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The Brazilian Agrarian-industrial Towns
of Jan Antonín Baťa (1941 – 1965):

Transnational Crossings in Urban Planning

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Master's thesis

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Prohlašuji, že jsem diplomovou práci vypracoval samostatně, že jsem řádně citoval všechny použité prameny a literaturu a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.

V Praze dne 15. května 2018

.....

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Abstract

This master thesis deals with the towns that were established by the Czech entrepreneur Jan Antonín Baťa in Brazil between 1941 and 1965: Batatuba, Vila CIMA – Indiana, Mariápolis, Bataguassu and Batayporã. The phenomenon of the Brazilian Baťa towns is analysed through lenses of the *histoire croisée* approach in order to show these cities as a result of the interaction between several urban planning concepts, Brazilian political and economic contexts, and Jan A. Baťa's own plans and intentions. To do so, I analyze several projects and relevant supporting documentation about the Bata Shoe Company's ideal industrial town as well as the cities established by Jan Antonín Baťa in Brazil. Therefore, the Brazilian Bata towns are presented as a special chapter of a transnational history of the company towns established by the Baťa Shoe Company in different areas of the world. Primary sources indicate that Jan Antonín Baťa wanted to create mixed agrarian-industrial settlements in which families would be able to work on factories and farms at the same time, creating a new urban model that I am calling the "Bata Agrarian-industrial town".

Keywords: Brazilian Bata towns, Jan Antonín Baťa, Agrarian-industrial town, transnational urban studies

Anotace

Tématem mé diplomové práce jsou města, jež v letech 1941-1965 vybudoval v Brazílii český podnikatel Jan Antonín Baťa, a to konkrétně Batatuba, Vila CIMA – Indiana, Mariápolis, Bataguassu a Batayporã. Na fenomén těchto brazilských baťovských měst nahlížím optikou tzv. *histoire croisée* jako na výsledek interakce mezi koncepty městského plánování, politicko-hospodářského kontextu Brazílie a vlastních záměrů a plánů Jana Antonína Bati. Má práce staví na analýze dobových projektů a příslušné dokumentace tzv. ideálního města Baťova koncernu a měst vystavěných tímto továrníkem na území největší jihoamerické země, přičemž posledně zmiňovaná města představuji jako jakousi zvláštní kapitolu transnacionálních dějin továrních měst budovaných koncernem Baťa na různých místech světa. Z dosavadního studia pramenů totiž vše nasvědčuje tomu, že snem Jana Antonína Bati bylo v Brazílii vybudovat jakási smíšená průmyslovo-zemědělská města, jejichž obyvatelé by se se svými rodinami mohli věnovat i zemědělství. Takový model jsem nazval agrárně-industriálním městem a ve své práci ukazuji, že se do něj do různé míry řadí všech pět měst, jež Baťa v Brazílii vybudoval.

Klíčová slova: brazilská Baťová města, Jan Antonín Baťa, agrárně-průmyslové město, transnational urban studies

Resumo

Esta dissertação de mestrado trabalha com as cidades fundadas pelo empreendedor tcheco Jan Antonín Baťa no Brasil entre 1941 e 1965: Batatuba, Vila CIMA – Indiana, Mariápolis, Bataguassu and Batayporã. O fenômeno das cidades Baťa brasileiras é analisado por meio da abordagem *histoire croisée* de forma a mostrá-las como o resultado da interação entre diversos conceitos de planejamento urbano, contextos políticos e econômicos brasileiros e os planos e intenções pessoais de Jan A. Baťa. Para tanto, analiso diversos projetos e documentação de apoio relevante sobre a cidade industrial ideal da Companhia Bata assim como sobre as cidades que Jan Antonín Baťa fundou no Brasil. Assim, as cidades Baťa brasileiras são apresentadas como um capítulo especial duma história transnacional das cidades operárias fundadas pela Companhia Baťa em diferentes partes do mundo. Fontes primárias indicam que Jan Antonín Baťa queria criar cidades agro-industriais nas quais as famílias poderiam trabalhar em fábricas e fazendas ao mesmo tempo, criando, assim, um novo modelo urbano que denomino “cidade Baťa agro-industrial”.

Palavras-chave: cidades Baťa brasileiras, Jan Antonín Baťa, cidade agro-industrial, estudos urbanos transnacionais

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List of Abbreviations

CIMA: Companhia Industrial Mercantil Agrícola

CEMOSi: Centro de Memória e Hemeroteca Sindical

CMJT: Centro de Memória “Jindřich Trachta”

CVSP-MT: Companhia de Viação São Paulo – Mato Grosso

MZA: Moravský zemský archiv

SOkA Zlín: Státní okresní archiv Zlín

UNESP: Universidade Estadual Paulista “Júlio de Mesquita”

Introduction

This master's thesis is the concrete outcome of a two-year expedition into the field of Urban History, in which I follow the trails left by a complex set of urban planning ideas that crossed the Atlantic from Europe to South America in the interwar period, and observe how it eventually changed and adapted itself to the Brazilian soil. This journey was guided by the Czech-Brazilian entrepreneur Jan Antonín Baťa, the head of the transnational shoe manufacturer Baťa Shoe Company during most of the 1930s who directed an intensive town-building program in many different countries¹. After seeing his home country, Czechoslovakia, occupied by the German Nazis in 1938-9, he went into exile in Brazil, where he established five towns before his death in 1965.

My motivation derives from the ample reservoir of opportunities offered by this slice of history for reflecting on the process of reception, crossing, and consequent reinterpretation of urban planning ideas in a truly transnational context. The managerial environment of the Baťa Shoe Company of the first half of the twentieth century and its eagerness to catch up and creatively adapt contemporary business trends concerning work efficiency and rationalization of production ended up being an extremely fertile ground for the development of ideas related to urban planning. This is because the gradual expansion of that company into European and world markets was oriented by the establishment of a series of towns based on a model of an ideal town that stands in a transnational crossroad of British, American, Central European, and Soviet urban planning traditions.

The entanglement of different ideas and concepts that is behind the origins and main traits of the urban planning of the Baťa Shoe Company is a great opportunity for reflection on international exchange of urban planning ideas. Nonetheless, the picture gets even more appealing for the history of urban planning when we take into consideration how planning ideas that were crossed and processed in Baťa's headquarters arrived in Brazil by the hands of Jan Antonín Baťa to be adapted there and gave way to a new kind of urban experiment in the form

¹ In the timeframe this research refers to, the company was officially registered in Czechoslovakia as *Baťa a.s., Zlín*. However, this name is barely used in the literature. Instead, three others are preferred, the choice usually depending on which of the company's main traits is being stressed as well as the language in use. Authors writing in Czech, English and Portuguese, and focusing on the company's overall philosophy and business strategies generally refer to it respectively as *společnost Baťa*, Baťa Company, or *Companhia Baťa* whilst those focusing on its organizational structure as a transnational corporation would prefer the terms *Baťův koncern*, Baťa Group, or *Organizações Baťa*. A third way of naming the company is to refer to its current market name, Baťa Shoe Company. Although not in use in the inter-war period nor in Brazil, I have decided to use the latter in order to emphasize the historical continuity of a company that is currently active in the global market.

of agrarian-industrial towns. The material existence and the ideas behind the five towns established by him in that country – Batatuba, Vila CIMA–Indiana, Mariópolis, Bataguassu and Batayporã - shed light on the existence of an apparently insurmountable dichotomy in urban planning theories in circulation during the interwar period: the opposition between urban and rural worlds, between the idea of an industrial “civilization” and its antithesis, agrarian backwardness.



Image 1. Location of the Brazilian Baťa towns. Created on <http://www.google.com/maps>, accessed May 13, 2018.

The unusual connection of agriculture and industrial production *in a single urban environment* at that time, as intended by Jan Antonín Baťa during the planning of most of his Brazilian towns – in other words, the Baťa Agrarian-Industrial Town - is the raw material used in this master’s thesis in order to reflect on the crossing of urban planning ideas in a transnational context.

The framework of this research

Taken as a comprehensive phenomenon, the towns established by the Baťa Shoe Company only recently appeared as research subjects in the literature concerning the history of that company². This is the main reason behind the fact that this phenomenon has not been given a proper name yet. Ladislava Horňáková was the first to provide a more comprehensive account of this phenomenon, proposing the term “satellite towns” to be applied to all towns built by the company with the exception of Zlín, the headquarters of the company and, hence, the central town³. On the other hand, while Martin Jemelka and Ondřej Ševeček have dealt with the same

² This applies to the group of towns taken as a whole and as a phenomenon in itself only. The literature is more substantial when it comes to the uncoordinated, independent studies of a number of individual towns established by the Baťa Shoe Company. For the most up-to-date and complete description of each town established in Europe by Baťa, see Martin Jemelka and Ondřej Ševeček, *Tovární města Baťova koncernu – Evropská kapitola globální expanze* [Company Towns of the Baťa Group – European Chapter of a Global Expansion] (Prague: Academia, 2016).

³ Ludvík Ševeček and Ladislava Horňáková, eds., *Satelity funkcionalistického Zlína. Projekty a realizace ideálních průmyslových měst – továrních celků firmy Baťa* [Satellites of Functionalist Zlín. Projects and construction of Ideal Industrial Towns - Baťa Company’s Factory Complexes and Residential Quarters] (exhibition catalogue, Zlín: Státní galerie ve Zlíně, 1998).

subject, they have chosen to treat it under the broader concept of “company town”, and referred to the collective of towns established by the company as “company towns of the Bat’a Group”⁴.

In contrast, I decided to follow an independent path and name this phenomenon simply “Bat’a towns”. This is mainly because this term has the advantage of being simple while efficiently addressing the phenomenon independently and as a whole. “Bat’a towns” also covers the gaps left by the eventual employment of the concepts of “company town” and “satellite town” in this master’s thesis. On the one hand, “company town” would imply an implicit comparison with towns established by other companies, which is out of the scope of this master’s thesis. On the other hand, I understand that the center-periphery approach implied by the term “satellite town” insufficiently deals with organizational shifts that happened in that company during and after the Second World War, which moved the company’s headquarters away from Zlín towards Batatuba, Brazil, and later Batawa, Canada. Hence my preference for the simpler but comparatively more comprehensive and object-oriented term “Bat’a town”.

Concerning specifically the towns that Jan Antonín Bat’a established in Brazil, it is important to observe that very little has been written about them as of the publication of this master’s thesis. Most of the works identified in this research can be classified as documentary fiction, a literary genre that, although being “closely linked to historical and biographic events” does not need to provide, in academic standards, a sufficiently unbiased account of the events described, a proper evidencing of the author’s claims or referencing of the sources used⁵. In contrast, when it comes to the topic of the Brazilian Bat’a towns, academic works with a consistent, fair use of references as well as a more unbiased account of the events described are very few in number⁶.

⁴ Jemelka and Ševeček, *Tovární města Bat’ova koncernu*.

⁵ Geir Farnier, *Literary Fiction – The Ways We Read Narrative Literature* (New York, London, New Delhi, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2014), 11. On the reliability of documentary fiction and the use of primary sources of this genre as evidence, Farnier explains: “When a book is published as a documentary novel, it is, on the one hand, as fiction, exempted from the claim concerning veracity [...]. On the other hand, as documentary, it is committed to the truth and is expected to record real facts [...].” (p. 14). “Because the documentary novel needs external verification, it retains its status as fiction, and this applies to all parts of the action, too, even if they are infiltrated by elements from the extratextual world. Instead of blurring the boundary between fiction and non-fiction, fictionality contaminates all references to the external world and makes them unreliable”, (p.17). Hence the reservations regarding its use as a secondary source in this master’s thesis.

⁶ I have identified only two academic works that deal exclusively with the towns established by Jan Antonín Bat’a in Brazil as a comprehensive phenomenon in itself: Costa’s *As cidades da companhia Bata* and Marešová’s *Vliv Bat’ova podnikání v Brazílii*, described and referred to in the next paragraphs of this section. When we include works devoted to individual towns, this count rises to seven. For Batatuba, see: Georgia Carolina Capistrano da Costa, “Batatuba, Brasil – uma cidade ‘serial’” [Batatuba, Brazil – A “Serial” City], in: *VIII Seminário DOCOMOMO Brasil – Cidade moderna e contemporânea: Síntese e paradox da arte, vol. 1* (congress annals, DOCOMOMO Brasil, 2009) and Sônia Barreto de Novaes, “Lugares de memória e mídias digitais: a narrativa transversal de Batatuba” [Lieux de Mémoire and Digital Media: Batatuba’s transversal narrative] (master’s thesis, University of São Paulo, 2014). For Batatuba and Vila CIMA, see: Georgia Carolina Capistrano da Costa, “Batatuba e Vila CIMA (SP). Representações em torno de um projeto” [Batatuba and Vila CIMA, SP. Project

Especially when we consider the dense network of transnational ideas and connections that made the establishment of these towns possible as well as the fact that they are currently home to about 53,000 inhabitants altogether, it is surprising that this topic has not received proper academic treatment yet⁷. Therefore, this master's thesis is one attempt to cover this gap as it bridges two bodies of literature on the Baťa towns, one Czech and the other Brazilian, thus bringing to the fore a set of transitional connections and crossings that have not been sufficiently researched before.

In order to provide a clearer picture of what has already been written on the topic of this master's thesis, a historiography of the Brazilian Baťa towns should reach back to the time when Jan Antonín Baťa was still alive. That is because 1952 was the year when Francisco Moacir Archanjo published the first text that would provide a historical account of the Brazilian Baťa towns and of Jan A. Baťa's plans for Brazil. In the book *O mundo compreenderá: a história de Jan A. Baťa – o Rei dos Calçados* [The World Will Understand: the Story of Jan A. Baťa – the King of the Shoe], Archanjo takes it upon himself to expose to the world an international plot currently happening against Jan A. Baťa⁸. According to him, Czechoslovak, American, British, and Brazilian institutions had allied themselves with Baťa's concurrent shoe manufacturers in order to destroy the credibility of Jan A. Baťa and facilitate the seizure of his and Baťa Shoe Company's assets in communist countries⁹. He describes Jan A. Baťa's biography and finishes the book by making an account of his current situation in Brazil, depicting him as a resilient, ingenious visionary that has been betrayed on the international level and misunderstood in Brazil.

When it comes to the Brazilian Baťa towns, Archanjo quickly describes Batatuba and Mariápolis as towns flourishing despite Jan Antonín Baťa's financial difficulties and bad luck

Representations], in: *2º Seminário Patrimônio Agroindustrial: Lugares de memória* (congress annals, University of São Paulo, São Carlos, 2010). For Batayporã, see: Danilo Leite Moreira, "Por uma nova história da emancipação político-administrativa do município de Batayporã-MS (1953-1964)" [For a New History of Batayporã-MS' Political and Administrative Emancipation] (master's thesis, Federal University of Grande Dourados, 2015) and "É no sofrimento que a gente cresce": a construção do distrito de Batayporã-MS" ["We Thrive in Hardship": The Construction of Batayporã-MS District"], in: *XXVIII Simpósio Nacional de História – Lugares dos historiadores: velhos e novos desafios* (congress annals, ANPUH, 2015). I have not identified works dedicated exclusively to the history of Mariápolis nor Bataguassu.

⁷ Data retrieved from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics website, <https://cidades.ibge.gov.br/>, accessed May 10, 2018. As of 2017, the estimated populations of the Brazilian Baťa towns were 4087 inhabitants for Mariápolis, 22 339 inhabitants for Bataguassu, and 11 248 inhabitants for Batayporã. Batatuba does not have the status of an autonomous municipality and, as such, does not appear on official statistics by regional and national authorities. For the purposes of this master's thesis, due to the reduced size of this town, I suppose its factual population to be no more than 5000 inhabitants.

⁸ Francisco Moacir Archanjo, *O mundo compreenderá: a história de Jan A. Baťa – o Rei do Sapato* (Rio de Janeiro: Aurora, 1952).

⁹ Francisco Moacir Archanjo, *Svět porozumí: příběh krále bot Jana Antonína Bati* [The World Will Understand: the Story of Jan Antonín Baťa, the King of the Shoe] (Krásná Lípa: Marek Belza, 2004), 7-8, 15-17.

in the international arena. On top of that, Bataguassu is described in a similar way although it had only been established a few years prior to the publishing of the book. This is to say that Archanjo makes use of these towns mainly as illustrations of Jan A. Baťa's genius, supporting a narrative based on the theme of the self-made man who thrives even in unfavorable conditions. It is important to notice that the author omits the existence of Vila CIMA, established not long after Batatuba in 1941. Nonetheless, as explained in the second chapter of this master's thesis, this omission might be explained by the fact that Vila CIMA was considered an integral part of the already existent town of Indiana, and ended up being abandoned after Jan Antonín Baťa's death. However, Archanjo is not alone in this omission. In fact, Vila CIMA is also absent in most narratives concerning the history of the Brazilian Baťa towns, including those made by Jan A. Baťa's descendants and described below.

The amount of in-depth information concerning Jan A. Baťa's plans for Brazil contained in this book and verified by other primary sources indicates that Archanjo might have worked very closely with the Czech entrepreneur. Nonetheless, Archanjo's book should be taken with reservation due to its biased narrative and its imprecisions such as the omission of Vila CIMA. This is to say that, in this master's thesis, Archanjo's book serves more as a source of hints, insights, and inspiration and less as a secondary source with sufficiently reliable and precise information.

Archanjo's book did not generate a body of literature on this topic, remaining for decades as the sole reference of the history of Jan Antonín Baťa's towns that was not written by the entrepreneur himself. As a matter of fact, the second half of the twentieth century is marked by an utter silence in both editorial market and scholarly production regarding the life of Jan Antonín Baťa and, therefore, of his Brazilian towns. Such a silence is nonetheless understandable if we consider the fact that Jan A. Baťa remained isolated in Brazil, considered a Nazi collaborator in the international arena and without resources in his new country. This being the case, it is safe to claim that the historiography of the Brazilian Baťa towns is indeed very recent despite the existence of an early book.

Works published in the Czech Republic

The emergence of a body of writings that approach the topic of the Brazilian Baťa towns eventually happened independently in Brazil and in the Czech Republic in the late 1990s and

early 2000s. In the latter country, the first writings published at that time were closely linked with the efforts of Jan A. Baťa's descendants to revert the 1947 court decision and to clear his name from the accusations of collaboration with the Nazis. Focused mainly on Jan A. Baťa's biography, these efforts had the indirect effect of generating the first more in-depth accounts of the history and motivations behind the establishment of the Brazilian Baťa towns, virtually unknown in Czech lands prior to that time.

The first of these accounts dates from 1998, when the Czech writer Miroslav Ivanov published his *Sága o životě a smrti Jana Antonína Bati a jeho bratra Tomáše*¹⁰ [A Saga About the Life and Death of Jan Baťa and His Brother Tomáš]. Essentially a documentary novel, Ivanov creates a narrative that entangles his experiences in Brazil in the 1990s with a romanticized recreation of the interactions between Jan Antonín Baťa and his peers. Focused mainly on the biography of the Czech entrepreneur, Ivanov provides a short description of four Brazilian Baťa towns (also omitting Vila CIMA) in a similar way to Archanjo: they are depicted as towns that thrive no matter how adverse the circumstances might be. His description of the towns is not extensive but the many idealized dialogues created by the author combined with his admittedly inconsistent use of primary sources make this book a frequently cited secondary source for most works on the history of the Brazilian Baťa towns identified in this research.

The other account came out almost ten years later. The year of 2007 marks not only the historical court decision that nullified Jan Antonín Baťa's condemnation in 1947 but also the year of the conference *Jan Antonín Baťa – život a dílo, pokračovatel práce Tomáše Bati* [Jan Antonín Baťa – Life and Work, Continuer of Tomáš Baťa's Work], intended to influence the outcome of the above mentioned trial. Dedicated to Jan Antonín Baťa's biography, the conference had among its attendees Dolores Ljiljana Bata Arambasic, Jan A. Baťa's granddaughter, who gave a lecture about the last decades the Czech entrepreneur spent in Brazil¹¹. Making use of primary sources from her inherited share of Jan A. Baťa's personal archive, Arambasic shared with a Czech audience many details concerning the colonization activities and town building plans of her grandfather. Arambasic focused mainly on the towns established in the present-day state of Mato Grosso do Sul, inserting them into the context of Jan Antonín Baťa's engagement with the colonization efforts in Central-Western Brazil. Thus,

¹⁰ Miroslav Ivanov, *Sága o životě a smrti Jana Bati a jeho bratra Tomáše* [Saga About the Life and Death of Jan Baťa and His Brother Tomáš], Vizovice: Lípa, 1998.

¹¹ Dolores Ljiljana Bata Arambasic, "Projekt kolonizace a osídlování Mato Grosso" [Mato Grosso Colonization and Settlement Project], and "Brazilský profil J. A. Bati" [J. A. Baťa's Brazilian Profile], in *Jan Antonín Baťa – život a dílo, pokračovatel práce Tomáše Bati, mezinárodní konference, sborník* [Jan Antonín Baťa – life and work, continuer of Tomáš Baťa's work, international conference proceedings] (Zlín: Statutární město Zlín, 2007), 79-83, 91-5.

Batatuba and Mariápolis received almost no attention in both texts that came about as a result of Arambasic's lecture, appearing as a background to the colonization and literary activities of Jan A. Baťa described by the lecturer. It is important to notice that Vila CIMA is also absent in Arambasic's texts.

Despite the proliferation of writings published in the Czech Republic in the first years of the twenty-first century that directly and indirectly deal with the phenomenon of the Brazilian Baťa towns, Czech scholarly production on this topic is still virtually nonexistent. In the course of this research, I have identified only two pieces of academic writing published in the Czech Republic that devote some attention to the Brazilian Baťa towns: Marie Tumová's bachelor thesis *Jan Antonín Baťa no Brasil* [Jan Antonín Baťa in Brazil]¹², and Pavla Marešová's master's thesis *Vliv Baťová podnikání na vybrané brazilské regiony* [The Influence of the Baťa Business in Specific Brazilian Regions]¹³.

Written originally in Portuguese, Marie Tumová's bachelor thesis *Jan Antonín Baťa no Brasil* retells the biography of Jan Antonín Baťa focusing on his time in Brazil. As such, it has the merit of being the first academic piece of writing about the Brazilian Baťa towns ever to use secondary sources written in both Czech and Portuguese. Even though Tumová has dedicated ten pages altogether to the description of the settlements established by Jan A. Baťa in Brazil, her appraisal of the Brazilian Baťa towns is limited to a summary of what has already been written about them; therefore, it does not contribute much to the overall body of knowledge on this topic. The author briefly describes the history of the establishment of Batatuba, Mariápolis, Bataguassu and Batayporã, following the works written by Georgia Carolina Capistrano da Costa, Dolores Ljiljana Bata Arambasic and Evandro Amaral Trachta da Silva very closely (these are described below). It is also important to record that, in the same fashion as Archanjo, Tumová does not make any mention of the establishment of the Vila CIMA settlement.

Pavla Marešová's master's thesis *Vliv Baťová podnikání na vybrané brazilské regiony* also focuses solely on the four Brazilian Baťa towns still in existence to this date. Written as a comparative study in Economics, Marešová intended to assess the relative socio-economic impact that each town provides in its respective surrounding region. To this end, she also provides a short summary of the history of Batatuba, Mariápolis, Bataguassu, and Batayporã,

¹² Marie Tumová, "Jan Antonín Baťa no Brasil" [Jan Antonín Baťa in Brazil] (bachelor's thesis, Palacký University Olomouc, 2014).

¹³ Pavla Marešová, "Vliv Baťová podnikání na vybrané brazilské regiony" [The Influence of the Baťa Business in Specific Brazilian Regions] (University of Economics Prague, 2012).

drawing heavily on the master's thesis by Georgia Carolina Capistrano da Costa, described below. Marešová's most important contribution to the history of the Brazilian Baťa towns is her analysis of the reasons behind Jan A. Baťa's choice of exact location for each town. Applying the principles of location theory to primary and secondary sources located in the Czech Republic, she ended up being the first author to associate more specifically the contents of the Baťa Shoe Company's handbook *Ideální průmyslové město* [The Ideal Industrial Town] with the establishment of most of the Brazilian Baťa towns.

Works published in Brazil

In Brazil, scholarly literature that deals more directly with the topic of the Brazilian Baťa towns could enjoy more room to develop compared with its Czech counterpart, due to the relevance of these towns for the history of their respective regions. However, this is still a very recent theme for the Brazilian academia, which has devoted to them only a small number of works thus far.

The only non-scholarly piece of writing about the Brazilian Baťa towns identified in this research was the book *Passos tchecos em terras brasileiras* [Czech Steps in Brazilian Lands] by Dolores Ljiljana Bata Arambasic and Evandro Amaral Trachta da Silva and written as a supplement to a homonymous exhibition held in Batayporã in 2003¹⁴. The authors describe the biography of a few relevant Czechs and Czech-descendants related to Brazil in different ways, dedicating, in this process, half of the book to the activities of Jan Antonín Baťa in that country. This is also the first piece of writing to touch on each of the towns established by Jan Antonín Baťa in Brazil, even though Vila CIMA was identified as the town of Indiana, established before the arrival of the Czech entrepreneur. The authors provide many details concerning the history of Jan A. Baťa's towns and, as such, this book is frequently quoted by other texts utilized in this research. However, its inconsistent referencing of sources and the passionate writing style with which it was composed prevents it from being used as a secondary source for the purposes of this master's thesis.

The first published academic piece of writing to reveal to a Brazilian audience the connections between the Brazilian Baťa towns is the article *Resgate e construção da memória e da história da colonização do sudeste do Mato Grosso do Sul* [Rescue and Construction of

¹⁴ Dolores Ljiljana Bata Arambasic and Evandro Amaral Trachta da Silva, *Passos tchecos em terras brasileiras* [Czech Steps in Brazilian Lands] (Batayporã: OCTEB – Oficina Cultural Tcheco e Eslovaca do Brasil, 2003).

the Memory and History of Southeast Mato Grosso do Sul's Colonization] by Luiz Carlos Batista, Carlos Martins Júnior, and José Carlos Ziliani¹⁵. In 2005, these three Federal University of Mato Grosso do Sul professors decided to publish the preliminary results of a homonymous research project dedicated to the colonization history of the southeastern state of Mato Grosso do Sul, focusing on Jan Antonín Baťa's settlements. Although centered on the towns established in Mato Grosso do Sul, this article is, in fact, the first work to mention Jan A. Baťa's intentions to create agrarian-industrial settlements in Brazil, which also includes Batatuba and Vila CIMA (also indirectly referred to as the town of Indiana), located in the State of São Paulo. Unlike the works published in the Czech Republic and described above, it is Mariápolis which is strangely left out of the work, despite the markedly agrarian-industrial function originally planned for this town, as I argue in the second chapter of this thesis.

In a master's thesis dedicated to the history of the transportation company Companhia de Viação São Paulo – Mato Grosso, owned by Jan Antonín Baťa from 1939 until 1965, Juliana Sanches Silva Bonfim provides a short overview of how all the Brazilian Baťa towns were founded against the regional history of their respective Brazilian states, as well as Jan A. Baťa's biography¹⁶. However, due to the previous lack of consistent scholarly production on the subject of the history of these towns, the real contribution of her master's thesis to that topic was limited to providing a more consistent narrative of their history based on secondary sources about Jan A. Baťa and primary sources about the transportation company.

Although he does not deal with the Brazilian Baťa towns as a whole, José Carlos Ziliani did reflect upon the westernmost of these towns in his PhD dissertation about the colonization of Mato Grosso do Sul and the transportation company Companhia de Viação São Paulo – Mato Grosso¹⁷. Ziliani skillfully interprets the foundation of Mariápolis, Bataguassu, and Batayporã so as to incorporate them into the nation-wide effort promoted by the President Getúlio Vargas to colonize the so-called “empty spaces” of the Brazilian Central-Western region. As such, it was the first academic piece of writing to treat these towns as a comprehensive whole and insert them into the regional context of the so-called *Marcha para oeste* [Westward March]

¹⁵ Luiz Carlos Batista, Carlos Martins Júnior, and José Carlos Ziliani, “Resgate e construção da memória e da história da colonização do sudeste do Mato Grosso do Sul [Rescue and Construction of the Memory and History of Southeast Mato Grosso do Sul's Colonization]”, *Klepsidra – Revista virtual de história* (2005), <http://www.klepsidra.net/klepsidra23/colonizacao-ms.htm>, accessed April 24, 2018.

¹⁶ Juliana Sanches Silva Bonfim, “Colonização particular: atuação da Companhia de Viação São Paulo – Mato Grosso (1940 - 1960)” [Particular Colonization: The Actuation of Companhia de Viação São Paulo – Mato Grosso (1940 - 1960)] (master's thesis, Federal University of Grande Dourados, 2009).

¹⁷ José Carlos Ziliani, “Colonização: táticas e estratégias da Companhia de Viação São Paulo – Mato Grosso (1908 – 1960)” [Colonization: The Tactics and Strategies of the Companhia de Viação São Paulo – Mato Grosso] (PhD diss., São Paulo State University “Júlio de Mesquita”, 2010).

colonization movement. However, Ziliani shows a strikingly limited knowledge of Jan Antonín Baťa's background as well as the overall Baťa Shoe Company's town building program due to his utter dependence on the works by Arambasic and Silva, Ivanov, and Archanjo mentioned above, which led him to share many imprecisions and biases contained in those books as mentioned above.

Finally, among the works identified in this research, the master's thesis by Georgia Carolina Capistrano da Costa provides the most complete and informed overview on the history of the Brazilian Baťa towns¹⁸. *As cidades da Companhia Bata (1918 - 1940) e de Jan Antonin Bata (1940 - 1965): Relações entre a experiência internacional e a brasileira* [The Towns of the Bata Company (1918 – 1940) and Those of Jan Antonín Baťa (1940 – 1965)] follows-up the research project coordinated by Luiz Carlos Batista, mentioned above, by consistently revealing the history of the Brazilian Baťa towns from the viewpoint of the History of Architecture and Urbanism. Costa is the first writer to approach them as a coherent whole and to relate them to the network of towns established by the Baťa Shoe Company in other parts of the globe as well as to the company's handbook *Ideální průmyslové město*. Moreover, her master's thesis was ingeniously the first to detach Vila CIMA from Indiana conceptually based on evidence found in primary sources, an approach that inspired the design of my master's thesis. Although being consistently based on primary sources collected in Brazil and incorporating a good research design, the author's insufficient knowledge of the Czech language resulted in a work compromisingly limited to primary and secondary sources written in mainly Portuguese. Therefore, Costa could only partially analyze the concept of Baťa's ideal industrial town, which very much influenced the design and function of the Brazilian Baťa towns.

From what has been explicated above, it becomes clear that both Czech and Brazilian academia has insufficiently treated the phenomenon of the Brazilian Baťa towns until now. With the exception of the master's thesis by Georgia C. C. Costa, no other researcher was able to deal adequately with the history of all five towns established by Jan Antonín Baťa in Brazil as a whole. On top of that, this research also identifies that Brazilian and Czech scholars are almost entirely isolated from each other, preventing the advances made in each country from crossing the geographic, linguistic, and cultural barriers to reach the other side. On the Czech

¹⁸ Georgia Carlonia Capistrano da Costa, "As cidades da Companhia Baťa (1918 - 1940) e de Jan Antonin Bata (1940 - 1965): Relações entre a experiência internacional e a brasileira [The Towns of the Bata Company (1918 – 1940) and Those of Jan Antonín Baťa (1940 – 1965): Relations Between the International and Brazilian Experiences]" (master's thesis, University of São Paulo, 2012).

side, although the subject of Bat'a towns in general has been heavily researched during the last decade, knowledge of the Brazilian Bat'a towns in particular is still markedly superficial and almost exclusively limited to non-academic pieces of writing on the subject. On the contrary, Brazilian researchers have been able to treat the history of individual Brazilian Bat'a towns, sometimes even a group of these towns, in a more in-depth way, but are still unaware of many details concerning Jan Antonín Bat'a's background and the Bat'a Shoe Company's town building program.

This means that the potential dialogue between complementary bodies of research on the Brazilian Bat'a towns has not been explored yet. Bearing this in mind, the research that formed the basis for this master's thesis was designed primarily to bridge both the Czech and Brazilian bodies of literature concerning the Brazilian Bat'a towns. Also, special attention was given to primary sources written in Czech and found in Brazilian archives, documents virtually inaccessible for most Brazilian and Czech researchers because of linguistic and financial restrictions, so as to cover a visible gap in the academic production on this topic.

Finally, from the specific point of view of Urban History, this master's thesis is also the first to track the changes undergone by the Bat'a Shoe Company's ideal industrial town on Brazilian soil. The results published here thus provide a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of the Brazilian Bat'a towns not from an exclusively Brazilian or Czech viewpoint but from a transnational perspective¹⁹.

Methodological considerations

This research is intended to contribute to the field of Urban History by reflecting on the phenomenon of the Brazilian Bat'a towns so as to reveal how it stands in a transnational crossroad of urban planning ideas that were in circulation during the first half of the twentieth century. This is achieved by profiting from the reflexivity that is present in the *histoire croisée* approach, which I used as a methodological tool to reveal and highlight the phenomenon of the Brazilian Bat'a towns as a complex process of entangled ideas, aspirations, frustrations, and obsessions of a number of different people in different timeframes.

¹⁹ Six years of language study back my claim of being able to work efficiently with texts written in the Czech language. This is also to say that I bear full responsibility for every translation of a Czech text provided in this thesis unless otherwise stated in the respective footnote of a translated text. In order to improve the transparency and accountability of my translations, I decided to always provide the respective original piece of text as a footnote to every translated excerpt. This also applies for my translations of texts produced originally in my native language, Portuguese.

Urban History is the field of historical inquiry concerned with urban experience and with processes of urbanization in its diverse manifestations – e.g. institutional, demographic, cultural, or social²⁰. In this sense, it is not only focused on the history of a given city, but it also takes the development of urban life as a privileged object for reflecting on wider phenomena and processes of human experience in different scales. According to Charles Tilly,

Much of urban history deals directly with connections between global social processes – not only urbanization, but also trade, circulation of ideas, epidemics, commercialization, population growth or decline, proletarianization and capital accumulation, state formation and transformation, growth or decline of world religions and so on – and the lives of individuals, households, shops, and neighborhoods.²¹

The vertiginous, worldwide growth of urbanization rates in the twentieth century - the “historic rollercoaster of urban growth” mentioned by Peter Clark²² - fostered inquiries into historical urban phenomena across national boundaries. By reflecting on the relationships between urbanization and globalization, urban historians included in their analysis those phenomena that associate processes of urbanization in different parts of the world, such as ethnic migrations, regional population growth, greater political stability, or long-distance, intercontinental trade²³. In order to achieve this, researchers have been relying on the comparative method as a means for highlighting similarities and differences, which would enable them to grasp the international, macro scale phenomena influencing urbanization worldwide²⁴.

This trend is also related to the rise of transnational history and its growing entanglement with research in the field of urban history. Here, researchers are seeking to capture and explain those phenomena manifesting in alternative loci away from the nation-state but without disregarding it completely²⁵. When it comes to urban history, a transnational perspective would encourage researchers to focus, for instance, on the transmission, sharing, and circulation of ideas and practices concerning urban management, urban planning, and architectural styles as well as on the people and texts that were circulating among countries.

²⁰ Shane Ewen, *What is Urban History?* (Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press, 2016), 1.

²¹ Charles Tilly, “What Good is Urban History?”, *Journal of Urban History* 22-6, 1996: 704.

²² Peter Clark, “Introduction”, in *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, ed. Peter Clark (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 2.

²³ Clark, “Introduction”, 9.

²⁴ The use of comparative methodology in urban studies does not have a steady history. For some decades since the institutionalization of urban history as an academic discipline in the 1960s, the comparative method was the preferred methodological tool of urban historians, who drew heavily on early influences of comparative research on the urban phenomenon done by Max Weber, by Robert Park and the Chicago School, and by Ferdinand Braudel and the French *Annales* school. In the 1980s, the comparative method gave way to more relativistic and/or object-centered methodological approaches, regaining its importance only in the last decade or so. On the use of the comparative method in urban history, see: Ewen, *What is Urban History?*, 2-3; and Clark, “Introduction”, 2-6.

²⁵ Ewen, *What is Urban History?*, 114.

If it is certain that, on the one hand, my inquiry indeed has a transnational perspective, on the other hand, the object of this research, the Brazilian Bat'a towns, does not fit comfortably into the main premises of such a perspective. This is mainly due to the decisive weight that the nation-state has for transnational history, even if it is not taken as a restrictive unit of analysis for this type of research. According to Pierre-Yves Saunier, "Transnational history, then, is a perspective available to all historians of the last 200-250 years, whose research project entails researching and writing a history with nations that is not a history of nations."²⁶ However, the entanglement of the Brazilian Bat'a towns into a global network of cities established by a transnational, private company led me to question the pertinence of national references as givens that would allow us to make sense of this phenomenon in a satisfactory way because of the constant flux and exchange of ideas as well as the frequent displacement of the main actors involved in this process.

It is not that the nation-state is completely irrelevant in this case – in the time span covered in this research nation-states were annexing one another, fighting against one another, and actively influencing the lives and destinies of many Bat'a employees and directors. Nonetheless, when it comes to the ideas and motivations that sustained the building of the Bat'a's network of company towns, if we consider that portions of different national traditions in urban planning were reinterpreted in Bat'a offices - which led to the creation of urban solutions that both contain and contest those influences – then what is the actual pertinence of talking about "German", "English" or "Soviet" urban planning, and of "Czechoslovak" or "Brazilian" urban traditions? The categories that include some sort of national reference seem to be insufficient to explain the object of concern without being themselves explained or, at least, reflected upon beforehand.

I understand that this research subject demands a higher degree of reflexivity than a reference to nation-states as insurmountable givens would allow us to have. Therefore, the transnational perspective was enriched by the reflective considerations of which references would allow us to understand the phenomenon of the Brazilian Bat'a towns and, conversely, how the point of view of the Bat'a Shoe Company sheds a new light on those references. For this purpose, I follow the suggestions of Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmerman concerning the *histoire croisée* approach. That is because, while searching for links between different historical formations the same way as other relational approaches (such as transfer or comparative studies), *histoire croisée* does not look for what is empirically "already there", but

²⁶ Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013),8.

focuses instead on all those intellectual processes marked by reflexivity and capable of generating meaning, be it on the empirical or epistemological level²⁷.

The *histoire croisée* approach offers a means of overcoming the limitations imposed by a static framework of objects and concepts by focusing on how they constitute themselves when put in relation to one another. In this sense, the metaphor of “a crossing” addresses a research framework where objects are never considered in isolation, but rather are constantly influencing one another, changing themselves in this process. This is particularly important in our case, where interpretations and creative adaptations of urban planning ideas are constantly criss-crossing among themselves as well as with pragmatic financial and political constraints, and resulting in concrete urban environments. In a similar vein, as this research object demands a constant shift between scales, time references, and regions of the world, the meanings acquired by categories like East and West, North and South, Urban and Rural, and City and Country would only help us to understand the phenomenon of the Brazilian *Bat’a* towns if they are not taken as givens, but rather in a situational manner.

This leads us to an essential feature of *histoire croisée*: despite its relativity, it is nonetheless an approach rooted in empiricism, and, as such, depends not only on the researcher’s decisions concerning the research design but also on the constraints imposed by the research object itself, which will provide concrete categories that should be the objects of the crossings. This proceeding, called *pragmatic induction* by Werner and Zimmerman, is one of the main features that allows *histoire croisée* to embody both empiricism and reflexivity.²⁸ Here, the risk of falling into essentialism while working with categories that are embedded in national traditions is compensated by an inductive approach that combines different elements in order to produce a knowledge not previously contained in any of the categories.

Werner and Zimmerman suggest four further main types of possible crossings. The operation can happen 1) with concrete empirical research objects; 2) with points of view of different actors towards objects; 3) with the object and the researcher him or herself in the process of limitation of the research; and 4) with different temporal and spatial scales²⁹. These crossings are evidently non-exclusive, and occur to different degrees in each piece of concrete research. However, due to limitations imposed by both the research object and the researcher’s goals, the emphasis will eventually fall into one or several of these types of crossings.

²⁷ Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmerman, “Beyond Comparison: *Histoire Croisée* and the Challenge of Reflexivity”, *History and Theory* 45, 2006: 32.

²⁸ Werner and Zimmerman, “Beyond Comparison”, 46-8.

²⁹ Werner and Zimmerman, “Beyond Comparison”, 39-44.

