1. Gredašanje volne

Volno so najprej z rokami cufali in jo nato polagali na žičnato ploščo, ki je bila pritrjena na lesenem stolu. Z žičnato krtačo so potegnili po žičnati plošči z volno, da se je le-ta raztegnila. Temu so rekli „gredašanje“ volne. Dlake niso krtačili. Gredašanje volne je bilo delo žensk in otrok, redkeje vajencev in pomočnikov.⁵⁶

2. Tehtanje volne ali dlake

Volno oz. dlako so nato stehtali. Za par copat so potrebovali 24 lotov volne ali dlake, za par škornjev 56 lotov, za šest klobukov pa 36–42 lotov. (1 kg = 56 lotov; po klobučarsko je 1 lot = 2 g).⁵⁷



Pogled v delavnico zadnjega klobučarskega mojstra Jerneja Tavčarja (1882–1967), Mesto 42, danes Cankarjev trg 11 (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).



Krtačenje volne na »stolu« (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).



Klobučar Jernej Tavčar tehta volno (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).



Brenkanje ali »fahanje« volne ali dlake s pahalnikom, »fahbognom« (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).



Razpuščeno volno mojster oblikuje s »šebrom« (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).



Tlačenje volne oz. dlake s »fahsitom« (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).

3. Brenkanje oz. fahanje volne ali dlake

Stehtano volno so na mizi brenkali ali fahali. Klobučar je na mizo za fahanje dal stehtano volno in začel brenkati ali fahati. V levici je držal pahalnik ali *fahbogen*, na katerem je bila napeta struna iz ovčjih črev, v desni roki pa je imel vreteno ali šlogholc, s katerim je udarjal ob struno. Pri tem sta se volna ali dlaka lepo razpustili. Volno za eno copato je *fahal* 15 minut, za en škorenj pa 30 minut.⁵⁸

4. Oblikovanje volne oz. dlake pred filcanjem

Razpuščeno ali *fahano* volno oz. dlako so klobučarji s pomočjo šebra poravnali v obliki kroga, če je šlo za klobuk, ali pa pravokotnika, če naj bi iz njega nastala copata ali škorenj.⁵⁹

5. Tlačenje volne ali dlake s fahsitom

Razpuščeno in poravnano volno ali dlako so z retom ali *fahsitom* še potlačili.⁶⁰

50 Sterle, 1978, str. 106.

51 Sterle, 1978, str. 110.

52 Sterle, 1978, str. 106, 112.

53 Gorišek, 1958, str. 174.

54 Gorišek, 1958, str. 176.

55 Sterle, 1978, str. 106.

56 Sterle, 1978, str. 106.

57 Sterle, 1978, str. 106–107.

Verjetno je tu prišlo do tiskarske napake in je 1 lot = 2 dkg.

58 Sterle, 1978, str. 107.

59 Sterle, 1978, str. 107.

60 Sterle, 1978, str. 107.

6. Polstenje ali filcanje volne ali dlake

Plast tako obdelane volne ali dlake so prepognili na pol. Med zgornjo in spodnjo polovico so dali klot (t-j. gladka enobarvna bombažna tkanina za podloge, delovne halje, prešite odeje), da se volna ali dlaka pri polstenju ali *filc-anju* ne bi sprijela.

Klot so med plasti volne ali dlake polagali toliko časa, da so naenkrat lahko polstili za šest klobukov, šest parov copat ali tri pare škornjev. Vse to so potem zavili v juto ali *filctuh* in pritrdili z žebli ter položili na vročo železno ploščo, t. i. *filcplato* in začeli polstiti. Segreto volno ali dlako so 15 do 30 minut tlačili z rokami in jo medtem večkrat *pošpricali* z vodo, da se je med seboj lepo sprijela.⁶¹ Tako je nastala polst ali filc. To delo je bilo zelo naporno.

Tako nastal filc so klobučarji še šlesali, to pomeni še enkrat oblikovali s prosto roko v tulce za klobuke, copate ali škornje, nakar so jih še enkrat *filcali*.⁶²

7. Valjanje tulcev, copat ali škornjev

Za valjanje polizdelkov so uporabljali bakreni kotel z lesenim podaljškom, *valkest-loml*, na katerem so valjali. Polizdelke iz filca so klobučarji najprej za en dan namočili v vodo z žvepleno kislino. Pred začetkom dela pa so polizdelke za deset minut namočili v kotel z zelo toplo vodo, da je polst postala bolj prožna. Nato so jih zavili v vrečo, da se med seboj niso sprijeli in jih začeli na *valkestlu* valjati, najprej z rokami, nato pa še s posebno palico, *rorštokom*, ki so ga dali med *filc*. Temu so rekli *eklanje*. Med valjanjem so polizdelke večkrat pomočili v kotel z vročo vodo. Valjanje je bilo zelo težko delo, žveplena kislina pa je mnogim klobučarjem poškodovala vonj. Polizdelek za copato iz volne so valjali 30 minut, za škorenj 60, za tulec za klobuk pa 50 do 60 minut.⁶³

Polizdelek, iz katerega so izdelali klobuk, se je imenoval tulec. Že pred drugo svetovno vojno in po njej jih klobučarji niso več izdelovali sami, temveč so jih kupovali v Šeširju, pri mojstru Pavletu Jamniku pa so tulce hodili kupovat v Zagreb in Galdovo pri Sisku.⁶⁴

8. Barvanje

Valjanju je sledilo barvanje. Sprva so klobučarji barvali samo volno ali dlako, po 1. svetovni vojni pa že spolstene polizdelke. Barvali so jih v kotlu in zraven vse skupaj mešali z leseno palico. Klobučar je klobučar lahko naenkrat pobarval 20 tulcev za klobuke ali 4 pare škornjev ali 8 parov copat. Tulce za klobuke so obarvali predvsem sivo, pa tudi črno, rjavo, temnomodro in zeleno. Copati in škornji so bili vedno črne barve.⁶⁵



Med plasti volne ali dlake je klobučar dal klot, da se ti pri polstenju ne bi sprijeli (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).



Polstenje ali »filcanje« volne ali dlake na vroči železni plošči (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).



Valjanje polizdelka iz polsti na »valkestlu« (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).



Oblikovanje tulca za klobuk na modelu, pritrjenem na leseni plošči, »zotlu«. Okrog oglavja je klobučar zavezal vrvico, »formpantel«, s posebnim nožičkom iz medenine, »trabajznom«, pa je naredil rob med oglavjem in okrajem (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).



Sušilnica za klobuke, »trokenštiblc« (na levi), pri klobučarju Jerneju Tavčarju, Cankarjev trg 11, Škofja Loka (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).



Likanje okraja na »zotlu«, leseni okrogli plošči (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).

9. Oblikovanje s pomočjo modelov

Preden so pobarvane tulce za klobuke, copate ali škornje nataknil na lesene modele oz. kopita, so jih še apretirali. To pomeni, da so jih na notranji strani utrdili ali *poštrafali* s štirko, šelakom ali mizarskim klejem. Potem so jih za 5 do 10 minut naložili v kotel s paro, da so se segreli, zaradi česar je postala polst bolj raztegljiva. Tako obdelane tulce za klobuke so nato nataknil na modele za oglavja, ki so bili na vrhu ravni, koničasti ali okrogli. Narejeni so bili iz lipovega lesa. Pri tem so oglavja klobukov dobila svojo dokončno obliko. Copate in škornje so oblikovali na kopitih.⁶⁶

Ker so klobučarji pri svojem delu morali slediti modnim trendom, so lesene modele za klobuke kupovali na Dunaju, kasneje so jih izdelovali doma.⁶⁷ Med svetovnima vojnoma jih je za klobučarje in tovarno klobukov Šešir izdeloval Andrej Fojkar, p. d. Alč.⁶⁸

10. Sušenje

Oblikovanju filca na modelu in kopitu je sledilo sušenje. Klobuke so sušili na policah v posebni sušilnici, imenovani *trokenštiblc*, copate in škornje pa kar ob ognjišču.⁶⁹

11. Raztegovanje okrajev

Posušeni klobukom so okraje raztegnili tako, da so jih čez mokro krpo polikali z vročim železnim likalnikom.⁷⁰

- 61 Sterle, 1978, str. 107.
- 62 Sterle, 1978, str. 108.
- 63 Sterle, 1978, str. 108.
- 64 Sterle, 1978, str. 110.
- 65 Sterle, 1978, str. 108.
- 66 Sterle, 1978, str. 108.
- 67 Gorišek, 1958, str. 177.
- 68 Sterle, 1978, str. 108.
- 69 Sterle, 1978, str. 109.
- 70 Sterle, 1978, str. 109.

12. Ravnanje okrajev

Po raztegovanju so okraje klobukov *popeglali* z lesenim likalnikom na okrogli leseni plošči ali *zotlu*, da so se lepo poravnali.⁷¹

13. Rezanje okrajev klobuka

Na koncu so okraje klobukov obrezali z nožem s posebno obrezovalno deščico ali šnajdbretlom.⁷²

14. Dodelava klobuka

Izdelanim klobukom je bilo treba na koncu dati še lesk. Zato so jih najprej zdrgnili s finim steklenim papirjem, kosmate klobuke pa so oribali, da so postali gladki.

Klobuk so nato spet posadili na model, ki je bil nataknen na posebnem stojalu, imenovanem *viš mašina*. Klobučarji so z desnico vrteli ročaj strojčka, z levo roko pa so obdelali vrteči se klobuk, najprej z vlažno krpo, nato s krtačo in končno še s suho krpo.⁷³

15. Šivanje

Na klobuke so šivilje ali žene klobučarjev prišile še podlogo, usnjen trak in okrasne trakove okoli oglavja, včasih tudi okoli krajev klobuka.

Copati so bili različnih izvedb. Lahko so bili nizki ali visoki do gležnjev. Nekateri so bili podloženi s tanko volneno podlogo, lahko so bili obšiti s plišem. Čevljarji so jih obšili z usnjem in pritrdili usnjene podplate.⁷⁴

16. Dokončno oblikovanje

Po šivanju so klobuk posadili še na *rastel*, to je model za oblikovanje okrajev, in s tem je dobil klobuk svojo dokončno obliko.

Klobučar je na dan brez šivanja naredil po 6 volnenih ali 3 velurne klobuke ali 6 parov copat ali 3 pare škornjev in samo 1 par *iberšuhov*, to je škornjev, ki so segali do vrha stegen.⁷⁵ Nekateri klobučarji so izdelali copat in škornjev kot klobukov, zato so jim rekli copatarji.⁷⁶

Prodaja klobučarskih izdelkov

Loški klobučarji so svoje izdelke delali po naročilu in na zalogo. Prodajali so jih na sejmiših v Idriji, na Jesenicah, v Tolminu, Kranju, Selcah in v Ljubljani. V Ljubljani so jih prodajali tudi v trgovine, npr. v trgovino Josip Pock na Starem trgu.⁷⁷ Klobučarski mojster Pavel Jamnik je svoje klobuke pošiljal trgovcem na Ptuj in v Ormož,⁷⁸ poleg tega jih je prodajal na sejmiših v Gorenji vasi, v Polhovem Gradcu ter na Jesenicah.⁷⁹ Jernej Tavčar pa je ponudbo klobukov v svoji trgovini med letoma 1920 in 1923, dopolnjeval še z izdelki klobučarjev J. Bogataja iz Radovljice ter G. Čadeža in F. Bernika iz Ljubljane.⁸⁰



Likanje z lesenim likalnikom, »flokzeczajem« (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).



Rezanje okrajev klobuka z nožem in obrezovalno deščico, ki je določala širino okraja (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).



Dodelava klobuka na »viš mašini« (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).



Reklamni izvesek, ki je visel pred delavnico klobučarskega mojstra Janeza (Ivana) Debeljaka (1859–1926), po domače pri Stalanik, Mesto 52, danes Spodnji trg 33, Škofja Loka (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).

Priporoča se industrija klobukov, klobučevinastih copat vseh vrst
PAVLA JAMNIKA
 v ŠKOFJI LOKI, Spodnji trg št. 18.
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Pozor!

Vijudno naznanjam, da dobite pri meni, Sv. Jakoba trg št. 3 pri farni cerkvi v Škofji Loki vsakovrstne trpežne volnene velour (žamet) klobuke iz fine, gladke, lahke zajčevine.

Izdelujem vsakovrstni filc za stroje, copate in razno drugo blago iz klobučevine.

Sprejemam stare klobuke v popravilo.

Za cenjeni obisk se priporoča

Jernej Tavčar

klobučar — ŠKOFJA LOKA

Ilustracija: D. Knez

Reklami klobučarja Pavla Jamnika in Jerneja Tavčarja (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).

Copate so loški klobučarji prodajali tudi drugim klobučarjem po Sloveniji. Tako je npr. mojster Jernej Tavčar prodal veliko svojih copat klobučarjem na Ptuj, v Mariboru in v Podčetrtku. Mnogo so jih pokupili tudi Ločani sami. Obšite škornje so rade kupovale branjevke, mesarji, ženske so jih rade obule za v cerkev. Škornje, ki so segali do vrha stegen, imenovane *iberšuhe* ali *halinger*, so kupovali furmani in kasneje vozniki tramvajev. Obuvali so se jih kar čez čevlje.⁸¹ 200-letna tradicija klobučarske obrti v Škofji Loki se je zaključila s smrtjo zadnjega klobučarskega mojstra Jerneja Tavčarja (1882–1967). A v Škofji Loki klobukov tedaj še niso nehali izdelovati. Leta 1921 je bila v prostorih Krennerjeve tovarne suknja ustanovljena tovarna klobukov Šešir, ki je na industrijski način izdelovala klobuke iz polsti.

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- 71 Sterle, 1978, str. 109.
 72 Sterle, 1978, str. 109.
 73 Sterle, 1978, str. 109, 110.
 74 Sterle, 1978, str. 110.
 75 Sterle, 1978, str. 107.
 76 Sterle, 1978, str. 110.
 77 Gorišek, 1958, str. 177.
 78 Sterle, 1978, str. 110.
 79 Sterle, 1978, str. 112.
 80 Sterle, 1978, str. 110.
 81 Sterle, 1978, str. 110, 111.

Priloga:

Klobučarske delavnice in njihovi nosilci.

Mesto 16, p. d. Berlc ***Danes Mestni trg 24***

Lovrenc Hafner (1813–1860), klobučarski mojster, je leta 1851 prodal svojo hišo in delavnico v Karlovcu 22 in kupil hišo v Mestu 16, kamor se je preselil z družino. Pri delu sta mu pomagala sinova, klobučarska vajenca, *Matevž* (1845/46–?) in *Lovrenc ml.* (1848–?), ki je bil leta 1886 že mojster. Po očetovi smrti je delavnico vodil *Lovrenc ml.*, pri tem sta mu pomagala brat *Matevž* in še en pomočnik. Hiša je leta 1882 dobila novega lastnika, *Lovrenc ml.* je nekaj časa služil kot klobučarski pomočnik pri klobučarju *Tomažu Tavčarju*, nato se je preselil v Ljubljano.⁸²

Mesto 21, p. d. Kašman ***Danes Mestni trg 18***

Klobučarska delavnica.

Klobučarski mojster *Valentin Burgard* (1833–1901), sin klobučarja *Lovrenca Burgarda* iz Mesta 133, je po poroki 1865 v Mestu 21 stanoval kot gostač, kjer je imel v najemu delavnico. Občasno so mu pri delu pomagali vajenci iz Šiške, Stare Loke in Železnikov. Umrli je kot mestni ubožec.⁸³

Mesto 42, p. d. Piškovc ***Danes Cankarjev trg 11***

Delavnica je bila v pritličju hiše, še ena pa na dvorišču.

Jernej Tavčar (1882–1967), klobučarski mojster, se je obrti izučil pri svojem očetu *Tomažu Tavčarju*, Mesto 76. Od 1899 do 1920 je kot pomočnik delal pri svojem očetu, od 1920 do svoje smrti pa v svoji delavnici na Cankarjevem trgu 11.

Za pomočnika je bil pri njem brat *Franc Tavčar*, ki je v pritličju hiše izdeloval copate in škornje iz polsti, v delavnici na dvorišču pa je delal *Jernej Tavčar*. Prodajalno so imeli v pritličju hiše.⁸⁴



Klobučarski mojster Jernej Tavčar (1882–1967), po domače pri Piškovc, Mesto 42, danes Cankarjev trg 11, Škofja Loka (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).



Klobučarski mojster Janez (Ivan) Debeljak (1859–1926), po domače pri Stalanik, Mesto 52, danes Spodnji trg 33, Škofja Loka (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).

⁸² Sterle, 1978, str. 99.

⁸³ Sterle, 1978, str. 100.

⁸⁴ Sterle, 1978, str. 101.

Mesto 45, p. d. pri Klobčarju
danes Cankarjev trg 8, p. d. pri Kržajuc

Klobučarska delavnica, verjetno najstarejša

Jernej Eksler (Oechsler, Öksler) (roj. med leti 1700/10), klobučarski mojster, se omenja leta 1752 kot lastnik hiše in klobučarske delavnice v Mestu 45. Te obrti je izučil tudi sinova *Jurija*, mojstra klobučarske obrti, in *Janeza* (1747–1803). Obrt sta nadaljevala sinova Janeza Ekslerja *Franc* (1771–1844) in *Janez ml.* (1780–?), ki je nekaj časa delal doma, od leta 1805 pa se omenja kot klobučar v Kamniku.

Franc Eksler (1771–1844) je hišo in delavnico leta 1815 prodal klobučarskemu pomočniku, kasneje mojstru *Jakobu Grudnu* (1777–1848), ki je prišel v Loko s Tolminskega. Franc si je izgovoril dosmrtno pravico do dela v klobučarski delavnici kot preužitkar. Hčerka Jakoba Grudna, Ana, se je poročila z *Blažem Vavpetičem** (1828–?), klobučarskim mojstrom iz Homca pri Kamniku. Pri delu mu je pomagal brat *Janez Vavpetič* (1842–1860), klobučarski pomočnik. Ob smrti tasta Jakoba Grudna leta 1848 mu je bila izročena hiša z delavnico. Kasneje se je Blaž Vavpotič še trikrat poročil. Klobučarske obrti se je oprijel njegov sin *Janez Vavpetič* (1856–1888). Po tragični smrti sina Janeza se je Blaž Vavpetič z družino preselil iz Škofje Loke na Hrvaško.

*Verjetno je prišel v Loko s svojim stricem Janezom Vavpotičem (1802–1860), ki se je priženil v Mesto 79.⁸⁵

Mesto 49,
Danes Spodnji trg 36

Klobučarska delavnica je bila v prvem nadstropju hiše, ker je bila v pritličju usnjarska delavnica.

V hiši je bila usnjarska in klobučarska obrt. Sinovi usnarja Lovra Dermote, *Janez* (1839–1890) in *Anton* (1841–?) sta se izučila za klobučarska mojstra, tretji sin *Franc* (1853–1940) pa za klobučarja in usnarja. Janez Dermota je do svoje smrti vodil klobučarsko delavnico. Kot klobučarska vajenca sta v njej delala sinova *Janez ml.* (roj. 1876) in *Anton* (roj. 1878). Po smrti očeta sta se preusmerila v usnjarstvo, ki ga je vodil njun ded Lovro Dermota.

Njun stric, klobučarski mojster *Anton Dermota* (1841–?), je po smrti brata Janeza vodil delavnico do leta 1893. Pri delu mu je pomagal brat *Franc* (1853–1940), klobučar in usnjar, in vajenec *Ignac Demšar* iz Železnikov ter *Anton Bajt*, klobučar iz Šenčurja, ki se je kasneje odselil v Ljubljano.⁸⁶

Mesto 50, p. d. Stanonik
Danes Sodni trg 35

Klobučarska delavnica.

V Mestu 50 je imel klobučarsko delavnico klobučarski mojster *Jurij Debeljak* (1827–1884). Med letoma 1853 in 1873 je bil lastnik hiše, potem pa je hiša dobila novega lastnika. Jurij je še nekaj časa s svojo družino v njej živel – gostoval (gostač). Po selitvi v Mesto 54 je kot gostač opravljal klobučarsko obrt vse do svoje smrti. Pri delu mu je pomagal klobučarski vajenec, kasneje pomočnik *Janez Raigelj*. Klobučarske obrti je izučil tudi sina *Janeza (Ivana)* (1859–1926), ki mu je pri delu leta 1887 pomagal klobučarski vajenec *Aleš Oblak* iz Poljan.⁸⁷ Janez, Ivan Debeljak je leta 1888 kupil hišo in delavnico v Mestu 52.

Mesto 52, p. d. Stalanik
Danes Spodnji trg 33

Klobučarska delavnica je bila sprva v pritličju, leta 1892 pa je postavil zidano na vrtu.

Janez (Ivan) Debeljak (1859–1926), klobučarski mojster, se je obrti izučil pri očetu Juriju Debeljaku, Mesto 50. Hišo v Mestu 52, v kateri si je uredil tudi delavnico, je odkupil leta 1888.

Ob popisu leta 1890 je Janez Debeljak imel pomočnika in vajenca. Ker ni imel otrok, je z njegovo smrtjo obrt prenehala.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Sterle, 1978, str. 97.

⁸⁶ Sterle, 1978, str. 100.

⁸⁷ Sterle, 1978, str. 99, 100.

⁸⁸ Sterle, 1978, str. 101.

Mesto 53, p. d. Stricman
Danes Spodnji trg 32

Klobučarska delavnica je bila v pritličju.

Krznarjev sin *Andrej Jamnik* (1852–1927) je leta 1872 postal lastnik hiše, izpit za klobučarskega mojstra pa je opravičil leta 1881. Pri očetu Andreju so se izučili trije sinovi: *Franc* (1852–1927), ki je po letu 1908 šel v Ameriko, *Pavel* (1890–1944), klobučarski mojster, ki je delavnico vodil do svoje smrti, in *Albin* (1899–?), ki je kot klobučar delal do okoli leta 1924.⁸⁹

Poleg sinov je klobučarski mojster Andrej Jamnik izučil še veliko mladih klobučarjev.

Mesto 76, p. d. Piškovc (Železnikar)
Danes Spodnji trg 8

Klobučarska delavnica.

Tomaž Tavčar, sin kajžarja s Suhe (1845–1915) je leta 1881 postal klobučarski mojster. Hišo v Mestu 76 mu je leta 1879 izročila lastnica Urša König. Tomaž je k delu pritegnil tudi svoja sinova *Franca* (1889–1944) in *Jerneja* (1882–1967). Po smrti Tomaža Tavčarja je do leta 1920 obrt vodil sin Jernej, po tem letu se je preselil v Mesto 42.⁹⁰



Klobučarski mojster Jamnik Andrej (1852–1927), po domače pri Stricman, Mesto 53, danes Spodnji trg 32, Škofja Loka (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).

Mesto 79, p. d. pri Klobčarju na Lontrku
Danes Spodnji trg 5

Klobučarska delavnica je bila na dvorišču hiše, verjetno druga najstarejša.

Klobučarski mojster *Janez Eksler* (1747–1803), rojen v Mestu 45, je med letoma 1778 in 1780 kupil še hišo v Mestu 79. Tako je bil lastnik dveh hiš, v Mestu 45 in Mestu 79. Vse do svoje smrti je vodil tudi obe delavnici. Po njegovi smrti je posle in vodstvo obeh delavnic prevzela njegova žena *Terezija Eksler* (1748–1840), klobučarska mojstrica.



Matija Štupica, rojen leta 1913 v Ribnici, je pri mojstru Pavletu Jamniku na Spodnjem trgu 32 delal kot klobučarski pomočnik (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).

⁸⁹ Sterle, 1978, str. 101.

⁹⁰ Sterle, 1978, str. 100.

Imela sta hčerko Marijo, ki se je pri 43 letih poročila s takrat 26-letnim klobučarskim pomočnikom *Janezom Vavpetičem* (1802–1860), kasneje klobučarskim mojstrom, ki je v Loko prišel iz Homca pri Kamniku. Kmalu po poroki (1828) je postal tudi lastnik hiše. Po smrti prve žene Marije se je poročil še dvakrat. Noben od njegovih otrok se ni izučil za klobučarja. Po Janezovi smrti je delavnico do leta 1880 vodila tretja žena, klobučarska mojstrica *Uršula Vavpetič, roj. Hartman* (?–1890) iz Suhe pri Škofji Loki. Pri tem sta ji pomagala *Janez Blaznik*, klobučarski pomočnik, in *Gregorij Škrinjar*, vajenec iz Sežane.⁹¹

Mesto 113, p. d. Kordeš (Thaler)
Danes Mestni trg 41

Klobučarska delavnica je bila v pritličju hiše.

Klobučarski mojster *Lovrenc Burgard* (Burghardt) (1785–1869) se je leta 1820 poročil s hčerko klobučarskega mojstra *Matije Fistra*, ki je bila tudi lastnica hiše. Klobučarske obrti je izučil oba sinova, *Valentina* (1833–1901) in *Karla Burgarda* (1829–1875) ter *Lovra Ambrožiča* (1815–?), sina žene iz prvega zakona. Vsi trije so delali pri njem kot klobučarski pomočniki.

Klobučarsko delavnico sta do leta 1872 vodila Karel in Lovro, Valentin pa je imel svojo delavnico pri Kašman (Mesto 21, danes Mestni trg 18).⁹²

Kapucinsko predmestje 14, p. d. pri Jakobu,
(pri Tonetu)

Klobučarska delavnica.

Leta 1861 je klobučarski mojster *Gregor Dolenc* (1824–?) iz Delnic pri Poljanah kupil hišo v Kapucinskem predmestju 14.

Pri delu v delavnici so mu pomagali klobučarski pomočniki: *Jožef Meisel* iz Kočevja, *Matevž Žust* iz Hotavlj v Poljanski dolini in *Mihael Brodnig* iz Trsta.⁹³

Karlovec 22, p. d. Berlc (Klanfar)
Danes Kopališka 21

Klobučarska delavnica je bila v pritličju hiše.

Štefan Hafner (1788–1850), klobučarski mojster, je po bratovi smrti leta 1808 postal lastnik hiše. Obrti je izučil sina *Lovrenca* (1813–1860), ki se je leto po očetovi smrti z družino preselil v Mesto 16, kjer je nadaljeval z obrtjo.⁹⁴

91 Sterle, 1978, str. 98.

92 Sterle, 1978, str. 98, 99.

93 Sterle, 1978, str. 100.

94 Sterle, 1978, str. 99.

Biljana Ristić

*»Kdor hoče biti lep kavalir,
naj nosi klobuk znamke Šešir«*

Slovenske dežele od druge polovice 19. stoletja do 20. let 20. stoletja

Do leta 1918 so bile slovenske dežele sestavni del avstro-ogrske monarhije. Kranjska je obsegala področje današnje Gorenjske, Dolenjske, Bele krajine, Notranjske, Idrije in Vipave. Dežela je bila razdeljena na 11 okrajnih glavarstev z Ljubljano, ki je bila deželno stolno mesto. Ob popisu prebivalstva leta 1910 je na Kranjskem živelo 525.925 oseb, od katerih se jih je 93 % izklo za Slovence.¹ V drugi polovici 19. stoletja in v začetku 20. stoletja je bila Kranjska še pretežno agrarna dežela. Večina prebivalstva se je preživljala s poljedelstvom, živinorejo, vinogradništvom, gozdarstvom in drugimi agrarnimi panogami. Večji del 19. stoletja so bile slovenske dežele na obrobju gospodarskega napredka habsburške monarhije. Vzpostavitev prometne² in informacijske infrastrukture, bančniškega in zavarovalniškega sistema, akumulacija zasebne lastnine proizvodnih sredstev ter uvajanje tovarniškega načina proizvodnje so v drugi polovici 19. stoletja na Slovenskem omogočili razmah industrije (tekstilna industrija, rudarstvo, železarstvo, kovinska in lesna industrija, živilska industrija in industrija gradbenega materiala).

Škofja Loka je bila v začetku 20. stoletja na Kranjskem srednje veliko mesto. Ob popisu prebivalstva leta 1910 je štela 2211 prebivalcev. Imela je sedež mestne občine, okrajnega sodišča, davčnega urada, upravno pa je spadala pod okrajno glavarstvo Kranj. V mestu so prevladovali družine trgovcev in obrtnikov, medtem ko so se v okolici in na podeželju ukvarjali z živinorejo in poljedelstvom.³ Obrti, ki so se od srednjega veka dalje stoletja dolgo razvijale v mestu in okolici, so sprva zadoščale lokalnim potrebam. Po podržavljenju freisinškega gospostva leta 1803 je gospodarska moč Škofje Loke začela upadati.⁴ Zaradi močne obrtne dejavnosti industrija na Loškem ni mogla zaživeti. Začetkom prave industrijske proizvodnje na Loškem lahko sledimo od konca 19. stoletja dalje. K temu je pripomogla železniška proga, ki je bila leta 1870⁵ speljana skozi Trato mimo Škofje Loke. Leta 1872 pa Loka dobi še telegrafsko povezavo, ki je bila kmalu zatem speljana tudi v Selško in Poljansko dolino.⁶

Prvi industrijski obrat v Škofji Loki je odprla družina Krenner, ki se na Loškem omenja od zadnje četrtine 18. stoletja. Jožef Krenner (1756–1814),⁷ poročen z Ano Marijo, je bil irhar in posestnik. Zgodnja podjetnost Jožefa Krennerja se je kazala z nakupovanji nepremičnin in posojanjem večjih vsot denarja. Franc Krenner (1797–1879), ki je bil eden izmed številnih otrok v zakonu Jožefa in

Ane Marije, je sledil očetovemu poslanstvu in nadaljeval z irharstvom. Konec 20. ali v začetku 30. let 19. stoletja je Franc Krenner ob Selški Sori odprl manjši tekstilni obrat, kjer je s pomočjo petih delavk za domači in tuji trg proizvajal odeje iz hrvaške volne. Podjetnost je Franc prenesel tudi na sina Alojza (1841–1895), ki je tekstilni obrat leta 1871 preoblikoval v prvo tovarno v Škofji Loki z imenom Alois Krenner Kotzenfabrik.⁸ Po dveh letih se mu je kot družabnik pridružil Henrik Wanek.⁹



Škofja Loka s Hribca, 19. stoletje, neznani avtor (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).

1 Šega, 2014, str. 7.

2 Južna železnica je bila zgrajena leta 1857. Povezovala je Dunaj, Maribor, Celje, Ljubljano, Sežano in Trst.

3 Šega, 2014, str. 11.

4 Logar, 1955, str. 87.

5 Planina, 1976, str. 17.

6 Štukl, 1988, str. 183.

7 Za več glej: Šega, 2000, str. 45–68.

8 Šega, 2001, str. 52.

9 Wanek leta 1874 umre in Alojz je odtlej sam vodil tovarno.

V tovarni so poleg odej izdelovali različne vrste blaga: letno in zimsko, damsko blago, flanelo, velur, loden, ševiot, blago za redovniške obleke itd. Z leti je tovarna postajala vedno bolj uspešna. Blago so izvažali od Galicije in Transilvanije, do Vorarlberga, Češke, Moravske in Šlezije. Krennerjevo blago so kupovali tako loški (Marija Juvan, Janez Nepomuk Koceli) kot ljubljanski trgovci (Franc Ksaver Souvan, Emerik Mayer), še posebej na veliko pa so ga kupovali veliki dunajski trgovci. S širokim trgom in kvaliteto proizvodnje je tovarna postala ena od vodilnih na Kranjskem. Temu primerno se je povečevalo tudi število zaposlenih; od prvotnih 18 do okoli 100 delavcev in delavk sredi 90. let 19. stoletja.

Alojza Krennerja je poleg vodenja tovarne gnalo tudi zanimanje za svetovne tehnološke dosežke in novosti, ki jih je implementiral v svojo proizvodnjo. Leta 1889 je dal v tovarno vgraditi vertikalno Girardijevo turbino, ki je s pomočjo izkoriščanja Selške Sore poganjala stroje. Leta 1894 je dal postaviti generator za istosmerni tok in tovarna je začela proizvajati tudi električno energijo. S presežki električne energije je Krennerjeva elektrarna napajala loško mestno razsvetlavo. Tako je Škofja Loka postala prvo mesto na Kranjskem z električno javno razsvetlavo.¹⁰

Uspešno poslovanje in vodenje tovarne je 28. marca leta 1895 prekinila smrt Alojza Krennerja. Po njegovi smrti je tovarno vodila vdova Ema, leta 1899 pa je vodstvo tovarne prevzel Alojz Krenner ml. (1873–1939), medtem ko je brat Viktor (1887–?)¹¹ vodil elektrarno. Alojzu ml. vodenje ni šlo najbolje, pa tudi gospodarske razmere v začetku 20. stoletja niso bile ravno naklonjene suknarstvu. Po drugi strani je povpraševanje po električni energiji nenehno naraščalo.¹² Alojz ml. je leta 1913 opustil izdelovanje sukna in se preusmeril v čiščenje vojaških odej in mikanje volne za klobuke. Med prvo svetovno vojno je tovarna popolnoma prenehala z obratovanjem, saj je bila v njenih poslopih nameščena bolnišnica za vojake. Po vojni je leta 1919 Alojz ml. tovarno prodal bratu Viktorju, ta pa leta 1921 Jakobu Dermoti. Viktor je obdržal le tiste prostore, stroje in naprave, ki so bili potrebni za delovanje elektrarne.¹³

Začetni razvoj industrije na Slovenskem je prekinila prva svetovna vojna. Oblasti so posegle v gospodarstvo in ga prilagajale vojnim razmeram. Industrijski obrati so se začeli preusmerjati v izdelavo blaga za potrebe vojske. Zaradi vojne je primanjkovalo surovin, reprodukcijskega materiala, delovne sile, strokovnega osebja, povečale so se davčne obremenitve itd. Mnoge tovarne so svoje delovanje v času vojne ustavile. Na Kranjskem je 10 odstotkov tovarn zaprlo svoja vrata, med temi je bilo precej tekstilnih.¹⁴

Konec prve svetovne vojne leta 1918 je Slovincem prinesel popolnoma nov državni okvir. Po propadu avstro-ogrske monarhije je bila 29. oktobra 1918 ustanovljena Država Slo-



Poslopje Krennerjevega tovarniškega obrata na Spodnjem trgu, začetek 20. stoletja (fototeka Loškega muzeja Škofja Loka).

vencev, Hrvatov in Srbov. Slednja je obstajala do 1. decembra 1918, nato se je združila s kraljevino Srbijo v Kraljevino Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev (od leta 1929 imenovana Kraljevina Jugoslavija). V novi Kraljevini SHS, ki je imela 12 milijonov prebivalcev,¹⁵ je slovensko ozemlje postalo najbolj gospodarsko in tehnološko razvit del. Začeli so se odpirati novi trgi in iskati nove poti do surovinskih virov. V začetni odsotnosti konkurence je država podpirala pospešitev industrializacije. Eden od ukrepov nove države je bil zaščitni carinski sistem, ki je preprečeval vstop tujega, predvsem potrošnega blaga na jugoslovansko tržišče. K hitremu razvoju industrije med obema vojnoma je pripomoglo tudi dovolj domače delovne sile, vodna energija, prometna in industrijska infrastruktura, zadostna količina surovin in trg, željan industrijsko izdelanega potrošnega blaga.

Obdobje med obema vojnama

Dvajseta leta 20. stoletja so zaznamovali razmah industrije, napredek tehnoloških znanosti, nova odkritja na področju znanosti in globalno povezovanje sveta. Ta napredek je konec 20. let zavrnila velika gospodarska kriza, ki se je začela v Združenih državah Amerike z zlomom new yorške borze.¹⁶ Kriza, ki je zajela ves svet, je sprožila verižno reakcijo padanja cen proizvodov, zmanjševanja proizvodnje in naraščanja brezposelnosti. Države so se začele zapirati ter skušale iskati izhod s protekcionizmom. Iz leta v leto je usihala mednarodna trgovina, nekdanji trgovinski sporazumi so izgubljali veljavo, nadomeščati so jih začeli klirinški sporazumi,¹⁷ kapitalski tokovi pa so se skoraj popolnoma ustavili.¹⁸

Slovenijo je kriza najhuje prizadela med letoma 1932 in 1934.¹⁹ Čeprav je v Sloveniji pred veliko krizo že potekal razmah industrije, so bile naše dežele še vedno povečini agrarnega značaja. S postopnim padanjem cen kmetijskih pridelkov sta se kupna moč in plačilna sposobnost kmečkega prebivalstva zmanjšali. Kmetje – kot lastniki malih in srednjih kmetij – so se začeli vedno bolj zadolževati. Poleg kmetijstva je precej škoda ob veliki gospodarski krizi utrpela tudi redka industrija. Gospodarska aktivnost je začela strmo padati in s tem tudi domača proizvodnja. Države so se zadolževale, vedno težje je bilo pridobivati surovine, vsak peti delavec pa je bil odpuščen. Brezposelnost so poskušali reševati z javnimi deli, s podporami, ki so jih plačevale borze dela in z izrednimi podporami. Življenjski standard delavstva je bil zelo nizek, saj večina ni mogla pokrivati niti eksistenčnega minimuma. Osnovna živila so kupovali na kredit, blago za oblačila pa na obroke. Pomagati so si skušali tudi z občasnimi deli (moški s fizičnimi opravili, ženske z likanjem in pranjem, otroci pa z nabiranjem gozdnih sadežev). Razmere so se postopoma začele umirjati v letih 1935 in 1936, ko je sledila konjunktura gospodarstva.

Tovarna klobukov Šešir, d. d.

»Družba izdeluje klobuke, polfabrikante, izvršuje vsa dela, spadajoča v to stroko, ter prodaja klobuke in klobučarske izdelke. V to svrhu sme družba v vsej Kraljevini Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev ustanavljati tvornice in prodajalne, ki bi izdelovale oziroma razpečevale navedene predmete, kupovati že ustaljena podjetja te vrste ali pa se udeleževati pri njih.«²⁰ Tako se je glasila opredelitev namena in področja delovanja Tovarne klobukov Šešir d. d., v Škofji Loki, ki je bila registrirana 10. avgusta leta 1921.

Kolesje za ustanovitev tovarne klobukov v Škofji Loki se je začelo obračati že leto prej, ko je ing. Viktor Turnšek prepoznal novonastale razmere v prvi Jugoslaviji (nova tr-



Pranje tulcev pred poslopjem, 1927–1935 (foto: Avgust Blaznik, fototeka Loškega muzeja Škofja Loka).

žišča, veliko povpraševanje po industrijskih izdelkih) kot zelo ugodne za ustanovitev nove tovarne klobukov. Ob tem je bilo na razpolago tudi dovolj surovinske baze in delovne sile. K ideji je pritegnil krog industrialcev,²¹ ki so ustanovili novo tovarno v obliki delniške družbe. Šešir je začel leta 1921 delovati v posloplju nekdanje Krennerjeve tovarne na Spodnjem trgu. V 20. letih 20. stoletja je Šešir poskušal optimizirati proizvodnjo in se plasirati na domačem in na tujih tržiščih.

10 Za več o elektrifikaciji Škofje Loke glej: Gašperšič idr., 1994, str. 72–74; Gajić, 2012, str. 33–50.

11 Viri ga zadnjič omenjajo leta 1953.

12 Po letu 1910 brata Krenner predmet poslovanja tudi uradno razširita na proizvodnjo in oddajo električne energije.

13 Leta 1919 je bila ustanovljena Elektrarna Škofja Loka in okolica, družba z. o. z., katere največji družabnik je bil Viktor Krenner. Zaradi vedno več odjemalcev električne energije je bila zgrajena nova elektrarna v »Skalah« na Selški Sori. Viktor je ostal predsednik elektrarne do leta 1931.

14 Lorenčič idr., 2018, str. 18.

15 Počivavšek, 2012, str. 85.

16 T. i. črni petek se je zgodil 25. oktobra leta 1929, ko je vrednost delnic drastično padla.

17 Kliring, ang. clearing; medsebojno pobotanje terjatev in dolgov v mednarodnem plačilnem prometu s posredovanjem obračunskega mesta; klirinški sporazum je meddržavni obračunski sporazum; razlikovati je treba enostranski, dvostranski in večstranski kliring (Turk, 2020).

18 Lazarević, 2003, str. 40.

19 Vrišer, 1990, str. 135.

20 Valič, 1959, str. 167.

21 Poleg Turnška še: Franc Cerar (tovarnar iz Stoba pri Domžalah), Hanuš Krofta (ravnatelj Ljubljanske kreditne banke), dr. Ivan Slokar (ravnatelj zadružne gospodarske banke), Leopold Dermota (tovarnar na Dunaju), Jakob Dermota (tovarnar iz Železnikov).

Največji problem pri zagonu podjetja je predstavljalo pomanjkanje strojev. Čeprav je nekaj naprav ostalo še od Krennerjeve zapuščine (vodna turbina, parni stroj, vodna kotla, itd.), pa sprva niso razpolagali s primernimi stroji za izdelavo klobukov. To so lastniki tovarne reševali tako, da so ob obnovi lastnih tovarn (v tujini), zastarele stroje pošiljali v Škofjo Loko. Leta 1921 je bila tovarna na tak način opremljena s pihalnim strojem, phalnimi stroji, polstirnimi ploščami, kladvičastimi valjki in drugimi napravami, ki so omogočale vsaj osnovno obratovanje tovarne. V letih 1933 in 1934 je vodstvo temeljito prenovilo strojni park. Z nakupom dodatnih strojev se je zmanjšalo ročno delo in proizvodnja se je vedno bolj mehanizirala.

