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**Design from Artefacts: Innovate or Imitate:
Issues of Aesthetics, Education, Collecting, Making and
Marketing in Coats' Needlework Development Scheme: 1934-
1962**

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THESIS CONTAINS

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Abstract

Initially this research project set out to interpret the rich institutional and archive collection of the Needlework Development Scheme (NDS) at the Glasgow School of Art (GSA) that constitutes the bulk of the School's textile collection. As further collections were located in Britain the breadth of the research increased. The complete neglect of the history of the NDS is in itself an intriguing phenomenon, especially in the context of its anonymous funding by the Paisley thread manufacturer J & P Coats. Thus the primary aim at the outset of this project was to establish Coats' rationale for the textile collection with the support of the Scottish Art Schools. A key objective was to analyse the development, promotion, significance and impact of the Scheme, in the context of art and design, and examine the evolving intellectual and educational context of the NDS. Another objective was to explore ways of using the NDS collection to enhance contemporary design learning in Higher Education, adult education, schools and the wider textile community.

The research examined the relationship between Coats business enterprise, the Scheme, and the Scottish Art Schools in the early period, 1934-1939, of the NDS. The reasons for Coats anonymous funding and the extent of the investment were revealed. The intellectual context of the organization, its relationship to pedagogic practice, to government policy, to the textile industry and to amateur organizations was explored. Former Art School staff as well as graduates and personnel who both worked for the NDS and with the NDS textiles contributed oral and written accounts to allow an understanding of their experiences to develop.

As the research progressed, the history and socio-cultural context of the textiles emerged. The role of the Austro-Hungarian home industries in the development of modern design is traced and includes creative designs by both Mária Hollósy and Mária Undi. In chronological analyses of NDS 'peasant' textiles a panorama of textile design from 1920s-1930s Hungary and Czechoslovakia is provided. From the same period of intense political activity and economic deprivation, the collection has significant figurative, decorative, symbolic textiles from Austria, Italy, and Germany, some by artists of international renown, subsequently omitted from history. Encouraged by the political regimes of the era the women cleverly contested political and social issues through oblique references embedded in their work. The powerful interactions between British industry, education and the arts elite, and their influence on embroidery during the course of the NDS are exposed.

Central to the findings of this research is an overview of design through several epochs revealing both creative interpretation and appropriation methods. This highlights the importance of theoretical engagement and interpretation of ideas in the use of artefacts in textile design education today.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ARCA	Associate Royal College of Art
BoT	Board of Trade
CAI	Council of Art and Design
CoID	Council of Industry and Design
DCA	Dundee College of Art
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
DMC	Dollfus-Mieg & Cië
DUNUC	Dundee University
ECA	Edinburgh College of Art, Heriot Watt University
EG	Embroiderers' Guild, Hampton Court Palace
FRSA	Fellow of Royal Society of Art
GSA	Glasgow School of Art
GUBA	Glasgow University Business Archives
LMARS	Leicester Museum Arts and Records Service
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
MA	Master of Art
MoE	Ministry of Education
NDD	National Diploma of Design
NDS	Needlework Development Scheme
NDSS	Needlework Development in Scotland Scheme
NFWI	National Federation of Women's Institute
NNB	National Needlework Bureau
PMA	Paisley Museum Archives
RA	Royal Academy
RGU	Robert Gordon University
RSM	Royal Scottish Museum
RSN	Royal School of Needlework
SAA	Society of Applied Art
ScAS	Scottish Art Schools
ScCOID	Scottish Council of Industry and Design
Schule	Stadt Schule für Handwerk und Kunstgewerbe
SED	Scottish Education Department
SFWI	Scottish Federation of Women's Institute
TCA	The Central Agency

UG University of Glasgow
V&A Victoria & Albert Museum
V&A ADA Victoria & Albert Museum Art and Design Archive

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that this is the result of my own work and that credit has been given where appropriate.

Chapter 1: Introduction and Literature Review

The complete neglect by historians of the NDS is in itself a fascinating phenomenon thus the primary aims at the outset of this project were to locate the NDS collections, and establish the rationale for the textile collection. A key objective was to analyse the development, promotion, significance and impact of the scheme, in the context of art and design, and examine the evolving intellectual and educational context of the NDS. Another objective was to explore ways of using the NDS collection to enhance contemporary design learning in higher education schools, adult education and the wider textile community. This chapter introduces both the context of the research and a review of the secondary literature sources.

Central to this study are the NDS textiles, which between 1934-1962 were in constant circulation and re-circulation to various educational and amateur organisations. An assessment of the factors that shaped the collection, led to other more powerful and important aims, which clarify the provenance, and history of NDS designs. A detailed analysis identifies political, economic and social influences on their content and context. Analyses of the way in which the NDS textiles were used in education throughout the Scheme provide a contrast of approaches relevant to the way in which textile artefacts are used in education today.

Prior to this research my interest in embroidery design has evolved from study at Loughborough College of Art and Design, to experience as a maker of both haute couture and theatre fabrics in London in the 1980s, an exhibitor of fabrics and textile art, and latterly as a fashion design lecturer at Massey University, Wellington, New Zealand. Through both this experience and my appreciation of design processes in New Zealand, I have developed an interest in cross-cultural creative issues within embroidery design and making, especially the processes of pure creativity within the professional embroidery curriculum at university level.

Also, I was aware, to a certain extent, of the anonymity of women's textile design work for industry. Foucault suggests such exclusions in the following quote:

Order of knowledge is based on exclusion, the task is to expose (include) these exclusions (Foucault in Ruesga 1999 95).

In the past, the contribution that textiles have made to society has been relatively excluded from academic discourse, apart from a few seminal works (Fél 1958; Cordwell and Schwarz 1979; Hofer and Fél 1979; Weiner and Schneider 1989). A major theme throughout this thesis is the lack of authorship of women's design, particularly in the context of designs produced for industry. The anonymous nature of the designs leads to

difficulties in determining their authenticity, an issue examined in chapters six, seven and eight. Of significance to the outcome of this research is the status of embroidery; the way embroidery is valued/under-valued, which determines its place in education, history and society overall.

Because only a small amount of writing exists on the Scheme the central focus of this research has been to review primary sources such as archives, NDS documentary sources, related influential literature, and the role of artefacts. The Scheme was vigorously promoted through regular exhibitions and publications, such as leaflets, booklets, and books. These illustrated sources include information on the publicised origin and aims of the Scheme, technical information and design ideas. The J & P Coats holdings at Glasgow University Business Archive (GUBA) and Coats Viyella plc, Uxbridge, NDS archives at Paisley Museum (PMA), Victoria and Albert Museum Art and Design Archive (V&A ADA), GSA Research Centre, Embroiderers' Guild, Hampton Court (EG), Royal Scottish Museum (RSM), and Edinburgh College of Art (ECA) have proved of crucial importance in collecting original information. The Special Collection at Glasgow University includes MS MacColl letters relevant to the discussion of Kenneth Clark's influence on design during the 1940s and 1950s. Also the London Metropolitan Archives (LMA) provided some education/industry related detail, and NDS slides from Leicester Museum Arts and Records Service (LMARS) reveal images of some of the textiles collected and made for the Scheme.

Journals of the period, such as *Stickereien und Spitzen*, *The Needlewoman*, *Embroideress*, *Embroidery and Design* reveal information useful in identifying the history, provenance and meaning of NDS designs. There is virtually no secondary source material for the Scheme indeed the sole publication on the NDS is the catalogue of the 1965 Royal Scottish Museum exhibition, *Embroideries of the Needlework Development Scheme*, written by Revel Oddy. Presented in a descriptive style it celebrates the gifting of the two hundred and thirteen textiles to the Museum. Oddy's unpublished accession records include more detailed technical descriptions of the works.¹ Lou Taylor assisted Oddy in the documentation and accessioning of the NDS textiles (Oddy 2002).

Some other publications, such as Constance Howard's book, *Twentieth Century Embroidery in Great Britain, 1940-1963*, contain short excerpts on the NDS from an English perspective (Howard 1983 138). The only contemporary comment on Coats' NDS is Pen Dalton's short analysis in her 2001 *The Gendering of Art Education: Modernism, Identity, and Critical Feminism*, and Jennifer Hall's 1991 Masters dissertation *Embroidery*

¹The accession records are titled *Royal Museum of Scotland List of Additions to the Art and Ethnography Department, 1055-1262*. The dating and the provenance of the works were reliant on information supplied at the time of accession. Some of the works had their date and fabric confirmed by Miss K Moodie, RSM in 1964.

in Britain in the 1950s, which will be discussed in a later chapter (Hall 1991; Dalton 2001).

It is clear, the impact of the NDS, and the manner in which the embroideries were used, has been neglected by art and design history.

I chose the specific themes of the chapters, because they not only illustrate, but also construct a coherent narrative, which assesses the impact of the NDS on British design, and explores the collaboration between industry and design education. Following this Introduction and Literature Review, the *Methods* chapter continues the combined character of this chapter. It reviews my research approaches, research questions, and topics, which explain my methods. Aiming to help the reader grasp the content and context in which some key NDS textile designs were made, chapters have been developed that focus on significant groups of NDS textiles. For example, 'peasant', modern European, Scandinavian, and re-created Coats' ethnic designs are analysed to document the development of modern, ethnic and contemporary 1950s design aesthetics in Britain.²

The third chapter, *The Motivation for a Textile Collection as a Promotional Device*, aims to discover the rationale for the Scheme and explores established industry and education precursors to the Scheme. Curiously, the Scheme is conspicuous by its absence in the two major unpublished Coats' historical works. Neither David Keir's *The Story of J & P Coats* nor JBK Hunter's *The Economic History of J & P Coats* mention the scheme (Keir 1962; Hunter 1984).³ Hunter's three unpublished volumes were unavailable for viewing, however readings from these were given anonymously, and Keir's volumes were available for viewing on limited access conditions.

These sources were supplemented by GUBA documents focusing on Coats international business activity, which provided an insight into the ruthless business practices and complex networks required in intense political climates for commercial success, and the strategic importance of networking and communication. Alex Cairncross's and Jock Hunter's *The Early Growth of J & P Coats*, Emma Harris's *J & P Coats Ltd in Poland*, Kim Dong-Woon's *J & P Coats in Tsarist Russia*, and William Robb's *The Central Agencies Role in the Success of J & P Coats*, and Coats News Reel journals provided historical, geographical and economic background to Coats business activity (Cairncross and Hunter 1987; Harris 1989; Dong-Woon 1995; Robb 1996). Business biographies on J & P Coats personnel by Hunter and Nicholas Morgan supplemented the historical accounts

² See the following figures for embroidery examples of Peasant : 82, modern European: 92, Scandinavian: 125, and re-created Coats' ethnic inspired designs: 32.

³ These seven volumes remain unpublished as J & P Coats fear litigation, in light of their restrictive practices in USA Anon. 2002. *Readings to Author*. Glasgow. Apr-Jun 2002. Sir Alexander Cairncross' *Social and Economic History*, was the forerunner to JBK Hunter's work. Cairncross's papers are still to be catalogued at GUBA. Although the Hunter volumes were unavailable for viewing I was assured by the author, the NDS was never mentioned by Sir James Henderson in their numerous conversations, while Hunter was researching the volumes.

(Hunter 1986c; Hunter 1986b; Hunter 1986a; Hunter 1986d; Morgan 1986). Paisley Museum Archive documents and *The Studio's* 1933 special edition, *Modern Embroidery* provide information of Coats participation in trade and art exhibitions prior to the Scheme (Hogarth 1933).

Important to the overall understanding of the effectiveness and impact of the NDS was an assessment of the motivation for the NDSS collection with the unravelling of the links between the complex J & P Coats industry network, its links with political and cultural personnel and organisations. Parallels to this are evident in the Scheme's organisational framework and network. The rationale behind the lending collections provides an insight into Coats' marketing strategy. Information in documents reveals that a significant number of the works in the collection were accessioned as part of J & P Coats' imperative to develop markets thus, increasing sales of threads (Coats 1934 212; Coats 1943 144 & 181).⁴

Important precursors to the NDSS including innovative teaching at the GSA with its established links with amateur embroiderers and the Lending Museum are also included in this chapter (Sturrock 1970; Swain 1973; Swain 1974; Bedford, J. and Davies 1979; Arthur 1989; Burkhauser 1990). Also of relevance to this thesis is the role of artefacts, which have long held a place in design education, beginning with reference to Peter Stansky's writing on Henry Cole's influence (Stansky 1985). Amelia Levetus in *The Studio* explains the use of artefacts in design teaching at the turn of the twentieth century in relation to the support given by Applied Art Museums (Levetus 1902 169).

In chapter four, *The Needlework Development Scheme Collection: Unravelling the Shaping of the Collection*, the reason for generous but anonymous funding by J & P Coats is examined. The design-focused interest of the Scottish Art School (ScAS) principals and lecturers, their roles, and the school's motivation for collecting the textiles is identified. Various Paisley Museum archive documents, provide details on the role of Coats' agents and their textile selections for the Scheme supplemented with oral history information (Martin 2001; Oddy 2002) Also, archival material suggests that there were strong links between the NDS and J & P Coats marketing organisation, The Central Agency. However, curiously, the connection between the Scheme and Coats' European design centre, and the London-based National Needlework Bureau is only hinted at in the archives.

⁴ On 21 September 1933 the Board of J & P Coats authorised the Merchandising committee to see how the study of Needlework could best be fostered in Scotland. The report was to be submitted together with particulars of the thread sales in Scotland. On 21 Dec 1944 the Joint Sales Committee proposed the Needlework Development Scheme be reintroduced with certain modifications. In USA Coats' Spool Cotton Company operated a scheme to increase the number of women who could sew. John Clark reported he hoped to increase the thread sales through this initiative.

The fifth chapter, *The Promotion of Design by Industry: the Influence of Cultural Politics and Industry*, analyses the role, social and educational background of key personnel involved in the management and promotion of the Scheme. It elaborates on personnel and organisations involved in NDS design initiatives, exhibitions, publicity, and the vigorous promotion of the Scheme by Coats behind the veil of anonymity. The sources of exhibition funding are established, and the development of booklets, bulletins, television and radio coverage for the Scheme is also explored.

The development of the networks recognised in the preceding chapters reveals the impact of the links between Coats, the Board of Trade (BoT), and Art School lecturers in the 1940s with the foundation of the Council of Industrial Design (CoID) by the government's BoT. The influence on the NDS of some of the key arts personnel in Great Britain, at that time, Kenneth Clark, National Art Gallery Director, and Leigh Ashton, Victoria and Albert Museum Director, which is particularly apparent in the archives, is established.

Jonathan Woodham acknowledges the importance of social connections in the selection of CoID members showing how Alix Kilroy, the foremost woman civil servant of the time, was an old school friend of Jane Martin, Clark's wife (Woodham 1996 55). In emphasising the social links within the group, developed since their days at Oxford University, Woodham overlooks the business links of Kenneth Clark, who was a descendant of the Clarks of Coats and Clarks, who amalgamated to form J & P Coats. The influence of the Housewives Committee of the CoID organisation, and their journalist propaganda, which especially encouraged the rural amateur groups to embroider and develop their taste and aesthetic judgement is also identified in this chapter.

The NDS promotion through publications and exhibitions and the impact of the promotional efforts are clarified through a review of exhibition catalogues, journals, special publications, newspaper cuttings and correspondence. A complex amalgam of processes involving advertising, branding, and marketing through the classroom, exhibitions and publications both simultaneously created consumer demand.

Documents, including magazine and newspaper cuttings reveal the motivational forces and the background of design initiatives, which frequently shaped the collection. Several themes in related literature have emerged within the field of aesthetics, notions of design, and the association of embroidery with domestic things. Coats promotion of the use of embroidery in interiors, inspired by the modernist aesthetic, could have been, as Pat Kirkham suggests an attempt to 'personalise the impersonal' (Kirkham 1989 25). Bronwyn Hiles in her Royal College of Art (RCA) Masters dissertation, *Women and amateur embroidery in Great Britain, 1919-1939*, suggests there was an irony in the proliferation of

embroidery in interiors which seemed to lower its status. The perceived 'unique' quality of art could not be applied to this kind of work (Hiles 1998 102). Cheryl Patterson's MA thesis, *Considering Needlework as Art rather than Craft*, explores the links between the feminine nature of embroidery and perceptions of it held in society. She quotes Mary Garrard in *Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany*, writing:

Needlework and women's art in general is consigned to perpetual second class status in all aspects of art associated with femininity, the crafts and the so called minor arts (Garrard in Patterson 2001).