In order to understand the phenomenon of the Brazilian Bat'a towns, the inquiry was organized around two main crossings, with one containing consequent smaller crossings and criss-crossings. On the one hand, I take the Bat'a Shoe Company's *stavební oddělení* [Building department] of the 1930s as a *locus* for observing the intercrossing of a variety of urban planning ideas generated in different regions of the world, and how they got crossed with the company's business philosophy in the process of creating a model for its company towns. On the other hand, I also take Jan Antonín Bat'a as a second and mobile *locus* of intercrossings of urban planning ideas, business plans, and transnational political and financial constraints that resulted in a new urban phenomenon, the Brazilian Bat'a towns.

Empirically, this is performed here by looking at the texts that were circulated in Bat'a's *stavební oddělení*, and those created by Jan Antonín Bat'a and his associates during his exile in the United States and Brazil. It is important to remark that I use the term "text" in a wider sense so as to also include visual sources like maps, plans, sketches, and drawings. In other words, "texts" are taken here as all those kinds of documents that provide material representation of ideas. They are the main objects of the crossings observed in this research, where I seek to understand how their meaning changes when put in relation to one another.

A set of research questions underlies the crossings and readings of primary sources done in this research. Concerning the wider theoretical contributions to the field of urban history, I ask myself here: how can the study of a single company enrich the knowledge of transnational processes involving the planning and building of new towns around the world? Moreover, in order to both reflect upon the reflexivity of urban planning ideas and trace the origins of the specific character of the Brazilian Bat'a towns, I am looking at the Bat'a Shoe Company of the 1930s and asking: how did the main urban planning ideas studied in Bat'a's *stavební oddělení* deal with the integration of agriculture and industry, and how did those ideas merge into Bat'a's ideal industrial town model?

Furthermore, in order to be able to grasp the more specific crossings that resulted in the Brazilian Bat'a towns, I also ask here: What was Jan Antonín Bat'a's specific role during the formation of the Bat'a Shoe Company's ideal industrial town models in the 1930s? In addition, what is specific in Jan Antonín Bat'a's ideas of integrating agriculture and industry in a single urban unit in relation to the urban planning ideas created by the Bat'a Shoe Company? Lastly, do the changes in the urban form of most Brazilian Bat'a towns allow us to create a sub-type of Bat'a Town, the Bat'a Agrarian-Industrial Town?

Sources used in this master's thesis

The process of gathering primary sources for this research followed the overall organization of this master's thesis. The search for and organization of relevant documents followed the thematic division of this text into two parts: "The ideal industrial town" and "Jan Antonín Baťa's activities in Brazil". Therefore, this classification key determined the gathering of primary sources in different archives and collections in the Czech Republic, in Brazil and on the Internet.

Due to the high number of primary sources dealt with in this research and due to their different kinds of formats and origins, in the next paragraphs I restrict myself to the description of the main characteristics of the primary sources used, organizing them according to the source where they were collected. Moreover, this more *ad hoc* approach of providing the description of a given primary source was preferred since I understand that description of the sources is of little use when detached from the concrete context of its use.

Czech Republic

- The Zlín Regional State Archive (SOkA Zlín)

Many primary sources treated in this master's thesis were obtained in the Czech archive *Státní okresní archiv Zlín* (SOkA Zlín) [The Zlín Regional State Archive]. The SOkA Zlín is a branch of the *Moravský zemský archiv Brno* [Moravian Archive - Brno] that holds an extensive collection of documents produced by the Baťa Shoe Company until 1942, by its subsidiary companies in Zlín (Kotva and Exico), and by the company Svít, the after-life of the Baťa Shoe Company after its nationalization by the Czechoslovak communist regime.

In what concerns the topic "Jan Antonín Baťa's activities in Brazil", I was able to collect technical reports concerning the economic possibilities of the lands acquired by him in that country by the end of the 1930s. They include correspondence between Jan A. Baťa and Baťa directors in Zlín during the time the former was exiled in the United States (1939-40) - in which they discussed technical issues related to the company's *ideal industrial town* model - and a small number of visual sources (three maps of the lands acquired by Jan A. Baťa and ninety small pictures of the construction site near the town of Indiana, 3x3 size on average).

The search for documents related to the *ideal industrial town* was more fruitful. The four study visits I conducted in that archive allowed me to understand that the *ideal industrial town* was more than a mere model. Instead, it consisted of real projects that involved many people

with different expertise and had many different phases during its almost ten-year lifespan. With this in mind, I decided to then focus on the documents produced up to 1940-41, the time when Jan Antonín Baťa began to be pushed out of the Baťa Shoe Company's global administration. Therefore, in SOkA Zlín I managed to digitize early versions of the 1939 ideal industrial town manual as well as original sketches made by Josef Gočár and Robert Hubert Podzemný. Most of these documents consist of extensive calculations of raw materials, mortgages, and profits, but also include housing schemes and Gočár's and Podzemný's sketches.

A third group of primary sources collected in the SOkA Zlín archives consists of employee cards of the personnel who ended up going to Brazil with Jan Antonín Baťa. These documents were very useful for this research as they provide precise information concerning their biography, education, aspirations, and even details about working conditions alongside Jan A. Baťa in Brazil. Therefore, I have collected the employee cards of Vladimír Kubík, Václav Charvát, Jan Kašpar, Alois Kunderát, Valenta Kupec, and Jaroslav Mařcha.

In as far as the language of the documents collected in the SOkA Zlín archives is concerned, it comes as no surprise that almost all of them were written in Czech. In contrast, only a few of them were produced in Portuguese, and these consist mainly of maps that were first produced in Brazil and then sent to Zlín at a later time. Finally, it is worth mentioning that I came across a considerable number of documents written in German – documents that were produced under the Nazi supervision of the operations of the Baťa Shoe Company. I was informed by the SOkA Zlín archive staff that these documents contain detailed information regarding the company's plans for Brazil; however, I decided not to collect them due to my limited German comprehension skills.

- The National Library of the Czech Republic (NKP)

In the *Národní knihovna České republiky* [National Library of the Czech Republic] (NKP), I was able to digitize most of the texts mentioned by František Lydie Gahura in his 1937 list of recommended literature concerning the concept of the garden city³⁰. That is because eight out of the ten texts mentioned by him in this list were articles published in the Czechoslovak journal *Styl: měsíčník pro architekturu, umělecké řemeslo a úpravu měst*, a publication dedicated to architecture, urban planning, and arts and crafts issued from 1909 to 1938. As the NKP stores one copy of every edition of this journal, I was able to digitize the following articles recommended by F. L. Gahura: Raymond Unwin's "*Decentralizační metody*" [The

³⁰ Moravský zemský archiv v Brně, Státní okresní archiv Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, inv. č. 126, fol. 124.

Decentralization Methods] (a translation of a lecture delivered by him in 1925 in New York), four articles written by Pavel Janák (“*Příspěvky ku stavbě měst*” [Contributions to City Building], “*Bydlíme hustě nebo řídce*” [We Live Densely or Sparsely], “*Pokus o diagramu frekvence v městském organismu*” [Trying a Frequency Diagram in the Urban Organism], and “*Obytné čtvrti v Anglii*” [Housing Neighborhoods in England]), Rudolf Stockar (z Berukopfu)’s “*Město budoucnosti*” [The City of Tomorrow], Josef Stübben’s “*Zelené plochy ve městech a jejich okolí*” [Green Areas in Cities and their Surroundings], and Walter Curt Berendht’s “*Vystěhování dílen*” [Workshop Transfer]. These articles are treated in chapter one, and all of them were published in the Czech language.

- The National Library of Technology (NTK)

In the context of identifying the intellectual references used by Baťa planners while working on the *ideal industrial town* model, I came across a series of unidentified drawings and conceptual sketches in SOkA Zlín representing urban planning concepts. After consulting with Doc. Martin Marek, SOkA Zlín’s archivist, I was informed that Baťa planners used to crop images and diagrams from contemporary journals and store them for future reference.

At a later time, I was able to trace one illustration of a Robert Owen town and two illustrations from Toni Garnier’s *cit  industrielle* to the French journal *L’architecture d’aujourd’hui* [Today’s Architecture]. In a study visit to the *N rodní technick  knihovna* [The National Library of Technology of the Czech Republic] (NTK), I discovered that those images were taken respectively from the June and September 1935 editions of that journal. As described in the second chapter of this master’s thesis, this finding had a positive impact on my research as it presents the original context in which the Baťa planners found the above-mentioned images, a context which influenced their interpretation of Owen’s and Garnier’s ideas. It is important to note that the NTK possesses the original editions of this journal published in French.

Brazil

- The Sapaco factory

As of my visit in October 2017, the remains of the original Sapaco shoe factory in Batatuba still stored original documents related to the every-day operation and administration of the only Baťa factory to operate in Brazil. As Sapaco went bankrupt in 1983 and has been

waiting to be auctioned since that date, the remains of the factory have been kept in a precarious way³¹. In consequence, many original machines, furniture, and documents are in a deplorable state of conservation due to the high humidity and temperature.

Either way, I was still able to find valuable primary sources in this place. The former office of Jan Antonín Baťa holds an extensive collection of employee cards, administrative documents, and blueprints as well as a small library with a number of technical books. There, I was able to digitize the 1942 and 1943 editions of the factory newspaper *Novidades de Batatuba* [Batatuba News], two maps of Batatuba and the employee card of the Baťa architect František Macek. The language of all these documents, including the employee card, is Portuguese.

- UNESP CEMOSi in Presidente Prudente

The archive *Centro de Memória e Hemeroteca Sindical* [Unionist Center of Memory, Documentation, and Newspapers] of the *São Paulo State University “Júlio de Mesquita”* (UNESP), located in the city of Presidente Prudente, contains a collection of administrative documents related to the operation of the company *Companhia de Viação São Paulo – Mato Grosso* (CVSP-MT), owned by Jan Antonín Baťa from 1939 until his death in 1965. In this place I was able to digitize the city plans of Mariápolis and Vila CIMA, the Baťa towns located in the western region of the state of São Paulo. These city plans are also in a deplorable state of conservation; therefore, in specific cases it was necessary to work the image of a given document using image-processing software in order to enhance its readability or to compose a comprehensive image from its fragments. The fact that a given primary source cited in this master’s thesis was digitally processed is indicated in a correspondent footnote. It is also worth noting that these city plans contain information written in Portuguese.

- Jindřich Trachta Centre of Memory (CMJT) in Batayporã

The *Centro de Memória Jindřich Trachta* [Jindřich Trachta Centre of Memory] (CMJT), located in the Baťa town of Batayporã, state of Mato Grosso do Sul, is a cultural center and archive run by the descendants of Jindřich Trachta, a Czech immigrant, a former CVSP-MT director, and a former mayor of Batayporã. Since 2016 it has been connected to the Honorary Consulate of the Czech Republic in Batayporã, whose honorary consul is Trachta’s grandson Evandro do Amaral Trachta e Silva. The CMJT archive was established in the CVSP-MT office

of that town and is dedicated to the activities of that company in the southeastern area of the present-day state of Mato Grosso do Sul.

It was in the CMJT, with the support of the Trachta family, that I was able to digitize the majority of the city plans I used in this master's thesis. Their extensive collection of maps and plans contains many large-scale city plans of the Baía towns Batatuba, Bataguassu, and Batayporã produced in different years spanning from the late 1940s until the mid-1980s. What is more, in the CMJT I was able to digitize the 60-page study *Ante-projeto do núcleo de colonização "Presidente Kennedy"* [Preliminary Draft of the "Presidente Kennedy" Colonization Core], Jan Antonín Baía's 62-page book *Estudos sobre a Migração* [Studies of Migration], and 97 pages worth of documents relating to the first expeditions into the lands of present-day Batayporã, grouped in a folder entitled *Documents – Levantamentos do início da colonização – Faz Samambaia* [Documents – Surveys from the beginnings of colonization – Samambaia estate].

With the exception of that folder, which contains documents written in Czech and Spanish, all the primary sources collected in the CMJT archive were written in Portuguese. Despite its current lack of specialized treatment, the CMJT archive collection is in a good state of conservation overall.

- The Baía Arambasic family collection in Nova Andradina

The descendants of Jan Antonín Baía that remained in the Batayporã region possess an extensive collection of Jan A. Baía's personal documents, uncatalogued to the date. It consists of many letters, part of his library, and of unpublished books written by him. It was there that I managed to digitize many parts of Jan A. Baía's annotated copy of the 1939 *ideal industrial town* manual, part of his correspondence with his son-in-law Joseph Nash in the United States, two of his poetry books with poems related to Brazil (*Verše z Brazílie* and an untitled book with poem sketches), a folder with newspaper clippings related to recent colonization efforts undertaken by European settlers, and a collection of pictures related to Batatuba. The majority of these documents were in Czech with a few exceptions of poems and letters in Portuguese or English. All of them are in a good state of conservation.

The Internet

Besides working as a communication enabler, a provider of insights and a hub of contextual information concerning Jan Antonín Baťa's activities around the world, the Internet was also vital for the location and downloading of primary sources that directly influenced this master's thesis. They were obtained on two different websites:

- Familysearch.org

This website administered by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints worked as a main hub for this master's thesis for locating and downloading primary sources that trace the migration of relevant actors for the creation of the *ideal industrial town* model or for the establishment of the Brazilian Baťa towns. As it has an extensive partnership network with many national archives around the world, the international movement of these people could easily be tracked down on that website, which helped me to compose biographies of these people and obtain precious details about their backgrounds.

At Familysearch.org, I was able to collect the Brazilian immigration records of Jan Antonín Baťa, of the Baťa architects František Macek, Alois Kundrát, and Jan Kašpar, and of the Baťa employee Jaroslav Mařcha. Similarly, I was also able to collect the American immigration records of the Baťa architect Robert Hubert Podzemný and of the Slovak architect Michal Kunic, who collaborated with Jan Antonín Baťa in the context of the production of the *ideal industrial town* model in Zlín, 1937. Naturally, the Brazilian documents were in Portuguese while the American ones were in English.

- The Jan Antonín Baťa Foundation

The older *Nadační fond Jana Antonína Bati* [Jan Antonín Baťa Foundation] website contained some digitized primary sources related to the activities of Jan Antonín Baťa. There, I was able to download a copy of his book *A Study of Migration* (a slightly different version of the homonymous book *Estudos sobre a Migração* mentioned above) and two photo diaries of Jan A. Baťa's daughter Marie Baťa-Nash in which she recorded the harsh conditions of the establishment of the towns of Mariópolis and Baťayporã. In as far as the language of these documents is concerned, *A Study of Migration* was written in English while the diaries contain information in both English and Czech.

The structure of this master's thesis

Chapter one is dedicated to the main traits of the urbanism of the Baťa Shoe Company in the interwar period. I intend to present them as the result of the crossing between two intellectual references regarding urban planning ideas and the company's overarching business strategy and social system, the Ford Motor Company-like rationalization of all spheres of industrial production that became known as *Batismus* [Baťaism]. In the context of the company's expansion into global markets, the Baťa Shoe Company performed a series of urban experiments in Zlín and in the first company towns it established in the 1920s and 1930s, and consolidated them under the concept of IPM - *ideální průmyslové město* [the Ideal Industrial Town], a series of urban models that were intended to guide the establishment of future company towns. The chapter ends with a reflection on the role played by Jan Antonín Baťa during the formation of this urban model in order to understand how it could influence the planning of the future towns he established in Brazil from the early 1940s to early 1960s.

Chapter two deals more closely with the adaptation process that the IPM faced in Brazil after Jan Antonín Baťa's arrival there. I show how that urban planning concept crossed with Jan Antonín Baťa's own ideas, plans, and aspirations to provide the purpose and main guidelines for the establishment of the Brazilian Baťa towns. Based on the identification of the same pattern shown during the creation of the IPM concept, I intend to provide evidence to show that the gradual establishment of this special group of Baťa towns should be understood as a process that resulted in the creation of a new type of Baťa town: the Baťa Agrarian-industrial town.

Finally, the conclusion places the Brazilian Baťa towns in a more global perspective. Here, I indicate how the ideas that stood behind their establishment help us to better understand the supra-individual aspects of intellectual processes that generated some of the most influential urban planning ideas of the mid-twentieth century.

Chapter One

The Urbanism of the Baťa Shoe Company

The development of urbanism and regional planning in the first half of the twentieth century finds a counterpoint in the urban experiences of the Baťa Shoe Company. Baťa's strong emphasis on industrial rationalization generated a functionalist urban lexicon that closely dialogues with urban planning ideas in circulation in the inter-war years, and still survives in an international network of towns established by the company in that period. For the sake of illustration, we should remember that by the time Patrick Geddes was publishing his *Cities in evolution: an introduction to the town planning movement and to the study of civics*³², Baťa Shoe Company was carrying out its first expressive urban intervention in its hometown, the city of Zlín³³. Contemporary to the foundation of the *Regional Planning Association of America* is the election of the then-owner of Baťa Shoe Company, Tomáš Baťa, as the mayor of Zlín and the beginning of its urban refurbishment due to a synergic administration of both town and factory³⁴. Similarly, when the *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* held in 1933 their famous congress devoted to functionalism, Baťa Shoe Company had already established seven functionalist company towns around Europe³⁵.

This chapter is dedicated to the particular episode in the history of urban planning that we can find in the inter-war urban experiences of Baťa Shoe Company. The understanding of the main traits of these experiences, and of how they got translated in the late 1930s into an ideal model that was intended to guide the planning of future company towns, is an indispensable task to be fulfilled if we seek to understand the specific character of the towns that Jan Antonín Baťa established in Brazil in the 1940s, 50s, and 60s. That is because it will enable us to capture the nature of the urban lexicon and planning experiences he carried with him when he moved to that country in exile in the early 1940s.

³² Patrick Geddes, *Cities in evolution: an introduction to the town planning movement and to the study of civics* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1915).

³³ Jemelka and Ševeček, *Tovární města*, 76. In 1915, Bata Shoe Company started to build the first houses dedicated to its factory workers.

³⁴ For Tomáš Baťa, see: Zdeněk Pokluda, *Ze Zlína do Světa – příběh Tomáše Bati. From Zlín into the World – The story of Thomas Bata* (Zlín: Nadace Tomáše Bati, 2009). The *Regional Planning Association of America* (RPAA) was an association that advocated a radical rethinking of American cities under the light of its social needs and urban layout, and was composed, among others, by influential American architects like Clarence Stein, Henry Wright, Clarence Perry, and Lewis Mumford. See: Rosemary Wakeman, *Practicing Utopia – An Intellectual History of the New Town Movement* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2016), 31.

³⁵ The *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM) was an international coalition of avant-garde architects whose purpose was to settle the guidelines for an architecture more integrated with the other spheres of human activities, with special attention to the relation between cities and industrial production. See: Eric Mumford, "El discurso del CIAM sobre el urbanismo" [The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism], *Bitacora* 11-1 (2007): 96-115.

Nonetheless, it is true that, as Martin Jemelka and Ondřej Ševeček put it, the urbanism of a company that crossed “[Ford Motor Company]’s technology scheme with energetic social interventions and a broad spectrum of controlling and disciplinary mechanisms” can be more easily understood when confronted with the company’s overall business logic³⁶. Therefore, a description of the company’s business philosophy precedes in this chapter a more scrutinized reflection on the references and urban experiences of Baťa Shoe Company in the inter-war period, and how they are related to directly to Jan Antonín Baťa.

Baťa Shoe Company

The Baťa family’s shoemaking tradition was registered for the first time as a business by the siblings Anna, Antonín, and Tomáš Baťa: in 1894, they legalized the family’s operations based in Zlín, at that time a small Czech town located not far from the Hungarian border – today the Slovakian border – of the then Austro-Hungarian Empire³⁷. About six years later, it became a formal company under the leadership of Antonín Baťa and his brother Tomáš, and was dedicated to the production and sale of shoes in the above-mentioned town. After Antonín Baťa’s death in 1908, Tomáš Baťa became the sole owner of *T. & A Baťa, Zlín*, a company that would become a worldwide shoemaking empire in the inter-war period.

For the purposes of this thesis, the history of the Baťa Shoe Company can be divided into four phases. In the first one, spanning from its foundations in 1894 to Tomáš Baťa’s sudden death in a plane crash in 1932, the company’s responses to the crises of the First World War, the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the Great Depression got condensed into an innovative business model based on the principles of the scientific management of production and of the vertical integration of autonomous workshops, making Baťa one of the most successful Czechoslovak companies of the inter-war period. The second phase spans from 1932 to the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1938 and is characterized by the consolidation of Baťa Shoe Company as a worldwide empire under the leadership of Tomáš Baťa’s half-brother, Jan Antonín Baťa.

The third phase (1939 – 1965) can be understood as a restructuring one. Baťa facilities that were located in the newly installed Communists regimes in Europe were nationalized after the end of the Second World War, and the Western facilities were integrated by Thomas Baťa (Tomáš Baťa’s son) after a long court dispute against Jan Antonín Baťa over the ownership of

³⁶ Jemelka and Ševeček, *Tovární města*, 865.

³⁷ Jemelka and Ševeček, *Tovární města*, 55. Antonín Baťa (June 7, 1874 – June 8, 1908), one of the founders of the Bata Shoe Company, is not to be confused with Jan Antonín Baťa (March 3, 1898 – August 23, 1965), his half-brother and the founder of the Brazilian cities discussed in this thesis.

the company's non-nationalized facilities. Finally, the last phase spans from 1965 to the present day, and encompasses the consolidation of the Western facilities and its integration with the formerly nationalized ones after the fall of the Iron Curtain in the 1990s.

The transformation of a family business into a global shoemaking empire in the first decades of the twentieth century can be understood also as a consequence of the creative adaptation of contemporary American ideas and values regarding the organization of work and production. Tomáš Baťa was looking toward the United States as a source of inspiration as early as 1904, the year of the first of four trips he made to that country during his life³⁸. After returning to Zlín the following year, he started to promote a number of organizational changes that would later form the basis of what became known as *batismus* [Bataism], the economic and social system that marked the identity of the company in the inter-war period³⁹.

Batismus concerns a set of values that mixed Ford Motor Company's principles of scientific organization, rationalization and standardization with political liberalism and American-style work ethics. The first results appeared already during the First World War, when the company's unparalleled efficiency, when compared with other business industries in Central Europe, was responsible for supplying more than fifty percent of the military footwear used by the Austro-Hungarian army, which allowed the company to grow its number of employees tenfold during the war⁴⁰. However, despite having played an important role in the Austro-Hungarian war effort, Baťa's image ended up not being associated with the crumbling state. As a consequence of the modern production techniques he implemented, Tomáš Baťa was seen at the time more as an American-style entrepreneur, and his image became widely celebrated in Zlín after the creation of the Czechoslovak state in 1918, symbolizing the prosperous future of the new country as it was closely associated with the image of the American self-made man⁴¹.

Despite the intensive study of American examples, the Baťa system took almost an entire decade to fully mature. This was carried out by means of a gradual, trial-and-error

³⁸ Tomáš Baťa visited the United States in 1904-5, 1911, 1919, and 1926. Martin Marek, *Baťovy závody, batismus a Sovětský svaz v letech 1918-1938 – konfrontace a kontakty na pozadí specifík československo-sovětských hospodářských vztahů* [Bata operations, bataism, and Soviet Union in the years 1919-1938 – confrontations and contacts in the background of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Economic Relations] (PhD dissertation, Masarykova univerzita, 2010), 64-65; Jemelka and Ševeček, *Tovární města*, 73.

³⁹ Here, "bataism" is the adaptation of the Czech term *Batismus*, which has since the 1920s the double connotation of the scientific and rational organization of Bata production, and of an authoritarian industrial ideology somewhere in between capitalism and fascism. See: Marek, *Baťovy závody*, 64 – 78; Stanislav Holubec, "Silní milují život. Utopie, ideologie a biopolitika Baťovského Zlína" [The Strong Love Life. The Utopia, Ideology, and Biopolitics of Baťa's Zlín], *Kuděj 2* (2009), 30 – 55.

⁴⁰ Pokluda, *Ze Zlína do světa*, 10.

⁴¹ Pokluda, *Ze Zlína do světa*, 14.

implementation of innovations alongside adaptive changes as responses to the challenging social and economic context of post-war Czechoslovakia. A series of social unrests and worker's strikes in Zlín during the economic crisis that followed the end of the war moved Tomáš Baťa to adopt a more paternalistic approach towards his employees. After his second visit to the United States in 1919, when he closely observed the working conditions at Ford's River Rouge factory and at Endicott Johnson (the leading shoemaking company in the US at the time), Tomáš Baťa implemented a set of social policies in order to alleviate the effects of the deteriorating economic situation in the country. In 1921-22, he introduced measures such as childcare in Baťa's nursery schools and subsidizing food in Baťa's workshops, and started the first experiments with worker's housing⁴².

However, as mentioned above, *batismus* as a social system only matured by the end of the 1920s. The company managed to successfully increase its sales and size during the economic crises of the beginning of that decade, and invested the augmented capital in even more technical and organizational innovations, one of them being employee shares in the company⁴³. However, the financial and moral crisis of 1929 proved to be more decisive for the development of *batismus*. From this point on, Baťa Shoe Company began to develop a complex set of values that would concentrate its efforts in guaranteeing worker's efficiency with not only progressive working conditions but also by conditioning means. The consequence of this policy was the development of an ideology based on rationality, capitalist work ethos, and entrepreneurial spirit, where the *Baťovci* – the Baťa workers – were modelled in accordance with the archetype of the American pioneer⁴⁴. Moreover, this work ethos was intended to be internalized by Baťa workers via their constant exposure to the company's extensive propaganda apparatus (in the form of magazines and films)⁴⁵, and was also untiringly reaffirmed in omnipresent mottos written on the factory walls⁴⁶.

⁴² Pokluda, *Ze Zlína do světa*, 16-7. In this same trip, Tomáš Baťa also founded a Baťa subsidiary in Lynn, Massachusetts, but the experiment was unsuccessful and the factory was shut down soon after.

⁴³ Jemelka and Ševeček, *Tovární města*, 70.

⁴⁴ The *Průkopník* (pioneer) should be hard-working and creative at the same time, besides being perseverant and open to new and unknown circumstances. For a detailed description of the ideal Bata employee, see Marek, *Baťovy závody*, 67-71.

⁴⁵ Jemelka and Ševeček, *Tovární města*, 44.

⁴⁶ In the image, one can read the mottos “Bota dobře kosená, noze otláčky nedělá” [A nicely-cut shoe does not make calluses] and “[Mysli] na svého zákazníka” [Think of your customer]. Among an extensive list of comparable mottos, we can find examples such as “The Example is a school for life (*Příklad je školou života*)”, “The Fight is the father of everything (*Boj je otcem všeho*)”, “Life is movement - immobility is death (*Pohyb je život – nehybnost je smrt*)”, “Let's not be afraid of others but of ourselves (*Lidi se nebojme, ale sebe*)”. Zdeněk Pokluda, *Baťa v kostce* [Bata in a Nutshell] (Zlín: Kniha Zlín, 2013), 113.



Image 2. One of Baťa's sewing workshops with mottos written above the workers' heads, 1939. Source: Jemelka and Ševeček, *Tovární města*, 70.

An important part in this process was played by the company's personnel department. Responsible not only for methods of hiring new workers, based on psychometric and sociometric techniques understood as scientific and objective⁴⁷, the department would also try to guarantee the compliance of workers with the companies' rules via regular surveillance in the workspace and in their homes:

If the employee lives in the place of the operations, his supervisor has the possibility of visiting him, getting to know his personal life in his family's context and, when applicable, correcting all the defects that could have an adverse influence in his family life and in the work efficiency of that employee.⁴⁸

The worker's attitude was taken by Baťa management as a key factor of production, and as such was the object of intensive planning and regulation. This is to say that another fundamental characteristic of Baťa's business model was the management of a highly complex set of factors of production under the principle of vertical integration. Especially after 1927, when the company reorganized its production based on the idea of autonomous workshops, every functional part of the company – from the gathering of raw materials to the selling of shoes in Baťa stores abroad – would be hierarchically connected to the Baťa management in Zlín not only via administrative means, but also by the ethos of *batismus*.

⁴⁷ Marek, *Baťovy závody*, 66; Jemelka and Ševeček, *Tovární města*, 44.

⁴⁸ The text is a part of the company's manual *The Ideal Industrial Town*. "Bydlí-li zaměstnanec v místě závodů, má jeho vedoucí možnost navštívit jej a poznati život v jeho rodině a případně upravit závady, které by mohly mít nepříznivý vliv na život v rodině i pracovní výkon zaměstnance". MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. II/6, kart. 1276, inv. č. 56, fol. 447 as cited by Jemelka and Ševeček, *Tovární města*, 99.

What is more, the city itself was understood as a fundamental part of the company's productive chain in the inter-war period⁴⁹. In this sense, the urban environment was perceived as more than a mere *locus* that concentrated the three basic factors of production (labour, land and capital), but rather a highly complex input whose specific configuration would directly affect the retail price of the goods produced by the company. This is because the city worked as a framework that integrated wage and social policies, and the urban form itself was also the object of specific policies that envisaged improving the efficiency of work, production, and distribution, making the urbanism of Bat'a Shoe Company one of the most durable and visible aspects of its business model and social policy.

International expansion

As mentioned above, the political and economic conjectures of the 1930s, and the plans for continuous international expansion, invited the incorporation of adaptive changes by the Bat'a Shoe Company. The first responses came already in the first years of the decade, during the economic turmoil of the Great Depression. The plan was to consolidate the domestic position of Czechoslovakia while protecting the expansion of the company in an international arena marked by anti-Bat'a campaigns⁵⁰, and this was achieved by the performance of two legal moves. First, in Switzerland in 1931, Tomáš Bat'a founded the company *Leader A.G.*, a holding company whose purpose was to untie the legal ownership of the domestic facilities from the foreign ones by holding the stocks of all Bat'a's facilities and subsidiary companies outside Czechoslovakia, and to hide their real ownership under a complex set of property laws⁵¹. Consequently, a few months later, the Czechoslovak business was converted into a joint-stock company, and Tomáš Bat'a, as the sole shareholder, stood as the chairperson of a board of directors composed of him, Rudolf Gerbec, Dominik Čipera, and his half-brother Jan Antonín

⁴⁹ On the relation between city, industrial production, and welfare capitalism in the case of the Bata Shoe Company, see: Costa, "As cidades da Companhia Bata", 41-50.

⁵⁰ The expansion of Bata in European markets was met with persistent resistance from local shoemakers, who sometimes even organized transnational campaigns against the Czechoslovak company. The actors and campaigns differed according to market structure in the specific country. Where there was a developed shoemaking industry (France, Switzerland, United Kingdom, Netherlands and Germany), the broad campaigns would be headed by industrialists that tackled labor and social issues connected to the Bata system (e.g. working hours, wage tariffs, labor organization), while in other countries (Poland, Yugoslavia and Hungary), the resistance was organized by associations of small shoemakers that accused the Czechoslovak company of destroying the traditional business of many local families. See: Jemelka and Ševeček, *Tovární města*, 852-3.

⁵¹ For details regarding the foundation and purposes of *Leader A.G.*, see Jemelka and Ševeček, *Tovární města*, 521-28.

Baťa⁵². As is described in the next chapter, these changes provided more flexibility to the business, and were responsible for the survival of the company after the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia and the post-war nationalization of the domestic facilities by the communist government.

Based on this new legal setting, Baťa Shoe Company accelerated the construction of a network of factories, stores, and company towns outside Czechoslovakia, an effort that had begun already in the mid-1920s as a means for increasing sales abroad and thus overcoming the local financial crisis. Such a complex and demanding business strategy was justified by the company's high dependency on exports, which began to suffer serious threats from the rise of economic nationalism and protectionism in Europe as a consequence of the Great Depression⁵³. In this sense, Baťa Shoe Company could circumvent target countries' import restrictions via direct investment in the form of factories that processed raw materials and semi-finished goods sent from Zlín but staffed by a local workforce.

Moreover, the rising political tension in Europe in the second half of the 1930s moved the company towards the intensification of an already accelerated program of direct investment in other countries, this time even in non-European ones. This was seen as a strategy for distributing the risks between the two sides of the potential armed conflict, a policy that resulted in the surpassing of the Company's domestic production, in absolute numbers, by the production of the Baťa facilities outside Czechoslovakia in 1936⁵⁴.

The change in Baťa's business strategy as a consequence of the Great Depression allowed the company to flourish. Until 1931, Baťa had 24 facilities, 1,045 stores, and employed 16,560 people. After the death of Tomáš Baťa in 1932, Jan Antonín Baťa assumed the leadership of the company and improved the work initiated by his half-brother, increasing the figures to 120 facilities, 5,810 stores and 105,700 employees in the period 1932-1942⁵⁵.

More important for this thesis, however, are the urban experiences that Baťa Shoe Company acquired during this phase. That is because its international expansion was followed by the establishment of company towns based on 1910s and 1920s experiences in Czechoslovakia. Up to 1942, the company had built nineteen company towns around the world. They are: Třebíč-Borovina (Czechoslovakia, 1931), Borovo (Yugoslavia, 1931), Ottmuth

⁵² Jaroslav Pospíšil and Hana Pospíšilová, *Rub a líc Baťovských sporů: u soudu a u pana Boha člověk nikdy neví, jak dopadne* [The Front and Back of Bata's Disputes: One Cannot Know What Will Happen in the Court and in God's Presence] (Zlín: Kniha Zlín, 2012), 14.

⁵³ For the reasons behind Bata's emphasis on international expansion after 1929, see Marešová, "Vliv Baťova podnikání", 20-1; Jemelka and Ševeček, *Tovární města*, 65; and Costa, *As cidades da Companhia Bata*, 66.

⁵⁴ See Marešová, *Vliv Baťova podnikání*, 21.

⁵⁵ Data retrieved from Marešová, *Vliv Baťova podnikání*, 20.

(Germany, 1931), Otrokovice-Bařov (Czechoslovakia, 1932), Chełmek (Poland, 1932), Möhlin (Switzerland, 1932), Hellocourt-Bataville (France, 1932), East Tilbury (United Kingdom, 1933), Best-Batadorp (The Netherlands, 1934), Ratiřkovice (Czechoslovakia, 1934), Svit-Batizovce (Czechoslovakia, 1934), Batanagar (India, 1934), Napajedla (Czechoslovakia, 1935), Zruř nad Sázavou (Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, 1939), řimonovany-Bařovany (Slovak Republic, 1939), Batawa (Canada, 1939), Belcamp (United States of America, 1939), Sezimovo Ústí (Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, 1939), and Martřú (Hungary, 1942)⁵⁶.

Crossing references: The Ideal Industrial Town of The Bařa Shoe Company

The purpose of this subchapter is to reconstruct what would have been the mindset of Bařa planners and managers in the second half of the 1930s. With the rising political tension in the European arena, the company started to plan a company town building program outside Czechoslovakia. Therefore, not only was it necessary to assess its past urban experiments in housing and urban planning, but also to consolidate these under an urban planning model that would set a framework for such an undertaking. This is the Ideal Industrial Town project (IPM project), jumpstarted by Jan Antonín Bařa in 1937 with the aim of composing a manual that would serve as a reference for the building of future Bařa towns⁵⁷. In his own words, the *Ideální průmyslové město* (Ideal Industrial Town)

is not a book intended for the market. It is a prescription, a project, a building and operational plan of an industrial town of about 10-12,000 inhabitants in our field of industry.

In this book, all problems related to industrial production as well as to a happy, productive human life based on industrial work are addressed in such a way as to create a type of town that it is possible to build in hundreds, anywhere in the world⁵⁸.

⁵⁶ Jemelka and řeveček, *Tovární města*, 65-6. The dates refer to the beginning of Bata's industrial production in each town, which implies that the planning and construction happened in an earlier phase.

⁵⁷ The terms "Ideal Industrial Town project" and its acronym IPM (from the Czech *ideální průmyslové město*) were neither used by contemporaries nor can be found in primary sources. In this master's thesis, the notion of a project is applied so as to understand the IPM as a general framework in which many Bařa planners collaborated in order to create a model town for the Bařa Shoe Company. In addition, the very IPM acronym is introduced here so as to deal with the many occurrences of this term in an efficient manner. To this date, other works which provide in-depth descriptions of this concept are: Jan Obřivař, "Mezivalečný Bařův Zlín – ideální průmyslové město, výkladní skřín a základna hospodářské expanze" [Interwar Bařa's Zlín – Ideal Industrial Town, Display Window, and the Basis of Economic Expansion] (master's thesis, Masaryk University, 2006), 41-50; Jana Beneřova, "Urbanismus firmy Bařa – Satelitní jednotky v řR a ideální průmyslové město" [Urbanism of the Bařa Company – Satellite Units in the Czech Republic and Ideal Industrial Town] (master's thesis, Masaryk University, 2012), 35 - 62; and řeveček and Jemelka, *Tovární města*, 94 - 102.

⁵⁸ "Není to kniha, určená pro trh. Je to ředpis, projekt, plán pro výstavbu a provoz průmyslového města o 10-12.000 obyvatel v našem průmyslovém oboru. Vřechny problémy průmyslové výroby a spokojeného, tvořivého lidského života, založeného na průmyslové práci, jsou v této knize řeřeny tak, aby toto město bylo typem, jaký se dá stavět v tisících a kdekoliv na světě." MZA, SOKA Zlín, fond Bařa a.s., Zlín, sign II/6, kart. 1276, inv. ř. 56, fol. 3.

The project lasted from 1937 until 1946 and gave birth to a number of new Baťa settlements around the world. However, we should bear in mind that a single, unified model did not exist. This was a highly complex undertaking with many unexpected challenges, dead-ends, sudden turns, and improvisations along the way. During the turbulent pre-war and war period, many employees and external advisors came and went, leaving their own mark but also giving contributions that were initially incorporated only to disappear at a later point⁵⁹. Although it seemed that the 1939 book *Průmyslové město* would eventually function as *the* primary reference for the Baťa Shoe Company's ideal town, the fate of both Zlín and Jan Antonín Baťa in the first years of the war affected the project in such a way that it ended up following two independent paths: the Brazilian, agrarian-industrial one, and a Central European version⁶⁰. Due to the aims of the research, this master's thesis focuses solely on the IPM project in the pre-World War Two years and its continuation in Brazil with Jan Antonín Baťa and collaborators.

When considered from the point of view of the history of architecture and urbanism, these plans and studies show striking similarities with the principles of the contemporary architectural avant-garde movement, especially when compared with the propositions of CIAM IV's "functional city", let alone the many projects and new towns associated with the concept of the "garden city"⁶¹. In all these cases, one can find a city divided into functional zones, transition

⁵⁹ Besides Jan Antonín Baťa, at least thirty-five other people were directly involved in specific parts of the project when it was jumpstarted in August 1937. Nineteen names can be found in a handwritten list added to a study made by Josef Gočár for the Baťa Shoe Company: (Alois) Gebauer, (Jan) Matula, Hamáček, (Arnošt) Sehnal, Kamenický, Sláma, Kraus, (John) Hoza, Filip, Drkoš, (Josef) Gočár, Zelinka, (Bohuslav) Albert, (Stanislav) Vrána, Kadlec, Zantálek, (František Lydie) Gahura, (Vladimír) Karfik, and Šerhant. Fifteen additional names can be found in a series of assignments issued by Jan Antonín Baťa in that year: (Michal) Kunic, V. (Vojtěch) Baťa, Grünberger, (Hugo) Vavrečka, Dubranil, (Antonín) Cekota, (Dominik) Čipera, (Josef) Hlavnička, (Antonín) Grác, (Jaromír) Hradil, (Jaroslav) Fuksa, (Jiří) Udržal, Mottl, Šťastný, and Kočenda. These primary sources cite surnames only; I added the first names in brackets for the cases in which I was able to identify the full name of the respective employee or director. Although not included in the above-mentioned documents, it is known that Robert Hubert Podzemný was also involved with the IPM project in 1937. For the list in Gočár's study, see: MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, inv. č. 12, fol. 195-7. For Jan Antonín Baťa's assignments, see: MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, inv. č. 12, fol. 2-3, 46-69.

⁶⁰ With Jan Antonín Baťa's exile in 1939 and his gradual removal from the Baťa's board of directors, the IPM project in the Nazi-led Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (the Czech part of Czechoslovakia after the incorporation of the *Sudetenland* into Nazi Germany, 1939 – 1945) was assumed by the Baťa director Hugo Vavrečka, who named Jiří Voženílek and Vladimír Kubečka as the main architects of the project. The SOkA Zlín archive contains reproductions of schemes of German ideal industrial towns and of Hermann-Göring-Werker's Salzgitter as well as town sketches created by Albert Speer, the main architect of the German Third Reich, probably brought by the newly appointed German employees. Alongside a scheme of new regions and transportation networks planned for the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, written in German and in Czech, those documents might indicate a possible direct influence of Nazi urban planning ideas on the IPM project during the Second World War. For the IPM project under Hugo Vavrečka, see: Benešová, *Urbanismus firmy Baťa*, 49 – 60. For the documents mentioned in this footnote, see: MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, kart. 2, inv. č. 296, 297, and 298.