Surovino za proizvodnjo klobukov je tovarna Šešir uvažala predvsem iz tujine, medtem ko je za izdelke iz velurja uporabljala dlako divjih zajcev z domačega trga. Tudi tulci za volnene klobuke so bili produkti domače, jugoslovanske proizvodnje (Galdovo pri Sisku, Zagreb itd.).²²

Velika gospodarska kriza ni prizanesla niti Šeširju. V začetku 30. let 20. stoletja se je razvoj tovarne upočasn timer, upadlo je število naročil, občutno so se znižale cene kož divjih zajcev in kuncev, tovarna ni prodala več toliko izdelkov kot pred krizo. Ko sta vodstvo tovarne prevzela ravnatelj Alojz Kmetič in tehnični vodja Franc Cerar,²³ se je stanje okoli leta 1932 nekoliko izboljšalo. Tovarna se je poskušala prilagoditi novim kriznim razmeram s proizvodanjem cenejših vrst klobukov in tulcev. Tako so počasi začeli prodajati več izdelkov in polizdelkov. Leta 1935, ko so se cene surovin ponovno občutno povišale, je bilo krize postopno konec. Pred drugo svetovno vojno je Šešir s svojimi izdelki pokrival ne le Jugoslavijo, temveč je izvažal tudi v Francijo in Anglijo, na Dansko ter v Egipt in Sirijo. Šešir je bil med redkimi podjetji v obdobju med obema svetovnima vojnama, ki je izvažal na tuji trg.²⁴ Sinonim za kakovost, dostopnost in prestiž pa so predstavljali moški klobuki Šeširjeve blagovne znamke Piccadilly.

Tovarna klobukov Šešir je imela sezonski značaj, kar pomeni, da je v jesenskih in zimskih mesecih proizvedla več kakor v pomladnih in poletnih. Temu primerno se je tudi število delavstva prilagajalo. Tovarna je v času med obema vojnama imela zaposlenih med 100 in 200 delavk in delavcev.²⁵

Tovarna klobukov „ŠEŠIR“ d. d. ŠKOFJA LOKA

Za dame in gospode:

Tulci za klobuke: iz zajčevine in volne.

Specialiteta: Soleil in novi baržunasti velour.

Za gospode:

Klobuki: Velour iz zajčevine in volne.

Specialiteta: Polcilindri, lahka zajčevina.



Zaščitna znamka.

Zadnje modne oblike, barve in finish.

EN GROS — EXPORT.

Na veliki industrijsko-obrtni razstavi v Škofji Loki leta 1936 je tovarna Šešir predstavila svoje najboljše izdelke. Ob razstavi je izšla knjižica Škofja Loka in njen okraj v luči gospodarskih in kulturnih prizadevanj, v kateri je Šešir objavil reklamo.



Pakiranje klobukov v Tovarni klobukov Šešir, pred drugo svetovno vojno (fototeka Loškega muzeja Škofja Loka).

**»Namesto grenkega pelina,
nalijmo danes si kozarec vina.«**

Sredino 30. let 20. stoletja je na Loškem zaznamovalo veliko stavkovno gibanje, ki je zajelo delavstvo tekstilnih in lesnih tovarn. Slabi delovni pogoji, neurejen delovni čas in predvsem slabe plače so bili povod, da se je delavstvo začelo upirati. Avstro-Ogrska je že v drugi polovici 19. stoletja skušala delavce zaščititi ter urediti delovne pogoje in razmere. Tako je bila že leta 1883 ustanovljena inšpekcija dela, ki naj bi ščitila delavce v podjetjih. Leta 1909 je bila ustanovljena Jugoslovanska strokovna zveza, kot zveza kršćanskosocialnih strokovnih organizacij. Z leti delovanja med tobačnim, papirniškim, kovinarskim in tekstilnim delavstvom je gibanje, sprva izrazito politično, začelo dobivati sindikalni značaj. Namen Jugoslovanske strokovne zveze je bil v prvi vrsti ohranitev delavskih pravic: *»Delavec ima pravico do kruha, do zdravja, do družine, do družabnega ugleda in do spopolnjevanja svoje duševnosti. To in nič drugega je program na zavest delavske strokovne organizacije Jugoslovanske strokovne zveze.«*²⁶

Za posredovanje dela in zaposlovanje je bila v letu 1918 ustanovljena Državna posredovalnica za delo (od leta 1927 imenovana Javna borza dela). Leta 1922 je bil ustanovljen Okrožni urad za zavarovanje delavcev, ki je izvajal socialno zavarovanje delavcev na podlagi zakona o zavarovanju delavcev.²⁷ Kljub vsem zakonom in ustanovam, ki naj bi delavce ščitile (8-urni delavnik, izplačevanje nadur, pravica delavstva do združevanja v strokovnih organizacijah),²⁸ je v podjetjih prihajalo do hudih kršitev in izkoriščanj.

Delovne razmere v Šeširju so bile v 20. in prvi polovici 30. let 20. stoletja zelo težke. Sezonski značaj delovanja tovarne je za delavce pomenil nestalnost zaposlitve, saj so v času mrtve sezone delavke in delavce odpuščali. Ko je bilo dela na vrhuncu sezone ogromno, so delavci delali tudi po 10 ali 12 ur dnevno. Nadur jim delodajalec ni izplačeval. Tudi delovni pogoji v tovarni so bili težki. Izdelovanje klobukov je zahtevalo delo z nekaterimi nevarnimi kemikalijami, še posebej v barvarni in v oddelku za tulce. Prostori niso imeli ventilacije, zaposleni pa so bili brez vsakršne zaščitne opreme.

Najbolj pereče vprašanje je predstavljala višina plače, ki je že ob polni zaposlitvi komaj pokrila eksistenčni minimum delavstva (mezde so se razlikovale od kraja do kraja, najbolje so bili plačani delavci v večjih industrijskih središčih, najslabše pa v podeželskih občinah). Poleg tega so delodajalci uvajali tudi redukcije delovnega časa, kar je za delavstvo pomenilo nižanje plač.²⁹

Leta 1933 je delodajalec vsem zaposlenim v Šeširju znižal mezde za 10 % z obrazložitvijo, da gre lahko tisti, ki ne želi delati za nižjo plačo, na cesto.³⁰ To je bil povod, da so se začeli delavci tovarne resneje povezovati. Na skrivaj so se sestali Tine Sever, Jakob Pintar, Janko Šink, Janez Martelak, Anton Fojkar, Polde Polenec, Anton Pirc, Franc

Logonder, Alojz Malovrh, Stane Konič, Miha Škrli in nekaj drugih, da bi organizirali odpor proti neupravičenemu nižanju plač. Ob tem so poslali prošnjo Delavski zbornici, da jim na sestanek vsega delavstva pošlje zastopnika. 8. avgusta 1933 se je vršil sestanek vseh delavcev tovarne Šešir, ki se ga je udeležil tudi zastopnik Jugoslovanske strokovne zveze Lombardo.³¹ Sestanka, ki je potekal v vrtni lopi gostilne Na Plevni, sta se udeležili dve tretjini delavcev Šeširja.³² Pred vhomom na vrt sta Franc Logonder in ena od mladink prihajajočim udeležencem pripela rdeč nagelj. Nad vhomom je bila tabla z napisom *»Namesto grenkega pelina, nalijmo danes si kozarec vina.«*³³ Na prvem sestanku jim je zastopnik Jugoslovanske strokovne zveze potrdil pravico, da od delodajalca zahtevajo višje plače. Poudaril je tudi, da se mora čim več delavk in delavcev priključiti tem zahtevam in pri tem enotno nastopiti. Navdani z upanjem so organizatorji v naslednjih dneh v boj za plače pritegnili tudi ostale delavce. Če so vsi ti koraki do sedaj potekali v strogi tajnosti, pa so poslej organizirani delavci začeli nastopati tudi bolj javno, še posebej v odnosu do delodajalca. Postopno so si priborili izplačevanje nadur, bolniškega tedna in vzpostavitev ustanove delavskih obratnih zaupnikov.

Pri zahtevah za zvišanje plač pa delodajalec ni hotel popustiti. Kljub neznatnim uspehom (zvišanje plače od 0,10 do 0,15 dinarja na uro) se je boj vlekel naprej. Naslednje leto (1934) so delavci vodstvu podjetja predložili sklenitev kolektivne pogodbe,³⁴ ki so bile pismen sporazum med delavsko strokovno organizacijo in delodajalcem. Določale so splošne delovne pogoje in dolžnosti delovnega razmerja ter medsebojne pravice in dolžnosti pogodbenih strank.³⁵ Delavci in vodstvo tovarne so po dolgih razpravah in pogajanjih sklenili kolektivno pogodbo. Kljub temu je nezadovoljstvo delavcev glede plače ostajalo. Leta 1935 so le-ti predlagali popravek pogodbe, s katero bi določili zvišanje plače. Kljub nekaj ostrim pozivom delodajalec ni pristal na dvig plač, zato so delavke in delavci 11. oktobra 1935 začeli stavkati.

22 Valič, 1959, str. 174.

23 Lorenčič idr., 2018, str. 311–312.

24 Lorenčič idr., 2018, str. 313.

25 Tušek, 1990, str. 13.

26 Komlanec, 1921, str. 12.

27 Kresal, 1970, str. 81–82.

28 Logonder, 1995, str. 150.

29 Kresal, 1970, str. 98.

30 Fojkar, 1959, str. 13.

31 Logonder, 1995, str. 149.

32 Leta 1933 je bilo zaposlenih okoli 100 delavk in delavcev v tovarni.

33 Logonder, 1995, str. 149–150.

34 Na Slovenskem je bilo sklepanje kolektivnih pogodb pred prvo svetovno vojno urejeno z avstrijskim zakonom iz leta 1907, v času prve Jugoslavije pa je kolektivne pogodbe urejal Zakon o zaščiti delavcev z dne 28. februarja 1922.

35 Kresal, 1997, str. 82.

Stavke so se udeležili vsi delavci, zaradi česar je proizvodnja obstala. Že prvi dan stavke je bil organiziran stavkovni odbor. Delavstvo je zastražilo vse vhode v stavbo tovarne. Prvih 14 dni stavkajoči niso imeli nobenih stikov z delodajalci. Zaradi dolgotrajnosti stavke je odbor organiziral nabiralno akcijo – predvsem hrane za stavkajoče. Okoliški kmetje in nekaj obrtnikov se je odzvalo in darovalo hrano za delavce. Po dveh tednih so vodje stavke poskušali obnoviti pogajanja z lastniki, vendar neuspešno. Ponovno so poskusili v začetku novembra, ko so delavci zopet postavili svoje zahteve. Prva od teh je bila, da stavkajoči (po koncu stavke) ne bodo utrpeli kakršnih koli posledic. Druga točka je zahtevala, naj se predlog delavstva za kategorizacijo sprejme kot osnova. Tretja zahteva pa je bila zvišanje plače, ne le za 0,10 dinarja, temveč za 0,25 dinarja. Naposled je bil med delavci in delodajalci sklenjen konsenz – prvi dve točki sta bili s strani delodajalcev sprejeti, tretja točka, ki je zahtevala zvišanje plač, pa ne. Kljub temu je delavstvo 11. novembra 1935 prenehalo stavkati in proizvodnja je stekla dalje.³⁶

Nazaj v proizvodnjo ...

Po burnih 30. letih 20. stoletja je tovarna Šešir nadaljevala s proizvodnjo. Do leta 1938 je zamenjala že tri četrtine zastarelih strojev, kar je omogočilo povečanje proizvodnje in dvig kvalitete izdelkov. Okoli 10 % svojih izdelkov in polizdelkov so izvozili v tujino, ostalo pa prodali na domačem jugoslovanskem trgu. Razvojni zagon tovarne je prekinila druga svetovna vojna.

Vojne razmere so na slovensko gospodarstvo vplivale že v letu 1939, ko začnejo cene blaga in življenjskih potrebščin naraščati, uvoz in izvoz se zmanjšata, pri čemer pride do težav s preskrbo prebivalstva z osnovnimi živili. Jugoslovanska državna oblast je začela krepiti nadzor nad zalogami in gibanjem cen proizvodov, ustanavljala je banovinske zavode za prehrano prebivalstva, uvedla racioniranje moke, kruha, bencina in omejitev prometa zasebnih avtomobilov. Z okupacijo slovenskega ozemlja leta 1941 se prekinijo ustaljene trgovske poti, vzpostavi se nadzorovane in vnaprej načrtovane blagovne povezave, proizvodnja se je vedno bolj usmerjala v zadostitev potreb vojnega gospodarstva. Okupacijske oblasti so zaplenile industrijo in jo postavile pod pristojnost uradov nemškega rajha (za industrijska podjetja je bilo pristojno državno gospodarsko ministrstvo v Berlinu).³⁷ Čeprav se je prvi dve leti okupacije slovenska industrija ugodno razvijala (povečana proizvodnja, porast zaposlenih), pa je od leta 1943 naglo usihala. Še posebej je industrijo v tem času prizadelo brezobzirno izkoriščanje, slabo vzdrževanje proizvodnih zmogljivosti, odstranitev strojev (mnoge odpeljejo v tujino), opreme, blaga in denarnih sredstev.



Delavska stavkovna straža med stavko v tovarni klobukov Šešir (fototeka Loškega muzeja Škofja Loka).



Porušen Lahov most pred poslopjem Tovarne klobukov Šešir, ob umiku starojugoslovanske vojske, 1941 (fototeka Loškega muzeja Škofja Loka).

Tovarna Šešir je ves čas med drugo svetovno vojno obratovala, proizvajala klobuke ter zaposlovala okoli 100 delavk in delavcev. Vojnim letom se je skušala prilagajati tudi z izdelovanjem copat za nemške lazarete.³⁸

Po vojni v novo državno (in gospodarsko) ureditev ...

S koncem druge svetovne vojne je Slovenija prešla v novo državno (in gospodarski) ureditev. Postane ena od držav Federativne ljudske republike Jugoslavije. V gospodarskem smislu so se razmere spremenile, saj je država razlastninila zasebno lastnino in jo preoblikovala v splošno ljudsko-državno.³⁹ Poleg tega je bil uveden tudi sistem planskega gospodarstva. Glavni vlečni konj pospešene povojne industrializacije v Jugoslaviji je bila krepitev težke industrije.⁴⁰

Med vojno je bila tekstilna industrija najmanj prizadeta. Kljub zastarelim strojem se je proizvodnja v tekstilni industriji po vojni začela pospešeno razvijati, naraščalo je zaposlovanje, manjši tekstilni obrati pa so se združevali v večje tovarne. Medtem ko se je do konca 50. let razvila do te mere, da je zadostila domačemu trgu, pa se je v 60. letih vedno bolj usmerjala v izvoz. V naslednjem desetletju se je množično uvažalo končne tekstilne izdelke, ki so popestrili izbiro na trgu in zapolnili tržišče. Do konca 70. let je tekstilna industrija prišla do razvojnega vrhunca. V 80. letih je zaradi gospodarske neučinkovitosti, ki ni več omogočala zadostnega izvoza, tekstilna industrija stagnirala. Številna podjetja so ob koncu desetletja začela propadati. To je bilo še posebej opazno po osamosvojitvi leta 1991, ko se nekatera podjetja (z zastarelo strojno opremo) niso bila sposobna prilagoditi novim tržnim razmeram (izgubo jugoslovanskega trga) in se niso dovolj posvečala izvozu. Čeprav je veliko večjih podjetij propadlo, pa so postopno začeli nastajati novi manjši obrati.

Povojno obdobje je tovarni Šešir prineslo nove izzive. Kljub novi gospodarski ureditvi so v tujini ohranili sloves podjetja, ki je izdelovalo kakovostne tulce in klobuke. Svoje izvozno tržišče so še razširili: Švedska, Norveška, Finska, Nizozemska, prodrli so na nemški in bližnje vzhodni trg, v Kongo, vzpostavili so stike z Združenimi državami Amerike. Kljub temu so se spopadali s povojnimi posledicami, kot so zastareli in nevzdrževani stroji, ponovna vzpostavitev stikov z dobavitelji surovin in popravilo med



Ročno polstenje tulcev v Šeširju, pred letom 1959 (fototeka Loškega muzeja Škofja Loka).



Z nakupom novih strojev so do leta 1959 skoraj v celoti uvedli mehanski postopek izdelave klobukov. Zaradi prehoda na strojno izdelavo ni bilo več potrebnih toliko delavcev, zato so uvedli dvoizmensko delo (foto: Doroteja Gorišek, 1959, fototeka Loškega muzeja Škofja Loka).

36 Fojkar, 1959, str. 16.

37 Lorenčič idr., 2018, str. 38.

38 Lorenčič idr., 2018, str. 312.

39 Prinčič, 1997, str. 5.

40 Sočan, 1990, str. 330.

vojno poškodovanega tovarniškega poslopja. Čeprav je tovarna v prvih povojnih letih poslovala v zelo okrnjenem obsegu, pa si je v 50. letih precej opomogla. Začeli so tudi z nakupi novih strojev in modernizacijo strojnega parka.⁴¹ Slednje je omogočilo povečanje proizvodnje in izdelovanje še kvalitetnejših klobukov in tulcev. Pereče vprašanje je ostajalo tovarniško poslopje, ki ni imelo dovolj proizvodnih kapacitet, predvsem pa ni ustrezalo zdravstveno-zaščitnim standardom. Sredi 50. let je vodstvo tovarne načrtovalo izgradnjo novega proizvodnega poslopja z več manjšimi obrati in več naravnega prezračevanja,⁴² vendar ti načrti niso bili realizirani.

50. leta so zaznamovale tudi težave z dobavo dlake in kože. Pred vojno je Šešir letno dobival 300.000 kož z domačega trga (pri tem so jih morali še dodatno uvažati iz tujine), medtem ko se je po vojni število kož z domačega trga zmanjšalo na 20.000.⁴³ Tako je bila tovarna zelo odvisna od dobaviteljev iz tujine. Občasno so se pri uvozu pojavljale težave, saj nekateri dobavitelji niso uspeli zagotoviti surovin do dogovorjenega roka. Ker se je povpraševanje po Šeširjevih izdelkih in polizdelkih iz leta v leto večalo, je tovarna morala vedno več proizvajati in ob tem skrbeti za dobavo dovolj surovin, dlake in kože. Tovrstne težave je podjetje poskušalo reševati s postavljanjem lastnih začnikov za vzrejo zajcev. Leta 1962 se je vodstvo tovarne klobukov odločilo, da v Hosti pri Škofji Loki ustanovi selekcijsko postajo plemenskih kuncev, ki so jih razdeljevali med rejce. S tem je Šešir želel vzpostaviti široko bazo za pridobivanje zajčjih kož in tako poskušal vsaj delno reševati težave z dobavo surovin.⁴⁴ Redili so več vrst zajcev, med drugim tudi belgijske orjake in celo činčile.⁴⁵

Tudi 60. leta so prinesla nekaj sprememb, predvsem z nadaljnjim nakupom in posodabljanjem strojev, uvajanjem novih načinov proizvodnje in uporabe novih materialov (sintetika, umetno usnje vistram).⁴⁶ Poleg dviga kvalitete in povečanja proizvodnje se je Šešir sredi 60. let vedno bolj posvečal izdelavi ženskih klobukov. Pri tem je sodeloval z obrtnim podjetjem Klobuček iz Ljubljane.⁴⁷ Prodaja ženskih klobukov na domačem trgu se je povečala. Predhodni uspehi Šeširja so se še posebej kazali v naslednjem desetletju, ko je začel odpirati nove obrate v Gorenji vasi (1971) in v Stari vasi na Bizeljskem (1973). Največji uspeh pa je bilo odprtje novega tovarniškega poslopja v industrijski coni na Trati pri Škofji Loki. To je tovarni zagotovilo še večje proizvodne kapacitete, kar je omogočalo nadaljevanje izvoza v tujino, hkrati pa zadostilo povpraševanju po Šeširjevih izdelkih in polizdelkih na domačem jugoslovanskem trgu. Leta 1979 se je podjetje povezalo s svetovno znanim proizvajalcem klobukov – italijanskim podjetjem Borsalino.⁴⁸ Sodelovali so tudi z drugimi evropskimi znamkami, kot so nemški Mayer, Wegener in Faustmann, avstrijski Handler, ter s številnimi manjšimi partnerji. Poleg izvoza v Italijo je tovarna Šešir z 285 zaposlenimi proizvajala in izvažala predvsem v Belgijo, Zvezno republiko Nemčijo in Iran.



Delavci tovarne Šešir pred zajčjo farmo, Hosta, med drugo svetovno vojno (fototeka Loškega muzeja Škofja Loka).



Oblikovalke in modistke oddelka damskih klobukov v tovarni Šešir, v sredini sedi vodja oddelka Vera Mlakar, 60. leta 20. stoletja (foto: Tone Mlakar, zasebna last).



Nova barvarna v tovarni Šešir na Spodnjem trgu, po letu 1960 (fototeka Loškega muzeja Škofja Loka).



Ko je leta 1977 Josip Broz Tito obiskal Dražgoše, mu je direktor tovarne Šešir Miro Pinterič v imenu kolektiva podaril dva klobuka (vir: Glas, Glasilo Socialistične zveze delovnega ljudstva za Gorenjsko, 6. 5. 1977).



Logotip tovarne Šešir na reklamni iz leta 1974.

Za Šešir so 80. leta prinesla nekaj izzivov, s katerimi se je moral spopasti in jih rešiti. V začetku desetletja so izgubili iranski in sovjetski trg, zato je tovarna preuredila svojo proizvodnjo, zmanjšala število zaposlenih in iskala nove ter bolj zahtevne trge.⁴⁹ Konec 80. let je izvoz v tujino predstavljal več kot polovico celotnega dohodka. Glavni trgi, kamor so izvažali svoje izdelke, so bile Združene države Amerike, Zvezna republika Nemčija, Italija in Avstrija. Prodaja na domačem, jugoslovanskem tržišču, pa je na drugi strani zelo upadla. Kljub dejstvu, da je Šešir že od sredine 50. let ustanavljal prodajalne svojih klobukov po celotni Jugoslaviji in posledično omogočal dostop do svojih izdelkov najširšemu krogu kupcev, so zaradi upada prodaje, svoje trgovine v 80. letih postopoma zapirali.

Eden od vzrokov, za slabšo prodajo na domačem trgu je bila tudi zmanjšana kupna moč prebivalstva, saj je inflacija iz leta v leto naraščala, poleg tega pa je bil jugoslovanski trg nasičen s tujo konkurenco – predvsem z izdelki iz vzhodnoevropskih držav, ki so bili cenejši in slabše kakovosti.

Tovarna Šešir je v luči prilagajanja novim razmeram prodajala večinoma končne izdelke – moške in ženske klobuke. Leta 1989 so na tržišče lansirali nov klobuk s širokimi kraji po vzoru tistih, ki jih je nosil filmski zvezdnik Humphrey Bogart. Šešir je bil ena redkih tovarn na svetu, ki je izdelovala klobuke od dlake do končnega izdelka.

41 Peternej, 2016, str. 32.

42 Krek, 1956, str. 2.

43 Krek, 1956, str. 2.

44 Peternej, 2016, str. 36.

45 Dolenc, 1987, str. 10.

46 Peternej, 2016, str. 37–39.

47 Peternej, 2016, str. 41.

48 Lorenčič idr., 2018, str. 312.

49 Lorenčič idr., 2018, str. 313.

Leto 1990 je bilo v Sloveniji leto sprememb. Prebivalstvo se je odločalo o samostojni poti zunaj Socialistične federativne republike Jugoslavije. Na plebiscitu 23. decembra 1990 je za osamosvojitve volilo kar 1.289.369 prebivalcev, s čimer se je začel proces ločevanja Slovenije od Jugoslavije. Šest mesecev po slovesni razglasitvi rezultatov plebiscita je pred slovensko skupščino 26. junija 1991 potekala slovesnost ob razglasitvi samostojne in neodvisne Slovenije.

Pred osamosvojitvijo je bila Slovenija del jugoslovanskega gospodarskega sistema, ki je temeljil na družbeni lastnini proizvodnih sredstev, visoki stopnji redistribucije in notranje zaščite. V jugoslovanskem državnem okvirju je bila Slovenija v gospodarskem oziru najbolj razvita in do Zahoda najbolj odprta med socialističnimi republikami.⁵⁰ Z osamosvojitvijo se je slovensko gospodarstvo, ki je izgubilo pomembne trge, moralo prestrukturirati in iskati nove trge. Posledica zmanjšane gospodarske dejavnosti ob koncu 80. let se je kazala v recesiji prvih let novega desetletja. Zmanjševati sta se začela življenjski standard in gospodarska rast, vedno manj je bilo investicij in stopnja brezposelnosti je naraščala. Novemu tržnemu gospodarstvu se je morala prilagajati tudi industrija, ki je v prvih nekaj letih utrpela precej škode. Poleg izgube jugoslovanskega trga je industrija morala prestrukturirati proizvodnjo, primanjkovalo pa je tudi finančnih sredstev. Številna podjetja so šla v stečaj, veliko jih je bilo prodanih po obratih, nekatera pa so kupili podjetniki iz tujine.⁵¹

Do sredine 90. let so se razmere nekoliko umirile. Z mednarodnim priznanjem Slovenije so se samostojni gospodarski stiki s tujino izboljšali, povečal se je pretok blaga, storitev, kapitala in znanja iz Zahodne Evrope. Z izboljšanjem življenjskega standarda je naraščalo tudi povpraševanje na domačem trgu. Vse to pa je pripomoglo h gospodarskemu razvoju.

Konec 90. let je tovarna Šešir predvsem zaradi dobrih povezav v tujini in izvoza (98 %) uspešno poslovala. Šeširjeve klobuke so kupovali lovci, čebelarji, člani avstrijskih pihalnih orkestrov in navijaških klubov, slovenske in nizozemske policistke, slovenske vojakinje, Adrijine stevardese in drugi. Njihovi klobuki so spadali v višji cenovni razred, tistim najbolj petičnim kupcem pa so ga lahko izdelali tudi po naročilu. Glavni kupec zadnja leta delovanja tovarne je bil judovski tekstilni center v newyorškem Brooklynu.

Šešir je skozi vsa desetletja svojega delovanja poudarjal predvsem kvaliteto klobukov in, kot je to za tekstilno in klobučarsko industrijo nujno, modnost. Sledenje modnim trendom sta jim omogočala razvojna služba in posebej za to zaposlene modne kreatorke. Za svoje modne revije in kolekcije je Šeširjeve klobuke uporabljal tudi priznani beograjski modni kreator Aleksandar Joksimović. Šeširjeve



Ženski klobuk, model Velour Super, izdelek Tovarne klobukov Šešir, konec 20., začetek 21. stoletja (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).



Moški klobuk iz sive klobučevine, izdelek Tovarne klobukov Šešir, konec 20., začetek 21. stoletja (hrani Loški muzej Škofja Loka).



Trgovina Šešir na Mestnem trgu v Škofji Loki, 1956 (foto: Tone Mlakar, fototeka Loškega muzeja Škofja Loka).



Trgovina Šešir na Mestnem trgu v Škofji Loki, 1996 (fototeka Loškega muzeja Škofja Loka).



Pogled na skladišče klobukov v Šeširju, 2018 (foto: Sašo Kočevar, fototeka Loškega muzeja Škofja Loka).

modne smernice na področju klobukov je konec 60. in v prvi polovici 70. let 20. stoletja najti tudi v prispevkih časopisa Glas (Glasilo Socialistične zveze delovnega ljudstva za Gorenjsko, danes Gorenjski glas). Šeširjevi klobuki so vseskozi sloveli ne le kot modni dodatek, ampak tudi kot simbol kvalitete. Tako v njihovih reklamah večkrat zasledimo izraz, da gre za svetovno znane klobuke, ki v Jugoslaviji nimajo konkurence.

V zadnjih letih je podjetje prizadel skokovit porast cene kunčje dlake kot vhodne surovine, zato se je novembra 2015 začel postopek prisilne poravnave, decembra 2016 pa stečajni postopek. Poslopje tovarne je kupila družba Polimix – družba za proizvodnjo, prodajo, izvoz in uvoz instalacijskega blaga Žiri, stroji pa so bili prodani na Kitajsko.

S tem se je končalo 95 let delovanja tovarne, ki je bila zaradi svoje tradicije, kvalitete in modnih trendov znana po celem svetu. Industrijski način izdelovanja klobukov od dlake do končnega izdelka se je s tem v Škofji Loki končal. Ostali so tradicija, znanje in spomin na tovarno, ki je skoraj stoletje dolgo živela z mestom in bližnjo ter daljno okolico.

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Tadej Curk

*Tovarna Šešir skozi čas
v lokalnih tiskanih medijih*

Javno podobo posameznikov, skupin ali, v dotičnem primeru, tovarn v veliki meri oblikujejo mediji. Tako je vse od pojava množičnih in širše dostopnih medijev. Javna podoba je kot rimski bog Janus z dvema obrazoma.¹ Na eni podoba v medijih odraža razumevanje predmeta v javnosti, na drugi pa tvori isto v obratni smeri. Četudi je javna podoba v medijih v vsakokratni sedanjosti lahko vprašljiva ali kamen spotike, pa z zgodovinskega vidika omogoča posamezniku, da lažje ali bolj celostno razume dogodke ali predmet njegovega preučevanja oziroma zanimanja. Zapis v tiskanih medijih lahko namreč posredujejo pozabljene ali spregledane zgodovinske podatke. Nič drugače ni v primeru tovarne Šešir.

Namen tega prispevka je tako izpostaviti in predstaviti nekatere zgodovinsko zanimive, spregledane ali celo pozabljene dogodke ter opise tovarne, ki so se pojavili predvsem v lokalnih tiskanih medijih in kasneje v njihovi digitalni različici. Obravnavani bodo le članki, ki se neposredno nanašajo na Šešir in dogajanje okoli tovarne.

Poročanje o tovarni Šešir do leta 1950

Vsaka zgodba in tovarna morata imeti svoj začetek. Časnik *Slovenec* v svoji rubriki *Gospodarstvo* z dne 31. 3. 1921 tako poroča, da bo junija (istega leta) v Škofji Loki začela obratovati novoustanovljena tovarna klobukov Šešir, d. d., ki jo je ustanovil konzorcij z Ljubljansko kreditno banko in Zadružno gospodarsko banko na čelu. Zapisali so še, da se v času poročanja v tovarni vzdavajo betonski stropi.² Časnik *Slovenski narod* leta 1922 v članku o jugoslovanski slamnikarski in klobučarski industriji poroča o ustanovitvi delničarske družbe »Tovarna klobukov Šešir d. d. Škofja Loka«. Avtor v članku dodaja še, da je družba za potrebe delovanja odkupila staro Krennerjevo tovarno za suknjo ter jo popolnoma prezidala, renovirala in nabavila najmodernejše stroje. Tovarna naj bi po načrtih zaposlovala 500 delavcev, od katerih jih je bilo leta 1922 zaposlenih 200. Letna produkcija tovarne je znašala okoli 100.000 klobukov.³ *Slovenec*, ki je že leta 1921 poročal o ustanovitvi delniške družbe in tovarne, v edinem članku iz leta 1922 poroča o uspešni udeležbi slovenske industrije (»ki ima namen osamosvojiti naš trg od tujega uvoza«) na ljubljanskem velesejmu. Pri tem je v članku še posebej izpostavljena škofjeloška tovarna Šešir, ki zaposluje okrog 200 delavcev, ima najmodernejše stroje za izdelavo klobukov iz zajčje dlake in katere specialiteta so velourklobuki.⁴ Leta 1924, v spet edinem članku o Šeširju, *Slovenec* v manjši rubriki *Ponesrečeni delavci* poroča o delovni nesre-

či Šeširjevega zaposlenega Matevža Miklavca. G. Miklavcu je med delovnim procesom na levo roko padel brusni kamen in mu zmečkal tri prste.⁵ Leta 1925 (natančneje 1. oktobra) so delnice tovarne Šešir začele kotirati na ljubljanski borzi, o čemer poroča tudi *Slovenec*. K temu dodaja, da zaradi »patronizirajočih bank, ni pričakovati večjega prometa v tem papirju.«⁶ O uspešnosti in vrednosti delnic Šeširja sta od leta 1925 pa do začetka 30. let redno poročala tako *Slovenec* kot *Slovenski narod*. 20. leta 20. stoletja zaključuje prispevek *Slovenca* v rubriki *Gospodarstvo*. V prispevku poudarjajo, da je tovarna znatno razširila svojo proizvodnjo in začela izdelovati volnene izdelke. Potrebni stroji za razširjen obrat in nove izdelke so bili v času poročanja že naročeni, kar je pomenilo, da se bo širša proizvodnja lahko pričela že jeseni leta poročanja.⁷

Časopisni zapiski iz 30. let 20. stoletja se ukvarjajo predvsem s stavkami, ki so se odvijale v tovarni.⁸ Še pred začetkom vala stavk pa *Slovenski narod* poroča o modni reviji *Atene*, na kateri je g. Drenovec razkril, da slavni klobuki znamke Picadilly niso iz Pariza ali Londona, temveč prava pristna domača roba iz tovarne Šešir v Škofji Loki.⁹ O stavkah kot prvi poroča časopis *Delavska pravica*, ki leta 1934 piše o začetku stavke v tovarni, ki je bila rezultat nesklentve kolektivne pogodbe in šikaniranja delavcev. Ti so se zaradi nejevolje »disciplinirano kot stari borci« povezali v stavkovno skupino in uspeli. Kolektivna pogodba je bila sklenjena.¹⁰ Isti časopis leta 1935 poroča o novi stavki. V članku je podrobneje opisan potek stavke, hkrati pa zanimivo zavrača vse očitke o »naročeni« stavki v tovarni, do katere naj bi privedlo več kot očitno zanemarjanje in teptanje delavcev in njihovih pravic. Zapis izraža tudi neomajno podporo vodstvu stavke.¹¹

1 Janus je bil eden največjih starorimskih bogov. Bil je bog t. i. dvojne vednosti, védenja o preteklosti in prihodnosti. Hkrati je bil varuh vrat in prehodov, pozneje tudi bog začetka in konca. Rimljani so ga upodabljali z dvema glavama z dvema obrazoma, da je kakor vsaka vrata gledal na obe strani (Mihevc-Gabrovec, 1988, str. 420; Schmidt, 1997, str. 115).

2 *Slovenec*, 1921, str. 3.

3 Turnšek, 1922, str. 4.

4 Podatki poročanja *Slovenca* in *Slovenskega naroda* so enotni. *Slovenec*, 1922, str. 3.

5 *Slovenec*, 1924, str. 3.

6 *Slovenec*, 1925, str. 5.

7 *Slovenec*, 1926, str. 7.

8 Več splošno znanih in zgodovinskih dejstev o tovarni Šešir bralec najde v prispevku »Kdor hoče biti lep kavalir, naj nosi klobuk znamke Šešir« Biljane Ristić.

9 *Slovenski narod*, 1930, str. 3.

10 *Delavska pravica*, 1934, str. 2.

11 *Delavska pravica*, 1935, str. 3.

O stavki iz leta 1935 in njenem poteku poroča tudi časopis *Slovenski narod*, ki dodaja, da vzrok za stavko ni kolektivna pogodba, ki je niti ena niti druga stran nista prekinili, temveč vprašanje mezd. Plače so bile, po besedah *Slovenskega naroda*, kamen spotike že več mesecev, saj je bilo delavstvu Šeširja obljubljeno, da se bodo mezde ob ugodnejši konjunkturi dvignile, kar pa se ni zgodilo. Delavci so trdili, da so klobučarji za isto delo v tujini plačani tudi do 100 % več. Zahteva delavstva je bila tudi nabava boljših higienskih naprav, ki bi vsaj malo olajšale nevzdržne razmere, težaško delo in psihične napore.^{12, 13} Po pisanju *Slovenskega naroda* so se stavki za zelo kratek čas pridružili tudi pisarniški delavci, sama stavka pa ni kalila reda in miru.¹⁴ Časopis *Jutro* v nasprotju z *Delavskimi pravicami* in *Slovenskim narodom* piše o tem, da je bil del delavstva pripravljen sprejeti pogoje vodilnih in se vrniti na delo. Hkrati dodaja, da je stavka v tovarni povzročila gospodarsko škodo in zastoj celotne Škofje Loke, saj da »160 delavcev nima zaslužka«.¹⁵ Pisanje časopisa *Jutro* bi lahko v grobem potrdil zadnji izmed člankov *Slovenskega naroda* o stavki leta 1935, v katerem piše, da je po mesecu dni brez dela in zaslužka 140 delavcev. Od 160 delavcev jih je torej po enem mesecu v stavkovnem gibanju ostalo 140. Kaj je vzrok za zmanjšanje stavkajočih, iz časopisnih prispevkov ni mogoče razbrati. Časopis *Jutro* poroča tudi o koncu stavke leta 1935 in navaja, da se je delavstvo obnašalo razumevajoče in moralno. Še enkrat poudari, da je stavka slabo vplivala na gospodarsko stanje in razvoj celotne Škofje Loke, in dodaja, da med delavstvom in vodstvom ni prišlo do dogovora o tretji stavkovni zahtevi – dvigu plače.¹⁶ Članki na temo stavk se s tem končajo. Časnik *Slovenec* leta 1938 poroča o prepovedi uvoza zajčje dlake v nekdanjo državo. Pri tem ne razkrije točnega razloga za prepoved, vendar sumi, da je prepoved posledica bojazni širjenja bolezni, povezanih z zajci. Težavo časnik vidi le v tem, da so bile dlake, pripravljene za obdelavo, preparirane z nitratom živega srebra, ki naj bi uničil vse bakterije in bacile. Kot pravilno ugotovijo pri časniku, je prepoved močno vplivala na slovensko industrijo, še posebej na Šešir, ki je moral obrat zaustaviti. Ustavitev naj bi, po mnenju časnika, zahtevala novi val brezposelnih v Šeširju. Tokrat naj bi bilo prizadetih okoli 500 ljudi.¹⁷

Članki o Šeširju v 40., 50. in 60. letih

Avtorju prispevka je iz 40. let 20. stoletja uspelo izslediti le en prispevek o Šeširju. Drugi, ki govori o dogajanju v tovarni v 40. letih, je bil objavljen kasneje, in sicer leta 1950. Časnik *Slovenec* leta 1940 kot del pregleda dogajanja po slovenskih krajih objavi tudi prispevek o Škofji Loki. V njem lahko med drugim zasledimo kratko poročilo o novem mezdnem gibanju v tovarni Šešir. Poročilu je dodana tudi želja časnika, ki želi, da uprava tovarne upošteva zah-



Plakat za tovarno Šešir iz leta 1930 (hrani Digitalna knjižnica Slovenije).

teve delavstva in mu pomaga v že tako težkih časih.¹⁸ Časopis *Gorenjski glas* pa leta 1950 objavi povzetek dogajanja dne 22. julija 1941. V povzetku je zapisano, da so po napadu nacistične Nemčije na Sovjetsko zvezo v tovarni Šešir sledile prve aretacije, kar je bilo povezano z organiziranjem odpora in sabotaž proti Nemcem na slovenskih teh. Razlogi za aretacije in število aretirancev niso navedeni.¹⁹

V 50. in 60. letih prevzame primat nad poročanjem o Šeširju *Gorenjski glas*.²⁰ V prispevkih o Šeširju prevladuje poročanje o uspešnosti tovarne v sklopu gorenjske in loške industrije.²¹ Nič manj ni najav ali poročil o delovanju različnih odborov ter o volitvah različnih funkcionarjev v delovna in administrativna telesa ter organe tovarne. V članku *Več dela in vztrajnosti pri utrjevanju delavskega samoupravljanja* iz leta 1952 avtor poudari, da bi se moral dobiček tovarn in obratov porazdeliti med vse zaposlene. Kot negativen primer je izpostavljen prav Šešir.²² Članek *Gorenjskega glasu* iz leta 1954 strnjeno poroča o začetkih in dotedanji zgodovini tovarne, uspešnem izvozu in težavah, povezanih z oskrbo tovarne z domačimi kožami divjega zajca.²³ Zanimivo je, da je avtor obiskal tovarno in se o sedanosti ter prihodnosti Šeširja pogovarjal s tedanjim direktorjem g. Cerarjem. Direktor Cerar je avtorju članka med drugim razložil, da je tovarna v zadnjem času razširila svojo dejavnost – »izdeluje iz zajčje in kunčje dlake ženske in moške tulce, gotove moške klobuke v vseh modernih barvah in fazonah, baletke, opremo in izvršuje popravila.« Kasneje se Cerar dotakne težav z obratovanjem, saj pristojni oziroma državni organi ne razumejo Šeširjevih potreb po večji količini deviz. Čisto na koncu avtor članka izrazi prepričanje, da bo Šeširju uspelo prebroditi vse težave in da bo rešil najstarejšo in redko industrijsko vejo (klobučarstvo) v Škofji Loki.²⁴ Iz leta 1954 je tudi članek, ki govori o pomembnosti tekstilne industrije na Loškem. Argument za trditev črpa iz dejstva, da največ narodnega dohodka ustvari prav tekstilna industrija. Zaradi uspešnosti in zagotavljanja dohodka je Šešir, po poročanju *Gorenjskega glasu*, uspel pridobiti tudi nov kredit, ki mu je dal solidno surovinsko bazo.²⁵

Gorenjski glas je leta 1955 spet natisnil kratek članek, ki na začetku predstavi kratko zgodovino tovarne, težave z nabavo surovin v kriznih časih in uspešen izvoz klobukov v tujino, ki je med domačimi proizvajalci po količini izdelkov največji. Avtor članka ugotavlja, da si je Šešir do leta 1955 že priboril svetovni sloves, »za kar ima največ zaslug ves delovni kolektiv Šeširja, ki je pri delu zelo vesten in discipliniran, kakor tudi ves upravni aparat.« Na koncu je v članku dodano, da klub zahtevnosti izdelave Šešir izdeluje klobuke, ki so odlične kakovosti.²⁶ V zadnjem članku iz leta 1955 *Gorenjski glas* poroča o obletnici dveh zgodovinskih mejnikov tovarne. Delovni kolektiv Šeširja je omenjenega leta praznoval 20-letnico prve stavke in 5. obletnico samoupravljanja v podjetju. 22. oktobra so se

v sindikalni dvorani predilnice na Trati zbrali vsi tedanji in nekdanji delavci Šeširja. Med njimi so bili tudi delavci, ki so se v času prve stavke borili proti »izkoriščevalskim, kapitalističnim pogojem.« Po kulturnem programu so delavci obujali spomine, ki so segali od začetkov dela posameznega delavca v Šeširju do poteka in rezultatov stavke. Nekatere od teh spominov je avtor tudi zapisal v članek.²⁷

Leta 1956 je v *Gorenjskem glasu* objavljen intervju z opernim pevcem Poldetom Polencem. V intervjuju izvemo, da je bil g. Polenc zaposlen tudi v Šeširju in da je »bila vsem delavcem edino razvedrilo pri težkem delu – pesem.«²⁸ Naslednji kratek prispevek *Gorenjskega glasu* iz leta 1956 napoveduje praznovanje 30-letnice tovarne. Ob tem je zapisano, da bo na proslavi pel tudi Polde Polenec, član sarajevske opere.²⁹ V zadnjem daljšem prispevku iz leta 1956 Janko Krek objavi krajši razgovor z neznanim intervjuvancem o 35-letnici Šeširja. V petih vprašanjih sta se dotaknila preteklosti tovarne, tedanjih težav Šeširja, zdravstvene zaščite in praznovanja obletnice. V intervjuju lahko zasledimo zanimive podatke. Eden teh je, da je tovarna dobila ime Šešir zato, ker so bili v takrat novo ustanovljeni delniški družbi (ki je tudi odprla tovarno) večinski delničarji Hrvatje. Govorila sta tudi o neenakomerni obremenjenosti različnih obratov znotraj tovarne, kar je onemogočalo povečanje proizvodnje. Ena izmed rešitev za zagon proizvodnje, ki so jo sprejeli v Šeširju, je bilo odpiranje lastnih prodajaln. Prva Šeširjeva prodajalna se je odprla v Novem Sadu, kjer »se je prodaja dobro obnesla.« Novosadski prodajalni sta sledili še trgovini v Škofji Loki

12 *Slovenski narod*, 1935a, str. 3; *Slovenski narod* 1935c, str. 2; *Slovenski narod* 1935d, str. 2.