Peter Dormer wrote that it is the separation of 'making' from 'meaning', which led to the division between the concepts of art and craft. He writes:

It has led to the idea that there exists some sort of mental attribute known as 'creativity' that precedes or can be divorced from a knowledge of how to make things (Dormer 1997 18).

Greenhalgh explains that this phenomenon emerged between the wars:

In the inter war years [...] the process of [crafts] stabilisation and institutionalisation gathered pace then, as did the idea that craft was a distinct class based upon processes and genres rather than ideas (Greenhalgh 1997 38).

This research explores the impact of Coats design ethos, encouraging copying in design rather than interpretation, on the acceptance/rejection of embroidery as craft or art.

In many ways the following sixth chapter, *'Purity' and Diversity: the Authenticity and Evolution of a 'Peasant' Design Aesthetic*, sits awkwardly in this submission, however the themes discussed in it were essential for the important and powerful development of the history, content and context of the 'peasant' designs in the NDS collection, included in chapter seven, *Ethnic Design: from Design Diversity to the Imposition of a Static Aesthetic*. Therefore, chapters six and seven should be seen in relation to each other, as the contents of chapter seven are the necessary development of chapter six.

Chapter six, *Purity and Diversity: the Authenticity and Evolution of a 'Peasant' Design Aesthetic*, explores the design influences and commercial initiatives, which impacted on the design process in Etelka Gyarmathy's home industry. The role of Etelka Gyarmathy's home industry in the further development of art and design in Hungary at the turn of the twentieth century is discussed. In this chapter particular themes are developed which indicate the influence of the Arts and Crafts Movement and effects of industrialisation on the peasant/ethnic tradition, different teaching approaches in the *fachshulen* (craft) and applied art schools, patronage, collecting, class and gender. The impact of home industry

design on modern design is clarified. As much of the information about the NDS textiles themselves is primary source material of archival origin it has thus been necessary to analyse recent debates on issues of the 'purity' and 'authenticity' of textiles. A great deal of literature exists and the review attempts to unravel some of the complexities around the issues of 'uncontaminated,' and 'traditional' related to 'incorporated' styles or 'reworked' dress (Taylor 2002 201). Lou Taylor's contribution to this debate, which has emerged in research in the last decade, is important yet undervalued (Taylor 1991; Taylor 1997; Taylor 2000a; Taylor 2000b; Taylor 2002).

Academic interest has developed in European folklore of the Romantic period driven by intellectuals who applauded folk poetry, music, and peasant dress, but the role of the Home Industries in bringing peasant embroidery to the attention of these intellectuals has not been acknowledged. Contrasting with the Coats' principle for selections is the Haslemere Peasant Arts collection, 1885–1926, founded by Reverend George Davies, who followed a strong rationale and assembled a collection of 'authentic' European peasant artefacts before commercial motivations influenced the designs. Davies considered only those objects made 'to keep, or at most to give' to be authentic peasant works (Davies in Taylor 2002 202). A parallel definition by Davies, 'made for love not money', relates to the commercial situation developed in the Home Industries (Davies in Harrod 1996 13). This chapter explores the commercial development of the textiles and the influence it had on design.

Taylor's view is that the motivations for re-interpreting peasant dress were 'undeniably romantic and nationalistic' (Taylor 2000a 30). She claims the refusal to deal with the issue of 'pure', 'uncontaminated', 'authentic' peasant dress versus 'incorporated', 'improved', and 'reworked' style change has long been a contentious issue (Taylor 2002 202). This currently emergent area offers a fresh and important contribution to the study of dress and textiles. The following assertion is made:

It is clear that many of the peasant embroideries seen in Western Europe from the 1890s onwards were not 'authentic' at all but 'improved' versions, coming out of an organised home industry (Taylor 1991 48).

In order to determine the provenance of some of the NDS textiles it has been necessary to analyse some previous studies of Austro-Hungarian design in detail. Also, some of the early real concerns of aristocratic women are acknowledged by referencing historical and economic sources (Levetus 1902; Levetus 1905a; Levetus 1905b; Pogany 2000).

Over the last decade Taylor's viewpoint in the field of 'authenticity' of peasant dress has developed. In her 1991 paper, *Peasant Embroidery: rural to urban and East to West*

Relationships 1860 – 1914, the inter-relationship of urban and peasant culture is discussed, and it is suggested that peasant embroideries created by the Home Industries were not ‘authentic’ but were design copies (Taylor 1991 49).

The Romanian ladies in charge of philanthropic societies, needlework organisations and the like employing peasant women drawn from the land... have assured me that nothing is more difficult than to induce a worker to begin on a piece of work identical with that just finished (Oprescu in Taylor 1991 48).⁵

Had Taylor included Oprescu’s full quote her argument would not have been supported, as he stated:

The patterns displayed by Romanian embroidery are so varied that, although I have had occasion to examine many thousands of articles, I have but rarely come across the same design twice. And even when this did occur, the embroiderer had felt it necessary to make certain modifications to change the colour scheme, to add a detail or two to introduce a personal note into this traditional material. The Romanian ladies in charge of philanthropic societies, needlework organisations and the like employing peasant women drawn from the land, have noted some surprising facts in this connection. They have assured me that nothing is more difficult than to induce a worker to begin on a piece of work identical with that just finished. They prefer a new design, even though it should be intricate and difficult to work, to the repetition of a pattern already embroidered (Oprescu 1929 78).⁶

Furthermore, Oprescu reinforces his view with remarks by S.Makovski, in his *L’Art Populaire en Russie Sub-Carpathique*, ‘In his wanderings through the districts at the foot of the Czechoslovak Carpathians, [...] he never found two absolutely identical pieces of embroidery’ (Oprescu 1929 78).⁷

Introducing further complexity into the debate is a Romanian bias, resulting in analyses of Hungarian textiles, which fail to recognise any originality or creativity in the evolving

⁶Some writers suggest there were limitations in some of the British literature by academic historians, such as George Oprescu in *The Studio*. It is claimed Oprescu recognised little more than the Romanian heritage in Transylvanian design evolution (Stirton & Kinchin 1999; 30-46). Oprescu was a leading art historian in Romania and founder of the Art Institute in the Romanian Academy, though not a specialist ethnologist he was a sophisticated scholar Kinchin, J. 1999. Hungary and Scotland: A Dialogue in the Decorative Arts. *Britain and Hungary: Contacts in Architecture and Design During the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century*. G. Ernyey. Budapest, Hungarian University of Craft and Design: 197-210.46.

David Crowley in *The Uses of Peasant Design in Austria-Hungary in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, shares the view that most of the studies of vernacular culture were reflections of the author’s own national interest Crowley, D. 1995. *The Uses of Peasant Design in Austria-Hungary in the Late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries*. Studies in the Decorative Arts (Spring): 2-28. 7. However, Crowley suggests that Amelia Levetus’ research was tendentious, as he developed his own argument. Both Crowley and Taylor were funded by the Trans European Mobility Scheme for European Studies (TEMPUS) by the EEC, in the early 1990s, to research the influence of the State on design activities in Poland and Romania.

⁷ The full quote is: S.Makovski, in his *L’Art Populaire en Russie Sub-Carpathique*, makes a roughly similar remark. In his wanderings through the districts at the foot of the Czechoslovak Carpathians, which are so highly interesting from the point of view of popular art, he never found two absolutely identical pieces of embroidery Oprescu, G. 1929. *Embroidery. Peasant Art in Roumania*. London, The Studio. 78.

ethnic designs of the Hungarian Home Industry.⁸ Taylor critical of the lack of research by Hungarians into Romanian heritage is influenced by Pompei Murasanu's Romanian prejudice. Quoted often during her discussion of the 'authenticity' of the Home Industry's textiles is Murasanu's *An interesting Initiative of 75 years ago*, written in 1972, and aimed at filling voids in Romanian ethnographical history (Taylor 1991 49).⁹ Murasanu's research overlooks the first two decades of the Home Industries, and inaccurately refers to the founder of the first Hungarian Home Industry as Mrs Zsigané. Errors such as this are characteristic of Murasanu's research and overuse by Taylor, when perhaps more accurate information was unavailable at the time and it was necessary to rely on research conducted by others. She continues her commitment to Murasanu's opinion:

Pompei Murasanu explains that some of the workshop designs were copied from oriental scarves worn by Hungarian nobility and that designs were repeated over and over to suit consumer demands of a bourgeois clientele (Fig.14) Mrs Zsigané's book *A Kaltaszegi Varottásról 'egy roman Urnak*, is proven to be full of errors of fact (Taylor, 1991, 48).¹⁰

Oriental influence in Hungarian design had been in existence throughout earlier centuries. On the basis of Murasanu's findings Taylor has developed her opinion, concluding with the following assertion:

Many embroidery organisations set up from the 1880s designed and sold abroad sanitised 'peasant' artefacts which never had been used traditionally within peasant communities: sets of towels too heavily embroidered, table-mats, more fashionably styled blouses etc (Taylor 1991 49).

Evidence of the diversity of the design influence and the artistic contribution of women trained in design is included in this research.

Later, in Taylor's work on the Haslemere Museum collection, *Textiles and Dress in the Peasant Arts Collection*, she discusses the design of textiles for ritual practices, and references a design publication by Mária Undi. *Magyar Kincsel-da* [Kincsesláda], written by Undi between 1932-1945 but inaccurately dated as 1910.¹¹ Based on information supplied by other researchers Taylor claims:

⁸ Taylor's mother Polly Binder undertook a research visit to Poland from 12 August to 16 September 1959. In 1982, Taylor received a British Council grant to tour the Romanian States Union of Central Handicrafts Co-operative Taylor, L. 1997. State Involvement with the Peasant Crafts in East / Central Europe, 1947-1997: The cases of Poland and Romania. *Obscure Objects of Desire: reviewing Handcrafts in Twentieth Century*. T.Harrold. London, Crafts Council: 53-65. 63-4.

⁹ Murasanu, *An interesting Initiative of 75 years ago*, Corniteul de Cultura si Educatie Socialista al Judetului Bihor, Muzeul 'Tarii Crisurilor', Central Museum of Oradea, 1972, 673. in Taylor.

¹⁰ The referenced (fig.14) illustration to support this statement was not included in the text.

¹¹ Taylor acknowledges research by Suzanne Fenn and Laura Swettenham in this paper Taylor, L. 2000b. *Textiles and Dress in the Peasant Arts Collection. The Lost Arts of Europe*. D. Crowley and L. Taylor.

Undi published a series of books before the First World War showing how peasant embroideries from this region could be reworked into contemporary 'national' patterns for textile and furnishing decoration (Taylor 2000a 68).¹²

By dating Undi's designs to pre-World War One, she suggests designs were copied from Undi's publications from that period. Referencing Undi's publications this research sheds light on both the chronological and geographical design developments (Undi 1932-1945). This error facilitates her argument claiming the home industries copied designs and overlooks the original designs created by Undi, incorporating her own diverse influences. The fact that the state encouraged copies for commercial and nationalist reasons dilutes the impact of Undi's design. Also, in Taylor's discussion of embroidery from the isolated Kalotaszeg area, reference is made to Undi's fifth volume *Mesőség Földje* [Mesőség Írásos Hímzés]. Taylor shows geographic confusion, as the Mesőség was a much less isolated area where design came under more affluent influences; aristocratic families such as the Esterházys resided there.¹³ A more accurate publication is Undi's third volume, *Kalotaszegi Írásos Hímzés*, 1933-1940, which describes the linear style design, characteristic of Kalotaszeg embroidery (Undi 1932-1945).¹⁴

A comparable but more accurate home industry study of the Russian *kustar* workshops is offered in Wendy Salmond's book, *The Arts and Crafts in Imperialist Russia*. Salmond details the influence of both the Arts and Craft Movement ideologies and aristocracy in the revival of the *kustar* workshops (Salmond in Taylor 2000a 98).¹⁵ As defined by Salmond, the *kustar* art revival was an attempt to rescue, revive, and sometimes re-invent the humble arts of the Russian *kustar*, by adapting them to the needs of modern life and the market economy. Salmond's descriptions of Russian *kustar* workshops, highlights the similarities between them and the Hungarian Home Industries. The *kustar* industry altered the production of goods for the market, bringing a change in taste and consumption, with the demand for artistic peasant made goods such as lace, embroidery and toys, passing from the middle class to the aristocracy (Salmond 1998 152). Further records which reiterate Salmond's findings of the home industries are included in *The Studio* journal articles by prominent Arts and Crafts Movement writers at the turn of the nineteenth century, such as Aymer Vallance and Netta Peacock in Russia (Peacock 1901; Vallance 1906). Amelia

Haslemere, Surrey, Haslemere Educational Museum: 67-70. 70. This particular reference is acknowledged as Andras Ferkai.

¹² Mariska Undi (1877-1959) was a feminist member of the Gödöllő group. As a young woman she would have been influenced by Crane

¹³ The Esterházys were the composer Hayden's patrons.

¹⁴ See Fig. 42.

¹⁵ Salmond explains 'The word *kustar* first came into use in the early eighteenth century and was thought to be a corruption of the German word *künstler*, thus implying originally a skilled craftsman' Salmond, W. 1998. *The Arts and Crafts of Late Imperialist Russia*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. In Russia the word was used to designate a peasant craftsman.

Levetus writing in Vienna and Axel Tallberg in Sweden provided historical background to the development of the home industries in the respective countries (Levetus 1902; Levetus 1905a; Levetus 1905b; Tallberg 1905; Levetus 1906).

The role of aristocratic women in the development of design during the period of the Home Industries is explored. Although there is evidence of considerable aristocratic support, Ilona Sarmony-Parsons suggests that state support was required in Hungary as there were insufficient wealthy patrons:

Although the middle class supported the early Home Industries, state support was required, as unlike in Vienna; the Hungarian middle-classes were not wealthy enough to provide a strong market of developed taste (Sármány-Parson 1987-8 179).

However, this research illuminates the considerable influence of the aristocracy, in Hungary and Europe and their social motivations, and shows the state influence in education during the period of the Home Industries. Aristocratic women it seems played an important role disseminating design both nationally and internationally, both by importing and exporting styles. The influence of the aristocratic women, and the reasons for their involvement in the Home Industries is explained. Wealth and power, as explained by Quentin Bell in *On Human Finery: the classic study of dress through the ages*, have clearly influenced design internationally. Bell explains that the situation in the past was that a wealthy and powerful group of people set the fashion and that this elite was imitated, after a certain lapse of time, by less wealthy groups. He outlines some of the 'desirable' social requirements:

But a certain minimal display of wealth is usually considered essential; no excellence of cut, hue, or design will serve to redeem the sin of poverty... The same standard of excellence is implicit in the costume of many European peasants; here the merit of the artefact resides, not in the value of the materials employed, but in the enormous amount of socially necessary labour time which has been devoted to the making of the product. Careful and laborious handicraft of this kind commands almost universal admiration; we are astonished by the prodigious amount of work 'put into' the manufacture of such garments (Bell 1976 31).¹⁶

Relevant to this research on the designs of the home industries, is a feature of more recent studies, which is the evolving understanding of the fact that national identities and the associated traditions are 'inventions' (Thomas 1999 12). Eric Hobsbawm's 1983 much quoted view on tradition states:

¹⁶ Bell's 'universal admiration' is a view held since Victorian times when society considered embroidery achievements as suitable pastimes for women, which will be discussed later. Callen, A. 1979. *Angel in the studio: women in the arts and crafts movement, 1870-1914*. London, Astragal. 15.

Traditions which appear to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented. The term invented 'tradition' includes both traditions actually invented, constructed and normally instituted and those emerging in a less easily traceable manner... 'Invented' traditions where possible attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past... the peculiarity of 'invented' traditions is that the continuity with it is largely factitious (Hobsbawm 1983 1-2).