⁶¹ Between 1928 and 1959, the CIAM held ten congresses in different European cities, and passed through three different phases, represented by "The Minimal Dwelling" (theme of the 1929 CIAM II, led by Frankfurt's main

zones in the form of green areas inspired by Ebenezer Howard and followers' garden cities, the separation between pedestrian and vehicular flux, and an intimate relation between social life and industrial production. Another indication of such relations is that Le Corbusier was aware of and interested in the experiments performed by Baťa and its architects in Zlín to such an extent that he himself proposed an urban project for the city in 1935⁶².

It is important to remark that, whatever architectural bent Baťa's architects might have been of, in the end they had only a minimum space to elaborate their ideas in a truly autonomous way. The company's directors had the last say regarding the architecture and planning of Baťa towns, which means that the architecture and urbanism was ultimately subordinated to the overall business strategy in the vertical decision-making structure of the company⁶³.

In any case, the early years of the IPM project are privileged moments for observing the many crossings and criss-crossings that would happen in the so-called Baťa *stavební oddělení* [building department]. Founded in 1924 as an urbanistic and architectural planning center⁶⁴, this was the place where the older and younger generation of Czech and Slovak architects met, discussed, and translated the Baťa business philosophy into concrete projects and designs. Six years later, the *stavební oddělení* was reformulated and had its workload shared with the newly founded subsidiary joint stock company Baťa stavební a.s.⁶⁵.

The *stavební oddělení* was positioned in a transnational crossroad of urban planning ideas that were circulating during the inter-war period. As shown in the next paragraphs, the Baťa planners were dealing with Robert Owen's experiences in New Lanark⁶⁶, with Tony Garnier's concept of *Cité Industrielle*⁶⁷, with concepts developed in the USA such as the superblock and the neighborhood unit, and with Soviet urban planning ideas as developed by Nikolay Alexandrovich Milyutin⁶⁸. Luckily, not only are those references manifested in early and late city plans sketched in the context of the IPM project, but they can also be confirmed by a concrete piece of evidence left behind by Zlín's chief architect František Lydie Gahura in

architect Ernst May), by "The Functional City" (theme of the 1933 CIAM IV, led by Le Corbusier), and by the post-war generational conflict that brought the group to its end during the 1958 CIAM X. See: Kenneth Frampton, "As vicissitudes da ideologia: os CIAM e o TEAM X, crítica e contracritica, 1928-68", in *História crítica da arquitetura moderna* [Modern Architecture: A Critical History] (São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2003), 315-26.

⁶² Pokluda, *Ze Zlína do světa*, 50.

⁶³ Jemelka and Ševeček, *Tovární města*, 865-6.

⁶⁴ Ševeček and Hornáková, *Satelity funkcionalistického Zlína*, 14.

⁶⁵ Ševeček and Hornáková, *Satelity funkcionalistického Zlína*, 14.

⁶⁶ MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, kart. 2, inv. č. 294.

⁶⁷ MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, kart. 2, inv. č. 295.

⁶⁸ MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, kart. 2, inv. č. 299.

1937⁶⁹. As a way to provide a technical framework for the IPM project, F. L. Gahura produced a study on the history of the “Garden City” as well as the following list of recommended literature⁷⁰:

Literature and articles:

1. Ebenezer Howard: “Garden City of to morrow”
The first promotional book on the idea of an industrial city in the garden.
2. Milyutin: “Sotsgorod”
A book from the People’s Commissioner for City Building. Tells about principles, origins and calculations of “Waguitogorsk”
3. Raymon Uwin “The Decentralization Methods”
Lecture given in the 1925 New York congress for city building.
 1. Recommends the decentralization of industrial cities
 2. Stipulates a max. population of 50-70,000
 3. Reprehends American citizens’ vertical building system for security reasons – traffic, hygiene, and social.Journal “STYL”
4. Pavel Janák Articles in the journal “STYL”
 1. “Contributions to City Building”
 2. “We Live Densely or Sparsely”
 3. “Trying a Frequency Diagram in the Urban Organism”
 4. “Residential Areas in England”
5. Rudolf Stockar
(z Berukopfu): Article in the journal “STYL”
“The City of Tomorrow”
6. J. Stubben: “Green Areas in Cities and Their Surroundings”
article in the journal “STYL”

⁶⁹ František Lydie Gahura (1891 - 1958) was Zlín’s main architect during most of the interwar period. Between 1910 and 1917, he studied in the School of Applied Arts in Prague (*Uměleckoprůmyslová škola v Praze*). Between 1919 and 1923, he joined Prague’s Academy of Fine Arts (*Akademie výtvarných umění*) to study architecture under Jan Kotěra. After his studies, he was hired by Tomáš Baťa and designed many famous company buildings and a number of Baťa towns in Czechoslovakia. After disagreements with Jan Antonín Baťa, F. L. Gahura left the company to become Zlín’s chief architect, collaborating with his former boss as a contracted architect. See Zdeněk Pokluda, *Baťovi muži* [Baťa Men] (Zlín: Kovarna Viva, 2012), 62-4.

⁷⁰ MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, inv. č. 126, fol. 124. This is a self-adapted translation of F. L. Gahura’s list. Jan Antonín Baťa’s request can be found in the same reference.

7. Behrendt, Walter Workshop transfer⁷¹
Curt

F. L. Gahura's list offers an insider's view on the main IPM references, and due to the influential position of F. L. Gahura as one of the earliest and most influential of the Baťa architects, it is taken here as a first point of access to the mindset of the planners in the Baťa *stavební oddělení*. It means that F. L. Gahura's list indicates a contextual framework for reflection upon the many crossings that would take place in Baťa's offices during the IPM project⁷².

At the outset, there is the question of the meaning of the "garden city" for Baťa planners at that moment. Even though it is not clearly manifested in F. L. Gahura's list, the "garden city" was seen more than an idea exclusively related to Ebenezer Howard's book; instead, it was deemed a fully matured urban planning concept with a history of its own. This is evident in the written assignment Jan Antonín Baťa attributed to F. L. Gahura in August, 1937: "The history of the garden city. Principles of their planning and examples of their achievements"⁷³. F. L. Gahura's response was a list of twenty towns established in England, Germany, France, and the USSR, and a small essay on the concept of the garden city. One can read in its opening paragraphs:

With the name "garden city" or "garden suburb", we do not refer to an arbitrary city nor to a suburb with a number of gardens. They have nothing in common with the residential districts for the well-to-do people nor with those districts that are being renamed recently as "garden cities" with the intention of being touched by an air of philanthropy.

The garden city is a settlement established according to a plan and in an appropriate location whose propriety is permanently held by a collective (by the state, the municipality, the company, etc.). Therefore, every kind of propriety usury is here forever excluded, the increase in prices being only in the hands of the collective (the state, the municipality, the company, etc.).⁷⁴

⁷¹ The handwritten reference to Walter Curt Behrendt seems to be a later addition to the original, typewritten document. Handwritten was also F. L. Gahura's signature followed by the place and date "Zlín, August 10, 1937", the check marks before each of P. Janák's and R. Sotčkar's recommended articles, the commentary "*fotografovat*" [to photograph] relating to R. Unwin's article, and the note "*má půjčeno p. min. Vavrečka*" [borrowed by Mr. Minister Vavrečka] accompanying the mention of E. Howard's book. MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, inv. č. 126, fol. 124.

⁷² In this master's thesis, I focus on the analysis of texts that left a clear and durable mark on both the concept and form of the Baťa ideal industrial town. In F. L. Gahura's list, there are (also?) texts written by Ebenezer Howard and Nikolay Alexandrovich Milyutin. An analysis of how each text was probably interpreted in Baťa's office, although highly welcomed, is out of the scope of this research. For a short interpretation of F. L. Gahura's list and especially of the articles published in the Czech journal *Styl*, see: Benešová, *Urbanismus firmy Baťa*, 63 - 73.

⁷³ "Historie zahradních měst. Principy jejich plánování a příklady jejich zdu". MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, inv. č. 126, fol. 57. Emphasis added. This note from Jan Antonín Baťa to F. L. Gahura eventually became the title of the essay the latter wrote as a response to the former.

⁷⁴ "Pod jménem „Zahradní město“, nebo „Zahradní předměstí“ nerozumíme libovolné město, nebo předměstí s několika zahrádkami. Nemají také nic společného s villovými čtvrtěmi pro lidi dobře situované, se čtvrtěmi, jimž se v poslední době přezdívá „zahradních měst“, aby se jim dal nádech filantropismu. Zahradní město jest programově založená osada na vhodném místě, jež jest trvale majetkem veřejnosti / státu, obce, společnosti a pod./, takže veškerá lichva s nemovitostmi jest tu pro vždy vyloučena a zvýšení cen jediné v rukou veřejnosti / státu,

A similar understanding was shown by a hired consultant educated at Cornell University, the Slovak architect Michal Kunic⁷⁵. In his essay “*Zahradní město a jeho úprava*” [The Garden City and Its Set-Up], written for the Baťa Shoe Company in August 1937, Kunic argues that the garden city is a continuation of the nineteenth-century planning tradition originally worked by E. Howard but improved by his followers in a number of concrete cases⁷⁶. The following six pages of his essay are devoted to the description of the physical form as well as the urbanistic elements of the garden city. They are analyzed in more detail in the following section of this chapter.

However, F. L. Gahura’s list indicates a rather specific interpretation of the main references and features of the garden city. In spite of the diversity of regional variations of the garden city, as mentioned above, the Baťa planners were limited by a number of regional traditions, linguistic constraints, and business requirements that inevitably influenced their interpretation of those concrete pieces of writing to which they would refer. Therefore, in the next paragraphs I intend to recreate what would have been the way Baťa planners would read each of those references, cross them together, and consolidate them under a comprehensive urban model.

obce, společnosti etc.” František Lydie Gahura, “Vznik a historie myšlenky průmyslového-zahradního města” [The Origin and History of the Industrial-Garden City], Zlín, 1937, in: MZA, SOKA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, inv. č. 126, fol. 131. Underlined in original.

⁷⁵ According to primary sources found in SOKA Zlín archives and on the website familysearch.org, Michal Kunic (1909 - 1990) was born in the Slovak town of Pukanec. 1934 is probably the year when Kunic moved to the United States – he arrived in New York with a visa mentioning his last permanent residence as Pukanec, Czechoslovakia. In the same year, Kunic joined Cornell University, receiving the title of Master in Architecture in 1936. In December 2, 1937, Kunic arrived in the United States with an American visa issued in Prague in November of the same year. His essays found in SOKA Zlín archives, dated August 1937, and the information that he married Ms. Emilia Nemecek on August 21, 1937, in the Slovak town of Piešťany (about 70 km from Zlín) indicate that he had cooperated with Baťa planners *in locus* at least during August 1937. The master’s degree issued by Cornell University, his deep knowledge concerning the current urban planning trends in North America, and the lasting influence that his proposals left on Baťa’s ideal industrial town indicate that he might have been contracted by Baťa Shoe Company specifically for the IPM project as Cornell University’s Czechoslovak expert. However, there is no evidence yet to support the hypothesis that he collaborated with the Baťa Shoe Company specifically as an expert consultant. For his affiliation with Cornell University, see: Cornell University, “Kunic, Michal”, *Directory of Living Alumni 1868-1938* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1938), 543, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.b4525472;view=1up;seq=5>, accessed March 28, 2018. For his 1934 immigration, see: "New York, New York Passenger and Crew Lists, 1909, 1925-1957," database with images, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:KTR5-6VN>, accessed March 12, 2018), Michal Kunic, 1934; citing Immigration, New York, New York, United States, NARA microfilm publication T715 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.). For his 1937 arrival in the United States, see: "New York, New York Passenger and Crew Lists, 1909, 1925-1957," database with images, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:242M-V49>, accessed March 17, 2018), Michal Kunic, 1937; citing Immigration, New York, New York, United States, NARA microfilm publication T715 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.). On his marriage with Emilia Nemecek, see Michal Kunic’s profile at <https://www.familysearch.org/tree/person/details/K8WR-PFD>, accessed March 17, 2018.

⁷⁶ Michal Kunic, “*Zahradní město a jeho úprava*” [The Garden City and Its Set-Up], MZA, SOKA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, inv. č. 126, fol. 36-7.

Conceptualizing the ideal industrial town

When it comes to the garden city, there is a sense of obligation in mentioning Ebenezer Howard's name among the main influences in Bat'a's urbanism. Howard's garden city is the earliest example found among the main influences of Bat'a's urbanism of an intellectual system that challenged the dichotomy between city and countryside. This is particularly well illustrated by the concept of garden city as the "Third Magnet". Howard argued that the benefits offered by big cities - such as high wages, entertainment, opportunities, and technological comfort - exerted a metaphorical magnetic force over people from the countryside, "attracting" them to big cities as needles are attracted to magnets. However, this process led to overcrowding and the proliferation of slums in cities, making them into places of "intemperance, of excessive toil, of restless anxiety, of grinding poverty"⁷⁷.

On the other hand, even if the countryside has its own attractions – clean air and water, and natural beauty – its depressed agricultural economy was already unfit for the Victorian capitalist world. The solution, Howard proposed, lay in the Town-Country or the Social City (a polycentric network of garden cities), the third magnet that was supposed to combine the best of both worlds, rural and urban⁷⁸. There, the comforts of urban civilization and the capitalist system would meet the quality of life offered by nature.

⁷⁷ Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* (London: Swan Sonnenschien, 1902), 13.

⁷⁸ Howard, *Garden Cities*, 18.

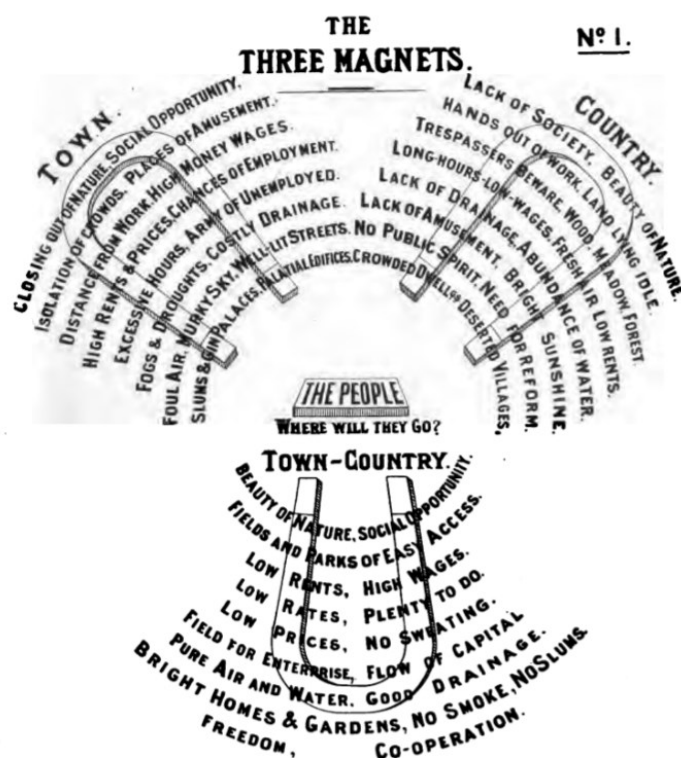


Image 3. Ebenezer Howard's *The Three Magnets* diagram.
Source: Howard, *Garden Cities*, 16.

Such overcoming of the city-country dichotomy had its physical manifestation in the image and conception of the Garden City. Here, a circular town of 1,000 acres designed for a maximum of 32,000 inhabitants would be built in the center of a countryside area of 5,000 acres far from the interference of any bigger city⁷⁹. Nature and urban structures would be entangled not only in the circular town – where radial boulevards would lead the inhabitants through a concentric circles of garden, public buildings, parks, residential blocks, and factories – but also outside it, where the reminiscent 4,000 acres area would contain farms and also institutions like a college, convalescent homes, and reformatories. That is, those urban institutions that would profit from a location with a more rural atmosphere⁸⁰.

What seems to be the main idea kept by Baťa planners is the rational use of greenery as a means of providing a more pleasant environment for the city dwellers. This is manifested not only in the layout of the city of Zlín – the birthplace of the Baťa Shoe Company – after the Company's interventions in the 1920s, and of the company towns built by the Company, but

⁷⁹ Howard, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, 22.

⁸⁰ Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: an Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design Since 1880* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 97.

also in the very notion of *továrny v zahrádkách* [garden factories], developed by F. L. Gahura in 1924⁸¹. In a unique crossing of Fordism and the garden city, the Baťa “garden factories” were conceived as a chain of physically isolated autonomous workshops connected by a network of transport systems and green areas.

The stress on the physical character of garden cities counterbalances the removal of its main ideological underpinnings, as Baťa’s urbanism did not carry even the smallest reminiscence of the self-sustained, bottom-up managed communities of Howard’s vision. The original garden city was conceived above all as an economically and politically autonomous, self-managed socio-economic system, where the municipality, cooperatives, societies and trade unions would amalgamate under a single limited-dividend company that held the communal possession of the land⁸². Although similar, the autocratic *modus operandi* of the Baťa Shoe Company was nonetheless the opposite. The company held the property of all the lands and urban facilities built by them, and rented the houses to its workers at low prices in exchange for their compliance with the company rules⁸³. In those cases where Baťa did not build an entire town on its own, it endeavored to entangle itself into the regional and national institutions in order to influence the local politics in its own favor⁸⁴.

In this sense, the role played by the Baťa Shoe Company in the city management is more close to the ideas of the French utopian socialist and architect Tony Garnier, whose study *Une Cité Industrielle* [The Industrial Town] (1917) was also studied by Baťa architects⁸⁵. That is because Garnier’s social utopia was built around one single factory, being thus completely dependent on it. What seems to have captured the attention of Baťa architects and directors was the idea that the city form and its social system should correspond to material economic conditions related to necessities of industrial production. For Garnier, the location of such an ideal town or city should be determined by the existence of raw materials, energy sources in enough abundance to support industrial activities, or easy access to transport networks⁸⁶. With the exception of the energy source question, intriguingly absent in the IPM project, these recommendations were eventually incorporated into the guidelines of Baťa’s ideal industrial town.

⁸¹ Jemelka and Ševeček, *Tovární města*, 866.

⁸² Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, 98.

⁸³ Jemelka and Ševeček, *Tovární města*, 98.

⁸⁴ MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, inv. č. 12, fol. 2; Jemelka and Ševeček, *Tovární města*, 97.

⁸⁵ The SOkA Zlín archive contains a sketch of Tony Garnier’s *Industrial Town* dated from 1902, indicating that it was one of the influences of Bata urban planning. The sketch can be located with the following reference: MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, kart. 2, inv. č. 296.

⁸⁶ Kenneth Frampton, “Tony Garnier e a Cidade Industrial, 1899-1918”, in *História crítica da arquitetura moderna* (São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2003), 117.

It is possible to establish this town in any place containing the necessary geological and political-economic conditions.

Precondition:

1. geologically well-formed land
 2. nearby water
 3. nearby railway
 4. possibility of producing building material *in locus*
- [...]⁸⁷

Nonetheless, the consequences of the materialism that guided the physical layout of the *Cité Industrielle* is the main point of distinction between Garnier's ideas and the urbanism of the Baťa Shoe Company. For Garnier, the conditions in the town's factory should enable the city to abolish private property and the urban equipment that symbolized the pre-socialist order - castles, churches, police stations, jails, or courts⁸⁸. Even if we consider that, for the Baťa Shoe Company, the built environment directly influenced the society, the new order envisaged by Tomáš and Jan Antonín Baťa was that of a perfect work efficiency in the context of an ever-expanding, global private capitalist company, and not that envisaged by utopian socialists.

What stands out from this crossed reading of Howard's and Garnier's ideas is that Baťa planners were actively looking for inspiration and concrete urban solutions across traditional borders of national traditions and political divides. Conversely, this also sheds light on the very works that they were reading, whose meanings will certainly vary according to the point of view applied to them. In our case, it was the point of view of a transnational private organization, but many other readings of the same ideas are equally meaningful.

In this sense, despite the paramount importance of his interpretation of the history of urban planning for this thesis, I cannot agree with Peter Hall when he claimed, while commenting on the reception of Howard's *Garden City of Tomorrow* in continental Europe, that "[...] almost everyone has got him [Howard] wrong"⁸⁹. When reflecting on influences and the circulation of ideas, I understand that the core question is not the correctness of an interpretation but rather what it can reveal about the actors involved in the crossing. This means that, if it is certain that Ebenezer Howard and Tony Garnier had their own set of ideas and intentions that influenced their writing, the eventual crossing of these same ideas with many other references, constrictions and objectives would inevitably lead to a myriad of chunks of

⁸⁷ MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, 2032, inv. č. 1716, fol. 13.

⁸⁸ Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, 121.

⁸⁹ Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, 91.

the original writings that testify more to the process of crossing itself than to the ability of actors to “correctly” read their influences.

In any case, it took roughly two years of intensive work to consolidate these influences under a cogent urban system. In 1939, the company published the manual in the form of a book, *Ideální průmyslové město*, also known as *Průmyslové město*, depending on the exact date of its printing. After a long series of early printing and related stand-alone annexes, the final book ended up as a very detailed and technical description of how a town dedicated to shoemaking should be built: every detail and element should increase production and ensure worker efficiency. Therefore, the ideal industrial town is intimately connected to the Baťa system: it is a factory site connected to housing areas via a network of functional streets (pedestrian or vehicular) and park-like squares intended to provide a pleasant environment without allowing any space for procrastination or inefficient use of time⁹⁰. In other words, it is the connection between industrial production and social life under the principles of rationalization, and influenced by chunks of Baťa’s readings on the garden city and the *cité industrielle*.

One of the objectives of the ideal industrial town was the performance of industrial activities in a domesticated, stabilized social environment where isolation was the main principle behind urban planning. In this sense, a number of design and legal solutions were planned to avoid any kind of unintended behavior among workers. Among other things, the towns were meant to be built in previously non-industrialized areas so to avoid being influenced by worker movement⁹¹. Next, as Baťa’s directors believed that bigger towns gave rise to social unrest due to the fact that people would not know each other very well, the town should have no more than ten to twelve thousand inhabitants. In addition, since the consumption of alcoholic beverages and drugs had been strictly forbidden by the Baťa Shoe Company since Tomáš Baťa’s times, the town should not have any kind of bar or pubs.

As far as housing policies and worker’s welfare are concerned, alongside the above-mentioned policy of above-average salaries, married workers would be given the opportunity to live in family houses built by the company in exchange for reduced rent, which would cost them about six to eight percent of their salary⁹². As this would be guaranteed only if real estate speculation could be completely stopped, Baťa’s directors decided that all land would be the property of the company. In this sense, the idea was to create a dependent but satisfied worker

⁹⁰ Benešová, *Urbanismus firmy Baťa*, 34-5.

⁹¹ MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, inv. č. 1623, fol. 6.

⁹² Benešová, *Urbanismus firmy Baťa*, 43.

living with his family in a small but private house, isolated from unintended influences from the outside world, and protected from the vices of bigger towns⁹³.

The urban form of Baťa's ideal industrial town Michal Kunic's groundwork

The authorship of the IPM's earliest design propositions can be attributed to the Slovak architect Michal Kunic and to his essays *Zahradní město a jeho úprava*⁹⁴ and *Komunikační systém a vhodnosti sloužící dopravnímu ruchu* [Road System and its Suitability for Traffic]⁹⁵, the former dated August 20, 1937, while the latter bears the date of August 24, 1937. Kunic's propositions are also the most revealing designs when it comes to the assessment of the references used. His essays are material evidence of the many crossings that form the basis for the final design of the IPM at the hands of Robert Huber Podzemný almost two years later. These crossings resulted in a unique schematic design that incorporated three urban planning elements: a garden city-inspired semi-circle design, the Radburn-style superblock, and the American-style parkway. Due to its paramount importance as the first record of a number of fundamental design elements of Baťa's ideal industrial town, and due to the virtual inexistence of a similar analysis in the body of literature on that topic, in the next pages I provide the necessary, more detailed reflection on Kunic's propositions and the way they cross different design elements⁹⁶.

The IPM's most distinctive physical element is a semi-circle urban design with its focal point in a central park, a feature closely related to the way Kunic connects Baťa's ideal industrial town to the garden city concept. However, it is worth noting that he is mainly referencing the principles disclosed in E. Howard's book *as manifested in the design of*

⁹³ MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, inv. č. 1623, fol. 6-8.

⁹⁴ Kunic, "Zahradní město...", fol. 30-43.

⁹⁵ Michal Kunic, "Komunikační systém a vhodnosti sloužící dopravnímu ruchu" [Road System and its Suitability for Traffic], MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, inv. č. 126, fol. 72-83.

⁹⁶ In fact, this research is the first to ascertain the identity of the architect Michal Kunic and reflect upon his works. In a master's thesis dedicated to the Baťa towns established in the present-day Czech Republic, Jana Benešová also provides an in-depth reflection on the history of Bata's ideal industrial town and even mentions the same Kunic essays available in the SOkA Zlín archives. However, she was not able to identify him. What is more, due to the fact that he was never identified by his full name in those primary sources and that a number of his propositions are also to be found in primary sources related to the prominent Czech architect Josef Gočár, Benešová ended up not devoting the necessary attention to Kunic's work. See Benešová, "Urbanismus firmy Baťa", 35-6.

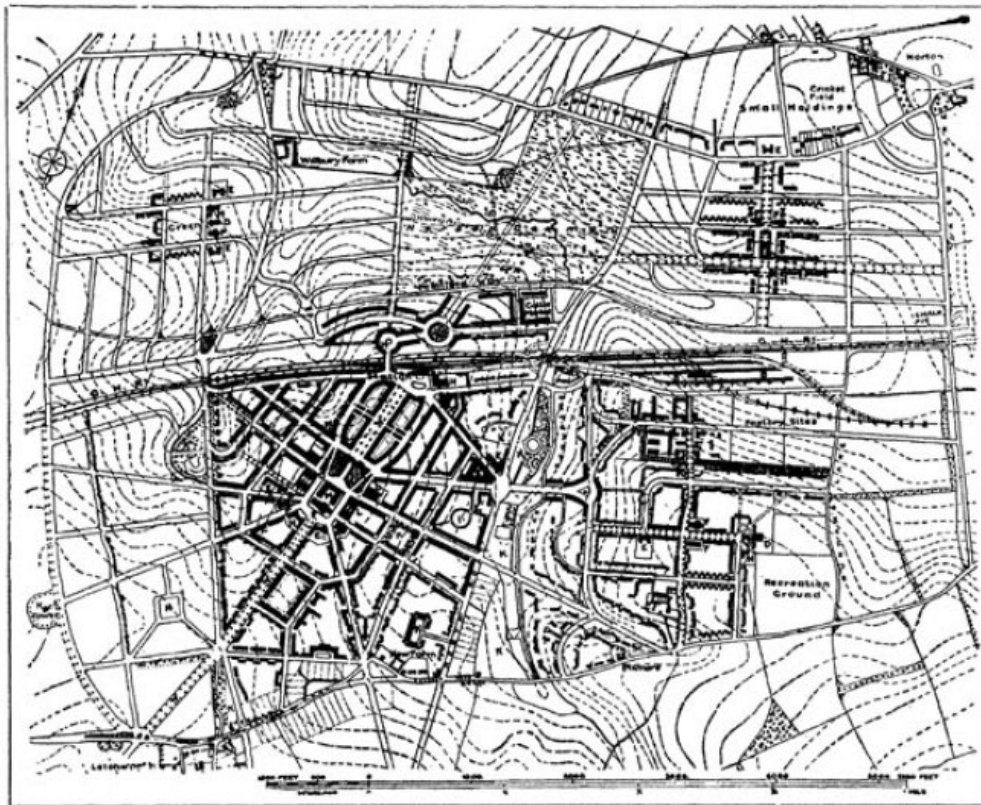
Letchworth, the “first garden city”⁹⁷. This means that Kunic had prudently observed that Howard’s book itself could not serve as a concrete design reference. After all, Howard’s did not describe a concrete town but provided a theoretical solution for avoiding social revolution, where a local network of self-sufficient and interconnected garden cities would form the so-called “Social City”, the realization of Howard’s visions.⁹⁸ Therefore, the Slovak architect had decided to build his proposition upon a more concrete materialization of the garden city, something that he could find in the first town designed according to Howard’s principles. As interpreted by Kunic, “Letchworth’s scheme is diagrammatically round with a big central park containing public buildings and the main shopping street. The factories are located in the external ring connected to the green belt around the city.”⁹⁹.

⁹⁷ Kunic, “Zahradní město...”, fol. 36. For a detailed analysis of Letchworth, see: Stanley Buder, *Visionaries & Planners: The Garden City Movement and the Modern Community* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 80 – 95; and Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, 99 - 107.

⁹⁸ Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, 97-8.

⁹⁹ “Schema Letchworthu je diagramaticky kruhové s velkým centrálním parkem ve kterém jsou postaveny veřejné budovy a hlavní obchodní ulice. Továrny jsou situovány ve vnějším okruhu, na který napojuje zelený pas kolem města”. Kunic, “Zahradní město...”, fol. 36.

LETCHWORTH: TOWN-PLAN



PARKER & UNWIN'S ORIGINAL PLAN OF LETCHWORTH GARDEN CITY
AS FIRST PUBLISHED (APRIL 1904)

Key to Plan

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| A. Main avenue | E. Sites for schools | K. Open spaces, greens,
or parks |
| B. Goods yard and sidings | F. Sites for places of
worship | L. Site for post office |
| C. Central square | H. Sites for hotels | M. Site for municipal
buildings |
| D. Sites for public hall,
museum, etc. | | |

Image 4. Letchworth's 1904 design. Source: Buder, *Visionaries & Planners*, image 6.

Based on this interpretation, Kunic proposes the following design scheme for the Bat'a ideal industrial town:

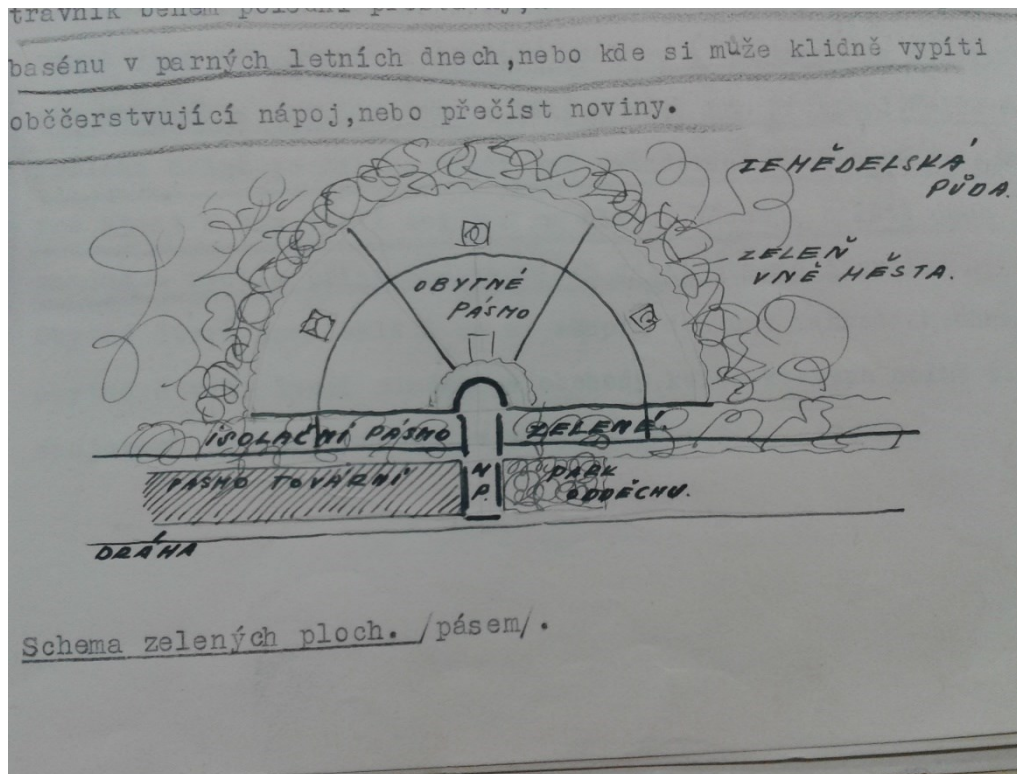


Image 5: Michal Kunic's scheme. Source: Kunic, "Zahradní město...", fol. 39¹⁰⁰

Kunic's IPM design features another design element that derives from his interpretation of the garden city as a design concept. The semi-circular area marked as the residential belt is divided into three sections of the same size. According to his essay, they represent the concept of the super block as developed by Raymon Unwin and applied in the designs of Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City¹⁰¹. Kunic specifically referred to Unwin's book *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding! How the Garden City Type of Development May Benefit Both Owner and Occupier*¹⁰². Despite the fact that the book was dedicated to solving the problem of how to house an increased population in a limited area in a healthy way, the Slovak architect does not justify the use of superblocks in the IPM in terms of anti-overcrowding measures. Instead, his attitude seems to be more of the importance of a ready-made solution for the Bat'a ideal industrial town, especially if it would sound up-to-date and modern for a Central European audience. He voiced that the superblock was a principle already firmly rooted in England, and

¹⁰⁰ Handwritten in Czech clockwise from the bottom left corner: "rail", "factory belt", "green isolation belt", "residential belt", "agricultural field", "greenery outside the city", "relaxation park", "Work Square" (this is the space marked N.P., that is, *Náměstí práce*).

¹⁰¹ Kunic, "Zahradní město...", fol. 36.

¹⁰² Raymond Unwin, *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding! How the Garden City Type of Development May Benefit Both Owner and Occupier* (Westminster: P. S. King & Son, 1918).

summarized it with the following words: “big blocks with central open areas. Houses built in sequence along the streets.”¹⁰³

Kunic worked further with a third design element he claimed to be closely associated with the garden city concept. So as to avoid all unnecessary automobile circulation and the safety risks associated with them, he advocated for the introduction of *cul-de-sacs* into the town’s superblocks. According to him, these type of dead-end streets had their origin in the conceptual development of the superblock, and not only have the advantage of limiting the inhabitants’ exposure to car traffic but are also the most cost-efficient way of establishing a network of streets¹⁰⁴. In other words, this is a solution that “best responds to the requirements of good housing and the safety of both pedestrians and vehicles.”¹⁰⁵

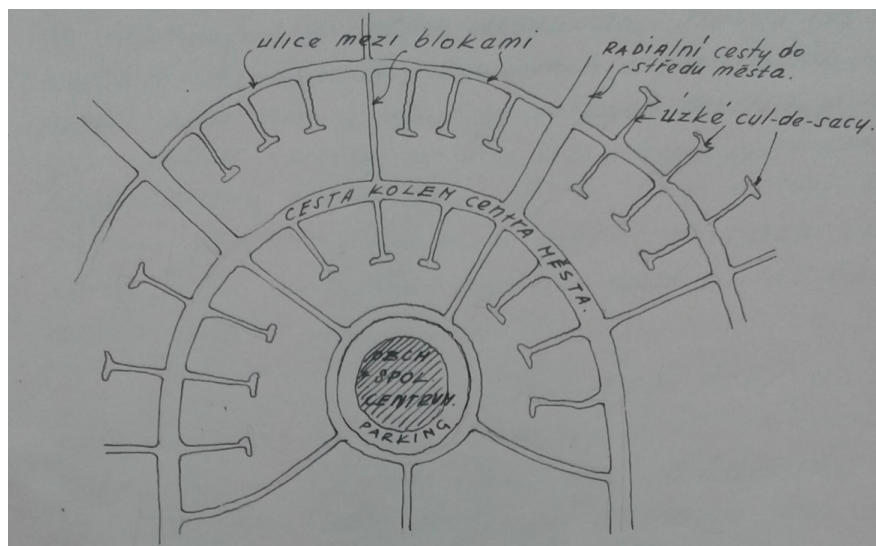


Image 6. Kunic’s representation of *cul-de-sacs* as used in contemporary garden cities in the United States. Source: Kunic, “Zahradní město...”, fol. 36.¹⁰⁶

Far from being a mere curiosity, Kunic’s *cul-de-sacs* are also revealing from the viewpoint of a transnational history of urban planning ideas. In fact, this proposition reveals the existence of an intensive intellectual process that would cross urban planning ideas and concepts in a transatlantic perspective. It shows that he was eminently aware of the urban planning trends in the United States, and that probably owes to his connections at Cornell University. Even though he did not acknowledge it directly anywhere in his essays, apart from

¹⁰³ “veliké bloky s centrálními otevřenými plochami. Domy stavěny v řadách podél ulic”.

¹⁰⁴ Kunic, “Zahradní město...”, fol. 37.

¹⁰⁵ “nejvíce vyhovuje požadavku dobrého bydlení a bezpečnosti chodců a vozidel navzájem.” Michal Kunic, “Komunikační systém a vhodnosti sloužíví dopravnímu ruchu” [Road System and its Suitability for Traffic], MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, inv. č. 126, fol. 72.

¹⁰⁶ Handwritten in Czech clockwise from the upper left corner: “streets between the blocks”, “radial paths to the city center”, “narrow *cul-de-sacs*”, “path around the city center”, and “shopping and cultural center”. Kunic, “Komunikační systém...”, fol. 73.

in the above-mentioned conceptual sketch of an American garden city, Kunic was in fact working with the so-called Radburn layout, a development of the garden city on American soil.

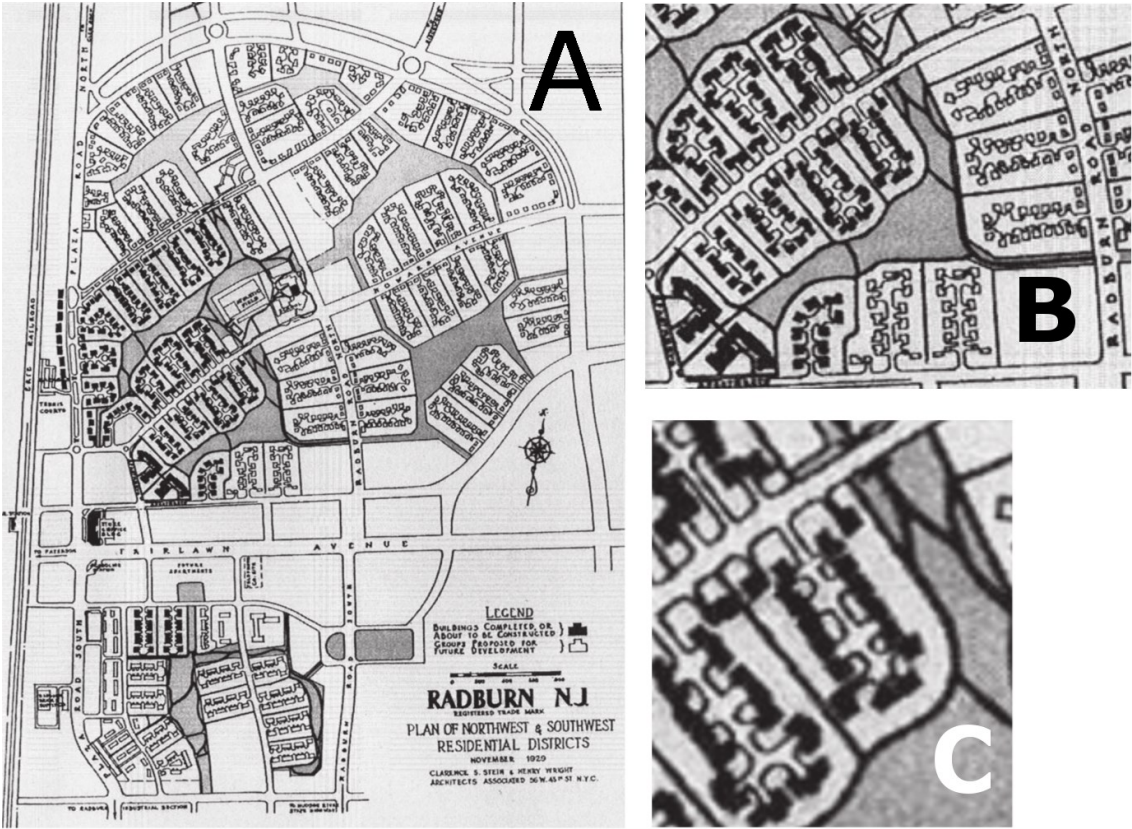


Image 7. A: Radburn, NJ's 1929 design. B: detail of a superblock. C: detail of a *cul-de-sac*. The letters A, B, and C are not included in the original. Source: Buder, *Visionaries & Planners*, image. 15.