13 Opis dela in razmer po časopisu *Slovenski narod*: »Odpor proti boleznim je zaradi prahu od dlak, ki nasiča zrak, manjši, posebno usodno pa je rahljanje, kjer povzročata živo srebro in kislina čisto razpadanje zob. Pri valjanju je delo tako naporno, da se z zunanjimi deli niti ne da primerjati. Koža se izrabi delavcu do krvi in pri tem delu človek – novinec skoro sploh ne more zdržati (*Slovenski narod*, 1935c, str. 2).

14 *Slovenski narod*, 1935b, str. 2.

15 *Jutro*, 1935a, str. 5. O 160 delavcih na začetku stavke poroča tudi *Slovenski narod* (*Slovenski narod*, 1935a, str. 3.)

16 *Jutro*, 1935b, str. 3.

17 V številu 500 so vključeni delavci tovarne Šešir z družinami vred. *Slovenec*, 1938, str. 5.

18 *Slovenec*, 1940, str. 8.

19 *Gorenjski glas*, 1950, str. 2.

20 *Gorenjski glas* se je pred 2. svetovno vojno imenoval še *Gorenjec*.

21 Uspešnost Šeširja je tekom časa nihala, kar so nemalokrat opazili in poudarili tudi pri *Gorenjskem glasu*.

22 *Gorenjski glas*, 1952, str. 2.

23 »Nabavljajo jih pretežno v Belgiji. Na eni strani izvažajo kože v zapadne države, na drugi pa smo izvozili letos zaradi zajčje kuge tudi mnogo živih zajcev zlasti v Francijo. Zato se moramo precej truditi, da bi zagotovili stalno obratovanje podjetja.« (*Gorenjski glas*, 1954, str. 2.)

24 *Gorenjski glas*, 1954a, str. 2.

25 *Gorenjski glas*, 1954b, str. 2.

26 *Gorenjski glas*, 1955a, str. 7.

27 *Gorenjski glas*, 1955b, str. 2.

28 Krek, 1956a, str. 1.

29 *Gorenjski glas*, 1956, str. 2.

in Ljubljani – Velur. Sogovornika se dotakneta tudi zdravstvenih težav, ki jih povzročajo živosrebrni hlapi. Anonimni intervjuvanec pri tem prizna, da tedanji prostori niso več primerni oziroma ne zagotavljajo zadostne zdravstvene zaščite. Po njegovem mnenju bi bila rešitev postavitev nove tovarne, »ki bi bila zgrajena po paviljonskem sistemu (majhen obrat med drevjem), s čimer bi poleg umetnega dosegli tudi naravno zračenje.« Na koncu se sogovornika dotakneta še proslave, kjer se bodo, po besedah intervjuvanca, na nekatere delavce spomnili s skromnimi darili, druge pa pogostili na družbenem večeru po akademiji.³⁰ Članek iz *Gorenjskega glasa* iz leta 1958 poroča o nepravilnostih pri volitvah v delavski svet. Avtor K. M. ugotavlja, da je bila kar petina glasovnic neveljavnih, kar je posledica nezadovoljstva delavcev. Eden izmed vzrokov za nezadovoljstvo je gospodarske narave,³¹ drugi pa je vprašanje direktorjev. Po pisanju K. M. je namreč prejšnji direktor tovarne (funkcije v času pisanja ni opravljal že tri leta) v podjetju ostal zaradi svojega strokovnega znanja in povezanosti s kolektivom. Z novim direktorjem, ki je prišel od zunaj, nikoli ni imel pristnih odnosov. Ker je bivši direktor podpiral zahteve delavcev, so se odnosi poslabšali, enotnost kolektiva pa se je zamajala.³²

Tudi v 60. letih se poročanje o slabih odnosih v Šeširju nadaljuje. Ti so šli celo tako daleč, da je bila zaradi klevetanja zunaj Šeširja v tovarno poslana zunanja komisija, ki bi naj ugotovila nepravilnosti pri gospodarjenju tovarne in preverila odnose znotraj delavskega kolektiva. Komisija je po pregledu delovanja Šeširja sporočila, da se ta drži letnega finančnega načrta in da v zvezi z gospodarjenjem ni nikakršnih nepravilnosti. Prav nasprotno, tovarna je uspešnejša od pričakovanega. Delavski svet tovarne je, po poročanju *Gorenjskega glasa*, na drugi strani ugotovil, da znotraj tovarne obstaja manjša skupina posameznikov, ki že od konca 2. svetovne vojne rovati proti vodstvu in želi le osebno korist. Po poročanju M. Ž. je bil Šešir pripravljen tudi na popolno rekonstrukcijo tovarne, čakali so le odobritev elaborata rekonstrukcije. Na koncu članka M. Ž. zapiše, da je stanovanjski sklad tovarne leta 1960 kupil dve dvosobni stanovanji za člane kolektiva, »ki se še vedno stiskajo v zatohlih in pretesnih prostorih pri drugih ljudeh.«³³ Slabim odnosom znotraj delavskega kolektiva so se leta 1963 pridružile še finančne težave. Novinar St. Š. v *Gorenjskem glasu* poroča o nezavidljivem položaju tovarne, ki je posledica zmanjšanja zaslužka od izvoza, ki ga je med drugim povzročilo »neugodno spomladansko vreme, ki je izključilo pokrivala pomladanske sezone.« Pomanjkanje finančnih sredstev je onemogočilo nadaljnje investicije in povečalo dolgove podjetja. Delovni kolektiv Šeširja je zato med drugim sprejel ukrep preusmeritve prodaje na domači (jugoslovanski) trg.³⁴

Milan Osovnikar v *Gorenjskem glasu* leta 1964 poroča o sicer spodbudni rasti gospodarstva škofjeloške občine, vendar pri tem poudarja, da Šešir »trenutno res ni v naj-

Tovarna klobukov

„ŠEŠIR“

Škofja Loka



Je vodilna jugoslovanska tovarna klobukov, ki proizvaja naj-finejše klobuke in damske tulce vseh barv za domači trg kakor tudi za inozemstvo.

Za III. občinski praznik čestita delovni kolektiv tovarne »Šešir« vsem delovnim ljudem škofjeloške komunice z željo, da bi dosegli tudi v prihodnjem letu mnogo uspehov v gospodarskem, kulturnem in političnem programu naše ljudske oblasti.

Opozarjamo prebivalstvo mesta in široke okolice na novo poslovalnico tovarne, ki jo bomo odprli v okviru praznovanja našega občinskega praznika v Škofji Loki, Mestni trg 34. Poslovalnica bo imela na zalogi naše priznane izdelke po solidnih cenah!

Šešir, kot ga še ni bilo – prispevek v *Gorenjskem glasu* (vir: *Gorenjski glas*, 17. 12. 1955).

boljšem stanju.« Kljub slabšemu položaju je podjetje občini Škofja Loka predlagalo skrajšanje delovnika na 42 ur na teden.³⁵ Leta 1965 pa se je zgodil preobrat – Šešir je začel poslovati z dobičkom, kar je pomenilo, da je bilo tudi poročanje o tovarni pozitivno. Novinar M. S. v svojem članku tako ne more prehvaliti izvoza Šeširja, ki je presegel vsa pričakovanja. Hkrati navaja, da »je Šešir v juniju in juliju, ki pomenita višek mrtve sezone za klobuke, prodal za 240 milijonov dinarjev in že v oktobru presegel vrednost lanske celoletne prodaje.« Povpraševanje po klobukih se ni zmanjšalo, Šešir pa je zaradi svojih omejenih kapacitet le stežka zagotavljal dovolj klobukov. Finance iz prodaje so tega leta pokrile tudi stroške nabave kunčjih in zajčjih dlak.³⁶ Da bi bil strošek nabave v prihodnosti čim nižji, je tovarna Šešir po poročanju M. S. v bližini Škofje Loke »uredila razplojevalno kunčjo farmo, iz katere bo prihodnjo pomlad oddala okoli 3.000 samic najboljših pasem zasebnim kuncerejcem.«³⁷ Trend pozitivnega poročanja na račun uspešnega izvoza Šeširja se nadaljuje tudi v letu 1966. V okviru poročanja o uspešnosti loškega gospodarstva in predvsem Šeširja v *Gorenjskem glasu* zapišejo: »V prvem tromesečju so (v Šeširju) izvozili za 82.563 dolarjev (v marcu za 31.438 dolarjev), kar je za 195,2 % več kot v prvem tromesečju lani, ko so izvozili le za 27.962 dolarjev izdelkov. Tudi celotna tromesečna proizvodnja v Šeširju je za 116,3 % večja kot lanska.«³⁸ Tudi novinar K. M. v svojem kratkem prispevku o uspešnosti Šeširja pravi samo »klobuke dol!«.³⁹ Vendar pa pozitiven trend in uspešnost Šeširja nista trajala dolgo. Že leta 1967 novinar *Gorenjskega glasa* g. Colnar piše o nezavidljivem položaju tovarne klobukov, ki je odvisna od zimske sezone in »vsakoletnih modnih muh«. Colnar sicer zapiše, da so z izjemno kvaliteto svoje stalne proizvodnje šeširjevci uspeli ublažiti vpliv mode na svojo proizvodnjo in prodajo, vendar vsakokratna moda vpliva na njihov obrat.⁴⁰ Poleg modne je na upad izvoza Šeširja neposredno vplivalo tudi dnevnopolitično dogajanje.⁴¹ Ne glede na težak položaj tovarne g. Colnar na koncu doda: »Če bosta hladni (jesen in zima), bodo šli klobuki dobro v promet. Zaradi moderne proizvodnje že tri leta niso dvignili cen in tako imajo kljub težkemu položaju že polovico zalog prodanih.«⁴² Tudi naslednji članek o Šeširju iz leta 1967, ki ga napiše ga. Zupan, se ukvarja z modo in kvaliteto Šeširjevih proizvodov. Na začetku opiše izdelke in stanje v tovarni ter doda, da »so letos v septembru, kot prvi v Jugoslaviji začeli izdelovati moške klobuke iz umetnega usnja in imitacije žameta, podložene z zajčjo dlako.« Rešitev za še boljše poslovanje (kar potrjujejo številke prodanih izdelkov) ga. Zupan vidi v povečani izbiri in kvaliteti ženskih klobukov.^{43, 44} O kvaliteti in prestižu Šeširjevih klobukov posredno govori tudi članek o glasbeni prireditvi, na kateri so podelili nagrade mladim upom smučarskih skokov, kot darilo pa so mladi skakalci dobili tudi Šeširjeve klobuke.⁴⁵ Članek iz leta 1968 se tudi ukvarja z elegantno modo Šeširjevih klobukov, ki dosegajo kvaliteto in modno oblikovanje evropskih klobučarn.⁴⁶

Javna podoba Šeširja v tiskanih medijih 70. in 80. let

Tudi v 70. in 80. letih prevladujejo poročila o (ne)uspešnosti obratovanja, gospodarjenja in izvoza tovarne. Poleg tega ne manjka člankov oziroma poročil o sodelovanju Šeširja na domačih (jugoslovanskih) sejmi in modnih revijah. Prvi članki Gorenjskega glasa iz leta 1970 se spominjajo obletnice prve in ene najpomembnejših stavk v Šeširju. S tem namenom je marca 1970 objavljen intervju s Francem Logonderjem, ki je bil eden od soorganizatorjev stavke v Šeširju. Novinar Guzelj med opisom vzrokov in poteka stavke zapiše, da je »kolektiv tega velikega proizvajalca klobukov namreč še pred dobrimi tridesetimi leti veljal za eno najbolj revolucionarnih skupin daleč naokrog.« V nadaljevanju g. Logonder obuja spomine na stavko, pri čemer je »govoril kar na pamet, gladko in brez omahovanja, kot da bi ga od tistih burnih časov ločilo komaj teden dni.« Guzelj pri tem Logonderja med drugim vpraša, kako so na stavko odreagirali someščani. G. Logonder pove: »Mali ljudje, proletarci in kmetje, so simpatizirali z nami, nam pomagali, prinašali hrano, denar ... Druga stran je seveda godrnjala, nas zmerjala s komunisti – čeprav to nismo bili – in podobno. Spominjam se, da je celo župnik povzdignil glas, obsodil dejavnost Strokovne skupine in jo skušal oviti v plašč komunizma. Danes isti ljudje pravijo: Eh kaj, navadni nergači ste bili, brez posebnega političnega programa!«⁴⁷ Naslednji članek iz leta 1970 napoveduje svečano slovesnost ob 35-letnici prve stavke v Šeširju, ki jo bo organiziral kolektiv podjetja. Za zvečer istega dne časopis napoveduje srečanje nekdanjih udeležencev stavke, ki bo v prostorih Ljudske restavracije Škofja Loka. Srečanje naj bi bilo posvečeno obujanju spominov »na dneve hudih

30 Krek, 1956b, str. 2.

31 Zmanjšanje proizvodnje, znižanje koeficienta izvoza, nujna porazdelitev denarnih sredstev ipd., za kar delavci niso dobili vsega obljubljenega denarja.

32 Gorenjski glas, 1958, str. 7.

33 Gorenjski glas, 1960, str. 3.

34 Gorenjski glas, 1963, str. 4.

35 Osovnikar, 1964, str. 1.

36 Novinar M. S. navaja, da je leta 1965 v Jugoslaviji še vedno ostajala težava zagotovitve domačih kož, saj so zbiralna podjetja raje prodajala v tujino.

37 Gorenjski glas, 1965, str. 3.

38 Gorenjski glas, 1966a, str. 1.

39 Gorenjski glas, 1966b, str. 5.

40 V letu 1967 so bile modna muha kučme.

41 Zaprtje sueškega prekopa, preklic naročila iz Izraela itn.

42 Colnar, 1967, str. 8.

43 Zupan, 1967, str. 4.

44 Ugotovitev ge. Zupan kot pravilno potrjujeta tako članek avtorja S. Z. iz leta 1968 kot članek avtorja L. M. iz leta 1969. V članku avtor L. M. po začetnem opisu mode damskih klobukov ugotavlja, da je tovarna Šešir edina v Jugoslaviji, ki industrijsko proizvaja ženske klobuke. Prav ta tržna niša je Šeširju zagotovila tako dobro poslovanje, da celo niso mogli zadovoljiti vseh naročil (Gorenjski glas, 1969, str. 17).

45 Guček, 1968, str. 18.

46 Gorenjski glas, 1968, str. 22.

47 Guzelj, 1970, str. 11.

preizkušenj.«⁴⁸ Izvedbo spominske slovesnosti potrди članek *Gorenjskega glasa* iz leta 1970. Dodan mu je tudi kratek opis slovesnosti in seznam govorcev, ki so imeli govore o preteklosti in prihodnosti tovarne.⁴⁹

Članek iz leta 1971 poroča o odprtju Šeširjevega obrata v Gorenji vasi. Šešir je, po poročanju J. G., svoje stroje namesnil v prostorih, ki jih je pred tem imela Alpina, ker v Škofji Loki niso našli primernih prostorov. Od novih prostorov so si v tovarni obetali neprekinjeno proizvodnjo tistih izdelkov, ki so jih do odprtja v matični tovarni izdelovali le s težavo oziroma zamudo.⁵⁰ Šešir je šel v nakup in opremljanje novih prostorov skupaj z nemškim partnerjem. Nov obrat je sprva zaposloval 20 delavcev, kasneje pa so si obetali številko dvigniti celo na 50.⁵¹ Ob 50-letnici ustanovitve novinarika Bogataj opiše kratko zgodovino tovarne, njeno dejavnost, kvaliteto izdelkov in uspešnost Šeširja. V ta namen se je pogovarjala tudi s takratnim vodjo komerciale in vršilcem dolžnosti direktorja Mirom Pintaričem, ki je opisal stanje v tovarni, načrte za prihodnost in težave, s katerimi se sooča Šešir. Ga. Bogataj vmes zapiše zanimiv podatek, da je v tovarni zaposlenih 300 delavcev, od tega kar 230 žensk. K temu doda, da ima 8 % delavcev visoko izobrazbo. »Precej članov še študira. Podjetje jim plača šolnino in jim pomaga s študijskimi dopusti in z drugim.« Z g. Pintaričem v nadaljevanju ugotavljata, da je Šešir svojim zaposlenim tudi dvignil plače.⁵² Na koncu se dotakneta mode in pomembnosti sledenja modnim tokovom.⁵³ Bogatajeva piše o Šeširju tudi leta 1972, ko se o načrtih in poslovnih uspehih Šeširja prav tako pogovarja s takrat že direktorjem Mirom Pintaričem. Sprva se Bogatajeva dotakne novega obrata Šeširja v Gorenji vasi, ki zaposluje 25 delavcev.⁵⁴ V nadaljevanju izvem, da je (prej skrivnostno) nemški partner Šeširja v Gorenji vasi »nemška firma Kreuzer iz Zahodne Nemčije.« Po poročanju Bogatajeve je leta 1971 Šešir v sodelovanju s Kreuzerjem začel izdelovati tudi klobuke in kape za pomlad in poletje, ki so bili novost v Šeširju.⁵⁵ O novosti pomladnih in poletnih klobukov Bogatajeva piše tudi v članku iz leta 1972. V ta namen se je pogovarjala z modno kreatorko inž. Vero Bricelj - Mlakar, ki med drugim pove, da so za poletno kolekcijo klobukov v Šeširju pripravili »skoraj 150 modelov pokrival, a smo jih morali precej izločiti iz proizvodnje.« K temu doda, da so »pripravili tudi otroško kolekcijo klobučkov za fantke in deklice.« Tako bosta lahko »mamica in hčerka nosili enak klobuk.«⁵⁶

Leta 1973 je tovarna Šešir v prostorih nekdanje šole odprla nov obrat v Stari vasi pri Brežicah, ki je bila prva industrijska delavnica v teh krajih. Obrat bi naj zaposloval 40 delavcev, predvsem žensk, in izdeloval kape iz blaga. Kot vzrok postavitve obrata v Stari vasi pri Brežicah je takratni direktor Šeširja Miro Pintarič navedel: »Na Loškem že več let primanjkuje delavcev. Če bi odprli obrat nekje v občini, bi morali delavce poiskati v manj razvitih področjih. Prihajanje delavcev iz drugih krajev pa je zvezano z velikimi stro-

ški, saj jim morajo najprej preskrbeti primerna stanovanja, pojavljajo pa se tudi številni socialni problemi. V okolici Brežic pa je delavcev dovolj.« Pobuda za ustanovitev obrata je sicer prišla od občinske skupnosti v Brežicah.⁵⁷ O odprtju obrata v Stari vasi pri Brežicah leta 1973 v več člankih poroča tudi *Dolenjski list*. V članku iz marca je zapisano, da se bo nov obrat posvečal predvsem izdelavi otroških pokrival, delo v obratu pa bi naj dobilo med 25 in 30 delavk.⁵⁸ Naslednji kratek prispevek je tudi poln pohval in presežnikov na račun škofjeloške tovarne klobukov.⁵⁹ Članek iz *Gorenjskega glasa* iz leta 1974 opisuje dogodek, ki se je pripetil že novembra 1973. Takrat so »iz velike cisterne tovarne Šešir Škofja Loka, stoječe tik ob strugi Selščice, malo nad sotočjem s Poljanščico, iztekle večje količine mazuta.« Razlitje sta opazila dva člana ribiške družine Škofja Loka, ki sta nemudoma obvestila pristojne organe. Uprava tovarne je za nejljubi dogodek podala naslednjo izjavo: »greh velja pripisati šoferju transporterja, ki je ponoči pripeljal sporno tekočino k tovarni ter jo začel pretakati v cisterno. Menda ni opazil, da so zmogljivosti slednje manjše od količine tovara – in višek je stekel čez rob ter po kamnitih stopnicah odmezil v reko.« Obrazložitev tovarne ribičev in naravovarstvenikov ni zadovoljila.⁶⁰ Kljub zahtevi po podrobnejši analizi in tehtnejšim razlogom za izliv Šešir do konca marca 1974 ni sporočil nikakršnih podatkov, analiz, opravičila ali tehtnejših razlogov za razlitje. Zato so »ljubitelji prirode« v krajšem pozivu Šešir spet prosili za omenjeno.⁶¹ O vprašljivosti ekoloških in dobrososedskih praks Šeširja se sprašuje tudi članek iz *Gorenjskega glasa* iz leta 1974. V članku, ki se na splošno ukvarja z oblikovanjem prostora in urbanističnimi programi, avtor članka zapiše, da ima Šešir v načrtu postavitev kožarne »piclih 30 metrov od strnjenega kompleksa stanovanjskih poslopij.« T. i. zeleni tampon po mnenju avtorja ne bo »ustavil niti hrupa niti dima in smradu.«^{62, 63} Leto 1974 pa ni le leto negativnega poročanja o Šeširju. *Dolenjski list* ob 1. obletnici obrata v Stari vasi pri Brežicah objavi krajši prispevek, v katerem zapiše, da je proizvodnja stekla zadovoljivo. Kot zanimivost je v članku zapisano, da so »za šivalne stroje sedle kmečke žene in dekleta, med katerimi ni bilo niti ene šivilje.« Marljive delavke so v letu dni izdelale »26 tisoč otroških in ženskih pokrival iz raznovrstnega blaga, med drugim tudi iz umetnega krzna.« Na koncu avtor zapiše, da želi obrat v prihodnosti zaposliti še eno ali dve delavki.⁶⁴ Verjetno tudi kot odgovor na ekološko in dobrososedsko problematiko, s katero so se ukvarjali članki iz leta 1974, članek iz leta 1975 miri prebivalce Hafnerjevega naselja pri Škofji Loki pred hrupom in »raznimi gnijočimi ostanki živalskega izvora«, ki bi ga lahko povzročal prihodnji obrat tovarne Šešir na Trati pri Škofji Loki.⁶⁵ Avtor članka tako zapiše, da »se torej ni treba bati kupov nesnage, ležečih okrog stavbe, kajti že prej smo omenili prodajne prostore; vanje, kakor vemo, zahajajo poslovni sodelavci in kupci, zato je jasno, da jih smejo obdajati kvečjemu parki in nasadi.« V nadaljevanju še doda, da si je Šešir »poleg naštetega vnaprej zagotovil sredstva,

s katerimi bodo dokupili precejšen pas zemlje južno od poslopja, zasadili drevje ter tako postopoma vzgojili t. i. zeleni tampon med stanovanjsko četrtjo in proizvodnimi halami.« Po poročanju *Gorenjskega glasa* in potrdilu direktorja Šeširja Mira Pinteriča je »projekt vsestransko analiziral in preučil tudi inštitut Jožef Štefan⁶⁶ v Ljubljani oziroma njegova specializirana SEOP služba.«⁶⁷

Članek iz *Gorenjskega glasa* iz leta 1975 se ukvarja s 40. obletnico stavke v Šeširju, 30-letnico svobode in 25. obletnico samoupravljanja. V ta namen bodo, po poročanju časopisa, »v galeriji na loškem gradu odprli razstavo *Delavsko gibanje na Gorenjskem*, jutri pa bo v tovarni Šešir svečana proslava.« Avtorica Bogatajeva v nadaljevanju podrobno obravnava zgodovino klobučarstva na Loškem, organizacijo delavcev pred protestom in stavko. Na koncu se zazre v prihodnost in nastajajoči obrat Šeširja na Trati ter doda, da bodo v tovarni z »najsodobnejšimi stroji in tehnologijo lahko še bolj uspešno delali in gospodarili.«⁶⁸ Naslednji članek *Gorenjskega glasa* iz leta 1975 le še podrobneje opiše potek svečane slovesnosti, ki se je odvijala v Kinu Sora v Škofji Loki. Članku avtorica Bogatajeva doda še intervjuje in spomine Franca Logonderja, udeleženca stavke, Ivane Pintar, ki je na stavki sodelovala kot 12-letno dekle, in Jožeta Rozmana, sodelavca tehničnega muzeja na Jesenicah.⁶⁹ Prispevek iz leta 1976 na kratko poroča o slavnostnem odprtju novega obrata tovarne Šešir na Trati pri Škofji Loki.⁷⁰ V letu 1977 o tovarni Šešir poroča članek o praznovanju 1. maja s takratnim voditeljem Jugoslavije Josipom Brozom Titom. Novinar Žalar se sicer v prispevku podrobneje ukvarja s potekom praznovanja, vendar doda tudi, da je »kolektiv tovarne Šešir Titu podaril dva lovska klobuka; če bo enega premočil, da bo imel drugega pri roki.«⁷¹ Poročanje o Šeširju se v letu 1977 nadaljuje z že večkrat obravnavno temo mode, modnih smernic ter sezone, ki vplivajo na poslovanje in uspešnost Šeširja. Pri tem novinarka Bogataj ugotavlja, da je polletna neuspešnost Šeširja le navidezna,⁷² saj imajo za leto 1977 razprodano že skoraj celotno celoletno proizvodnjo.⁷³ Šešir omenja še članek iz leta 1977, ki se sicer ne dotika neposredno Šeširja, govori pa o asfaltiranju ceste po dolini Hrastnice. Pri tem novinarka Bogataj zapiše zanimiv podatek, da je »Šešir iz Škofje Loke med prvimi odobril pomoč za asfaltiranje ceste, in sicer po 5 tisoč dinarjev na zaposlenega, ki je doma iz teh krajev.«⁷⁴

V 80. letih pri objavah, ki so posredno povezane s Šeširjem, v veliki meri prevladujejo članki o raznovrstnih prireditvah, na katerih je tovarna klobukov prispevala svoje proizvode kot nagrade za nastopajoče, nagrajence, udeležence ipd. Eden od člankov iz leta 1980 napoveduje slavnostno srečanje samoupravljalcev škofjeloške občine ob 30. obletnici samoupravljanja in 45-letnici prve stavke v Šeširju. Na prireditvi je bilo še posebej vabljenih 72 udeležencev stavke v Šeširju pred 45 leti.⁷⁵ Članek iz leta

1982 sicer obravnava razstavo in rejo malih živali, v zvezi s Šeširjem pa je zapisano: »Šešir Škofja Loka je pred dobrimi štirinajstimi dnevi podpisal samoupravni sporazum o sodelovanju z Društvom gojiteljev malih živali Kranj. Prvi primer v Jugoslaviji!«⁷⁶ V članku iz leta 1983, ki se podrobneje ukvarja s Šeširjem, klobučarstvom in vzrejo zajcev, novinarka Volčjak na kratko opiše zgodovino in uspehe tovarne klobukov iz Škofje Loke. V nadaljevanju doda, da v Šeširju »izdelujejo tudi pokrivala iz najrazličnejših tkanin in k otroškim kapicam sešijejo tudi srajčko ali hlačke iz enake tkanine.« Sledi podrobnejši opis spretnosti, ki so potrebne pri izdelavi klobuka, in težav Šeširja pri zagotavljanju zajčjih kož. Prav zadnje je tovarno napeljalo, »da se je že pred leti odločila za sovlaganje v kunčjo farmo, ki jo je zgradil Merx iz Celja. Rečemo celo lahko, da je Šešir spodbudil gradnjo. Prve kunce so dobili iz Italije in sedaj gojijo zarod. Zgradili bodo še klavnico in sušilnico za kože. Načrtujejo pa tudi manjše kunčje farme.« Novinarka Volčjak zelo podrobno predstavi še izdelavo klobuka ter tako uspešnost kot težave Šeširjevega izvoza.⁷⁷ V članku iz *Gorenjskega glasa* iz leta 1983 se novinar Žalar posveti reji malih živali. Njegovo pisanje potrjuje dobro sodelovanje

48 *Gorenjski glas*, 1970a, str. 2.

49 *Gorenjski glas*, 1970b, str. 2.

50 Po poročanju J. G. bo Šešir »na ta način lahko izdeloval tudi izdelke za mrtvo sezono, ki jih doslej v matični tovarni niso.«

51 *Gorenjski glas*, 1971, str. 3.

52 »Poprečni osebni dohodki za pretekli mesec so znašali 1400 din. Nikogar ni v kolektivu, ki bi zaslužil manj kot 1000 din.« (Bogataj 1971, str. 5).

53 Bogataj, 1971, str. 5.

54 Gre za delavce, ki se niso bili pripravljeni na delo voziti v Škofjo Loko.

55 Bogataj, 1972a, str. 5.

56 Bogataj, 1972b, str. 25.

57 Bogataj, 1973, str. 16.

58 *Dolenjski list*, 1973a, str. 16.

59 *Dolenjski list*, 1973b, str. 12.

60 *Gorenjski glas*, 1974a, str. 16.

61 *Gorenjski glas*, 1974b, str. 20.

62 Kot primer nasprotne dobre prakse avtor doda: »V razvitih deželah je več načrtno kultiviranih površin med delavnicami ene in iste firme.« (*Gorenjski glas*, 1974c, str. 4).

63 *Gorenjski glas*, 1974c, str. 4.

64 Teppey, 1974, str. 18.

65 Nov obrat tovarne Šešir na Trati naj bi po poročanju *Gorenjskega glasa* obsegal: »obrat za pridelovanje dlake, skladišče kož, skladišče gotovih izdelkov, krojilnico, opremo klobukov, obrat za izdelovanje pokrival iz umetnega krzna, upravno-prodajne prostore in tehnično službo« (*Gorenjski glas*, 1975, str. 3).

66 Avtor članka napačno navaja ime inštituta ter fizika, matematika, elektrotehnika in pesnika. Pravilno je Jožef Štefan.

67 *Gorenjski glas*, 1975, str. 3.

68 Bogataj, 1975a, str. 4.

69 Bogataj, 1975b, str. 1, 12.

70 »Novi proizvodni in poslovni prostori merijo 12.700 kvadratnih metrov« (*Gorenjski glas*, 1976, str. 3.)

71 Žalar, 1977, str. 5.

72 Po poročanju Bogatajeve je Šešir dosegel polletni planiran obseg proizvodnje (Bogataj, 1977, str. 4).

73 Bogataj, 1977a, str. 4.

74 Bogataj, 1977b, str. 12.

75 *Gorenjski glas*, 1980, str. 2.

76 Dolenc, 1982, str. 11.

77 Volčjak, 1983, str. 4.

med tovarno klobukov in rejci zajcev in kuncev. Pri tem nam novinar posreduje naslednje zanimive podatke: »Šešir iz Škofje Loke mora na leto uvoziti okrog 15 milijonov kunčjih kožic. Predlanskim smo (Društvo gojiteljev malih živali Kranj) z njimi sklenili dogovor, da jim člani našega društva pošiljajo te kožice. Prvo leto so člani prodali Šeširju okrog 200 kožic, lani 1000, letos pa jih bo že okrog 3000. Šešir uporabi le dlako, koža se predela v umetna gnojila, ušesa pa v mizarski klej.«⁷⁸

Leto 1985 se začne s kratkim poročilom o začetku obnove Šeširjevega jezua na Selški Sori. Pri tem je dodano, da sta denar za obnovo prispevala Območna vodna skupnost in tovarna klobukov ter da bo Šešir na novem jezui zgradil malo hidroelektrarno za pogon obrata na Spodnjem trgu.⁷⁹ Leto 1985 je bilo leto praznovanja 50. obletnice prve stavke v Šeširju. Kot ob vsaki okrogli obletnici sta bila v *Gorenjskem glasu* objavljena dva članka na to temo. Eden je napovedal slavnostno srečanje, opisal organiziranost delavcev pred protestom in stavko ter se dotaknil sedanjosti in prihodnosti tovarne.⁸⁰ Drugi je poročilo s srečanja in kratek povzetek govorov slavnostnih govorcev.⁸¹ Iz leta 1986 je le en članek, ki pa je zgolj posredno povezan s Šeširjem. Obravnava namreč snemanje TV-nadaljevanke o Primožu Trubarju, pri čemer je izpostavljeno, da je »Šešir iz Škofje Loke, eden od sponzorjev TV nadaljevanke, za snemanje pripravil okoli 200 klobukov po tedanji modi. V Šeširju še imajo nekaj strojev, na katerih lahko po stari tehnologiji delajo tudi taka pokrivala, ki bi jih sicer za snemanje morali uvoziti.«⁸² Članek iz leta 1988 poročata, da je tovarna Šešir prejela veliko plaketo občine Škofja Loka. Prvi članek zgolj v kratkem stavku pove, da je med dobitniki plakete tudi kolektiv tovarne klobukov,⁸³ medtem ko se novinarka Volčjak v luči prejema plakete v drugem članku s takratnim direktorjem Mirom Pinteričem pogovarja o prenovi tovarne, stroških, povezanih s prenovi, in njenim vplivom na proizvodnjo in plače delavcev.⁸⁴ Članek iz leta 1989 nadaljuje poročanje o prenovi tovarne, ki je z njo: »ubila dve muhi na mah; delavci imajo odtlej boljše delovne pogoje, Škofja Loka pa polepšan arhitekturni spomenik.« Avtor članka v nadaljevanju prenese dvome uprave tovarne in zapiše, da je Šešir pred »novo odločitvijo: ali naj si oddahnejo, kar z drugimi besedami pomeni, več dajo za plače,⁸⁵ ali pa zaokrožijo obnovo z izgradnjo vodne elektrarne z zmogljivostjo milijon kilovatnih ur, od katerih bi slabo tretjino posrkali sami, ostalo pa spustili v omrežje.« Uprava bi naj sprejela kompromis. Na koncu prispevka se avtor dotakne zelo uspešnega izvoza Šeširja ter kvalitete Šeširjevih klobukov, ki omogočajo dvig njegovih cen na Zahodu.⁸⁶ O Šeširju leta 1989 poroča tudi *Dolenjski list*, ki je pripravil kratko reportažo o zaposlenih Šeširjevega obrata v Stari vasi pri Brežicah ter povzetek pogovora z Ivanko Strmecki, ki je bila tedaj vodja obrata. V prispevku avtor zapiše, da je v obratu zaposlenih 18 ljudi, med temi so same delavke in hišnik. Kot zanimivost

dodaja, da v obratu »na dan sešijejo 200 do 300 pokrival, odvisno od artikla.«⁸⁷ Še en članek iz 80. let poglobljeno obravnava uspešnost proizvodnje in izvoza Šeširja. Pri tem se dotakne tudi kakovosti Šeširjevih klobukov, njihove cene in plač zaposlenih v tovarni klobukov.⁸⁸

Šešir v časopisu do konca svojega delovanja

V začetku 90. let se nadaljuje poročanje o gospodarski (ne)uspešnosti Šeširja in njegovem sodelovanju na domačih sejmi in modnih revijah. *Gorenjski glas* večjemu številu izvodov doda t. i. Šeširjevo nagradno križanko, Šešir pa pravilno rešene križanke nagradi tako z denarnimi kot materialnimi nagradami. Članek iz *Gorenjskega glasa* iz leta 1990 se ukvarja s poslovno uspešnostjo Šeširja. V njem avtor poudarja, da je bil glede na izvoz Šešir nazadnje tako uspešen leta 1965. K temu doda, da ima tovarna polna skladišča surovin, ki so podlaga za že razprodano letno proizvodnjo, kar potrjuje njegovo poslovno uspešnost. Na koncu se dotakne tudi plač zaposlenih v Šeširju in zapiše, da »so bile vseskozi zaradi izvoza, trmastega vztrajanja pri investiranju in poslovanju z lastnim denarjem, bolj na repu v slovenski branži in škofjeloški občini kot ne. Še v lanskih prvih devetih mesecih, denimo, je bil Šešir po dobičku na 13. mestu med 80 tekstilci, po plačah pa na skromnem 60. mestu.« Plače so v naslednjih mesecih dvignili nad republiško povprečje in začeli izpolnjevati željo po približevanju (po plačah) Evropi.⁸⁹ Članek *Gorenjskega glasa* iz leta 1991 pod rubriko *Še pomnite, tovariši?* le povzema starejši zapis in leta 1954, ki govori o Šeširjevem favoriziranju zasebnih kupcev, ki naj bi bilo neskladno s socialistično moralo države.⁹⁰ Članek istega časopisa iz leta 1992 govori o poslovni (ne)uspešnosti nekaterih gorenjskih podjetij (Merkur, Gradbinec in Šešir). Pri tem novinarka Volčjak že na začetku zapiše, da je Šešir še »pravočasno odnesel pete z jugoslovanskega trga in da v novo leto stopa brez posojil.« V nadaljevanju se pogovarja s takratnim direktorjem Mirom Pinteričem, ki ji podrobno razloži poslovanje Šeširja, želje po preoblikovanju podjetja, pomembnosti izvoza in zunanjih trgov ter počasnem zapiranju trgovin po nekdanji državi. Kot zanimivost Pinterič pove, da se je Šešir že leta 1992 odločil, da postane družba z omejeno odgovornostjo (d. o. o.).⁹¹ Naslednji članek *Gorenjskega glasa* iz leta 1992 se navezuje na 70-letnico tovarne klobukov in opisuje uspešnost Šeširja v letu 1991 in začetku 1992. Pri tem je zapisano, da je Šešir leta 1991 izdelal »50.000 kaplinov, 110.000 moških in damskih klobukov, skonfekcionirali so okrog 160.000 kap in pokrival in naredili okoli 30 ton dlake.« V nadaljevanju se članek dotakne plač delavcev, ki so iz meseca v mesec nihale ter tako bile enkrat nad, drugič pa pod državnim povprečjem plač. Kot zanimiv podatek je izpostavljeno, da

tovarna zaposluje danes »140 delavcev v Šeširju, od tega je kar 90 odstotkov delavk.« V povezavi z delavci je mogoče zaslediti tudi podatek, da so številni izkušeni delavci (v zadnjem času) odšli v pokoj, zaradi česar trpi kvaliteta Šeširjevih proizvodov. Članek se zaključuje z napovedjo skromne proslave ob 70-letnici.⁹² Članek iz leta 1998, ki se posredno dotika Šeširja, govori o 50-letnici varstva otrok v Škofji Loki. V njem izvemo, da je začetek varstva otrok oziroma »družbene skrbi za predšolski naraščaj« predstavljala ustanovitev Doma igre in dela, ki je začel delovati pod okriljem tovarne klobukov Šešir v prostorih osnovne šole v Škofji Loki.⁹³

Članki *Gorenjskega glasa* v začetku novega tisočletja le še malokrat neposredno poročajo o Šeširju. Velikokrat je sicer omenjen v povezavi z (ne)uspešnostjo gorenjskih ali loških podjetij. Članek *Gorenjskega glasa* iz leta 2000 govori o tem, da bo »nemško podjetje HTB iz Düsseldorfa izdelavo damskih klobukov preselilo v škofjeloški Šešir.« V Šeširju so nemškemu podjetju »prepustili strojno opremo, tehnologijo, modele in seveda trg, brez omejitev.« Iz članka izvemo še naslednji zanimiv podatek: »v Šeširju je 115 zaposlenih, obrat imajo v Stari vasi pri Brežicah, kjer je 20 zaposlenih.«⁹⁴ V članku iz *Gorenjskega glasa* iz leta 2006 novinar Bogataj poroča, da je Šešir leta 2005 sicer posloval slabo, da pa ga hoče direktor Miro Pinterič s sodelavci kljub temu kupiti. Na vprašanje, kdo poleg njega je izrazil željo po nakupu, direktor odgovori: »Kar 148 malih delničarjev, od zaposlenih, nekdanjih zaposlenih, upokojencev in njihovih sorodnikov zaenkrat nima želja po prodaji delnic. Zato pa se nas je zbralo približno 30 zaposlenih in nekdanjih zaposlenih.« O vzrokih in načrtih za nakup podjetja je direktor povedal: »Naš cilj je, da blagovni znamki Šešir in Piccadilly ostaneta simbol Škofje Loke in Slovenije. Poznajo ju povsod po svetu in lahko ju obdržimo.« V nadaljevanju članka je govora o prodaji Šeširjevih prostorov na Spodnjem trgu, ker jih tovarna enostavno ne potrebuje več.⁹⁵ Tudi obrat na Trati naj bi se v prihodnosti zmanjšal, obrat v Stari vasi pri Brežicah pa je Šešir nameraval ukiniti šele, ko se bo upokojilo vseh 17 tam delujočih delavk. Članek iz leta 2007 se še podrobneje ukvarja s prevzemom Šeširja. V njem direktor Pinterič detajlno razloži potek odkupa, delovanje Šeširja in druge s financami povezane stvari.⁹⁶

Naslednja članka *Gorenjskega glasa* iz leta 2007 poročata o veliki škodi, ki jo je napravila poplava v tovarni. Prvi krajši prispevek tako poroča o uničenju skladišča barv in mehanične delavnice, voda pa je zalila tudi skladišče polizdelkov. Poplava je za Šešir prišla v zelo nepravem času, saj so ravno tedaj v podjetju pripravljali kolekcijo za prihodnjo sezono, zato so se upravičeno bali, da bo ujma negativno vplivala na njihovo poslovanje in finančno stabilnost.⁹⁷ Naslednji prispevek le potrjuje, kar je bilo ugotovljene-ga že prej. Pri tem izpostavi le, da so bili delavci do tedaj

navajeni na poplavljanje, saj del tovarne (stari del) »leži neposredno ob Selški Sori in celo pod nivojem te reke.« Tokrat jih je presenetila velika količina vode v zelo kratkem času.⁹⁸

Članek *Gorenjskega glasa* iz leta 2009 govori o poslovni uspešnosti in uspešnem premagovanju gospodarske krize Šeširja. V ta namen se je novinar Žargi pogovarjal s takratnim direktorjem Mirom Pinteričem. Na začetku prispevka obdelata gospodarsko krizo in to, kako je ta vplivala na poslovanje in stanje tovarne klobukov. V povezavi s krizo in iskanjem zadovoljivih rešitev zanjo direktor Pinterič pove: »Izdelujemo specialna pokrivala. Delamo za holandsko in našo policijo, gasilce, fan' klube po Avstriji, pokrivalo lovce, slovensko vojsko. Smo majhni, zelo prilagodljivi in zadnja tržna niša je povabilo na Kitajsko, kar menim, da je, če bomo znali izkoristiti, lahko tudi dolgoročneje perspektivno.« Glede odpuščanja delavcev zaradi krize direktor zatrdi, da jih niso odpustili nič, ampak da se je »število delavcev sicer zaradi upokojitev nekoliko zmanjšalo, sedaj nas je 66, vendar vsi delajo s polnim delovnim časom.« Na koncu se prispevek dotakne tudi lastništva, pri čemer direktor Pinterič pove: »Celotno naše premoženje je v rokah 128 delničarjev.«⁹⁹

Članki, ki se neposredno navezujejo na Šešir, so v času do njegovega propada vedno redkejši. Prvi članek v drugem desetletju novega tisočletja (2010) je obširen intervju z direktorjem Šeširja Mirom Pinteričem. V njem se dotakne težke gospodarske situacije, ki je močno vplivala tudi na tovarno klobukov, razloži prevelik obseg tovarne in to, zakaj bi bilo modro nekatere njene dele prodati, ter se dotakne lastništva v Šeširju. Kljub negativnim trendom gleda na dejavnost Šeširja pozitivno, predvsem zaradi

78 Žalar, 1983, str. 2.