Hobsbawm suggests that movements which revive traditions, 'traditionalist' or otherwise, are visible and indicate a break in tradition:

Such a break is visible even in movements deliberately describing themselves as 'traditionalist', and appealing to groups, which were, by common consent, regarded as repositories of historic continuity and tradition, such as peasants. Indeed the very appearance of movements for the defence or revival of traditions, 'traditionalist' or otherwise, indicates such a break. Such movements, common among intellectuals since the Romantics, can never develop or preserve a living past (except conceivably by setting up human natural sanctuaries for isolated corners of archaic life, but must become invented 'tradition'. Where the old ways are indeed alive, traditions need be neither revived nor invented (Hobsbawm 1983 7-8).

Hobsbawm concludes that the nineteenth century liberal ideology of social change systematically failed to provide for the social and authority ties, taken for granted in earlier societies, and created voids filled by invented practices.

Vasel Vasileva's 1985 definition of 'tradition' in embroidery included in her paper, *Considerations on the cultural-historical significance of embroidery in Bulgaria and the British Isles*, was written as textiles was emerging as a research area. Her definition demonstrates an evolutionary stage of notions related to 'tradition' in textiles:

'Tradition'-in respect of embroidery as an element of culture-is viewed as the mechanism of its transmission, inheritance and evolutionary development through many generations. Furthermore, two uses of this conception must be distinguished: first, 'the tradition' of needlework as a mechanism for transmitting the cultural element below, and second, 'tradition as a consequence -of the development of the cultural historical phenomenon in question-'embroidery' (Vesileva 1985 210).

More recently in *Politics of Time: modernity and the avante-garde*, Peter Osborne interestingly explains that the origin of the word tradition stems from the latin word *tradere* which refers to betrayal and surrender (Osborne in Rowley 1999 11). 'Traditional' embroidery practices appear to have 'surrendered' to political, economic, and social aims of the more powerful fraction of the population. More to the point, it is our romantic concept of the traditional as an uncontaminated and pure cultural form that is erroneous. Rowley discusses her view, which echoes that of Hobsbawm that the invented traditions attempted to structure social life as unchanging and invariant by establishing apparent continuity with a suitable past, frequently by the use of repetition. Rowley further explains:

Invented traditions arise because new or dramatically transformed social groups, environments and social contexts called for new devices to ensure or express social cohesion and identity and to structure 'social relations' or because traditional forms of ruling proved more difficult and new devices were required to express social cohesion and identity (Rowley 1999 9).

Recently, Taylor cites Joanne Eicher in *Dress and Ethnicity*, who suggests how the term 'tradition' in ethnographic research 'has come to mean an item or action inherited from the past', but implies that there are many complications. Taylor warns that 'by implication the terms 'inherited' and 'intact' carry with them notions of cultural longevity and stability that we know now bear little relation to the reality of 'tribal' or peasant life' (Eicher in Taylor 2002 201).

Gale and Kaur's contemporary view explains 'tradition' in textiles as a contradiction in terms as 'traditions are neither static nor geographically fixed, and they have constantly changed in response to interactions between different cultures' (Gale and Kaur 2002 91). This outlook recognizes influences such as trade, patronage, migration, social functions and symbolism to have defined the evolution of embroidery design, which is reinforced in this chapter.

The influence of the Arts and Crafts Movement, especially Walter Crane's role in encouraging Hungarian design, prior to his recognition of commercial manipulation as well as the enthusiasm generated by his visit, is included in this research. Stirton and Kinchin suggest that Crane's letter which appeared in a special number of *Magyar Iparművészet* (Hungarian Applied Arts) to coincide with his 1900 exhibition, was enthusiastic as it was prior to his visit, and that perhaps later, he would have been better informed (Stirton and Kinchin 1999 34). Within their discussion they quote Crane:

The particular character of the Hungarian people, however, its rich and inexhaustible imagination manifesting in floral design, its romantic and practical sense as well as its great skill in the execution show up from the end. Nothing can surpass the beauty of some of the needleworks, and the patterns from the embroidery, and the loveliness of traditional peasant stitch-works increasing the colour effects of the costume. Many of them remind one, regarding type and form, of the beautiful Persian and Indian embroideries... there is a characteristic Hungarian feeling in everything and dominates, overpowers every ascendancy (Crane in Stirton and Kinchin 1999 33-4).¹⁷

Stirton and Kinchin suggest that Crane recognised some of his Arts and Crafts ideals in the teaching of the schools but was aware of the difficulties of using rural objects in an urban

¹⁷ Crane had long had an interest in embroidery as he designed for the Royal School of Needlework from 1874.

context far removed from the making or meaning of the peasant work (Stirton and Kinchin 1999 34).

At the time of Crane's visit in 1900 Károly Lyka, a renowned art critic in *Műcsarnok*, a Budapest journal, wrote that Crane encouraged artists to take their destiny into their own hands and attempt a quality product that reflected popular culture, not bowing to the tastes of the aristocracy (Wilson 1998 100). Crane enthusiastically endorsed the artists who wished to create a Hungarian style by using peasant decoration on objects, and on buildings, stating 'the peculiar character of the Hungarian people is their rich and endless imagination in floral decoration' (Sármány-Parson 1987-8 188).

Sármány-Parsons asserts that Crane encouraged artists who wished to create a Hungarian style by using peasant decoration on objects, and on buildings again citing the phrase 'The peculiar character of the Hungarian people is their rich and endless imagination in floral decoration' (Crane in Sármány-Parson 1987-8 188). Other earlier studies indicate similar views, the Hungarian architect, painter and designer Károly Kós, in 1931, acknowledged that Crane, Ruskin and Morris were decisive influences for him, and his admiration for 'pure' inspiration is exemplified in his quote:

I remained standing on the edge of the mountain, in the full knowledge that I was standing in the middle of the Kalotaszeg: the Kalotaszeg which had freely presented me with all the beauties and wonders, collected and preserved in its treasure house over a thousand years... it would be terribly ungrateful of me to forget this giver of gifts (Kós in Wilson 1998 100).¹⁸

However, Susanne Wilson in her RCA Masters dissertation, *Walter Crane (1845-1915)* claims Crane saw the 'essence of peasant culture' on his visit to Gyarmathy's workshop (Wilson 1998 46). This research indicates that Crane's enthusiasm prior to his visit overlooked design development influenced by commercial pressures in 'peasant' design. It reviews the influence of Crane in relation to the role of the Women's Home Industry movement, the state, and other artists and designers in disseminating an ethnic design style.¹⁹ Wilson claims that while Crane inspired Hungarian artists to produce art and design reflecting their folk culture he recognised that the commercialisation of art was effecting a style change (Wilson 1998 47). The paradox was Crane had already influenced the artists and their commercial activities, prior to his own observations.

In *Haslemere and the edges of Europe*, David Crowley discusses the intellectual and critical background to the revival of peasant design from an architecture and design perspective and highlights William Morris's influence:

¹⁸ Kós (1883-1977) was a member of the avante garde *Young Group* of architects Wilson, S. 1998. *Walter Crane (1845-1915) in Budapest*. M.A. Royal College of Art. 100.

¹⁹ After Crane's visit artist's colonies were established.

Perhaps more than any other figure of his age, William Morris, the English designer and socialist, shaped the fascination with the peasant art of Europe around 1900 (Crowley 2000 46).

Wilson highlights this Arts and Crafts influence, quoting Crowley, drawing a comparison between Ruskin's and Morris's ideology of 'art for the people by the people' and 'beauty in everything for everyone' which appealed to the state officials who attempted to deconstruct the traditional arts hierarchy (Wilson 1998 44).

Crowley suppresses the influence of the home industry textile designs indeed a somewhat dismissive tone is used in his discussion of the women's work. He makes a sweeping generalisation disputing both the financial situation and the integrity of design. He claims:

The Hungarian peasantry had lived in a monetary economy for much if not all of the nineteenth century in which the things that they wore and used were made by specialists like tailors and potters, often based in towns (Crowley 2000 52).

Crowley implies that as early as 1820, the Austrian State encouraged the embroidery *Hausindustrie* (Home industries), he claims the state provided monetary relief to the peasants, and established a considerable system of support by the turn of the century (Crowley 1995 19). Infact it was not until the 1870s, when the dual monarchy began to feel the pressure of national rivalries that state intervention occurred, but not directly for the Home Industries as Crowley suggests, but in craft education (Levetus 1905b 205).

In Crowley's discussion of the *Verein zur Hebung der Spitzen-Industrie* (a Society for the Encouragement of Lace Making) he writes that it was established in 1870, 'sustained by the voluntarism of high-born ladies' (Crowley 1995 20). Not only is the foundation date of 1904 incorrectly identified by Crowley, but also, the state's function in the organisation.²⁰ Illustrating this with the example of the *szür* coat, Crowley overlooks both the evidence of non-commercial design and peasant poverty provided by the travel journals of Crane and Adrian Stokes, and subsequent economic research by Agnes Pogany, as referenced in this research (Crane 1907; Stokes 1909; Pogany 2000). He sees peasant textile design as emanating from state support in the form of indirect peasant relief (Crowley 1995 19).

An influential debate relating to the peasant embroideries of Central Europe is that of 'purity' versus 'diversity' of design, which is the focus of chapter seven, *Ethnic Design: from Design Diversity to the Imposition of a Static Design Aesthetic*. A comparison is

²⁰ Levetus dates the foundation of the *Verein zur Hebung der Spitzen-Industrie* as 1904 Levetus, A. 1905a. *Austrian Lace Schools*. The Studio 35 (149): 19-30. 21-22

presented between Etelka Gyarmathy's commercially driven Hungarian Home Industry and the more creative direction of the Northern Hungarian (now Slovakia) *Izabella* Home Industry, prior to state intervention. A chronological survey of Austro-Hungarian home industries, places NDS peasant designs within this framework. This study determines the socio-cultural influences, which had an impact on the evolution of 'peasant'/ethnic design.

In this research, clarification of the authenticity of the Austro-Hungarian home industry, state co-operative and workshop textiles is explained, in terms of current debate on 'improved', 'reworked', 'traditional' and 'incorporated' textiles. The terms 'improved', 'reworked', and 'incorporated' are appropriately and positively used in relation to textile design developed by State organisations. Another perspective of Bell's summarises the influence of nationalism, which was a dominant force internationally, during the time when many of the peasant NDS works were made:

In the past 200 years nationalism has been one of the most important political, social and aesthetic forces in the world, it has inspired wars and persecutions, it has made and destroyed nations (Bell 1976 102).

Crowley claims the architect, Duran Jurkovič's role contributing to the establishment of *Detva*, the national Czechoslovakian body which promoted peasant textile design and manufacture as a positive direction (Crowley 1995 28). However this research references a catalogue *Mária Hollósy, 1858-1945*, by the Slovakian academic Eva Cisárová-Mináriková in order to dispute this view and facilitate a comparison with home industry design activity (Cisárová-Mináriková 2001).

This research will shed light on the impact of the Austro-Hungarian Government's changing direction of support during political crises, and the influence it had on both design and embroidery. The key role of Mária Undi is explored using her publications from 1932-1945, a 1996 Gödöllő exhibition catalogue, and the NDS textiles (Undi 1932-1945; Geller 1996). The later more static period of design in the State cooperatives, workshops and production for tourists is examined. Coats role in the dissemination of ethnic design is also discussed and clarified. The NDS textiles allow the evolution of the peasant/ethnic style to be positioned in a modern context. Another contrast is offered in the following chapter, which explores the process and influences impacting on the design of modern embroideries created in Austria, Germany and Italy.

The eighth chapter, *Tradition masked by Modernism: the influences on the design of key NDS embroideries of the late 1920s-1930s*, argues that figurative, symbolic, decorative design was suppressed and marginalised by modernism and has subsequently been omitted from discourse. The chapter begins by reference to patriarchal attitudes at the

beginning of the twentieth century, which marginalised women designers. As women's design was suppressed by Modernity historians have excluded it, as stated by Greenhalgh:

Modernism, excluding historicism or 'traditional' design, forced women to exert other powerful influences in design (Greenhalgh 1992 19).²¹

In the above quote Paul Greenhalgh acknowledges women's design as part of the Modern Movement. In 1990 Greenhalgh extrapolated twelve features of Modernity some of which were shared by the various schools (Greenhalgh 1990 8). Included in his criteria were both anti-historicism, and abstraction, which eliminated the inclusion of figurative, symbolic elements. Functional, abstract, geometric forms, primary coloured, produced by technology, characterised much design in the modern movement. Figurative, symbolic, decorative embellishment and the intrinsic pattern of textiles were at odds with both the functionalism and simplicity of modernism.

In 1992 in *Maelstrom of Modernism*, he narrowed his defining process down to two concepts 'objectification' and 'holism':

'objectification'; the process whereby modernists appeared willing and able to step outside the continuum of history [...] and holism every element is related to every other and functions as a whole [...] Past values were rejected [...] and there was little diversity (Greenhalgh 1992 18).

Greenhalgh's appeals for works such as these textiles, which have been excluded from art and design history, to be included:

If we imagine these distinctive core movements as points in time and space, then strung between them are a large number of individuals, genres and movements that have responded to the new ideas with varying degrees of intensity-taking up some aspects of Modernity and rejecting others. The applied arts offer interesting examples of work where the ideology and theory are unequivocally modern, but the appearance is less clear. [...] It is my view that there is a distinctive narrative thread, peculiar to the 'handmade' arts, which has to be properly articulated (Greenhalgh 1992 17).

Mitchell Schwarzer in *The design Prototype as Artistic Boundary*, also writes of the value of dissenting, marginal fragmentary design movements and encourages their inclusion in history (Schwarzer 1992 31). In the Introduction to *Obscure Objects of Desire*, Tanya Harrod sheds further light on a compounding issue in the exclusion of women's design from discourse on modernism:

At first sight much of the rhetoric of modernism implies the complete rejection of the handmade. If however we look and read more closely we find both makers and Modernist designers during this century have shared an admiration for vernacular or traditional crafts, for non-European artefacts. Arguably craft particularly in its

²¹ Ornamental embellishment was considered to disguise modern construction, and failed to convey the spirit of the age Woodham, J. 1997. *Twentieth Century Design*. Oxford & New York, Oxford University Press.34.

vernacular and non-European forms, is an integral and troublesome part of the modern project (Harrod 1998 2).

Doordan's comment alludes to oversights in design history which have overlooked social aspects of history:

The Design History focus on the Modern Movement, particularly the Bauhaus, has resulted in the disregard of other associations between design and society [...] history can be distorted if a discussion on the feelings of the people is evaded (Doordan 1995 257).

Doordan's view holds true for many of the inter-war NDS embroideries. This research will show how restrictions on women and the applied arts, by the Bauhaus, the experimental school of Modernism, helped to create dissenting, marginal, fragmentary design movements, as typified in the Austrian, German and Italian NDS designs. Although women such as Emmy Zweybrück made important contributions to design education, and led successful design careers, during a period of political and cultural suppression their contribution to design has been omitted.

The unrecorded history of Emmy Zweybrück has been pieced together by linking details included in works by Josef Hoffmann, the American *Design* and German *Stickereien und Spitzen* journals, and archived newspaper cuttings (Hoffman 1930). Further confirmation has been obtained in correspondence with Zweybrück's current biographer, Professor Friedrich Heller, formerly from Vienna now based in Berlin. Volumes of *Stickereien und Spitzen* have also proved of significant importance in sourcing original information.

An indication is given of the ways in which some women participated, yet at the same time were relatively marginalised by the overwhelmingly male dominated professional presence. The works of the Bauhaus archivist Magdalena Droste, commenting on the marginalised position for women designers at the Bauhaus, and Liz Bird and Jenny Anger's analyses of the suppression of decorative design have been particularly helpful (Bird 1983; Droste 1989; Droste 1990; Anger 1996). Jenny Anger looks in particular at domesticity in the modern era and factors, which contributed to the suppression of decorative design in pre-WW1 Germany.

Maud Lavin's analysis of Hannah Höch's work relates to a wider set of cultural and social issues that were specific to German modernism (Lavin 1993). Lavin's comment on the representation of the *neue frau* in the Weimar Republic and the social roles of women provided insights helpful in the interpretation of the meaning of some of the German / Austrian NDS designs. Also, Shearer West's *The Visual Arts in Germany: Utopia and Despair*, includes an analysis of Hannah Höch's work:

Höch comments on the contradictory representation of women in Weimar Germany, in particular the portrayal of women in advertisements, in the rapidly growing media industry, as both a consumer and idealized mannequin (West 2000).