As a result of the collaboration between Raymond Unwin and the American planners Clarence Stein and Henry Wright from 1928 onwards, Radburn, NJ, was established as a neighborhood with virtually no motorized access into its interior. There, cars would reach the individual houses after descending through a hierarchy of road types as far as the dead end streets – the *cul-de-sac* - would allow them¹⁰⁷. The rest of the neighborhood and its institutions scattered across the superblock's internal parks would be accessible only via pedestrian walkways. Kunic's appropriation ten years later stressed especially these traffic features of the Radburn layout. As described in the next chapter, this idea, although simplified to a greater degree, survived in the Bat'a layout.

¹⁰⁷ Hall, "The City in the Garden", 138.

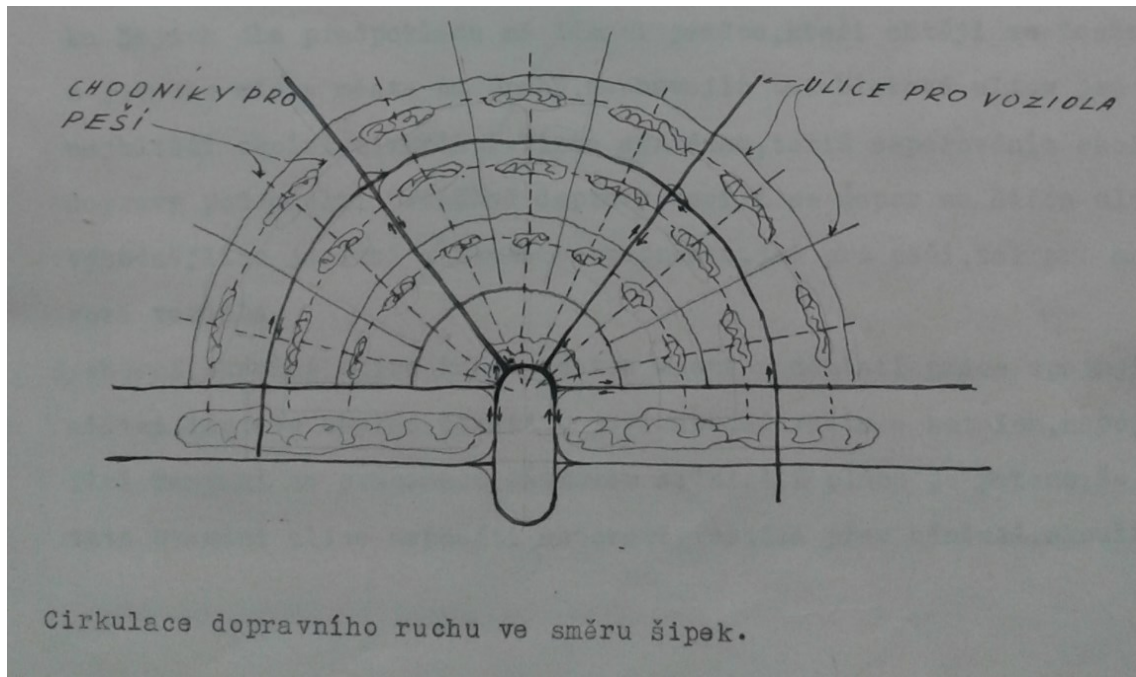


Image 8. Kunic's Radburn-inspired hierarchical street network. Source: Kunic, "Komunikační systém...", fol. 75¹⁰⁸

In Image 8, the road and path hierarchy is shown by the boldness and type of the line, the boldness of a full line indicating its traffic density, while the dotted lines represent pedestrian walkways. Also, as in the Radburn layout, the residential area in Kunic's design is composed of a group of superblocks whose house clusters would be accessible by foot or partially by car through *cul-de-sacs* (even though the latter is not represented in Image 8).

Kunic's propositions were heavily influenced by the concepts of the garden city movement as developed by planners in the Anglophone world. Nonetheless, Kunic's essays also looked to the European East in search of design elements in order to build a steady conceptual ground for Baťa's ideal industrial town. As indicated in F. L. Gahura's list, the work of the USSR architect Nikolay Alexandrovich Milyutin offered excellent material for that purpose. In the book *Sotsgorod: The Problem of Building Socialist Cities*, published for the first time in 1930, N. A. Milyutin re-elaborates both the garden city idea and Arturo Soria y Mata's concept of a linear city to create an urban planning concept based on Marxist-Leninist principles¹⁰⁹. This, he claims, would be achieved by means of overcoming the dichotomy

¹⁰⁸ Handwritten in Czech clockwise from the upper left corner: "sidewalks for pedestrians", "streets for vehicles", and "Traffic circulation indicated by arrows". Kunic, "Komunikační systém...", fol. 75.

¹⁰⁹ Robert H. Kargon and Arthur P. Molella, *Invented Edens: Techno-cities of the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 2008), p. 27.

between city and country, and industry and agriculture, in a city whose functional zones are set up and connected like a factory assembly line¹¹⁰.

In a reading process similar to that of Howard's book, in Kunic's and Baťa's eyes the socialist underpinnings of *Sotsgorod* were ignored to give way to a more physical, design-centered reference. The most obviously borrowed idea was the parallel positioning of zones within the city to create a clean environment with decreased commuting time for factory workers. As described by Kunic,

There are several reasons for the positioning of the rail beyond the industrial belt. In the first place, the rail is conducted around the city's perimeter as a whole; therefore, it does not present an artificial obstruction to the local road system. Its positioning beyond the industrial and the isolation green belt, thus the farthest from the residential belt, has a big value for maintaining the city's health conditions [...].¹¹¹

The SOKA archives contain an image from Milyutin's book that indicates that this was in fact the main point of interest for Kunic and Baťa planners:

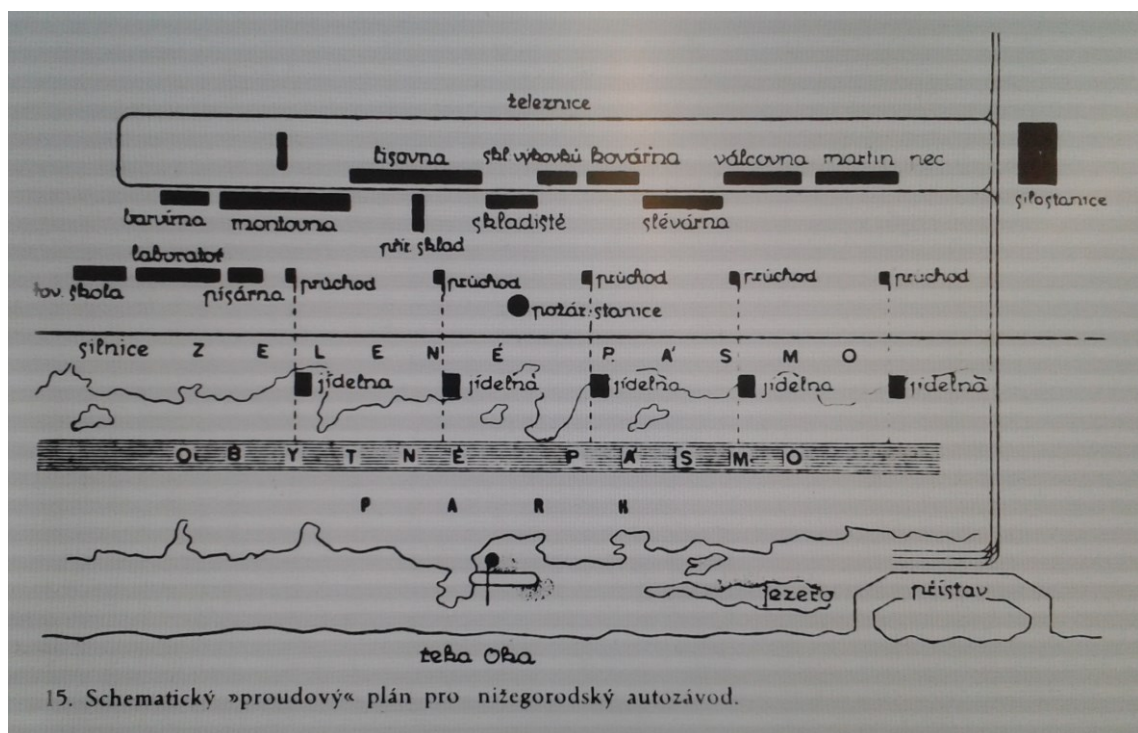


Image 9. A Czech version of N. A. Milyutin's *Sotsgorod* scheme. It is not clear whether this image was originally obtained from a contemporary Czech translation of N. A. Milyutin's book.

Source: Source: MZA, SOKA Zlín, fond Baťa XV, kart. 2, inv. č. 300

¹¹⁰ Kargon and Molella, *Invented Edens*, 28.

¹¹¹ "Situování dráhy na pásmo tovární má několikerý význam. Předně že dráha je vedena na obvodu města, jako celku a proto nejeví se jako umělá překážka pro místní komunikační systém. Umístění její za průmyslovým pásmem a isolačním zeleným pásmem, tedy co nejdále od obytného prostředí má velký význam pro udržování zdravých podmínek města [...]" Kunic, "Komunikační systém...", fol. 75.

According to Emre Sevim the following image, which perfectly matches Image 9, in fact belongs to Milyutin's book:

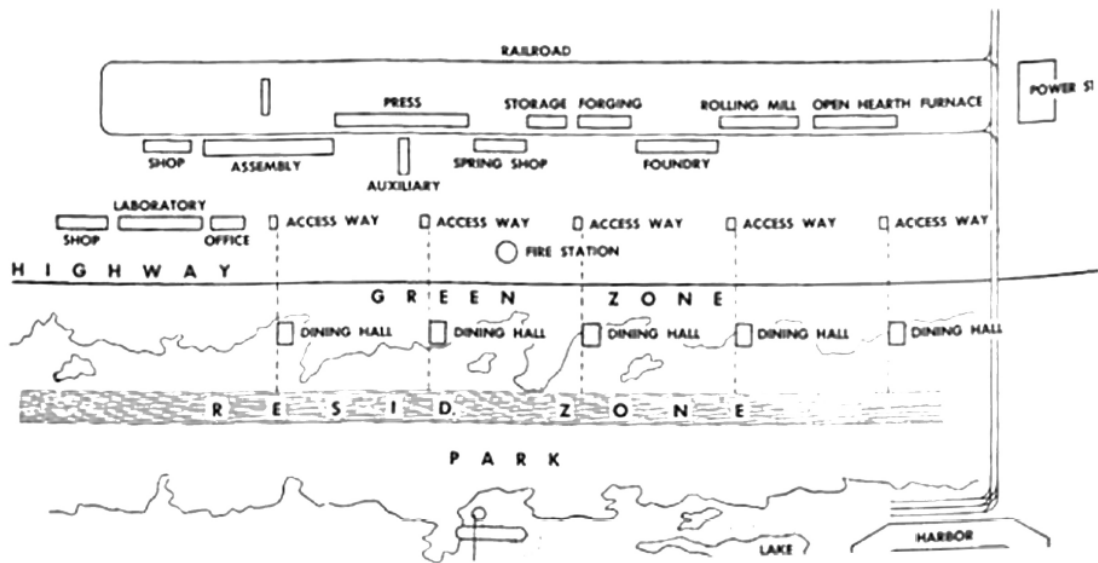


Image 10. N. A. Milyutin's *Sotsgorod* scheme. Source: Emre Sevim, "Rethinking Roots of Socialist City" (Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2015), 25.

Therefore, as shown in Image 10, Kunic's scheme borrowed N. A. Milyutin's proposition of a city with parallel zones, where the residential area would be isolated from the unhealthy environment created by the factory by means of efficient zoning and by the existence of a green isolation belt. However, it is worth noting that Kunic did not make any reference to the future growth of his city; therefore, it is not clear whether he understood it as a closed system or a unit capable of growth. The semi-circular design of Kunic's scheme distorts, to a lesser extent, N. A. Milyutin's principle of unlimited growth of the *Sotsgorod* via a lateral prolongation of its zones aligned to a replication of its institutions. In any case, as described in this chapter, this contradiction was solved the following year by the Baťa architect Robert Hubert Podzemný.

A third design feature in Kunic's proposition is another highly fruitful viewpoint for observing the conceptual crossings that would take place in Baťa's offices in 1937. In a conceptual jump, that retraces the crossing path from the Soviet Union back to England, Kunic introduces parkways with a double function: connecting the city's zones internally and connecting the city externally to its region. In Kunic's words,

[...] in our case, we are taking the traffic scheme used in the planning of Soviet industrial cities for solving [the problem of] long-distance traffic [...]. The connection of the planned city with the economic life of the region is ensured by the railway and by the first class long-distance road, which is effected in the town's perimeter as a parkway.¹¹²

¹¹² “[...] vezmeme v našem případě pro řešení dálkové dopravy schematu, užívaného při plánování Sovětských průmyslových měst [...]. Napojení plánovaného města na hospodářský život regionu jest zajištěno dráhou a

As an illustration of his point, Kunic provides the following sketch:

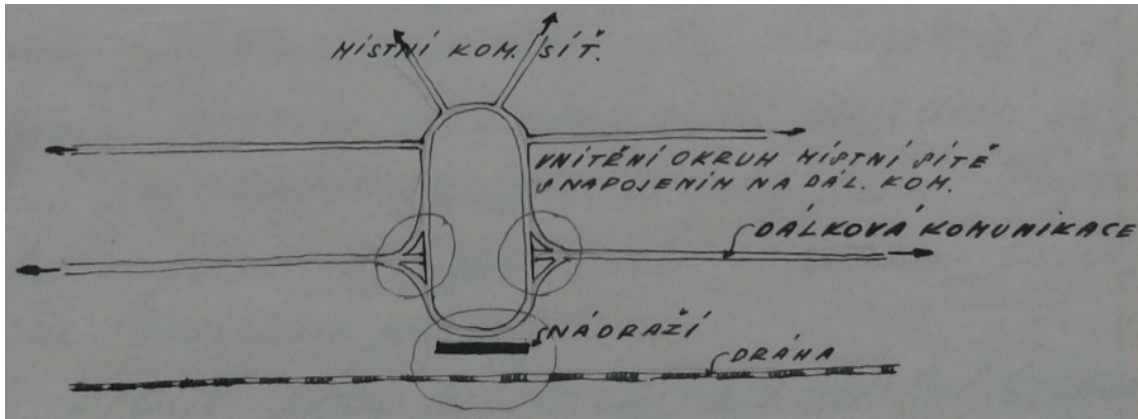


Image 11. Illustration of Kunic's parkway. Source: Kunic, "Komunikační systém", fol. 73¹¹³

The above-mentioned crossing backflip in the direction of the Anglophone world refers to the similarities of Kunic's parkway in relation to what was originally planned by Berry Parker for the city of Wythenshawe, England, in 1930¹¹⁴. As a matter of fact, Parker's proposition was in itself the fruit of a transatlantic criss-crossing. Inspired by contemporary New York-style parkways as well as older traditions in that country, Parker re-introduced the American parkway, which had been tentatively applied in 1920s Britain, as the main element of circulation, one that would give access to all elements in the city.¹¹⁵ The same would be achieved in Kunic's proposition, even though the parkway seems to work more like a junction and less like an element of cohesion running along different functional zones.

Even though Kunic's essays are the first chronological evidence of the references used by Baťa planners during the IPM project, he cannot be considered the sole creator of Baťa's ideal industrial town. As mentioned above, the IPM project involved the constant collaboration of many different people with many different kinds of expertise. When it comes to the design of the ideal industrial town, at least two other names can be included: the Czech architect and national celebrity Josef Gočár and the less-known Baťa planner Robert Hubert Podzemný. As described in the next paragraphs, the propositions of these latter architects have many points in common with those of Kunic, and it is even possible to sketch a conceptual timeline that would

dálkovou silnicí první třídy, která v obvodě měst. hranic je provedena jako parkway". Kunic, "Komunikační systém", fol. 72-3.

¹¹³ Handwritten in Czech clockwise from the upper left corner: "local road network", "the local network's internal ring connected to the long-distance road", "long-distance road", "station", and "rail". Kunic, "Komunikační systém", fol. 73.

¹¹⁴ Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, 116.

¹¹⁵ Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, 118.

trace many ideas back to him. However, it is still not completely clear how and under which conditions these three planners collaborated, or even if there was a fourth planner who was responsible for providing conceptual cohesion to the project while delegating the application of the concepts to his colleagues. This is a subject that can be investigated in future research.

The case of Josef Gočár is particularly intriguing due to his position as an architect widely celebrated in Czechoslovak circles and contracted specially for the IPM project¹¹⁶. This fact might suggest that Gočár was in fact the one responsible for creating Baťa's ideal town both physically and conceptually. However, as described below, primary sources gathered during this research show that Michal Kunic had chronologically preceded some of Gočár's propositions. What is more, Kunic even evaluated Gočár's three main propositions and suggested one of his models as most fit for Baťa's purposes. Eventually, and with Kunic's and F. L. Gahura's blessings, Gočár's *Návrh C* [Proposition C] made its way to the final version of the IPM book via the work of Robert Hubert Podzemný.

Josef Gočár's propositions

Josef Gočár's plans for the ideal industrial town were produced in 1937, and are known as the main references for Baťa's ideal town¹¹⁷. The SOkA Zlín archives store a report on the ideal industrial town project written by Gočár and dated August 24, 1937, as well as copies and photographs of three scale models, five sketches, and three proposals created by him for the Baťa Shoe Company¹¹⁸. Conceptually, Gočár's propositions follow the principles developed by the company in the 1920s and 1930s and relates to the garden city movement as seen by the

¹¹⁶ Josef Gočár (March 13, 1880 – September 10, 1945) was one of the most famous Czech architects of the twentieth century. Today he is mostly known for his Cubist architectural designs, the most famous being Prague's *Dům U Černé Matky Boží* [House of the Black Madonna]. Gočár's career was closely associated with other celebrated Czech architects. Between 1903 and 1908, he studied and worked with the architect Jan Kotěra, one of the architects responsible for introducing modernist architecture in Czechoslovakia in the early twentieth century. Between 1912 and 1917, Gočár collaborated with Pavel Janák, another distinguished Czech architect associated with the Cubist movement and with the renovation of Prague Castle in the 1930s. After Kotěra's death in 1924, Gočár assumed his former professor's chair at the Prague Academy of Fine Arts, and was elected as its rector in 1928 for a period of four years. He was buried in Prague's *Slavín*, a monumental tomb dedicated to notable Czechs, located at Vyšehrad castle cemetery. See Marie Benešová, *Josef Gočár* (Prague: Nakladatelství československých výtvarných umělců, 1958), 46. For the relation between Jan Kotěra, Pavel Janák, and Josef Gočár, see Norbert Kiesling, *Pavel Janák*, trans. Jitka Nešporová (Řevnice: Arbor vitae, 2011), 11-4, 27-8.

¹¹⁷ For instance, this is the main claim made by Jana Benešová in her master's thesis. See Benešová, "Urbanismus firmy Baťa", 36.

¹¹⁸ Josef Gočár, "Projekt ideálního města pro firmu Baťa a.s. ve Zlíně. Písemná zpráva a poznámky" [Project of an Ideal Town for the Company Baťa a.s. of Zlín. Written Report and Notes], MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, inv. č. 126, fol. 176-198. The photographs can be located with the following reference: MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, kart. 2032, inv. č. 1716.

Baťa planners, as discussed above in Kunic's propositions. This is attested to by Gočár's claims that the factory sets the tone of life in the town as its main *raison-d'être*. What is more, according to the Czech architect, the specific way of life derived from the factory's requirements should be inculcated into the inhabitants, and this would be mainly achieved in the town planning itself¹¹⁹. Therefore, the difference between factory and residential areas should be clear-cut, meaning that workers should recover their energy in calm areas where they can meet their family in comfortable single-family houses in neighborhoods densely filled with green areas. The residential zone, much like Clarence Perry's *neighborhood unit*, should have schools and playgrounds in calm areas between the houses in order to provide a safe environment for the children¹²⁰. Non-married workers and students would live in hostels according to their gender¹²¹.

The town should also provide recreational facilities like green areas and sports facilities, and would comprise a whole set of urban infrastructure ranging from schools to health services. Moreover, Gočár argues that the town should be built not at once but rather in stages, during which the company would build or maintain auxiliary industrial services like brickyards, sandpits, quarries, cement factories, sawmills and warehouses¹²².

With regards to the urban design, Gočár proposed a series of different projects dedicated to an array of different building conditions, but concentrated his efforts on three main projects for a town for twelve thousand inhabitants. They are known as *Návrh* [Proposal]: *Návrh A*, *Návrh B*, and *Návrh C*.

¹¹⁹ Gočár, "Projekt ideálního města...", fol. 178.

¹²⁰ Benešová, *Urbanismus firmy Baťa*, 37. For a description of Perry's concept of the neighborhood unit, see: Wakeman, *Practicing Utopia*, 51-53.

¹²¹ Gočár, "Projekt ideálního města...", fol. 178.

¹²² Gočár, "Projekt ideálního města...", fol. 178-181.

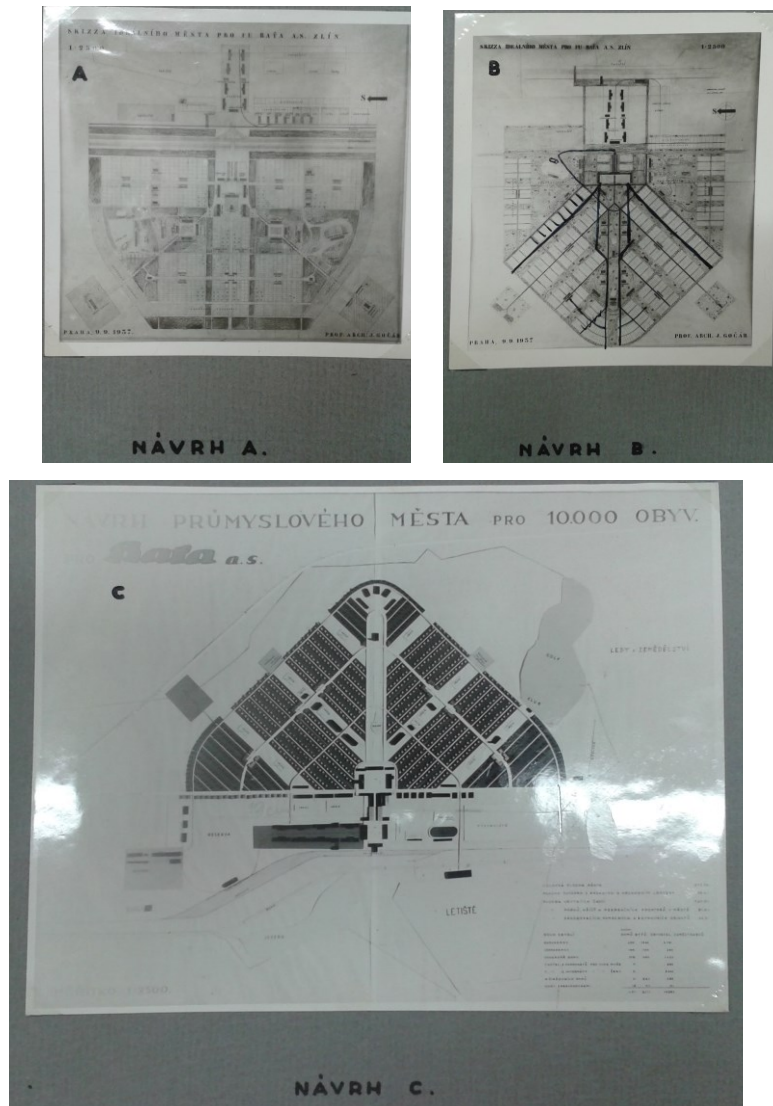


Image 12. Josef Gočár's *Návrhy*, 1937. In a clockwise direction from the upper left image: *Návrh A*, *Návrh B*, and *Návrh C*. Source: MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, kart. 2032, inv. č. 1716.

Gočár's *Návrhy* seem to provide a more detailed insight into what has been described in general terms in Kunic's essays. For both architects, Baťa's ideal industrial town should be formed as an arrow-like town divided into functional zones isolated by green belts. Looking closely, each of Gočár's *Návrhy* provides different solutions to the traffic problem and its relation to the number and type of public green areas. Firstly, one should note the presence or absence of *cul-de-sacs* leading to the center of the blocks in the residential areas (present in *Návrh A* but absent in *Návrh B* and *C*) and the extension of the central parkway (absent in *Návrh A* but present in *Návrh B* and *C* running through the entire central axis of the town). Finally, they also differ in the placement of hostels: in *Návrh A*, they are located at the center

of each residential area while in *Návrh B* and *C* they are concentrated either in the city center or along the main roads.

From all these proposals, Gočár's *Návrh C* was considered to be the one most fit for Baťa's purposes. After providing a short assessment of each *Návrh*, Michal Kunic and F. L. Gahura unanimously recommended its adoption. For Kunic, *Návrh C* offers the most organized treatment of the factory zone and central areas, concentrating the social life around the central square not far away from the factory zone. However, he insisted that there should be a 50-meter green belt isolating the social center from the first houses¹²³. From F. L. Gahura's side, according to his calculations concerning the density of pedestrian traffic in the three propositions, *Návrh C* is the least dense and the most efficient from the viewpoint of construction investment and economic operations¹²⁴.

Robert Hubert Podzemný's models

Notwithstanding the importance of Michal Kunic's and Josef Gočár's propositions as the main conceptual references of Baťa's ideal industrial town, the model that eventually became readily identified as the company's "official" version is the one proposed by the Baťa architect Robert Hubert Podzemný¹²⁵. His plan for an industrial town for ten thousand inhabitants, which was based on an earlier version produced by him in 1937, was eventually published in the final version of the company's manual *Průmyslové město* in 1939¹²⁶.

¹²³ MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, kart. 2032, inv. č. 1716, fol. 89.

¹²⁴ MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, kart. 2032, inv. č. 1716, fol. 113.

¹²⁵ Robert Hubert Podzemný (1904 - 1990) was an architect hired by the Baťa Shoe Company between 1936 and 1939. He is virtually unknown in Czech and international circles, and most of what little has been published concerning his biography has been confused with that of his more famous brother, Richard Ferdinand Podzemný (1907 - 1987), who was also an architect. R. H. Podzemný completed his secondary education in the Czech city of Valašské Meziříčí's state vocational school specialized in woodwork. In 1932, together with his brother, R. H. Podzemný joined the School of Applied Arts in Prague and studied architecture under Pavel Janák, who was the school's rector at that time. He worked for the Baťa Shoe Company from 1936 until 1939. In that year, he went to the United States as a member of Jan Antonín Baťa's entourage but left his former boss after refusing to work on the project of establishing an industrial town in Brazil. He passed away in New York City in December of 1990. Unfortunately, most of his life and work in the United States is still unknown. For the most complete description of R. H. Podzemný's biography, see Kristýna Soukupová, "Čtvrť Borovina v Třebíči. Urbanismus a architektura" [Borovina Quarter in Třebíč. Urbanism and Architecture] (bachelor's thesis, Charles University in Prague, 2017), 36-7. In addition, a shorter and older description can be found in Prokop Toman, "Podzemný, Robert", *Nový slovník československých výtvarných umělců, II díl L – Ž* [New Dictionary of Czechoslovak Artists, Part 2, L - Ž] (Ostrava: Výtvarné centrum Chagall, 1993), 291.

¹²⁶ MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. II/6, kart. 1276, inv. č. 56.

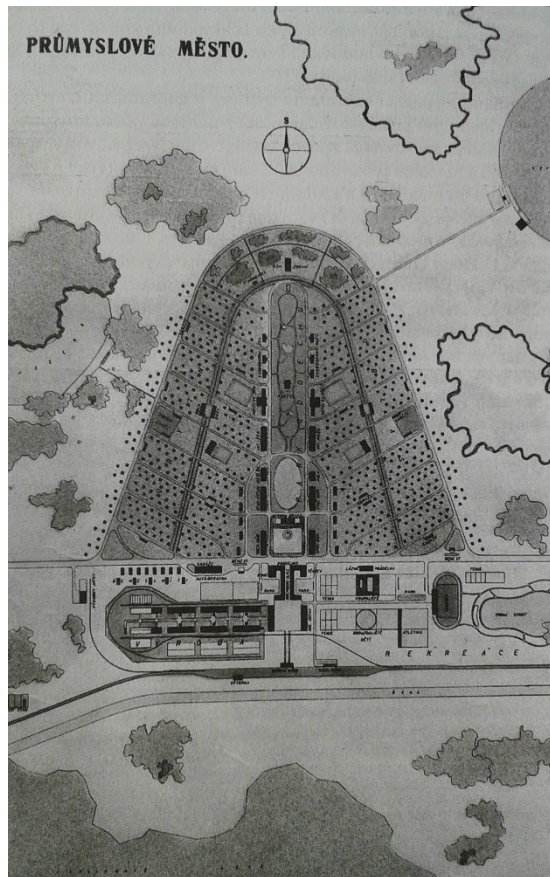


Image 13. Robert H. Podzemný's model of the ideal industrial town for ten thousand inhabitants, 1939. Source: Jemelka and Ševeček, *Tovární města*, 100.

There is a line of continuity between this proposal and Gočár's *Návrh C*¹²⁷. The general ideas and principles were maintained here: R. H. Podzemný proposes an arrow-like, organically designed town divided into three functional zones (production, recreational, and residential) that surrounds a central axis composed by a parkway, and by civic and collective buildings. The differences are rather specific, and few in number: there is a change in the location of the airport (in R. H. Podzemný's model it is located northeast of the residential area while in Gočár's *Návrh C* the airport can be accessed after crossing the recreational area), and the transitional green areas between the functional parts of the town have been reduced to a minimum.

Wartime: The IPM's Production Unit

The year 1938 was marked by uncertainties and cautionary measures for Baťa directors. There was an overall feeling of threat coming from Czechoslovakia's western neighbor, Nazi Germany. Claiming that Germany needed to incorporate bordering territories with a significant

¹²⁷ This continuity was also noted in Costa, "As cidades da Companhia Bata", 71, and Benešová, "Urbanismus firmy Baťa", 41.

German population so as to secure its so-called German *Lebensraum* (“living space”), Hitler carried out an aggressive policy demanding the territories of its southeastern and eastern neighbors¹²⁸. In the spring of 1938, Nazi Germany annexed Austria. A few months later, Hitler started threatening to annex Czechoslovakia’s *Sudetenland*, which was eventually incorporated into the *Reich* in October of the same year¹²⁹.

Within this atmosphere full of disruptive threats for the normal operation of its business, Baťa directors decided to reformulate the IPM project and combine it with a program for quickly removing machines, raw materials, and expert personnel from Czechoslovakia¹³⁰. This is what had become known as *výrobní jednotka* – the “production unit”. The idea was to apply the notion of industrial rationalization into the very process of establishment of new Baťa factories so as to reduce the implementation time of a given factory and increase its overall number in a time-efficient manner. After finding suitable locations for new Baťa factories, Zlín central would gather all necessary machinery and raw materials, divide them into pre-fabricated, standardized packages and send them to the chosen destination. Then, the packages would be followed by a team of nine Baťa workers, each one having technical expertise ranging from electricity and rubber production to accounting or sales¹³¹. In the new country, the team would establish the factory, a small chain of stores, hire local workers, and initiate production.

These were the ideas that would circulate in Baťa’s *stavební oddělení* in 1938 and 1939. Eventually, they were captured by R. H. Podzemný and materialized in a couple of new town design propositions. The original impulse seems to have come from Jan Antonín Baťa in the course of 1937. From January 6 to May 1 of that year, Jan A. Baťa engaged himself and nine of his co-workers in a widely advertised airplane trip around the world with the goal of personally prospecting business opportunities in all inhabited continents except for Oceania, left behind for economic reasons¹³². After his return to Zlín, he not only coordinated the efforts

¹²⁸ Woodruff D. Smith, *The Ideological Origins of Nazi Imperialism* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 251.

¹²⁹ Erich Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes – The Short Twentieth Century 1914 – 1991* (London: Abacus, 1995), 146.

¹³⁰ Hana Kuslová, “Představení osobnosti J. A. Bati” [A Presentation of J. A. Baťa’s Person], *Jan Antonín Baťa – život a dílo, pokračovatel práce Tomáše Bati, mezinárodní konference, sborník* [Jan Antonín Baťa – life and work, continuer of Tomáš Baťa’s work, international conference proceedings] (Zlín: Statutární město Zlín, 2007), 6.

¹³¹ Jan Antonín Baťa, *Nové knížectví – Román z průkopnického života* [The New Principality – Novel of a Pioneer’s Life] (Krásná Lípa: Marek Belza, 2014), 24, 34. Even though this book was conceived as a novel, the fact that it was written by Jan Antonín Baťa himself and, consequently, that it contains a lot of very detailed information about the Baťa Shoe Company’s operations and of his plans, endorses its use as a reliable source for this master’s thesis.

¹³² Jan Antonín Baťa composed and published an almost 250-page book about this business trip. See: Jan Antonín Baťa, *Za obchodem kolem světa: Baťova letecká obchodní výprava kolem světa 6. I. – I. V. 1937* [Around the World for Business: Baťa’s Airplane Business Expedition Around the World January 6 – May 1, 1937] (Krásná Lípa: Marek Belza, 2006 [1937]).

of creating the ideal industrial town model, as described in this master's thesis so far, but also, as mentioned by Jana Benešová, wanted to adapt it in order to be applied in non-European countries with unstable political conditions. These ideas, combined with the threats coming from Nazi Germany, have made Jan A. Baťa suggest the creation of a model for smaller settlements adapted for different regional and national conditions¹³³. Against this background, in July 1938, the Baťa director Dominik Čipera commissioned R. H. Podzemný with the creation of two variations of the ideal industrial town, one tropical and the other for Europe¹³⁴. R. H. Podzemný answered with three design propositions: the tropical town for 150 – 1,500 workers, the European version for 150 – 1,500 workers, and a mixed type, European-and-tropical settlement for 150 - 300 workers.

¹³³ Benešová, *Urbanismus firmy Baťa*, 47.

¹³⁴ MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa XV, inv. č. 75, fol. 2. Čipera also commissioned a Baťa worker known as Novotný with the mission of calculating the consumption of building material and setting a building schedule for the town. Jana Benešová also provides a similar description of R. H. Podzemný's propositions; however, she did not account for the existence of the mixed-type town (which, in my interpretation, led the author to incorrectly identify the mixed-type town as the tropical town for 150-1,500 inhabitants and, consequently, the actual tropical town for 150-1,500 inhabitants as the tropical city for 3,000 inhabitants) nor the integration of R. H. Podzemný's propositions into the overarching concept of the Production Unit (*Výrobní jednotka*). See: Jana Benešová, *Urbanismus firmy Baťa*, 47 - 49. R. H. Podzemný's tropical town for 150-1,500 inhabitants was also interpreted as being the tropical city for 3,000 by Ladislava Horňáková. See: Ladislava Horňáková, "Baťa Satellite Towns Around the World", in *A Utopia of Modernity: Zlín. Revisiting Baťa's Functional City*, ed. by Katrin Klingan and Kerstin Gust (Berlin: Jovis, 2009), 118; and Ladislava Horňáková, "Ideální průmyslová města" [Ideal Industrial Town], in: *Satelity funkcionalistického Zlína*, 14-17.

Robert H. Podzemný's propositions

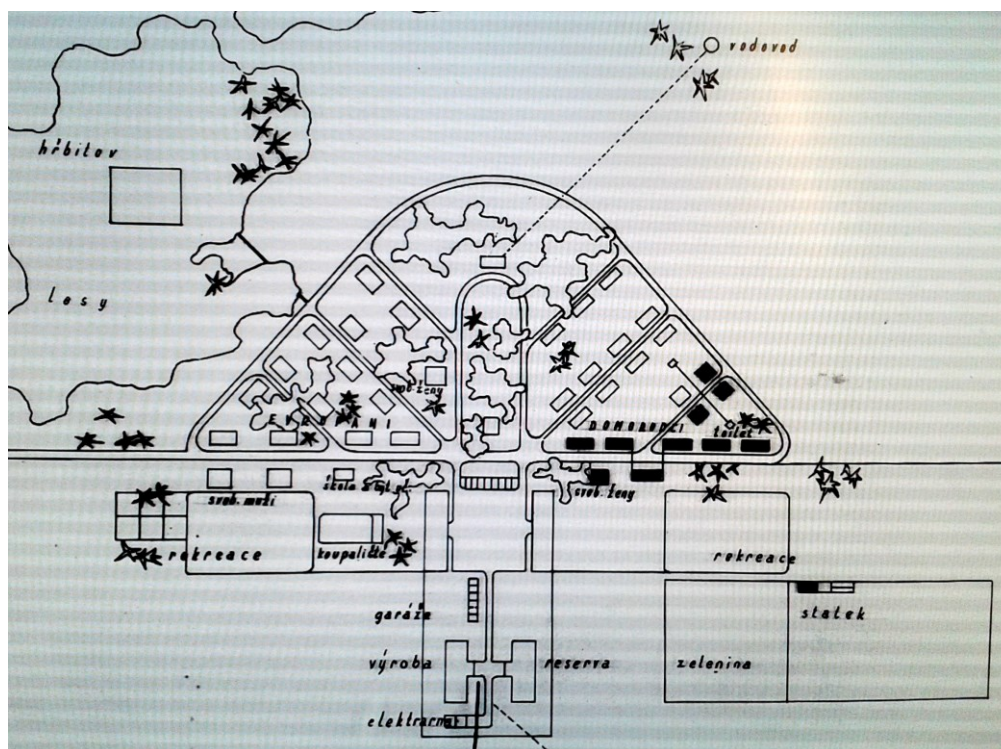


Image 14. R. H. Podzemný's ideal industrial town for 150 – 300 people – Europe and tropic, 1938. Source: MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa XV, kart. 1707, inv. č. 1181.

Although at first sight it seems to be a simplified version of the town for ten thousand inhabitants, this town for 150 - 300 people has some important conceptual and ideological differences when compared to the other models created during the IPM project. Striking is the division of the town between “European” and “natives” in almost equal parts, suggested already in Čipera's assignment. According to Benešová, the European side of the town has extra facilities (postal service, police office and medical facilities) that would provide more comfort to its dwellers, and would cost about twelve times more to build than the natives' side. Based on their experiences with former farmers that moved to Zlín, the Baťa planners believed that natives would not be capable of using and enjoying the same facilities as the Europeans would.¹³⁵ This idea also appears to be translated in the plan by the presence of what seem to be pit latrines (identified by the word “toilet”) on the natives' side.

I am of the opinion that this proposition of R. H. Podzemný's works mainly as a conceptual representation of his ideas as it condenses all his propositions into a single scheme. In other words, it is R. H. Podzemný's ideal town in a nutshell. It contains the main features

¹³⁵ Benešová, “Urbanismus firmy Baťa”, 48.

present in his other propositions for Baťa ideal towns in Europe and in the tropics – the division between European and natives (tropical), the Kunic-Gočár inspired arrow-like design with three superblocks, a parkway, a central square, an isolation green belt with recreational facilities, and a factory zone. However, it is a closed system, meaning that, R. H. Podzemný made no visual indication of how this town would physically grow in the future – one more indication that it is a conceptual scheme. Nonetheless, these references are present in his other case-specific propositions.

With R. H. Podzemný, the Baťa ideal industrial town leaves for the first time the static framework of a purely conceptual world to introduce a future-oriented time perspective with real-world spatial and socio-cultural references. The efforts carried out by Michal Kunic, František Lydie Gahura, and Josef Gočár in order to compile all contemporary ideas related to the garden city movement and, thus, conceptualize Baťa's ideal town had the consequence of creating an abstract model where space and time were taken as essentially static. As a follow up, R. H. Podzemný (backed by Jan Antonín Baťa's experiences abroad) not only worked on the ideas and designs inherited from his colleagues but also took them one small step further – or one degree closer to the experiential ground, in a movement from pure abstraction to empiricism.