79 *Gorenjski glas*, 1985, str. 1.

80 *Gorenjski glas*, 1985, str. 11.

81 Bogataj, 1985, str. 3.

82 *Gorenjski glas*, 1986, str. 10.

83 *Gorenjski glas*, 1988, str. 1.

84 Volčjak, 1988, str. 3.

85 Po poročanju *Gorenjskega glasa* je bil Šešir leta 1989 »na repu v škofjeloški občini« pri višini plač svojih zaposlenih« (*Gorenjski glas*, 1989, str. 9).

86 *Gorenjski glas*, 1989, str. 9.

87 *Dolenjski list*, 1989, str. 6.

88 Volčjak, 1989, str. 5.

89 *Gorenjski glas*, 1990, str. 14.

90 *Gorenjski glas*, 1991, str. 14.

91 Volčjak, 1992, str. 6.

92 *Gorenjski glas*, 1992, str. 17.

93 Žargi, 1998, str. 6.

94 *Gorenjski glas*, 2000, str. 8.

95 »V Šeširju je trenutno 87 zaposlenih, s komaj petimi v režiji, vendar je produktivnost slaba.« (Bogataj, 2006, str. 19.)

96 Žargi, 2007a, str. 17.

97 *Gorenjski glas*, 2007, str. 17.

98 Žargi, 2007b, str. 17.

99 Žargi, 2009.



Piccadilly

Katalog Piccadilly (hrani: Sara Šifrar Krajnik).

dveh novih tržnih niš – »židovskih klobukov in klobukov za nizozemsko policijo.« Šešir je v tistem času izdeloval tudi izdelke za slovenski policijo in vojsko. Kljub slabemu stanju gospodarstva direktor Pinterič gleda v prihodnost pozitivno in pove: »Če prebrodimo leto 2010, bo Šešir še zelo dolgo živel.«¹⁰⁰ Že leta 2012 direktor Pinterič v krajšem prispevku napoveduje težke čase za tovarno klobukov.¹⁰¹ V tovarni je bilo leta 2012 »57 sodelavcev«, direktor pa je celo napovedal, da bo v roku 5 let zaposlil petnajstih novih. V istem času je Šešir začel prodajati svoj obrat na Trati in se je v celoti preselil v svoje prostore na Spodnjem trgu.¹⁰² Za boljše poslovanje in manjše stroške proizvodnje je direktor Pinterič predlagal, da bi se tovarna klobukov povezala s kranjsko Triglav konfekcijo in škofovsko Odejo.¹⁰³ V povezavi s prodajo objektov na Trati *Loški utrip* leta 2015 dodaja, da Šešir objekte neuspešno prodaja že 2 leti. Zaradi tega se je vodstvo podjetja odločilo, da bo poslovne prostore oddajalo.¹⁰⁴ *Gorenjski glas* leta 2015 poroča o poenostavljeni prisilni poravnavi Šeširja. K temu novinarka Bertoneclj dodaja, da je Šešir leta 2014 tudi dokončno zaprl svoj obrat v Stari vasi pri Brežicah. Kot vzrok za prisilno poravnavo je naveden negativen finančni rezultat zadnjih treh let. Direktor Pinterič je k temu dodal, da je bila težava tudi občutno povečanje cen osnovne surovine (z 18 na 80 evrov za kilogram) in proizvodnja tovarne. Glavni cilj Šeširja v tistem trenutku je bil po besedah Pinteriča čimprejšnja poravnava vseh dolgov.^{105, 106} Članek iz leta 2016 sicer govori o dokapitalizaciji Šeširja s terjatvami direktorja Mira Pinteriča, ki je tako še povečal svoj lastniški delež. V članku Pinterič poudarja, da se tovarna seli tudi na vzhodne trge, kjer ima Šešir že proizvodnjo. Sočasno je razkril, »da bi dolgoročno želel svoj obrat na Spodnjem trgu vključiti v turistično ponudbo občine, pri čemer so turiste pripravljeni popeljati skozi proizvodnjo in jim tako približati izdelavo klobukov, ki bi jih na koncu seveda lahko tudi kupili.«¹⁰⁷ 10. decembra 2016 je *Gorenjski glas* objavil članek z naslovom »Stečaj oklicali tudi za loški Šešir«. Uvedbo stečaja je po pisanju novinarja Šubica predlagalo vodstvo Šeširja, ki se je že dolgo spopadal s težavami. Stečaj je bil tudi posledica neuspešnega finančnega saniranja, ki ga je tovarna klobukov želela izvesti s poenostavljeno prisilno poravnavo.¹⁰⁸ Leta 2018 je sledila dražba dela Šeširjevega premoženja. Po pisanju novinarja Zaplotnika bodo na dražbi »nepremičnine v Škofji Loki,¹⁰⁹ strojna oprema ter zaloge materiala in polizdelkov.« Na dražbi naj bi Šešir skušal prodati tudi 1677 delnic Gorenjske banke.¹¹⁰ V članku iz avgusta 2018 je novinarka Zavrl Žlebir zapisala: »Tretji poskus prodaje nepremičnin škofovške tovarne klobukov Šešir v stečaju je uspel. Nepremičnine na Spodnjem trgu so julija prodali.«¹¹¹ Leta 2019 je bilo prodanih še nekaj strojev tovarne kitajskemu podjetju.¹¹² Zgodba in zgodovina tovarne klobukov je bila zaključena.

100 Bogataj, 2010.

101 »Smo na dnu, pod vodo, le dolga slamica nas drži pri življenju, in če bo voda (stroški) narasla, bomo težko preživel«, je povedal Pinterič (Bogataj, 2012).

102 Poročanje potrjuje tudi kasnejši članek novinarke Zavrl Žlebir, ki poroča, da je Gorenjska banka pričela s prodajo nepremičnin družbe Šešir na Trati. K temu dodaj, da bo Šešir v prihodnosti svojo dejavnost opravljal na Spodnjem trgu (Zavrl Žlebir, 2014).

103 Bogataj, 2012.

104 Mlakar, 2015, str. 12.

105 »Glavni poudarki so pozitivni denarni tok, vsem delavcem in državi čim prej plačati dolgove, tudi dogovor z dobavitelji.« (Bertoneclj, 2015).

106 Pisanje Bertonecljeve potrди kasnejša objava Gorenjskega glasu, v kateri je zapisano: »Okrožno sodišče v Kranju je pretekli teden izdalo sklep o potrditvi poenostavljene prisilne poravnave za škofovsko tovarno klobukov Šešir.« (Rant, 2015).

107 Rant, 2016.

108 Šubic, 2016.

109 Proizvodni objekt, stranski prostori z razdeljevalnico hrane, barvarna, mehanična delavnica s skladiščnim podestom, kotlarna z dimnikom in za komunalno opremljeno stavbno zemljišče (Zaplotnik, 2017a).

110 Zaplotnik, 2017a; Zaplotnik 2017b; Zaplotnik 2018a; Zaplotnik 2018b.

111 Nepremičnine tovarne klobukov je kupilo podjetje Polimix iz Žirov (Zavrl Žlebir, 2018). Prodajo nepremičnin Šeširja potrjuje tudi *Loški utrip* (Potočnik, 2018, str. 6).

112 Zavrl Žlebir, 2019.

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Tadej Curk

Spomini Viktorja Klobučnika

Pričujoča zgodba so spomini nekdanj zaposlenega v tovarni Šešir Škofja Loka Viktorja Klobučnika. Viktor Klobučnik je fiktiven lik in nima z umrlimi ali še živečimi zaposlenimi tovarne Šešir ničesar skupnega. Skozi njihove zgodbe le pripoveduje strnjeno zgodbo tovarne Šešir. Spomini Viktorja Klobučnika temeljijo na realnih zgodbah in intervjujih, ki jih je za potrebe Loškega muzeja Škofja Loka in projekta *Zaljubljeni v ustvarjalnost* zbrala in zapisala študentka etnologije in kulturne antropologije Sara Šifrar Krajnik. Pri intervjujih so sodelovali: Anton in Andrej Mlakar – soprog in sin nekdanje modistke v tovarni Šešir Vere Mlakar; Draga Bergant Finžgar – sorodnica več zaposlenih v tovarni Šešir; Mirjana Šifrar – hči zaposlene v tovarni; Miroslav Pintarić – nekdanji direktor tovarne; Pavla Mravljia – nekdanja zaposlena v šivalnici tovarne; Marta in Marija Tavčar – nekdanja finančna delavka v knjigovodstvu ter obrtnica in šivilja, povezana s tovarno, ter nekateri drugi, ki želijo ostati anonimni.

Če si Ločan, nosiš Šešir v sebi!

Sem Viktor Klobučnik, doma s Ceste talcev v Škofji Loki, ki se je včasih imenovala tudi Stara Loka. Moj oče Anton Klobučnik je med letoma 1935 in 1936 na Cesti talcev zgradil prijetno družinsko hišo, v kateri s svojo družino bivam še danes in od koder izvirajo tudi eni mojih prvih in najžlahtnejših spominov. Ker se skozi svoje šolanje nisem ravno izkazal, je oče Anton s pomočjo nekaterih svojih vez in prijateljev dosegel, da so me po odsluženem vojaškem roku kot vratarja in občasnega nočnega čuvaja okoli leta 1951 zaposlili v tovarni Šešir. V tovarni sem ostal vse do svoje upokojitve, ki je sovpadala z letom osamosvojitve Slovenije. Tako sem svojo zasluženost, a skromno pokojnino začel prijemati že v slovenskih tolarjih. Ker sem bil vedno na prepihu, v dobesednem in prenesenem pomenu, sem videl, slišal in doživel prenekatero zgodbo in dogodek v tovarni. Zaradi mojega zanimanja za zgodovino in preteklost ter želje po beleženju dogodkov, ki sem jih skrbno zapisoval v svoj dnevnik, me je Loški muzej Škofja Loka prosil, da nekatere zgodbe ter, jaz bi temu rekel, ljudsko zgodovino tovarne Šešir zapišem v spomine, ki jih potrebujejo za publikacijo projekta *Zaljubljeni v ustvarjalnost*. Ker sam nisem preveč več sodobne tehnologije mi je pri tem prostovoljno in z veliko mere dobre volje pomagal vnuk Luka.

Lahko bi začel s stavkom: »Tovarna Šešir je bila že od nekdanj svetovno znana tovarna klobukov.« A je to le deloma res. Dolgo pred prvo in drugo veliko vojno je bila stavba

tovarne Šešir namreč tudi prva elektrarna za Škofjo Loko, začeni, če me spomin ne vara, leta 1894. Šele od leta 1921, ki velja tudi za uradno letnico ustanovitve, je bil Šešir »le« še tovarna klobukov, v kateri je večino stvari paradoksalno poganjala voda in manjšino elektrika. Prva leta po drugi veliki vojni so bila težka in garaška, zato so bili ljudje, z mano vred, še toliko bolj veseli, če so dobili zaposlitev in delo v Šeširju. Težke razmere in volja po ponovnem zagonu gospodarstva se je poznala tudi v Šeširju, kjer se je po vojni delalo na dve ali celo tri izmene. Tudi ob sobotah in celo kakšno nedeljo. Nič drugače pa ni bilo v šolah, v katerih je pouk prav tako potekal ob sobotah. Nekateri bi celo rekli, da se je po vojni več garalo kot pilo, kasneje, ko so se časi izboljšali pa je bilo obratno. Moj delavnik je sprva potekal od 6. do 14. ure ali od 14. do 22. ure, odvisno, v kateri turnus sem bil dodeljen. Z leti smo torkovim in četrтковim delovnim uram dodali še dve, tako da smo delali do 16. ure. To pa zato, da nam v soboto ni bilo treba priti na delo, kljub temu da so delovne sobote sčasoma zajemale samo 4 ure. Kasneje je vikend postal povsem prost. Delovni dan v tednu je takrat potekal od 6. do 14. ure. Za večino delavcev – le midva s kurjačem sva včasih začejala že ob 5.30 in končala dolgo potem, ko so bili že vsi doma. No, kdaj pa kdaj se nama je pridružil še kak delavec, vodja ali direktor, a to je bilo prej izjema kot pravilo. Včasih se je zgodilo, če je bilo treba loviti kakšne roke ali pa pripraviti večjo pošiljko za tujino, da se je nama s kurjačem pri nadurah pridružilo še večje število drugih delavcev in zaposlenih. Takrat se je lahko delo zavleklo tudi do zgodnjih jutranjih ur ali celo čez cel vikend. Veliko težavo je predstavljala tudi inventura, ko nekateri zaradi nje nismo smeli na dopust. Ja, dopust. V tovarni Šešir smo imeli kolektivni dopust, ki je trajal od nekje konca julija pa vse do nekje 17. avgusta, veliko pa smo bili prosti tudi okoli božično-novoletnih dni. Takrat je bila tovarna zaprta, mi pa smo se lahko posvečali vsem prazničnim dejavnostim in radostim. Vsako pravično in pošteno delo si poleg dopusta zasluži tudi pravično plačilo. Plače v Šeširju so bile, če drugega ne, vsaj redne, kar je po drugi veliki vojni prenekateremu delavcu omogočilo preživetje. Denar od plače smo prejeli v kuvertah na roko. In s tem je povezana tudi zanimiva zgodba. Kot že rečeno: plače smo dobivali v kuvertah, a denar je bilo treba dvigniti na banki. Ni bilo tako kot danes, ko se na računu tovarne kar tako pojavijo neke številke, ki jih potem preusmerijo na račune delavcev. Ker je bilo denar treba dvigniti je šla računovodkinja v spremstvu še

1 Naslov je sposojen iz zapisa, ki ga je študentki etnologije in kulturne antropologije Sari Šifrar Krajnik zaupala Draga Bergant Finžgar.

enega zaposlenega in šoferja tovarne po denar za plače na banko na Mestnem trgu. Dvignjeni denar je trojica spravila kar v Šeširjev cekar, preden so se vrnili v tovarno, pa so s cekarjem, polnim denarja, zavili še na sladoled, ki so si ga nedvomno zaslužili.

Ko so se vrnili v tovarno, je računovodkinja s pomočjo nekaterih sodelavcev denar prerazporedila v kuverte in jih razdelila med delavce in druge zaposlene. Nekateri delavci so bili mnenja, da so bile plače v Šeširju zanič in da so z njimi komaj shajali. Drugi so govorili, da niso bile ne najboljše in ne najslabše oziroma niso izstopale v primerjavi z drugimi tovarnami. Spet tretji, verjetno tisti bolj šparavni, pa so celo trdili, da so bile plače za en srednji razred. Podobno so seveda trdili tudi direktorji, ki so vedno govorili, da so plače konkurenčne. Zame osebno, ker ne zapravljam veliko, je bila plača solidna. To pišem tudi zato, ker je vso opremo za delo v tovarni zagotovil Šešir, zaradi dela z živim srebrom, ki so ga določali tudi v urinu delavcev, celo v lastnem laboratoriju, pa smo zaposleni dobivali tudi zastoj mleko. Pol litra mleka za vsakega delavca. Mleko smo dobili za malico. Nekateri ga niso takoj popili in so ga raje nesli domov, kjer so ga razdelili med družinske člane. Od nekje leta 1964 smo zaposleni poleg mleka na račun Šeširja, z Lontrga dobili tudi toplo malico. Kasneje, leta 1969, pa se je kuhinja vzpostavila v tovarni. Imeli smo tudi svoje kuharice, ki so nam, pridim, dale vedno malce več ali kakšen repete. Kuhinja se je kasneje z drugimi deli tovarne preselila na Trato. A o tem več kasneje.

Plače so bile nekoliko nižje tudi zaradi tega, ker se je veliko financ investiralo oziroma vložilo v dograjevanje in prenovo zastarele tovarne ter nabavo in popravilo, obnovo in barvanje strojev. Posodabljanje in obnova se je pričela predvsem pod direktorjem Galofom. Če je Šešir želel biti konkurenčen, je moral posodobiti svoje stroje ter nabaviti marsikatero novo reč. Predvsem tehnološko, da smo lahko razvili in uporabili lastno tehnologijo in nismo bili toliko odvisni od drugih. A ker denarja ni bilo na pretek oziroma veliko manj kot na Zahodu, je bil Šešir primoran kupovati starejše ali celo zastarele stroje in opremo. Večino strojev je bilo kupljenih v tujini, predvsem Italiji, vendar so se zaradi svoje obrabe veliko kvarili. To pa je zahtevalo dodatno delo in finančna sredstva. Konkurenčnost je zahtevala tudi popravilo in dograjevanje same stavbe tovarne. To so s pomočjo delavcev in delovnih akcij dogradili in posodobili šeširjevci sami. Manjše zadoščenje in poplačilo je tovarna delavcem, ki so pomagali pri obnovi in dograditvi stavbe, zagotovila v materialni obliki. Tako so lahko npr. vrata, okna in drug gradbeni material uporabili za gradnjo lastnih hiš ali hiš sorodnikov.

Če smo že pri sorodnikih, v tovarni Šešir so delale celotne družine in širše sorodstvo. To pomeni, da je v Šeširju delalo veliko Ločanov in prebivalcev iz okolice Škofje Loke. Tudi otroci in mladina med poletnimi počitnicami. Ti so lahko delo opravljali za dodaten zaslužek ali pa kot del prakse in usposabljanja. Počitniško delo otrok in mla-

dostnikov je lahko zajemalo lepljenje ostankov dlake na papir ali pa dodatno odstranjevanje dlake z zajčjih uhljev in repov, s čimer so tovarni prihranili preveliko izgubo dragocene dlake. Lepljenje ostankov na papir in dodatno odstranjevanje dlake sta bili manj zaželeni obliki dela, saj so se jim dlake lepile po celotnem telesu ter jim dražile oči, nos in usta. Bolj so se veselili in si želeli dela v pisarnah in upravi. Nič drugače ni bilo niti pri stalno zaposlenih v tovarni. Kljub kroženju in prehajanju med oddelki so nekateri eno delo opravljali raje kot drugo. Celotnemu delovnemu procesu v Šeširju pa je bilo skupno to, da je bilo veliko ročnega dela, stroji pa so bili delavcem in ročnemu delu samo v pomoč. Pretežno ročno delo, ki je od delavcev zahtevalo izostren občutek, naj bi bilo, po mnenju nekaterih zaposlenih, kar so mi v prenekaterem pogovoru omenili, tudi odločilno za višjo kvaliteto in posledično višjo ceno Šeširjevih klobukov. Najtežje fizično in najmanj zaželeno delo je predstavljala kožarna, kjer se je kožo rezalo od dlake – ne, besedni vrstni red ni napačen, takšen je bil proces. Tovarna Šešir je nekaj časa, začevši z direktorjem Galofom, gojila celo lastne kunce in zajce. Gojilnica je bila v Puštalu za Soro ali v vasi Draga, žal se ne spomnim natančno. Kasneje je zaradi vse večjega povpraševanja po Šeširjevih klobukih prevladal uvoz zajcev in kuncev ali samo njihove dlake iz Rusije oziroma Sovjetske zveze in Belgije. Ampak, če se vrnem na kožarno: v njej je bil zelo oster in neprijeten vonj zaradi kemikalij, česar se sam še predobro spominjam s svojih obhodov. Kožarni niso bile tuje niti bolhe. Kljub težkim, neprijetnim in zdravju škodljivim razmeram so v kožarni, če me spomin ne vara, večinoma delale ženske ter delavci, ki so bili na začetku kariere v Šeširju. Težko in zahtevno delo je bilo tudi v valjarni, kjer so morali biti delavci, ki so bili sestavljeni pretežno iz moškega kolektiva, še posebej natančni, saj je tam nastajal temelj ali osnova klobuka. Najlažje delo, po mnenju nekaterih zaposlenih, pa je bilo tehtanje dlake, ki je bila najkvalitetnejša, kot zanimivost, na hrbtu kunca ali zajca. Če vprašate mene, bi dejal, da je bilo v vseh oddelkih in na vseh delovnih mestih po svoje težko delati, predvsem pa je bilo delo zelo odgovorno.

Kolektiv v Šeširju je bil odličen in povezan. Delavci in zaposleni smo se med seboj poznali, dobro razumeli in bili celo prijatelji. Veliko smo se hecali in le redko prepirali. Če pa je že prišlo do prepira, smo večinoma vse uredili po delu v gostilni. Le v času direktorja Kavčiča je prišlo do večjih kreganj. Nekateri razprtije so šle celo tako daleč, da smo morali na sodišče. A pravico in mir smo našli brez posredovanja pravnikov in sodišča, bojna sekira pa je bila hitro zakopana. Posledice so vseeno bile. Odnosi med direktorovanjem Kavčiča so bili bolj napeti kot sicer med mojo zaposlitvijo v Šeširju. Nelagodje in napeti odnosi so se zavlekli tudi v direktorovanje Galofa, pod katerim so bili sicer manjši spori, a niso omembe vredni. No, sčasoma smo razprtije in kreganja premagali ter se povezali v misli, da smo lahko veseli, da smo zaposleni in delamo

v tako ugledni tovarni, kot je Šešir. S tem se je užitek do dela samo povečal. Kolegialnost in povezanost med delavci ter zaposlenimi sta vztrajali kljub temu, da so bili oddelki med seboj ločeni, različno sestavljeni in nekateri tekom časa celo preseljeni. Tako so bile modistke večinoma ženski kolektiv. Enako je veljalo za barvarnico in šivalnico, kjer so bile v večini ženske. V drugih oddelkih je bil kolektiv mešan, le redko pa so prevladovali moški. Za izključno moške je bilo rezervirano večinoma težko fizično delo. Preizkušnjo naše povezanosti in prijateljstva so predstavljale tudi nekatere selitve ali nove vzpostavitev oddelkov na drugih krajih. Kožarna je bila v času do svoje prodaje tako v kašči in nekdanji Primoževi žagi zraven današnje gostilne Jeshrana. Sčasoma se ji je, do odprodaje, na tej lokaciji pridružilo tudi skladišče. Kot je bilo omenjeno že prej, se je del tovarne preselil na Trato. Enota na Trati je tako poleg kuhinje zajemala še šivalnico, skladišče gotovih izdelkov, kožarno in deponijo.

Povezanost in solidarnost Šeširjevega kolektiva se je kazala tudi v tem, da smo kljub slabim plačam skrbeli eden za drugega in si pomagali med seboj. Tako smo imeli tudi sklad skupnih rezerv, iz katerega so si lahko delavci in zaposleni, če so gradili hišo ali potrebovali enkratno večjo količino denarja, sposodili denar. Ne smem pa pozabiti omeniti tudi sindikalne ozimnice, kjer so lahko delavci kupili in dobili npr. jabolka po znižani ceni. Moški sodelavci smo za vsak 8. marec tudi poskrbeli, da so sodelavke dobile kakšno malenkost. Tovarna je imela tudi t. i. socialna stanovanja, ki smo jih dali v najem ali uporabo materam samohranilkam, za katere smo vsi skrbeli in jim pomagali. Nič drugače pa se nismo obnašali do invalidov in drugih ranljivih skupin, za katere smo skrbeli s skupnimi močmi. Prenekaterega invalida smo tudi zaposlili in mu tako vrnili človeško dostojanstvo in ga obravnavali kot nam enakovrednega.

Prijateljstva, enotnosti in povezanosti pa nikakor ne bi bilo brez skupnih dejavnosti in druženja izven delovnih ur. V okviru tovarne smo imeli v sindikalni dvorani tudi skupen televizor. To je bil tudi prvi televizor, ki smo ga nekateri videli in gledali. Večinoma smo se ob televizorju družili, ko smo spremljali kakšna športna tekmovanja in prireditve. S časom so se v sindikalni dvorani poleg televizorja pojavili tudi pingpong miza, šah in manjša knjižnica. Sindikalna dvorana je tako postala mesto druženja in preganjanja dolgčasa ter čakanja. Čakanje je bilo povezano predvsem s čakanjem na prost tuš oziroma umivalnico. Tovarna je namreč imela tudi skupne tuše in umivalnico, v katero so se ob sobotah hodile umivat in kopat celotne družine delavcev in zaposlenih. Na ta način smo lahko spoznali družine in stkali tesna prijateljstva. Nepozabni pa so tudi sicer redki dogodki, ki so se dogajali izven tovarne. V času direktorja Galofa smo tako začeli prirejati tekme in tekmovanja v pingpongu, nogometu, šahu in streljanju. Tekme niso bile namenjene samo delavcem in zaposlenim v Šeširju, ampak smo se pomerili tudi z drugimi tovarna-



Ostal je le še spomin ... (foto: Sara Šifrar Krajnik).



Začetek in konec mojega delovnega dne – Viktor Klobučnik (foto: Sara Šifrar Krajnik).

mi v in izven Škofje Loke. Direktor Galof je bil tudi pobudnik izletov s tovornjaki in kasneje z avtobusi. S tovornjaki se je odhajalo predvsem na t. i. mitinge za 1. maj ali druge borčevske proslave, ki smo jih imeli večinoma na Sv. Ožboltu ali na kakšnem drugem hribu. Tako smo se izpred Šeširja odpeljali na vrh, tam pa se je naš tovornjak spremenil v govorniški oder, s katerega so rohneli politični in aktivistični govori. Kolektivni izlet s tovornjakom nas je parkrat pripeljal tudi na morje. Nekateri delavci in zaposleni so s pomočjo takšnega kolektivnega izleta tudi prvič videli morje in se v njem kopali. Direktor Pintarič je kolektivne izlete sčasoma ukinil. Uradni razlog, ki je prišel do nas delavcev, je bil, da so izleti ukinjeni zato, ker so na dotedanjih izletih nekateri izmed naših sodelavcev kradli. Mi smo temu le stežka verjeli. Bolj smo sumili, da so bili izleti ukinjeni zaradi prevelikega stroška, saj se je izletov vedno udeležilo precejšnje število delavcev in njihovih družin. Od skupnih druženj izven delovnih ur se spominjam tudi praznovanje direktorjevega rojstnega dne. Nekateri moji sodelavci pa se spominjajo tudi obeleževanja in praznovanja obletnic ustanovitve tovarne. Sam se teh obletnic ne spomnim prav dobro, verjetno tudi zaradi tega, ker se jih nisem udeležil. Proti koncu moje zaposlitve – delovno mesto vratarja so z osamosvojitvijo Slovenije tudi počasi ukinili – pa je bilo v tovarni vedno manj kolegialnosti. V času lastne in samostojne države je začela tudi celotna tovarna počasi propadati. Opuščalo se je tudi prej dobre in dodelane stvari ter oddelke.

Spominov in zapisa nikakor ne smem zaključiti brez omembe tovarne in njenega poslovanja ter Šeširjevih klobukov. Kot sem v tem zapisu že poudaril, je bila tovarna Šešir svetovno znana in pomembna tovarna, ki je sodelovala tudi z italijanskimi, avstrijskimi in nemškimi tovarnami klobukov ter tujimi dobavitelji in prodajala ter razstavljala po celotni Jugoslaviji ter tujini. O pomembnosti tovarne Šešir v času Jugoslavije govorita tudi naslednja dva podatka. Prvi je ta, da je vedno preden je šel na politično in diplomatsko pot, je v tovarni nove klobuke naročil Josip Broz - Tito. Drugi podatek, ki govori o veličini tovarne Šešir pa je, da je imela tovarna v lasti mercedesa, zaradi česar smo morali zaposliti tudi voznika. Mercedes je tovarna Šešir dobila v času direktorja Kavčiča, ki je bil sorodnik Nika Kavčiča. Niko je v času svoje kariere pridobil ekskluzivno zastopstvo za Mercedes v Jugoslaviji in je kasneje ustanovil današnji Avtocommerce. Ker je bil nad svojim dosežkom tako zadovoljen, je sorodnikom in znancem podelil in poslal avtomobile. Tako je tovarna Šešir postala ponosna in lastnica Mercedes.

Prodajalne je imel Šešir poleg Škofje Loke, kjer si lahko nekaj časa klobuk kupil ali si ga dal popraviti in očistiti, še v 19 mestih po Jugoslaviji (med drugim v Ljubljani – ena je bila v pasaži pod nebotičnikom – in Poreču). S tem pa se izvoz izven SR Slovenije, ki je predstavljal 95 % prodaje, ni končal. Tovarna Šešir je namreč svoje izdelke in polizdelke izvažala še v Avstrijo, Kanado, Nemčijo, ZDA (v Nemčijo

in ZDA se je izvažalo predvsem damske klobuke), Rusijo oziroma Sovjetsko zvezo (kamor se je izvažalo predvsem čepice), Iran in Izrael. Z izvozom v Rusijo oziroma Sovjetsko zvezo je povezana še ena zanimiva zgodba, ki jo enostavno moram zapisati. Ker ruski naročniki enkrat niso imeli dovolj denarja za plačilo Šeširjevih klobukov, so naročilo plačali v naturalijah, pri čemer je šlo v glavnem za kroglice naftalina. Tovarna in verjetno celotna Škofja Loka sta imeli tako dovolj naftalina za kakšnih 10 let. Šešir je svoje polizdelke, tulce in izdelke razstavljali tudi na sejmi in velesejmih doma in v tujini. Od mest, kjer je Šešir razstavljali, se spomnim Ljubljane, Zagreba, Beograda, Novega Sada, Pariza, Milana, Düsseldorfa, Wiesbadna in Münchna. Opuščanje proizvodnje, počasen propad tovarne ter neodgovorna politika so poskrbeli, da se je skozi čas po osamosvojitvi začelo počasi izgubljati trge in mesta na sejmi. Zaradi številnih trgovin po Jugoslaviji ter sejmov doma in v tujini v času vrhunca in napredka tovarne Šešir so nekateri zaposleni z direktorjem na čelu pogostokrat obiskali tujino in hodili v proizvodnje in na sejme. Sam tega privilegija nisem imel, a sem bil skoraj vedno deležen kakšne razglednice, ki jih še vedno s ponosom hranim doma. S poslovnih potovanj je do mene prišla tudi prenekatera zanimiva zgodba in pripetljaj. Tako mi je modistka Vera Mlakar enkrat povedala, kako je v Milanu ter kasneje Parizu stala pred izložbami modnih trgovin in prerisovala njihove klobuke in konfekcije, ki so kasneje služile kot podlaga za Šeširjeve klobuke. Ko sem jo vprašal, zakaj jih je prerisovala, mi je v smehu odgovorila, da ni imela dovolj majhnega fotoaparata. Njen je bil namreč prevelik in kaj lahko bi se zgodilo, da bi jo zaradi tega lastniki trgovin prijavili policiji zaradi vohunjenja in kraje intelektualne lastnine. Tega pa na noben način ni hotela tvegati.

Ne glede na dobro ime ter ugled tovarne Šešir delo v njej ni bilo nič posebnega. Večina mojih sodelavcev, kot tudi jaz, smo bili mnenja, da je zaposlitev v Šeširju enaka drugim. Delo kot delo. Zaposlitev kot zaposlitev. Tudi občutka, da bi nas drugi Ločani zaradi naše zaposlitve gledali ali dojemali kaj drugače, nismo imeli. Bili smo zaposleni v Šeširju in to je bilo vse. Nikakršnega posebnega ali višjega družbenega statusa nismo imeli zaradi tega. Predvsem pa zaradi tega nismo dobili ničesar zastoj, če se lahko malce pošalim.

Čisto na koncu moram napisati še nekaj o Šeširjevih in na splošno o klobukih. Omenil sem že, da so bili predvsem zaradi ročnega, natančnega in odgovornega dela Šeširjevi klobuki višje kakovosti in zato malce dražji. Na začetku svoje poti je tovarna Šešir izdelovala zgolj moške klobuke. Z direktorjem Kavčičem pa se je okoli leta 1961 pričelo izdelovati tudi ženske klobuke. V ta namen je bil ustanovljen tudi oddelek ženskih klobukov, imenovan Klobuček. Ženskim klobukom je sledila izdelava bombažnih čepic, tako ženskih kot moških. Sčasoma so se čepicam pridružile tudi bombažne kapice za otoke. Nekaj časa je tovarna Šešir izdelovala celo kučme. Nenazadnje pa je Šešir izde-

loval tudi slamnike. Na tem mestu se bralcu verjetno zastavi dvojno vprašanje: kako je bilo z nošnjo klobukov v času obratovanja Šeširja? In ali so delavci nosili klobuke? Odgovori na to so precej različni. Tisti starejši delavci, ki so obvezno nosili klobuk in šli v pokoj precej pred mano, so bili mnenja, da je to obvezno in da bi ga morale nositi tudi ženske. V času moje zaposlitve pa je prevladovalo mnenje, da je nošnja klobuka prosta izbira. Zato so klobuke večinoma nosili moški po dopolnjenem 18. letu. Ženske so po lastnem mnenju morale biti ali na dovolj visokem položaju ali pa dovolj fine za nošnjo klobuka. Delavcem in zaposlenim je sicer v tovarni enkrat na leto pripadal popust pri nakupu klobuka, mislim, da do 50 %, a smo se zanj raje odločali, če smo morali kupiti klobuk namesto kakšnega sorodnika ali prijatelja. Popust smo izkoristili tudi, če smo klobuk komu kupili za darilo.

Takšni so moji spomini ter spomini nekaterih starejših in mlajših delavcev, ki so bili kdaj-koli zaposleni v tovarni Šešir. Zelo nam je žal, da je tako dobra in svetovno znana tovarna končala tako. Močno upamo, da se bosta dediščina in znanje tovarne in delavcev ohranila ter bila navdih mlajšim generacijam. Zato si, drage bralke in dragi bralci, vse Ločanke in Ločani, predvsem pa mladi zapomnite: »Šešir ste tudi vi!«



Konec neke tovarne in obdobja ... (foto: Janez Porenta, vir: Loške novice, 3. 4. 2019).

Sara Šifrar Krajnik

*Ko se obrtne delavnice zapro
in tovarne propadejo:
Zgodbe sodobnih rokodelcev*

Od obrtnikov do industrije na Loškem

Škofja Loka leži pod vzhodnim obronkom Loškega pogorja, na stičišču Poljanske in Selške Sore. Lega mesta, ki je bilo v srednjem veku močno gospodarsko središče, je omogočala, da sta se tu razvili obrt in z njo povezana trgovina.¹

Kot izrazito obrtniško mesto je Škofja Loka cvetela v cehovskih časih.² S postopnim uveljavljanjem svobodne obrti in trgovine ter s francosko okupacijo³ pa se je tudi na Loškem ozemlju doba cehovstva prenehala.⁴ Kljub temu pa gospodarska, trgovska in proizvodna moč Škofje Loke dolgo časa niso prešle v manufakturno obliko delovnega procesa in industrijski način proizvodnje.

Začetek industrializacije⁵ sta Škofji Loki zlasti omogočila podjetnost posameznikov in prihod železnice,^{6,7} večji razmah na področju industrije pa se je na Loškem zgodil šele po prvi svetovni vojni. V tem obdobju se je v Škofji Loki najbolj razvijala tekstilna industrija.⁸ Kar nekaj industrijskih obratov je izšlo iz dolgoletne tradicije manjših obrtniških delavnic, ostala industrijska podjetja pa so bila ustanovljena neodvisno od razvoja obrtne dejavnosti. Za takrat največjo tovarno, ki ni bila ustanovljena na obrtni tradiciji, štejemo tovarno klobukov Šešir.⁹

V nasprotju s propadanjem nekaterih cehovskih obrti Škofje Loke v 19. stoletju je klobučarstvo prav cvetelo. Vendar so se postopoma tudi klobučarske delavnice pričele zapirati.¹⁰ Leta 1967 je tako prenehal z delovanjem še zadnji klobučar v Loki.¹¹ Z zapiranjem klobučarskih delavnic pa se izdelovanje klobukov v Škofji Loki ni končalo. Leta 1921 je bila namreč ustanovljena delniška družba z imenom Tovarna klobukov Šešir d. d., Škofja Loka. Na ustanovitev tovarne ni kaj dosti vplivala loška klobučarska tradicija, večji vpliv je predstavljala možnost koriščenja generatorja in strojev nekdanje tovarne sukna, ki je bila na Spodnjem trgu predhodnica Šeširja. Ustanovitev in zagon tovarne sta pomenila začetek klobučarske industrije v Škofji Loki.¹²

Tovarna Šešir je v letih delovanja preživela svetovno gospodarsko krizo in delavsko stavko leta 1935 ter se postopno približevala evropskemu vrhu kvalitete in mode,¹³ ob tem pa se je uveljavljala na mednarodnem tržišču. Razvojna pot Šeširja se leta 2016 po 95. letih delovanja konča s stečajem.

S koncem klobučarstva in klobučarske industrije v Škofji Loki pa znanje izdelovanja klobukov še daleč ni šlo v pozabo.



Poslopje na Spodnjem trgu, 2018 (foto: Sara Šifrar Krajnik).

1 Planina, 1972, str. 15–16.

2 Cehi so se pričeli pojavljati proti koncu srednjega veka. Najstarejši ceh v Škofji Loki je bil krojaški ceh, ustanovljen leta 1457.

3 Francoska vlada slovenske dežele zasede leta 1809 in tu ostane do leta 1813.

4 Planina, 1972, str. 15–16.

5 Prvi industrijski obrat v Škofji Loki je bila Krennerjeva tovarna sukna na Spodnjem trgu, ustanovljena leta 1871.

6 Železnica je bila na tem predelu zgrajena leta 1870.

7 Ristič, 2016, str. 31.

8 Logar, 1955, str. 88.

9 Planina, 1936, str. 45.

10 Upad števila delavnic je izrazil ob koncu 19. stoletja. Delavnice so se zapirale zaradi izumiranja mojstrov brez naslednikov ter zaradi ustanovitve tovarne klobukov Šešir, ki je prevzela njihovo delo.