Both Perry Willson's and Dennis Doordan's insights into the promotion of design in the fascist regime, are relevant to analyses of the Italian NDS designs (Doordan 1995; Willson 2002). While Jean Elshtain in *Women and War*, describes the educational situation for women and the refusal by some to relinquish their beliefs to meet the demands of National Socialism has been helpful in deciphering the context of the German ecclesiastical designs (Elshtain 1987). In this chapter, the role of Coats market forces shaping the production of designs referencing political and socio-cultural issues is analysed.

The issue of the anonymity of women's work arose in several chapters. Isabelle Allende alludes to the anonymity of women's work produced for commercial purposes when she describes the teenage girl, Rose's visit to her mother's housemaid:

Before her stood an ordinary little woman with feverish eyes and a sad expression. She seemed ancient, but when Rose looked closely she could see that the woman was still young and had once been beautiful. There was no doubt that she was very ill. Senora Andieta was not surprised to see Rose at the door; she was accustomed to having wealthy women bring sewing and embroidery for her to do. Her customer passed her name to friends; it wasn't unusual for a lady she didn't know to knock at her door (Allende 2000 252).

Like the embroideries of the fictional Senora Andieta, there are many works from the hands of anonymous women from all over the world, in the NDS collection. The marginalisation and anonymity of embroiderers originates within the ideological framework in which their work is regarded as a leisure time activity, unworthy of serious attention and serious payment. In their seminal work *Old Mistresses*, Roszika Parker and Griselda Pollock established that women's work was designated better as craft because the work is often carried out in the home, and often for the family (Parker 1981 70). Parker explains that when women embroider it is seen as an expression of their femininity that leads to its categorisation as craft (Parker 1981 4). Liz Bird further clarifies that the social and political aims of the Arts and Crafts Movement were never fulfilled, and women continued to play a subservient role (Bird 1983 112).

Another factor which further marginalised women was the marriage ban regulations between 1918 and 1945, which as Catherine Adams writes were succeeded by 'divide and rule', setting married women against single women for jobs (Adams 1990 89). This research sheds light on the way in which these bans thwarted the progress and influence of successful lecturers such as Kathleen Mann.

Bird suggests that once embroidery became recognised as a legitimate area of study, it was regulated and patriarchal attitudes prevailed (Bird 1983 113). Also Maines claims:

When men are involved in textiles there is a semantic effort made to alter our perceptions of how their work differs from that of a woman's textile work (Maines in Bird 1983 109).

Dominating patriarchal cultural attitudes and classification systems regulating embroidery into domestic science education have marginalized embroidery as an art form, an issue explored by Patricia Hornsby, in her University of Central England M. A., *To what extent did Constance Howard exert an influence on twentieth century embroidery in Great Britain?* The author asserts that in 1969 Howard had the foresight to argue that embroidery belonged squarely in a school's Art Department. Hornsby states that Constance Howard condemned the practice of embroidery in schools being taught as an element of Domestic Science education. She concludes that Howard believed this ensured that embroidery was at best a craft, and at worst, a little better than the make-do-and-mend and prancing horse philosophy (Hornsby 1992 42). A critical perspective on the relationship between women and embroidery provides an understanding of the position of it in society.

Dalton, in her recent work, recognises the influence that J & P Coats had on the Ministry of Education, and asserts that Coats used their NDS as a training ground for their future employees. But Dalton does recognise one of Coats' main concerns: ensuring teachers were well trained to teach design effectively while an interest in embroidery was sustained through an appreciation of design. At that time, Dalton claims, educational discourse and the male heads of departments neglected domestic craft teachers who used the Scheme:

To teachers in Art and HE, the Scheme supplied paper patterns, fashion magazines, teaching aids and curriculum projects. Books, wall charts, visual aids and pamphlets with related catalogues supplied materials and patterns in the new Scandinavian 'modern' style. The Scheme liaised with the schools' suppliers, selling ready made lesson plans and craft kits which, neglected by Design educational discourse and male heads of Art departments, domestic craft teachers were often happy to use (Dalton 2001 95).

In this analysis of the NDS it is clear that Dalton has confused its activities with the commercial activities of Dryads the handicraft suppliers, who offered both embroidery loans and kits for sale. Dalton's previous dissertations were unavailable for review, as referenced in her 2001 text. Interviews with teachers who used the Scheme, pupils who studied the embroideries, and personnel involved in its development, highlight a shared

enthusiasm for the opportunity to be involved with the organisation.²² The only other recent account of the NDS is in Jennifer Hall's 1991 University of Central England Masters dissertation *Embroidery in Britain in the 1950s*, which offers an analysis of the history of the Scheme in education, and its impact on design education:

Though the NDS ethos remained safely within the traditional view of embroidery as a stitching craft, the society was still an important influence in its attempts to raise the standard of embroidery design and teaching (Hall 1991 13).²³

In looking at an earlier era, Bronwyn Hiles in her Royal College of Art Masters dissertation, *Women and amateur embroidery in Great Britain, 1919-1939*, limited her analysis to journals from the 1919-1939 period, such as *The Needlewomen* and *Embroideress* and claims:

Art Schools such as the Royal School of Needlework attempted to raise the status of needlework and embroidery, and possibly more prominent was the work of Jessie Newbery, Ann Macbeth, and Margaret Swanson at the Glasgow School of Art (Hiles 1998 19).

The Royal School of Needlework was neither a Government Art School, nor accepted as an art school, whereas the teaching methods of the Scottish women were recognised internationally. Embroidery was taught to prospective art teachers in the Art department of The Glasgow School of Art, by Newbery and Macbeth (Arthur 1994 40-3). This GSA perspective, perhaps not obvious in the journal sources, is under-valued, along-with Coats' NDSS, used widely by amateur embroiderers in Scotland. Hiles suggests the next step in her study would be to include oral history (Hiles 1998 109). However, analyses of archives, and the embroideries and needlework artefacts from the inter-war period, would have offered accurate evidence as this research demonstrates.

Chapter nine, *Textiles and Education: the Influence of Industry and Politics*, clarifies the key education personnel, and their roles. The innovative practice of ScAS lecturers at the outset of the Scheme, and their approaches to design throughout the NDS is identified. The role, effectiveness, and impact of the collection within the education curriculum is assessed, by contrasting the innovative teaching at the GSA with technique-based approaches, and the market led philosophy of Coats. Whether or not Coats generated

²² Author's interviews and correspondence with Iris Hills, Elisabeth Geddes, Ulla Kockum-Overengen, Margaret Wilson, Margaret Nicholson, Marion Stewart, Mary Mackie, Margaret Miller, Dorothy Smith, Margaret Swain 2001-2002.

²³ Hall explained the NDS influence as, 'firstly, in their encouragement of schools to either insert or retain embroidery within their curricula despite strong academic pressures to crowd out crafts as a whole. Secondly, they were instrumental in providing a wide ranging collection of traditional and modern embroidery which was made directly available through the Schools of Art to any school or institution in their area interested in furthering knowledge of embroidery' Hall, J. 1991. *Embroidery in Britain in the 1950s*. Masters dissertation. University of Central England.

conditions for changes in design and their impact on the education curriculum is clarified. The design ideology comparison facilitates the identification and relationship to the Scheme of the way that textiles are taught in art schools now.

The development and change in the intellectual and educational context of the NDS is discussed by reference to archive sources, including teaching notes, oral history interviews, sketchbooks, and related secondary literature (Mann 1932; Arthur 1989; Burkhauser 1990). Archives, including both Kathleen Whyte's and Dorothy Smith's sketchbooks and designs, indicate different ways in which NDS textiles were used in design teaching in Scotland, and other evidence for this area of research is presented from interviews with those involved in the NDS or who used it in their teaching programmes (Smith 1938; Whyte 1938). An insight into how the NDS textiles were received illuminates this area of research.

Theses on education issues have been helpful to my understanding of the Textiles education syllabus from the 1930s-1960s (Wain 1990; Rawson 1996; MacDonald 1997). Whether or not J & P Coats' NDS further marginalised embroidery by encouraging the practice of copying designs, rather than responding to them through the generation of original, imaginative ideas is clarified.

The reflective chapter ten, *Design from Artefacts: the Value of Socio-cultural Interpretation* offers ideas for the future use of NDS textiles in education. Relevant to this research looking at the role of the artefact in design education is Edward Said's seminal, *Orientalism: western conceptions of the Orient*, which offers a view on ethnic appropriation as it evolved in Britain. Said claims Britain had a privileged place in the Orient, and exploitative practices driven by trade were established allowing an acceptance of pillaging in design to develop as Britain colonized the Orient competing with France (Said 1978 246). Said poses the question 'How do ideas grow authority?' (Said 1978 326).'

Inspired by Said's *Orientalism: western conceptions of the Orient*, some contentious studies of modernist interest in tribal art have been completed. In *Possessions: indigenous art / colonial culture*, looking at settler cultures, Nicholas Thomas raises questions appropriate to this research:

Had European artists simply appropriated the forms and aesthetics of other cultures, re-energizing their own practice while giving nothing in return? [...] A more positive alternative argument emphasises that cultural influences and appropriations flowed in both directions hence that tribal world was as much a location of creative dynamism as modernist (Thomas 1999 7).

Relevant to this research Nicholas Thomas links appreciation and appropriation:

Appreciation and appropriation have been intimately connected, and are essentially double-sided processes. By definition, their values are unstable; although some appropriations are more pernicious than others, and the effects of appropriations in

different domains (commercial and high artistic) certainly vary, it has to be said that definite adjudications, positive or negative, will almost inevitably be half right and half wrong (Thomas 1999 158).

Thomas considers the implication of appropriation in settler cultures, such as Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, where Pakehas live alongside Maori in a bi-cultural manner, and raises the issue of whether or not cross-cultural borrowings are to be construed as legitimate exchange:

To a degree appropriations always combine taking and acknowledgment, appropriation and homage, a critique of colonial exclusions, and collusions in imbalanced exchange. If appropriations do have a general character, it is surely that of unstable duality. We could attempt to theorize the practice of appropriation, and thereby establish whether cross-cultural borrowings can be construed as legitimate exchange and productive mutual acknowledgement, or rather the rip-off of colonised peoples by exploitative European and settler cultures (Thomas 1999 140).

A growing awareness of these aboriginal cultures sheds light on the more sophisticated take required to appropriate design without understanding.

As technology rapidly progresses, the seemingly inevitable impact of digital embroidery and printing on the design process is already in evidence. There is the potential for designs from other cultures to be reproduced in multiples without any form of interpretation. Dorothy Bosomworth in her paper, *Craft in the twenty-first century: theorising change and practice*, presented in Edinburgh in 2003, alludes to these implications (Bosomworth 2003).

This study reveals a role for the NDS in contemporary design education indicating why these collections should be used with contemporary students. The Reading Museum's on-line loan scheme for schools includes NDS artefacts, but again the feedback comments echo problems highlighted in this research (McAlpine 2003). The teachers need to be assisted in the use of the artefacts so that student skills and design processes are allowed to develop and their individual design identity will flourish. Inter-active, text-based teaching resources could be developed to limit this barrier to progress. Shared elements of textile courses could draw on the NDS resource.

The final chapter, *Conclusion*, draws together the findings in this research and examines their implications. This study looks at the issue of the acquisition of design ideas from other cultures and reveals Coats role disseminating design from other cultures in Britain and into other cultures wherever their thread mills were based. This research reveals the importance of the NDS designs and highlights the need for the understanding and interpretation of the economic, historical, political and socio-cultural context of the designs as a foundation for the creation of a contemporary aesthetic. This study contributes

to a greater understanding of the context of the textiles and highlights the value of their use in the creative, imaginative design process.

Chapter 2: Methods

The material object is positioned as the vehicle through which to explore the object/subject relationship, a condition that hovers somewhere between the physical presence and the visual image, between the reality of the inherent properties of the materials and the myth of fantasy, and between empirical materiality and theoretical representation. The object therefore is both the starting point and the ultimate point of return, but overturning the usual interests of design practice by methodically casting visibility as subordinate to sociality (Attfield 2000 11).

Writing in 2000, Attfield here mentions the object as the starting point and ultimate point of return. This approach has guided this research and directed it away from more conventional approaches to studying textiles. In this thesis findings were assembled using a variety of methods, including qualitative and quantitative analysis, oral history, bibliographical research, and a pilot case study. These are outlined thus:

Qualitative analysis: involved locating the Needlework Development Scheme collection, viewing the most significant existing NDS textile collections, locating archives, viewing archives, creating typologies of the textiles, and comparing textiles. This allowed the date, nationality, type of NDS textiles; the use of particular materials and textile techniques; and the chronological pattern of acquisition, to develop and be clarified.

Oral history: this consisted of interviewing personnel who had used the NDS or knew others who had used the textiles for an evaluation of the NDS and the use of the textiles.

Bibliographical: analysis of the history of the textiles, the history of J & P Coats, the theory of textile collecting, the history and current philosophy of art and design education, the socio-cultural context of some of the NDS textiles. The textiles and their context are seen as an interactive relationship where they have combined to define the meaning of the aesthetic.

Case study: a pilot case study explored the way embroidery is taught, including observation of the design process and development of ideas.

The methodology in this research is multidisciplinary object-based, and completed in the fields of history, economics, politics and socio-cultural studies. Analysis has relied on object observations, archives, accession records and journals to make connections, reinforce observations and develop the socio-cultural, political and economic context of the textiles. Systematic analyses and complementary sources of information such as oral history interviews have cross-referenced some findings.

Initially, the purpose of this study was to answer the following questions:

What impact did the NDS have on embroidery art and design education in Britain?

What organisations were involved in the Scheme?

When and where were NDS exhibitions held and how were they received?

How did the intellectual and educational context of the NDS develop and change?

What textiles were collected in a particular time?

Who did the collecting and the selecting?

Who were the key NDS people, what were their roles, and their social and educational backgrounds?

What is the quality and how representative is the selection of the collection, both at the GSA and as a whole?

How was the NDS promoted through publications and exhibitions?

What was the role of such collections within the higher education and schools curriculum?

How effective was the use of the collection in teaching?

Where are NDS holdings?

How have/are they being used?

How are they stored and catalogued?

How can NDS textiles be translated to contemporary meaning in art and design education?

How do textiles feature in school and adult education programmes?

How are professional textile designers and makers trained today?

How do textile courses compare and what are the shared elements that could draw on the resource?

Is there a relationship in the Scheme to the way textiles are taught in art schools today?

How do other national/international institutions use their textile collections as a teaching resource?

Do the NDS works have a role in contemporary design education?

How educationally motivated is the recent upsurge of interest in research collections in higher education?

Why should these collections be used?

Because of the lack of secondary source material specifically devoted to the Scheme, it was essential to discover how the NDS collection was developed. Using a list in surviving records, a letter of enquiry to organisations, which received NDS textiles, as well as predicted subsequent locations, was distributed. Many enquiries, often repeated in a different format to draw a response, were made to various organisations to locate NDS collections.¹ For example, one organisation, NFWI, London responded after a period of more than two years from the initial enquiry.

¹ Table 1 is the sole current document listing the NDS collections. Enquiries found a small collection in Belfast, Northern Ireland. A small NDS collection in Sydney, Australia, has been viewed from photographs. This collection was lent by the Embroiderers' Guild, Hampton Court in the early 1960s.

The first stage of the research documentation process involved making a survey consisting of a written and photographic record of the most significant remaining NDS collections in Scotland and England. In order of viewing they were: Dundee University, GSA, Edinburgh College of Art (ECA), Robert Gordon University (RGU), Aberdeen, V&A Museum (V&A), London, Embroiderers' Guild, Hampton Court, RSM, Edinburgh, and Paisley Museum. Also, both the Dundee and Reading Museum collection were available on-line. From these visits I drew up lists of the individual holdings and identified patterns of collection of artists and countries. An overview of the quality of the textiles, their storage and use was established (Fig 1).² It was necessary to carry out comparative analyses of artefacts in various NDS collections. The comparable elements determined categories of similar features that remain constant over a period of time.