The idea expressed in R. H. Podzemný's propositions seems to be that once the settlement had successfully reached the 300-people bar, the natives would have been educated to enjoy the same urban facilities as their fellow Europeans in a more equal way. That is what is shown in R. H. Podzemný's proposition for a tropical town of 150-1,500 people, where the latter expands from the former settlement following the growth vectors previously set, reaching the planning limit of 3,000 people.

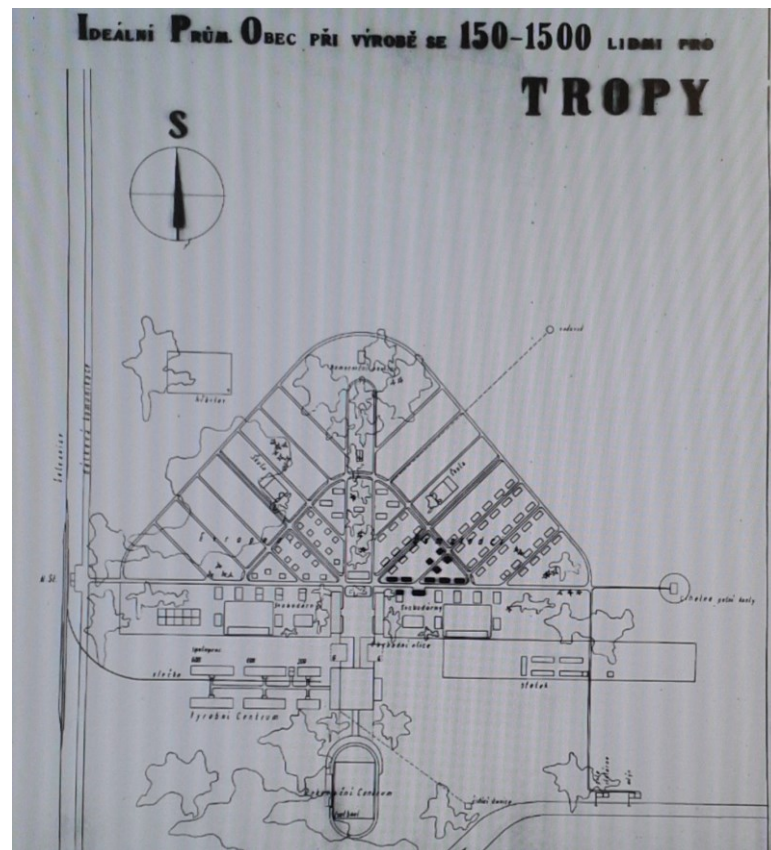


Image 15. R. H. Podzemný's tropical town for 150 – 1,500 people, 1938. Vectors for the future growth of the residential zone included. Source: MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa XV, kart. 1707, inv. č. 1181.

Here, the town is more symmetrical, especially in the recreational areas. However, Europeans and natives are still separated, and Europeans still have more facilities on their side in a way that would compensate for their proportionally decreased number, outstripped by far by the increased population of natives in the town. The same growth logic was also applied to the European counterpart of R. H. Podzemný's propositions: the 150-300-people settlement would grow to a 1,500-strong town to later become a city with a population of 3,000 people. However, the European town is perfectly symmetrical in its residential and recreational areas.

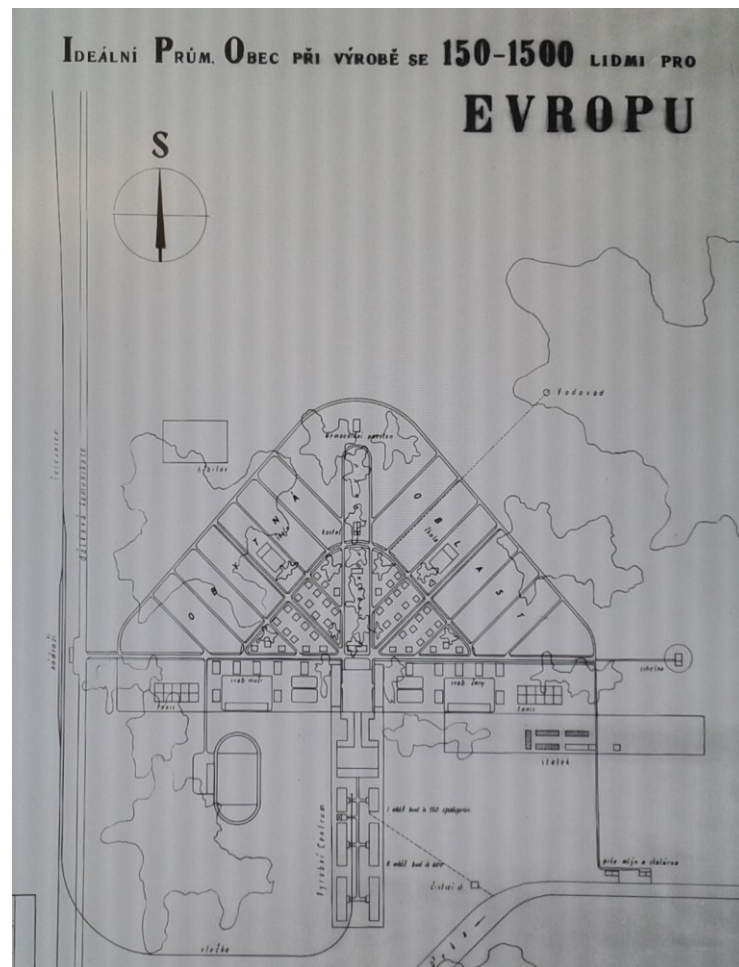


Image 16. R. H. Podzemný's European town for 150 – 1,500 people, 1938.
 Source: MZA, SOKA Zlín, fond Baťa XV, kart. 1707, inv. č. 1181.

As argued in the next chapter, Robert H. Podzemný's tropical town models form the core of the design for the first two towns implemented in Brazil by Jan Antonín Baťa. In the Brazilian case, special attention is paid to the fact that R. H. Podzemný's tropical-European town for 150-300 people seems to be the very first model of a Baťa ideal industrial town that integrates agrarian production into town planning. Looking closely, one can see that he dedicated two areas for agricultural practice near the recreational area on the natives' side, one identified with the caption "vegetables" (*zeleniny*, in Czech) and the other with the Czech word *statek*, which, in this context, can be translated as "farm"¹³⁶. This is a striking indication that Jan Antonín Baťa might have been planning to integrate agriculture and industrial production in a non-European town as early as 1938, when R. H. Podzemný gave form to this idea under a concrete model.

¹³⁶ The Czech word *statek* has a dual meaning, and can be translated in English both as "farm / rural property", or as "possession" in the economic sense.

Moreover, the presence of agriculture in the tropical models also has symbolic and ideological meanings. It carries an inherent evolutionist worldview of Europeans bringing civilization to the world in the form of industrial production. In this sense, it is interesting that in R. H. Podzemný's tropical town, farms remained on the native's side while the expanding industries grew sideways from the center on the European side.

The role of Jan Antonín Baťa

From the outset, Jan Antonín Baťa's role in this project seems to have been that of a supervising manager. He began the project, assembled a team of experts, and ensured the issuing of the final manual after a roughly two-year editing process. That is, after the intensive town building program in the first half of the 1930s, and after returning from his business trip around the world, he gathered the company's directors and main architects, and divided between them the preparatory studies that would compose the future manual to be entitled *Ideální průmyslové město*.

This first effort resulted in a series of stand-alone publications that formed the core of the future manual, and included the above-mentioned essays by F. L. Gahura, Michal Kunic, and Josef Gočár¹³⁷. As mentioned above, these studies worked upon a body of literature on the garden city movement and crossed it with the company's former experiences and plans for the future. From the end of 1937 through the year of 1938, these publications underwent an editing process, and shorter versions of them gradually appeared alongside many calculations and new texts in two different publications: a folder called *Průmyslové město* [Industrial Town]¹³⁸, and an extended, three-part, hardcover publication entitled *Ideální průmyslové město budoucnosti – Díl I: Problém průmyslu, Díl II: Plánování, Díl III: Budování* [The Ideal Industrial Town of Tomorrow – Part I: The Problem of Industry, Part II: Planning, Part III: Building], whose author was indicated as being Jan Antonín Baťa¹³⁹. The final book was eventually completed in 1939 when Jan A. Baťa had already left Czechoslovakia for the United States¹⁴⁰.

The description of each work is out of the scope of this thesis but is intended for future publications. However, this editing process has an ultimate importance in this master's thesis. As argued in the next chapter, Jan Antonín Baťa carried out a strikingly similar editing process

¹³⁷ MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, inv. č. 126.

¹³⁸ MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, kart. 2032, inv. č. 1716.

¹³⁹ MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. XV, inv. č. 1623.

¹⁴⁰ The final book was originally printed in a very limited number, and the exact location of each copy is currently unknown. In this master's thesis, I refer to Jan Antonín Baťa's personal copy kept by his descendants living in Batayporã as of 2018.

that culminated with a new urban model, referred to in this thesis as the *ideal agrarian-industrial town of Jan Antonín Baťa*. In Brazil, he also assembled a team of experts, worked upon a body of literature on urban planning, and crossed it with his former experiences and plans for the future. This effort also resulted in a concrete publication that describes an urban model intended to guide the establishment of future towns¹⁴¹.

However, Jan Antonín Baťa was much more deeply involved in the technical parts of the project than it might seem at first sight. This is evidenced not only by the theoretical writings attributed to him in the two versions of *The Ideal Industrial Town* mentioned above, but also by his frequent critical commentary regarding the technical aspects of the manual even after leaving Czechoslovakia in exile in 1939¹⁴². For example, on August 19, 1939, Jan Antonín Baťa sent a letter addressed to Baťa directors in Zlín containing very detailed instructions concerning adaptations to the design of a five-story factory building for the ideal industrial town previously sent to him by Baťa designers. Even though the text itself suggests that he discussed these adaptations with his Baťa co-workers in the United States, the first paragraphs of the letter show us a glimpse of his attitude towards architectural conceptions and designers:

I have received the projects concerning the modification of the five-story building.

I cannot say that the designers lack courage when it comes to changes.

But I am also not convinced that they devoted enough breadth of view and organizational experience to this job in a way that would value it.

The new design with two entrances leaves out an old organizational principle that says that two entrances mean a certain *confusion*, restraining the view.

Therefore, when they based their studies in such an idea, it is perhaps like wanting to build a concrete building without cement¹⁴³.

This excerpt exemplifies his attitude as a manager that had a say in all aspects of business. Another letter addressed to Baťa directors in Zlín, this time written by him from Belcamp,

¹⁴¹ Companhia de Viação São Paulo – Mato Grosso, *Ante-projeto do núcleo colonial “Presidente Kennedy”* [Preliminary Draft of the “President Kennedy” Colonization Core Project], 1963, Centro de Memória “Jindřich Trachta”, Batayporã, cx. 15, env. 4.

¹⁴² Jan Antonín Baťa was arrested and interrogated by the Gestapo sometime between November and December 1938, finally being freed after intervention from the Czechoslovak state. Afterwards, he gradually made preparations for himself and his family to leave the country in 1939 and to go to the United States. From there, he kept coordinating the Bata Shoe Company until the inclusion of his name in the British and American “black lists” of German collaborators, the expiration of his American visa and his subsequent relocation to Brazil in 1940. See: Kuslová, “Představení osobnosti J. A. Bati” 3-9; and Hana Kuslová, “Jan Antonín Baťa den po dni” [Jan Antonín Baťa Day by Day], *Nadační fond Jana Antonína Bati*, <https://www.janantoninbata.cz/den-po-dni>, accessed March 17, 2018.

¹⁴³ “Dostávám návrhy na úpravou pětietážové budovy.- Nemohu říci, že by bylo scházelo navrhovatelům odvahy ku změnám.- Ale také jsem se nepřesvědčil, že by byli dali do této práce dosti rozhledu a zkušeností organizačních, které by byly tuto práci bezpečně zhodnotili.- Nový návrh se dvěma vchody opomíjí starou organizační zásadu, že dva vchody znamenají bezpečný n e p o ř á d e k v znemožnění přehledu.- Když tedy založili své studie na tomto podkladu, tož je to asi tak, jako kdyby si byli chtěli postavit cementovou stavbu bez betonu.-”. MZA, SOKA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. I/4, kart. 204, inv. č. 884, fol. 319.

Maryland (United States) on July 19, 1939, provides another good example of how architectural decisions were second to the overall business plan. Here, Jan Antonín Baťa expresses his dissatisfaction regarding the company's building techniques, which he considers obsolete:

It is starting to become completely clear to me that our standard way of building workers' houses is not an industrial but a *masonry* one, and this is suitable neither to the Baťas nor to 1939. [...] We need to build our cities from the industrial waste that we are exporting from the factory at high freight costs, and from which we receive almost nothing¹⁴⁴.

In the sequence of the letter, he provides a thorough description of how this conception should be applied in all aspects of town building, from the worker's furniture to the town's infrastructure. According to him,

the walls' windows are going to be of sliding sheet type, isolated, or wooden. In any case, they must be as replaceable as everything else, and there must be a replaceable part installed into the wall like a car part. And the same applies to the doors. And the same applies even to canalization, water pipes, gas pipes, electrical installations, etc...¹⁴⁵

One last important example of how actively Jan Antonín Baťa took part in the design and planning activities related to the ideal industrial town is shown in another letter to Baťa directors in Zlín written by him in February 20, 1940. While commenting on the plans to produce pre-fabricated houses in Baťa factories for the exporting and building of Baťa towns, he says:

We expect that the first house [we are going to] build [will be ready] by the end of the next month, and we are definitely going to test it during the spring season. However, I decided that we are going to build at least one of these moulded houses every week as a way to improve our organization and method, as well as the relevant equipment¹⁴⁶.

In the sequence, he comments on the fact that the type of roof for the houses has not been decided yet, and presents some suggestions in the form of sketches. Even though he did not clearly state who produced the designs, the presence of his signature alongside them seems to suggest that he himself was the author of the drawings.

¹⁴⁴ “Začíná mi býti zcela jasným, že náš standart stavby dělnických domků je standart z e d n i c k ý, nikolivi průmyslový, a také není důstojný ani Baťů ani 1939.- [...] My musíme stavěti naše města z průmyslového odpadu, který dnes vyvážíme za drahý dovoz z továrny a za který nedostáváme skorem nic.-”. MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. I/4, kart. 204, inv. č. 884, fol. 116.

¹⁴⁵ “Okna ve stěnách budou plechová stahovací, izolovaná, nebo dřevěná.- V každém případě musí býti zrovna tak vyměňovací, jako všechno jiné a musí býti ‘vyměnitelným dílcem vmontovaných do stěny, jako dílec do automobilu.- A stejně dvéře. – A stejně i kanalisace, vodovody, plynovody, instalace elektrická a.t.d. -”. MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. I/4, kart. 204, inv. č. 884, fol. 117.

¹⁴⁶ “Předpokládáme, že první domek, který budeme mít postavený koncem tohoto měsíce a rozhodně jej během jarní sezony vyzkoušíme.- Nicméně jsem ale rozhodl, že budeme každý týden stavět alespoň jeden tento litý domek tak abychom si na to vypracovali organizaci a metodu a také příslušné zařízení.-”. MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. I/4, kart. 204, inv. č. 884, fol. 217.

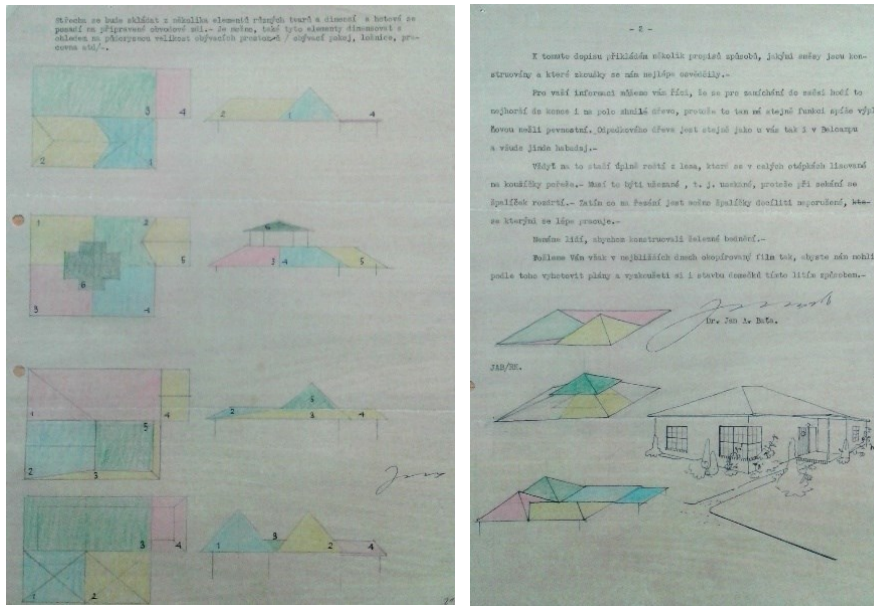


Image 17. Excerpts from Jan Antonín Baťa's letter, 1940. Source: MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, sign. I/4, kart. 204, inv. č. 884, fol. 217.

In summary, Jan Antonín Baťa brought to Brazil a deep knowledge of the Baťa Shoe Company's ideal industrial model, to which he contributed intensively from organizational aspects to concrete technical details regarding the planning of Baťa towns. As will be described in the next chapter of this thesis, he applied these ideas in the context of the colonization of unsettled areas in the Brazilian Central-West, and, alongside his increasing isolation from the Baťa Shoe Company's resources, he was forced to adapt the old model, which resulted in a new type of Baťa town, the agrarian-industrial town.

Chapter Two

The Baťa Agrarian-Industrial Town

In his novel *Nové knížectví* [The New Principality], Jan Antonín Baťa often disclosures about his plans and ideas under the form of dialogues performed by many different characters inspired by his real-life collaborators. This is the case of a specific scene that takes place in the jungle of his Fazenda Pedra propriety, located in Central-Western Brazil. His alter ego, known in the novel as “chief” (*šéf* in the Czech original), is discussing with his collaborators on what to do with those vast and virtually depopulated proprieties he acquired in the then Brazilian state of Mato Grosso. The discussion touches the matter of an existing dichotomy between agriculture and industry. Excited, chief suggests that they should overcome it by establishing “new agrarian-industrial economic formations”¹⁴⁷, an idea immediately received with skeptical comments concerning the impossibility of such undertaking. Not satisfied, he voices the following line of thought:

“This is not true. There are many companies in the world with the technical, financial, and organizational means to undertake this; they just do not regard it the way as we do and, therefore, cannot even start such undertaking”, chief corrected him. “The idea of connecting agriculture with industry is not new. I think it is [Henry] Ford’s idea. If there is something new in our case, it is the fact that we would c o l o n i z e the land with the aid of industry, which is something in compliance with the commandments of God since Adam as well with the aspirations of the Brazilian government, mainly of [Getúlio] Vargas. Maybe you all know it: Rumo ao oeste [Into the West].”¹⁴⁸

This passage is in many ways revealing for this master’s thesis. In fact, far from being just a mere curiosity hidden for decades in a novel that remained unpublished for a very long time, it in fact sums up brilliantly Jan Antonín Baťa’s motivations and plans for Brazil. I would like to highlight three main elements of this passage that deserve special attention at this point. Firstly, the colonization of open lands was an undertaking so essential for Jan A. Bata that he came to the point of embedding it in biblical connotations. Jan Antonín Baťa took it very seriously: as described below, even though his stubborn insistence on the theme of colonization of unpopulated areas of the world triggered his international downfall during the Second World War, he kept it as the main theme of his “resurrection” in Brazil in the decades following the

¹⁴⁷ “nový hospodářský útvar průmyslové-zemědělský.” Baťa, *Nové knížectví*, 172.

¹⁴⁸ “‘To není pravda. Je mnoho organizací na světě, které by to technicky, finančně a organizačně mohly provést, ale nedívají se na to tak jako my, a tedy na to nemohou ani připadnout,’ opravil ho šéf. ‘Myšlenka spojení zemědělství s průmyslem není nová. Myslím, že je to myšlenka Fordova. Jestliže je v našem případě na tom něco nového, tož to, že my bychom o s í d l o v a l i z e m i pomocí průmyslu, což je ve směru jak přikázání Božích od Adama, tak i ve směru úsilí brazilské vlády, hlavně prezidenta Vargase. Však to znáte: Rumo ao oeste.’” Baťa, *Nové knížectví*, 173. Emphasis original.

war. Secondly, there is the synergy between two people with similar ideas: Jan Antonín Baťa and President Getúlio Vargas met in the context of the *Marcha para Oeste* [Westward March] campaign, an initiative by the Brazilian government to populate the Central-Western region of Brazil with the aid of entrepreneurs. Lastly but equally important, his activities can be understood as a crossing process where his, Vargas' and Henry Ford's ideas entangled as to create a new type of settlement that would combine agrarian features with industrial production.

This last point is the main argument of this master's thesis. To support that, in the following paragraphs I show how Jan Antonín Baťa led an almost twenty-five-year long process that resulted in the establishment of five different settlements in Brazil, which combined, in different proportions, the main principles exposed above. Three of them were established in the state of São Paulo (Batatuba, Vila CIMA, and Mariápolis) while two are located in today's state of Mato Grosso do Sul (Bataguassu and Batayporã); however, with the exception of Batatuba, almost all of them were established in the *Rumo ao Oeste* campaign target area.

In the sequence, I propose that a project sketch entitled *Ante-Projeto do Núcleo Colonial "Presidente Kennedy"* [Preliminary Draft of the "Presidente Kennedy" Colonization Core Project], simply *Ante-Projeto*, written by Jan Antonín Baťa and collaborators in 1962, should be taken more than just a project for a concrete settlement. Instead, the process behind the composition of this document reveals patterns similar to those shown in the IPM project and described in Chapter 1, which, alongside evidence found in contemporary sources, reveals that *Ante-Projeto* is in fact describing a conceptual model. Therefore, I argue that that document should be taken as the model of Jan A. Baťa's Ideal Agrarian-Industrial Town.

As already indicated, Jan Antonín Baťa is the guiding thread of this process. I understand that the Ideal Agrarian-Industrial Town or IAPM is the outcome of a very long crossing process that was closely associated with his personal worldview, aspirations, past experiences, and plans for the future¹⁴⁹. It is true that he managed to engage many collaborators during that period and successfully established settlements that form the core of the everyday life of thousands of persons in Brazil still today. However, and in a stark contrast with the original IPM project, the IAPM deals with themes that profoundly affected Jan Antonín Baťa's personal life, from the choice of Brazil for the location of the settlements (and of his exile) to the insistence on mass

¹⁴⁹ As to keep a terminological coherence with the IPM – Ideální průmyslové město (Ideal Industrial Town) project, I decided to create the acronym IAPM based on a term composed in Czech language. Therefore, IAPM stands for *Ideální Agrární-průmyslové město* (Ideal Agrarian-Industrial Town). I should stress, however, that neither *Ideální Agrární-průmyslové město* nor IAPM as such are to be found in primary sources. As described below, the closest term used in the sense was *Rurální město*, found in Jan Antonín Baťa's notes to the book *Průmyslové město*. See Jan Antonín Baťa, *Průmyslové město* (Zlín: Baťa a.s., Zlín, 1939), Bata Arambasic family archive, Nova Andradina, Brazil, separate sheets of paper.

migration as a solution to European crisis, especially those affecting his homeland. Jan Antonín Baťa seemed to have taken it as a very individual undertaking, working on it until his death in 1965. Therefore, in the next paragraphs the description of the crossings that lead to the IAPM is intimately connected to Jan A. Baťa's biography and writings.

The 1930s: Czechoslovakia and the city-country dichotomy

Conceptually, Jan A. Baťa's ideal agrarian-industrial town started already in Czechoslovakia. Besides following up with the original IPM project, it was also an original outcome of the interaction between two ideas strongly held by Jan A. Baťa from 1930 until his death in 1965. One of these ideas was that the garden city would solve the problems of the modern city via the creation of an urban settlement with country-like features.

When it comes to the way Jan Antonín Baťa would conceptualize his towns, we should remember that that IPM project, led by him in the 1930s, was intimately connected to the garden city movement. As shown in chapter one, Baťa's planners considered that they were making their own contribution to that movement and, for such, reviewed a comprehensive body theoretical writing about the concept. This is to say that, in this process, they were influenced by a conceptual debate among intellectuals who would propose ways to tackle the major problems faced by fast industrialization and urbanization since the mid-nineteenth century.

The European metropolises of the mid-to-late nineteenth century – sometimes referred to as Slum Cities - were seen by middle class contemporaries and legislators as places where poor living and health conditions would stimulate vice, violence, and social revolution¹⁵⁰. Hence, the matter of how to overcome such problems became a central concern of intense debates and reform proposals in that time. Even though an in-depth analysis of such debate is out of the scope of this master's thesis, it is important to highlight one of its major conceptual consequences. Building upon Carl E. Schorske's classic essay on this topic, I would like to stress that most of the nineteenth century's images of "the city" were constructed against an idealized image of a small town, rural, unindustrialized country, regardless of any futuristic affirmation or archaistic rejection of "the city" that are to be found in them¹⁵¹. Therefore, in the

¹⁵⁰ Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, 32-6.

¹⁵¹ For Carl E. Schorske, the image of the city in European thought can be classified under three main categories: "city as virtue", "city as vice", and "city beyond good and evil". Many of the nineteenth century's discourses fall under the second category, and that in two ways: on the one hand, a futuristic approach would seek to redeem "the city" by intensifying those forces and traits that have bring it about. On the other hand, an archaistic approach would reject "the city" altogether as to propose a return to an idealized life in the country. See: Carl E. Schorske, *The Idea of the City in European Thought: Voltaire to Spengler*, *Thinking with History – Explorations in the Passage to Modernism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 37 - 55.

course of the nineteenth century, a certain interpretation of the living experiences in the European metropolises eventually merged into an image of “the city” in a process that also encompassed the parallel idealization in “the country” as its negative projection. This is to say that “the city” and “the country” were taken often as polar opposites in rhetorical discourses of that time, where the urban world would stand for industrialization while the country would stand for agriculture.

It is in this intellectual context, the garden city movement intended to solve the problems of the nineteenth century metropolis by proposing a third way between futurism and archaism: the garden city would stand right between “the city” and “the country” via the combination of agriculture and industry in the same environment. This idea is to be found already in Howard’s seminal book, *The Garden City of To-morrow* and was followed-up by and Nikolay Alexandrovich Milyutin, described in Chapter one among Baťa Shoe Company’s main intellectual influences.

Migration and exile

Another root of Jan Antonín Baťa’s ideal agrarian-industrial town can be traced back also to Czechoslovakia, specifically to the year 1938. In that year, Jan A. Baťa made public for the first time that one of his fixed ideas that would not only become his obsession in the next decades but also would bring his downfall. On April 4, he published a journal article entitled “Osidlovat” [Colonize], dedicated to the idea of mass migration as a solution to the current European political crisis¹⁵². For him, the overpopulation of Europe of his time was the main source of the many conflicts taking place in recent years, in the sense that nationalism and racism were no more than epiphenomena of conflicts over land. On the other hand, many areas of the world were strikingly underpopulated at that time. Therefore, Jan A. Baťa asks, why not to solve Europe’s land problems via pacific, negotiated migration instead of war and bloodshed?

As usual in his writings, and for a businessperson like him, he supported his arguments with an array of calculations. According to him, the costs of World War I can be stated as 8,000 billion Czechoslovak crowns (55,486 pounds sterling as of 1938) and 10 million lives lost. He proceeds by saying that avoiding a second war via mass migration would be the most economical solution for land conflicts in Europe because the transportation of 10 million people and the assurance of the necessary infrastructure in the target country would cost 295 billion

¹⁵² Jan Antonín Baťa, “Osidlovat”, *Zlín – pondělník zlínského kraje* 8-14 (April 4, 1938), 1.

Czechoslovak crowns. It means that, according to his calculations, war would be at least twenty-seven times more expansive than migration. This is the point where his fixed idea of mass migration as the best solution for political crisis was born. As described below, this line of thought would haunt Jan Antonín Baťa from that time on until the end of his life.

Despite Jan Antonín Baťa's intentions, the negative consequences of this article were catastrophic for him. It became the source of that idea that he was plotting to transfer Czech population to the Argentinian Patagonia as to allow Nazi Germany to incorporate Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland. Alongside the refusal to publically condemn Germany during the first years of the Second World War, the forced but badly perceived meeting with Herman Göring in 1939, and the disastrous negotiations with the British government over a raw material shipment that were eventually seized by the Nazi army in Denmark in 1940, this idea endorsed the opinion that Jan Antonín Baťa was indeed plotting with the Nazis against Czechoslovakia¹⁵³.

The consequences were sour. In April 1940, the British government inscribed his and Bata Shoe Company's name into its so-called "black list" of Nazi collaborators. After three months, the United States also included Jan A. Baťa's name in his own "black list", which led to the revocation of his American visa and the frustration of his plans of settling in that country¹⁵⁴. The aftermath of the war brought the eventual removal of his name from those "black lists" in 1946, when both governments concluded that there was no evidence of Jan A. Baťa's collaboration with Nazism. However, his image was already stained by these accusations. In 1947, the Czechoslovak government took this argument over and courted Jan Antonín Baťa, accusing him of collaborationism. As he did not show up in the trials, he was convicted of treason and had his Czechoslovak properties forfeited by the government.

How Patagonia eventually made way into Jan A. Baťa's alleged conspiracy is unclear. However, it is certainly a later addition to the basic line of thought he had already shown in *Osidlovat*. As evidenced in primary sources found in CMJT archive in Brazil and in his novel *Nové knížectví*, there is no doubt that Jan Antonín Baťa was, in fact, looking towards Argentina at that time. Nonetheless, he seemed more interested in gaining access to La Plata River as a waterway for the exportation of industrial goods and Brazilian wood than to establish a Baťa factory or Czechoslovak colony in that country¹⁵⁵. The fact is that he made no reference

¹⁵³ Kuslová, "Představení osobnosti J. A. Bati", 6-7.

¹⁵⁴ Kuslová, "Představení osobnosti J. A. Bati", 7.

¹⁵⁵ *Documentos – Levantamentos do início da colonização Faz Samambaia* [Documents – Surveys from the Beginning of the Colonization Faz Samambaia], CMJT, Batayporã, cx. 15, sub grupo SÉRIES, env. 3, sheets 34-5, 69, 85 – 94; Bata, *Nové knížectví*, 155-60.

whatsoever to Patagonia in *Osidlovat* corroborates to this idea: examples of unsettled areas in the world, according to Jan A. Baťa's text, are Australia, southern Africa, Siberia, and Brazil. He not only have left Patagonia out of the article but also dedicated almost one third of that text reflecting about another open area in other South-American country: Brazil.

It is important to emphasize that this is the first time Jan Antonín Baťa indicates an intention to colonize areas in Brazil. He flirted with this idea in *Osidlovat*, as evidenced by the way he combined the article's main claim (move out European population to underpopulated areas in the world) with an in-depth knowledge about underpopulated areas in Brazil:

Having the favorable climatic conditions for a healthy life, the space here [places he visited in South America] is as big as entire Europe, and it is virgin and untouched to the date. In the Brazilian Union's State of Goyaz there are 300,000 km² of a land that has no rival in Europe. There live roughly 150,000 inhabitants, who make a living from raising maybe 3,000,000 head of cattle. Brazil, a state as big as Europe, has 44 million inhabitants. Europe has 480 million. Why to search land for expansion in the overcrowded Europe? Why not there?¹⁵⁶

The decisiveness of the role played by South America, more specifically Brazil, in Jan Antonín Baťa's biography cannot be underestimated. One should keep in mind that this region of the globe is closely associated to his ascension in Baťa Shoe Company's hierarchy. In September 1925, Tomáš Baťa sent a then-purchaser Jan Antonín Baťa and other three employees on a business trip to Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay with the goal of finding suitable leather suppliers for the Baťa Shoe Company¹⁵⁷. This period seems to be a formation one for the twenty-two years old Jan A Bata, during which he learnt about opportunities for growth inside the company. As evidenced by a letter sent to him by Tomáš Baťa, the results of this business trip were unsatisfactory not only because Jan A. Baťa's own mistakes, but also due to the slow responsiveness shown by Baťa's purchasing department as a whole¹⁵⁸. Consequently or not, after his return to Zlín in January 1926, Jan Antonín Baťa received his first significant promotion: he became the manager of that very purchasing department. From that time on, his career ascended quickly, even after leaving the company for roughly a year between 1927 and 1928¹⁵⁹. From his return in January 1928, he occupied the post of workshop 110 manager,

¹⁵⁶ “V klimatických poměrech, naprosto vyhovujících zdravému životu, je tu prostor skoro tak veliký jako je celá Evropa, dosud panenský a dosud nedotčený. Ve státě Goyaz v Brasilské unii je 300.000 km² půdy, jaké se naše evropská nemůže rovnati. Bydlí tam všech všudy asi 150.000 obyvatelů, kteří se živi chovem asi 3.000.000 kusů dobytka. Brasilie, stát veliký jako celá Evropa, čítá 44 milionů obyvatel. Evropa má 480 milionů. Proč hledat půdu k rozmachu ve stísněné Evropě, proč ne tam?”. Baťa, *Osidlovat*, 1.

¹⁵⁷ Kuslová, “Představení osobností J. A. Bati”, 4; Vladimír Štroblík, “Dopisy J. A. Bati z Ameriky (Dvacátá léta 20. století)” [J. A. Baťa's Letters from America (1920s)], in *Jan Antonín Baťa – život a dílo, pokračovatel práce Tomáše Bati, mezinárodní konference, sborník* [Jan Antonín Baťa – life and work, continuator of Tomáš Baťa's work, international conference proceedings] (Zlín: Statutární město Zlín, 2007), 14.

¹⁵⁸ Štroblík, “Dopisy J. A. Bati z Ameriky” 17-8.

¹⁵⁹ Kuslová, “Představení osobností J. A. Bati”, 4.

became a member of Baťa's directorate, later joined Baťa a.s.'s board of directors in 1931, and eventually became the very leader of the company after the death of his half-brother in 1932¹⁶⁰.

Brazil: Promised Land

However, Latin America was more than just a career booster to Jan Antonín Baťa; it was also a lifeline who drew him off his North American exile, which were not by any means easy. The escape from the Nazi-controlled Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia led Jan Antonín Baťa and his family to the United States, where he intended to settle and operate Baťa Shoe Company from that time on¹⁶¹. In North America, he established two Baťa factories and company towns according to the IPM guidelines, one in Belcamp, Maryland, United States, and the other in Batawa, Ontario, Canada. However, Jan A. Baťa's stay in the United States did not last much more than half a year. There, he had to face a hostile newspaper campaign against his business, which very much stained his reputation in that country¹⁶². On top of that, his public image as a Nazi collaborator would attain its first peak by the beginning of 1940, and a ban from the United States started to seem eminent; he needed to settle somewhere else.

When analyzing this point of Jan Antonín Baťa's life, one can see that a jigsaw of previously unrelated ideas, past experiences, dreams, and obsessions seems to fall into place and to form a more comprehensive image of what he might have thought to be the right thing to do. This is to say that his next move was carried out not only due to the necessity of finding a stable framework for conducting his business but also and more important for the unlimited possibilities that a specific country, which he had previously visited, seemed to unleash for him. The year of 1940 was the time Jan Antonín Baťa assessed his 1925 experiences, the concept of the IPM production unit, and the fixed idea of migration shown in *Osidlovat*, assembled them together, and performed one bold move towards that one place in the world who would accept all of his idealized projections without much resistance. This place was Brazil and its the huge, underpopulated areas of its countryside.

¹⁶⁰ Kuslová, "Představení osobností J. A. Bati", 4.

¹⁶¹ Jan Antonín Baťa used the 1939 New York World's Fair as an alibi for convincing the Protectorate's government to let him, his family, and collaborators to travel to the United States. For the preparations for the 1939 world's fair, see: Zachary Doslehal, "Imaging Baťa in the World of Tomorrow: The Baťa Company, Czechoslovakia, and the 1939 New York World's Fair", in *Company Towns of the Baťa Concern. History – Cases – Architecture*, ed. by Ondřej Ševeček and Martin Jemelka (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003), 61-81.

¹⁶² Kuslová, "Představení osobností J. A. Bati", 7.

For Jan Antonín Baťa, Brazil had also an irresistible advantage over other underpopulated areas in the world. In 1940, the country was governed by Getúlio Vargas, a dictator-president eager to settle his *Estado Novo*, the fascist-like, authoritarian regime installed by him few years before¹⁶³. Besides the many bureaucratic and legislative measures introduced by the authoritarian Constitution of 1938, the first years of the new regime were also marked by propagandistic campaigns intended to reinterpret the nation's history, culture, and landscape as to forge a sense of national exceptionalism. In the rhetoric of Vargas' regime, planned in and advanced by the *Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda* [Press and Propaganda Department], the force of the new country should not be drawn from the Europeanized coastline but from the countryside instead, understood as the container of the “real” nation¹⁶⁴. However, the government had to face the fact that, in the 1930s, the Brazilian population and urbanization were highly concentrated along its coastline, especially around the northeastern tip and the triangle formed by the cities of Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte and São Paulo in the southeast.



¹⁶³ The *Estado Novo* (translated as “New State” in English) was a dictatorial state lead by Getúlio Vargas that existed from 1937 to 1945. Vargas came to power after the so-called Revolution of 1930, when he lead a coalition of politicians and militaries from different Brazilian states that seized national power after a coup d’état, overthrowing the São Paulo and Minas Gerais States-led oligarchies in rule of the country during most of the First Republic era (1889 – 1930). After suppressing São Paulo’s uprising in 1932, Vargas became the undisputed leader of the country; however, a dictatorial state was only implemented five years later, in 1937. During World War II Vargas tried to remain neutral during the conflicts despite the fact of *Estado Novo* having drawn heavily on Italian Fascism. Nonetheless, after being pressured politically and economically by the United States, Brazil eventually joined the Allied forces in 1942, sending troops to the Nazi-controlled Italy in 1944. After the war, internal dissensions forced Vargas to put an end to his dictatorship and resign from the presidency. However, he kept active in national politics, and eventually returned to the Presidency in 1950, this time by democratic means. See Boris Fausto, *História do Brasil* [History of Brazil] (São Paulo: Edusp, 1994), 329-404.

¹⁶⁴ Alcir Lenharo, *Sacralização da Política* [Sacralization of Politics] (Campinas: Papyrus and Editora da UNICAMP, 1986), 56.

Image 18. Brazil's road and railway networks in 1930. Clockwise from the image on the left: Brazil, northeastern tip, Rio de Janeiro – Belo Horizonte – São Paulo triangle. Source: Club de Engenharia, "Carta Geographica do Brasil" [map], 1:10,000,000 (São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro: Ypiranga, 1930), http://objdigital.bn.br/objdigital2/acervo_digital/div_cartografia/cart170427/cart170427.jpg, accessed April 15, 2018

The governmental rhetoric insisted that the colonization of the countryside and its economic integration with the coastline was a fundamental achievement that should be endeavored by the nation as a whole. This was the theme of the highly publicized campaign *Marcha para Oeste* [Westward March], jumpstarted in early 1938 and pushed by the state in the following years¹⁶⁵. Its main goal was to provide incentives for a more structured colonization of the Brazilian Central-Western region, especially the then states of Goiás and Mato Grosso¹⁶⁶. Even though *Marcha para Oeste*'s nationalistic tones were undoubtedly exacerbated by the Second World War animosities, foreign help as such would not be something that the government wished to discard altogether. Some checks were provided in order to assure that immigrants were, in fact, technically qualified for settling in the new lands, as the case of a governmental program for establishing agricultural colonies in the state of Mato Grosso illustrates particularly well¹⁶⁷. All the same, it should have been enough for a foreigner to demonstrate support to the regime and to evidence that he or she had the means for attaining the government goals.

This was exactly the case of Jan Antonín Baťa. The circumstances in which he came to know about Vargas' plans for the Brazilian underpopulated areas are not entirely clear. It was most probably the consequence of the communication channel opened up by the unit of production sent from Zlín to Brazil before the war, which was originally installed in São Paulo's Água Branca district in 1939 and later moved to Batatuba, the first Brazilian Baťa town¹⁶⁸. In

¹⁶⁵ The rhetoric of *Marcha para Oeste* was elaborated in details in a two-volume book series by Cassiano Ricardo, a famous modernist writer that became the *Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda*'s regional chief for the State of São Paulo in 1939. See: Cassiano Ricardo, *Marcha para oeste: a influência da bandeira na formação social e política do Brasil* [Westward March: The Influence of Bandeira Expeditions on Brazil's Social and Political Formation] (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio Editora, 1959 [1940]). For Cassiano Ricardo, see: Academia Brasileira de Letras, *Revista Brasileira* VI-2 (1976): 11 – 88.