11 Brez navedbe avtorja (v nadaljevanju b. n. a.), 1975, brez navedbe strani (v nadaljevanju b. n. s.).

12 Tušek, 1990, str. 11.

Ko se sedanost poveže s preteklostjo

Za ohranjanje in razvijanje posameznih rokodelskih¹⁴ panog je zelo pomembna družbena skrb. Živimo v času dinamičnega razvojnega procesa rokodelstva, pri katerem ne gre le za številne izkušnje in tehnološka znanja, temveč zlasti za človeško vpetost v razmerje med naravnim in kulturnim okoljem.¹⁵ S prizadevanjem posameznika v teh razmerjih nastajajo mojstrovine, ki so lahko vezane na zgodovinski spomin, lahko pa gre za povsem nove oblike ustvarjanja, pri katerih prav tako ne moremo zanemariti povezave z dediščino. Tako rokodelstvo danes predstavlja stičišče sodobne ustvarjalnosti in zgodovinskega spomina.

Rokodelstvo na škofjeloškem območju ni le del zgodovinskega spomina in dediščine, ampak tudi del vsakdana. Tu je še danes aktivnih veliko rokodelcev, med katerimi naletimo tudi na tiste, ki v svojih delavnicah povezujejo sodobno ustvarjanje z dediščino, vezano na klobučarstvo in tovarno klobukov Šešir. Ti rokodelci so Anja Musek, Lili Panjtar in Matjaž Rešek.¹⁶

Stara tehnika polstenja

Ena najstarejših tehnik tekstilne umetnosti polstenje, izvira iz osrednje Azije in predelov, kjer so živela nomadska ljudstva. Najstarejši materialni dokazi o tej tehniki so bili odkriti v Turčiji in jih časovno lahko umestimo v 6. stoletje pr. n. št. V Evropi se je tehnika polstenja ohranila do 19. stoletja zlasti s klobučarstvom. Mojstri so poleg klobukov iz grobe in srednje fine volne različnih domačih pasem ovac izdelovali tudi oblačila in copate. V 19. stoletju je zaradi uveljavljanja industrijske proizvodnje ročno polstenje izgubljalo na pomenu. Do ponovnega oživetja te tehnike je prišlo sredi 20. stoletja.¹⁷ Na Slovenskem se je bogata tradicija ohranila zlasti skozi klobučarstvo.¹⁸

Pri polstenju sta znani dve osnovni tehniki mokro in suho polstenje. Pri mokrem polstenju, ki ga uporabljata Anja Musek in Lili Panjtar,¹⁹ potrebujemo česano ovčjo volno ali druga vlakna, toplo vodo in milo. V stiku z milom in toplo vodo se luske na volni razprejo, z drgnjenjem pa se volnena vlakna med seboj prepletajo.²⁰ Posledično pride do krčenja volne²¹ in nastajanja čvrstega, popolnoma brezšivnega kompaktnega materiala – polsti.^{22, 23}

V zadnjih letih prihaja do porasta in množičnega izdelovanja polstarih izdelkov. Polstenje je postala atraktivna tekstilna tehnika, priljubljena med rokodelci in oblikovalci, saj nudi neskončno možnosti izražanja in ustvarjanja.²⁴ Za Anjo je polstenje sprva predstavljalo delo ob zaposlitvi. Kmalu je ugotovila, da je popoldanski hobi prerasel v nekaj več, v poklic. Na začetku je svojo pisarno spremenila v zasilno delavnico, sčasoma pa sta z možem, ki je goslar, pričela iskati bolj primerne prostore za svoje ustvarjanje. Te prostore sta našla v starem mestnem jedru Škofje Loke,

v majhni hiši, postavljeni nad nekdanjo tovarno klobukov Šešir. Tam si je Anja uredila razstavno-prodajni prostor in delavnico. Ko človek stopi v atelje mojstrice polstenja, mu takoj padejo v oči kupi pisane volne in drugih vlaken, izdelani tulci, končni izdelki, načrti ter ogromne površine, prekrte z delovnim materialom.

V delavnici se skrivajo tudi končni izdelki tovarne Šešir.

Anja je ugotovila, da je zanjo polstenje medij, skozi katerega lahko izraža svojo kreativnost. Pri polstenju občuduje primitivno tehniko, s pomočjo katere lahko človek naredi marsikaj. Sama na primer osnovno tehniko nadgrajuje z novimi materiali oziroma vlakni, ob tem pa tudi nenehno dopolnjuje in izpopolnjuje svoje znanje polstenja. Zelo ceni samoodvisnost pri polstenju: ona je tista, ki vodi kreativni proces od vlakna do končnega izdelka, in le od nje je odvisno, kakšen bo končni izdelek. Njeni proizvodi so unikatni polsteni izdelki: od oblačil, copatov, torb, šalov do nakita, polstenežnega mila, polstarih posod in slik, ki jih najdemo pod blagovno znamko AMUSE.

»Trenutno uporabljam poleg volne, ki je moj osnovni material, zelo veliko drugih vlaken, ki mi potem dajo še neko drugo dimenzijo, druge efekte,«²⁵ je povedala Anja. Njena trenutna obsesija je izdelava brezšivnih oblačil, ki jih polsti iz merino volne in vlaken bele koprive. V delavnici izživlja svojo domišljijo in oblikuje lične ter funkcionalne izdelke. Ob tem je tudi aktivna članica Rokodelskega centra DUO Škofja Loka, skupine tekstilnih ustvarjalk Kreativnice in mednarodne skupine VAWAA.

V izdelkih in mojstrovinah, namenjenih vsakdanji rabi, posameznim oblikam gospodarskega prizadevanja ali dogajanju v ritualih, šegah in navadah, sta se nenehno spajali dve sestavini, estetika in funkcionalnost. Obravnavane rokodelske mojstrovine so bile še pred kratkim razumljene kot zanimivi primeri ljudske umetnosti in ročne spretnosti. Zaradi njihove likovne, estetske in dekorativne vrednosti je prihajalo do njihove muzealizacije. S temi mojstroviniami so polnili tako muzejske kot zasebne zbirke in krasili stanovanja. Sčasoma pa se je pogled na rokodelske izdelke in panoge spremenil. Ljudje se vedno bolj zavedajo resničnega pomena rokodelske dediščine in v starih panogah vidijo številne modele in izzive za sodobno in prihodnje oblikovanje.²⁶ Ob takšnem zavedanju skupnosti današnji rokodelci na eni strani skrbijo za ohranjanje rokodelske dediščine in njenih sestavin, na drugi strani pa razvijajo številne sodobne oblike ustvarjalnosti.²⁷



V Anjini delavnici, 2020 (foto: Sara Šifrar Krajnik).



Anja Musek v svoji delavnici, 2019 (foto: AMUSE).



Izdelki Anje Musek (foto: Anja Musek).

- 13 B. n. a., 1985, b. n. s.
- 14 Izraz rokodellec danes označuje posameznika, skupino ali dejavnost, ki odkriva, načrtuje in ustvarja različne kakovosti s svojim rokami, čeprav tudi s sodobnimi orodji, napravami, tudi računalnikom.
- 15 Vovk, 2014, str. 42.
- 16 Zgodbe so napisane po pripovedih sogovornikov.
- 17 V tem času polst postane tudi medij nekaterih umetnikov, zlasti Josepha Beuysa.
- 18 Sekirnik, Venturini in Žbogar, 2013, str. 23.
- 19 S staro tehniko polstenja sta se ustvarjalci Anja in Lili zblížali na tečajih osnov polstenja, ki so potekali v sklopu Rokodelskega centra DUO Škofja Loka. Po opravljenih tečajih sta se obe poglobili v polstenje in dodobra spoznali material.
- 20 Musek, spletni vir, pridobljeno 22. 5. 2020.
- 21 Med polstenjem se izdelek skrči do 50%.
- 22 Filc ali klobučevina.
- 23 Sekirnik, Venturini in Žbogar, prav tam.
- 24 Panjtar, spletni vir, pridobljeno 22. 5. 2020.
- 25 Musek, ustni vir, 7. 5. 2020.
- 26 Vovk, 2014, str. 42.
- 27 Bogataj, 1999, str. 12.

Pomena dediščine se pri svojem ustvarjanju zaveda tudi oblikovalka Lili Panjtar. Sama opaža, da ima beseda rokodelstvo pri ljudeh še vedno prizven konservativnega, zastalega v času. V svojem LILASTudiu ustvarja sodobne in funkcionalne izdelke na podlagi starih tehnik. Pomembno ji je, »da je pod vsakim izdelkom zapisana sodobna letnica«,²⁸ kar pomeni vidno razliko med izdelkom, narejenim sredi 20. stoletja in sodobnim izdelkom.

Lili sebe vidi kot tipično oblikovalko, po duši in srcu pa je rokodelka, ki se s polstenjem ukvarja že osem let. Po tečaju polstenja je kupila 5 kg domače volne, pričela spoznavati staro tehniko in se učiti skozi lastne napake. Sprva je izdelovala copate in polsteno posodo, sedaj pa s tehniko mokrega polstenja izdeluje nakit, šale, kape, preproge in mnoge druge uporabne predmete z estetskim pridihom.

Rokodelstvo in unikatno oblikovanje sta jo zelo zaznamovala. Poleg volne posega po najrazličnejših naravnih materialih. Ob tehniki polstenja ustvarja tudi iz recikliranega papirja in ročno barva tekstil z indigom v prahu. Meni, da je prava »tekstilka«. Afiniteto do tekstila goji že od otroških let, ko je kot majhna deklica rasla ob kupih oblačil, gumbih in revijah o modi.

Trenutno deluje v sklopu Kreativnega centra Kreativnice, ustanovljenega ob zavedanju, kako bogata tekstilna industrija na Škofjeloškem in Gorenjskem izginja. Med mnogimi takimi tovarnami je, kot je bilo že omenjeno, nedavno prenehala z delovanjem tovarna klobukov Šešir Škofja Loka.

»Zato ni naključje, da so Kreativnice nastale v neposredni bližini bivše tovarne klobukov.«²⁹

V tem ustvarjalno-delovnem in razstavno-prodajnem prostoru se povezujejo lokalne tekstilne ustvarjalke, ki ročno izdelujejo unikatne izdelke z visoko uporabno in estetsko vrednostjo ter kreativnostjo. Ob tem pa skupaj s prostorom »ozaveščajo obiskovalce o bogati tekstilni tradiciji Škofje Loke«³⁰ Tako prihaja do prepletanja sodobne ustvarjalnosti in zgodovine, kar predstavlja enega temeljnih pogojev za ohranjanje identitete posameznih krajev.³¹

Del današnjih in sodobnih rokodelskih prizadevanj zasleduje in išče rešitve v okviru ohranjanja in predvsem nadgrajevanja osebnih, lokalnih in regionalnih razpoznavnosti. Tako med lastnosti ali posebnosti t. i. tradicionalnih ali sodobnih rokodelskih panog spada tudi oblikovanje berljive identitete oziroma krajevnosti.³²

Tudi pri Anji, Lili in Matjažu je moč zaznati prizadevanje za ohranjanje in širjenje znanja v Škofji Loki (kraju, kjer je bilo klobučarstvo razširjeno in kjer je delovala tovarna klobukov) in tudi zunaj nje – skozi tehnike in končne izdelke namreč ohranjajo in nadgrajujejo loško klobučarsko tradicijo in zapuščino tovarne klobukov Šešir.

»Škofja Loka ima dolgo tradicijo izdelovanja klobukov.«³³



Lili Panjtar pri polstenju (foto: Jana Jocif).



Ogrlica, ki jo je izdelala Lili Panjtar s tehniko mokrega polstenja, 2020 (foto: Sara Šifrar Krajnik).



Lili Panjtar pri delu v Kreativnicah (foto: Jana Jocif).



Matjaž Rešek v bivši tovarni klobukov Šešir (hrani Rokodelski center DUO Škofja Loka).

Loški klobučarji pa niso izdelovali samo klobukov, ampak so bili »/.../ znani, predvsem po obuvalih /.../«. Tem mojstrom polstenja – klobučarjem, bi danes lahko rekli kar filcarji, saj so znali narediti marsikaj.³⁴

Bogato znanje izdelovanja klobukov je v Škofji Loki nadaljevala tovarna Šešir. Z ustanovitvijo tovarne, ki je predstavljala konkurenco loškim klobučarjem, se nekatere klobučarske delavnice v Škofji Loki zapro. Danes pa smo v času, ko se klobučarji in mali obrtniki vračajo ter se sodobne delavnice odpirajo.³⁵ In tako med Škofjeloškimi rokodelci deluje tudi klobučar, ki meni, da se glede na stoletno tradicijo klobučarstva v Škofji Loki dejavnost tu mora nadaljevati.³⁶

Matjaž Rešek se je z izdelovanjem klobukov prvič srečal v tovarni klobukov Šešir, kjer je bil mnogo let zaposlen. V tovarni je skozi vsa leta spoznaval proizvodni proces, skupaj s funkcionalnim delovanjem strojev. Ob tem je v sklopu tovarne obiskal tudi več tujih tovarn klobukov in tako se je pri njem potrebno znanje o izdelovanju klobukov nalagalo skozi leta. »Izdelovanje klobukov je kompleksen proces, ki zahteva široko znanje /.../ znanje, ki ga ni možno zapisati na papir. /.../ Če nimaš predstave, kako se material obnaša, ne moreš nič narediti«. Pri delu je potreben občutek, pomembne so roke. Roke, ki so postale alternativa sodobnim strojem in robotom in ne omogočajo samo nadaljevanja najstarejših in najbolj pasivnih stikov z gradivi, ampak tudi ustvarjanje takih mojstrovin, ki v naše življenje vnašajo kakovost.³⁷

»Razvoj klobučarstva v svetu ni tako intenziven kot večina drugih dejavnosti. Po svetovnih tovarnah obratujejo desetletja stari stroji. Novi so zelo dragi, izboljšav in avtomatizacije pa zaradi specifičnosti dela na njih ni. Nekoč so obrtniki izdelali klobuk na takrat možen način. Del tega se je preneslo v Šešir, kjer je bil industrijski način izdelave. Jaz prehajam in prenašam znanje iz industrijske na obrtniško izdelavo klobukov. Tu se vleče sled, ki skozi obdobja različno pristopa k istemu cilju – izdelavi klobuka.«³⁸

S stečajem tovarne je sprva ideja o samostojni klobučarski delavnici postajala vedno bolj realna. Prostore za uresničitev ideje je našel v stavbi bivšega gradbenega podjetja Tehnik,³⁹ kjer si trenutno ureja delavnico, skupaj z razstav-

28 Panjtar, ustni vir, 5. 5. 2020.

29 Spletni vir 2, pridobljeno 25. 5. 2020.

30 Panjtar, ustni vir, 5. 5. 2020.

31 Bogataj, 1999, str. 10.

32 Vovk, 2014, str. 40.

33 Rešek, ustni vir, 15. 5. 2020.

34 Musek, ustni vir, 7. 5. 2020.

35 Panjtar, ustni vir, 5. 5. 2020.

36 Rešek, ustni vir, 15. 5. 2020.

37 Bogataj, 1999, str. 11.

38 Rešek, ustni vir, 15. 5. 2020.

39 Stara cesta 2, Škofja Loka.

no-prodajnim prostorom in manjšim skladiščem. V svoji delavnici bo klobuke izdeloval po naročilu. Glede na modele in materiale, ki jih ima na razpolago, ima narejenih ima nekaj vzorcev. Kupec si bo tako na podlagi vzorca sam izbral material, barvo, opremo in obliko klobuka. Izjema so le klobuki, ki so vezani na tradicijo in uniforme, kot na primer čebelarski in lovski klobuki ter klobuki vojakinj. Tako bo Matjaž izdeloval od klasičnih klobukov do bogatih, vpadljivih klobukov, ki jih bo popestril z detajli. Pri vseh končnih izdelkih pa ima pomembno vlogo moda.

Kot nekdanji delavec v tovarni klobukov Šešir Matjaž izhaja iz industrijskega načina izdelovanja klobukov, ki ga z inovativnimi idejami, improvizacijami in iznajdljivostjo prenaša na obrtni nivo izdelovanja, kjer roke ponovno nadomestijo stroje. Izdelovanje klobukov bo pričel pri polizdelku,⁴⁰ izdelanim iz zajčje ali kunčje dlake. Do sedaj je izdelal že približno 10 klobukov.



Klobuki, ki jih je izdelal Matjaž Rešek, 2020 (foto: Sara Šifrar Krajnik).



Polizdelki v Matjaževi delavnici, 2020 (foto: Sara Šifrar Krajnik).

Zaključek

Prvi klobučarji na Slovenskem ozemlju so znani iz 15. in 16. stoletja. Ti so delovali zlasti v Škofji Loki, Kranju in Ljubljani. Ob začetkih industrijskega izdelovanja klobukov pa je domače klobučarstvo⁴¹ postopno pričelo usihati.⁴² Klobučarska industrija se je razvila tudi v Škofji Loki, vendar ni temeljila na obrtniški tradiciji. Na Spodnjem trgu je 95 let delovala tovarna klobukov Šešir. S propadom tovarne klobukov, ki je pripomogla k zapiranju klobučarskih delavnic, pa znanje izdelovanja klobukov v Škofji Loki ni šlo v pozabo. Znanje, ki se ga ne da zapisati na papir, še vedno ostaja v spominu nekdanjih delavcev tovarne Šešir, obujajo in razvijajo pa ga tudi sodobni rokodelci.

Rokodelstvo in obrtne dejavnosti, ki izvirajo iz dediščine, so danes pomemben segment identitete in razpoznavnosti posameznih krajev. Rokodelci so bili in so še vedno inovatorji prostorov.⁴³ Inovativnost predstavlja njihov vsakdan. Rokodelstvo je nenehno odkrivanje in učenje.⁴⁴ Sodobne rokodelce sestavljajo štiri temeljne skupine.⁴⁵ Za nas je pomembna skupina, pri kateri gre za interpretacijo zgodovinskega spomina. V to skupino prištevamo rokodelce, ki se zgledujejo po oblikah, tehnologijah ter uporabnosti izdelkov zgodovinskega spomina, ki izhaja iz različnih obdobj, in na teh temeljih ustvarjajo nove rešitve.⁴⁶ Tako lahko rečemo, da so ti rokodelci stična točka med preteklostjo in sodobnostjo.

Preteklost, sedanjost in prihodnost povezujejo tudi Anja Musek, Lili Panjtar in Matjaž Rešek. Uporaba stare tehnike polstenja Lili in Anjo veže na klobučarsko tradicijo Škofje Loke. Pomembnosti tradicije kraja pa se zaveda tudi Matjaž, ki znanje industrijskega izdelovanja klobukov prenaša na obrtniško raven, tako kot se je zagotovo nekaj znanja iz obrtniškega izdelovanja klobukov preneslo na industrijsko izdelovanje v preteklosti. Vsi z ohranjanjem tradicije rokodelske dediščine in ustvarjanjem unikatnih izdelkov bogatijo kulturno okolje in podajajo pretekla znanja širšemu krogu ljudi.

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40 Pobarvan tulec.

41 Obrtni način izdelovanja.

42 Bogataj, 2011, str. 214.

43 Musek, ustni vir, 7. 5. 2020.

44 Oppenheimer, spletni vir, pridobljeno 28. 5. 2020.

45 (1) Nadaljevanje ali kontinuiteta zgodovinskega spomina, (2) replike rokodelskih izdelkov, (3) interpretacije zgodovinskega spomina, (4) nove tehnološke, oblikovne in funkcionalne rokodelske rešitve.

46 Vovk, 2014, str. 43.

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Mojca Šifrer Bulovec

The Hat – An Introduction!

Introduction

The first part of the paper aims to briefly introduce the hat, its usage, what messages it conveys, who wears it, what it is made of, which skilled trades are associated with it and the etiquette that has developed in connection with this particular headgear. The second part presents in more detail the hat-making in Škofja Loka, which can be traced from the 17th century all the way to the 1970s.

In writing the article, I relied mainly on data from a monograph by Janja Žagar titled *Headgear*. Doroteja Gorišek (*Škofja Loka Hatmakers*) and Meta Sterle (*Hat-Making in Škofja Loka from the Mid-18th to the Mid-20th Centuries*) meanwhile provide significant insights into the hat-related history in this area. In their research, the two authors poured over archival sources and, even more importantly, recorded information from living witnesses. That is why their contributions are all the more important for recording both local and national development of skilled trade.

Introducing the Hat

A hat is a covering for the head, usually sporting a sturdy crown and a brim. The exceptions are women's hats, which can also be brimless.

Hats protect us from the elements – cold, rain, sun etc. Due to their exposed placement on top of a head, hats can also serve as status symbols and can indicate the social position of those wearing them. Hats can signal the wearers' belonging to a social, ethnic, national, religious or professional group, draw attention to their wealth and sometimes even marital status, so it is no surprise that the hat design has been shaped by fashion for centuries.¹

So, what is fashion? *"Fashion is a product of a society's social demands, but it affects each society member individually; it creates patterns of imitation that individuals follow in various ways, thereby revealing their affiliation or lack thereof to certain social groups. Fashion thus offers social support: its unified nature combines the tendency towards social equality and the tendency towards individual differentiation. Fashion shapes periodical changes and forces acting within its current framework."*²

Hats did not become a widespread part of men's clothing until the end of the Middle Ages.³ In lands populated by ethnic Slovenians, sources first mention hats during the investiture of the princes of Carinthia in the 11th and 13th

centuries. Carinthian farmers in those days wore grey hats with grey cords.⁴ Excepting the mid-15th century, skull-caps were much more widespread than hats between the 15th and 18th century, when hats became the predominant headgear of feudal lords and townsfolk. J. V. Valvasor (1689) reports that farmers wore hats in Gorenjska, Dolenjska, Kočevje and a part of Istria.⁵

Hats did not become a part of women's clothing for many years. Women instead wore kerchiefs and bonnets (i.e. close-fitting head coverings that cover the entire head except the face). It was not until the end of the 16th century that women of higher social classes, under the influence of Spanish fashion, began to use hats for specific purposes that imitated those worn by men.⁶

Women's hats only really flourished after the French Revolution (1789), though they remained a symbol of women who belonged to higher social strata up to World War I. During that period, hats were the only appropriate and (almost) mandatory headgear when leaving the house. Poorer townswomen, clerks and teachers only began wearing them prior to World War II and hats moreover never established themselves in the countryside.⁷ Hats thus began to symbolize the line separating urban and rural women, who continued to wear kerchiefs. The design of women's fashion hats in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century emphasized or complemented the then fashionable hairstyles. This signified a step forward in the liberation of women, who for the preceding centuries had to hide their hair under a kerchief, a bonnet or a wig.⁸

The history of the hat shows that they were made of different materials. The more popular hats were generally made from wool felt, while higher quality ones utilised cow or rabbit fur. Straw hats have been in use since antiquity. Hats were also made from cloth (velvet, silk, linen, cotton etc.) and real leather.⁹ Our ancestors moreover used easily available natural materials to create their working headgear - hats were thus made from hoof fungus, woven from corn husks or chestnut and linden twigs.¹⁰ In more recent times, natural materials have been joined by synthetics.

To make hats prettier, they were adorned with cords with dangling tassels and with metal clasps, or silk ribbons wrapped around the crown. Feathers of various birds

1 Žagar, 2004, p. 115.

2 Žagar, 2004, p. 10.

3 Žagar, 2004, p. 115.

4 Žagar, 2004, p. 118.

5 Žagar, 2004, pp. 118–119.

6 Žagar, 2004, p. 116.

7 Žagar, 2004, p. 135.

8 Žagar, 2004, p. 136.

9 Žagar, 2004, pp. 118, 122, 131, 134.

10 Žagar, 2004, p. 133.

(grouse, jay, ostrich etc.) or fresh or dried flowers were stuck to the ribbons. During special occasions, e.g. during conscription, hats were decorated with colourful ribbons made of crepe paper.¹¹ Famed Slovenian polymath J.V. Valvasor wrote that men going to a wedding would strap on their swords and put on hats decorated with “... fluttering silk ribbons and large angled bouquets made from perforated golden foam and covered with floss...Bouquets of boxwood are also worn and men have an ingenious way of decorating them...they use dried white buckwheat grains as pearls and stick them to boxwood leaves. They use the hats to boast and brag quite shamelessly during the wedding procession. Thus poverty employs tricks, and its simplicity acts more sensibly than the minds of those who spend a lot of money on jewels.”¹²

Hat-Making as a Skilled Trade

Hat-making necessitated the development of several skilled trades. Hats made of wool felt and cow and rabbit fur were made by hatters, who are first mentioned in Slovenian lands in the mid-15th century in Ljubljana, with more wide-spread manufacture of felt hats appearing in the 17th century. Hatters mainly worked in cities and were organized in guilds.¹³ Individual hatters, who made hats for peasants from wool felt, were most likely self-taught.

The following table shows how widespread hat-making was in individual time periods.

Year	Number of master hatmakers in Carniola ¹⁴	Number of master hatmakers in Škofja Loka ¹⁵
1762	23	1
1870	93	5 (1869)
1890	90	4
1925*	69	3
1964**	34	1

* number of hatmakers in the Slovenian part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes

** number of hatmakers in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia¹⁶

The centre of straw hat manufacture in the second half of the 18th century was in Ihan. From there it quickly spread in the 19th century to other villages in the area of Domžale, to Mengeš and Kamnik and all the way to the nearest villages in the Zasavje region. Straw hats were made from woven rye and wheat straw. Until 1845, straw hats were made by hand, but the advent of the sewing machine caused an increase in their quality as well as a boom in their production.¹⁷

In towns, the growth in popularity of women's hats brought with it a new skilled trade – millinery, which women were allowed to practice even before the introduction of the Skilled-Trade Act of 1859. Milliners mainly put the final touches on semi-finished products – batts made of felt or straw – as well as repaired and refurbished old hats (dyeing, sewing linings, decorating them with feathers, ribbons, artificial flowers etc.). They could also make new hats from cloth.¹⁸ Between the world wars, Škofja Loka was home to fashion designer Frančiška Jesenko, and her trade was entered in the trade register.¹⁹

Town-based hatters did not only make hats to order, but also produced them as ready-made products.²⁰ In addition to their own creations, some also sold hats by foreign manufacturers, thus boosting consumer choice in their shop. This was also due to competition by factory products, which began to enter Slovenian lands from abroad.²¹ Higher-quality ready-made products were imported from Vienna, Graz, Milan etc.²² Domestic straw hatters have been producing ready-made straw hats for sale since at least the 18th century.²³ In addition to local craftsmen, hats were also sold in Slovenian lands by traveling merchants and at fairs.²⁴

Industrial hat production in Carniola began in Ljubljana in the 1840s when manufacturers Janez Zupanc and Schubert began producing silk hats.²⁵ The first two straw-hat factories were opened in 1857 in Domžale by Franc Cerar and Pavel Mellitzer.²⁶ The Šešir hat factory in Škofja Loka meanwhile began producing felt hats in 1921.

11 Žagar, 2004, p. 130.

12 Rupel, 1977, pp. 114–115.

13 Žagar, 2004, p. 149.

14 Žagar, 2004, p. 149.

15 Sterle, 1978, p. 96.

The file record in the Škofja Loka Museum shows three hatters in the town in 1925: Janez Debeljak, Spodnji trg square 33, worked until 1927, Pavle Jamnik, Spodnji trg square 32, until 1944 and Jernej Tavčar, Cankarjev trg square 11, until 1967.

16 Žagar, 2004, p. 152.

17 Bogataj, 1989, p. 169.

18 Žagar, 2004, pp. 154, 155.

19 SI ZAL, ŠKL 63, t. e. 133, Obrtni register (Skilled-Trade Register) 1921.

20 Žagar, 2004, p. 150.

21 Žagar, 2004, p. 152; Žagar, 2004, p. 152.

22 Žagar, 2004, p. 150. *A ready-made hat is a serially produced item.*

23 Žagar, 2004, p. 152.

24 Žagar, 2004, p. 149.

25 Žagar, 2004, p. 152.

26 Brojan, 2012, p. 157.

Hat etiquette developed throughout the centuries of its usage and the rules of proper hat usage in 1924 stated:

- "Do not cock the hat or top hat sideways, but wear it straight or slightly to the back, so it covers half of the forehead."²⁷
- "Should you meet a gentleman on the street, greet him by taking off your hat and slightly bowing at the same time."²⁸
- "Should you speak to a lady on the street, do not cover yourself, but hold the hat in your hands. The lady shall then call on you to cover yourself."²⁹
- "You must take off your hat if you come across a funeral procession of any religion or a priest on his way to holy communion. The hat is also removed in front of every church which contains the consecrated host as well as when the bells ring to call for prayers. A good Catholic should not be ashamed of this in the city either."³⁰
- "When in a cemetery, remain uncovered and show appropriate respect."³¹
- "If possible, attend a funeral in a black or at least dark suit with a black collar, hat and gloves."³²
- "In the country and in smaller towns, take off the hat as soon as you enter an inn, greet everyone present as well as you can and only then take your seat. In our lands, it is also customary to take off the hat when entering large bars."³³
- "When you enter a train carriage compartment, you must greet all the passengers and place your hat on the shelf or net. You may not keep your hat on, but you may wear a bonnet."³⁴
- "A well-mannered person will always stand up and offer his seat on a coach, in a tram or on a bus to a woman, regardless of her birth, an old man or a feeble person; the seat should be offered to a lady by raising one's hat or at least taking a bow and uttering the words, 'Take a seat, madam,' or 'May I please offer you a seat?'"³⁵
- "A woman never takes off her hat in a public bar."³⁶
- "A lady attending a concert or a theatre play shall take off her hat when sitting in the stalls so as not to obstruct the view of those sitting behind her. In the box, she can sit covered or uncovered. However, evening hats differ from the ones for everyday use: they are lighter and more luxurious, and must naturally be chosen to match the evening dress."³⁷
- "Always take off your hat in a house that is not your own and remain uncovered even if told to put the hat back on. In the countryside, there prevails a strange habit of everybody wearing their hats even indoors, so they also try to force a stranger coming for a visit to do likewise."³⁸
- "A visiting lady does not take off her coat nor her hat and remains fully dressed."³⁹
- "The best man holds the bridegroom's top hat during the ceremony, the bridesmaid the bride's bouquet."⁴⁰

The townspeople of Škofja Loka engaged in various skilled trades, including hat-making, in the Middle Ages. The town's skilled traders were members of their respective guilds. If there were too few skilled tradesmen to make a guild of their own, they joined one in a neighbouring town. Škofja Loka hatmakers thus joined their counterparts from Carniola and established the hat-making guild of St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist. The guild used a special custom called Schenkhandwerk (gift-giving), meaning it provided wandering assistants with accommodation as well as a financial gift.⁴¹ Uniform guidelines for all guilds were set in a 1732 patent on skilled trade.

Two hatters operated in Škofja Loka in mid-18th century (1752): House owner Jernej Eksler, whose hat workshop was located at Mesto 45, and renter Martin Rečelj. The former had an annual income of 21 guildens, the latter 28 guildens.

The Loka town census in 1869 reveals five master hatmakers among the town's skilled tradesmen: Valentin Burgard, Blaž Vavpotič, Janez Dermota, Jurij Debeljak and Uršula Vavpetič, who continued the work after the death of her husband Janez.

Twenty-one years later (1880), there were still five master hatters in town. Uršula Vavpetič and Janez Dermota were joined by Andrej Jamnik, Tomaž Tavčar and Gregor Dolenc.⁴²

The 1931 census meanwhile reveals that the craft had declined with only two master hatters left in Škofja Loka: Jernej Tavčar and Pavle Jamnik.

Between mid-18th century and 1960s, a total of 13 hat-making workshops existed in Škofja Loka. Six of them

27 Govekar, 1926, p. 206.

28 Terseglav, 1918, p. 66.

29 Govekar, 1926, p. 128.

30 Terseglav, 1918, p. 70.

31 Terseglav, 1918, p. 136.

32 Terseglav, 1932, p. 161.

33 Terseglav, 1918, p. 155.

34 Terseglav, 1932, p. 176.

35 Terseglav, 1932, p. 189.

36 Govekar, 1926, p. 216.

37 Govekar, 1926, p. 216.

38 Kosi, 1920, p. 6.

39 Govekar, 1926, p. 154.

40 Govekar, 1926, p. 29.

41 Žontar, 1939, p. 196.

42 Sterle, 1984, p. 80. *There were six hatmakers in Škofja Loka and its surrounding areas with additional two each in Poljanska and Selška dolina valleys for a total of ten hatmakers.*

operated on Spodnji trg, three on Mestni trg and two on Cankarjev trg squares, while one was located in the Karlovac and another in the Kapucinski suburbs.⁴³ During the period, 154 hatters operated in Škofja Loka – apprentices, assistants and masters.⁴⁴

Hat-making was passed on from generation to generation, with sons inheriting the trade from their fathers. If there was no male successor, the daughter was married to a trained hatter, who became the owner of the house and workshop after marriage. If the master hatter died without an heir, the workshop was taken over and run by his widow or was, in the worst-case scenario, sold or closed down.

As part of skilled trade, masters, assistants and apprentices took part in hat-making. Apprentices studied with the master for two, three or three and a half years. Parents paid the master 10 to 15 forints at the start (or sometimes at the end) of the apprenticeship, and were obliged to provide their children with clothing for the duration while, in addition to knowledge, the master provided food and accommodation.⁴⁵ Hatters started work at 4 am and worked until 7 pm, with breaks only on Sundays and during public holidays.⁴⁶

In 1889, a skilled trade school was established in Škofja Loka, with compulsory attendance also for hatmaker apprentices. Classes lasted for six months, with students first attending a preparatory course, followed by the 1st and 2nd year of school. They learnt the following subjects: Reading and Writing in Slovenian and German, Arithmetic, Religious Education, and Drawing, the sole subject that hat-making apprentices were exempt from.⁴⁷

Between 1889 and 1928, a total of 26 hat-making apprentices attended the skilled trades school, eleven of whom attended for a single year, three for two years, and eight for three years, while some, who were not as quick on the uptake, having to attend for four years (three apprentices), and one particularly hapless apprentice having to stay at the school for five years. Master hatters did not seem to send their apprentices to school regularly, as many failed to complete it.⁴⁸ After completing the apprenticeship, the apprentices had to pass an assistant's exam in front of a committee. As early as the 19th century, it was customary for assistants to be sent abroad for a few years in order to further their knowledge with various masters. Such travelling assistants were called "wanderers". The master was approached with a special greeting in verse with which he was asked for a job. Unfortunately, the exact greeting has not been preserved. If the master had no work for them, he was obliged to provide accommodation and food for the night. While on their travels, assistants had to wear a hat of their own design.⁴⁹ After completing their studies, some also took a master's exam.

Hat products and their manufacture

Škofja Loka hatters mainly made men's and children's hats,⁵⁰ with women's hats made only exceptionally (and to order).⁵¹ In addition to hats, they also made boots, galoshes and slippers from felt, and, during and after World War II, mules and insoles. They made special felt boards for brickyards, leather shops and upholsterers, wine strainers for innkeepers, and driving gloves for tram drivers (who were still operating in Ljubljana at the time) and teamsters.⁵²

The principal raw materials for the abovementioned products were sheep wool, hare and wild rabbit fur and cow fur. Doroteja Gorišek states that hatters bought raw materials from factories in Vienna, Trieste, Prague and Budapest.⁵³ They used horse-drawn carts for their procurement trips on which they wore caps with a tassel and hats to cover the caps.⁵⁴ Sheep wool was bought from farmers in the Selška and Poljanska Valleys. The hair of the Jezersko-Solčava breed was the most coveted and was sought as short as possible. Tanners from Železniki, Šmartno pri Litiji and Šoštanj bought fur that had to be bleached before use. Wild rabbit fur was finer than that of its domestic cousin. Hats were made of hare fur, a mix of hare fur and wool, and mainly from sheep wool after World War I. Slippers, boots and gloves were made of sheep wool and cow fur.⁵⁵

43 Sterle, 1978, p. 96. *Hatmaker's workshops are detailed at the end of the paper.*

44 Sterle, 1978, p. 106.

45 Sterle, 1978, p. 104.

46 Sterle, 1978, p. 112.

47 Sterle, 1978, p. 102.

The preparatory course was organised three times a week, Mondays between 6 and 7 pm, Fridays from 5 to 6 pm and Sundays from 8 am to 12 pm. Classes for the first year were held on Fridays from 5 to 7 pm and on Sundays from 10 am to 12 pm. Classes for the second year were meanwhile held Mondays between 5 and 7 pm and on Sundays from 8 to 10 am as well as from 1 to 2 pm.

48 Sterle, 1978, p. 105.

49 Gorišek, 1958, p. 174.

50 Sterle, 1978, p. 106.

51 Sterle, 1978, p. 110.

52 Sterle, 1978, pp. 106, 112.

53 Gorišek, 1958, p. 174.

54 Gorišek, 1958, p. 176.

55 Sterle, 1978, p. 106.

Hat-making and making of other milliner products used the following procedures:

1. Wool carding

Wool was first frayed with hands and placed on a wire plate, affixed to a wooden chair. A wire brush was used to card the wool on the wire plate in order to stretch it. Fur for hats was not brushed. Wool carding was usually done by women and children and less often by apprentices and assistants.⁵⁶

2. Wool or fur weighing

Wool or fur was then weighed. A pair of slippers required 24 lots of wool, a pair of boots 56 lots, and six hats between 36 and 42 lots. (1 kg = 56 lots; for hatmakers 1 lot equalled 2 g).⁵⁷

3. Bowing (fulling) wool or fur

The hatmaker then placed the weighed wool on a table to be bowed or fullled. He held a bow in his left hand with a string made of sheep intestines, while the right hand held a bat used to hit against the string. Wool and fur separated during the process. Wool for one slipper had to be fullled for 15 minutes, and for one boot for 30 minutes.⁵⁸

4. Shaping wool or fur before felting

Separated wool or fur was flattened by the hatters with a flattening tool in the form of a circle if it was intended for a hat, or a rectangle if it was to become a slipper or a boot.⁵⁹

5. Wool or fur fulling with a special sieve

The separated and flattened wool was then pressed with a large sieve with a large mesh.⁶⁰

6. Wool and fur felting

The layers of the treated wool were folded in half. A “klot” (a smooth single-coloured cotton cloth for linings, working aprons or duvets) was placed between the upper and lower halves, so that wool or hair would not stick together when felted.

The “klot” was inserted between the layers as many times as was needed to be able to felt six hats, six pairs of slippers or three pairs of boots. The folded wool was then wrapped in a jute (a felted cloth) and fastened with nails before being laid on a hot iron plate to start felting. The heated wool or fur was pressed with hands for 15 to 30 minutes, and repeatedly sprayed with water so that its individual layers adhered well to each other,⁶¹ forming felt. This work was very strenuous. The resulting felt was then once again hand formed into batts, or shapes for slippers or boots, which were then felted again.⁶²

7. Rolling of batts, slippers or boots

A copper cauldron with a wooden extension for rolling was used to roll the semi-finished products. Semi-finished

products from felt were first soaked for a day in water to which sulphuric acid was added. Before starting work, the semi-finished products were soaked in a cauldron filled with hot water to make the felt more flexible. They were then wrapped in a sack to prevent them from sticking to each other and were rolled, first with hands and then with a special cane called “rohrstock”, which was inserted among the layers of felt. During the rolling, the semi-finished products were repeatedly dipped in a cauldron containing hot water. Rolling was a very difficult job, and sulphuric acid impacted the smell of many hatters. The semi-finished products for a single wool slipper had to be rolled for 30 minutes, for a boot for 60 minutes, and for a batt for 50 to 60 minutes.⁶³

The batts, the semi-finished products from which hats were made, were no longer made by the hatters themselves in the 1930s, but were rather bought from the Šešir company or, in case of master hatter Pavel Jamnik, purchased in Zagreb and Galdovo near Sisak.⁶⁴

8. Dyeing

Rolling was followed by dyeing. Initially, hatters dyed only wool or fur, but after World War I, they also began dyeing semi-finished felt products. Dyeing was done in a cauldron, which was continually stirred with a wooden stick. A hatter was able to dye up to 20 batts or four pairs of boots or eight pairs of slippers at a time. Battis were mainly dyed grey, but also black, brown, navy blue and green. Slippers and boots were always black.⁶⁵

9. Shaping with the aid of model shapes

Before the dyed shapes for hats, slippers or boots were put on wooden hat blocks, they were finalised, i.e. reinforced on the inside with starch, shellac or carpenter's glue. After that, the shapes were put into a steam boiler for five to ten minutes to warm up, making the felt stretchier. The batts were then fitted onto crown blocks, which had either flat, pointed or round tops and were made from linden wood. This gave the crowns their final form. Slippers and boots were shaped on their separate blocks.⁶⁶

As hatters had to follow fashion trends, wooden hat blocks were bought in Vienna and later made at home.⁶⁷ Between

56 Sterle, 1978, p. 106.

57 Sterle, 1978, pp. 106-107. *This is likely a printing error and 1 lot actually corresponds to 20 g.*

58 Sterle, 1978, p. 107.

59 Sterle, 1978, p. 107.

60 Sterle, 1978, p. 107.

61 Sterle, 1978, p. 107.

62 Sterle, 1978, p. 108.

63 Sterle, 1978, p. 108.

64 Sterle, 1978, p. 110.

65 Sterle, 1978, p. 108.

66 Sterle, 1978, p. 108.

67 Gorišek, 1958, p. 177.

the wars, the models were made for the hatters and the Šešir hat factory by Andrej Fojkar (traditional name: Alč).⁶⁸

10. Drying

After the felt was formed on the model and the block, it had to be dried. Hats were dried on the shelves in a special drying room, while slippers and boots were simply placed by the fireplace.⁶⁹

11. Stretching the brims

The brims of dried hats were stretched around the edges by covering them with a wet cloth and pressing them with a hot iron.⁷⁰

12. Flattening the brims

After stretching, the hat brims were ironed with a wooden iron on a round wooden board called a “zotl” to be properly aligned.⁷¹

13. Trimming the brim

Finally, the brims were trimmed with a knife and a special on special trimming board.⁷²

14. The finishing touches

The finished hats still had to be properly polished. Hat-makers first sanded them with fine glass paper, while hirsute hats were pounced to be made smooth.