Some textile curators were extremely willing to locate NDS works and incorporate my research visits into their busy schedules. However, NDS textiles gifted to some organisations such as garments or rolled objects are sometimes considered too difficult to show to student researchers, because of the extra work required. This was problematic, as most museums do not hold photographic records of NDS textiles, so an alternative source was not available.³

Lists of collections were created for holdings at institutions, which did not have their collections recorded, for example Paisley Museum and RGU, in Aberdeen. Requests were made over a period of several months to gain access to museum and amateur organisation's accession lists. The RSM in Edinburgh was willing to allow me to view their 1962 records, however requests at other organisations were met with reluctance on the part of the curators, who cited 'copy right' reasons (Miller 2001). Eventually the curators were forthcoming with some parts of accession lists, which revealed diversely different recording policies in museums and amateur organisations. This problem makes research more difficult, as successive systems of recording in databases delete some of the original information, for example the original NDS numbers are often no longer retained. This limits the possible amount of typology study of the textiles and finer provenance analyses. Repeat visits were made to all of these collections, as the significance of the context of some of the designs emerged it became obvious more examination was required.

The textiles and documents were seen as complementary sources of information, and analyses relied on using these sources to make connections and reinforce observations. The

A textile design by a student of Zweybrück's has been located in Marge Miller's private collection in New Haven, America.

² Table 2 lists the storage methods and condition of the textiles. See Fig. 1 for an indication of the state of current storage systems of NDS textiles.

³ In one case a curator decided I should spend one day studying two textiles. This was following her confirmation just prior to the visit of twelve textiles being available for consultation. Travel from Glasgow to Hampton Court was necessary in order to view these two textiles at the Embroiderers' Guild.

FIG 1



1: A label on an original NDS textile box in use at Paisley Museum in 2003

As the research progressed, surviving NDS archive records appeared to contain certain inconsistencies, and there appeared to be complications as to the provenance of the items. These issues are detailed in the chapters *Below: Design: From Diversity to the Imposition* and *Below: Design: From Diversity to the Imposition*.

The researcher visited the former NDS secretary, the Margaret Wilson a former NDS embroiderer, to discuss the design items recovered but from retaining anything of the Scheme.

Wilson also confirmed this in an interview later. Only 2, 2002. Interview with Author, Edinburgh, Apr 2002.

second stage (which sometimes interlinked with the first stage, the textile survey) was to locate archive deposits in museums and institutions. Initially, this involved interviewing personnel whom I had been advised to interview.⁴ Leads from these interviews were useful, for example, I was able to eventually locate George Martin, Colin Martin's son. He was able to indicate that he thought it possible that his father would have deposited archives in Paisley, which seemed possible, as Glasgow Museums had declined the offer of the NDS textiles in 1962 (Martin 2001 personal communication).⁵ At this point it is important to note that some museum staff doubted they had NDS archives, although the holdings are listed on the Historic Manuscripts Archive listings.

Extensive archive studies were carried out in many collections, including: ECA (Heriot Watt University), GSA, Glasgow University Business Archives (GUBA), Embroiderers' Guild (Hampton Court Palace), London Metropolitan Archives, Paisley Museum, RSM, and Victoria & Albert Museum Art and Design Archives. Documents were important sources of information, especially with regard to the history of the NDS, and J & P Coats. If possible documentary evidence has been cross-checked with interview data and *vice-versa*. This cross-referencing has been further enhanced by cross-cultural analysis, for example in the research of Coats impact on design, approaches in Scotland have been compared with their parallels in England and Sweden.

The archival research included examination of documents from the NDS, J & P Coats corporate records, and to a lesser extent Education Department documents at London Metropolitan Archives. For example, the archives included unpublished volumes, meeting minutes, NDS reports, newspaper cuttings, photographs, journals and sketchbooks. Detailed notes were made at collections such as the V&A Art and Design Archives, which held two folders of records, including meeting minutes and letters. Only a few relevant notes were made at the LMA from Higher Education files, discovered while attempting to locate records of the London County Council NDS collection and Grace Thompson archives. Much searching through large volumes of minutes, hand written in faded ink, was required at Coats massive corporate collection at the GUBA to find a few highly relevant points. The *Universität für Angewandte Kunst Wien* (University of Applied Arts, Vienna) archive kindly supplied photocopies of early designs by Zweybrück and her students. This material prompted further research in German journals.

As the research progressed surviving NDS archive records appeared to contain certain inaccuracies, and there appeared to be irregularities as to the provenance of the items. These issues are clarified in the chapters, *Ethnic Design: From Diversity to the Imposition*

⁴ For example Mary Mackie the former NDS secretary, and Margaret Wilson a former NDS embroiderer. Sadly Mackie's failing health prevented her from recalling anything of the Scheme.

⁵ Revel Oddy confirmed this in an interview later. Oddy, R. 2002. *Interview with Author*. Edinburgh. Apr 2002.

of a *Static Design Aesthetic and Tradition Masked by Modernism: the Influences on Key Designs in NDS Embroideries of the late 1920s to 1930s*, where the true provenance and history of some NDS textiles is described.

In my efforts to reconstruct the date, provenance and context of the designs I have been able to work in a number of outstanding libraries in Scotland, providing sources of historical information: the National Library of Scotland, Mitchell Library, Paisley GSA, ECA, Dundee University, National Museum of Scotland, Dean Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh, and the Göethe Institut, Glasgow. These important resources were supplemented by the inter-library loan service provided by Glasgow University (GU) and GSA, allowing me to access important articles in early American *Design* journals and much other material.

Both GU and GSA library databases such as *Edina Art Abstracts*, *Edina Arts Index Retrospective*, *Edina SALSER*, COPAC, ZETOC and SCRAN have been accessed regularly throughout this research.⁶ Databases such as the British Library catalogue and Ariad UK were useful sources for locating dissertations. *Edina Arts Index Retrospective*, provided information of Zweybrück articles, although listed incorrectly in the database, as *Design* (UK), Harvard University corrected this error to *Design* (Indianapolis) (Richter 2001). Key word searches of electronic library catalogues, such as the V&A Museum Library, led me to identify locations of the same books in Scotland.⁷

Overall the continual juggling of object/archive/secondary literature and images could have been enhanced if only one computer system had been used throughout the research. Instead four different models have been used, both PC and Mackintosh using different software programmes as available on different systems. Image storage software would possibly have made the storage, access and organisation of images easier. Endnote reference management software has made the challenge of reference record keeping more straightforward.

In the second year the emergence of seven volumes of Coats history, by two different authors, created mystery surrounding their unpublished status.⁸ David Keir's *The History of J & P Coats* and JBK Hunter's *The Economic History of J & P Coats* did not mention the NDS in any of the seven large volumes. This raised more questions linked to the status of the anonymous funding of the scheme and the value of the scheme to Coats. Initially all the volumes were unavailable for consultation, however a series of individual readings

⁶ *Edina SALSER*: journals of Higher Education and research libraries in Scotland; COPAC: catalogues of 24 research libraries in UK and Ireland; ZETOC: British Library electronic catalogue; SCRAN: Scottish history and culture.

⁷ Undoubtedly though many other NDS books with foreign titles, most probably stored in library book stores because of their age will not have been located.

⁸ The 1950's payment to David Keir for his four volumes is revealed in Coats business archive. Meryl Secrest references David Keir's work although the unpublished status is not stated.

were given anonymously over a period of several weeks, whereby excerpts were read from *The Economic History of J & P Coats*, and issues arising were discussed. Persistence was required to gain access to David Keir's volumes, *The History of J & P Coats*, but they were eventually viewed briefly, as a period of one hour was allowed at Coats headquarters.⁹

A disproportionate amount of time was spent researching the Walter Crane/Arts and Crafts Movement influence on Austro-Hungarian home industries, in much detail. Following this a transitional stage of research began as the point of reference changed and it became necessary to explore the provenance of the NDS 'peasant' textiles. An extensive trawl was made to establish the chronological development of home and state industries in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, as it appears there is nothing in English recording this development. Alternatively if an expert had been available to seek advice from perhaps the need for the inclusion of chapter six would have decreased. In this case it was necessary to establish a chronological development of the NDS peasant textiles, the socio-cultural, and historical background to their production. This allowed the provenance and authenticity of NDS 'peasant' and ethnic textiles to be determined.

Oral history, including a range of semi-structured and structured interviews sometimes using a tape recorder, telephone or video, provided another important source of information. Interviews provided leads that could be followed up, opportunities to probe responses, and investigate the motives and feelings, all of which enhanced this study as in many instances long forgotten events were recalled. Several texts were referred to for guidance in the use of interviews, including works by Bill Gillham, Robert Perks, Robson, Lou Taylor and Paul Thompson (Perks 1995; Gillham 2000b; Thompson 2000; Robson 2002; Taylor 2002). These texts clearly state some problems associated with using oral history in research. Taylor outlines problems associated with relying on memory:

The dangers are legion, such as romanticism, every sort of personal, political and gender bias and the dangers simply of confused dates and jumbled events [...] need to be aware that interviewees may also have been influenced by opinions and images gathered or seen later is a further complication. [...] as is [...] rose-coloured memories (Taylor 2002 260).

Bill Gillham encourages the use of research and theorizing to support the interview material:

⁹ However, a one-hour appointment was extended to almost two hours while I researched at the corporate archive. During the first twelve to eighteen months of this research there was much protracted negotiation to gain access to view both objects and archives. Some archivists citing 'confidentiality' as a means of preventing access and others simply unprepared to believe they held records of importance. A significant amount of obstruction was encountered.

The relationship between beliefs, opinions, knowledge and actual behaviour is not a straightforward one. What people say in an interview is not the whole picture; adequate research and, in particular adequate theorising, needs to take account of that (Gillham 2000b 94).

To avoid such pitfalls in this research oral history interviews were conducted with participants fully aware of the interview process. The interviews were transcribed and interpreted. Where doubt existed, such as a comment, which appeared overly emotional or romantic, cross checking with archives or secondary literature was completed. All of the material arising from the interviews and used in this thesis is attributable.

Participants were selected on the basis of their involvement with the NDS, Coats, embroidery education or their relationship to people involved in the scheme.¹⁰ In the first year of the research the following people were interviewed: George Martin, Iris Hills, Elisabeth Geddes, Anthea Godfrey, Margot Robson, Margaret Wilson, and Margaret Nicholson. Later tape recorded interviews were carried out with: Revel Oddy, Margaret Swain, Hannah Frew-Patterson, and *Archive, Artifice, Artefact* exhibition artists. Also Margaret Hamilton, Angus Mitchell, Dorothy Smith, Jimmy Stephen-Cran, Bill Sullivan, Susan Telford and Crissie White were interviewed. In 2003 ten GSA third year embroidery students, were interviewed on video. For reasons of distance or ill health some people responded to written questions, for example: Ulla Kockum-Overengen, Stockholm; Marion Stewart, Dundee; Betty Myerscough, London; Iris Hills and Elisabeth Geddes, Minehead. In some instances further interviews were conducted, and in others letters and telephone calls allowed this enquiry to continue. Sadly, for reasons of failing health both Mary Mackie, a former designer at Coats' Anchor Studio, and Margaret Millar, the NDS secretary were unable to recall any memories of either Coats or the NDS. In earlier times Mackie would have been able to relay her memories of the design process used in Coats Design studios, and whether or not NDS textiles were used at any stage. Pencil notes in Oddy's accession records indicate Millar had access to the history of some of the NDS textiles. A catalogue system must have existed but these documents were never found. Millar would also have been able to recall aspects of the NDS operation and personnel involved and their roles. However, interviews continued to be an important source of information throughout the research, allowing various standpoints to develop, and some even resulted in the donation of NDS works and designs to the GSA archives.

The individual memories shared in the interviews allowed for wider interpretations of the NDS, including experiences, opinions and observations of students and teachers who used the Scheme and made NDS textiles. Former employees of Coats provided historical knowledge of Coats and the NDS and also had an important role in this research. These

¹⁰ See Table 3 for an overview of the interviews.

memories made a significant contribution, the results of which are to be found in the direct quotations, which appear in the text. In the final chapter, some interview and exploratory case study findings are abstracted.

Informal interviews were also important, for example Vlastha Kihar, who lived in Czechoslovakia during the 1930s, revealed the oppressive circumstances of daily life, when personal freedom was curtailed by the state. Such memories are recoverable by no other means. These insights along-with photographs of early 1920s designs by Mária Hollósy allowed an understanding of the social, political and economic circumstances, which shaped women's experiences as designers during this era. The discussion allowed an interpretation of Hollósy's design, published in a recent exhibition catalogue, to develop (Cisárová-Mináriková 2001 39-41). Some other participants showed a reluctance to share information in a formal interview, but willingly shared anecdotes informally.

In this research photographic images have been integral to the development of an understanding of aesthetic development and helping connections to be made. The use of photography in dress research was pioneered within the fields of ethnography and anthropology, and both photos and film are increasingly used in dress research today (Taylor 2002 150-1). Photographs, and a few paintings, in historical design publications, such as *Design* (Indianapolis), *The Studio*, Maria Undi's various publications, and NDS publications provided comparisons in the analysis of the evolution of particular design aesthetics. Visual sources such as drawings, photographs, and paintings were important tools for use in analyses of design process, development and content. Also photographic negatives, such as rare images of lost NDS textiles, were an important source.

Other fruitful sources were notices placed in *Embroidery* and *Creative Stitch* journals, seeking information from personnel who used the Scheme. This drew a positive response from women who sent letters and telephoned, wishing to share their anecdotes. As well many NDS publications were purchased from personnel who replied, and from second hand, online and mail-order bookshops.

In the third year of this research, three months was spent on an exploratory case study with GSA year three textile students. Gillham's *Case Study Research Methods* was referred to for guidance in the organisation, aims and structure of the case study (Gillham 2000a). From the outset the challenge of exploring ways of using the NDS, by a PhD student who was neither teaching in textiles nor familiar with the students appeared problematic. The case study component in the initial proposal seemed to be weighted too highly in this regard. A staff member involved in teaching would have many more opportunities available to explore options and approaches. Indeed, it was not until the final

year that an exploratory ten-week case study was carried out with limited success due to practical problems of implementation.

Historical publications, archival documents, interviews, along with object studies combined to form the primary sources in this research. The cross-referencing of these sources has provided answers to some of the inaccuracies existing in archive lists, and made the identification of the designer, provenance, authenticity, and date of some of the textiles in the collections possible. Recovering the provenance and history of NDS textiles required detailed analysis and observation. Within this research important visual comparisons offer examples of both design process and influence.

Using information from archives, in particular from what appears to be a surviving 1934-1945 NDS textile list developed for the 1945 NDS GSA exhibition, NDS holdings lists, and findings, a database was created and used for on-going reference purposes, and overcame archive access difficulties. This enabled essential quick, on-going cross matching of records to be made, and thus accurate identification of the provenance of some of the textiles was possible. In this way the database became an important aid for the crosschecking of information found in German journals to identify the date and provenance of German works, and Coats involvement with the production of these works. Latterly, the database helped to place textiles such as the Hungarian 'peasant' works in chronological order, which assists the further development of their historical and social context.

The archival material, object studies, and more theoretical study of related literature informs socio-cultural and anthropological theory. Reference to related contemporary literature has allowed an understanding of the context of the issues, that the artists were commenting on, to develop. The use of NDS works in the past as well as the evolution and influences on significant designs developed from such analysis. Professional skill was combined with knowledge from archives, libraries, photographs, oral history, and examination of the textiles in as much detail as possible. Emerging clues, surprising discoveries and insights facilitated the context and content of the design, to be developed.¹¹

As the research developed and a wider range of textiles was viewed, typologies became more obvious and powerful issues emerged, which required further research and reflection. Analyses of surviving NDS documents combined with study visits to collections revealed certain groups of textiles were collected, with some artists favoured. As well there was an immense diversity from rare historical works to numerous 1940s-1950s tablemats, napkins and cushion covers, reflecting a wide range of collecting patterns. Archive material also showed various personnel were involved with collecting different types of textiles. As the

¹¹ Unlike curators student researchers are mostly not permitted to handle textiles, even when wearing gloves. This places limitations on the research.

significance of the context of some of the designs emerged it became obvious more examination was required and thus the focus and balance of the enquiry changed.