¹⁶⁶ Lenharo, *Sacralização da Política*, 55-6. In the closing decades of the twentieth century, both states ended up by having its size reduced as to give way to the establishment of other two new Brazilian states. In 1979, the southern section of Mato Grosso was detached into the present-day state of Mato Grosso do Sul. Similarly, in 1989 the northern part of Goiás became the present-day state of Tocantins.

¹⁶⁷ Alcir Lenharo, "A terra para quem nela não trabalha: a especulação com a terra no oeste Brasileiro nos anos 50" [Land for Those Who Do Not Work There: Land Speculation in the Brazilian West, 1950s], *Revista brasileira de história* 6 – 12 (1986): 50. The program was known as *Colônias Agrícolas Nacionais* [National Agricultural Colonies]. See: Isac Ferreira, "A construção das representações simbólicas na Colônia Agrícola Nacional de Goiás – CANG (1941 – 1959) [The Construction of Symbolic Representations in Colônia Agrícola Nacional de Goiás – CANG (1941 – 1959)]" (master's thesis, Pontifical Catholic University of Goiás, 2015), 39 – 46

¹⁶⁸ Kuslová, "Představení osobností J. A. Bati", 7.

any case, this was more than a fortunate opportunity for the Czech entrepreneur: it was indeed the confirmation that he was not alone when it came to the idea of transferring population to underpopulated lands by means of planned colonization. Now, *Osidlování* have crossed with *Marcha para Oeste* in a process that resulted in Jan Antonín Baťa receiving an invitation by the Brazilian government for settling in that South American country as early as in July 1939¹⁶⁹.

Despite the existence of favorable conditions since the beginning of the Second World War, the decision to settle in Brazil would occur only gradually for Jan A. Baťa. In fact, the initial reaction of the Zlín office towards Jan A. Baťa's invitation by the Brazilian government was that of distrust¹⁷⁰. Nonetheless, after the initial checks, the Czech entrepreneur travelled to Rio de Janeiro in March 1940 and decided to buy all shares of a transportation company called Companhia de Viação São Paulo – Mato Grosso [São Paulo – Mato Grosso Transportation Company]¹⁷¹. This company, referred to by current historians as the acronym CVSP-MT, offered Jan Antonín Baťa all the necessary material conditions for not only expanding Baťa Shoe Company's operations to Brazil but also for supporting his vision of colonizing the underpopulated lands of the Brazilian country. As a transportation company, by 1940 it had exclusive rights for providing navigation services in the upper Paraná River¹⁷². In addition, it had more than twenty years' experience in the establishment of towns in the *Oeste paulista* region, the westernmost portion of the State of São Paulo¹⁷³. Jan Antonín Baťa had other companies in order to support his activities in Brazil. According to Costa, Jan A. Baťa's proprieties were the following¹⁷⁴:

- Sapaco (*Sociedade Anônima para o Comércio*), a shoe factory based out of Batatuba;
- Imperatriz, a shoe retailer chain active in the State of São Paulo;
- Companhia de Viação São Paulo – Mato Grosso (CVSP-MT), a transport and colonization company based out of today's Presidente Epitácio, São Paulo;

¹⁶⁹ MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, kart. 204, inv. č. 884, fol 18; Costa, "As cidades da Cia Baťa", 86. Jan Antonín Baťa was naturalized as a Brazilian citizen in 1947. A copy of Jan Antonín Baťa's naturalization process can be found in Costa, "As cidades da Companhia Bata", annex II, 221–41.

¹⁷⁰ In an internal communication dated July 20, 1939, Mr. Souček suggests that the company should send a representative to Brazil in order to guarantee political support to Baťa's operation in that country as well as to check whether the Brazilian government had in fact backed the invitation communicated to Zlín by the then Brazilian consul Sampaio. MZA, SOkA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, kart. 204, inv. č. 844, fol. 1.

¹⁷¹ Ziliani, "Colonização", 122.

¹⁷² The CVSP-MT's navigation services were eventually nationalized by President Getúlio Vargas in 1943. See: Ziliani, "Colonização", 121.

¹⁷³ For the CVSP-MT history, see: Bonfim, "Colonização particular", 64 – 95.

¹⁷⁴ This is an adapted version of the list published in Costa, "As cidades da Companhia Bata", 94.

a number of academic writings¹⁷⁵. Instead, my intention is to interpret them as a phenomenon as to examine the process under which them came to give birth to a new model of Bat'a's ideal industrial town.

The 1940s: IPM replication intents

The 1940s was the time when Jan Antonín Bat'a tried to apply the recently created IPM model in his new country, Brazil. This led to a process where new set of questions and problems would add up, demanding him to constantly update the model created in Zlín. This is evidenced by not only the concrete town projects designed already in Brazil, but also by the number of

¹⁷⁵ See Introduction for a relation of works dedicated to the history of the Brazilian Bat'a towns.

annotations, commentaries, and addenda found his personal copy of the *Ideální průmyslové město* manual¹⁷⁶.

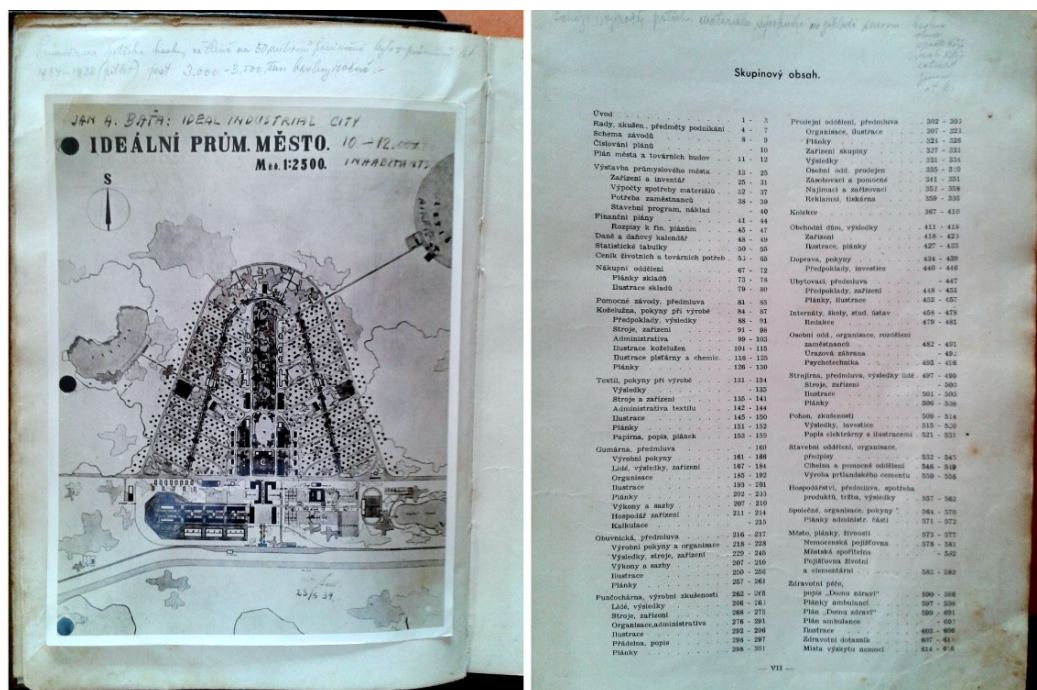
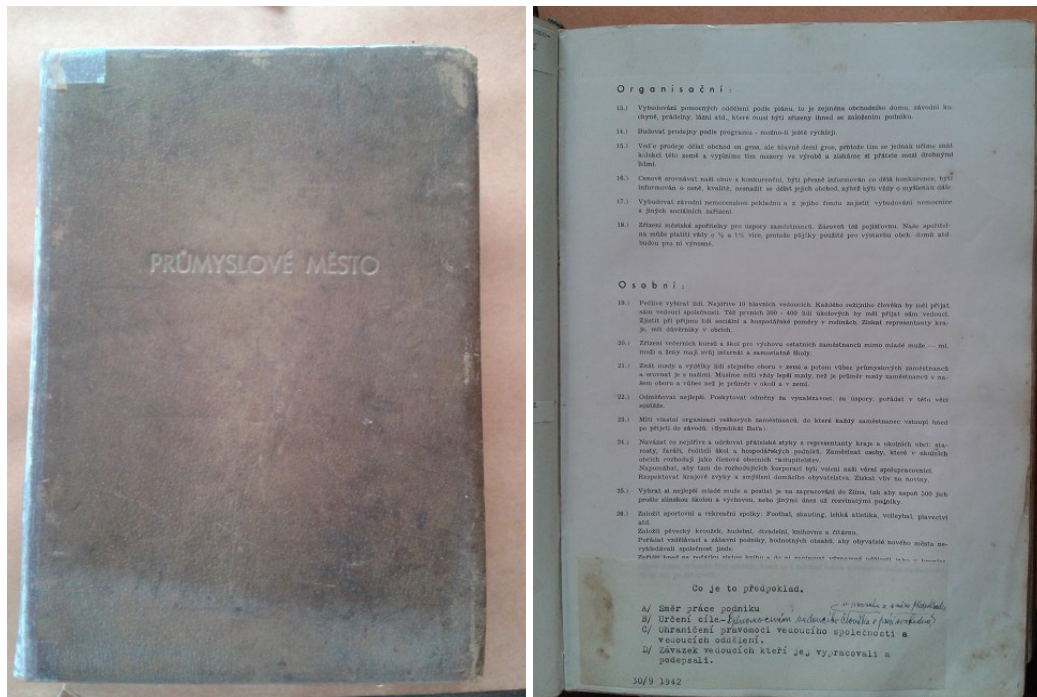


Image 20. Jan A. Baťa's *Průmyslové město* personal copy with samples of his addenda to the book. Source: Baťa, *Průmyslové město*.

¹⁷⁶ Baťa, *Průmyslové město*.

This effort resulted in the establishment of two towns: Batatuba and Vila CIMA, both located in the State of São Paulo. These towns can be understood as IPM replication intents due to the recurrence of all or most urban solutions used in the company's manual. When comparing the IPM guidelines set in Zlín with the concrete plans that guided the establishment of these towns, one should notice a process of gradual simplification of the urban design, where the original organic, arrow-like IPM design would slowly give way to a more orthogonal, checkerboard urban layout. However, the persistence of some basic IPM guidelines in these urban layouts allied with innovations concerning the industrial processing of agrarian goods as well as the dual role of the town's inhabitants as both farmers and factory workers indicate that Jan Antonín Baťa would gradually adapt the original IPM project into a model of an ideal agrarian-industrial settlement.

Batatuba

As mentioned above, Batatuba started as a production unit installed in the city of São Paulo in 1939. After Jan Antonín Baťa's decision to settle in Brazil, in 1941 he moved that production unit out of the city center in order to build a town following the guidelines set in the IPM project. For this goal, he bought lands 90 km away from the state capital in a region matching the basic premises of the IPM concept: an empty land closer to bigger consumer center (the cities of Piracaia, Atibaia, and Bragança Paulista can be found in a 40 km radius from Batatuba) and located near a river (Cachoeira River), an existent railway, and a road. There, he established the first Brazilian Baťa town, Batatuba, and the shoe factory Sapaco, which eventually became the only shoe factory established by him in Brazil¹⁷⁷. Following the company's place naming tradition, Batatuba bears the name Bata (with the original diacritic removed in order to ease its pronunciation by non-Czech or Slovak speakers) connected to a local radical¹⁷⁸. In this case, Bata is combined with the word *tuba* from the native Tupi-Guarani

¹⁷⁷ Acronym of *Sociedade Anônima para o Comércio* [Anonym Society for Commerce] and a wordplay with the Portuguese words *sapato* [shoe] and *companhia* [company], the name Sapaco was intended to mask its affiliation to the Baťa Shoe Company, which, by the time of Batatuba's foundation, were inscribed in Allies' "black lists" of Nazi collaborators. See: Costa, "As cidades da Companhia Bata", 88.

¹⁷⁸ The names of many Baťa towns around the world follow similar pattern. A non-exhaustive list would include, for example, Baťov-Otrokovice (Czech Republic), Batawa (Canada), Batanagar (India), Baťovany-Partizanské (Slovakia), Bataville-Hellocourt (France), and Batadorp-Best (The Netherlands).

language family, whose chosen meaning was “father”¹⁷⁹; therefore, Batatuba means “Father Ba’a”.

The connections of Batatuba with the ideas voiced in the IPM manual are straightforward and continued as such until the last months of Jan Antonín Ba’a’s life. This was clearly voiced by during a discourse given on April 30, 1964 in the occasion of the one-month anniversary of the Brazilian military coup-d’état:

Those who are working here for many years will remember that a Batatuba Development Plan was painted on the wall nearby the gate. In this plan, Batatuba was planned to have 3,500 workers-collaborators in a town with 10,000 inhabitants. The figures were not taken out of the thin air. These plans were formed and fulfilled decades ago in 50 Ba’a city-factories around the world. Almost all of them have already met their goal – Batatuba did not.¹⁸⁰

On contrary of Batawa and Belcamp, Batatuba would be the first town established in a tropical country to follow the recently created IPM concept. In this sense, Jan Antonín Ba’a enjoyed this opportunity for putting the IPM principles into a real-life test in new socio-political conditions. This means that Jan Antonín Ba’a did not take it as a closed concept but, instead, used the experiences acquired in particularly in Batatuba, and in his Brazilian towns in general, in order to expand even more the original project.

Batatuba 30/1
1944.

Fuel:

Until now, there is a serious problem in most South-American countries. – As a consequence of insufficient transport, coal is amazingly expensive here, and until the outbreak of the war, it used to be imported from abroad, mainly from England and the United States. [...] **The industrial town book** assumes the consumption of 5 kg of pairs [of shoes] for each kWh. – Dry lumber, when taken as fuel, gives out 3,000 cal of heat in average; hence, 1kg of wood offers 3.5 kg of pairs [of shoes]. [...] According to the **experiences in this area**, a eucalypt forest can be explored after 7 or 8 years. A clear cut Ha of a eucalypt forest (or black wattle) gives out 250m³ of lumber and stronger branches after 7 years. [...] black wattle needs a climatic condition colder from that found in Indiana. In Batatuba, it is going to suffer very little from diseases.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ Nonetheless, the meaning of the word *tuba* is not that straightforward as it might seem from the outset. Due to the composed character of the *língua geral paulista* (“São Paulo’s general language”) or *língua geral meridional* (“general language of the south”), the Tupi-Guarani-Portuguese creole language spoken in the province of São Paulo in colonial times, “tuba” might mean either “an aggregation of (something)/ a place plenty of (something)” or “father” depending if it was originally borrowed from Tupi, Guarani, or any other related language. Therefore, Batatuba might also mean “a place plenty of Ba’a” or “an aggregation of Ba’as”. For *língua geral paulista*, see Eduardo de Almeida Navarro, *Dicionário de tupi antigo: a língua indígena clássica do Brasil* [Dictionary of Ancient Tupi: Brasil’s Classic Amerindian Language] (São Paulo: Global, 2013), 553.

¹⁸⁰ “Os que trabalham aqui vários anos vão lembrar, que na parede, perto do portão tinha-se pintado um plano de Desenvolvimento de Batatuba. Nele foi projetad Batatuba para 3.500 operários-colaboradores e a cidade Batatuba com 10.000 habitantes. As cifras não foram tiradas do ar. Tais planos foram formados e já décadas cumpridos em 50 cidades-fábricas Ba’a no mundo. – Praticamente todas já atingiram suas metas – menos Batatuba.” Typos and grammatical imprecisions original as this excerpt was copied *ipsis literum* from the source. Jan Antonín Ba’a, *Batatuba*, Bata Arambasic family archive, Nova Andradina, page 3.

¹⁸¹ “Batatuba 30/1 1944. Palivo: Ve většině jihoamerických zemí je dosud vážným problémem. – Je to následek nedostatečné dopravy, že uhlí je tu úžasně drahé, a až do vypuknutí války se dováželo z ciziny, zejména z Anglie

Elsewhere, in an unexpected crossing of design traditions, Jan Antonín Baťa proposes the vernacular architecture of Indiana's nearby region as a solution of how IPM could have the design of its temple improved:

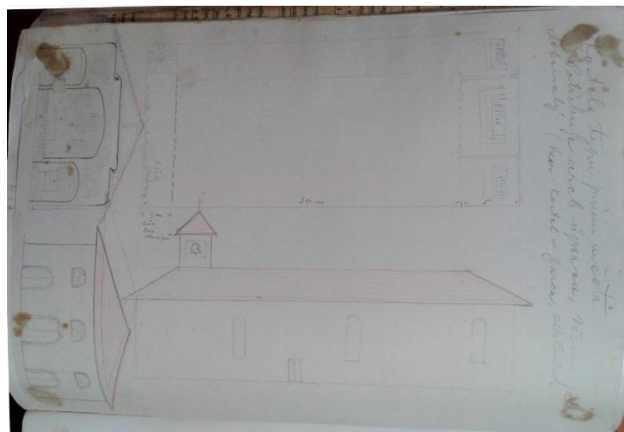


Image 21. Jan A. Baťa's design proposal inspired by the vernacular architecture of Indiana's nearby region. Source: Baťa, *Průmyslové město*, 628¹⁸².

The process of adapting the IPM concept to the lands chosen for Batatuba can be evidenced via a set of different visual primary sources conserved to the date. Due to their lack of signature and date, the authorship of most of these documents is unclear. However, they might be the work the architect Alois Gebauer, the only Zlín employee who, with the exception of the very Jan Antonín Baťa, have his name clearly related to both IPM project and Brazil¹⁸³.

a Ameriky. [...] **Kniha průmyslového města** předpokládá spotřebu 5 kg páry na 1Kwh. – Suché dříví, počítáno jako palivo dá průměrně 3.000 cal. tepla a tedy 1 kg dřeva poskytne 3.5 kg páry. [...] Les eucalyptový dává **podle zkušenosti v kraji zdejších** těžné stáří v 7 až 8 letech. Ha eucalyptového lesa (nebo akacie) dává po 7 letech 250m³ dříví a silnějších větví, vykácený na holoseč. [...] Alacie negra potřebuje však klimatické podmínky a sice chladněji než-li je Indiana. V Batatubě bude třetí nemocemi velmi málo." Baťa, *Průmyslové město*, 505, separate paper sheet. Emphasis added.

¹⁸² Handwritten in Czech: "Kostel typu prům. města / Potřebuje arch úpravu, [věcně] je dokonalý. (Vzor: Kostel v garça, alta paulista)" [Temple type ind. town / Needs arch. amelioration, [dispassionately] is perfect. (Model: temple in Garça, Alta Paulista region)].

¹⁸³ The Baťa architect Alois Gebauer (born on November 02, 1896) arrived in Brazil in July 1941 and worked for Jan Antonín Baťa until the end of the Second World War. In 1947, Gebauer left CIMA Company and moved to Rio de Janeiro. For the 1941 – 1946 period, see: "Brasil, São Paulo, Cartões de Imigração, 1902-1980," database with images, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QVV9-6XK7>, accessed May 05, 2018), Alois Gebauer, 1942; citing Immigration, São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil, certificate 135099, registration 720455, Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo (São Paulo State Public Archives), Brazil. For the 1947 transfer for Rio de Janeiro, see: "Brasil, São Paulo, Cartões de Imigração, 1902-1980," database with images, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QVV9-6XKH>, accessed May 05, 2018), Alois Gebauer, 1947; citing Immigration, São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil, certificate, registration 135099, Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo (São Paulo State Public Archives), Brazil.



Image 22. Alois Gebauer (first row, fourth from right to left) pictured among Jan A. Baťa's collaborators in Brazil. Source: Jan Antonín Baťa, *Fazendy*, Bata Arambasic family archive, Nova Andradina.

The first evidences of the fact that Batatuba was modeled after the IPM project can be found in two preliminary sketches stored in CMJT archives in Batayporã. Batatuba can be recognized in both sketches by the representation of the Cachoeira River and the road and railway connecting Atibaia to Piracaia¹⁸⁴, which match similar representations found in other Batatuba plans. The first one, which I am calling here Batatuba sketch 1, can be understood as a literal transposition of R.H Podzemný's IPM models onto the topography where Batatuba was eventually established.



Image 23. Left: Batatuba sketch 1. Author and date unknown. Source: CMJT, Batayporã, gaveta 26. Right: R. H. Podzemný's town for 10,000 inhabitants, 1938. Source: Jemelka and Ševeček, *Tovární města*, 100

In Batatuba sketch 1, R. H. Podzemný's town was taken literally as a model that could be transplanted into a concrete region. However, it does not mean that the planners involved with the establishment of Batatuba were in fact trying to materialize an abstract model. As mentioned

¹⁸⁴ The section of the state road SP-036 that connects the city of Narazé Paulista to the state highway SP-65 is named after the Czech entrepreneur as Rodovia Jan Antonin Bata.

in Chapter one, the IPM was conceived rather as a reference that should be adapted *in locus* to local conditions. Therefore, the preliminary, tentative character of this sketch becomes clearer especially when one considers the presence of the two persons clearly related to the IPM project, Alois Gebauer and Jan Antonín Baťa. This is also confirmed by another source, which I am calling Batatuba sketch 2.



Image 24. Batatuba sketch 2. Author and date unknown.
Source: CMJT, Batayporã, gaveta 26.

Batatuba sketch 2 reproduces in more details all the main elements that form the basis of IPM concept. A central parkway connects the long-distance road (Atibaia – Piracaia road in yellow) to the local street network distributed along three concentric circles, which marks three possible degrees of future growth for this town. The reduced scale of this sketch indicates a greater concentration on details, which might indicate that it was produced after the other sketch mentioned above. What is more, it also follows more closely another of R. H. Podzmený's model, this time the tropical town for 150-1,500 workers, indicating that Batatuba would be established first as a small town with room for future growth.

Nonetheless, a more definitive representation of Batatuba is a plan dated 1948 and signed by the Baťa employee František Macek¹⁸⁵. As the result of a fully adaptation of IPM design

¹⁸⁵ The architect František Macek, also known in Brazil as Francisco Macek or Frans Macek (born July 17, 1914), worked for the Baťa Stavební in Zlín between 1930 and 1934. After leaving the company, he ended up working as an autonomous architect in Ostrava, Czechoslovakia (today's Czech Republic), during the Second World War. Macek decided to leave the country after seeing his company nationalized by the newly installed Communist government in 1948. In the same year, Macek arrived in Brazil and was hired by Sapaco in Batatuba. Nonetheless, he was fired the following year due to two unauthorized absences from Batatuba. After leaving Jan Antonín Baťa,

onto the local topography, Batatuba's 1948 plan is the most complete representation of Jan Antonín Baťa's and collaborator's plans for the first Brazilian Baťa town. The fact that the current town of Batatuba perfectly fits into this plan indicates that it was indeed used as the definitive guideline for the establishment of this town.

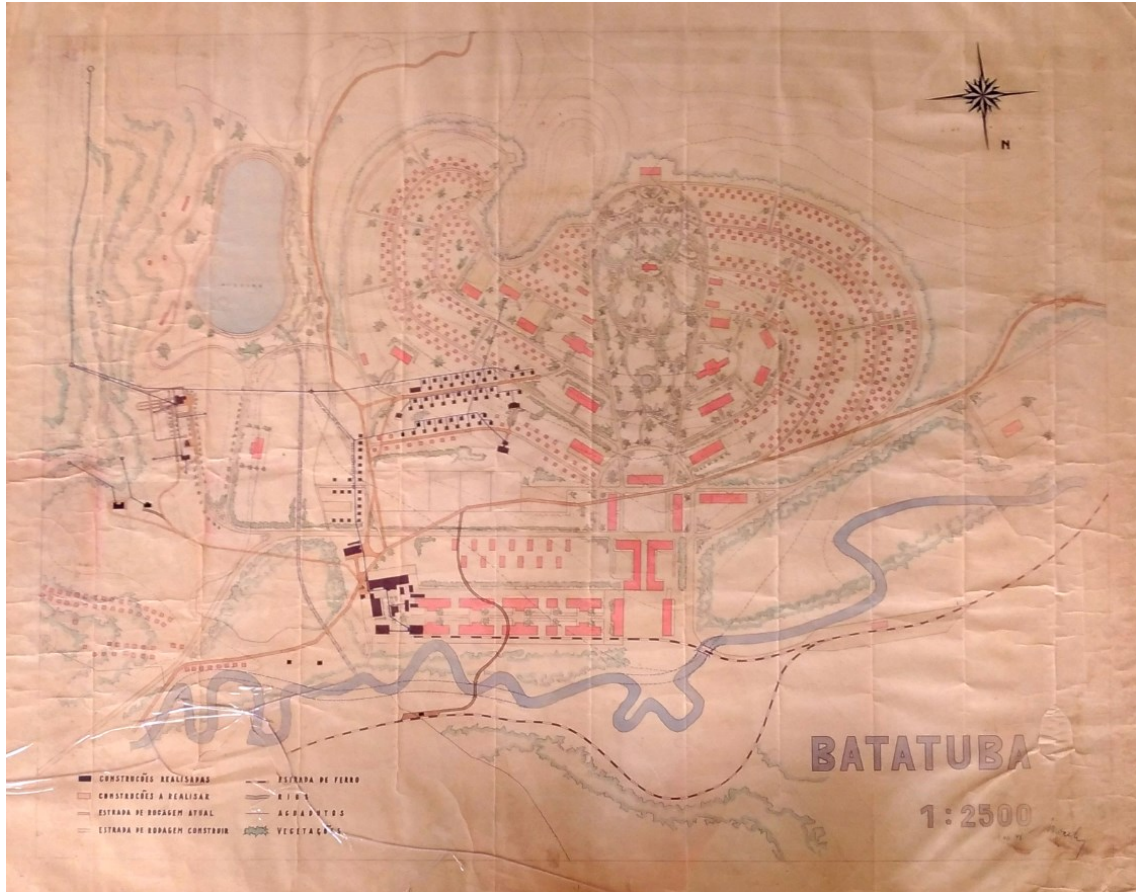


Image 25. Batatuba's plan, 1948.

Source: František Macek, *Batatuba* [map], 1:2500, Batatuba, 1948, CMJT, Batayporã, separate acrylic panel

As already indicated by the preliminary sketches shown above, Batatuba's intended design follows very closely the guidelines set by Baťa planners in Zlín. Especially in Batatuba's 1948 plan, two fundamental design element was applied. On the one hand, the basic arrow-like design was almost entirely kept with the exception of the distortion on the southeastern section

he established himself first in São Paulo and later in Petrópolis, State of Rio de Janeiro. See: Sociedade Anônima para o Comércio, František Macek's admission form, František Macek's employee card, Sapaco factory, Batatuba, Employee's cards collection, pages 1-4. For his life after Sapaco, see: "Brasil, São Paulo, Cartões de Imigração, 1902-1980," database with images, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QS7-L966-M6M7?cc=2140223&wc=Q4T9-GPK%3A1056964801%2C1057004901>, accessed May 06, 2018), F > Frankland-Franze > image 425 of 804; Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo (São Paulo State Public Archives), Brazil. For the nationalization of his company in Ostrava, see: <https://www.noveaspi.sk/products/lawText/1/18869/1/2>, accessed May 06, 2018.

of the residential area, planned as such in order to circumvent a steep hill found in that region. On the other hand, the two-zone division was kept as evidenced by the fact that the industrial zone, located between Cachoeira River and a railway track, on side, and the Atiaba – Piracaia road, on the other side, is connected to the residential zone via the Work Square and a central parkway.

It is also worth noticing the absence of superblocks as planned by Michal Kunic and incorporated in R. H. Podzemný's models. Instead of having its residential area divided in three superblocks, Batatuba was planned with two smaller residential areas completely separated by the central parkway. It seems that the superblock effect – e.g. limiting car traffic to the borders of a given superblock by establishing a park in the middle of that block – was emulated by the inclusion of a sequence of parallel green belts that would separate each double row of mismatched houses from one another.

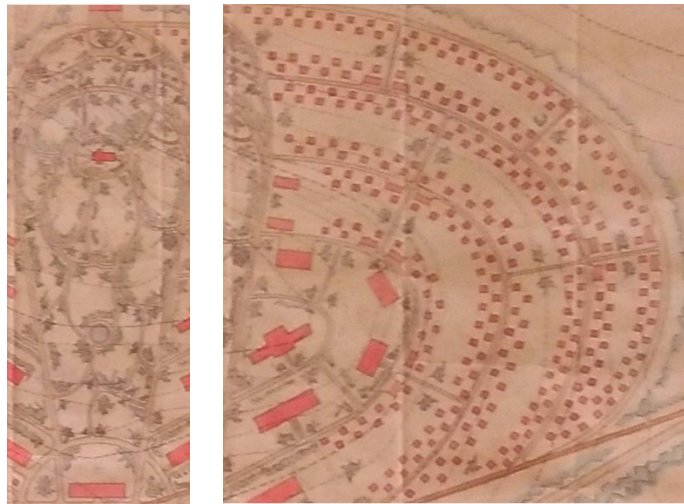


Image 26. Details of Batatuba's plan, 1948. Left: central parkway. Right: southwestern residential zone with five concentric isolation green belts, three among the six double rows of mismatched houses and two among the hostels closer to the parkway. Source: Macek, *Batatuba*.

The definitive character of this plan is shown by its accuracy when compared with the town that was eventually established. That is because every building marked in black on the left hand side of the plan was eventually built. A comparison with an independent geographic survey made after the establishment of the town makes this point clear:

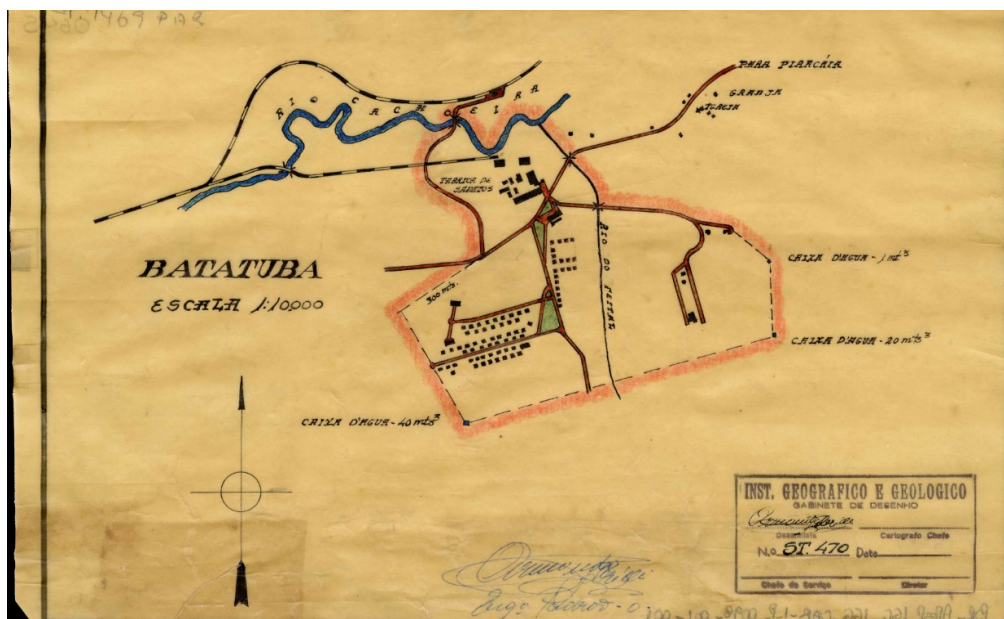


Image 27. Batatuba town plan, Instituto Geográfico e Gelológico de São Paulo, date unknown. Source: Instituto Geográfico e Gelológico de São Paulo, *Batatuba* [map], 1:10.000, Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo, BR_APESP_IGC_IGG_CAR_I_P_0098_001_001, http://www.arquivoestado.sp.gov.br/site/acervo/repositorio_digital/documento_cartografico, accessed May 1, 2018

Concerning the plan’s authorship, this research was the first to identify to whom belongs the signature provided besides the scale mark on the bottom right corner. As evidenced by a matching pattern found on his employee card, it is safe to affirm that Batatuba 1948’s plan was signed by the Czech architect František Macek.

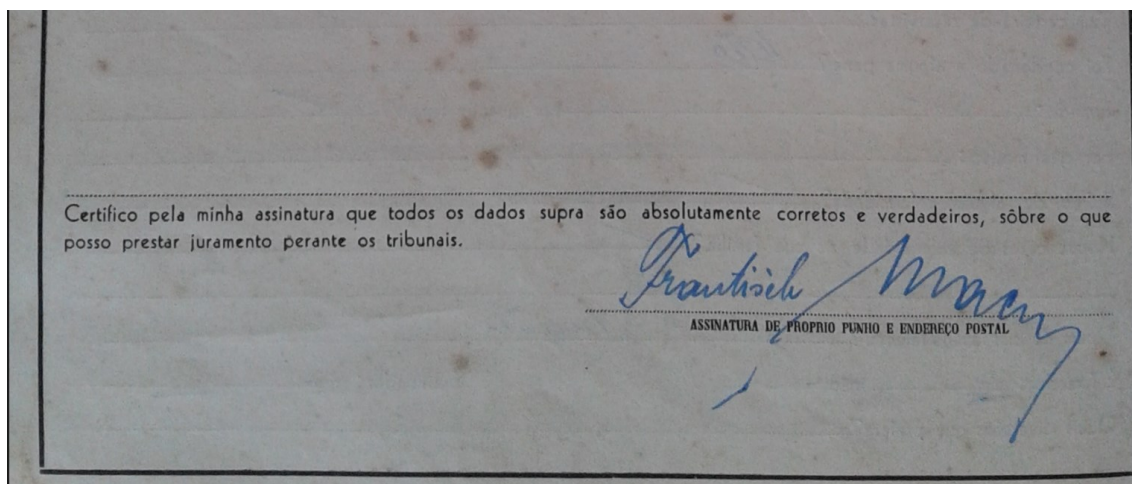


Image 28. František Macek’s signature. Source: Sociedade Anônima para o Comércio, František Macek’s admission form, page 4.

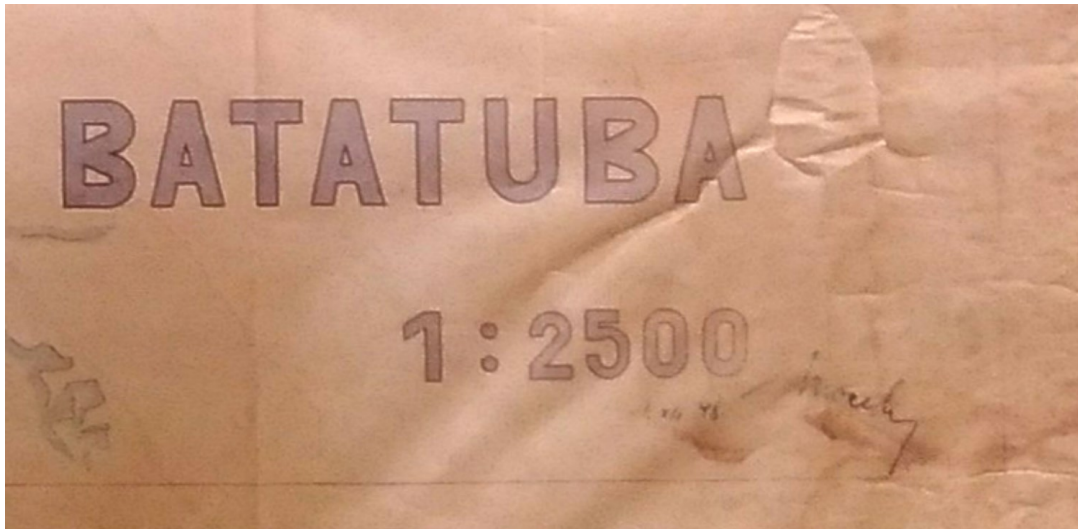


Image 29. Detail of František Macek's signature on Batatuba 1948's plan.
Source: Macek, *Batatuba*.

Even though the signature on this project points specifically to this Baťa employee, it is not possible to indicate Macek as the sole author of Batatuba's 1948 plan. Similarly as in Zlín of the 1930s, Jan Antonín Baťa would make use of every resource ready to use in order to achieve his goals, which means that he would assign his project to a group of experts instead of relying on one single person. This is especially true for Batatuba's design when we consider the time span between the foundation of the town in 1941 and Macek's 1948 plan, the existence of preliminary drafts probably worked by Gebauer, and the fact that Macek arrived in Batatuba relatively late in comparison with other Baťa architects like Alois Gebauer, Jan Kašpar, and Alois Kundrát. One last evidence was found in a pair of pictures taken in 1941 on the occasion of the ceremonial blessing of Batatuba's factory made by Bragança Paulista's bishop Dom José Maurício da Rocha. In these pictures, Jan Antonín Baťa and the bishop are observing and apparently talking about a town mock-up that holds many similarities to Batatuba's 1948 plan.

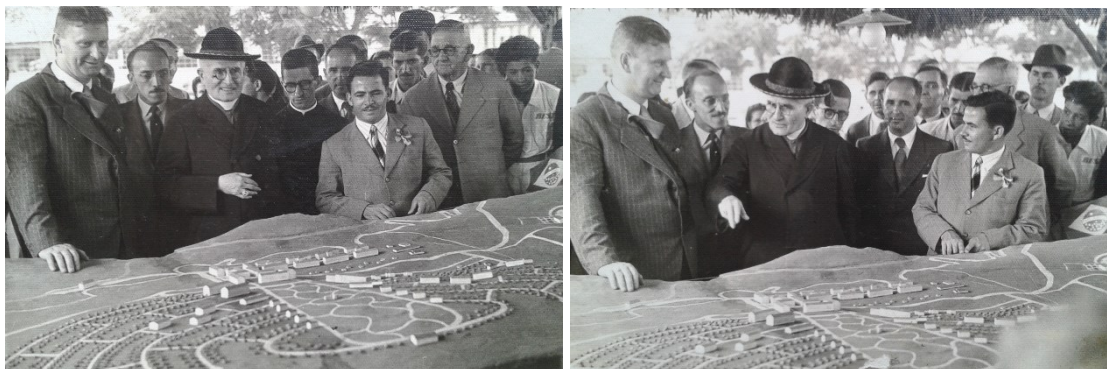


Image 30. Jan Antonín Baťa (left) and Dom José Maurício da Rocha (center, hat), 1941. Source: Jan Antonín Baťa, [photo album], Bata Arambasic family archive, Nova Andradina, box Arquivo histórico cartas e originais assuntos variados 2007.

Vila CIMA - Indiana

Receiving its name from the CVSP-MT subsidiary CIMA - *Companhia Industrial Mercantil Agrícola*, Vila CIMA was the only Baťa town established in the Oeste Paulista region (West São Paulo) to follow more closely the design set by the IPM project. It is important to notice that Vila CIMA was not intended to be an independent town but a district of an already existent city, Indiana. As a matter of fact, this procedure was not unusual for the Baťa Shoe Company, who sometimes decided to not build an entirely independent Baťa town, but to connect them to regionally important towns and cities¹⁸⁶.


Sobrenome e Nome		František Bernard									
Nascido	Dia 12 Janeiro	ano 1924	onde Simpatz	estado Tchecoslováquia							
Nacionalidade	Tcheca		Lugar de direito de domicílio								
Residência	Município Indiana	Bairro Vila Cima	Rua								
Estado civil	Solteiro - casado - viúvo		solteiro		Religião católica						
Profissão	Ramo assist. administrativa		onde Vila Cima		instituto da firma I.A.P.I.						
Escolas	secundário										
Línguas	Fala e escreve sim		parcialmente								
Esposa	sobrenome		nascida		Mudança para outro domicílio						
Pae	sobrenome František Bernard		nascido Tcheca								
Mãe	sobrenome Ana Bernard		nascida		Data		Rua				

Image 31. Excerpt of František Bernard's employee card, a CIMA company's surveyor. Here, Vila CIMA is cited as a district of Indiana. Source: Companhia Industrial Mercantil Agrícola, František Bernard's employee card, UNESP CEMOSi, Presidente Prudente, caixa 22 Plantas.

Although being a non-expressive town shadowed by its neighbor Presidente Prudente, the biggest city of that region, Indiana had the advantage of being an important trading hub located on Estrada Boiadeira road, at that time a trading route that connected the sparsely urbanized Oeste Paulista's country to the Sorocabana railroad and, consequently, to the state capital and Santos harbor. Due to its strategic economical function and to the fact of being located in CVSP-

¹⁸⁶ For instance, this was also the cases of Borovina (district of Třebíč, Czech Republic), Bataville (district of Hellecourt, France), Batadorp (district of Best, The Netherlands), and Bataflor (planned as a district of Talagante, Chile).