Hats were then placed on a model that was mounted on a special stand with a rotating handle. The hatters turned the handle with their right hand, and added the finishing polish with their left hand, first by using a damp cloth, then a brush, and finally a dry cloth.⁷³

15. Sewing

Seamstresses or hatters' wives then sewed the lining, a leather ribbon and decorative ribbons onto the crown and sometimes onto the brims.

Slippers came in various designs. They could be low or reach up to the ankles. Some were lined with a thin woollen lining and could also be edged with plush. Shoemakers then edged them with leather and attached leather soles.⁷⁴

16. Finalising the shape

After sewing, hats were placed on a model for shaping the brims to give the hats their final shape.

Hatters could make up to six woollen or three velour hats or six pairs of slippers or three pairs of boots on days that did not require sewing but only one pair of galoshes, over-shoes that covered the leg up to the thighs.⁷⁵ Some hatters made more slippers and boots than hats, and were referred to as slipper makers.⁷⁶

Sales of Hatmaker's Products

Škofja Loka hatters made their products to order and for sale. They were sold at fairs in Idrija, Jesenice, Tolmin, Kranj, Selce and Ljubljana. In Ljubljana, they were also sold in shops, e.g. Josip Pock's store on Stari trg square.⁷⁷ Master hatter Pavel Jamnik sent his hats to merchants in Ptuj and Ormož,⁷⁸ and sold them at fairs in Gorenja vas, Polhov Gradec and Jesenice.⁷⁹ Jernej Tavčar supplemented the hats on sale in his shop between 1920 and 1923 with products by hatters J. Bogataj from Radovljica and G. Čadež and F. Bernik from Ljubljana.⁸⁰

Škofja Loka hatters also sold slippers to hatters all over Slovenia. Master hatter Jernej Tavčar thus sold many of his slippers to hatters in Ptuj, Maribor and Podčetrtek. Many were also bought by the Škofja Loka townsfolk. Hemmed boots were bought by marker vendors and butchers, while women liked to wear them to church service. Galoshes, called *überschuhe* or *halingers*, were bought by teamsters and later by tram drivers, who wore them over their shoes.⁸¹

The 200-year-old tradition of hat-making in Škofja Loka ended with the death of the town's last master hatter Jernej Tavčar (1882–1967), though that did not yet mean the end of hat production in the town. In 1921, the Šešir hat factory was established on the premises of Krenner's cloth factory, which kickstarted industrial production of felt hats.

68 Sterle, 1978, p. 108.

69 Sterle, 1978, p. 109.

70 Sterle, 1978, p. 109.

71 Sterle, 1978, p. 109.

72 Sterle, 1978, p. 109.

73 Sterle, 1978, pp. 109, 110.

74 Sterle, 1978, p. 110.

75 Sterle, 1978, p. 107.

76 Sterle, 1978, p. 110.

77 Gorišek, 1958, p. 177.

78 Sterle, 1978, p. 110.

79 Sterle, 1978, p. 112.

80 Sterle, 1978, p. 110.

81 Sterle, 1978, pp. 110, 111.

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Appendix: Hatmaker Workshops and Their Managers

Mesto 16, traditional name: Berlc **Today Mestni trg square 24**

Master hatter *Lovrenc Hafner* (1813–1860) sold his house and workshop at Karlovac 22 in 1851 and bought a house at Mesto 16, where he moved with his family. His sons, apprentice hatters *Matevž* (1845/46–?) and *Lovrenc Jr.* (1848–?) helped him with his work, with the latter becoming a master hatter in 1886. After his father's death, the workshop was managed by *Lovrenc Jr.*, assisted by *Matevž* and another assistant. The house got a new owner in 1882. *Lovrenc Jr.* served for some time as a hatter's assistant to master hatter *Tomaž Tavčar* and then moved to Ljubljana.⁸²

Mesto 21, traditional name: Kašman **Today's Mestni trg square 18**

Hatmaker's workshop.

After getting married in 1865, master hatter *Valentin Burgard* (1833–1901), son of hatter *Lovrenc Burgard* from Mesto 133, rented a workshop at Mesto 21. He was occasionally assisted by apprentices from *Šiška*, *Stara Loka* and *Železniki*. He died living on the town's welfare.⁸³

Mesto 42, traditional name: Piškovc **Today's Cankarjev trg square 11**

One workshop was located on the house's ground floor, another in the yard.

Master hatter *Jernej Tavčar* (1882–1967) learned his craft from his father *Tomaž Tavčar*, who lived at Mesto 76. From 1899 to 1920 he worked as his father's assistant, and from that year on until his death ran his own workshop on *Cankarjev trg* square 11.

His brother *Franc Tavčar* worked as his assistant making slippers and felt boots, while the workshop in the yard was manned by *Jernej Tavčar*. They sold the products in a shop on the ground floor.⁸⁴

Mesto 45, traditional name: pri Klobčarju **Today's Cankarjev trg 8 square, traditional name: pri Kržajuc**

Hatmaker's workshop, probably the oldest

Master hatter *Jernej Eksler* (Oechsler, Öksler) (born during the 1700–1710 period) is mentioned in 1752 as the owner of a house and a hatter's workshop at Mesto 45. He also taught his craft to sons *Jurij*, a master hatter, and *Janez* (1747–1803). The trade was continued by *Janez Eksler's* sons *Franc* (1771–1844) and *Janez Jr.* (1780–?), who worked at home for some time before moving to Kamnik where he has been recorded as a hatter from 1805 onwards.

Franc Eksler (1771–1844) sold the house and workshop in 1815 to assistant hatter, later master hatter, *Jakob Gruden* (1777–1848), who came to *Škofja Loka* from *Tolmin*. *Franc* claimed his lifelong right to work in the workshop as a usufructuary. *Jakob Gruden's* daughter, *Ana*, married *Blaž Vavpetič** (1828–?), a master hatter from *Homec pri Kamniku*, who was assisted by his brother assistant hatter *Janez Vavpetič* (1842–1860). After the death of his father-in-law *Jakob Gruden* in 1848, *Blaž* received possession of the house and the workshop. *Blaž* married three more times. The hat trade was taken up by his son *Janez Vavpetič* (1856–1888), whose tragic death caused *Blaž* and his family to move from *Škofja Loka* to *Croatia*.

*He likely came to *Škofja Loka* with his uncle *Janez Vavpotič* (1802–1860), who married to Mesto 79.⁸⁵

Mesto 49, **Today's Spodnji trg square 36**

The hatmaker's workshop was on the first floor of the house while a tannery was located on the ground floor.

The house hosted skilled tanners and hatters. Tanner *Lovro Dermota's* sons *Janez* (1839–1890) and *Anton* (1841–?) were trained as master hatters, while the third son *Franc* (1853–1940) was trained as a hatter and tanner. *Janez Dermota* managed the workshop until his death, while his sons *Janez Jr.* (1876–?) and *Anton* (1878–?) worked as apprentice hatters. After the death of their father, they became tanners in a tannery managed by their grandfather *Lovro Dermota*.

The hatmaker's workshop was, after the death of his brother *Janez*, managed until 1893 by their uncle, master hatter *Anton Dermota* (1841–?). He was assisted by his brother *Franc* (1853–1940), a hatter and tanner, apprentice *Ignac Demšar* from *Železniki* and *Anton Bajt*, a hatter from *Šenčur*, who later moved to Ljubljana.⁸⁶

Mesto 50, traditional name: Stanonik **Today's Sodni trg square 35**

Hatmaker's workshop.

Master hatter *Jurij Debeljak* (1827–1884) ran a hatmaker's workshop at Mesto 50. He was the owner of the house between 1853 and 1873 when he sold it. *Jurij* remained living in the house as a renter for a while longer, and then moved to Mesto 54, where he was a renter hatmaker until his death. He was assisted by apprentice hatter, later assistant hatter *Janez Raigelj*. He also taught hat-making to his son *Janez* (*Ivan*) (1859–1926), who was assisted in his work by ap-

82 Sterle, 1978, p. 99.

83 Sterle, 1978, p. 100.

84 Sterle, 1978, p. 101.

85 Sterle, 1978, p. 97.

86 Sterle, 1978, p. 100.

prentice *Aleš Oblak* from Poljane.⁸⁷ In 1888, Janez (Ivan) Debeljak bought a house and a workshop at Mesto 52.

Mesto 52, traditional name: Stalanik

Today's Spodnji trg square 33

The hatmaker's workshop was at first located on the ground floor, before Janez (Ivan) Debeljak erected a brick workshop in the garden in 1892.

Master hatter *Janez (Ivan) Debeljak* (1859–1926), learned his trade from his father Jurij Debeljak, who lived at Mesto 50. He bought the house at Mesto 52, where he also set up his workshop, in 1888.

At the 1890 census, Janez Debeljak had an assistant and an apprentice. As he had no children, his death meant the end of the workshop.⁸⁸

Mesto 53, traditional name: Stricman

Today's Spodnji trg square 32

The hatmaker's workshop was located on the ground floor.

Andrej Jamnik (1852–1927), a son of a furrier, became the house's owner in 1872, and passed the master hatter's exam in 1881. Three sons studied with father Andrej: *Franc* (1852–1927), who went to America after 1908, *Pavel* (1890–1944), master hatter who managed the workshop until his death, and *Albin* (1899–?), who worked as a hatter until about 1924.⁸⁹

In addition to his sons, master hatter Andrej Jamnik also trained numerous budding hatters.

Mesto 76, traditional name: Piškovc (Železnikar)

Today's Spodnji trg square 8

Hatmaker's workshop.

Tomaž Tavčar (1845–1915), son of a cottager from Suha, became a master hatter in 1881. In 1879, he was handed the house at Mesto 76 by owner Urša König. Tomaž had attracted his sons *Franc* (1889–1944) and *Jernej* (1882–1967) to the trade. After his death, Jernej ran the business until 1920, after which he moved to Mesto 42.⁹⁰

Mesto 79, traditional name: pri Klobčarju na Lontrku

Today's Spodnji trg square 5

The hatmaker's workshop was in the yard, probably the second oldest in town.

Master hatter *Janez Eksler* (1747–1803), born at Mesto 45, bought a house at Mesto 79 between 1778 and 1780. As the owner of two houses (at Mesto 45 and Mesto 79), he ran both workshops until his death, whereupon management

passed onto his widow, master hatter *Terezija Eksler* (1748–1840). They couple had a daughter, Marija, who at the age of 43 married the then 26-year-old assistant hatter *Janez Vavpetič* (1802–1860), later a master hatter, who came to Škofja Loka from Homec pri Kamniku. Soon after marriage (1828) Janez also became the owner of the house. After the death of his first wife Marija, he married two more times. None of his children trained to be hatters. After Janez's death, the workshop was managed until 1880 by his third wife, master hatter Uršula Vavpetič, b. Hartman (?–1890) from Suha pri Škofji Loki. She was aided by assistant hatter Janez Blaznik and apprentice Gregorij Škrinjar from Sežana.⁹¹

Mesto 113, traditional name: Kordeš (Thaler)

Today's Mestni trg square 41

The hatmaker's workshop was located on the ground floor.

Master hatter *Lovrenc Burgard* (Burghardt) (1785–1869) in 1820 married the daughter (and house owner) of master hatter *Matija Fister*. He taught hat-making to his two sons, *Valentin* (1833–1901) and *Karel Burgard* (1829–1875) as well as *Lovro Ambrožič* (1815–?), his wife's son from her first marriage. All three worked for him as assistant hatters.

Karel and Lovro ran the workshop until 1872, while Valentin ran his own workshop at Kašman (Mesto 21, today's Mestni trg square 18).⁹²

Kapucinsko predmestje 14, traditional name: pri Jakobu, (pri Tonetu)

Hatmaker's workshop.

Master hatter *Gregor Dolenc* (1824–?) from Delnice pri Poljanah bought a house at Kapucinsko predmestje 14 in 1861.

He was assisted in his workshop by assistant hatters: *Jožef Meisel* from Kočevje, *Matevž Žust* from Hotavlje in Poljanska dolina valley and *Mihael Brodnig* from Trieste.⁹³

Karlovec 22, traditional name: Berlc (Klanfar)

Today's Kopališka street 21

The hatmaker's workshop was located on the ground floor.

Master hatter *Štefan Hafner* (1788–1850), became house owner after his brother's death in 1808. He passed on his trade to his son *Lovrenc* (1813–1860), who, a year after his father's death, moved with his family to Mesto 16, where he continued the trade.⁹⁴

87 Sterle, 1978, pp. 99, 100.

88 Sterle, 1978, p. 101.

89 Sterle, 1978, p. 101.

90 Sterle, 1978, p. 100.

91 Sterle, 1978, p. 98.

92 Sterle, 1978, p. 98, 99.

93 Sterle, 1978, p. 100.

94 Sterle, 1978, p. 99.

Biljana Ristić

*“A Proper and True Gent
Wears Hats by Šešir Brand”*

Slovenian Lands from the Second Half of the 19th Century until the end of World War I

Slovenian lands were part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy until 1918. The Duchy of Carniola encompassed the area of today's Gorenjska, Dolenjska, Bela krajina, Notranjska, Idrija and Vipava regions. The crown land was divided into 11 districts with Ljubljana as its capital. At the 1910 census, Carniola had a population of 525,925 with 93% of the inhabitants identifying themselves as Slovenians.¹ In the second half of the 19th and at the start of the 20th century, Carniola was predominantly agrarian. The majority of the population worked in agriculture, animal husbandry, viticulture, forestry and other agricultural industries. For most of the 19th century, Slovenian lands were on the sidelines of economic development in the Habsburg monarchy. Industrial expansion in Slovenian lands (textile industry, mining, iron, metal and wood industry, livestock processing and building materials) was only enabled in the second half of the 19th century by the construction of transport² and information infrastructure, appearance of banking and insurance companies, accumulation of private means of production and introduction of industrial manufacturing.

At the start of the 20th century, Škofja Loka was a medium-sized Carniolan town with a population of 2,211 as recorded by the 1910 census. It was a city municipality and had its own district court and tax office, while administratively belonging to the Kranj district administration. The town was mainly home to merchants and tradesmen, while its surroundings and hinterland mainly subsisted on livestock and agriculture.³ The skilled trades, which have been developing in and around the city since the middle ages, had initially addressed local needs, but after the Freising seignury was mediatised in 1803, Škofja Loka's economic power began to ebb.⁴ Due to the strong presence of skilled trade, industry was initially unable to gain a foothold in the Škofja Loka area and industrial production only arrived in the Škofja Loka area in the second half of the 19th century. The arrival of industry was facilitated by the railway line, which passed through the neighbouring village of Trata in 1870⁵. In 1872, Škofja Loka was connected by a telegraph line, which was soon extended to the nearby Poljanska and Selška valleys.⁶

The first industrial plant in Škofja Loka was opened by the Krenner family, which is first mentioned in the area's records in the last quarter of the 18th century. The records of the Krenner line begin with landowner and tawer Jožef

Krenner (1756–1814)⁷ who married Ana Marija. His entrepreneurial spirit was manifested by purchasing real estate and lending large sums of money. Franc Krenner (1797–1879), one of the many children born in the marriage, followed in his father's footsteps and continued with tawery. At the end of 1820s or the start of 1830s, Franc Krenner opened a small textile plant near the Selška Sora river, where he employed five workers to produce blankets from Croatian wool for the domestic and foreign markets. Franc passed on his entrepreneur spirit to his son Alojz (1841–1895), who in 1871 upgraded the plant into the first factory in Škofja Loka, naming it Alois Krenner Kotzenfabrik.⁸ He was joined by Henrik Wanek as a partner two years later.⁹

In addition to blankets, the factory produced various types of cloth: summer and winter cloth, women's fabrics, flannel, velour, loden, cheviot, cloth for friar's habits etc. The factory was going from strength to strength as the years passed and exported its products to Galicia and Transylvania, to Vorarlberg, the Czech lands, Moravia and Silesia. Krenner's cloth was bought by both Škofja Loka (Marija Juvan, Janez Nepomuk Koceli) and Ljubljana merchants (Franc Ksaver Souvan, Emerik Mayer), as well as in bulk by large Viennese merchants. The wide market and quality products made the factory a leading industrial establishment in Carniola. The number of employees increased accordingly, rising from the original 18 to about 100 in the mid-1890s.

Apart from factory management, Alojz Krenner was also interested in technological development and innovation, which he duly incorporated in production. In 1889, he had a vertical Girardi turbine installed in the factory, which powered the machinery by utilising the flow of the Selška Sora river. In 1894 he added a DC generator and the factory began producing electricity as well. The surplus electricity allowed Krenner's plant to power Škofja Loka's town lights, making it the first town in Carniola with electric public lighting.¹⁰

Alojz's successful management was cut short by his death on 28 March 1895. The running of the factory was first passed onto his widow Emma, before being handed over

1 Šega, 2014, p. 7.

2 The Southern Railway was completed in 1857, linking Vienna with Trieste and passing through Maribor, Celje, Ljubljana and Sežana.

3 Šega, 2014, p. 11.

4 Logar, 1955, p. 87.

5 Planina, 1976, p. 17.

6 Štukl, 1988, p. 183.

7 More information in: Šega, 2000, pp. 45–68.

8 Šega, 2001, p. 52.

9 Wanek died in 1874 with Alojz remaining the sole manager.

10 For more about the electrification of Škofja Loka, see: Gašperšič et al, 1994, pp. 72–74; Gajić, 2012, pp. 33–50.

in 1899 to Alojz Krenner Jr. (1873–1939), with his brother Viktor (1887–?)¹¹ in charge of the power plant. Alojz Jr. was not the best pick for manager and the economic situation in the early 20th century did cloth-making no favours either. Demand for electricity, however, kept on increasing.¹² Alojz Jr. decided to abandon cloth-making in 1913 and switched to cleaning military blankets and carding wool for hats. During World War I, the factory ceased operations, because its building was turned into a military hospital. Alojz Jr. sold the factory to his brother Viktor in 1919, and Viktor in turn to Jakob Dermota in 1921. Viktor kept only the premises, machines and equipment necessary for the operation of the power plant.¹³

The initial spurt of industrial growth in Slovenian lands was interrupted by World War I. Following the outbreak of war, authorities began regulating the economy and tailoring it to wartime production. Industrial plants began shifting production towards making cloth for the military. The war also brought shortages of raw materials, reproductive material, labour, professional staff, an increase in taxes etc. Many factories closed down during that time, with ten percent of factories in Carniola, many of them textile manufacturers, ceasing production.¹⁴

The end of the World War I in 1918 resulted in a fundamentally changed political and national environment for Slovenians. Following the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs was established on 29 October 1918. It existed until 1 December 1918, when it merged with the Kingdom of Serbia to form the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (from 1929 called the Kingdom of Yugoslavia). The newly created kingdom had a population of 12 million¹⁵ with Slovenian lands being economically and industrially the most developed part. New markets began opening up and new sources of raw materials were sought. The initial absence of domestic competition caused the state to support accelerated industrialization. One of its measures was to implement a protective customs system to prevent the entry of foreign, mainly consumer, goods into the Yugoslav market. The rapid development of industry between the wars was also aided by sufficient domestic labour, hydro-power, transport and industrial infrastructure, adequate raw materials and a market eager for industrially produced consumer goods.

Between the Wars

The 1920s were marked by industrial expansion, technological advancements, new discoveries in science and global integration. The Roaring Twenties, however, came to a halt with the onset of the Great Depression, which began in the United States with the collapse of the New York Stock Exchange in 1929.¹⁶ This global crisis triggered a chain reaction of falling product prices, a decline in production and a rise in unemployment. Countries began battenning the hatches and turning to protectionism. International trade was declining annually, former trade agreements expired and were replaced by clearing agreements¹⁷ and capital flows have almost completely stopped.¹⁸

Slovenian lands were most affected by the crisis between 1932 and 1934.¹⁹ Although already experiencing an industrial boom before the crisis, Slovenian lands were still predominantly agrarian in nature. The gradual fall in the prices of agricultural produce also reduced the purchasing power and financial solvency of the peasant population. Farmers who owned small or medium-sized farms were forced deeper and deeper in debt. In addition to agriculture, the sparse industrial facilities also suffered considerably during the depression. Economic activity fell sharply, including domestic production. Countries began borrowing money, raw materials became increasingly hard to obtain and one in five workers was made redundant. To battle unemployment, public works, paid for by labour exchanges, and emergency support measures were introduced. The standard of living of the working class dropped immensely and most workers lived below subsistence levels. They bought basic groceries on credit and cloth for clothes on instalments. They also tried to support themselves by occasional work (men doing physical labour, women offering ironing and laundry services, and children by picking fruits of the forest). The situation gradually began to improve in 1935 and 1936, followed by an economic boom.

11 He is last mentioned by sources in 1953.

12 After 1910, the Krenner brothers officially expanded the scope of their business to include the production and sales of electrical energy.

13 The Elektrarna Škofja Loka in okolica, družba z. o. o. z. (Škofja Loka electric company) was established in 1919 with Viktor Krenner as the largest stakeholder. Due to the increasing number of clients, a new power plant was built in Skalce on the Selška Sora river. Viktor remained the power plant's chairman until 1931.

14 Lorenčič et al, 2018, p 18.

15 Počivavšek, 2012, p 85.

16 The sc. Black Friday happened on 25 October 1929, with stock plummeting across the board.

17 An agreement on mutual settlement of commercial accounts designed in international finance; a clearing agreement is an international agreement on settlement and can be unilateral, bilateral or multilateral (Turk, 2020).

18 Lazarević, 2003, p 40.

19 Vrišer, 1990, p 135.

Tovarna klobukov Šešir, d. d. Hat Factory

*“The company manufactures hats, semi-finished products, carries out all tasks and services connected to this industry and sells hats and hat-related products. To achieve that, the company may anywhere in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, establish factories and shops to manufacture or distribute the above-mentioned items, acquire already established companies or buy shares in such companies,”*²⁰ was the description of the purpose and activities of the Tovarna klobukov Šešir, d.d. hat factory, as registered in Škofja Loka on 10 August 1921.

The gears for the establishment of a hat factory in Škofja Loka were, however, set in motion a year earlier, when engineer Viktor Turnšek saw that the newly-created country with new markets and a high demand for industrial products provided very favourable market conditions for a hat factory while also providing sufficient resources and labour. He attracted a group of factory owners,²¹ who then proceeded to set up a joint stock company. Šešir began operating in 1921 in the building of the former Krenner factory at Spodnji trg square. In the 1920s, the company worked on optimizing its production and making a name for itself on the domestic and foreign markets.

The biggest obstacle facing the entrepreneurs was the lack of machinery. Although some machinery remained as part of Krenner's estate (a water turbine, a steam engine, water boilers, etc.), the owners did not initially own equipment suitable for hat-making. They addressed the issue by bringing in obsolete machines from their factories abroad to Škofja Loka. In 1921, they thus equipped the factory with a fur-blowing machine, pressing and forming machines, felting boards, hammer rollers and other devices to enable the basic operation of the factory. In 1933 and 1934, the management thoroughly renovated the machinery. The purchase of additional machines reduced the need for manual labour and production became increasingly mechanised.

Resources for hat production were mainly imported by Šešir from abroad, while velour products used domestically purchased hare hides. The batts for woollen hats were also made in Yugoslavia and came from Galdovo near Sisak, from Zagreb etc.²²

The Great Depression did not spare Šešir. In the early 1930s, the growth of the factory slowed down, the number of orders fell, prices of hare hides dropped significantly, and sales fell below those recorded before the crisis. When the management of the factory was taken over in 1932 by chairman Alojz Kmetič and technical manager Franc Cerar,²³ the situation improved somewhat. The factory tried to adapt to the new economic situation by producing cheaper types of hats and batts and the sales of products

and semi-finished products slowly recovered. 1935 saw a sharp increase in resource prices and the crisis gradually came to an end. Prior to World War II, Šešir not only sold its products in Yugoslavia, but also exported them to France, England, Denmark, Egypt and Syria. It was among the few companies in Yugoslavia between the wars which exported to foreign markets.²⁴ Šešir's Piccadilly brand of men's hats became synonymous with quality, affordability and prestige.

The factory's production had a seasonal character, meaning that it produced more during autumn and winter than in the spring and summer. The number of employees varied accordingly, with the factory employing between 100 and 200 workers in the interwar period.²⁵

***“Instead of absinthe bitter,
let us pour some wine much sweeter.”***

The mid-1930s in the Škofja Loka area were marked by a popular strike movement, which involved the area's labour force in textile and wood factories. Poor working conditions, irregular working hours and, above all, low wages were the causes that forced workers to start associating in earnest. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy introduced legislation aimed at protecting the workers and regulate working conditions already in the second half of the 19th century. A labour inspectorate was established in 1883 with the aim of protecting workers in companies. In 1909, the Yugoslav Professional Union was founded as a union of Christian Socialist professional organizations. Following years of activity working with the tobacco, paper, metal and textile workers, the movement, initially distinctly political, began to take on a trade union character. The purpose of the Yugoslav Professional Association was primarily to preserve workers' rights: *“Workers have the right to their daily bread, to health, to a family, to respectability and to fulfilling their spiritual fulfilment. This and nothing else is the program on the consciousness of the Yugoslav Professional Association, the workers' professional organization.”*²⁶

The State Labour Agency (renamed the Public Labour Exchange in 1927) was established in 1918 and tasked

20 Valič, 1959, p. 167.

21 Turnšek was joined by Franc Cerar (an industrialist from Stob pri Domžalah), Hanuš Krofta (chairman of the Ljubljanska kreditna banka bank), Dr Ivan Slokar (chairman of the Zadrúžna gospodarska banka bank), Leopold Dermota (a Vienna-based industrialist), and Jakob Dermota (a Železniki-based industrialist).

22 Valič, 1959, p. 174.

23 Lorenčič et al, 2018, pp. 311–312.

24 Lorenčič et al, 2018, p. 313.

25 Tušek, 1990, p. 13.

26 Komlanec, 1921, p. 12.

with providing information about job placements and employment opportunities. In 1922, the District Workers Protection Office was established, which provided social insurance for workers on the basis of the Workers' Insurance Act.²⁷ Despite all the laws and institutions that were supposed to protect the workers' rights (8-hour workday, overtime pay, the right of workers to associate in professional organizations),²⁸ there were cases of serious violations and exploitation by company owners.

Working conditions at Šešir were very harsh in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The seasonal nature of the factory's operation meant job instability, with workers being laid off during the off-season. In contrast, during the peak season, employees worked for up to 10 or 12 hours a day to meet the high demand. Overtime was not paid by the employer and the working conditions were tough. Hat-making employs several dangerous chemicals, especially in the dyeing and hat-shape departments. The premises were not ventilated and employees wore no protective equipment.

The most pressing issue during the period were wages, which, even during periods of full-time employment, barely covered the subsistence minimum (wages varied from place to place, with the highest paid in major industrial centres, and the lowest in rural municipalities). Employers moreover introduced reductions in working hours, which further lowered the sum that the workers took home.²⁹

In 1933, the management reduced the wages of all Šešir employees by 10% and told them that they could either take it or walk out.³⁰ This caused factory workers to begin associating in earnest. A secret meeting was held between Tine Sever, Jakob Pintar, Janko Šink, Janez Martelak, Anton Fojkar, Polde Polenec, Anton Pirc, Franc Logonder, Alojz Malovrh, Stane Konič, Miha Škrlić and a few others to fight back against the unjustified wage cuts. At the same time, they sent a request to the Labour Chamber for a representative to attend a meeting of all workers. On August 8, 1933, the entire labour force of Šešir was invited to the meeting, which was also joined by a representative of the Yugoslav Professional Association, Mr Lombardo.³¹ The meeting, which took place in the garden shed of the Na Plevni inn, was attended by two thirds of Šešir workers.³² Before entering the garden, Franc Logonder and a local girl pinned a red carnation on the coats of the participants. Above the entrance the workers hanged the sign that read "Namesto grenkega pelina, nalijmo danes si kozarec vina", which translates as "Instead of absinthe bitter, let us pour some wine much sweeter."³³ This suggested that one should not dwell on negative things and be positive about the future instead. At the meeting, the Yugoslav Professional Association representative confirmed that the workers have a right to demand higher wages. The representative also stressed that as many workers as possible must join these demands and stand united. Their hopes rising, the meeting's instigators attracted the remaining workers to their

fight for wage increase in the following days. The workers stopped plotting in secret and began voicing their demands more publicly, especially in relation to the factory owner. They gradually succeeded in getting paid overtime, paid sick leave and the right to set up a committee of factory worker representatives.

However, company owners did not give in to the demands for salary increase. Despite minor successes (wage increase by 0.10 to 0.15 dinars per hour), the struggle continued. In the following year (1934), workers proposed to the management to conclude a collective agreement,³⁴ a written agreement between the workers' professional organization and the employer. The document set the general working conditions and obligations in the employment relationship as well as the mutual rights and obligations of the contracting parties.³⁵ After prolonged talks and negotiations, the workers and the management did in fact conclude the agreement. Nevertheless, workers' dissatisfaction with wages remained and in 1935 they proposed an amendment to the contract to provide for a salary increase. The owners rejected their demands despite several calls, causing the workers to go on strike on 11 October 1935.

The strike was joined by all workers, which brought all production to a halt. A strike committee was set up on the very first day of the industrial action and workers posted guards at all the entrances to the factory building. During the first 14 days, the striking workers had no contact with the owners. Due to the length of the strike, the workers' committee organized a fundraising campaign mainly aimed at securing food for the striking workers. Surrounding farmers and a few skilled tradesmen responded and donated food. After two weeks, strike leaders tried to resume talks with the management, but to no avail. They tried again in early November by restating their demands. The first of these was that the striking workers (after the end of the strike) would not suffer any consequences. The second required that their proposal to systematise jobs is adopted as the basis for job categorisation. The third demand was to increase the hourly wage not by 0.10 dinars, but rather by 0.25 dinars. The resulting talks saw the two sides agreeing to items one and two, but the owners still did not agree to item three. The striking workers nevertheless called off the strike on 11 November 1935 and production continued.³⁶

27 Kresal, 1970, pp. 81–82.

28 Logonder, 1995, p. 150.

29 Kresal, 1970, p. 98.

30 Fojkar, 1959, p. 13.

31 Logonder, 1995, p. 149.

32 Some 100 male and female employees worked at the factory in 1933.

33 Logonder, 1995, pp. 149–150.

34 Entering into collective agreements was regulated by an Austrian law from 1907 before World War I and by the Labour Protection Act from 1922 in the interwar period.

35 Kresal, 1997, p. 82.

36 Fojkar, 1959, p. 16.

Back to Work...

After the turbulent early- and mid-1930s, Šešir continued with production. By 1938, it had already replaced three quarters of its obsolete machinery, which allowed it to increase production quality and quantity. About 10% of their products and semi-finished products were exported abroad, and the rest sold on the domestic (Yugoslav) market. The factory's further growth was stopped by World War II.

The war began affecting the Slovenian economy as early as 1939, with rising prices of goods and necessities, decreasing imports and exports, and appearance of problems in the supply of basic foodstuffs to the population. Yugoslav authorities set up regional centres to provide food to the population, began tightening control over stocks and prices, rationing flour, bread, petrol, and restricting the use of private cars. The occupation of Slovenian lands in 1941 cut established trade routes, introduced controlled and pre-planned trade and increasingly shifted production towards meeting the demands of the wartime economy. The occupying authorities confiscated factories and placed them under the control of the German Reich with the Ministry of Economics in Berlin responsible for overseeing production.³⁷ Even though Slovenian industrial output grew during the first two years of occupation with production and employment on the rise, it began contracting rapidly from 1943 onwards. The factories were mainly affected by unscrupulous exploitation, poor maintenance of production facilities, removal of machinery (many machines were taken abroad), equipment, goods and financial means.

The Šešir factory continued to operate throughout World War II, producing hats and employing around 100 workers. It also tried to adapt to the wartime conditions by producing slippers for German infirmaries.³⁸

A New Political and Economic System Arrives ...

Slovenia became part of a new country with a different political and economic system following World War II. It became one of the constituent parts of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. In terms of economy, the state nationalised private property and placed it in the ownership of the people/state.³⁹ It also introduced centrally planned economy with heavy industry becoming the main driving force of accelerated post-war industrialization.⁴⁰

The textile industry was the least affected by the war. Despite obsolete machines, its output began to grow rapidly after the war, employment increased, and smaller textile

plants merged into larger factories. By the end of the 1950s the industry managed to saturate the domestic market and became increasingly export-oriented in the 1960s. Over the following decade, mass imports of finished textile products started, increasing the consumer choices and flooding the market. By the end of the 1970s, the textile industry had reached its peak. In the 1980s, it stagnated due to economic inefficiencies that no longer allowed for sufficient exports. Many companies began folding up at the end of the decade. This was especially noticeable after Slovenia declared independence in 1991, when companies that used outdated machinery lost the Yugoslav market and failed to adapt to the new market realities due to not being export-oriented. Although many larger companies went bankrupt, new smaller plants gradually began to emerge.

The post-war period brought new challenges for Šešir. Despite operating under a different economic system at home, the company maintained a reputation abroad for producing quality batts and hats. They further expanded their export markets: Sweden, Norway, Finland, the Netherlands, Germany, the Middle Eastern markets and Congo were added to the tally and contact was established with the United States. Nevertheless, Šešir faced several post-war issues, such as obsolete and neglected machinery, the need to re-establish contact with resource suppliers, and repair the factory building damaged during the war. Although Šešir operated on a very small scale in the aftermath of World War II, it recovered considerably by the 1950s. It began purchasing new machines and modernizing its equipment,⁴¹ enabling an increase in the quantity as well as quality of hats and batts. The main issue was the factory building, which lacked sufficient production capacity and failed to meet health and safety standards. In the mid-1950s, factory management envisaged the construction of a new building that would contain several smaller plants and better natural ventilation,⁴² but these plans were not carried out.

The 1950s were also marked by problems with the supply of fur and hides. Before the war, Šešir purchased 300,000 hides a year on the domestic market (with additional imports required as well), while after the war the number of available domestic hides dropped to a mere 20,000,⁴³ making the factory highly dependent on foreign suppliers. Occasional problems occurred with imports, as some suppliers failed to provide the resources by the agreed deadline.

37 Lorenčič et al, 2018, p. 38.

38 Lorenčič et al, 2018, p. 312.

39 Prinčič, 1997, p. 5.

40 Sočan, 1990, p. 330.

41 Peternej, 2016, p. 32.

42 Krek, 1956, p. 2.

43 Krek, 1956, p. 2.

With growing demand for Šešir's products and semi-finished products, the factory had to increase its production while ensuring an adequate supply of sufficient resources, fur and leather. The company tried to solve these problems by setting up its own rabbit breeding programme. In 1962, the management decided to open a rabbit breeding station in Hosta near Škofja Loka, distributing the selected animals to other breeders. By doing so, Šešir wanted to establish a broad base for obtaining rabbit hides and tried to at least partially solve its issues with the supply of resources.⁴⁴ They bred several rabbit species, including Flemish Giant rabbits and even chinchillas.⁴⁵

1960s also brought changes, mainly manifested through the continuing modernization of machinery, the introduction of new methods of production and the use of new materials (synthetics, imitation leather vistrum).⁴⁶ In addition to increasing the quality and ramping up production in the mid-1960s, Šešir also turned to producing women's hats in cooperation with the Ljubljana-based Klobuček company.⁴⁷ Sales of women's hats on the domestic market increased. Šešir's success was especially noticeable in the following decade, when the company opened new plants in Gorenja vas (1971) and Stara vas in Bizeljsko (1973), but its biggest achievement was opening a new factory building in the Trata industrial zone near Škofja Loka. This provided the factory with increased production capacities, allowing exports to continue and at the same time met the demand for Šešir's products and semi-finished products on the domestic market. In 1979, the company established links with the world-famous Italian hat manufacturer Borsalino⁴⁸ and Šešir also cooperated with other European brands such as Germany's Mayer, Wegener and Faustmann, Austria's Handler and numerous other smaller partners. In addition to exporting to Italy, Šešir, now with a workforce of 285 employees, mainly exported to Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany and Iran.

1980s brought several challenges for Šešir that had to be addressed. At the beginning of the decade, the company lost the Iranian and Soviet markets, so it had to reorganize its production, reduce the number of employees, and look for new and more demanding markets.⁴⁹ At the end of the 1980s, exports accounted for more than half of total revenues. The main export markets were the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and Austria. Sales on the domestic (Yugoslav) market, meanwhile fell dramatically. Despite the fact that Šešir set up company stores throughout Yugoslavia from mid-1950s onwards and thus made its products available to the widest possible circle of consumers, the decline in sales caused the company to gradually begin closing down its stores in the 1980s. One of the causes for a drop in domestic sales was the reduced purchasing power of the population, combined with rising inflation and the saturation of the Yugoslav market

by foreign competitors, especially from Eastern Europe, whose products were cheaper, though of lesser quality. In order to adapt to the new situation, Šešir focused on selling finished products - men's and women's hats. In 1989, it launched a new wide-brimmed hat, modelled on those worn by movie star Humphrey Bogart. Šešir was one of the few factories in the world that controlled the entire manufacturing process - from hides to the finished product.

A New Country and New Economic System

1990 was a year of change for Slovenia. The republic's population overwhelmingly voted to pursue independence from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. At the 23 December 1990 referendum, 1,289,369 people (95.7%) voted for independence, thus beginning the process of separating Slovenia from Yugoslavia. Six months after the solemn announcement of referendum results, a ceremony was held in front of the Slovenian Parliament on 26 June 1991 to announce Slovenian independence.

Before independence, Slovenia shared Yugoslavia's socio-political and economic system, based on the communal ownership of the means of production, a high level of redistribution and internal protectionism. Slovenia was the most economically developed and the most open to the West among the socialist federal country's constituent republics.⁵⁰ After independence, Slovenian economy lost its major markets and had to restructure and look for new opportunities. The consequence of reduced economic activity at the end of the 1980s was reflected in the recession that hit in the first years of the new decade. Living standards began to decline, economic growth stopped, investment dropped and unemployment rose. The industry, whose output reduced considerably in the first few years following independence, also had to adapt to the new market economy. In addition to losing the Yugoslav market, the companies had to restructure, with financial resources sorely lacking. Many companies went bankrupt, a lot were sold piecemeal and some were bought by entrepreneurs from abroad.⁵¹

By mid-1990s, the situation had somewhat stabilised. The international recognition of Slovenia eased the creation of economic contacts with foreign countries with the flow

44 Peternej, 2016, p. 36.

45 Dolenc, 1987, p. 10.

46 Peternej, 2016, pp. 37–39.

47 Peternej, 2016, p. 41.

48 Lorenčič et al, 2018, p. 312.

49 Lorenčič et al, 2018, p. 313.

50 Lorenčič et al, 2018, p. 82.

51 Gričar, 1997, p. 358.

of goods, services, capital and knowledge from Western Europe increasing. The improvement in the standard of living and domestic demand also increased, contributing to economic development.

At the end of the 1990s, Šešir was operating successfully, mainly due to good links with foreign partners and exports, which accounted for 98% of the company's revenue. Šešir's hats were sought after by hunters, beekeepers, members of Austrian marching bands and sports fan clubs, Slovenian and Dutch female police officers, Slovenian female soldiers, national flag carrier air hostesses and others. The company's hats competed in the higher price bracket and the most exclusive buyers could also order bespoke products. Šešir's main client during these years was the Jewish textile centre from Brooklyn, New York.

Throughout its decades of operation, Šešir focused on the quality of its hats and, as is necessary for the entire textile and hat industry, fashion trends. The company ran a development department and employed fashion designers to predict and respond to the changing fashions. Renowned Belgrade fashion designer Aleksandar Joksimović used Šešir's hats in his fashion shows and collections. At the end of the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s, Šešir's fashion guidelines for hats also found their way to the articles published by Glas (Gazette of the Socialist Association of the Working People for Gorenjska, now Gorenjski glas). The company's hats have always been renowned not only as a fashion accessory, but also as a symbol of quality. Thus their advertisements often feature the text labelling them as world-famous hats without a rival in Yugoslavia.

In its final years, the company was hit by a sharp rise in the price of rabbit fur, causing a compulsory settlement procedure to be launched in November 2015 and bankruptcy proceedings to be initiated in December 2016. The factory building was purchased by Polimix, a company that manufactures, sells, exports and imports installation goods, and the machines were sold off to China.

This marked the end of 95 years of operation of a company, which was known throughout the world for its tradition, quality and fashion trends. The industrial way of making hats from fur to the final product thus came to a halt in Škofja Loka, but the tradition, knowledge and memory of the factory, which breathed with the city and its surroundings for almost a century, remained.