In the following chapters these research questions are answered:

Chapter 3: The Motivation for a Textile Collection as a Promotional Device

What were the motivating factors for the development of the collection?

What were the economic, political and educational precedents, which influenced Coats?

How had design collections evolved?

What industry and education exhibition precedents were established prior to the Scheme?

What was the influence of the art/industry debate?

Chapter 4: The Needlework Development Scheme: Unravelling the Shaping of the Collection

Where are NDS holdings?

How are they stored and catalogued?

Have any designs been lost?

Why was the Scheme funded anonymously?

What organisations were involved in the Scheme?

Who were the key NDS people, what were their roles, and their social and educational backgrounds?

What was the motivation for the involvement of the SAS principals and lecturers?

What textiles were collected in a particular time? Who did the collecting and the selecting?

To what extent did Coats commercial interests shape the collection?

What is the quality and how representative is the selection of the collection, in Scotland and as a whole?

Chapter 5: The Promotion of Design by Industry: the Impact of Cultural Politics and Economics

What was the influence of key personnel and organisations?

How was the NDS promoted through publications and exhibitions?

When and where were NDS exhibitions held and how were they received?

How did the Kessell, Swedish and artist commission design initiatives impact on the NDS and textile design?

Did Coats generate conditions for changes in design?

Chapter 6: 'Purity' and Diversity: the Authenticity of a 'Peasant' Design Aesthetic:

Why did Home Industries develop?

What was the influence of Etelka Gyarmathy's Home Industry on both ethnic and modern design in Hungary?

Were peasant designs as referenced by fine artists at the turn of the nineteenth century pure?

What was the influence of the aristocracy on peasant design?

What was the impact of commercial influences on peasant design?

What was the influence of Walter Crane on peasant design?

Chapter 7: Ethnic Design: From Design Diversity to the Imposition of a Static Design Aesthetic:

What was the chronological development of home industries, state embroidery organisations, and workshops in the Austro-Hungarian Empire?

How did social, political, economic influences impact on ethnic design development?

What is the provenance and history of NDS Austrian, Hungarian, and Czechoslovakian ethnic designs?

Where are the NDS ethnic designs held?

Why should these collections be used in education?

Chapter 8: Tradition Masked by Modernism: the Influences on Key Designs in NDS Embroideries of the late 1920s to 1930s:

What were the political and social influences on the 1920/30s NDS Austrian, German and Italian designs?

What is the provenance and history of 1920/30s NDS Austrian, German and Italian designs?

Where are the 1920/30s NDS Austrian, German and Italian designs held?

Why should these collections be used in education?

Chapter 9: Textiles and Education: the Influence of Industry and Politics

How did the intellectual and educational context of the NDS develop and change?

What was the role of such collections within the higher education and schools curriculum?

How effective was the use of the collection in teaching?

How have/are they being used?

What impact did the NDS have on embroidery education in Britain?

Chapter 10: Design From Artefacts: the Value of Economic, Historical, Political and Socio-cultural interpretation

How can NDS textiles be translated into contemporary processes in art and design education?

How do embroidered textiles feature in GSA's education programme?

How are professional embroidery designers and makers trained today?

How educationally motivated is the recent upsurge of interest in research collections in higher education?

Why should these collections be used?

Do the NDS works have a role in contemporary design education?

How are artefacts interpreted in New Zealand fashion design education?

How could these interpretation approaches benefit design from artefacts in GB?

Why should these NZ interpretation processes be valid in design education today?

Is there a relationship in the Scheme to the way textiles are taught in art schools today?

Chapter 11: Conclusion

To answer these research questions a multi-disciplinary approach unites object analysis with social, cultural, economic and political issues. This approach was developed as in recent times artefact-based historians have been criticised for their narrow approaches and over attention to clothing details, as Taylor comments in her criticism of the detractors of dress history:

Many find the attention to detail found within the conservation and curatorial professions dulling. Fine and Leopold in their *The World of Consumption* of 1993 reject the concentration on 'every flounce, pleat, button, and bow, worn by every day dress on every occasion (Taylor 2002 50).

As Taylor rightly states this criticism is unjust, but highlights perceptions held by many who overlook detailed study in other disciplines:

Criticism of close artefact study by fine art and architecture historians in their detailed catalogue-styled examination of paintings and buildings is applauded as exemplary scholarship (Taylor 2002 58).

As this research shows, the following up of every possible clue is essential within the processes of history and provenance identification. Once this is established major political, social and cultural implications can be developed.

To emphasise the importance of the contribution of objects in the socio-cultural and economic area of study Taylor quotes Anne Smart Martin:

Material objects matter because they are complex, symbolic bundles of social, cultural and individual meanings fused onto something we can touch, see and own. The very quality is the reason that social values can so quickly penetrate into and evaporate out of common objects (Smart Martin in Taylor 1998; Taylor 2002 72).

Historians in the last decade have begun to look at artefacts or 'goods', moving away from the technique-based museum approach. Taylor explains in her text *Doing the Laundry? A*

reassessment of Object-based Dress history, that it is the division between the curator/collector research methods versus the academic socio-cultural and economic history theory approaches, which has thwarted the study of the history of dress (Taylor 1998 338). Christopher Breward in his recent discussion outlining a cultural approach to dress study, echoes and elaborates on Smart Martin's. In a comment relevant to this research he stated:

Design history, a relatively young discipline compared to the history of art, has perhaps been able to take on board the complexities of social considerations, economic implications and cultural problems that inform and are informed by objects in a less fixed and self-conscious manner. The relationship between production, consumption and the designed artefact, which has always been central to any definition of the discipline, demands an investigation of the cultural context and is well suited to the study of historical and contemporary clothing (Breward 1998 302).

In *Women Designers in Britain in the 1920s and 1930s*, Suzette Worden and Jill Seddon suggest that artefacts can give an understanding of function, aesthetics, and social values of taste and status (Worden and Seddon 1995 177). They suggest it is then possible to evaluate the impact of the artefacts on everyday life. Pat Kirkham has suggested that 'without [the assertion of] the importance of the handmade object produced in the small workshop or in the home itself [...] and a consideration of crafts and anonymous design, much of women's contribution becomes invisible' (Kirkham 1989 4). Linda Parry echoes this view, suggesting that the social role of embroidery, in the past, has been an important one, as embroidery is a craft that has affected both women and men, rich and poor, the experienced and the unskilled (Parry 1994 47). There is a significant role for the theorising of the evidence from embroidery. Liz Bird quotes Rachel Maines argument in *Fancywork: The Archaeology of Lives*, that art history has excluded textiles, as being either unimportant or insignificant, due to the marginalisation of textiles as a woman-dominated area of society (Bird 1983 109).

Susan Pearce proposes a model developed from both anthropology and archaeology to be used in the study of material culture, designed to minimise the subjective element in object research (Pearce 1994 129).¹² Pearce's model is developed from E McClung Fleming's model, which Pearce criticises for several aspects including the close relationship of construction and design of the artefact and the need for expansion of the cultural aspect (Pearce 1994 126-7). Pearce integrates the aesthetic evidence from the object with the socio-cultural and historical material. Using Pearce's model as a guide to ensure objectivity the social context of NDS works was developed. Initially three of the

¹² See Table 4 for an adaptation of Pearce's model designed for the study of Needlework Development Scheme works.

NDS textiles were selected to trial an adapted version, and it was found the model facilitated the analyses of the design content and the associated socio-cultural and historical context of the objects to be developed. In this process the use of secondary literature sources became increasingly important for this research.

Pearce claims objects are important to people because they demonstrate prestige and social position; in social terms, most of the pieces which survive in our fine art, applied art and costume collections do so for this reason (Pearce 1994 131). The NDS contrasts with this and it offers a further perspective as it includes works rarely collected by museums simply because works such as those made by school girls were not considered to be prestigious enough to collect.

In developing this research approach it has been necessary to consider other methodologies, in the areas of ethnography, economics, and other multi-disciplinary approaches. In current ethnographic research the discussion of the aesthetics of objects, key to this research, is largely avoided. However Taylor acclaims object-based ethnographic/anthropological studies, for example Weiner and Schneider's 1989 study, *Cloth and the Human Experience* (Taylor 2002 236). From an ethnographical perspective, Weiner and Schneider implemented a two stranded approach whereby cloth and clothing was identified firstly as a cultural signifier of gender difference and secondly as a producer of socialised gender meanings (Taylor 2002 205). Their study shows how issues such as gender and tradition versus modernity can be explored through good ethnographic and anthropological studies of textiles and clothing (Taylor 2002 205).¹³ Gender, tradition and modernity are key issues developed within this research.

Relevant to the chapters: *'Purity' and Diversity: the Authenticity of a 'Peasant' Design Aesthetic*, and *Ethnic Design: From Diversity to the Imposition of a Static Aesthetic*, Taylor explains the value of ethnographic methodology in the research of peasant textiles:

Ethnographic research has therefore sought to show that textiles and clothing are powerful indicators of the most subtle, complex and important facets of life of small-scale peasant communities, acting as stabilisers reflecting the unity and strength of cultural practices and the social cohesion of a community (Taylor 2002 201).

Weiner and Schneider used cloth and clothing as valuable tools and evidence for historical and critical inquiry and placed analysis of cloth and clothing fully into its related cultural and historical settings (Taylor 1998 352). They acknowledge cloth produced by women makes a significant contribution to social and political life in many cultures (Taylor 1998 348; Taylor 2002 198). An opinion echoed in this research, in the chapter

¹³ 'Innovative textile studies from both anthropological and ethnographical approaches have recently been completed' Taylor, L. 2002. *The study of dress history*. Manchester, Manchester University Press..

Textiles and Education: the Influence of Industry and Politics, which also shows how business, cultural politicians and the arts elite were able to manipulate this situation and use it for industry's monetary gain. Weiner's chapter *Why cloth? Wealth, gender, power in Oceania*, looks at issues which have parallels in this research (Weiner 1989 33-72).

Taylor also draws attention to Daniel Miller's comment that material culture methods need to take careful cognizance of artefacts:

Within the study of increasing commodification, perhaps the most interesting literature has examined how key items in modern consumption are used to objectify, and thereby understand the nature of modernity as a social experience (Miller in Taylor 1998 353).

Miller advocates ethnographical approaches to material culture on the grounds that it is a well established characteristic of anthropology to spend time in that society to find the context (Miller 1994 3). However in this research it was not important to be located where the textiles were made. In the above ethnographic studies the aesthetics of the objects were not of importance. This research was carried out away from the society where many of the textiles were created, as the history, content and context of the designs is the primary concern, and this could be established by object analysis and reference to bibliographical sources.

Clare Wilkinson-Weber also takes an anthropological approach in her 1999 PhD, *Embroidering Lives: women's work and skill in the Lucknow embroidery industry*, which explores the decline of the chikan embroidery industry. The results of the feminisation of chikan production, and its decline, are linked with social differentiation, and urban development today. Wilkinson-Weber explores the relationships between women, skill in production, and the over-riding question of economy. Using a combination of historical, economic, education and textile references, the chapter *The Promotion of Design by Industry: the Impact of Cultural Politics and Economics on Embroidery Design Education*, explores the impact and decline of the NDS, analysing the impact on embroidery design of Coats commercial design philosophy.

Other object-based studies, with economic perspectives, including aspects relevant to this study include Alison Clarke's recent work *Tupperware: The Promise of Plastic in 1950s America*. Her analyses are primarily commenting on the cultural history of Tupperware, over and above the technical and economic aspects, although Clark recognises the interwoven nature of these aspects. She looks at Tupperware as an object of modernity, considering the complex and interactive social contexts and qualifying her methodology, she writes:

Artefacts are bound by complex and interactive social contexts: their consumption is not merely a market-driven response to values of production (Clarke 1999 201).

A multi-disciplinary approach applauded by Taylor is by Natalie Rothstein, Keeper of the Department of Dress and Textiles at the V&A. Rothstein's artefact-based exhibition and book researched the design details of eighteenth-century French and English silk in the context of trade organisation, consumption, and national identity (Rothstein 1994; Taylor 1998 354). Rothstein exhibited artefacts including silks, account books, samples, and portraits of silk garments in use (Taylor 1998 354).

This research used a multi-disciplinary object-based material culture methodology, with reference to Pearce's anthropology/archaeology based model, to allow the objective development of the aesthetic dialogue. Comparisons and analysis of artefacts and examination of archive sources, photographs, along-with oral history, and reference to secondary literature, was critical in this research. Analyses have relied on using these sources to make connections and to reinforce observations, which has enabled the socio-cultural context of the textiles to be construed. The aesthetic of the objects intertwined with the context in which they were produced provides a greater understanding of the cultures.

The adapted Pearce model plus ethnographic and economic methodologies in this research incorporates museum approaches in artefact research with academic social, cultural, economic and political analyses. It is important to point out that this is a partial account of the NDS in a number of senses. I do not provide anything like a full survey of the works collected by the Scheme, nor do I offer a fully representative account. Although I do trace themes, from the beginning of the NDS to the 1960s, I do so in a highly selective way; I have extracted the textile works, which reveal the most powerful insights of key artists, key NDS design themes, and influence of various personnel.¹⁴

Relevant to the context of the NDS textiles are questions of social, cultural, historical, political and economic interest. I chose the specific themes of the chapters, because they not only illustrate, but also construct a coherent narrative, which assesses the impact of the NDS on British design, and explores the collaboration between industry and design education.

Through an exploration of economic, socio-cultural, and political influences, the motivation for the NDSS and the later NDS collection is discussed in chapter three: *The Motivation for a Textile Collection as a Promotional Device*. Document sources, including museum accession records, academic annual reports and director's letters, the company records of J & P Coats, and discussion with an economic historian provided answers to the

¹⁴ For example, significant numbers of Rebecca Crompton's textiles were collected in the 1930s but I have only touched on this important English work. See Table 5: NDSS Foreign Textile Acquisitions 1934-1939.

reasons for the development of the collection.¹⁵ This research explores the reasons and investigates the motivation for the collection of the NDSS.

The same themes are discussed in chapter four: *The Needlework Development Scheme: Unravelling the Shaping of the Collection*. Archival documents provide evidence of acquisition factors that determined the shape of the collection, and shed light on the type of designs collected in a particular time, and the personnel who assembled and selected particular groups of textiles. This chapter throws light on the role of the art/industry debate and the Board of Trade (BoT), both at the outset and close of the NDSS, and at the re-start of the Scheme in 1945. Coats' anonymous funding of the Scheme, and the extent to which their commercial interests shaped the collection is established. Following on from this is the chapter, *The Promotion of Design by Industry: the Impact of Cultural Politics and Economics*, which examines the influence of cultural politics and economics on embroidery design.

In chapters six and seven, *'Purity' and Diversity: the Authenticity of the 'Peasant' Aesthetic and Ethnic design: From Diversity to the Imposition of a Static Aesthetic*, issues such as class, patronage, collection, class, gender, and production essential to socio-cultural history are developed. Chapter six is focused on some of the recent debates on issues of the 'purity' and 'authenticity' of textiles. The influences on peasant design from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which included social, economic and political motivational factors, are explored.¹⁶ The influence of the Arts and Crafts Movement and effects of industrialisation on peasant/ethnic tradition, and the influence of the different teaching approaches in the *fachshulen* (craft) and applied art schools are discussed. Chapter seven develops issues of a political, economic, and aesthetic nature through detailed analysis of NDS textiles and archives, supplemented with information from secondary literature sources.

Chapter eight: *Tradition Masked by Modernism: the Influences on the Design of Key NDS Embroideries in the late 1920s-1930s*, through detailed analyses of NDS textiles and archives, explores political, and socio-cultural design influences. This offers a new perspective on the suppression and marginalisation by modernism of women's design. Both the suppression and marginalisation have ensured this design has subsequently been omitted from discourse.

In the following chapter, *Textiles and Education: the Influence of Industry and Politics*, analyses of NDS textiles and archives, supplemented with oral history and secondary literature sources offers a contrast between design-focused interest and the innovative

¹⁵ This person wished to remain anonymous.