MT-owned lands Indiana was main seat of operations of that company already by the time of its acquisition by Jan A. Bat'a¹⁸⁷.

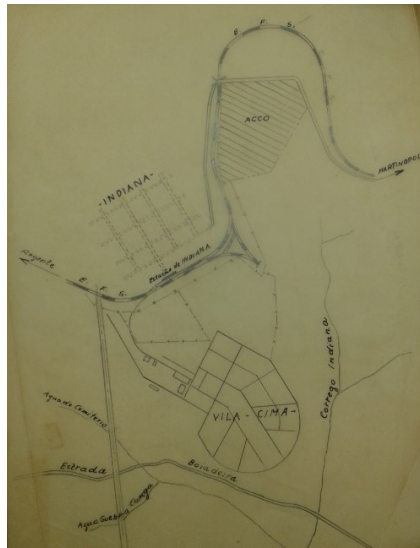


Image 32. Sketch of Indiana and Vila CIMA, author and date unknown.
Source: UNESP CEMOSi, Presidente Prudente, caixa 22 Plantas.

The lack of conserved documentation about Vila CIMA notably complicates the rescue of its history. To begin with, the exact conditions of its planning are unclear. Evandro Amaral Trachta da Silva and Dolores Ljiljana Bata Arambasic mention the year of 1940 as the time when a Bat'a production unit arrived in that region in order to “jumpstart the plans of the first colonization core”. However, according to them, the town building program would start only eleven years later, in 1951¹⁸⁸. Another difficulty is the fact that, on the contrary of its sister-towns, Vila CIMA is the only Brazilian Bat'a town that was completely abandoned after its establishment. Despite being planned as the seat of CVSP-MT and subsidiaries companies, Vila CIMA ended up by remaining a very small settlement, and was eventually abandoned later due to financial difficulties. According to Georgia Carolina Capistrano da Costa, the CIMA company went bankrupt in 1972 and Vila CIMA was sold to Ms. Rosa Scorpioni, who used the lands for recreational purposes but later have abandoned the place. The buildings were gradually demolished and their bricks used by people of nearby areas. As of 2010, only few houses and the CIMA company's main office were still standing in the place, although in precarious conditions¹⁸⁹.

Despite their precarious state of conservation, documents related to the establishment of Vila CIMA indicates that Jan Antonín Bat'a have been gradually developing a type of agrarian-

¹⁸⁷ Costa, “As cidades da Companhia Bata”, 116-7.

¹⁸⁸ Silva and Arambasic, *Passos tchecos em terras brasileiras*, 47-8.

¹⁸⁹ Costa, “As cidades da Companhia Bata”, 130

industrial town as early as in the mid-1940s. Due to Indiana's strategic position as a regional commercial hub as well as to the number of head of cattle Jan Antonín Baťa acquired with CVSP-MT, Vila CIMA's production facilities were mainly intended to process agrarian goods such as wood, cotton, and castor bean¹⁹⁰.

A major evidence of Vila CIMA's agrarian-industrial vocation was established in a plan found in UNESP CEMOSi archives. Despite its fragmented character and its precarious state of conservation, the plan's title is still visible. It reads "Regulation Plan of the Agrarian-Industrial and Urbanistic Core in the Proprieties of Cia CIMA s.a. Located in Indiana, Municipality of Regente Feijó, State of São Paulo"¹⁹¹. Its date cannot be securely assured; nonetheless, it was certainly produced no later than 1948 since Indiana was emancipated from Regente Feijó town in December 24 of that year – in the plan, Indiana was stated as being part of Regente Feijó¹⁹².

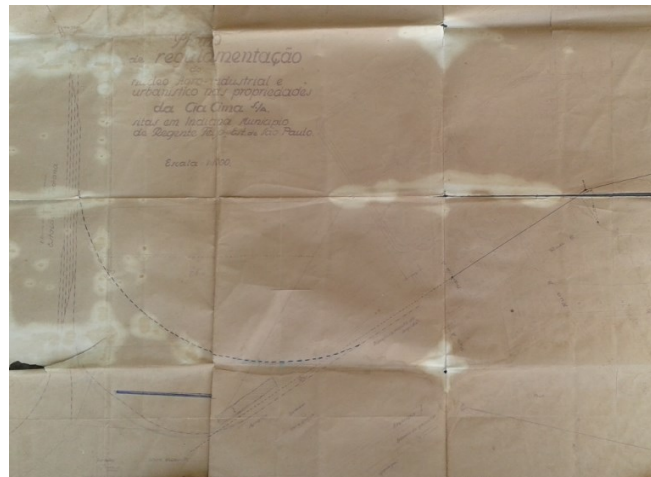


Image 33. Vila CIMA's regulation plan, author and date unknown.

Source: *Plano de regulamentação do núcleo Agro-industrial e urbanístico nas propriedades da Cia Cima s./a. sitas em Indiana.*

Concerning its urban form from the outset, the Indiana and Vila CIMA's sketch presented above evidences Vila CIMA's overall IPM, arrow-like design, which very much contrasts with Indiana, whose checker's board design is more in line urban design tradition of that region¹⁹³. A reconstruction of this plan made by Costa approximates Vila CIMA even more to the IPM design:

¹⁹⁰ Sila and Arambasic, *Passos tchecos em terras brasileiras*, 48.

¹⁹¹ *Plano de regulamentação do núcleo Agro-industrial e urbanístico nas propriedades da Cia Cima s./a. sitas em Indiana, Município de Regente Feijó, Est. de São Paulo* [map], 1:1000, author and date unknown. UNESP CEMOSi, Presidente Prudente, caixa 22 Plantas.

¹⁹² Costa, "As cidades da Cia Bata", 123.

¹⁹³ For a reflection on Oeste Paulista region's urban design tradition, see: Costa, "As cidades da Cia Bata", 134.

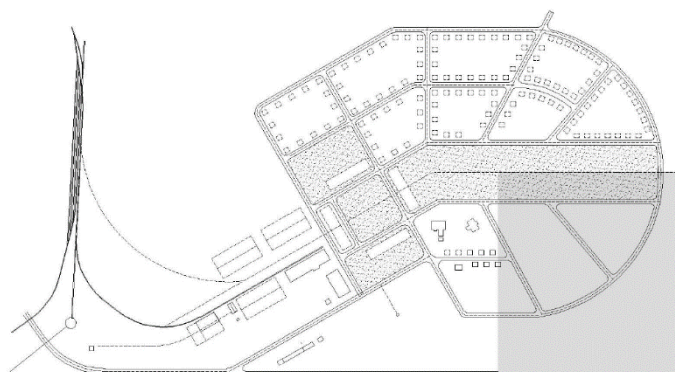


Image 34. Reconstruction of Vila CIMA's Regulation Plan.
Source: Costa, "As cidades da Cia Bata", 125.

Found in Jan Antonín Baťa's personal archive, a copy of a study probably made by the Czech architect Alois Kundrát in 1940¹⁹⁴, leaves no room for doubting the Vila CIMA's affiliation with the IPM project:

¹⁹⁴ The date mentioned along Alois Kundrát's annotation concerning a 117° bend on the town's central axis indicates that Indiana's Regulation Plan was produced in 1940, which confirms the affirmation by Silva and Arambasic, who claimed that Vila CIMA started to be planned on the same year. In 1939, Zlín, the Baťa architect Alois Kundrát (1910 – 1962) was selected as a member of São Paulo's production union, arriving in Brazil on September 20 of that year. However, from 1945 he seemed to have following a career as an architect independent to Jan Antonín Baťa. For his inclusion in the São Paulo's 1939 production unit, see: MZA, SOKA Zlín, fond Baťa a.s., Zlín, kart. 204, inv. č. 884, fol 58. For details concerning his arrival in Brazil and his first years in that country, see: "Brasil, Cartões de Imigração, 1900-1965," database with images, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-95HZ-74Z?cc=1932363&wc=QSDR-7M3%3A1588714602%2C1588714826>, accessed May 06, 2018), Group 10 > 4864085 > image 29 of 202; Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro (National Archives, Rio de Janeiro); and "Brasil, São Paulo, Cartões de Imigração, 1902-1980," database with images, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QSQ-G9XJ-M4ND?cc=2140223&wc=Q4TW-GP6%3A1056965601%2C1057150301>, accessed May 06, 2018), K > Kummer-Kunii > image 546 of 898; Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo (São Paulo State Public Archives), Brazil.

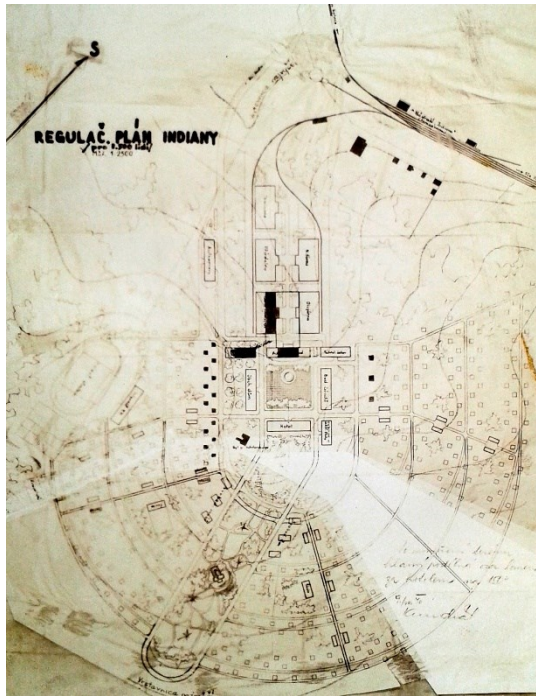


Image 35. Indiana's Regulation Plan, 1940.

Source: Jan Antonín Baťa, *Plánky průmyslových měst*, Bata Arambasic family archive, Nova Andradina.

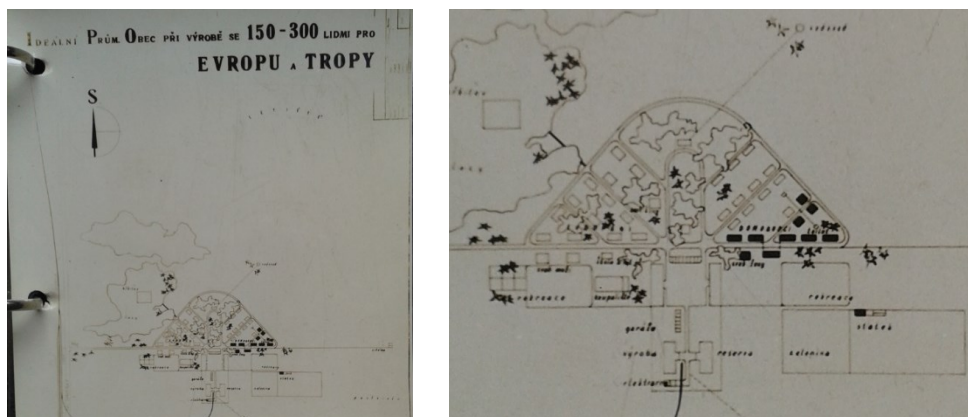


Image 36. Jan A. Baťa's copy of the IPM for 150-300 people, Europe and tropics.

Source: Baťa, *Plánky průmyslových měst*.

Indiana's regulation plan can be understood as a tributary of Baťa's 1938 IPM design for Europe and tropic, described in Chapter one. A crossed reading of the titles of both plans supports the claim that Vila CIMA was initially planned as a town for 1,500 people (Indiana's Regulation Plan) where 150-300 of them would be factory workers (IPM 1938 plan)¹⁹⁵. According to the regulation plan, Vila CIMA's intended design contained many of the fundamental elements set by the IPM model: it would a central parkway connecting the

¹⁹⁵ The title reads "Ideální Prům. Obec při výrobě se 150-300 lidmi pro Evropu a Tropy", literally translated as "Ideal Industrial Town for Production with 150-300 people for Europe and Tropics".

residential area to the agrarian-industrial works and long-distance roads, the Work Square as a central hub and transition spot, and superblocks without Kunic's cul de sacs.

Mariópolis

Named after Marie Baťová, Jan Antonín Baťa's wife, Mariópolis would be the third town to be established in Brazil and the first one to be located in a considerable distance from a major urban center and without any previous infrastructure in its surrounding area. An excerpt taken from an undated booklet attributed to Marie Bata Nash, one of Jan Antonín Baťa's daughter, illustrates gives us a glimpse of the conditions under which the town of Mariópolis came into being:

What is now the city of Mariópolis, counting 12.000 inhabitants, has been in 1942 a djungle, primeval forrest, damaged badly by a forest fire in 1939, in extent of 12.000 hectares, equal to 30.000 acres, barred to the south and west by the rio de Peixe (Fish river) which made it so much less accessible.

Having bought, among other lands in 1940 dr. Jan A Baťa this land, at that time called Gleba Monte Alegre, he decided to resettle there whoever should be interested to buy land in order to clear the jungle and form a farm for his family.

His czech technicians have prepared the plans, whereafter a party of pioneers has broken the road while other has built the bridge over the river.

In 1942 preparations were made and on a poster, placed in the middle of the jungle, dr. Jan A Baťa declared, that in 1950 this new resettlement project named Mariapolis will have 10 thousand inhabitants¹⁹⁶.

What seemed to have drawn Jan Antonín Baťa specifically to the Monte Alegre propriety was its strategic site between two parallel railway tracks, the E.F. Paulista and E.F. Sorocabana¹⁹⁷, at that time still in expansion in order to connected the then Oeste Paulista region and the then State of Mato Grosso to the State of São Paulo's coast. Adding to the possibilities to navigate the Peixe River westwards as for reaching Parana River and its basin, the expectations brought by the expansion of Paulista railway near Monte Alegre propriety might have motived Jan Antonín Baťa to establish a transport hub in that area.

¹⁹⁶ *Picture Story of Mariapolis – The City Built in a Jungle*, Nadační fond Jana Antonína Bati, http://www.batuv-dum.cz:80/files/mariapolis_-_a_city_in_the_jungle_by_maria_bata_nash.pdf, accessed via <https://web.archive.org/web/20131002205050/http://www.batuv-dum.cz/>, May 07, 2018. This text was originally composed in English language.

¹⁹⁷ Costa, "As cidades da Companhia Bata", 133.



Image 37. Excerpt of a 1940 map of Brazil owned by the CVSP-MT. The rectangles marked in black ink represent the company's lands. Gleba Monte Alegre can be found near the center of the image along the representation of Peixe River in blue. The red lines represent railways.
 Source: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (Serviço de Geografia e Estatística Fisiográfica), *Mapa do Brasil – Edição comemorativa do Quinto Recenseamento do Brasil, de Setembro de 1940* [map], 1:6500000. CMJT, Batayporã, “Mapa do Brasil”, gaveta 6, nº 10.

Such endeavor had a higher implementation cost when compared to the Vila CIMA and Batatuba. As mentioned in Bata Nash's booklet, in the early 1940s the Monte Alegre propriety was a dense forest with no previous infrastructure. Such conditions might have greatly influenced the process of deciding which urban layout would be the most suitable for this new settlement. On contrary of the other Brazilian Baía town established before 1943, when it comes to its urban form, Mariópolis draws attention to its more checker's board, orthogonal design. From the outset, a town plan dated 1943 seems to indicate that the organic IPM design gave way to a more geometric way of establishing a street network among the allotments of the town.



Image 38. Mariápolis plan, 1943. Source: Seção Técnica da Cia CIMA s./a. Indiana, *Patrimônio de Mariápolis Fazenda Monte Alegre /Alta Paulista/ Município: Martinópolis Comarca: Pres. Prudente Propriedade da Cia Viação São Paulo – Mato Grosso* [map], 1:2000, Indiana, 1943, UNESP CEMOSi, caixa 22 Plantas.

Costa interprets such occurrence as the result of a functional shift of Mariápolis when compared with the other Brazilian Baía towns located in the State of São Paulo. According to her, instead of focusing on the performance of agrarian-industrial activities, Jan Antonín Baía inserted Mariápolis into the general logic of colonization, meaning that the establishment of the town was primarily intended to promote the occupation of the land. In this sense, Costa argues that Mariápolis' design followed more closely the design traditions of the Oeste Paulista region, where the rationalized gaze of the land surveyor would gradually draw a landscape marked by economical use of land whereas almost identical towns would pop-up as the Paulista and Sorocabana railways stretched further westward into the open country¹⁹⁸.

The influence of regional urban design traditions is so poignant that Mariápolis can be considered as a point of no return when it comes to the designs of the Brazilian Baía towns when taken chronologically. From this point on, no other Baía town in that country would be design based on the IPM's overall arrow-like layout. Instead, Mariápolis, Bataguassu, and Batayporã all established upon a regular grid system. However, it does not mean that Jan Antonín Baía decided to abandon the old urban model for a simpler way of establishing new towns. In fact, what Mariápolis suggest is that the Czech entrepreneur were developing the IPM project even further as new and unforeseen challenges and opportunities imposed themselves. This can be evidenced by the observation that Mariápolis's design was still following the basic principles set by the IPM project, although in a more simplified manner when compared with Vila CIMA and Batatuba. An expanded version of the town's 1943 plan (recreated by Costa due to deteriorated state of the original document) as well as a younger follow-up adaptation¹⁹⁹ clarify illustrate how Mariápolis dialogues with the IPM project.

¹⁹⁸ Costa, "As cidades da Cia Bata", 134-9. Costa does recognize the existence of features in Mariápolis' design that were out of step with the regional design practices. However, the author vaguely attributes them to Jan Antonín Baía's pasts experiences and limits herself to state a parenthood of Batatuba's, Vila CIMA's, and Mariápolis' layouts based on basic design elements such as the central axis and the proximity of the factory site to the railway track.

¹⁹⁹ Although its production date cannot be precisely identified, it is safe to affirm that this plan is was not produced before 1953 since its description states that Mariápolis is a independent municipality, which occurred on December 30, 1953. See: "História do Município de Mariápolis" [The History of Mariápolis' Municipality], *Prefeitura Municipal de Mariápolis*, <http://www.mariapolis.sp.gov.br/index.php?sessao=b054603368ncb0&id=1640>, accessed May 07, 2018.



Image 39. Mariópolis plan, date and author unknown.
Source: Costa, “As cidades da Companhia Bata”, 135.

Both plans indicate that Mariópolis is conceptually organized around a perpendicular crossing of two functionally different axis. On top of that, the younger version, which is more close to the urban grip that were eventually established, show two axis of different sizes, the longer, southwest-northeast connecting the town to the nearby cities of Martinópolis and Adamantina and the shorter, northwest-southeast distributing the long-distance traffic across the town. In a reminiscence of the IPM central parkway, the shorter axis is composed by two avenues that delimit in its inside a functional area composed by a set public buildings such as the school and the temple. The focal point of the town that meet in the town’s central square, named *Praça do Brasil* [Brazil Square]. It is also worth noting the existence of blocks inspired by the IPM’s superblocks. In the younger plan, at least a number of the blocks would have its central area transformed into a playground (indicated as *parq infantil*) or a parking lot (indicated as *auto parq*).

However, the major dialogue with the IPM project is rather a conceptual one. Reading through the IPM concept, Mariópolis’ planners have projected it with an outside green belt whose agrarian, educational, and leisure functions dialogues with Ebenezer Howard’s description of his garden city, which were included in R. H. Podzemný’s tropical models as described in Chapter one. Costa’s reconstruction shows the existence of an outer ring circulating the town with a number of allotments dedicated not only to agriculture (*chácaras* [small cottage

house with a farm]), but also for rural education (*escola agrícola* [agrarian school]), and recreation (*parque natural* [natural park] and *esportes* [sports]). Despite its long tradition, the more detailed planning of the town's hinterlands area, which was supposed to absorb part of the town's population in its *chácaras* is another innovation brought by Mariápolis' design that, alongside its checker's board layout, highly influenced the planning of Jan Antonín Bat'a's future towns. As described in the sequence, the logic of a town composed by an urban core surrounded by an inhabited rural area was replicated and elaborated so consistently by Jan Antonín Bat'a in future plans that it can be considered the basis of a new urban model based on the IPM concept.

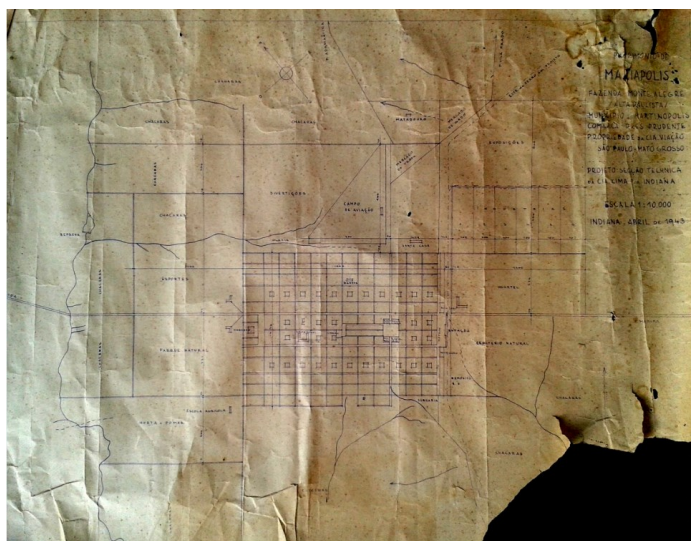


Image 40. Mariápolis extended plan, 1943. Source: Seção Técnica da Cia CIMA s/a. Indiana, *Patrimônio de Mariápolis Fazenda Monte Alegre /Alta Paulista/ Município: Martinópolis Comarca: Pres. Prudente Propriedade da Cia Viação São Paulo – Mato Grosso* [map], 1:10000, Indiana, April 1943, UNESP CEMOSi, tubo 9 Patrimônio de Mariápolis (planta); Patrimônio de Mariápolis (projeto); Patrimônio de Indiana (planta).



Image 41. Costa's recreation of Mariápolis extended plan, 1943. Source: Costa, "As cidades da Companhia Bata", 136.

As exposed above, Vila CIMA and Batatuba are the two Brazilian Baťa towns that can be more clearly associated to the IPM model when it comes to their urban form. However, Vila CIMA's case also starts to show that the older model did not respond well to Jan Antonín Baťa's new necessities, concerns, plans and ideas that would gradually emerge during the 1940s, many of them related to issues concerning the agrarian world and colonization of huge portions of land. The urban layout of Mariápolis was the first more structured response to these changing conditions, as its design stands in a middle field between the older Baťa urban planning tradition and Jan Antonín Baťa's new model developed in Brazil. As described in the next sessions, this process led Jan A. Baťa towards an intense transformation of the company's original model, making of the IPM an agrarian-industrial settlement.

The 1950s: Mass migration is back in town

By 1950, Jan Antonín Baťa had successfully established three towns in proprietaries located in the State of São Paulo. Of all this experiences, Mariápolis seemed to have deeply moved the Czech entrepreneur not only because of its size (which, according to Bata Nash's booklet, went beyond the mark of 10,000 inhabitants) but due to the possibilities that this case seemed to open. The life experience of building an entirely new town where once stood a dense tropical jungle might have been felt as a spectacle of a collective human will. Mariápolis seemed to prove to Jan A. Baťa that the crossing between capital, governmental forces (under the colonization discourses of *Marcha para Oeste* campaign), national and foreign technical expertise, and private initiative could achieve the extraordinary.

In addition, the settlements established in Central-Western portion of Brazil were happenings long awaited by Jan Antonín Baťa since 1938. Especially in the case of Bataguassu, a slowly growing settlement established by the Czech entrepreneur in 1945 in the then State of Mato Grosso, these towns ended up by attracting European refugees, immigrants from Japan, and economic migrants arriving from poor regions in north and northeast Brazil²⁰⁰. Such happening offered Jan Antonín Baťa a seemingly decisive proof that, under the right circumstances, mass migration could offer a solution for social-economical and even political crisis. The ideas he exposed years before in the article *Osidlovat* started to seem feasible after all.

²⁰⁰ Dolores Ljiljana Bata Arambasic, "Projekt kolonizace a osídlování Mato Grosso", in *Jan Antonín Baťa – život a dílo, pokračovatel práce Tomáše Bati, mezinárodní konference, sborník* [Jan Antonín Baťa – life and work, continuator of Tomáš Baťa's work, international conference proceedings] (Zlín: Statutární město Zlín, 2007), 81; Costa, "As cidades da Companhia Bata", 144.

In some moment by the end of the 1940s, Jan Antonín Baťa started to summarize all these experiences under a complex entanglement of plans, fears, dreams, and even religious feelings. He looked towards the Old Continent and saw a Europe still struggling with the consequences of war, the advance of communism in Central European countries, and increasing number of refugees leaving those countries. While he had lands in Brazil, displaced peoples in Europe were trapped between two economical systems that were starting to clash. For the Czech entrepreneur, in such circumstances, a third European war was only a matter of time. Therefore, he established a plan for fostering European outgoing immigration, and, certain of the humanitarian and religious values of his cause, presented it to the very leader of the Catholic Church, the Pope Pius XII, in June 20, 1951²⁰¹. Encouraged by the positive response, Jan A. Baťa decides to publish two booklets two different booklets, one printed in Portuguese (*Estudos sobre a migração*, 1951) and the other, in English (*A Study of Migration*, 1952)²⁰².

I plead the privilege of introducing myself to His Holiness. I am the global shoemaker Baťa, of Czechoslovak origins, expatriated by Hitler, condemned by the communists, citizen of that miracle Catholic continent which is Brazil.

[...]

I believe that the will of Our Lord guided me towards Brazil, where my service as an industrial colonist was exchanged by the agrarian colonization. In this service, despite the limitations imposed by the war, I have settled in my lands in the States of São Paulo and Mato Grosso about 60,000 people in new villages and cities.

[...]

I am convinced by the special grace of God that my task is to make from these experiences a highly powerful weapon of Peace, which I have been place into the worldly Prince of Peace's Holy hands, into His Holiness' hands.²⁰³

Both texts can be understood as developments of the ideas already shown twelve years before in the article *Osidlovat*. If, in the 1938 article, mass migration was proposed as a solution for land conflicts instigated by the Nazi Germany, in the 1951-2 books Jan Antonín Baťa wants to convince its audience that his plan will contribute “to the solution of the ‘formidable time-bomb’ of Migration and to our winning of the Cold War, thus doing the best to prevent the outbreak of the next and more terrible and devastating war, that could solve less than the

²⁰¹ Kuslová, “Jan Antonín Baťa den po dni”.

²⁰² Jan Antonín Baťa, *Estudos sobre a migração* (Batatuba: self-printed, 1951), CMJT, Batayporã, caixa 3, envelope 23; Jan Antonín Baťa, *A Study of Migration* (Batatuba: self-printed, 1952), Nadační fond Jana Antonína Bati, http://www.batuv-dum.cz:80/files/migration_by_jan_a_bata.pdf, accessed via <https://web.archive.org/web/20131002205050/http://www.batuv-dum.cz/>, May 07, 2018.

²⁰³ “Rogo o privilégio de apresentar-me a Vossa Santidade. Sou sapateiro mundial Bata, de origem thcecoslovaca, expatriado por Hitler, condenado pelos comunistas, cidadão do milagroso continente Católico que é o Brasil. [...] Creio ter sido dirigido pela vontade de Nosso Senhor para o Brasil, onde meu serviço de colonizador industrial foi trocado pela colonização agrícola. Neste serviço, e a despeito das limitações da guerra, coloquei nas minhas terras, nos Estados de São Paulo e Mato Grosso, cerca de 60,000 pessoas em novas aldeias e cidades. [...] Tenho a convicção de que, pela especial graça de Deus, é minha tarefa forjar, de tais experiências, uma arma poderosíssima de Paz e venho tentando colocar essa arma nas mãos Santas do Príncipe da Paz mundial, de Vossa Santidade.” Jan Antonín Baťa, *Estudos sobre a migração*, 1.

previous ones did.”²⁰⁴ For achieving that, Jan Antonín Baťa proposes the creation of a “migration bank”, a transnational financial institution that would support colonization companies in America, Africa, and Asia via loans to be repaid after 15 years²⁰⁵.

Although the basic argumentation remained virtually the same, both booklets presents slightly different texts as the English one presents a reduced version of the Portuguese text adapted to an international audience. The analysis of all differences between the two versions as well of its meanings is out of the scope of this master’s thesis. However, one difference is extremely significant for understanding how a new model of Baťa’s industrial town came into being in Brazil. The Portuguese booklet provides more details concerning how the newcomers would be settled in the South American country. In a truly crossed reading of the IPM project, the Brazilian conditions, and Henry Ford’s plans for Muscle Shoals, Mississippi, Jan Antonín Baťa for the first time have clearly stated his intention of creating an agrarian-industrial settlement in Brazil:

After my return to Brazil, I have found a way of colonizing even industrial workers skilled in agricultural practices in my Brazilian shoe factory in Batatuba and Indiana.

Thereby, I would follow the ideas of Henry Ford, who suggested an experience with farmer-industrial-workers. I have been studying the possibilities of doing so in Indiana as well as in Batatuba. [...].

The idea of forming a mixed, agrarian-industrial working class as thought by Henry Ford is very interesting for Brazil. I am willing to perform a convincing experience which, as a matter of fact, would not mean to me as only an experience but simply a necessary endeavor that needs to be proven.²⁰⁶

At this point of Jan Antonín Baťa’s life, his concept of an agrarian-industrial settlement was still a vague idea expressed in overall calculations and plans. In his *Estudos sobre a migração*, he limits himself to proving how a 7 people family could divide its members among rural and industrial activities as to guarantee a stable flux of income and pay off the debt owed to the colonization company, who had granted them a small farm and industrial jobs. When it comes to the physical description of the agrarian-industrial settlement, he only states that it “covers zones where the transport network, schools, markets, and industries are partially

²⁰⁴ Jan Antonín Baťa, “Carta ao Santo Padre Pio XII” [Letter to the Holy Father, Pius XII], *A Study of Migration*, 1.

²⁰⁵ Jan Antonín Baťa, *Estudos sobre a migração*, chapter XV – Bancos de Migração; and *A Study of Migration*, 20.

²⁰⁶ “Após o meu regresso ao Brasil, encontrei um modo de colonizar até os operarios industriais, conhecendo êstes tambem o trabalho agricola, em minha industria de sapatos no Brasil, em Batatuba e Indiana. Seguiria, assim, a idéia de Henry Ford, que sugeriu fosse realizada experiencia com sitiantes-operarios-industriais, tendo estudado a possibilidade de assim fazer tanto em Indiana como em Batatuba. [...] A idéia de se formar um operariado mixto industrial-agrario, concebida por Henry Ford é bem interessante para o Brasil, e eu estou disposto a fazer uma experiencia convincente, que, aliás, para mim não seria nenhuma experiencia, e sim uma tafêfa simplesmente necessaria a ser provada.” Jan Antonín Baťa, *Estudos sobre a migração*, chapter XXX – Operarios industriais para Batatuba e Indiana.

developed but its agricultural lands are poorly utilized - as it often happens in industrialized areas.”²⁰⁷

Jan Antonín Baťa’s plans for his agrarian-industrial settlement can also be understood in dialogue with other similar experiences that would take place in Brazil during the course of the 1950s. As shown during the IPM project, the Czech entrepreneur was constantly looking for sources of inspiration and solutions that he could adapt and apply to his own projects. This is evidenced by binder named “Colonizações no Brasil” [Colonizations in Brazil], kept in the Bata Arambasic family collection²⁰⁸. The binder is a collection of leaflets and newspaper articles about similar colonization projects. Of these, two are worth noticing²⁰⁹. The first item stored in this binder is a leaflet of the colonization company SOMECO – Sociedade de Melhoramentos e Colonização in which they describe their newly established town of Ivinhema, planned by the famous São Paulo’s architect Francisco Prestes Maia²¹⁰. As shown in the leaflet, SOMECO’s plan for its new town Ivinheva, founded in 1963 not far from Batayporã, holds many similarities to Baťa’s agrarian-industrial model, especially concerning the relationship between an urban core and its agrarian hinterlands, based upon the idea of decentralized agrarian cooperatives.

The second colonization project worth noting is the case of a rural settlement established in 1949 by Dutch and German refugees near the city of Guarapuava, State of Paraná. What caught Jan Antonín Baťa’s attention was the way such immigration was organized. According to the magazine article he has stored in this binder²¹¹, the refugees arrived in Brazil supported by the institution Aide suisse à l’Europe – Schweizer Europahilfe, which provided them with financial means to travel and settle in the new lands. The Czech entrepreneur was able to research further and eventually found an 1952 report of the same institution, in which they provided more details concerning the migration activities they supported in the previous year. Jan Antonín Baťa highlighted the following information:

²⁰⁷ “abrange as zonas já parcialmente desenvolvidas na parte de transportes, escolas, mercados, indústrias, porém, com terras de agricultura pouco aproveitadas, como geralmente se sucede nos lugares industriais.” Jan Antonín Baťa, *Estudos sobre a migração*, chapter XXXI – Colonização Mixta Agro-Industrial.

²⁰⁸ Bata Arambasic family collection, Nova Andradina, binder “Colonizações no Brasil”.

²⁰⁹ Although necessary for a more complete understanding of the interaction of the many different actors in activities in the southeast Mato Grosso do Sul as well as of Jan Antonín Baťa’s inspirations, a detailed analysis of how Ivinhema and Guarapuava relates to Jan A. Baťa’s experiences is out of the scope of this master’s thesis.

²¹⁰ Francisco Prestes Maia (1986 - 1965) was an architect and civil engineer responsible for the refurbishment of important cities in the State of São Paulo such as Santos, Campinas, Campos do Jordão, and even the homonymous state capital. For Prestes Maia, see: “Francisco Prestes Maia”, in Maria Cristina da Silva Leme (coord.), *Urbanismo no Brasil – 1895 – 1965* [Urbanism in Brazil – 1895 - 1964] (São Paulo, Studio Nobel, FAUUSP, FUPAM, 1999), 484 – 489.

²¹¹ João Martins, “Imigrantes sem luxo” [Immigrants without luxury], *O Cruzeiro* 35 (June 14, 1952), 46-50, 52, 58,

<http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=003581&pasta=ano%20195&pesq=imigrantes%20sem%20luxo>, accessed May 12, 2018.

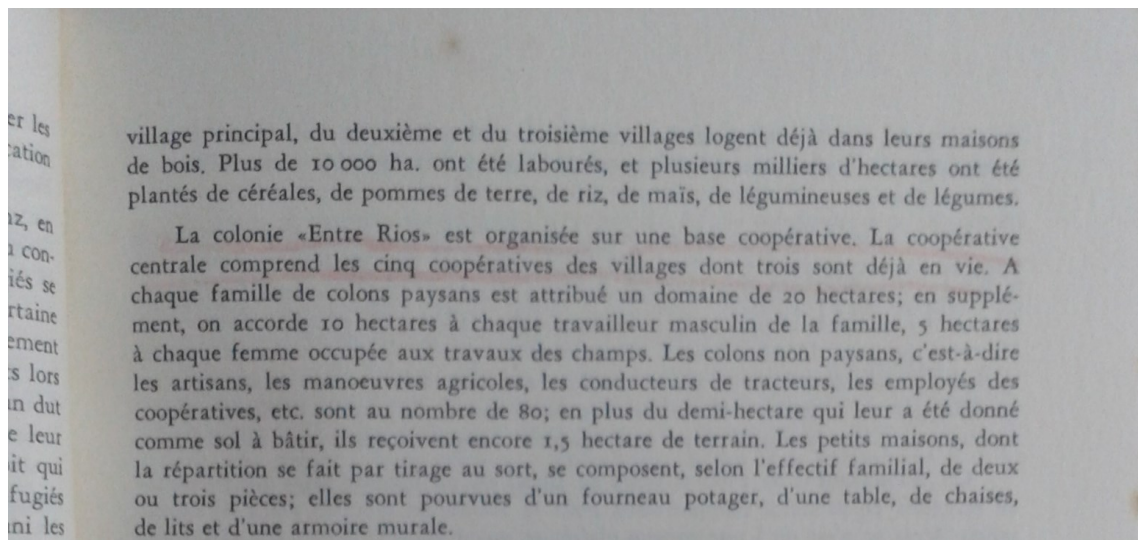


Image 42. Excerpt highlight by Jan Antonín Baťa on Aide suisse à l'Europe's booklet. Source: Aide suisse à l'Europe, *Rapport sur l'activité de L'Aide suisse à l'Europe pour la période allant du 1er janvier 1951 au 31 décembre 1951* [Aide suisse à l'Europe's Activity Report for the period from January 1, 1951 to December 31, 1951], p. 17, Bata Arambasic family collection, Nova Andradina, binder Colonizações no Brasil²¹².

Jan Antonín Baťa's agrarian-industrial ideas still had to be put into test. During the 1950s, he decided to cross the Parana River and dedicate himself to the development of two agrarian-industrial settlements that were still influenced by some of the ideas developed in the IPM project. In this context, the cities of Bataguassu and Batayporã would be Jan A. Baťa's testing grounds.

Bataguassu

As of 2017, Bataguassu had a population of approximately 22,400 inhabitants, which makes of it the biggest among the five Baťa towns established by Jan Antonín Baťa in Brazil²¹³. Unfortunately, it also the town with the least amount of original urban planning documentation conserved to the date. As of the publication of this master's thesis, none of the original plans that served as a basis were located.

According to Arambasic and Silva, Bataguassu is the final result of a series of unsuccessful attempts to establish a town in Fazenda Formosa propriety during the 1940s. In 1943, contemporary to the establishment of Mariápolis, a CVSP-MT crossed the Paraná River westwards into the then state of Mato Grosso for the first time and tried to establish a town

²¹² The text highlighted in red reads "The 'Entre Rios' colony is organized upon a cooperative base. The central cooperative is encompasses five village cooperatives of which three are already active".

²¹³ "Bataguassu", in *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística*, <https://cidades.ibge.gov.br/brasil/ms/bataguassu/panorama>, accessed May 12, 2018.

named Batápolis on the banks of the Pardo River. However, the lack of political support as well as financial difficulties frustrated Jan Antonín Baťa's plans²¹⁴.

The fate of the first town to be established in Mato Grosso started to change from 1948, when the company planned a more structure attempt to establish a town between Paraná and Pardo rivers on the margins of a stream called Guassu [big stream]²¹⁵. Following the Baťa Shoe Company's town naming tradition, the town was named Bataguassu as to mean "Baťa's big stream". The incorporation of two new members to the CVSP-MT team is usually stated as the main reasons behind successful implementation of the town. The fate of the previous expeditions changed to the better with the arrival of Commander Nelson Verlangieri de Oliveira, who married Jan Antonín Baťa's daughter Edita Baťa de Oliveira in that year. As a navy officer born in the then state of Mato Grosso, Oliveira's connections with politicians of both state and federal administration were vital for realization of Jan Antonín Baťa's plans in that region²¹⁶. In addition, the CVSP-MT received the Baťa employee Vladimír Kubík in 1949, who was soon promoted as a regional director and became responsible for the establishment of Bataguassu. In 1945, it was under Kubík that Bataguassu had its allotment plan officially registered for the first time²¹⁷.

In a dialogue with Mariápolis' design and the ideas expressed in Jan Antonín Baťa's *A Study of Migration*, Bataguassu was planned as a colonial core composed by an urban center and a rural area annexed to its east side. This solution might have been responsible for the influx of internal migrants coming from the state of São Paulo and northeast Brazil as well as of immigrants from Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Japan²¹⁸, who have formed small colonies in the rural area. In an interview given to Costa, the son of Vladimír Kubík explained the organization of Batatuba's rural area, crossed by 10 vertically parallel streets called *Retas* [straight lines]:

They [CVSP-MT] had a mini-land reform plan, a reform plan, right? They have cut down the allotments e sold them as farms. There is a lot of people from the northeast here, people that came and opened up this all. So, for me, it was a mini-land reform at that time because there weren't huge farms. They have cut down here the so-called *Retas*, *Reta 1*, *Reta 2*, which still exist today²¹⁹.

²¹⁴ Arambasic and Silva, *Passos tchecos em terras brasileiras*, 56.

²¹⁵ Ziliani, "Colonização", 141.

²¹⁶ Costa, "As cidades da Companhia Bata", 141.

²¹⁷ Arambasic and Silva, *Passos tchecos em terras brasileiras*, 63.

²¹⁸ Costa, "As cidades da Companhia Bata", 144.