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Tadej Curk

*The Šešir Hat Factory in the Local Print
Media over the Years*

The public image of individuals, groups or, in this particular case, factories is largely influenced by the media. This has been the case since the advent of mass and more widely available media. The public image is like the two-faced Roman god Janus.¹ On the one hand, one's image in the media reflects how one is perceived in the public, and on the other hand, the same applies vice versa. Although the way public image is presented in the media can be questionable or a hot-potato issue, from a historical point of view it allows an easier or more comprehensive understanding of events or the subject of one's study or interest. In fact, articles and other pieces of writing in the print media can reveal forgotten or overlooked historical data. This is the case when it comes to the Šešir hat factory as well.

The aim of this paper is to highlight and present some historically interesting, overlooked or even forgotten events and descriptions of the factory in question, which appeared mainly in the local print media and at a later time also in the digital media. Only articles directly related to Šešir and the events surrounding the factory are presented.

Print Media Articles about the Šešir Factory up until 1950

Every story – and factory for that matter – has a beginning. In its *Economy* section of 31 March 1921, the *Slovenec* newspaper reported that the newly established hat factory Šešir, d.d. would start operating in Škofja Loka in June (of the same year), mentioning that the factory had been established by a consortium led by the Ljubljanska kreditna banka and Zadružna gospodarska banka banks. The article also mentioned that concrete ceilings were being built in the factory at the time of reporting.² In a 1922 article on the Yugoslav straw-hat and hat-making industry, the *Slovenski narod* newspaper reported on the establishment of a joint-stock company called “Tovarna klobukov Šešir d. d. Škofja Loka”. The author added that the company had bought the old Krenner's cloth factory for the needs of its operation and completely rebuilt and renovated it, as well as purchased state-of-the-art machines. According to the plans, the factory would eventually employ a total of 500 workers, of whom 200 were employed in 1922. The factory's annual output was about 100,000 hats.³ In its only Šešir-related article from 1922, *Slovenec*, which had previously reported on the establishment of a joint-stock company and factory in 1921, reported on the successful participation of the Slovenian industry (“whose aim was to make our market independent of foreign im-

ports”) in the Ljubljana Expo. The factory singled out for a special mention was the Škofja Loka-based Šešir, which – according to the article – employed around 200 workers, had the most sophisticated machinery for the production of rabbit-fur hats and was specialised in velour hats.⁴ In its only 1924 Šešir-related article, *Slovenec* reported about a work accident of Šešir's employee Matevž Miklavc in its short column titled *Injured Workers*. During work, a grindstone fell on Mr Miklavc's left hand, crushing three of his fingers.⁵ In 1925 (on 1 October), Šešir's were listed in the Ljubljana Stock Exchange, as reported by *Slovenec*, whose article claimed that due to “patronising banks, no large turnover was to be expected from these papers”.⁶ Between 1925 and the early 1930s, both the *Slovenec* and the *Slovenski narod* newspapers regularly reported on Šešir's business performance and the value of its shares. An article published in the *Slovenec's Economy* section in the late 1920s pointed out that the factory had significantly expanded its production and had started producing woollen products. At the time of reporting, the necessary machinery for the expanded factory and the new products had already been ordered, which meant that the expanded production would be able to start as early as the autumn later that year.⁷

Newspaper articles from the 1930s mostly look at the strikes that took place in the factory at the time.⁸ Even before the series of strikes, *Slovenski narod* reported about the *Atena* fashion show, during which Mr Drenovec revealed that the famous Picadilly hats were not from Paris or London, but authentic local goods made at the Šešir hat factory in Škofja Loka.⁹ The first newspaper to report about the workers' strikes was the *Delavska pravica* newspaper, which in 1934 wrote about the start of a factory strike that was a consequence of the failure to conclude a collective labour agreement, as well as workplace harassment. Displeased with this, the workers formed a strikers' group “disciplined like old fighters” and succeeded. The collective labour agreement was concluded.¹⁰ In 1935, the

1 Janus was one of the most important gods in ancient Roman religion. He was the god of dual knowledge, having the power to see the past as well as the future. He was the guardian of gates, doorways and passages, and later also the god of beginnings and endings. The Romans depicted him as a dual-headed and dual-faced god who could look on both sides, much like gates (Mihevc-Gabrovec, 1988, p. 420; Schmidt, 1997, p. 115).

2 *Slovenec*, 1921, p. 3.

3 Turnšek, 1922, p. 4.

4 The data reported in the *Slovenec* and *Slovenski narod* newspapers are the same. *Slovenec*, 1922, p. 3.

5 *Slovenec*, 1924, p. 3.

6 *Slovenec*, 1925, p. 5.

7 *Slovenec*, 1926, p. 7.

8 More generally known and historical facts about the Šešir hat factory are found in the paper by Biljana Ristić titled ‘A Proper and True Gent Wears Hats by Šešir Brand’.

9 *Slovenski narod*, 1930, p. 3.

10 *Delavska pravica*, 1934, p. 2.

newspaper reported that another strike had taken place. The article described the strike in more detail, while interestingly also rejecting all allegations of the factory strike having been “ordered” and arguing that the reason for the strike had been the more-than-obvious disregard for the workers and neglect of their rights. Unwavering support for the strike leaders was also clearly expressed.¹¹ Another newspaper to report about the 1935 strike was *Slovenski narod*, which argued that the cause of the strike was not a labour collective agreement, which had not been reneged on by either party, but the issue of salaries. According to the newspaper, salaries had been a burning issue for several months, as Šešir’s workers had been promised higher salaries as soon as the business prospects would improve. This, however, had not happened yet. The workers claimed that hatters abroad were paid up to 100% more for the same sort of work. The workers’ demands included the purchase of better hygienic devices, which would improve the unbearable conditions at least to some extent, and make hard physical work and mental effort easier to endure.^{12, 13} According to *Slovenski narod*, office workers also joined the strike for a very short period of time, the strike itself, however, did not disturb the order and peace at the factory.¹⁴ In contrast to *Delavske pravice* and *Slovenski narod*, the *Jutro* newspaper reported that part of the workers were willing to accept the management’s terms and return to work, adding that the factory strike caused economic damage and stagnation of the entire Škofja Loka, with “160 workers left without any income”.¹⁵ The *Jutro* newspaper’s claims could roughly be confirmed by the last of the *Slovenski narod*’s articles about the 1935 strike, which argued that 140 workers were without work and income after a month. Of the initial 160 workers, 140 persisted in the strike a month later. No reasons for the decrease in the number of strikers are suggested in any of the above newspaper articles. *Jutro* also reported about the end of the 1935 strike, stating that the workers behaved in an understanding and morally good way. It pointed out once again that the strike had a negative impact on the economic situation and development of the entire Škofja Loka, adding that no agreement had been reached between the workers and the management regarding the third strike demand, i.e. salary increase.¹⁶ No other articles on the subject have been found.

In 1938, *Slovenec* reported about a ban on importing rabbit fur into the country. It did not reveal the exact reason for the ban, it did, however, suspect that it was due to fears of the spread of rabbit-related diseases. The newspaper believed the only problem was that rabbit fur was treated with mercuric nitrate, which was supposed to destroy all bacteria and germs. According to the newspaper, the ban had a strong impact on Slovenian industry, in particular Šešir, which had to shut down the plant. The newspaper argued the shutdown would result in a new wave of unemployed Šešir workers, with about 500 people affected this time around.¹⁷

Šešir-Related Articles in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s

A single Šešir-related article from the 1940s has been found. Another article, which, however, explored events in the factory during the 1940s, was published later, in 1950. As part of its overview of happenings in Slovenian town and villages, *Slovenec* published an article about Škofja Loka in 1940. Among other things, the article included a short report on the new wage-related movement at the Šešir factory. The newspaper supported the workers, hoping the factory management would consider their demands and help them during times that were difficult as it was.¹⁸ In 1950, the *Gorenjski glas* newspaper published a summary of the events that took place on 22 July 1941. According to the article, the Nazi Germany’s invasion of the Soviet Union was followed by the first arrests at Šešir, which had to do with organising the resistance movement and acts of sabotage against the Germans in Slovenia. No reasons for the arrests and the number of people arrested were given.¹⁹

In the 1950s and 1960s, most of the news about Šešir was published in *Gorenjski glas*.²⁰ Most articles were about the factory’s business performance within the Gorenjska and Škofja Loka’s industries.²¹ There were, however, also quite a few announcements and reports on the operation of various committees and on the election of various officials to the working and administrative bodies and factory boards. The author of a 1952 article titled *More Work and Perseverance in Consolidating Workers’ Self-Management* pointed out that the factories’ and plants’ profits should be shared with all employees. The company singled out as a negative example of this was the Šešir factory.²² A 1954 article by *Gorenjski glas* briefly described the factory’s beginnings and history, its successful exports and the problems

11 *Delavska pravica*, 1935, p. 3.

12 *Slovenski narod*, 1935a, p. 3; *Slovenski narod* 1935c, p. 2; *Slovenski narod* 1935d, p. 2.

13 The work and working conditions as described by the *Slovenski narod* newspaper: “Disease resistance is lower due to hair dust, which saturates the air, with shaking proving particularly fatal as mercury and acid often cause tooth decay. Rolling work is so strenuous it’s impossible to compare it to any outdoor work. The workers’ skin gets worn thin to the point of blood, and for novices this sort of work is impossible to endure. (*Slovenski narod*, 1935c, p. 2)

14 *Slovenski narod*, 1935b, p. 2.

15 *Jutro*, 1935a, p. 5. Another newspaper to report about the 160 workers at the beginning of the strike was *Slovenski narod* (*Slovenski narod*, 1935a, p. 3.)

16 *Jutro*, 1935b, p. 3.

17 This number (500) includes the Šešir factory workers and members of their families.

Slovenec, 1938, p. 5.

18 *Slovenec*, 1940, p. 8.

19 *Gorenjski glas*, 1950, p. 2.

20 Before World War II, *Gorenjski glas* was called *Gorenjec*.

21 Šešir factory’s business performance fluctuated over time, which was often noticed and emphasised by *Gorenjski glas*.

22 *Gorenjski glas*, 1952, p. 2.

related to the supply of Yugoslav wild-rabbit pelts.²³ It is interesting to note that the author visited the factory and discussed its present and future with the then director, Mr Cerar. Among other things, director Cerar explained that the factory had just expanded its activities and now “uses rabbit and hare fur to make women’s and men’s batts, ready-to-wear men’s hats in all sorts of trendy colours and styles, ballet shoes, equipment and also does the mending.” Cerar also touched on operational problems, as the competent state authorities had no understanding of Šešir’s need for a large amount of foreign currency. In conclusion, the author expressed his belief that Šešir would be able to overcome all the problems and solve Škofja Loka’s oldest and rarest industry (i.e. hat-making).²⁴ Another article from 1954 discussed the great importance of the textile industry in the area of Škofja Loka. Its main argument was that of all industries the textile industry generated the largest share of the national income. According to *Gorenjski glas*, Šešir managed to obtain a new loan thanks to its convincing business performance and provision of income, and thus get sufficient funds to purchase the required amounts of raw materials.²⁵

In 1955, *Gorenjski glas* published another short article, which included a brief introductory presentation of the factory’s history, the problems with the purchase of raw materials in times of crisis and the successful export of hats, which ranked first among all domestic producers’ in terms of product quantity. The author noted that the factory had already gained a fine worldwide reputation “thanks to all Šešir workers, who are very conscientious and disciplined when it comes to work, as well as to the entire company management.” The author concluded the article by adding that in spite of the complexity of their production, Šešir’s hats were of excellent quality.²⁶ In the last Šešir-related article from 1955, *Gorenjski glas* reported about the anniversary of two important milestones, i.e. in 1955, the Šešir factory workers celebrated the 20th anniversary of their first strike and the 5th anniversary of workers’ self-management. On 22 October, all then and former Šešir workers – including those who had fought against “exploitative, capitalist working conditions” during the first strike – gathered in the labour union hall of the spinning mill in Trata. After the cultural programme, the workers reminisced about the past, from the work beginnings of individual Šešir workers to the strike itself and what it achieved. Some of their memories were shared in the article.²⁷

In 1956, *Gorenjski glas* featured an interview with the opera singer Polde Polenec. The interview revealed that Mr Polenec worked in the Šešir factory and that “the workers’ only entertainment during hard physical work was singing.”²⁸ Another short Šešir-related text published in *Gorenjski glas* in 1956 announced a celebration of the 30th anniversary of the factory, adding that Polde Polenec, member of the Sarajevo Opera, would be one of the per-

formers.²⁹ In the last longer article from 1956, Janko Krek published a short interview about the Šešir factory’s 35th anniversary, conducted with an unknown interviewee. In five questions, they discussed the factory’s past, the problems it faced at the time, workplace health protection and the anniversary celebration. The interview revealed some interesting information, including the fact that the factory had been named Šešir (the Croatian word for a ‘hat’) because the majority shareholders in the newly established joint-stock company (which opened the factory) were Croatian. They also discussed the fact that different production facilities within the factory had different loads of work, which made it impossible to increase production. One of the solutions adopted at Šešir was to open the company’s own stores. Šešir’s first store opened in Novi Sad, where “the sales were good”. The Novi Sad store was followed by stores in Škofja Loka and Ljubljana – Velur. Another topic they talked about were health problems caused by mercury vapour. The anonymous interviewee admitted that the factory premises at the time were no longer suitable nor did they provide sufficient health protection. He believed a solution would be to build a new factory, “one built according to the pavilion system (i.e. a small plant amid the trees), which would achieve natural ventilation in addition to artificial one”. In the concluding part, the interview also touched on the anniversary celebrations, where, according to the interviewee, some workers would be gifted with small presents, while others were invited to a social get-together after the event.³⁰ A 1958 *Gorenjski glas* article reported about the irregularities in the workers’ council elections. The author, K. M., noted that no fewer than one-fifth of the ballots were invalid, which was the result of employee dissatisfaction. One of the reasons for the workers’ dissatisfaction was economic in nature³¹, while the other had to do with the directors. According to K. M., the previous factory director (at the time of writing, he had not occupied the directorial position for three years) remained in the company due to his professional knowledge and a strong bond with the employees. He never developed a genuine relationship with the new director, who came from outside. The former director supported

23 “For the most part, they are purchased in Belgium. On the one hand, pelts are sold to countries in the West, and on the other hand, this year lots of living rabbits have also been exported due to the rabbit plague, especially to France. That is why we have to make quite an effort to ensure the continuous operation of the company.” (*Gorenjski glas*, 1954, p. 2).

24 *Gorenjski glas*, 1954a, p. 2.

25 *Gorenjski glas*, 1954b, p. 2.

26 *Gorenjski glas*, 1955a, p. 7.

27 *Gorenjski glas*, 1955b, p. 2.

28 Krek, 1956a, p. 1.

29 *Gorenjski glas*, 1956, p. 2.

30 Krek, 1956b, p. 2.

31 Cut in production, drop in the export coefficient, the necessary distribution of funds etc., for which the workers did not get all the money they had been promised.

the workers' demands, as a result of which the relations deteriorated and the employees' unity was shaken.³² In the 1960s, reports about strained relations within the Šešir factory persisted and eventually an external commission was sent to the factory to investigate the irregularities in its management and check the workplace relations. After reviewing the factory's operation, the commission stated that the factory kept to the annual financial plan and that no management-related irregularities had been found. On the contrary, the factory was more successful than expected. *Gorenjski glas*, however, reported that the factory workers' council had found that there was a small group of individuals within the factory who had been scheming against the management since the end of World War II solely for their personal gain. According to M. Ž., Šešir was ready for a complete factory reconstruction – they were only just waiting for the reconstruction feasibility study. At the end of the article M. Ž. noted that in 1960, the factory's housing fund had bought two two-bedroom apartments for the company employees "who were still forced to live with other people in stuffy and cramped spaces".³³ In 1963, poor workers' relations were joined by financial difficulties. In *Gorenjski glas*, journalist St. Š. reported about the factory's difficult situation, which was a consequence of a decrease in export income caused, among other things, by "unfavourable spring weather, which drastically diminished the sales of spring-season headgear". Insufficient financial resources prevented further investments and increased the company's debts. Therefore, one of the measures adopted by the Šešir factory's workers was to redirect sales to the domestic (Yugoslav) market.³⁴

In an article published in *Gorenjski glas* in 1964, Milan Osovnikar reported that the economic growth in the Škofja Loka municipality was encouraging, he did, however, also point out that Šešir's current "situation was not particularly good". Despite a difficult situation, the company proposed to the municipality of Škofja Loka to reduce the working hours to 42 hours per week.³⁵ In 1965, however, there was a turnaround – the factory started to run at a profit, as a result of which all the company-related reports and news were also positive. Journalist M. S. wrote in glowing terms about the factory, which exceeded all expectations, adding that "in June and July, during the height of the hats' dead season, Šešir had sold goods in the amount of 240 million dinars and exceeded the value of last year's annual sales as early as October". The demand for hats did not decrease, and the factory had difficulty producing sufficient amounts of hats due to its limited capacity. That year, the income from the sale of goods also covered the costs of rabbit and hare fur.³⁶ As reported by M. S., in order to keep the future cost of purchasing as low as possible, the factory "set up a rabbit-breeding farm in the vicinity of Škofja Loka, from where approximately 3,000 females of the best breeds would be distributed to

private rabbit breeders next spring".³⁷ In 1966, there were several more positive reports about the Šešir factory's successful export. In an article about the successful local economy, and Šešir in particular, *Gorenjski glas* stated the following: "In the first quarter, they exported goods in the amount of USD 82,563 (in March USD 31,438), which is 195.2% more than in the first quarter of last year, when the export amounted to only USD 27,962. Šešir's total three-month production was also 116.3% higher than the year before."³⁸ In his short article about Šešir's successful business performance, journalist K. M. wrote "Hats off to them!"³⁹ However, the positive trend and Šešir's success did not last long. A mere year later, in 1967, Mr Colnar, a *Gorenjski glas* journalist, wrote about the hat factory's unenviable position, which depended on the winter season and the "annual fads". Colnar also mentioned that with the exceptional quality of their permanent production, the company had managed to alleviate the influence of fashion on their production and sales, however, the factory was affected by current fashion at all times.⁴⁰ In addition to fashion, the decline in Šešir's exports was also directly influenced by political developments.⁴¹ However, regardless of the factory's difficult situation, Colnar concluded with the following words: "If the autumn and the winter are cold, the hats will sell well. Due to their modern production, they have not raised prices for three years, so despite the difficult situation, half of their stocks have already sold."⁴² The next 1967 article about the factory, authored by Ms Zupan, likewise discussed Šešir's fashion and the quality of its products. In the introductory part, Zupan described the products and the situation in the factory, adding that "in September this year, the factory was the first in Yugoslavia to start making men's rabbit-fur-lined hats from artificial leather and imitation velvet". According to her, the solution for an even better business performance (as confirmed by the numbers of products sold) was a wider choice and higher quality of women's hats.^{43, 44} The quality and prestige of Šešir's hats is indirectly mentioned also in

32 *Gorenjski glas*, 1958, p. 7.

33 *Gorenjski glas*, 1960, p. 3.

34 *Gorenjski glas*, 1963, p. 4.

35 Osovnikar, 1964, p. 1.

36 Journalist M. S. stated that in 1965 one of the persisting problems in Yugoslavia was the supply of domestic pelts, as collection companies preferred to sell them abroad.

37 *Gorenjski glas*, 1965, p. 3.

38 *Gorenjski glas*, 1966a, p. 1.

39 *Gorenjski glas*, 1966b, p. 5.

40 In 1967, fur hats were all the rage.

41 Closure of the Suez Canal, cancellation of an order from Israel, etc.

42 Colnar, 1967, p. 8.

43 Zupan, 1967, p. 4.

44 Ms Zupan's findings are confirmed both by the article by S. Z. from 1968 and the article by L. M. from 1969. In his article, L. M. initially described the women's hat fashion, before noting that Šešir was Yugoslavia's only factory to manufacture women's hats. This niche market was the reason why Šešir was so successful and was even unable to fulfil all orders (*Gorenjski glas*, 1969, p. 17).

an article about the music event where talented young ski jumpers were presented with awards and were given the Šešir hats as gifts.⁴⁵ An article from 1968 also discussed the elegant fashion of Šešir's hats, whose quality and design matches that of European hat manufacturers.⁴⁶

Šešir's Public Image in the Printed Media in the 1970s and the 1980s

Much like before, most of the articles and news from the 1970s and 1980s were also about the factory's (un)successful business performance, management and export. Moreover, there was no shortage of articles and reports about Šešir's participation in domestic (Yugoslav) fairs and fashion shows. The first few *Gorenjski glas* articles in 1970 commemorated the anniversary of the first and one of the most important workers' strikes in Šešir. To this end, an interview was published in March 1970 with Franc Logonder, who was one of the co-organisers of the strike. The article's author, journalist Guzelj, presented the reasons for the strike and the strike itself, noting that "more than thirty years ago, the employees of this large hat manufacturer were considered one of the most revolutionary groups far and wide" Logonder reminisced about the strike, "speaking off the top of his head, fluently and without hesitation, as if barely a week had passed since those turbulent times". Among other things, Guzelj asked Logonder about his fellow citizens' reaction to the strike. Mr Logonder replied that "the common people, proletarians and farmers sympathised with us, helped us, brought us food, money etc. The other side, of course, grumbled, called us names, such as communists – which we weren't – and the like. I remember even the parish pastor raised his voice and condemned the activities of the Expert Group, trying to make it look like it was connected with communism. Today, the very same people say: "Ah, you were nothing but whiners, without even a proper political programme!"⁴⁷ Another article from 1970 announced that a special event organised by the company employees was to be held to mark the 35th anniversary of the first Šešir strike. The article also announced a meeting of the former strike participants, which was to take place at the Ljudska restavracija Škofja Loka restaurant in the evening of the same day. The focus of the get-together was supposed to be reminiscing "about the terrible ordeals they endured back in the day"⁴⁸. The memorial event is confirmed in a 1970 article by *Gorenjski glas*, which featured a brief description of the ceremony and a list of speakers who gave speeches about the factory's past and future.⁴⁹

An article from 1971 reported on the opening of a Šešir production facility in the village of Gorenja vas. According to the author, J. G., Šešir set up its machinery on the premises that used to belong to the Alpina company, because they had been unable to find a suitable space in Škofja Loka. The plan was to use the new premises for uninterrupted production of those products that had previously been manufactured in the main factory only with difficul-

ty or delays.⁵⁰ For the purposes of buying and equipping the new premises, Šešir teamed up with a German partner. The new production facility initially employed 20 workers, the plan was, however, to raise the number to as many as 50.⁵¹ On the 50th anniversary of the factory's establishment, journalist Bogataj briefly described its history, its activities, the quality of its products and successful business performance. For this purpose, she interviewed the then head of the Sales Department and the acting general manager, Miro Pintarič, who outlined the situation at the factory, future plans and the problems it was facing at the time. The author, Ms Bogataj, mentioned an interesting piece of information, i.e. that the factory employed 300 workers, of which no fewer than 230 were women, adding that 8% of the employees had higher education. "Quite a few of them are still studying. The company pays their tuition and helps them with the study leave and other things." Together with Mr Pintarič, she further noted that Šešir had raised its employees' salaries.⁵² In conclusion, they talked about fashion and the importance of following fashion trends.⁵³ In 1972, Bogataj wrote another Šešir-related article, for the purposes of which she had once again talked about Šešir's plans and business successes with the then director Miro Pintarič. To begin with, she touched on Šešir's new production facility in Gorenja vas, which employed 25 workers.⁵⁴ She also revealed that Šešir's (formerly undisclosed) German partner in Gorenja vas was "a West German company Kreuzer". According to another article by Bogataj, in 1971, Šešir – in cooperation with Kreuzer – also started the production of spring and summer hats and caps, which were a new product in Šešir's range of products.⁵⁵ Bogataj also wrote about the new Šešir's spring and summer hats in another article in 1972, for which she interviewed the hat designer Vera Bricelj - Mlakar, who told her that they had prepared "almost 150 styles of hats for Šešir's summer collection, but had to exclude quite of them from production". She also added that "they had prepared a children's collection of hats for boys and girls", so "mothers and daughters could wear the same style of hats".⁵⁶

45 Guček, 1968, p. 18.

46 *Gorenjski glas*, 1968, p. 22.

47 Guzelj, 1970, p. 11.

48 *Gorenjski glas*, 1970a, p. 2.

49 *Gorenjski glas*, 1970b, p. 2.

50 According to J. G., Šešir "will thus also be able to make dead-season products, which had previously not been manufactured in the main factory".

51 *Gorenjski glas*, 1971, p. 3.

52 "The average personal income for the previous month amounted to 1,400 dinars. None of the workers earned less than 1,000 dinars." (Bogataj 1971, p. 5).

53 Bogataj, 1971, p. 5.

54 *These are workers who were not willing to commute to Škofja Loka.*

55 Bogataj, 1972a, p. 5.

56 Bogataj, 1972b, p. 25.

In 1973, Šešir opened a new production facility in the village of Stara vas near Brežice. It was housed in the building of the former school and was the first industrial workshop in the area. The facility would eventually employ 40 workers, mostly women, and produce fabric caps. According to Šešir's then director, Miro Pintarič, the reason for setting up the facility in Stara vas near Brežice was the following: "There has been a shortage of workers in the Škofja Loka area for several years. If we were to open a plant somewhere in the municipality of Škofja Loka, we would have to look for workers in less developed areas. However, employing workers from other places is associated with high costs, as they must first be provided with suitable housing, and there are also all sorts of related social problems. In the vicinity of Brežice, there are more than enough workers." The idea to establish the facility came from the local community in Brežice.⁵⁷ The opening of the new plant in 1973 was the subject of several *Dolenjski list* articles. In an article published in March, they reported that the new plant would focus mainly on the production of children's headgear and that between 25 and 30 women would be employed.⁵⁸ The next short article was also full of praise and superlatives for the hat factory in Škofja Loka.⁵⁹ A 1974 *Gorenjski glas* article described an event that took place much earlier, in November 1973. At that time, "large quantities of fuel oil leaked from a large tank belonging to the Šešir Škofja Loka factory, which stood right next to the Selščica riverbed, slightly upriver from its confluence with the Poljanščica." The spill was noticed by two members of the Škofja Loka fishing club, who immediately notified the competent authorities. The factory's management released the following statement regarding the unfortunate event: "The person responsible for this was the transporter driver, who transported the liquid in question to the factory at night and started transferring it into the tank. He allegedly failed to notice that the tank's capacity was smaller than the amount of cargo – and the excess liquid flowed over the edge and down the rocky steps into the river." Fishermen and conservationists were not satisfied with the factory's explanation.⁶⁰ However, despite a request for a more detailed analysis and more compelling reasons for the spill, Šešir did not provide any more details, analyses, apologies or more convincing reasons until the end of March 1974. Therefore, 'nature lovers' appealed to Šešir to provide all of the above.⁶¹ The questionable nature of Šešir's environmental and community practices was also examined in a *Gorenjski glas* article from 1974. In the article, whose general focus was on urban planning and programmes, the author stated that Šešir planned to set up a pelt-processing facility "a mere 30 metres from a clustered complex of residential buildings". According to the article, the so-called green buffer would "stop neither noise nor smoke and stench".^{62, 63} However, not all Šešir-related news and articles in 1974 were negative. On the occasion of the first anniversary of the plant in Stara vas near

Brežice, *Dolenjski list* published a short article, reporting that the production had kicked off satisfactorily. An interesting fact pointed out by the article was that "there was not a single seamstress among the farmer women and girls who worked the sewing machines". Over a span of one year, the diligent workers made "26,000 children's and women's headgear pieces from various materials, including faux fur". In conclusion, the author wrote that the production facility's plan was to employ one or two more workers in the future.⁶⁴ Most likely also in response to the environmental and community-related issues discussed in the 1974 articles, a 1977 article tried to persuade the residents of the Hafnerjevo naselje neighbourhood in Škofja Loka that there was nothing to worry about regarding the noise and "various rotting remains of animal origin" that could be caused by the future Šešir factory's facility in Trata near Škofja Loka.⁶⁵ The author claimed that "there was no need to worry about the piles of dirt lying around the building, because there is also a retail space, as previously mentioned; as we all know, this retail space is frequented by business associates and customers, so it is perfectly clear that it can be surrounded by nothing but parks and greenery". He also pointed out that "in addition to the above, Šešir had already secured funds to purchase a rather large strip of land south of the building, plant trees and thus gradually set up the so-called green buffer between the residential area and production halls". According to *Gorenjski glas* and a confirmation from Šešir's director, Miro Pinterič, "the project had been analysed and studied in detail by the Jožef Štefan Institute"⁶⁶ in Ljubljana and its specialised service."⁶⁷

A 1975 *Gorenjski glas* article authored by Bogataj discussed the 40th anniversary of the Šešir factory strike, the 30th anniversary of freedom and the 25th anniversary of the workers' self-management. According to the newspaper, "an exhibition titled *Workers' Movement in Gorenjska* would be hosted at the Škofja Loka Castle gallery and an anniversary celebration would take place at the Šešir factory" the following day. Bogataj also examined in detail

57 Bogataj, 1973, p. 16.

58 *Dolenjski list*, 1973a, p. 16.

59 *Dolenjski list*, 1973b, p. 12.

60 *Gorenjski glas*, 1974a, p. 16.

61 *Gorenjski glas*, 1974b, p. 20.

62 As an example of best practice, the author added: "In developed countries, there are several systematically cultivated areas between workshops of one and the same company." (*Gorenjski glas*, 1974c, p. 4).

63 *Gorenjski glas*, 1974c, p. 4.

64 Teppey, 1974, p. 18.

65 According to *Gorenjski glas*, Šešir's new plant in Trata would include the following: "a fur-production facility, a pelt warehouse, a finished goods warehouse, a tailoring room, millinery supplies, a faux-fur-hat production facility, an administrative and retail space and the technical services" (*Gorenjski glas*, 1975, p. 3).

66 The name of the institute – named after the physicist, mathematician, electrical engineer and poet of the same name – given by the author is incorrect and should read 'Jožef Štefan'.

67 *Gorenjski glas*, 1975, p. 3.

the history of hat-making in the Škofja Loka area, as well as the way workers were organised before the protest and the strike. In conclusion, she focused on the factory's future and the facility in Trata, adding that with its "state-of-the-art machinery and technology, the factory would operate and be managed even more successfully".⁶⁸ The next *Gorenjski glas* article from 1975 described in even more detail the anniversary celebration that was held at the Sora Cinema in Škofja Loka. The article also featured the memories and interviews with Franc Logonder, a strike participant, Ivana Pintar, who took part in the strike as a 12-year-old girl, and Jože Rozman, an employee of the Technical Museum in Jesenice.⁶⁹ A 1976 article briefly reported on the grand opening of the Šešir factory's new facility in Trata near Škofja Loka.⁷⁰ In 1977, Šešir was mentioned in an article about the May Day celebration with the then President of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito. In the article, journalist Žalar focused on the celebration itself, he did, however, add that "the Šešir factory employees gifted Tito with two hunting hats; if the first one got wet, he would have the other at hand".⁷¹ Other Šešir-related articles published in 1977 focused on a topic that had often been discussed before, i.e. fashion, fashion trends and the seasons, which affect Šešir's business activities and performance. Bogataj noted that Šešir's seemingly poor half-yearly business performance was not poor at all⁷²; in fact, the factory had already sold almost the entire year-round production for 1977.⁷³ Šešir was mentioned in another 1977 article, which did not deal with Šešir directly, but with the asphaltting of the road through the Hrastnica valley. The author, Bogataj, added an interesting piece of information, i.e. "Šešir from Škofja Loka was among the first to approve the funds for the road asphaltting, specifically 5,000 dinars per each employee that was from the area in question".⁷⁴ The large majority of news and articles from the 1980s that were indirectly related to Šešir were about various events for which the hat factory had donated its products as prizes for the performers, winners, participants, etc. One of the 1980 articles announced a celebratory gathering of the Škofja Loka municipality's self-managers on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of workers' self-management and the 45th anniversary of the first Šešir strike. A special invitation to the event had been sent to 72 participants in the strike that took place 45 years ago earlier.⁷⁵ A 1982 article focused on the exhibition and breeding of small animals, however, the following was mentioned in connection with Šešir: "Šešir Škofja Loka signed a self-management agreement on cooperation with the Kranj Small-Animal Breeder Association just over fourteen days ago. The first such case in Yugoslavia!"⁷⁶ In a 1983 article about Šešir, hat-making and rabbit breeding, journalist Volčjak briefly described the Šešir's history and successes. He also mentioned that "Šešir produced hats from all sorts of fabrics and they could also sew a shirt or pants from the same fabric to go with the children's caps". This was followed

by a detailed description of the essential hat-making skills and the problems Šešir faced when it came to the supply of rabbit pelts. This in particular was the reason why the factory "years ago decided to co-invest in a hare farm built by Merx from Celje. Šešir encouraged its construction, so to say. They got the very first hares from Italy and are now breeding hare offspring. They will also build a slaughterhouse and a pelt-drying facility. Other plans include setting up some smaller hare farms." The author, journalist Volčjak, also included a very detailed presentation of the hat-making process, as well as described the success and issues related to Šešir's exports.⁷⁷ A 1983 *Gorenjski glas* article authored by Žalar was focused on the breeding of small animals, confirming the successful collaboration between the hat factory and the rabbit and hare breeders. The author added a number of interesting details: "Šešir from Škofja Loka has to import approximately 15 million hare pelts a year. Two years ago, we (the Kranj Small-Animal Breeder Association) concluded an agreement with them, according to which our members would send them the pelts. In the first year, our members sold them around 200 pelts, followed by 1,000 last year, and this year's number will be around 3,000. Šešir only uses the fur, the skin itself is turned into artificial fertilizers and the ears into carpenter's glue."⁷⁸

The first 1985 feature on Šešir was a short report about the start of the renovations works on Šešir's dam on the Selška Sora river. The article explained that the funds for the renovation had been contributed by the Regional Water Community and the hat factory, and that Šešir would build a small hydroelectric power plant on the new dam to power the facility in the Spodnji trg square.⁷⁹ In 1985, Šešir marked the 50th anniversary of its first strike. Much like on the occasion of all previous major anniversary, two articles on this subject were published in *Gorenjski glas*. The first article announced a celebratory gathering, described the organisation of workers before the protest and the strike, and also touched on the factory's present and future.⁸⁰ The second article was a report from the aforementioned gathering and a brief summary of the speeches given by the invited speakers.⁸¹ In 1986, there

68 Bogataj, 1975a, p. 4.

69 Bogataj, 1975b, p. 1, 12.

70 "The new production and business premises measure 12,700 square metres" (*Gorenjski glas*, 1976, p. 3.)

71 Žalar, 1977, p. 5.

72 According to Bogataj, Šešir achieved the planned half-yearly production volume (*Bogataj*, 1977, p. 4).

73 Bogataj, 1977a, p. 4.

74 Bogataj, 1977b, p. 12.

75 *Gorenjski glas*, 1980, p. 2.

76 Dolenc, 1982, p. 11.

77 Volčjak, 1983, p. 4.

78 Žalar, 1983, p. 2.

79 *Gorenjski glas*, 1985, p. 1.

80 *Gorenjski glas*, 1985, p. 11.

81 Bogataj, 1985, p. 3.

was a single article with a mention of Šešir, it was, however, only indirectly related to it, i.e. it dealt with the filming of the TV series about Primož Trubar. It mentioned that “Šešir from Škofja Loka, one of the TV series sponsors, prepared about 200 hats that were in vogue at the time for the filming. The factory still had a few machines that use the old technology to make the sort of hats that would otherwise have to be imported for the needs of the filming”.⁸² Two features published in 1988 reported that Šešir had received a large award plaque from the Municipality of Škofja Loka. The first feature included a short sentence reporting that the hat factory’s employees were one of the award plaque winners⁸³. For the second article, journalist Volčjak interviewed the then director Miro Pinterič after the company had received the award plaque to talk about the factory renovation, the associated costs and its impact on production and the employees’ salaries.⁸⁴ The article also reported about the factory renovation, which “killed two birds with one stone; the workers now had better working conditions and Škofja Loka a more beautiful architectural monument”. The author, however, also mentioned some questions the factory management had to deal with, pointing out that Šešir had another “decision to make: the workers could either relax as more money would be allocated for salaries⁸⁵ or the renovation would be completed by building a hydroelectric power plant with a capacity of one million kilowatt hours, of which just under a third would be used by the factory itself and the rest released into the electricity network”. The management had a compromise to make. In conclusion, the author touched on Šešir’s very successful export and the quality of its hats, which allowed an increase in the hat prices in the West.⁸⁶ Another Šešir-related article in 1989 was published by *Dolenjski list*, which prepared a short report about the employees of Šešir’s production facility in Stara vas near Brežice and a summary of an interview with Ivanka Strmečki, who was in charge of the facility at the time. The article mentioned that the plant employed 18 people, including production workers and a caretaker, and that “between 200 and 300 hats were sewn there every day, depending on individual products”.⁸⁷ Another article from the 1980s examined Šešir’s business performance and its export in detail. It also touched on the quality of Šešir’s hats, their prices and the employees’ salaries.⁸⁸

Šešir in Newspapers until It Was Closed Down

In the early 1990s, newspapers still reported about Šešir’s (un)successful business performance and its participation in domestic fairs and fashion shows. The so-called Šešir’s prize crossword was featured in a few of issues of *Gorenjski glas* and Šešir rewarded those who had solved the cross-

word with both cash and material prizes. A 1990 *Gorenjski glas* article also dealt with Šešir’s business performance. The author pointed out that the last time Šešir was so successful in terms of its export was in 1965, adding that the factory had warehouses full of raw materials, which were the basis for the already sold-out annual production, confirming how successful the factory was. In conclusion, he also touched on Šešir’s salaries, mentioning that “due to the export, stubborn persistence in investments and doing business with their own money, Šešir had always been one of those who paid the lowest salaries within the Slovenian industry and the municipality of Škofja Loka. For instance, in the first nine months of the previous year, Šešir ranked 13th among 80 textile companies in terms of profit, but only 60th in terms of salaries.” In subsequent months, Šešir increased its salaries above the national average, thus getting closer to Europe (in terms of salaries).⁸⁹ A 1991 *Gorenjski glas* article published under the column titled ‘*Do you still remember, comrades?*’ summarised an older article from 1954, which had examined the fact that Šešir favoured private buyers, which was reportedly not in accordance with the state’s socialist morality.⁹⁰ Another *Gorenjski glas* article published a year later dealt with the excellent business performance (or lack thereof) of some companies from the Gorenjska region (Merkur, Gradbivec and Šešir). To start with, journalist Volčjak pointed out that Šešir “had left the Yugoslav market just in time and was thus starting the new year loan-free”. She also interviewed the then director Miro Pinterič, who talked in detail about Šešir’s business operations, the wish for business transformation, the importance of export and foreign markets, and the gradual closure of shops across former Yugoslavia. As an interesting piece of information, Pinterič told her that Šešir had decided earlier that year to become a limited liability company.⁹¹ Another 1992 article by *Gorenjski glas* dealt with Šešir’s 70th anniversary and its business performance in 1991 and early 1992. It mentioned that in 1991 Šešir had produced “50,000 capeline hats, 110,000 men’s and women’s hats, about 160,000 caps and other headgear products, as well as about 30 tons of fur”. The article also touched on the salaries, which fluctuated from month to month; sometimes they were above the national average and at other times below the average. As an interesting fact, it pointed out that at the time the

82 *Gorenjski glas*, 1986, p. 10.

83 *Gorenjski glas*, 1988, p. 1.

84 Volčjak, 1988, p. 3.

85 According to *Gorenjski glas*, in 1989, Šešir “ranked last within the Škofja Loka municipality” in terms of the salaries of its employees. (*Gorenjski glas*, 1989, p. 9).

86 *Gorenjski glas*, 1989, p. 9.

87 *Dolenjski list*, 1989, p. 6.

88 Volčjak, 1989, p. 5.

89 *Gorenjski glas*, 1990, p. 14.

90 *Gorenjski glas*, 1991, p. 14.