¹⁶ Later significant numbers of textiles came into the collection from Yugoslavia, Spain, and Scandinavia. See Fig. 55 for map of the Austro-Hungarian Empire pre and post 1920.

practice of the Scottish Art School (ScAS) lecturers during various stages of the Scheme and other pedagogic practice. The influence and evolution of the design aesthetic created by material appropriation, is a dominant theme in this study. A sharp contrast is offered between the differing processes of design, interpretation of influences and copying in design.

Overall my discussion incorporates several shifts of focus from the rationale for the collection in chapter three to the promotion of design by state and industry in chapter seven. Chapters six and seven present a chronological development of the 'peasant' and ethnic design style, with analyses of historical, socio-cultural and economic issues. Chapter seven offers a contrast of design style from the same era when state embroidery organisations increased. Chapter eight calls for the inclusion of designs, such as the modern NDS textiles to be included in discourse of Modernity. Together chapters six, seven and eight are intended to provide complementary and crosscutting perspectives. Chapter nine highlights the importance of interpretation in the embroidery design process. Chapter ten: *Design From Artefacts: the Value of Economic, Historical, Political and Socio-cultural Interpretation* offers a way forward for embroidery design and chapter eleven is the conclusion.

Chapter 3: The Motivation for a Textile Collection as a Promotional Device

As the Central Colleges of Art have done most to develop needlework, they are the best medium through which to achieve this object in view, and while [the] field operation share [has] not, so far, been developed by them to a great extent, they are in touch with the schools in the respective areas and the Education authorities. Close contact should be made with the Women's Rural Institute through Colleges of Art, by means of classes, circulation of designs and otherwise (NDS 1933).

The above statements reveal both Coats vision for the Needlework Development in Scotland Scheme (NDSS), and their proposed strategic role for the Art Schools, in particular the GSA. This chapter investigates the motivation for the collection of the NDSS textiles, through an explanation of economic, political, and educational precedents that influenced Coats. The significance of GSA's Loan Museum, the innovative art work and teaching of the GSA lecturers, and their initiatives with amateur embroiderers are explored.

The new management of J & P Coats were looking for ways to improve sales, led by JOM Clark, who was appointed chairman in 1929. His main interest was the development of handicraft thread in Anchor Mills (Hunter 1986 364). Colin Martin, a young sales director of Coats, inspired by the enthusiasm for embroidery and needlework in Hungary, recognised the potential for the arousal of similar interest, in the wealthy relatively untapped market in rural Scotland (Martin 2001 personal communication).¹ Then in September 1933, the Board of J & P Coats, aiming to promote needlework in Scotland, authorised its merchandising committee to research how needlework could be fostered (Coats 1933b 212).² A few months later in January 1934, the Joint Sales Committee of The Central Agency (TCA), Coats marketing organisation, instigated the NDSS (NDS 1934a).³ Coats' Board authorised seven thousand pounds (over three hundred and eighty nine thousand pounds today McCusker 2001) to be spent over the next seven years, from the

¹ Following study at Oxford University, Colin Martin accepted his brother in law, Kenneth Clark's advice and joined Coats management scheme for young graduates, and became a director of The Central Agency, at twenty-six years of age. Although a film of Martin's travel in Hungary exists, *Ritt Durch Ungarn*, it has not been located. During his sales trips, he travelled on horseback through Hungary, and was inspired both by the lively design, and the enthusiasm for embroidery Martin, G. 2001. *Interview with author*. Lochcarron. Oct 2002. He returned to Glasgow in 1939, travelling in a small plane from Latvia, specially arranged by the authorities as war broke out.

² An analysis of sales figures for Scotland was also made. The Needlework Development in Scotland Scheme ran until 1939, and in 1944 a revised format resulted in Needlework Development Scheme, which ran until May 1962.

³ The Coats Board authorised the merchandising committee to continue their enquiries and approach the Education department and Colleges of Art, to see how the study of needlework could best be fostered, and submit recommendations together with particulars of sales in Scotland

advertising budget (Coats 1934a 231; McCusker 2001).⁴ The revenue was sanctioned by both Coats' Board and drawn from the Advertising Department's 'Home Market Education' account (NDS 1948).⁵

By 1934, as a result of bold global expansion J & P Coats had complete or partial control of forty-three mills throughout the world (Keir 1962 vol 3 101). Coats eagerness to utilise their broad network of agencies was apparent from the outset of the Scheme. Significant investment by J & P Coats, the equivalent of over two million pounds today, was spent between 1945-1962, to widely promote the organisation in exhibitions and publications in an effort to improve design and develop public interest (Martin 1962; McCusker 2001).⁶ The equivalent of over three million pounds today, was spent between 1934-1962, to collect the textiles, and widely promote the Scheme in exhibitions and publications, in an effort to improve design and invigorate sales (Martin 1962; McCusker 2001).⁷

Clarks supplies the 'Anchor'
 Coats supplies the 'Chain'
 That keeps the trade to Paisley-
 And long may it remain
 (Anon in Macdonald 2000 70)(Fig 2).

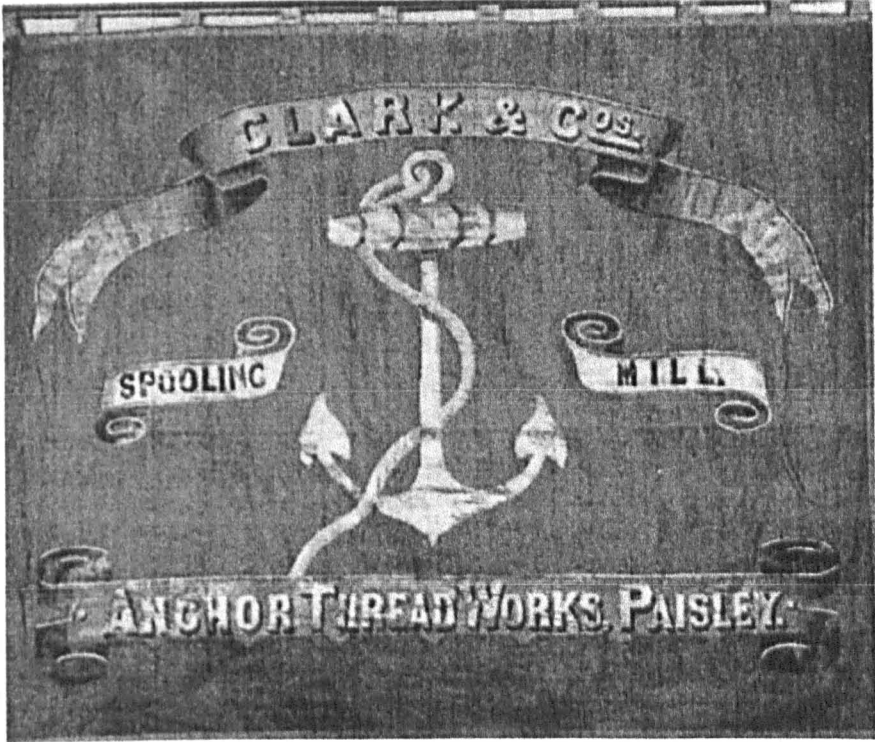
The above quote symbolizes in part the power held by Coats and Clarks, when they formed The Central Agency (TCA), the organisation that funded the NDS. Early in 1894, when competition was fierce, J & P Coats and Clarks & Co of Paisley and their other main rivals, Brooks and Chadwick, created a partnership, TCA (Anon 2002). This business relationship enabled the Agency to dominate markets, especially in America, which was rapidly developing industrially, and was connected with Glasgow by a direct shipping route. The organisation enabled Coats to harmonise thread prices between three of their four rivals. The TCA marketing group was more than a cartel, it was able to exert central

⁴ On 18 Jan 1934 the Board authorised the spending to be administered by the advertising manager in consultation with Mr. Hudson (Board member). Today a reversal of this situation exists, with the recent funding of six hundred thousand pounds, for the Centre for Advanced Textiles digital textile printing technology at the GSA, in an attempt by design education to respond to the changing needs of industry.

⁵ A 1948 NDS draft report reveals Coats' Board sanctioned five thousand pounds, for the scheme from 1945-1949, further funds were drawn from Coats' Home Market budget under 'Education' NDS 1948. *Draft Report*. Paisley Museum Archives. 3151 3/2/1. Paisley. 25 Mar 1948.

⁶ See Table 5 for a list of the most important NDS exhibitions. Approximately £135,000 was spent on publicity between 1948-1962 Martin, C. 1962. *Needlework Development Scheme*. Ibid. 12 Jun 1962. Approximately three million pounds today. McCusker, J. 2001. *Comparing the Purchasing Power of the Pound*. URL <http://www.eh.net/hmit/ppowerbp>. [14 May 2003].

⁷ This figure excludes wages.



2: Coats' Banner featuring the anchor and chain symbol

control over selling policy in all markets, and showed a formidable array of strength to its competitors (Robb 1996 71).⁸

By the late nineteenth century Coats had become a successful company in buoyant and competitive markets, using both innovative and aggressive business practices. Effectively then, J & P Coats was the first global company to be established in Britain. By 1913 they had mills in Russia, Austria, Spain, Belgium, Poland, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Portugal, Switzerland, Brazil, Mexico, Canada, Japan, with some forty associated and subsidiary companies (Anon 2002). Prior to World War One Coats was the most successful British company, and one of the top one hundred world companies, and so provided a model for other industries.⁹ David Keir in his unpublished multi-volume *History of J & P Coats*, illustrates Coats market domination in Europe, in the following example:

In Poland before World War One, you could tell where you were, by the thread needed. In the Russian part (including Warsaw) Coats three ply glace was required, in the Austrian part (including Lemburg and Cracow), Coats six cord thread, and in the German part, Coats four cord light polish (Keir 1962 92).

However, in the early 1930s Coats were experiencing a down turn in trade, due to a slow recovery from the political problems in Europe, the effects of the Great Depression, and a difficult period after the 1929 Wall Street collapse, and were thus looking to re-invigorate the company.

In Paisley, there was some concern that there was a lack of momentum, so to inject some dynamism, they promoted new managerial talent: Sir James Henderson, became a senior director of TCA, and C.H. MacKenzie, (the chair of the inaugural NDSS meeting) was his deputy.¹⁰ In 1937, Henderson became the Managing Director of J & P Coats, stepping into the void that had existed since 1917, with the death of Otto de Phillippi (Hunter 1986 365; Anon 2002). In the intervening years a special committee, experienced

⁸ Coats also negotiated selling agreements with their competitors to control prices. A selling agreement was negotiated with DMC Coats, J. P. 1939-1945. *Director's Meetings Minute Book 6*. Glasgow University Business Archives. UGD Coats Patons 199/1/1/6. Glasgow. Also agreements were negotiated with Guterman Coats, J. P. 1946. *Joint Sales Committee Minute Book*. Glasgow University Business Records. UGD Coats Patons 199 1/1/32. Glasgow. 26 Nov 1946. 22, 137, 158, 161.

⁹ They achieved phenomenal growth through the financial flair and single-minded, ruthless, leadership of the outstanding German director Otto de Philippi Anon. 2002. *Readings to Author*. Glasgow. Apr-Jun 2002. Coats were able to dominate the markets, in Britain, Russia, and the United States, as well as in many other countries. In 1917, at the time of the confiscation of Coats Russian mills they produced ninety percent of the national demand for thread Dong-Woon, K. 1995. *J & P Coats in Tsarist Russia 1889-1917*. Business History Review 69 (winter). 1. Paisley staff were sent to Russia at Board level as well as managers, sub-managers, *engineers*, polishers, dyers, foremen, and embroidery experts Keir, D. 1962. *The Story of J & P Coats*. Coats Viyella plc. Typescript. Uxbridge. 481. See Moira Clark's *Reflections in the Samovar* for an account of Jean Knox's life during The Revolution, as a child of a Coats' employee Clark, M. 1992. *Reflections in the Samovar*. Chandlers Ford, The Merdon Marque. 2nd.

¹⁰ Henderson described as 'formidable, fair, tough and demanding, and someone who would have made a good fascist'. Henderson established Coats' Italian mills, where he would have relished the dynamic creativity required to ensure success, and meeting with top government officials Anon. 2002. *Readings to Author*. Glasgow. Apr-Jun 2002.

in manufacturing and selling, but without family members had managed the business in a tightly controlled way throughout the world (Anon 2002).

Henderson was prepared to take risks in his ascendancy, from a Coats apprentice at the age of sixteen in 1897, to overseeing the growth of the Italian mills, to being a larger than life, tycoon-like director (Anon 2002). In Italy Henderson was able to exploit the entrepreneurial freedom in the fascist regime, which was less restrictive than the German order, and Coats were able to expand and explore almost independently (Anon 2002). He became one of a Italy's leading industrialists (Hunter 1986 366).¹¹ Both Henderson and Martin had very good contacts in Europe, to facilitate the collection of needlework.

In the early 1920s, Martin read languages at Oxford and completed Coats enlightened six month graduate training scheme for management, before achieving rapid promotion to the position of Coats' TCA director, at twenty-six years of age (Martin 2001 personal communication). He was based in Schottenring (Ring of Scots), Vienna, near the Coats' Harland mill and was responsible for Coats Central European sales. Coats' corporate records reveal he travelled throughout Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Transylvania, Germany and Latvia.¹² Through his work for Coats and the NDS he could pursue his passions of 'travel, language and culture' (Martin 2001 personal communication). Also in Vienna he met Felice Hansch, who worked full-time for Emmy Zweybrück from 1924, at her workshop, under the guidance of Frau Josza Klobusicky (Martin 1989 12).¹³ In 1939 Hansch and Martin married in Austria, and moved to Glasgow as the Second World War began (Martin 1989 12).

The NDSS was created in an era when the art/industry debate created a climate of opinion, as imports began to flood into Britain and exports decreased, industrialists endeavoured to influence the art and design curriculum. Earlier in 1926, Basil Ionides writing in *The Architectural Review*, criticised textile industrialists for their mimicry of historic and foreign styles, and lack of support for a modern aesthetic and contemporary pattern designers:

In England the creative spirit is left to be imported, and the makers content themselves with the steady favourites of the past, some originally designed as chintzes and prints, and some originally as papers, damasks, brocades, and needlework, but now adapted to chintz and cretonne designs (Ionides in Clark 1988 47).

¹¹ From the 1920s on he became a director of several banks and other companies. Later, in 1956 he was appointed Grand Ufficiale of the Order of San Gregorio Mango, the highest papal honour which could be awarded to a non-Catholic Hunter, J. 1986. Sir James Henderson. *Directory of Scottish Business Biography 1860-1960: The Staple Industries*. A. Slaven and S. Checkland. Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Press. 1: 363-6.

¹² Martin was on the Board of the Anglo-Hungarian Thread Company, the Bratislava Company, and TCA. In 1945, Martin became director of the Needlework Development Scheme.

¹³ NDS 39, a Hungarian red felt cap with dark bottle green embroidery, given to the NDSS by Felice Martin. Lady Clark donated two 'traditional' Hungarian caps NDS 15 & NDS 16, both are in the EG NDS collection. NDS 1945. [*List 1945 NDS Exhibition*]. Glasgow School of Art. Glasgow.

The influential critic Moreton-Shand, in *The Decorative Arts Studio Year Book*, echoed this alarm (Moreton-Shand 1931 126). He called for a more modern design outlook in Britain, to overcome the increasing number of imports, and an improved awareness of the 'needs and taste' of the world. His plea, included sentiments, which would have delighted Coats, and illustrated the strength of European design:

The tablecloth is coming into its own again, and some attractive designs in linen and rayon are being made in Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia (Moreton-Shand 1931 126).

This was a lively time for textile production as forty textiles per day were registered at the patent office in London (Weardon 2003 lecture).

During the early twentieth century textile design in industry had a low status from the use of repeats of traditional motifs and patterns (Onder in Whitworth Art Gallery 1962 6). In 1932 the BoT released the Gorell Report, against the values of the past and the decay of taste, urging a closer co-operation between industry and art schools (MacDonald 1970 302; Woodham 1983 24). Frank Pick conveyed the essence of the report in a newspaper article:

We aim to bring the brains of the artist into more intimate connection with industry and to educate the taste of the public in the appreciation of good design (Pick 1934).