²¹⁹ "Eles tinham um projeto de uma mini-reforma agrária, uma reforma agrária, né? Eles cortaram os lotes e venderam para [fazer] sítios. Tem muito pessoal nordestino nessa região, que veio e abriu tudo isso aqui. Então, pra mim, foi uma mini-reforma agrária naquela época. Porque não eram fazendas enormes. Eles cortaram aqui, eram as Retas, Reta 1, Reta 2. Que existem até hoje." Costa, "As cidades da Companhia Bata", Annex I, 205.

A 1963 area plan shows how the colonization core was organized:

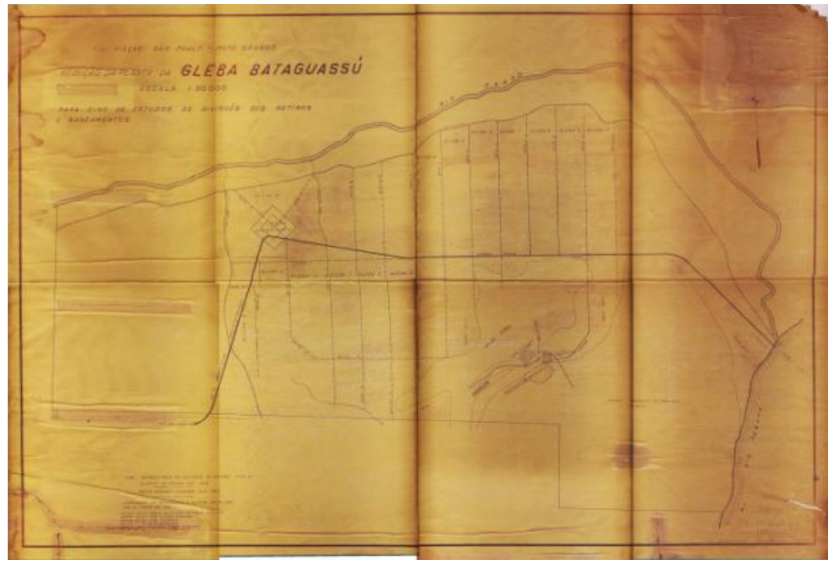


Image 43. Reduction of Bataguassu's land, 1963.
Source: Costa, "As cidades da Companhia Bata". 149.

Concerning the layout of Bataguassu's urban core, as mentioned above, primary sources that would confirm who the town was originally planned are yet to be found. Documents produced after the foundation of the town allow us to induce a few elements that might have oriented the original planning of Bataguassu.

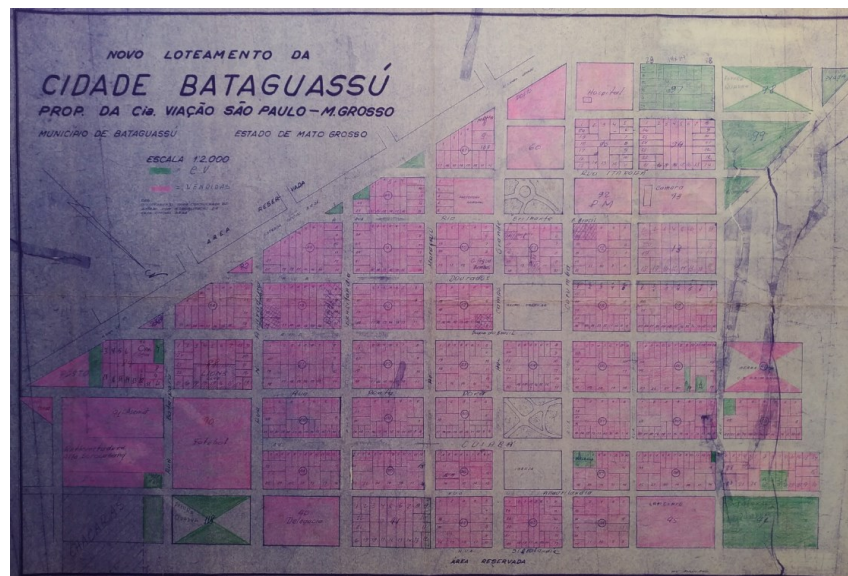


Image 44. Antonio Saito's "Bataguassu City's New Allotment", date unknown.
Source: *Novo Loteamento da Cidade Bataguassú Prop. Da Cia. Viação São Paulo – M. Grosso Município de Bataguassú Estado de Mato Grosso* [map], 1:2000, CMJT, Batayporã, gaveta 6, 13.

Antonio Saito's allotment plan, produced no later than 1953, the year when Bataguassu received the status of a city²²⁰, has two minor reminiscence of the ideas set by the IPM project. On the one hand, the three corners of the cities seem work as agrarian-industrial green transition zones that separate the rural area from the urban core, evidenced by the existence of a *laticínio* [dairy production facility] and *serraria* [sawmill], among green areas and parks. On the other hand, most of the city's urban equipment (two squares, a school, and a church) are concentrated in the column delimited by Campo Grande and Corumbá streets in a layout probably inspired by the IPM's central parkway. However, these observations remain as untested hypothesis in this master's thesis due to the absence of primary sources that would either confirm or refute them.

It is also worth mentioning an artist's impression of Bataguassu's city center. Although its authorship, purpose, and production date are unknown²²¹, it depicts an urban layout closer to that of Mariápolis. In addition, the concentration of leisure and transport facilities at one of the town's edge is a slight reminiscence of IPM's green belt that separates the industrial zone from the residential area.



Image 45. "Perspective of the Future City of Bataguassu", author and date unknown.
Source: *Vista da futura cidade de Bataguassú* [map], CMJT, Batayporã, separate acrylic panel.

²²⁰ "História do município", *Prefeitura de Bataguassu*, <http://www.bataguassu.ms.gov.br/acidade/historia.php>, accessed May 13, 2018.

²²¹ During individual consultations *in locus*, Dolores Ljiljana Bata Arambasic and Evandro do Amaral Trachta da Silva have mentioned that this artist's impression of Bataguassu was created in the context of an urban design competition launched by Jan Antonín Baťa in order to define the city's urban layout. However, I have not located any primary source that would confirm this information.

Batayporã

Batayporã, the youngest among the five Brazilian Ba'á towns, whose name derives from the combination of Ba'á with the Tupi Guarani word *yporã* [good water], meaning “Ba'á's Good Water” was established in the CVSP-MT's Fazenda Somambaia propriety in 1953²²². However, the CVSP-MT had been trying to establish a town in that area at least from 1942, date of the third expedition to recognize the lands sent from Indiana and led by the Zlín architect Jan Kašpar²²³. In 1943, Vendelín Hnilica, who also led one expedition, had clearly stated the intention of establishing a town in Fazenda Somambaia:

Timber city in Somambaia.

Mr. Grmela thinks that the first step necessary for starting the real industrial work is to search there a place for installing a water wheel or turbine and a tree debarker. This will allow us to take finished products – veneers from the forest instead of trunks.

[...]

Nonetheless, taking all of this into consideration, we need to prepare a base for establishing this venture by preparing studies and regulations concerning:

- a/ ways of establishing a settlement and, thus, of populating these farms
- b/ Providing permanent jobs in the future factory by the creation of a production portfolio and, thus, consumers in a ten-years program
- c/ Calculating capital needs for housing, factory, equipment transportation, and machines
- d/ Calculating transport²²⁴

Similarly to Bataguassu, the eventual establishment of Batayporã in 1953 was the final result of a series of previously unsuccessful expeditions to the lands where it would be located. In the 1940s, local powers resisted the many efforts by Jan Antonín Ba'á and collaborators to carry on their activities in the then state of Mato Grosso, as shown by the difficulties imposed to Hnilica's expedition by local police, which prevented them to cross Paraná River in 1944²²⁵, as well as the boundaries contestations with the traditional family of the Martins Barbosa,

²²² Arambasic and Silva, *Passos tchecos em terras brasileiras*, 72-3.

²²³ *Patrimônio Batayporã do Município Bataguaçú estado Mato Grosso*, author and date unknown, Nadační fond Jana Antonína Bati, http://www.batuv-dum.cz:80/files/bataypora_brazil.pdf, accessed via <https://web.archive.org/web/20131002205050/http://www.batuv-dum.cz/>, May 07, 2018. According to this booklet probably written by Marie Bata Nash, the other expeditions were led by Jan Antonín Ba'á and Victor Grmela.

²²⁴ “Dřevařské město na Somambaii. p. Grmela myslí, že první krok ku zahájení skutečných průmyslových prací jest vyhledati tam místo na postavení vodního kola nebo turbíny a loupáčky dřeva. [...]. Avšak celkově vzato musíme si vypracovati základnu pro vybudování tohoto podniku ve vypracování studií a předpisů týkajících se a/ způsobu zakládání osad a tedy osídlení této fazendy lidmi b/ Zajištění tvalého zaměstnání pro budoucí továrnu v ustanovení výrobní kolekce produktů a tím zákazníků pro desetiletý předpoklad. c/ Propočty potřeby kapitálů pro obydlí, továrnu, dopravní zařízení a strojní vybavení podniku d/ Propočty transportů”. Vendelín Hnilica, “Dřevařské město na Somambaii” [Timber city in Somambaia], CMJT, Batayporã, folder 3 Documentos – Levantamentos do início da colonização Faz Samambaia, sheet 42.

²²⁵ Jan Antonín Ba'á's telegram to Rudolf Řezný, November 18, 1944, CMJT, Batayporã, folder 3 Documentos – Levantamentos do início da colonização Faz Samambaia, sheet 27.

owners of Fazenda Baile neighbour to CVSP-MT's Fazenda Somambaia²²⁶. As mentioned above, the arrival of Commander Oliveira improved Jan Antonín Baťa's dialogue with local powers, which eventually enabled the establishment of both Bataguassu and Batayporã²²⁷. Batayporã's success also owed to the Czech immigrant Jindřich Trachta, regional director of CVSP-MT for Batayporã from 1954 and later the town's major. Leading the colonization venture, Trachta was responsible for the implementation of the town's infrastructure as well as agrarian-industrial facilities²²⁸.

The urban layout of Batayporã can be understood as a consolidation of the innovations found in Mariópolis and Bataguassu. Similarly to these towns, and dialoguing with the ideas exposed by Jan Antonín Baťa in *A Study of Migration*, Batayporã is also dynamically composed by a urban core surrounded by a rural area divided into small cottages and farms known as *chácaras* with a scattered presence of wood mills among them.



Image 46. Batayporã's rural and urban areas, author and date unknown²²⁹.
Source: *Chacaras – Patrimônio “Batayporã” Propriedade Cia. Viação São Paulo – Mato Grosso* [map], 1:4000, CMJT, Batayporã, gaveta 6, 20.

²²⁶ Sketch of a letter addressed to the Security Court in Rio de Janeiro, CMJT, Batayporã, folder 3 Documentos – Levantamentos do início da colonização Faz Samambaia, sheets 45-7.

²²⁷ Arambasic, “Projekt kolonizace a osídlování Mato Grosso”, 80.

²²⁸ Martina Čermáková, “Jindřich Trachta: um olhar sobre a memória e história de um imigrante tcheco no sul de Mato Grosso” [Jindřich Trachta: A Gaze Upon the Memory and History of a Czech Immigrant in the South of Mato Grosso] (master's thesis, Federal University of Grande Dourados, 2015), 130; Arambasic and Silva, *Passos tchecos em terras brasileiras*, 70-1.

²²⁹ The written indication that Batayporã belongs administratively to municipality and district of Rio Brilhante allows to infer that this plan was produced no later than 1963, the year when Batayporã became an independent municipality. See: Arambasic and Silva, *Passos tchecos em terras brasileiras*, 75; Costa, “As cidades da Companhia Bata”, 154.

From the outset, the perfectly rectangular, 10x6 blocks urban core of Batayporã seems to fit the logic of a purely pragmatic urban planning. This lead Costa to claim that “[...] given the conditions found by Bat’a [...] his ventures would inexorably follow the path of a colonizing, real state venture in the narrow sense of the word. From the ‘ideal industrial town’ to the ‘possible’ town.”²³⁰ Notwithstanding the financial difficulties shown by Jan Antonín Bat’a during the 1950s and 1960s and the consequent necessity of simpler and costless urban solutions, it is still possible to find in Batayporã’s urban layout, although simplified, the same IPM principles found in other Brazilian Bat’a towns. The urban core of Batayporã is divided into four 5x3 blocks zones, each containing a park and a public facility (a temple, a garden, a sport square, or a public school) in its central block. This indicates that the IPM principles of the organization of the town around the crossing of two perpendicular axis and the logic of the neighbourhood unit can still to be found in Batayporã’s design almost fifteen years after their conceptualization in Zlín.

²³⁰ “[...] dadas as condições com as quais Bata se deparou [...], inexoravelmente seus empreendimentos caminhavam para tornarem-se empreendimentos imobiliários colonizadores *strictu sensu*. Da ‘cidade industrial ideal’ para a cidade possível’.” Costa, “As cidades da Companhia Bata”, 152.

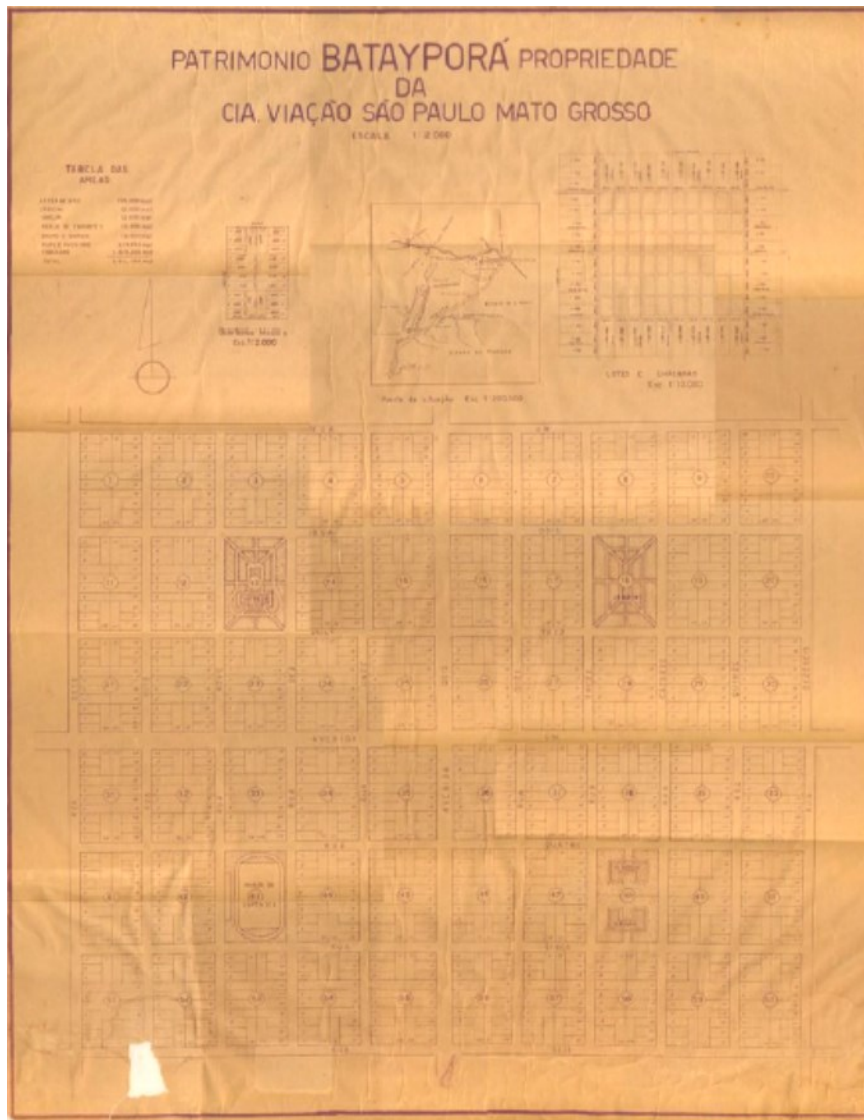


Image 47. Batayporã's plan, author and date unknown²³¹.
Source: Costa, "As cidades da Companhia Bata", 154.

The 1960s: The new model emerges – Presidente Kennedy

The year of 1961 in Pan-American geopolitics brought new hopes for Jan Antonín Baťa. Even if it was for a very short time, everything seemed perfectly aligned for him as of the inauguration of two governments apparently favorable to his plans for Brazil. In the United States, John F. Kennedy proposed a ten-year program called *Alliance for Progress*, intended to strengthen US's relations with Latin American capitalist countries via direct capital

²³¹ The lack of street naming indicates that this plan might have been produced before the establishment of the town in 1953.

investment²³². In Brazil, Jânio Quadros would include land reform among a series of controversial reform initiatives pushed by him during his short, seven-month long presidency²³³.

From the point of view of Jan Antonín Baťa's plans, the cooperation between Brazil and the United States seemed to work well during the first months of 1961: "New loans were contracted in the United States, supported by President Kennedy. Jânio [Quadros] were seen as a way of preventing the largest Latin American country from slipping into instability's and communism's track"²³⁴. In addition, the Czech entrepreneur seemed to have a set a deal directly with Jânio Quadros, register in a picture found in Bata Arambasic family archive. Even though it is not clear whether the picture was taken during the time when Quadros was São Paulo governor or Brazil's president, it is an evidence of Jan Antonín Baťa's connection with Jânio Quadros.



Image 48. From left to right in both pictures: Jan Antonín Baťa and Jânio Quadros. Source: Baťa, [photo album].

For Jan Antonín Baťa, such geopolitical alignment would be a great opportunity for getting a loan that would enable his plans for Brazil. Therefore, in 1961 - 1962, he gathered his main CVSP-MT collaborators and prepared a project for a new agrarian-industrial town to be named suggestively as Presidente Kennedy. The project was described in a document called *Ante-projeto do núcleo de colonização "Presidente Kennedy"* [Preliminary draft of the

²³² For Alliance of Progress and its repercussions in 1960s Brazil, see: Jeffrey F. Taffet, "Latin America", in *A Companion to John F. Kennedy*, edited by Marc J. Silverstone (Chicester: Willey Blackwell, 2014), 308-12, 318-9.

²³³ Fausto, *História do Brasil*, 440.

²³⁴ Fausto, *História do Brasil*, 440. For John F. Kennedy – Jânio Quadros relations, see also: Thomas Skidmore, *Brasil: de Getúlio Vargas a Castelo Branco, 1930 – 1964* [Brazil: from Getúlio Vargas to Castelo Branco, 1930 - 1964] (São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2003), 241.

“Presidente Kennedy” Colonization Core Project], which served as a basis for requesting a 15 million USD loan from the Inter-American Development Bank²³⁵.

Crossing Jan Antonín Baťa’s plans for colonizing the then State of Mato Grosso’s southeast with current trends in Brazilian agricultural engineering, the project advised by agronomist and technocrat Ruy Miller Paiva proposed the creating of the so-called *núcleo de colonização* [colonization core] under the form of an agrarian-industrial settlement that would serve as a vehicle for regional development²³⁶. According to the *Ante-projeto*, it was necessary “to practice a kind of agriculture which is rational and highly productive” in order to prevent farmers from moving out of their lands once they become idle, which negatively impacts the food supplies in big city as well as Brazilian foreign exchange. Therefore, CVSP-MT proposes the planned colonization of new, fertile lands based on scientific land management techniques so that farmers could remain in one piece of land without the risk wearing it out²³⁷.

It is also worth mentioning that the *Núcleo* was intended to have agrarian cooperatives for increasing both the purchasing power of town’s inhabitants as well as retail price of the goods produced within its borders. This is due to existence of a conceptual dialogue of *Ante-projeto* with the above-mentioned cases of SOMECO’s town of Ivinhema, Mato Grosso do Sul, as well with German-Dutch settlement established near Guarapuava, Paraná. An in-depth analysis of these dialogues is out of the scope of this master’s thesis; however, they indicate that Jan Antonín Baťa was actively looking for inspirations that could be used in his own projects.

The Baťa Shoe Company’s philosophy also let its mark by on *Ante-projeto*. When it comes to the provision of above-standard services and urban facilities for the town’s inhabitants, the main principles of the IPM project were clearly reflected in the new type of agrarian-industrial settlement intended for Brazil:

Besides satisfactory housing and work conditions kept in each individual allotment, the colonists will also profit from countless benefits of social, educational, recreational, and religious nature that would be offered in the urban center and in local communities to be established in the *Núcleo*’s rural areas²³⁸.

Therefore, the living conditions in the *Núcleo* are much superior to those found in our rural environment, including the agrarian areas closer to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. This has

²³⁵ Companhia de Viação São Paulo – Mato Grosso, *Ante-projeto*, 20. The document was elaborated by Jan Antonín Baťa and Nelson Verlangieri de Oliveira. In addition, Vladimír Kubík, Francisco Malecek [František Maleček], Jan Kosour, João Carlos da Silva, Henrique [Jindřich] Trachta and Z. [Zdeněk] Pracouch were listed as collaborators.

²³⁶ Companhia de Viação São Paulo – Mato Grosso, *Ante-projeto*, 6.

²³⁷ Companhia de Viação São Paulo – Mato Grosso, *Ante-projeto*, 3.

²³⁸ “Além das condições satisfatórias de habitação e de trabalho que serão mantidas nos lotes individuais, os colonos gozarão, também, de inúmeros benefícios de natureza social, educacional, recreativa e religiosa que serão oferecidos no centro urbano e nas comunidades distritais, a serem organizadas nas diversas áreas rurais do Núcleo”. Companhia de Viação São Paulo – Mato Grosso, *Ante-projeto*, 6.

the goals of making the colonists get used with better living conditions and making of this habit an additional incentive, one that would foster a higher production [of goods]²³⁹.

The first pages of *Ante-projeto* are marked by the use of a generic phraseology as well as the focus on more conceptual features (such as national economy and regional development) which indicate that the document starts with the description of a more general model instead of an individual settlement. This was counterbalanced by a set of pages dedicated to the description of Presidente Kennedy town as a concrete case of CVSP-MT's agrarian-industrial town. In the mentioned session, many details such geographic coordinates, geological conditions, type of soil, and viable agrarian products are provided²⁴⁰.

The agrarian-industrial character of Presidente Kennedy was expressed in the way it was physically described by CVSP-MT team. Instead of defining it as a network of streets and urban equipment, the agrarian-industrial town was conceived as one overarching unit composed by two interdependent zones: an urban core and the rural area of its hinterlands. In their own words,

The *Núcleo's* urban center will be provided with electrical energy and telephony services, emergency hospital, schools, leisure centers, sport squares, temples, etc. [...] and it is zoned accordingly as to allow anyone to install small industries and practice commerce in the general interest.

[...]

Properly scattered around the *Núcleo's* area, small communities will be established as to function as a gathering centers for every 200 or 300 families. They will contain schools, health centers, community centers, chapels, warehouses for the storing and distribution of goods, etc. [...].²⁴¹

According to the *Ante-projeto*, Presidente Kennedy was anticipated to have a rural area composed by 2 thousand farms of 20 hectares each to be established in 4 years in a rate of 500 farms per year²⁴². Despite this dual and seemingly diffuse character of Presidente Kennedy, the intimate connection of the farms in the rural areas with the industries in the urban core is the one feature that would provide cohesion to such an extended area. On the center of this structure was the so-called *conjunto agro-industrial* [agrarian-industrial complex], process forest products as well as goods produced by the families outside the urban center, allowing the circulation of people, raw agrarian goods, and industrialized goods within the town's area.

²³⁹ “As condições de habitação do Núcleo serão portanto muito superiores às encontradas em nosso meio rural, inclusive nas áreas agrícolas mais próximas do Rio de Janeiro e de São Paulo. Objetiva-se com isso, fazer com que os colonos se habituem com melhores condições de vida e que esse hábito venha a se constituir num estímulo adicional, incentivador de maiores produções.” Companhia de Viação São Paulo – Mato Grosso, *Ante-projeto*, 14.

²⁴⁰ Companhia de Viação São Paulo – Mato Grosso, *Ante-projeto*, 8-9.

²⁴¹ “O centro urbano do Núcleo será dotado de energia elétrica e serviço de telefonia, de hospital de emergência, de escolas, centros recreativos, praças de esportes, igrejas, etc. [...] e será previsto o zoneamento de certas áreas urbanas para aquêles que desejem se instalar com pequenas indústrias e fazer comércio de interesse geral. [...]” Companhia de Viação São Paulo – Mato Grosso, *Ante-projeto*, 13.

²⁴² Companhia de Viação São Paulo – Mato Grosso, *Ante-projeto*, 9.

***Ante-projeto* as the Ideal Agrarian-Industrial Town (IAPM) model**

As exposed above, *Ante-projeto*'s text is marked by a tension between a description of a generic agrarian-industrial settlement and of Presidente Kennedy as a specific town. This can be understood as a reflection of the fact that *Ante-projeto* was describing a general model whose first application would be the established of mentioned town. Similarly as in the IPM project, I understand that the *Ante-projeto* was a, in fact, a model intended to orientate CVSP-MT's future town building program. This claim is mainly evidenced by the identification of a similar pattern shown by Jan Antonín Baťa during the coordination of both models. Both the ideal industrial town project and the ideal agrarian-industrial town project could be summarized by using the following steps:

1. The company starts building towns in a more or less tentative way: In Zlín, the Baťa Shoe Company would build entirely new towns as early as in 1931; in only six years, it had established thirteen Baťa towns. In Brazil, Jan Antonín Baťa started to establish towns already in 1941, having successfully built five towns by the year 1960.

2. The global geopolitical scenario is interpreted as bearing a threat that demands an organized reaction from Jan Antonín Baťa: In Zlín, the Czech entrepreneur reacted to the rising tension of pre-war Europe and to the Nazi imperialism. In Brazil, the Cold War and the fear of communism approximated Jan A. Baťa to John F. Kennedy's Alliance for Progress program.

3. A team of experts and directors is assembled: In Zlín, a team of at least thirty-five people among technical experts and the company's directors is assembled. In Brazil, a team of eight CVSP-MT directors and a technical expert is gathered.

4. The team assess past urban experiences and performs a review of literature of a given concept: In Zlín, the Garden City movement formed a basis of the new model. In Brazil, the growing field of rural sociology inspired the team.

5. Experiences and literature are crossed with the company's objectives, generating a model for future town building program: In Zlín, the IPM had to be developed as to meet Baťa Shoe Company's plans for worldwide expansion both in Europe and in tropical areas. In Brazil, the IAPM was intended to serve as a role model for regional development.

In addition, *Ante-projeto* is based on the logic of replication. As mentioned above, the texts starts with a general description of an agrarian-industrial settlement and then passes to the details of a specific town, Presidente Kennedy. However, the text also anticipates the establishment of new towns of a similar type:

What is more, the approval of such loan will provide the Company with the possibility of increasing its activities in this sector, **programing and executing the establishment of new colonial cores in the Brazilian West** so that this wide area of the Country may be occupied based on rational exploration and in accordance with the modern concepts of rural sociology.²⁴³

Finally, the claim that the *Ante-projeto* should be taken as a model can be supported in letters composed by Jan Antonín Baťa and found in Bata Arambasic family archive. In one of these letters, Jan Antonín Baťa that confirm his intensions of establishing new towns in 1962:

Due to the fact that it is going to be invested millions in each Resettlement, I am thinking about putting you in one of these **new town worksites** because I am trying to put only Baťa men in charge of these undertakings, and [Governor Harold] Stassen agrees with that. These undertakings are going to be gigantic²⁴⁴.

Almost two years before this letter, Jan Antonín Baťa was still trying to enable the establishment of his agrarian-industrial settlement, understood as a colonization project of which Presidente Kennedy is cited as a pilot case in a letter to his son, Jan Tomáš Baťa:

Try to make clear to him [Graydon Upton], that in this “**pilot**” **case of Presidente Kenedy project**, it would be important to have the loan given in full, not reduced in using cruzeiros / which I would have difficulty to get from the government here, if it should be from some proceeds of merchandise etc.

[...]

I am pushing myself the loan as a way to recuperate the foreign exchange on the basis of **reforming the Colonisation into a form**, which will serve the country by producing at least 2 million dollars exportable goods a year.²⁴⁵

Unfortunately, it is not possible to assess whether this model has influenced the establishment of a concreted town. Besides Presidente Kennedy, there are evidences to claim that Jan Antonín Baťa was planning to established at least other five new rural and industrial

²⁴³ “Ademais, a concessão dêsse empréstimo dará à Companhia a possibilidade de incrementar suas atividades nesse setor, programando e executando a instalação de novos núcleos colonizais no Oeste brasileiro, de modo a proporcionar a ocupação dessa extensa região do País em bases racionais de exploração e dentro dos conceitos da moderna sociologia rural.” Baťa and Oliveira, *Ante projeto*, 20. Emphasis added.

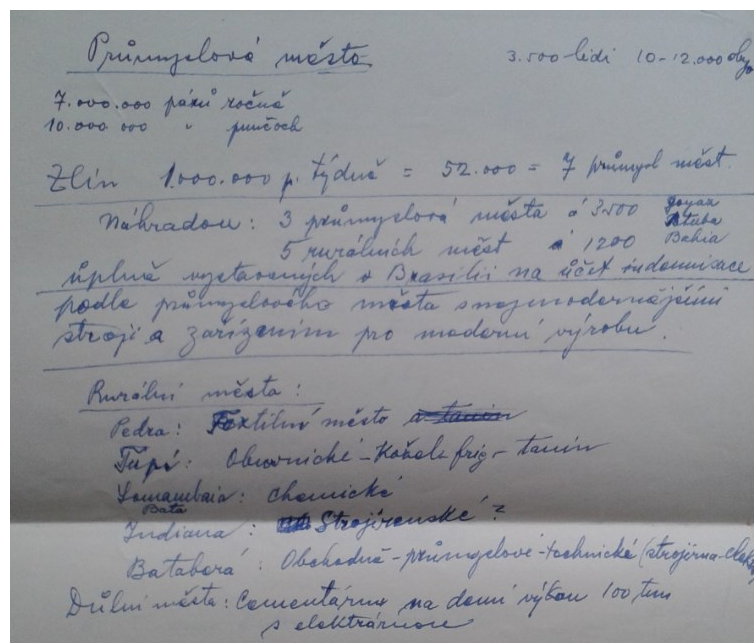
²⁴⁴ “Protože to bude na každém Resettlementu mnoho milionů, které tam budou investovány, myslím na to, posaditi Vás na jedno z těch nových stavenišť měst, protože do čela těch podniků si troufám dát jenom Baťovce a Stassen s tím srdečně souhlasí. Budou to obrovské podniky”. Jan Antonín Baťa’s letter to Mr. Votava, Miami, February 1, 1962, Bata Arambasic family collection, Nova Andradina, box Arquivo histórico – cartas e originais – assuntos variados – 2007. Emphasis added.

²⁴⁵ This letter was originally composed in English and was cited *ipsis literum*. See: Jan Antonín Baťa’s letter to Jan Tomáš Baťa, Batatuba, August 3, 1964, Bata Arambasic family collection, Nova Andradina, box Arquivo histórico – cartas e originais – assuntos variados – 2007. Emphasis added. Cruzeiro was the Brazilian currency at that time.

towns as early as 1960²⁴⁶. In a group of annotations found in his personal copy of the book *Průmyslové město*, Jan Antonín Baťa calculates that the production of 1 million pair of shoes per week in Zlín could be substituted by eight towns in Brazil. Classifying them according to whether a given town would produce shoes or agrarian goods, Jan A. Baťa mentioned that, of these eight towns, three would be “industrial” for 3,500 workers while five would be “rural” for 1,200 workers. Establishing what could be considered as the sketch of a plan, he went as far as providing the names or at least the location intended for each town. Concerning the industrial ones, they would be Batatuba (“Btuba”), an unnamed town in the State of Goiás, and another unnamed town in the State of Bahia. As of the “rural” towns, they would be:

- An unnamed town in CVSP-MT’s Fazenda Pedra propriety, (in today’s State of Mato Grosso do Sul), dedicated to the production of textiles.
- A town named Tupi, dedicated to the production of shoes, leather, meat, and tannin.
- A town in CVSP-MT’s Fazenda Somambaia propriety, dedicated to the production of chemicals. The word “Bata” written under the propriety’s name indicates that this is today’s Batayporã.
- Indiana (Vila CIMA), probably dedicated to the production of machinery.
- Bataberá, dedicated to commerce, industry, and machinery.

²⁴⁶ The first document on this group of papers bears the date March 30, 1960. However, the handwritten sketch analyzed in this section mentions that the towns would be “úplně vystavených v Brasílii na účet indenísace” [completely established on account of the indemnification]. This observation might suggest that this plan was sketched in 1962, when Jan Antonín Baťa agreed to acknowledge Tomáš Jan Baťa (Tomáš Baťa Junior) as the legitimate owner of Bata Shoe Company and Leader A.S. (with the exception of the proprieties in Brazil and Haiti) in exchange of an indemnification. For the plan sketch, see: Baťa, *Průmyslové město*, separate sheets of paper. For the Jan Antonín Baťa – Tomáš Baťa Junior 1962 deal, see: Tomáš J. Baťa and Soňa Sinclairová, *Baťa – švec pro celý svět* [Baťa – shoemaker to the work] (Prague: Melantrich, 1991), 119.



However, Batayporã ended up by remaining the as the youngest town founded by Jan Antonín Baťa in Brazil as neither Presidente Kennedy nor the other mentioned towns were established. In fact, the years following the publication of the *Ante-projeto* were marked by a series of disappointments and misfortunes for the Czech entrepreneur. In that same year of 1962, the long court dispute between Jan Antonín Baťa and Tomáš Baťa Junior over the Tomáš Baťa's heritage was closed with a deal in which Jan A. Baťa agreed of receiving indemnification for acknowledging Tomáš Baťa's son as the owner of Baťa Shoe Company's and Leader A.S. properties outside Brazil and Haiti²⁴⁷. In addition, the Pan-American geopolitics turned out to be not as favorable as they seemed to be in 1961. In a unpredicted moved, Jânio Quadros suddenly resigned from the presidency on August 25, 1961, leaving his left-wing vice-president João Goulart as the new head of state²⁴⁸. From this point on, the Brazil – United States relations would be marked by caution from the North-American side²⁴⁹.

Another severe blow felt by Jan Antonín Baťa was the assassination of John F. Kennedy, the patron of his *Ante-projeto*, on November 1963. Even though the Alliance for Progress program was continued by J. F. Kennedy's successor Lyndon Baines Johnson²⁵⁰, the year of

²⁴⁷ Arambasic and Silva, *Passos thcecos em terras brasileiras*, 42; Baťa and Sinclairová, *Baťa – švec pro celý svět*, 119. The exact amount of the indemnification is unclear as Arambasic and Silva mentions the sum of 3 million USD while Baťa and Sinclairová states 7,000 USD.

²⁴⁸ Fausto, *História do Brasil*, 440.

²⁴⁹ Taffet, "Latin America", 319.

²⁵⁰ Taffet, "Latin America", 323,

1964 brought to Brazil a military coup-d'état and the resistance of the new Minister of Planning, Roberto Campos, to the Jan A. Baťa's plans²⁵¹. As shown in the above-mentioned 1964 Jan Antonín Baťa's letter to his son Jan Tomáš Baťa, the Czech entrepreneur did not give up on his plans despite all resistances and political shifts in both Brazilian and Pan-American scenarios. However, his plans eventually came to an end on August 23, 1965, when a heart attack took Jan Antonín Baťa's life. Since his collaborators did carry on his intended town building program, Batatuba, Bataguassu, Batayporã, the remains of Vila CIMA, and his idealized industrial-agrarian settlement remained as Jan Antonín Baťa's legacy in Brazil.

²⁵¹ Arambasic and Silva, *Passos thecos em terras Brasileiras*, 68. For an overview of the 1964 military coup-d'état, see Fausto, *História do Brasil*, 457 – 62.

Conclusion

In 2016, the project that have originated this research expected that the towns established by Jan Antonín Baťa in Brazil could be understood as the result of a process in which a Central European refugee trying to fix the problems of his homeland via the establishment of ideal societies in a completely new environment. In this sense, the original idea was to investigate the supposedly utopian traits of the Brazilian Baťa towns, understanding them as urban settlements whose specific physical layout have originated from the clash between a Central European idealization of the New World and Brazil's pragmatic conditions as a country tied to a secondary position in the international division of labour.

Unsuspectedly for me as a beginner researcher, a process similar to that which I expected to observe in my research object ended up by manifesting itself in the constant changes and adaptations suffered by the original research design in the course of the investigations. Unforeseen constraints that would emerge during the two-years lifespan of this research, many of them related to a prolonged lack of access to primary sources as well as to insecurities concerning the access to funding, made clear of how broad and vague my initial assumptions were. Consequently, instead of seeing how a Czech entrepreneur had constantly failed to imprint his idealizations over a land frequently hostile to his plans, I soon came to realize in the first of the research that I was the one struggling to fit a predetermined set of ideas into a very limited body of primary sources that seemed to resist it.

This was the point when the researcher and the researched truly met. Inspired by the Werner and Zimmerman's *histoire croisée* approach, the research design was adapted as to allow me to look through Jan Antonín Baťa's ideas and observe the Brazilian Baťa towns as processes maintained by a series of crossings between ideas, people from different regions of the world. Now, the static framework imposed by the assumption of a one-dimensional conflict between an historical actor and a concrete geopolitical entity gave way to a more gaze malleable gaze across objects in different scales.

The decision to deal more closely with Jan Antonín Baťa's dreams, aspirations, frustrations, and obsessions helped me to finally envisage an explanatory model that would make sense of the Brazilian Baťa towns as a comprehensive phenomenon. This mean that the main finding of this research, namely the identification of Jan Antonín Baťa's ideal agrarian-industrial town, should not be taken neither as a purely empirical object nor as a researcher's own fabrication. Instead, it should be understood as a deducted conceptual model that stands between empiricism and interpretation, between the complexity of a real human being's psyche

and the rules of a historical research, between the expectations of a Czech exiled in the post-Second World War Brazil and the aspirations of a Brazilian living in the 2010s in the Czech Republic.

This crossed perspective also allow us to see how the Brazilian Baía towns is not a phenomenon isolated to a concrete part of Brazil's country but dialogues with urban planning trends of the inter-war period. The many intellectual crossings that have originated the ideal industrial town model in the 1930s in Zlín shed light into a wider phenomenon responsible for creating a common ground among architects in a European and transatlantic perspective. The involvement of Baía's planners with urban planning concepts related to Garden City movement ended up by bringing ideas such as the superblock and the parkway to rural areas of the Brazilian west and southeast. Conversely, the adaptation of the garden city to the context of the rural Brazil ended up by highlighting the fact that the Ebenezer Howard and followers did little to surmount the dichotomy between the rural and urban worlds when compared to the example of the Brazilian Baía towns, which truly integrated agrarian and industrial production and way of life into a single urban environment.

The choice of studying the Brazilian Baía towns through Jan Antonín Baía's motivations and ideas inevitably prevented this research from reflecting on this phenomenon from other equally revealing perspectives. This would be the case of a research that would put the Brazilian Baía towns in relation to other technical projects dedicated to the conquest of sparsely populated areas of the Brazilian country. Of these, a special attention should be paid to the Amazonian rainforest, which have received since the nineteenth century projects such as the belle-époque Manaus, Henry Ford's Fordlândia, the *Madeira-Mamoré* railroad, and the *Transamazônica* highway. Another compelling way for understanding the phenomenon of the Brazilian Baía towns would be the realization of a more structured comparison with other Baía towns established elsewhere in the world, one that would reveal the many ways the Baía's ideal industrial town adapted to local conditions in a global scale.

This research also revealed that there are many opaque points in the history of the Brazilian Baía towns that still need the attention of a dedicated research. Of these, one could cite the lack of knowledge concerning the urban planning ideas that have orientation the planning of Bataguassu. In addition, it is still not clear who were all the Brazilian technicians, engineers, surveyors, and architects involved with the establishment of each Brazilian Baía town, what were their educational background, and how did they interacted with the Czech architects coming from Zlín. Similarly, details concerning the relationship between the

European immigrants and the native populations of the then state of Mato Grosso is virtually unknown.

In a process that crossed the research design with its own object, this research retraced the steps that led Jan Antonín Bat'a to question, in Brazil, the dichotomy between the rural and urban worlds with his ideal agrarian-industrial town. By assessing past experiences and crossing them with plans for the future, Jan Antonín Bat'a have indirectly inspired the realization of this master's thesis. Similarly, I hope that this master's thesis will instigate other researches to understand even better the phenomenon of the Brazilian Bat'a towns.

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