91 Volčjak, 1992, p. 6.

factory employed “140 workers, of which as many as 90% were female”. It also mentioned that many experienced workers had (recently) retired, which was why the quality of Šešir’s products suffered. The article concluded with an announcement of a small celebration to mark the 70th anniversary.⁹² An article from 1998, which is indirectly related to Šešir, discussed the 50th anniversary of childcare in Škofja Loka. It revealed that the beginning of childcare, i.e. “social care for preschool children” coincided with the establishment of the so-called House of Play and Work, which was set up in the building of a Škofja Loka primary school under the auspices of Šešir.⁹³

Very few *Gorenjski glas* articles published at the beginning of the new millennium specifically focused on Šešir. However, Šešir was often mentioned in connection with the success, or lack thereof, of companies from the Gorenjska region or the Škofja Loka area. A 2000 *Gorenjski glas* article stated that “the HTB company from Düsseldorf, Germany, would relocate its production of women’s hats to the Škofja Loka-based Šešir”. Šešir “had left all the machinery, technology, models and, of course, the entire market, without restrictions” to the German company. The article also revealed that “Šešir had 115 employees and a production facility in Stara vas near Brežice with 20 employees”.⁹⁴ A 2006 *Gorenjski glas* article by Bogataj reported that Šešir’s business performance in 2005 was poor, however, director Miro Pinterič and his colleagues nevertheless intended to buy it. Asked who else had expressed the wish to buy it, the director replied, “As many as 148 small shareholders, from employees, former employees, to retirees and their relatives, have no intention to sell shares at the moment. So there’s about 30 of us, employees and former employees.” As regard the reasons and plans to buy the company, the director said the following: “Our goal is for the Šešir and Piccadilly brands to remain a symbol of Škofja Loka and Slovenia. They are well-known all over the world and we can keep them.” The rest of the article dealt with the sale of Šešir’s premises in the Spodnji trg square, which were no longer needed.⁹⁵ In the future, Šešir intended to limit the Trata facility’s operations and close the facility in Stara vas near Brežice, not, however, until all of its 17 workers retired. An article from 2007 dealt in even more detail with the takeover of Šešir. In the article, director Pinterič shared many details about the acquisition process, Šešir’s activities and other financial matters.⁹⁶

The next two *Gorenjski glas* articles from 2007 reported about the great damage caused in the factory by a flood. The first short article reported about the destruction of a dye warehouse and a mechanical workshop, and the flooded semi-finished goods warehouse. The flood hit Šešir at a very inopportune time, as the company was in the midst of preparing a collection for the next season. Therefore, they were worried – with good reason – that the disaster would negatively affect their business and financial stability.⁹⁷ The next article confirmed everything

else that had been established before, pointing out that by then the workers had been accustomed to flooding, as part of the factory (the old part) “was right by the Selška Sora river and even below the river level”. This time, however, they had been surprised by large amounts of water within a very short time.⁹⁸

A 2009 *Gorenjski glas* article reported about Šešir’s good business performance and its effective measures to overcome the economic crisis. For this purpose, journalist Žargi interviewed the then director Miro Pinterič. To start with, they discussed the economic crisis and how it affected the factory’s business and situation. In relation to the crisis and the search for satisfactory solutions, director Pinterič said, “We make special headgear. We work for the Dutch and Slovenia police, fire fighters, fan clubs in Austria, hunters, the Slovenian army. We are small and very flexible. Our latest niche market is an invitation to China – I think, if we know how to take advantage of it, this can prove very successful in the long term.” Regarding the layoffs on account of the crisis, the director maintained that no workers had been made redundant, adding that “the number of workers decreased slightly due to retirement; we currently have 66 workers, but they all work full time”. In the end, Pinterič also talked about ownership: “All our assets are in the hands of 128 shareholders.”⁹⁹ In the run-up to Šešir’s closure, articles directly related to the hat factory were increasingly rare. The first article to appear in the second decade of the new millennium (2010) was a long interview with the managing director, Miro Pinterič. In the article, Pinterič talked about the difficult economic situation, which significantly affected the hat factory, about its too many facilities and plants, and why it would be wise to sell some of its parts, as well as touched on Šešir’s ownership. Despite the negative trends, he viewed the company’s activity in a favourable light, mainly due to two new niche products – “Jewish hats and hats for the Dutch police”. At that time, Šešir also made products for the Slovenian police and army. Despite the poor state of the economy, Pinterič was optimistic about the future: “If we get through 2010, Šešir will live for a very long time.”¹⁰⁰ However, as early as 2012, he already predicted difficult times for Šešir in a short article.¹⁰¹ In 2012, the factory had “57 employees” and the director announced that

92 *Gorenjski glas*, 1992, p. 17.

93 Žargi, 1998, p. 6.

94 *Gorenjski glas*, 2000, p. 8.

95 “Šešir currently employs 87 people, with only five in administration, however, productivity is low.” (Bogataj, 2006, p. 19.)

96 Žargi, 2007a, p. 17.

97 *Gorenjski glas*, 2007, p. 17.

98 Žargi, 2007b, p. 17.

99 Žargi, 2009.

100 Bogataj, 2010.

101 “We are at the bottom, underwater; the only thing keeping us alive is a long straw, and if the water (the cost) rises, it will be near impossible for us to make it through this,” said Pinterič. (Bogataj, 2012)

fifteen new ones would be hired within five years. At the same time, however, Šešir started selling its Trata facility and relocated its entire operation to the premises in the Spodnji trg square.¹⁰² For the purposes of more effective business operations and lower production costs, director Pinterič suggested that the hat factory link up with the Kranj-based Triglav konfekcija and Škofja Loka-based Odeja companies.¹⁰³ In connection with the sale of Šešir's premises in Trata, a *Loški utrip* article in 2015 reported that Šešir has been trying to sell them unsuccessfully for two years. As a result, the company's management decided to lease them.¹⁰⁴ In 2015, a *Gorenjski glas* article by Bertonecelj reported about Šešir's simplified compulsory settlement and that, in 2014, Šešir had finally closed down its plant in Stara vas near Brežice. The reason for the compulsory settlement was reportedly the negative financial results of the past three years. Director Pinterič added that another problem was a significant increase in the prices of basic raw materials (from 18 to 80 euros per kilogram) and the production. According to him, Šešir's main goal at that time was to settle all debts as soon as possible.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁶ The focus of the article from 2016 was Šešir's recapitalisation through the receivables belonging to director Miro Pinterič, who thus increased his ownership share. In the article, Pinterič pointed out that the factory was expanding to the eastern markets, where Šešir already had production. At the same time, he revealed that "in the long run he would like to see the plant in Spodnji trg included in the range of tourist services on offer within the municipality; to show tourists the production and give them an opportunity to learn about hat-making and to buy some of the products at the end of the tour."¹⁰⁷ On 10 December 2016, *Gorenjski glas* featured an article titled 'Šešir from Škofja Loka Declares Bankruptcy'. According to the author, journalist Šubic, the bankruptcy was proposed by the management of Šešir, which had been facing problems for a long time. Another reason for the bankruptcy was the failed financial restructuring that the hat factory had intended to carry out by means of a simplified compulsory settlement.¹⁰⁸ An auction of part of Šešir's property took place in 2018. According to journalist Zaplotnik, the factory's "facilities in Škofja Loka,¹⁰⁹ machinery and stocks of materials and semi-finished products" would be auctioned. Reportedly, Šešir also tried to sell 1,677 Gorenjska banka shares at the auction.¹¹⁰ In an article published in August 2018, journalist Zavrl Žlebir wrote: "The third attempt at selling the property belonging to the Šešir hat factory from Škofja Loka, which had declared bankruptcy, was successful. The property in Spodnji trg was sold in July."¹¹¹ In 2019, a few more machines were sold to a Chinese company.¹¹² The story and history of the hat factory thus came to an end.

¹⁰² This is confirmed by an article written by journalist Zavrl Žlebir at a later time; she reported that the Gorenjska banka bank had started selling Šešir's property in Trata, adding that the factory would operate from Spodnji trg in the future (Zavrl Žlebir, 2014).

¹⁰³ Bogataj, 2012.

¹⁰⁴ Mlakar, 2015, p. 12.

¹⁰⁵ "The main focus is on a positive cash flow, to repay debts to all workers and the state as soon as possible, as well as to reach an agreement with suppliers." (Bertonecelj, 2015).

¹⁰⁶ Information from Bertonecelj's article was later confirmed in a *Gorenjski glas* feature, where the following was explained: "Last week, the Kranj District Court issued a decision confirming a simplified compulsory settlement for the Šešir hat factory from Škofja Loka." (Rant, 2015).

¹⁰⁷ Rant, 2016.

¹⁰⁸ Šubic, 2016.

¹⁰⁹ A production facility, side rooms with a canteen, dyeing room, a mechanical workshop with a storage landing, a boiler room with a chimney and a building plot with the necessary public utility infrastructure (Zaplotnik, 2017a).

¹¹⁰ Zaplotnik, 2017a; Zaplotnik 2017b; Zaplotnik 2018a; Zaplotnik 2018b.

¹¹¹ Šešir's real estate was purchased by the Polimix company from Žiri (Zavrl Žlebir, 2018). The sale has also been confirmed by *Loški utrip* (Potočnik, 2018, p. 6).

¹¹² Zavrl Žlebir, 2019.

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Tadej Curk

Memories by Victor Hatter

The story presented here consists of the memories shared by Victor Hatter, a former employee of the hat factory Šešir Škofja Loka. Victor Hatter is a fictional character and is in no way connected to either the deceased or living employees of the Šešir factory. He does, however, tell a fascinating story of the company through the individual stories of the company's employees. Victor Hatter's memoir is based on real stories and interviews, which Sara Šifrar Krajnik, an ethnology and cultural anthropology student, collected for the needs of the Škofja Loka Museum and the project titled *In Love with Creativity*. The interviewees included Anton and Andrej Mlakar – husband and son of Vera Mlakar, a former Šešir factory milliner; Draga Bergant Finžgar – relative of several Šešir factory employees; Mirjana Šifrar – daughter of a Šešir factory employee; Miroslav Pintarič – a former Šešir factory managing director; Pavla Mravlja – a former factory sewing-room worker; Marta and Marija Tavčar – a former bookkeeping department employee, craftswoman and seamstress associated with the factory, and some other individual who wish to remain anonymous.

If You Are from Škofja Loka, Šešir Is Part of You!¹

I am Victor Hatter from Škofja Loka. I live in the Cesta talcev street, which was known as the Old Loka back in the day. Between 1935 and 1936, my father, Anton Hatter, built a pleasant family house here and this is where I am still living with my family today and where some of my earliest and fondest memories go back to. Schooling was not exactly my strong suit, so after I had done military service, my father used his connections to help me get a job as at the Šešir factory as a doorman and occasional night watchman in circa 1951. I stayed in the factory throughout my employment until I got retired, which coincided with the year when Slovenia declared its independence from Yugoslavia. Thus, I was paid my well-deserved yet small pension in Slovenian tolar. While working at the factory, however, I saw, heard, and experienced many a story and event. Due to my keen interest in all things historical and bygone and my passion for chronicling events, which I made sure to carefully record and describe in my diary, the Škofja Loka Museum asked me to give an account of some of the stories – the people's history of the Šešir factory so to speak – in my memoir which they needed for the project *In Love with Creativity*. Since I am not particularly skilled in modern

technology, my grandson Luka was more than willing to help me do this.

“The Šešir factory has always been a world-famous hat factory” may seem like a fitting first sentence, however, this it is not entirely true. In fact, long before World Wars I and II, the Šešir factory's building also housed the first Škofja Loka power plant, starting, if memory serves me right, in 1894. However, it was not until 1921 – which is considered the official year the factory was established – that Šešir was no longer a power plant and remained ‘only’ a factory, where paradoxically most things were powered by water and a small number of them also by electricity. The first few years following World War II were difficult and involved a lot of hard work, so people, myself included, were really happy if they managed to get a job in Šešir. Difficult conditions and the will to rebuild the economy were evident at the factory too and, after the war, the factory employees worked in two or even three shifts, Saturdays including, and occasionally on Sundays too. The situation in schools was not much different – classes were also held on Saturdays. One might say that after the war it was all hard work and no play, whereas later, when the situation improved, it was the other way around. At first, my workdays lasted from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m., or 2 p.m. to 10 p.m., depending on whichever shift I was assigned to. Over the years, however, two more hours were added to Tuesday's and Thursday's work schedules. So we worked until 4 p. m. and thus didn't have to come to work on Saturdays, although eventually work on Saturdays lasted only 4 hours. Later, the entire weekends were work-free. At the time, a mid-week workday lasted from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. For most workers that is – only the stoker and I used to start at 5:30 a.m. and finished long after everyone else had gone home. Well, sometimes we were joined by other workers, a department head or the director, but that was more the exception than the rule. Sometimes we had deadlines to meet or large shipments for other countries to prepare, and that's when a few other workers and employees joined the two of us during overtime. On such occasions, work could last until the wee hours or even the entire weekend long. The stocktaking was also a big problem – during the stocktaking period, some of us were not allowed to take leave. Yes, leave. We had a company-wide annual leave, which lasted from the end of July until around 17 August, and we also had quite a few days off around Christmas and New's Year Day. During this time, the factory was closed, and we were able to focus on all the festivities and merrymaking.

In addition to getting paid leave, fair and honest work deserves fair pay. If nothing else, the salaries at Šešir were

1 The title has been borrowed from a written account shared with the aforementioned ethnology and cultural anthropology student Sara Šifrar Krajnik by Draga Bergant Finžgar.

paid regularly, which was a source of livelihood for many a worker after World War II. Each of us workers would get the salary money in an envelope handed directly to us and there's an interesting story involved. Like I've said, we'd get the money in an envelope, but the money had to be withdrawn at the bank. It wasn't like today, when figures just appear in the factory account and the money is then transferred to the workers' accounts. As the money had to be withdrawn, the accountant – accompanied by another employee and the factory driver – went to the bank in the Mestni trg square to collect it. The three of them put the money in a Šešir factory's basket, and before returning to the factory, they'd make a detour to get some undoubtedly-well-deserved ice cream, taking the basket full of money with them.

When they got back to the factory, the accountant, with the help of some co-workers, placed the correct amounts of money in the envelopes and handed them to all the employees. Some workers found that the salaries at Šešir sucked and they could barely make ends meet. Others said the salaries were neither good nor bad and that they weren't much different compared to other factories. Still others, probably the rather frugal ones, even claimed that the salaries were moderate. Much the same was, of course, claimed by the directors, who always said that the salaries were competitive. If you ask me, the salaries were alright, but then again I'm not a big spender. I'd also like to point out that all the work equipment was provided by Šešir, and because of the work involving mercury – its levels were determined by means of urine tests, even in the factory's own laboratory – the workers were given free milk. Half a litre of milk per worker. We'd get it for lunch. Some didn't drink it straight away, preferring to take it home, where they split it among the family members. From 1964 onwards, or something like that, we'd get hot lunch from Lontrg courtesy of the factory in addition to the milk. Later, in 1969, a company kitchen was set up at the factory. We had our own cooks, who'd always give us a bit extra or a second helping, especially all the hard workers. The kitchen was later moved to Trata along with other parts of the factory. But more on that later.

Part of the reason the salaries were somewhat low was because a lot of money was invested in upgrades and renovation of the outdated factory and in the purchase, repairs, renovation and painting of machinery. The modernisation and renovation works started mainly under director Galof. For Šešir to be competitive, its machinery had to be updated and many new things had to be bought. In particular technological ones, so we could develop and use our own technology and not be so dependent on others. But because there was not enough money, i.e. there was much less of it than in the West, the factory was forced to buy older or even outdated machinery and equipment. Most of the machines were bought abroad, especially in Italy, but they broke down a lot due to wear and tear. This, in

turn, required additional work and financial resources. For the factory to be competitive the factory building itself also had to be repaired and restored. Most of the work was done by the workers themselves and as part of workers' community work. The workers who helped with the building renovation and extension work were repaid in kind, i.e. they could use the doors, windows and other building materials to build their own or their relatives' houses.

Speaking of relatives, whole families, close and distant relatives alike, were employed in Šešir, which means that people from both the town itself and the vicinity worked there. And during the summer holidays youngsters too, either to earn a bit of extra money or as part of their internships and trainings. Youngsters' summer jobs may have involved gluing scraps of fur on paper or removing extra hair from rabbit ears and tails, thus saving the factory from losing too much of the valuable hair. These two types of work were less desirable, as the hair would get stuck all over their bodies, irritating their eyes, nose and mouth. They were much happier to land a job in one of the company's offices and administration. It was no different when it came to permanent factory employees. Despite doing different jobs and moving between departments, some employees preferred certain kinds of work to others. What the entire Šešir work process had in common was that there was a lot of manual work, and the machines were of great help to the workers and the work they did. According to some employees, who pointed this out in many of the conversations we held, manual work, which required having a feel for it, was the reason for the Šešir hats' higher quality and consequently also a higher price. The hardest physical work and least popular one was in the pelt-processing facility, where the skin was cut from fur. Actually, that's quite right, the word order is perfectly fine, that was the process. For some time, starting with director Galof, the factory even raised its own rabbits and hares. The rabbit-breeding facility was in Puštal by the river Sora or in the village of Draga, unfortunately it's slipped my mind where exactly. However, due to a growing demand for Šešir hats at a later time, rabbits and hares – or sometimes only their fur – were mostly imported from Russia (the Soviet Union) and Belgium. But let me go back to the pelt-processing facility: there was a very sharp and unpleasant smell in it due to the chemicals, which I remember all too well from the rounds I had to do. And there were fleas too. Despite the difficult, unpleasant and unhealthy conditions, most of the workers there, if my memory serves me well, were women and workers who were only just starting at Šešir. Work in the rolling room was just as hard and demanding – workers, who were mostly male, had to be especially meticulous, as this is where the hat foundation, its base, was made. The easiest job, according to some employees, however, was fur weighing. As an interesting fact, let me add that the fur of highest quality was found on the rabbit's or hare's back. If

you ask me, work in any department or position was difficult in a way and, above all, very responsible.

All the Šešir employees were really great and had a close bond. We all knew one another, got along well and were even friends. We joked around a lot and rarely argued. But if we did end up having an argument, we mostly managed to sort it all out at the pub after work. The only time there were some more serious arguments was while the managing director was Kavčič. Some of the quarrels even went so far as to end up in court. But once again we sorted it all out ourselves, and quickly buried the hatchet without the intervention of any lawyers or the court. There were, however, some consequences. Relations during Kavčič's managerial stint were more strained than at other times during my employment in Šešir. The discomfort and tense relations even continued for some time during which the company director was Galof, under whose management there were some minor disputes too, but they are not really worth mentioning. Well, eventually, we patched up all our rifts and bonded over the realisation that we should consider ourselves lucky to be employed and working in such a reputable factory. This only increased our enjoyment of work. The friendly relations and strong bond between the employees persisted despite the fact that the departments were located separately from one another, were composed differently and were occasionally relocated. Hat designers were for the most part female, as were the workers in the dyeing and sewing rooms. Other departments consisted of both male and female workers, only in very few ones men outnumbered women. Hard physical work, however, was the sole domain of male workers. Our strong bond and friendship was put to the test when some employees or departments were relocated or when new ones were set up in other places. Before it was sold, the pelt-processing facility was housed in the granary and the former Primož's sawmill next to today's Jeshrana inn. Later, a warehouse was located in the same spot. As previously mentioned, part of the factory was relocated to the Trata unit, where a kitchen, a sewing room, a finished-goods warehouse, a pelt-processing facility and a depot were also located.

The close bond and solidarity among Šešir's employees was also reflected in the fact that, despite low salaries, we helped and took care of one another. For example, we had a collective reserve fund, out of which employees could borrow money if they were building a house or needed a larger amount of money. And there's another thing I need to mention: a labour union's store of food for the winter – workers could buy and get apples at a reduced price, for instance. And on 8 March, the International Women's Day, all of us male employees made sure our female colleagues got a little present. Also, the factory had some social housing, which single mothers could rent or stay in rent-free. We all made sure to help them and take care of them, much like we did of the disabled and other vulnerable groups. We helped them in any way we could. Quite a

few disabled persons were given a job at the factory, which gave them back their human dignity and showed them they were treated as our equals.

Our friendship, unity and close bond, however, could not have existed without our shared after-work activities and socialising. We had a TV in the factory's labour union hall. This was the very first TV some of us ever saw and watched. We mostly hung in front of it when we watched various sports competitions and events. Over time, a table tennis table, a chess set and a small library joined the TV in the hall, which thus became a place for socialising, passing the time and waiting. Speaking of waiting, we had to wait for a free shower or washbasin – the factory had shared showers and a washroom and on Saturdays entire families of workers would come over to have a wash or a shower. This allowed us to get to know one another's families and form close friendships. And there were also a few unforgettable events – albeit rare ones – that took place outside the factory. When the factory was under the leadership of director Galof, we started organising ping pong, football, chess and shooting matches and competitions. They were not intended only for Šešir's employees, but we also competed with other factories in Škofja Loka and elsewhere. Director Galof was also the initiator of various trips, first with trucks and later buses. The destination of our truck trips were mostly Labour Day rallies and other National Liberation Combatant celebrations, which were held mostly on Sv. Ožbolt and some other hills. We left from in front of the factory and drove to the top of the hill, where the truck was turned into a rostrum for political and activist speeches. A few times our destination was the seaside and as part of these trips some of the employees got to see the sea and swim in it for the first time ever. Director Pintarič eventually did away with these company trips. The official reason was that the trips had been cancelled because some things got stolen during the trips by some of our co-workers. We found this difficult to believe. We suspected that the real reason the trips had been cancelled was the high cost, as the trips had always been attended by quite a few workers and their family members. Our after-work get-togethers also included the director's birthday celebrations. Some of my colleagues also remember the celebrations and anniversaries of the factory's establishment. I don't remember them all that well, probably because I didn't attend them. Towards the end of my employment at the factory – after the declaration of Slovenia's independence, the doorman position was eventually scrapped – there was less and less collegiality. The company's gradual downfall came at the time when Slovenia was already an independent country and a number of products and departments – including successful ones – were discontinued.

There are a few other things that I'd like to share: some information about Šešir's business activities and hats. As previously mentioned, Šešir was a world-famous and im-

portant factory, which collaborated with various Italian, Austrian and German hat factories and foreign suppliers. Its products were sold and exhibited throughout Yugoslavia and abroad. The following two pieces of information speak volumes about Šešir's importance during the time of Yugoslavia. Firstly, before going on any of his political or diplomatic trips, Josip Broz-Tito always ordered new hats from the factory. And secondly, the factory owned a Mercedes car, which is why a chauffeur had to be employed as well. Šešir got the Mercedes during the time when its director was Franc Kavčič, a relative of Niko Kavčič, who had acquired an exclusive dealership agreement to sell Mercedes cars in Yugoslavia and later founded today's Avtocommerce company. He was so pleased with his achievement, he gifted and sent cars to his relatives and acquaintances. This is how Šešir got to be a proud Mercedes owner.

In addition to Škofja Loka, Šešir's shops, where you could buy a hat or have it repaired and cleaned, were located in 19 other towns in Yugoslavia (including Ljubljana – one of them was in the arcade under the famous Nebotičnik (Skyscraper) building – and Poreč). However, exports outside the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, which accounted for 95% of sales, did not end there. In fact, Šešir also exported its products and semi-finished products to Austria, Canada, Germany, the USA (to Germany and the USA mostly women's hats), Russia – the Soviet Union (caps for the most part), Iran and Israel. There is an interesting story that has to do with the export to Russia – the Soviet Union that's definitely worth sharing. This one time Russian customers did not have enough money to pay for Šešir's hats, so they paid for the order in kind, in the form of mothballs. The factory, and probably the whole of Škofja Loka, had enough naphthalene for about ten years. Šešir also exhibited its intermediate goods, batts and products at fairs and expos in Slovenia and abroad. The towns I remember included Ljubljana, Zagreb, Belgrade, Novi Sad, Paris, Milan, Düsseldorf, Wiesbaden and Munich. However, cutbacks in production, the gradual collapse of the factory and irresponsible company decisions ensured that during the time following Slovenia's independence, the company started losing its markets and no longer took part in fairs and expos. At the height of its progress and activity, however, the Šešir factory had had many shops in Yugoslavia and participated in national and international fairs, so some employees, headed by the director, often travelled on business, visiting the production facilities and fairs abroad. I never had the opportunity to do so myself, but I almost always received a postcard, which I still keep at home. I've also been told many an interesting story about what went on during these business trips. For example, hat designer Vera Mlakar once told me that she had often stood in front of shop windows in Milan and later Paris, drawing their hats and fashion, so the drawings could later be used for Šešir's hat designs. When I

asked her why she did this, she said laughingly that she hadn't had a small enough camera. Her camera was too big and the shopkeepers could have would reported her to the police for spying or intellectual property theft. And she didn't want to risk it.

Regardless of Šešir's fine reputation, working in it was nothing special. Most of my co-workers, and myself included, thought that work in Šešir was just like any other work. A job like any other. Employment like any other. We did not feel other people from the town treated us any differently because of it. We worked there and that was that. We had no special or higher social status because of this. And most importantly, it wasn't like we got anything for free because of it, of course.

The last thing I'd like to talk about are Šešir's hat and hats in general. I have already mentioned that – mainly due to manual, meticulous and responsible work it took to make them – Šešir's hats were of higher quality, but also a bit more expensive. At first, only men's hats were made in Šešir. Under director Kavčič, circa 1961, however, the factory also started the production of women's hats. For this purpose, a Department of Women's Hats, called 'Klobuček', i.e. Little Hat, was established. Women's hats were followed by cotton caps, both women's and men's, and eventually also cotton caps for children. For a while, Šešir also manufactured fur hats and, last but not least, straw hats. At this point, you are probably wondering about two things: What were the rules regarding hat-wearing during Šešir factory's time? And did the workers wear hats? The answers to this differ quite a bit. Those older workers who always wore a hat and retired well before me believed that hats were a must and that women should wear one as well. While I worked at Šešir, however, the prevailing opinion was that people were free to decide themselves. Therefore, hats were mostly worn by men over 18 years of age. Women themselves believed a woman had to be either in a high enough position or sophisticated enough to wear one. Šešir's employees received a discount on the purchase of a hat once a year, I think up to 50%, but I think most of us decided to use it if a relative or friend asked us to buy a hat for them or whenever we needed a gift for someone.

This is how I, and some older and younger people who worked in Šešir at some point, remember the factory. We feel very sorry that such a successful and world-famous factory came to such a sad end. We hope that the factory's and the worker's heritage, knowledge and skills will be preserved for future generations, who will draw inspiration from them. So, dear readers, all of you from Škofja Loka, young people in particular, remember: 'Šešir is part of all of you!'

Sara Šifrar Krajnik

*From Skilled Trades to Industry
in the Area of Škofja Loka*

However, the end of hat-making and the hat-making industry in Škofja Loka did not mean the hat-making knowledge and skills passed in oblivion – quite the contrary.

When the Present Walks Hand in Hand with the Past

The town of Škofja Loka lies below the eastern hillside of Loško pogorje (the Škofja Loka Hills), at the confluence of the Poljanska and Selška Sora rivers. The location of the town, which was an important economic centre in the Middle Ages, provided conditions for the development of skilled trades, crafts and related trade.¹

As a town with distinctly large numbers of skilled trades and crafts, Škofja Loka flourished during the guild era.² However, the gradual introduction of free crafts and free trade, as well as the French occupation³, put an end to the era of guilds in this area.⁴ Nevertheless, it took a long time for the economic, trade and production power of Škofja Loka to pass to the manufacturing form of the work process and the industrial production methods.

The beginning of industrialisation⁵ in Škofja Loka was made possible in particular by entrepreneurial-minded individuals and the arrival of the railway,^{6,7} a major boom in the field of industry in the Škofja Loka area, however, did not take place until after World War I. During this period, it was the local textile industry that developed to the largest degree.⁸ Quite a few industrial plants emerged from the long-established tradition of small craft workshops, while other industrial companies were established independently of the development of crafts and skilled trades. The largest factory at the time that did not emerge from tradition of skilled trades is the Šešir hat factory.⁹

In contrast to the decline of some guild crafts in Škofja Loka in the 19th century, hat-making flourished. Over time, however, hatmaker's workshops also began to close down.¹⁰ In 1967, the last hatmaker in Škofja Loka closed his business.¹¹ However, the closure of hatmaker's workshops did not result in an end of hat-making in Škofja Loka. In fact, a joint stock company called Tovarna klobukov Šešir d. d., Škofja Loka was founded in Škofja Loka in 1921. The factory's establishment was not really influenced by the local hat-making tradition, a greater influence can be attributed to the opportunity to use the generator and the machines that used to belong to the former cloth factory, which was the Šešir hat factory's predecessor in Spodnji trg. The establishment of the factory and the launch of its operation marked the beginning of the hat-making industry in Škofja Loka.¹²

Over the years, Šešir survived a global economic crisis and the workers' strike in 1935, all the while gradually approaching the European standards of quality and fashion,¹³ while also establishing itself on the international market. In 2016, after 95 years of continuous operation, Šešir's path came to an end with bankruptcy.

The preservation and development of individual handicrafts¹⁴ requires a good deal of care and attention in the society at large. We live in a time during which handicrafts are going through a dynamic development process, which involves not only a great deal of experience and technological know-how, but even more so human involvement in the relationship between the natural and cultural environments.¹⁵ Individuals' efforts in these relationships result in masterpieces that can either be tied to historical memory, or can be completely new forms of creation. However, when it comes to the latter, a connection with heritage is not to be disregarded either. Such handicrafts today represent the crossroads of modern creativity and historical memory.

In the Škofja Loka area, handicrafts are not only part of historical memory and heritage, but also part of everyday life. Much like in the past, Škofja Loka still boasts a number of artisans, including some whose work combines contemporary creation and heritage related to hat-making and the Šešir hat factory. These artisans are Anja Musek, Lili Panjtar and Matjaž Rešek.¹⁶

1 Planina, 1972, p. 15–16.

2 The first guilds were established towards the end of the Middle Ages. The oldest guild in Škofja Loka was the tailor's guild, founded in 1457.

3 The French occupied the Slovenian lands in 1809 and remained here until 1813.

4 Planina, 1972, pp. 15–16.

5 The first industrial facility in Škofja Loka was Krenner's cloth factory in the Spodnji trg square, founded in 1871.

6 This section of the railway was built in 1870.

7 Ristić, 2016, p. 31.

8 Logar, 1955, p. 88.

9 Planina, 1936, p. 45.

10 The decline in the number of workshops was especially noticeable in the late 19th century. The workshops were closed down because the old master craftsmen died without successors and because of the establishment of the Šešir hat factory, which took over their work.

11 No author (hereinafter n.a.), 1975, no page (hereinafter n.p.).

12 Tušek, 1990, p. 11.

13 N.a., 1985, n.p.

14 The term 'craftspeople' or 'artisans' is nowadays used to refer to individuals, groups, or activities that discover, plan and create products of various qualities using their own hands, albeit with modern tools, devices, and even a computers.

15 Vovk, 2014, p. 42.

16 The stories are based on the information shared by the interlocutors themselves.

An Ancient Technique: Felting

Felting – one of the oldest textile art techniques – originated in Central Asia and areas inhabited by nomadic peoples. The oldest physical evidence of this technique was discovered in Turkey and dates back to the 6th century BC. In Europe, felting was preserved until the 19th century, in particular through hat-making. In addition to hats made of coarse and medium-fine wool of various domestic breeds of sheep, master craftsmen also made clothes and slippers. In the 19th century, hand felting decreased in importance due to the rise of industrial production, it was, however, revived in the mid-20th century.¹⁷ In Slovenia, the long-established tradition of felting has been preserved especially through hat-making.¹⁸

There are two basic felting techniques: wet felting and dry felting. The materials needed for wet felting – which is the technique practiced by Anja Musek and Lili Panjtar¹⁹ – are sheep's wool or other fibres, warm water and soap. Contact with soap and warm water causes the scales on the wool to open, while agitating them causes them to latch onto one another.²⁰ As a result, wool shrinks²¹ and a firm, compact and completely seamless material is created – felt.^{22, 23}

In recent years, feltmaking has become increasingly popular, widespread and practiced on a rather massive scale. Felting has become an appealing textile technique popular with artisans and designers as it offers endless possibilities for artistic expression and creation.²⁴

For Anja, feltmaking was initially a leisure activity and a side job. She soon realised that her after-work hobby had grown into something more, a profession. At first, she turned her office into a makeshift workshop, but eventually she and her husband, a violin maker, started looking for a more suitable space for their creative endeavours. They found it in the old town of Škofja Loka, in a small house set above the former Šešir hat factory. There, Anja set up her showroom–retail shop and workshop. The first thing one notices upon entering the studio of a master wet-felter are piles and piles of colourful wool and other fibres, batts, finished products, plans and huge surfaces covered in the material the artisan needs for her craft.

Another thing found in the workshop are some final products made at the Šešir factory.

For Anja felting is a medium that allows her to express her creativity. When it comes to felting, she admires it as a primitive technique that is a means of making all sorts of felted creations. She constantly builds on the basic technique by using new materials or fibres, while also broadening and honing her felting knowledge and skills. One of the things she values most when it comes to felting is independence: she is the one in charge of the creative process from the fibre to the final product, and it is entirely up to her what the final product will be like. Her products are unique felted creations, ranging from clothes, slippers,

bags, scarves to jewellery, felted soap, felted bowls and paintings created under her brand name AMUSE.

“In addition to wool, which is my primary material, I'm currently using a number of other fibres, which give me another dimension, other effects,”²⁵ said Anja. Her current obsession is to make seamless garments felted from merino wool and white nettle fibres. In the workshop, she lets her imagination take wing, crafting beautiful and functional products. She is also an active member of the Arts & Crafts Center of Škofja Loka, a group of textile makers Kreativnice and VAWAA.

The products and masterpieces intended for everyday use, individual forms of economic endeavours and ritual-, custom- and tradition-related practices have always featured two interwoven components, aesthetics and functionality. The handcrafted masterpieces in question were until recently viewed as interesting examples of folk art and handicrafts. Owing to their artistic, aesthetic and decorative value, they were often musealised. They were part of both museum and private collections, and were displayed in people's homes. Over time, however, the way handcrafted objects and handicraft industries are viewed has changed. People are increasingly aware of the true importance of handicraft heritage and have come to see the old, traditional handicrafts as a source of many models and challenges for contemporary and future design.²⁶ With such community awareness, on the one hand, today's artisans are the vehicles for the preservation of artisanal heritage and its components, and on the other hand, they develop numerous contemporary forms of creativity.²⁷

Designer Lili Panjtar is likewise well aware of the importance of heritage in her work. She finds that the word handicraft still carries connotations of something conservative and backward. Working in her LILA Studio, she creates modern and functional products using ancient techniques. She finds it is very important “for each of her products to carry a contemporary year it was made,”²⁸ as this makes for a visible difference between a product made in the mid-20th century and one made in a recent period.

17 During this time, felt became the medium used by various artists, especially Joseph Beuys.

18 Sekirnik, Venturini and Žbogar, 2013, p. 23.

19 Artisans Anja and Lili learnt this ancient felting technique while attending beginner's felting courses organised by the Arts & Crafts Center of Škofja Loka. After completing the courses, they both decided to learn more about felting and got to know the material very well.

20 Musek, online source, accessed on 22 May 2020.

21 During felting, the product shrinks by up to 50%.

22 Felt.

23 Sekirnik, Venturini and Žbogar, *ibid*.

24 Panjtar, online source, accessed on 22 May 2020.

25 Musek, oral source, 7 May 2020.

26 Vovk, 2014, p. 42.

27 Bogataj, 1999, p. 12.

28 Panjtar, oral source, 5 May 2020.

Lili sees herself as a typical designer. She is an artisan at heart and has practiced felting for eight years. After completing the felting course, she bought five kilos of locally-sourced wool, started getting to know the ancient technique and learning through her mistakes. In the beginning, she made slippers and felted bowls, now, however, she uses the wet felting technique to make jewellery, scarves, hats, rugs and many other useful and aesthetically pleasing items.

Her work is marked by artisanry, craftsmanship and unique design. In addition to wool, she uses a variety of other natural materials. Apart from felting, she makes various products from recycled paper and hand-dyed textiles using indigo powder. She finds herself to be a real 'textile maker'. She has had an affinity for textiles ever since she was a little girl growing up with piles of clothes, buttons and fashion magazines.

She is currently part of the Kreativnice Creative Centre, established with the awareness of how the once-thriving textile industry in the area of Škofja Loka and the Gorenjska region is disappearing. As previously mentioned, one of the many factories that have closed down is the Šešir hat factory in Škofja Loka.

*"Therefore, it's no coincidence that the Kreativnice centre was set up in the immediate vicinity of the former hat factory."*²⁹

This creative-work space and showroom brings together local textile makers, who handcraft unique products of a high practical and aesthetic value and creativity while also "raising visitors' awareness of Škofja Loka's fine textile tradition".³⁰ All of this results in an intertwining of contemporary creativity and history, which is one of the fundamental conditions for preserving the identity of individual towns and villages.³¹

In part, the present-day artisanal efforts seek solutions that are focused on preserving and, even more so, enhancing the distinctive personal, local and regional features. The characteristics or peculiarities of the so-called traditional or contemporary handicrafts thus also include forming a more recognisable identity and local identifiability.³²

Anja, Lila and Matjaž are among those focused on preserving and spreading knowledge in Škofja Loka (the place where hat-making used to be widespread and where the Šešir hat factory operated) and beyond. In fact, through their techniques and finished products they keep alive and build on the local hat-making tradition and the Šešir hat factory's heritage.

"Škofja Loka has a long-established tradition of hat-making."³³ The local hatmakers not only made hats, but were "well-known especially for their shoes /.../". Today, these masters of felting – hatters, could simply be referred to as felters, because they knew how to do many a thing.³⁴

The vast hat-making knowledge and tradition of Škofja Loka was continued by the Šešir hat factory. After the factory's establishment, the local hatmakers faced serious competition and as a result some of their workshops closed down. Today, however, hatmakers and small businesses are returning and modern workshops are opening up.³⁵ One of the Škofja Loka-based artisans is a hatmaker who believes that, given the centuries-old local hat-making tradition, this is by all means a craft that must be continued.³⁶

Matjaž Rešek was first introduced to hat-making at the Šešir hat factory, where he worked for many years. Over the years, he learned about the production process, including the operation of machines. As part of his work, he also had the opportunity to visit several hat factories abroad, and thus acquired a wealth of hat-making knowledge and skills. "Hat-making is a complex process that requires a wide range of knowledge /.../ knowledge that cannot be written down. /.../ If you have no idea how a material behaves, there is nothing you can do." When it comes to hat-making, it's all about having a feel for it, all about hands. Hands that have become an alternative to state-of-the-art machines and robots. Hands not only allow the continuation of the oldest and most passive contacts with materials, but also the creation of the sort of masterpieces that bring quality into our lives.³⁷

*"Technological advancements in hat-making have not been as intense as in most other activities. There are decades-old machines still at work in factories all over the world. New ones are very expensive, and there are no improvements or automation due to the specifics of working them. Back in the day, artisans made hats in the way possible at the time. Part of this was transferred to the Šešir hat factory, where industrial production methods were in use. I pass from one area to another, transferring knowledge from the industrial to artisanal hat-making. Through time, different method and approaches have been used, the goal, however, has always been the same – to make hats."*³⁸

After the hat factory went bankrupt, the idea of an independent hatmaker's workshop became more and more achievable. Matjaž found a space suitable for putting his idea into action in the building of the former construc-

29 Oral source 2, accessed on 25 May 2020.

30 Panjtar, oral source, 5 May 2020.

31 Bogataj, 1999, p. 10.

32 Vovk, 2014, p. 40.

33 Rešek, oral source, 15 May 2020.

34 Musek, oral source, 7 May 2020.

35 Panjtar, oral source, 5 May 2020.

36 Rešek, oral source, 15 May 2020.

37 Bogataj, 1999, p. 11.

38 Rešek, oral source, 15 May 2020.

tion company Tehnik,³⁹ where he is currently setting up a workshop, as well as a showroom–retail shop and a small warehouse. This is where he will make hats to order. He has created several hat designs depending on the hat models and materials available. Based on the chosen design, each customer will get to choose the material, colour, trimmings and shape of the hat. The only exceptions are hats that have to do with tradition and various uniforms, such as beekeeper's and hunter's hats, as well as female soldiers' hats. Matjaž will make everything from classic hats to elaborate ones, which will be embellished with all sorts of details. Fashion plays an important part in all finished products.

As Matjaž is a former Šešir hat factory worker, his work is rooted in industrial hat-making methods, however, he combines his innovative ideas, improvisations and ingenuity with artisanal techniques, where hands are used in place of machines. He starts the hat-making process with a semi-finished product⁴⁰ made of rabbit fur. He has made about ten hats to date.

Conclusion

The earliest hatmakers in the territory of present-day Slovenia can be traced back to the 15th and 16th centuries. For the most part, they were based in the towns of Škofja Loka, Kranj and Ljubljana. However, with the beginnings of industrial hat-making, traditional hat-making⁴¹ gradually died away.⁴² The hat industry developed in Škofja Loka among other places, however, hat-making here was not based on the tradition of skilled trades. The Šešir hat factory operated in the Spodnji trg square for 95 years. Although the factory – which contributed to the closure of many of the local hatmaker's workshops – eventually came to ruin, the local hat-making knowledge and skills did not pass into oblivion. The knowledge that is impossible to write down or verbalise is kept alive in the memory of the former Šešir hat factory workers, while also being revived and developed further by contemporary artisans. Handicrafts and skilled trades rooted in heritage are now an important part of the identity and recognisability of individual villages and towns. Artisans have always been a source of innovative ideas wherever they practice their crafts.⁴³ Innovation is part of their everyday lives. Handicrafts are a constant source of discovery and learning.⁴⁴ Modern-day artisans are made up of four basic groups.⁴⁵ A group that is of particular importance here is the group focused on interpretation of historical memory. This group is made up of artisans who are inspired by the shapes, technologies and functionality of products from the historical memory dating back to different periods and who seek new solutions based on this.⁴⁶ They are the artisans

that bring together the past and the present, so to speak. Anja Musek, Lili Panjtar and Matjaž Rešek are three of the artisans whose work combines the past, the present and the future. The use of the ancient felting technique connects Lili and Anja to the hat-making tradition of Škofja Loka. Matjaž, however, is likewise aware of the importance of local tradition. He transfers his knowledge of industrial hat-making to artisanal methods, much like a part of artisans' hat-making knowledge and skills was transferred to industrial production back in the day. By preserving the tradition of artisanal heritage and creating unique products, all of them enrich the cultural environment and pass on past knowledge to a wider circle of people.

39 Stara cesta 2, Škofja Loka.

40 A dyed batt.

41 Skilled trade-based production methods.

42 Bogataj, 2011, p. 214.

43 Musek, oral source, 7 May 2020.

44 Oppenheimer, online source, accessed on 28 May 2020.

45 (1) Continuation of historical memory, (2) replicas of handicrafts, (3) interpretations of historical memory, (4) new technology-, design- and functionality-related handicraft solutions.

46 Vovk, 2014, p. 43.

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