Many fine artists became involved in the production of textile designs (Dean Gallery 2003 1). The designer was seen as an abstract artist in industry rather than someone who applied decoration to a product (Woodham 1983 29). It was considered industrial design should be distinct from applied art, and have its own aesthetic and techniques (Woodham 1983 31). Elitist fine art and architecture views dominated design in the art/industry debate. Increasingly design discussion was concerned with the appreciation of art and consumer taste rather than aesthetics. In a 1935 newspaper article *Putting the Fourth R in Education*, Frank Pick, BoT chairman, pleaded for art to have the same attention as languages, science or maths, stating:

What is required of the consumer is, first conscious realisation of the possibility of beauty in things of everyday use, and secondly quicker understanding and appreciation of it when it is placed before him. Once these conditions are realised British manufacturers will be encouraged-they may even be compelled to pay more attention to design. The industrial kingdom of United Kingdom must be bound up with the development of design (Pick 1935b).

At this time the designer was not recognised in industry, as shown in this research their contribution was anonymous. Frank Pick, in an address, *Art can help Industry*, to the Scottish Council of Art and Industry (SCAI), offered a challenge, which was later to dominate the NDS aims:

Scotland might do as Sweden has done. In Sweden a few people imposed their taste on their country successfully (Pick 1935a).¹⁴

Much earlier in 1919, Coats implemented a design dissemination initiative, the establishment of *The Needlewomen* journal. In the first publication the stated aim of the journals was 'to influence the already skilled needlewoman, exciting her interest and kindling her ambition, and also to encourage the tyro and beginner in the art and craft' (The Needlewomen in Hiles 1998 101). Later, in the late 1920s in Paisley an Advertising department was established, as there was a greater need to promote their brands, patterns and designs to encourage sales as a result of this promotional thrust. As a result *The Needlewoman* shop was opened in Regent Street, London, in 1928, selling threads, and needlework products that then became available worldwide by mail order. From then *The Needlewomen* journal managed by the Advertising Department played an important role in disseminating design nationally and internationally (Coats 1930).

In 1929, other initiatives followed, the Needlework Design Studio was established at the Anchor mill, Paisley, to design embroidery, crochet and sewing designs, which were created and then presented in publications with working instructions and diagrams, so they could be easily translated into other languages. Coats agreed to financially support the Royal School of Needlework (RSN) and embroidery competition prizes were offered to schools in several countries, including the National Needlework Trophy in Britain (Anon 2002). In 1937 one hundred and ninety-five prizes were offered to school-girls in the National Needlework Trophy, including a first prize of fifteen shillings offered by Coats (Teachers and Mistress 1937 1).¹⁵

The closely coordinated TCA Advertising department included Production and Commercial divisions, and the Anchor Needlework Studio (Coats 1934b 6). The Production division undertook the printing and block making for all Coats leaflets and booklets. Later, the Commercial division, which completed the organisation of the Advertising Department, worked in close proximity with the Scheme, actively promoting

¹⁴ Frank Pick was chairman of the Board of Trade's (Council of Art and Design) CAI, and chief executive and deputy chairman of London Passenger Transport Board, was a friend of Harry Peach of Dryads, the school craft suppliers, who published embroidery designs and sold kits. Peach, an admirer of Ann Macbeth's teaching, was adept at getting organisations to support his concerns Kirkham, P. 1989. *Women and the Interwar Handicrafts Revival. A View From the Interior: Feminism Women and Design*. J. K. Attfield, P. London, The Women's Press: 174-183. Peach published Ann Macbeth's book *Rugmaking* in 1929.

¹⁵ This is the equivalent of Thirty-seven pounds in 2002. McCusker, J. 2001. *Comparing the Purchasing Power of the Pound*. URLhttp://www.eh.net/hmit/ppowerbp. [14 May 2003].

the NDS and its publications, while it marketed duplicate NDS publications under the Anchor name, minus author acknowledgement.

Coats broad network of agencies was increased at the outset of the Scheme. The Central Service Bureau was being set up in Europe, by Coats to collect designs and patterns from all over the world (NDS 1934a).¹⁶ Coats management suggested this organisation could be a 'good feeder for the colleges as regards contemporary designs' (Coats 1933a). Another initiative to improve sales by increasing interest in needlework would have been considered with favourable optimism by Coats' management, especially as it would supply the circulating collection.

The concept of using a design collection as a means of promoting design had its origins in 1853 when Henry Cole, one year after the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council for the BoT, established the South Kensington Museum (Morris 2001 11). Cole believed historical models of applied art could be used for production in industrial culture, and was intrigued by the lucrative potential of designs by eminent artists for industry (Stansky 1985 23; Schwarzer 1992 31). In 1879, *Osterreichisches Museum fur Kunst and Industrie*, the Vienna Museum, encouraged by both the increased trade of the 1860s and exhibition successes, established an atelier for students to design patterns for lace. The use of good design for profit was against the beliefs of John Ruskin and the Arts and Crafts Movement (Stansky 1985 23). However, The South Kensington Museum and The Arts and Crafts Movement had an extensive influence in Europe.

Later renamed the Victoria and Albert Museum it circulated historical works to schools. The circulation department had a 'progressive attitude to contemporary design', but no scholarly reputation, and sent these works to the provinces for a period of two months (Morris 2001 11). In 1911, influenced by this, Ann Macbeth, GSA embroidery lecturer, started sending out parcels of contemporary needlework to schools to supplement *Educational Needlecraft*, the important book she had co-authored with Margaret Swanson, and thus disseminated her teaching even further.¹⁷ Examples of work were sent to schools in Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cumberland, Wales, Dorset, Bedford, London, Africa, America, West Indies and India (Arthur 1990a 153). Macbeth was confident about her ambitious scheme, writing in the GSA Annual Report, 'The press notices were very favourable, and it is believed that the scheme of work thus begun will have far reaching consequences' (Macbeth 1909-10 21).¹⁸ In 1913 a lending museum was instigated at the GSA to serve

¹⁶ This organisation was to replace the MEZ Bureau. Madame Héraudet, head of the agency, attended a meeting of the Needlework Development in Scotland Scheme in February 1935 NDS 1935a. *Minutes*. Paisley Museum Archives. 3151 3/2/1. Paisley. 22 Feb 1935.

¹⁷ Swanson was a primary school teacher from Ayrshire, who had participated in the article 55 classes for four years Arthur, L. 1989. *Kathleen Whyte: Embroiderer*. London, Batsford..

¹⁸ The embroidery department was the only department to have a separate entry in the Annual Report.

affiliated schools, lending artefacts, drawings, photographs, and casts for study (Rawson 1996 132).

By 1916 interest in Macbeth's teaching was worldwide, schools in the United Kingdom, Holland, Bermuda, South Africa, New Zealand, Tasmania and St Helena received Macbeth's GSA loans, and emulated her teaching methods (GSA 1916 11).¹⁹ The imaginative loan scheme established in 1911 by Ann Macbeth at the GSA was to provide a prototype for such a sharing of the textiles (Macbeth 1909-10).²⁰ To facilitate Coats promotional expansion there was an established tradition and framework in Scotland, for the sharing of art and design works in schools.

Macbeth appealed to museums to collect examples of modern work, to help modern manufacturers. Urging a type of design and art 'native and proper' for the twentieth century, rather than repeating the copying practice of historicism:

It would be of immense value to education in craftwork generally, if good examples of work of a portable nature might be bought or borrowed for short periods, by the authorities and passed from school to school, not for the teachers only, but for the children to see and handle and enjoy... A school of Art in the same neighbourhood makes a practice of lending parcels of needlework to any school which applies for them (Macbeth 1920 xiii).

The lecturer's enthusiasm for collecting the embroideries flowed into the GSA embroidery studio, continuing the lively approach, which had existed since the late nineteenth century. Earlier, In 1881, Jessie Newbery, at the age of eighteen, visited Italy and became entranced with the primitive painting and mosaics of Ravenna and Rome, as well as peasant textiles and pottery (Swain 1973 104).²¹ This journey was to provide a significant turning point for embroidery education in Scotland. Modern art was also an important influence on Newbery. As a student Jessie Rowat (Newbery) almost daily on her return from GSA, visited Angus' Antique Shop in Paisley, where she was able to view both beautiful old furniture and 'modern' Dutch paintings by the Maris brothers, Joseph Israels, and Anton Mauve (Sturrock 1970 3).

¹⁹ Macbeth organised lectures, summer schools, and her own students were sought after for employment in both schools and factories.

²⁰ Tanya Harrod supports Macbeth's influence 'Further initiative for the scheme would have come from the imaginative teaching of Ann Macbeth, at the Glasgow School of Art, and her embroidery loans to schools' Harrod, T. 1996. *The Crafts in Britain in the Twentieth Century*. London, Yale University Press.

²¹ Later, Newbery travelled with her husband Francis, on a journey that was to take them as far as Greece and Constantinople. They left hastily on the journey, Jessie packing last summer's frocks, after her husband was given forty guineas. The Newbery's home at the time was typical of an avant-garde artist, but displeased some of Jessie Newbery's friends, as written by their daughter, Mary Sturrock 'Old Persian rugs and Turkey carpets-William Morris tapestries and printed cottons-coloured-washed walls and no patterned wallpapers, a dining room like a kitchen, holes in the carpet, three eight day clocks, and not a comfortable chair in the house Bedford, J. and I. Davies 1979. *Remembering Charles Rennie Mackintosh*. The Connoisseur: 280-88. In 1906 Fra Newbery and most probably Jessie travelled to Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire Rawson, G. 1996. *Francis Henry Newbery and the Glasgow School of Art*. PhD. Glasgow University. 290.

In 1894 Newbery created an Embroidery Department at GSA elevating embroidery from a handcraft to art, breaking down the barriers between traditional 'arts' and 'crafts'. Furthering her influence, *The Studio* journal regularly featured both Newbery's and her student's design. Her continued enthusiasm for peasant clothing, is shown in a letter to her daughter Mary, written from Nisch, Serbia, in which she included drawings of peasant clothes seen in the markets (Newbery 1926)(Fig 3).²² Newbery developed techniques and stylised designs from her study of the peasant textiles. It is claimed Newbery developed the 'Glasgow Rose', now a commodity, as she cut circles of linen freehand and used satin stitch to indicate the petal folds; the severe stylisation of the rose approached abstraction (Swain 1973 105).²³

From 1894 Newbery pioneered imaginative teaching in schools and made embroidery accessible to the working class girl, by introducing the acceptance of cheaper materials (MacFarlane and Arthur 1994 1). In 1901 special classes were initiated at the GSA for primary and secondary teachers, authorised by SED (Arthur 1990b 149).²⁴ In this way creative and practical embroidery instruction for school teachers was unique in Scotland. Drawing, both as a means of observation and representation, and its development into needlework quickly spread across Scotland (MacDonald 1997 74). From 1907 GSA Continuation classes provided opportunities for amateur embroiderers and women of all classes to obtain certificates (Bird 1983 110; Arthur 1990a 149; MacFarlane and Arthur 1994 1). Thus embroidery design education was available to amateurs and professionals.

In the following comment Jessie Newbery reveals a radical change in design philosophy given the tradition of teaching 'white on white' embroidery in Scotland, which began in the eighteenth century. Her belief is outlined thus:

I believe in being the sum of tradition; that consciously or unconsciously men are all so, but some are more derivative than others. I believe in education consisting of the best that can be done. Then having this high standard set before us, in doing what we like to do: that for our fathers, thus for us. I believe in everything being beautiful, pleasant and if need be useful.... I like the opposition of straight lines to curved, of horizontal to vertical... I specially aim at beautifully shaped spaces and try to make them as important as the patterns. Design of a pepper pot was important in itself as that of a cathedral (Newbery in White 1898 48; Swain 1973 105-7).

Her simple and functional designs illustrated in *Moderne Stickerein* from 1903-1909, illustrated her use of line and space. Introducing originality into design, Newbery

²² Jessie Newbery was a respected member of the Lady Artists Club. The same sentiments were not offered about her husband Fra. H Newbery 'he rather despised us' Jane Stevens in Dewar, d. C. 1950. *History of Glasgow Society of Ladies' Artists Club*. Glasgow, Maclehose. 30.

²³ Glasgow's Botanic Gardens allowed students to draw on their premises 'at all hours of the day' and allowed for cut specimens to be provided for school use GSAA GSA minutes 23 Oct 1885 in Rawson 1996, 131.

²⁴ Initially these classes for teachers were the Article 91 classes changed to Article 55 in 1907

revolutionised the teaching of embroidery, encouraging pupils to develop a simple and speedy design based approach, rather than copying historic examples of detailed needlework. Newbery continued to promote design after her retirement in 1908, including participation in an exhibition at the Louvre in 1914 (Arthur 1994 3; SCRAN 2001b).

Newbery's successor, Ann Macbeth was an outstanding student, yet as Fra Newbery, then Principal of GSA, stated 'she seemed unaware of her exceptional qualities' (Ives 1981 4) Macbeth was descended from a long line of artists, the Primrose family of Culross, who had been artistic for generations, her grand-father was Norman Macbeth, a Royal Scottish Academician and three uncles were RA. Her father invented at his easel, as an engineer he travelled to Moscow twice, and most likely returned with textiles for his daughter (GSA 1906-7; Mitchell 2002 personal communication). The Macbeth family travelled widely, bringing diverse influences to her design. Her passion for peasant design grew and from 1906 Macbeth generously donated works to the GSA collection, initially gifting drawn and sewn Russian needlework (GSA 1906-7 32).²⁵ Macbeth believed in a child's inherent ability to design a pattern (Munro 1948 47). The spontaneous approach she advocated to design, was outlined in *The Studio* journal:

This was an unconscious following of the Japanese method of allowing the needle to determine the design instruction. In which the needle, as the tool employed, fixes and defines by a graded succession of stitches, the nature of the design [...] the Scheme [design] is ambitious and far reaching, it may embrace every district and influence every household in the country...it receives the highest encouragement from the Scottish Education department ...There is one point in which Glasgow is in advance of many districts. Students are already encouraged to make original designs...this is the secret of much of the individualistic character of the applied art at Glasgow (Taylor 1910 132).²⁶

Macbeth's design expertise was widely recognised, as she cooperated with industry, for example as when she travelled with Mr Donald, the Dundee based linen manufacturers, Donald Brothers, to Austria searching for inspiration for weaving designs (Ives 1981 4). Also, she designed for Liberty, carpets for Morton's of Carlisle, and everything for a large tearoom above a cinema in Nottingham, including ceramics and stained glass windows (Mitchell 2002 personal communication). However, Macbeth discontinued her association with Liberty, when they began to market copies of her designs (Mitchell 2002 personal communication). Both the Herdwick Rug Wool industry and Cumberland Tweed Mills at Wetheral were instigated by Macbeth (Ives 1981 18).

²⁵ Later in 1920 Macbeth wrote *Needleweaving* based on designs she developed from the Russian technique.

²⁶ Macbeth's outstanding achievements were not impaired by her use of only one eye due to childhood scarlet fever Ives 1981 4. Perhaps this made her more aware of the problems associated with 'white on white' school embroidery.

Macbeth was dedicated to producing a new generation of designer-craftswomen rather than creating copyists and dressmakers (Coleing 1992 223). In 1916, following the Arts and Crafts Exhibition in London, Macbeth devoted to the advancement of embroidery design, its position in the arts, and in particular the machine aesthetic, publicly disagreed with May Morris, who advocated the continuation of the craft aesthetic (Macbeth 1916b). Women who came to some of the classes run by Newbery and Macbeth, went back to poor areas of Glasgow and taught the girls of the slums to make work bags and handkerchief sachets. In 1916 Macbeth driven by social concerns, wrote to Newbery, Principal of GSA, advocating a scheme to strengthen and increase the popularity of handicraft, in which students could dispose of their designs to the tourist market (Macbeth 1916 1).

In the 1920s, recognising the outstanding achievement in design teaching, a four year Design course was introduced in Art Schools in Scotland, and the teachers were given the freedom to devise their own courses in liaison with their external assessors (Arthur 1989 14). Furthermore, the self-expression and spontaneity in British embroidery design in the interwar period could be attributed, in-part to Macbeth's influence, both in her own work and the dissemination of it into Rebecca Crompton's practice (Harrod 1996 47). Tanya Harrod in *The Crafts in Britain in the Twentieth Century*, explains the evolution of such design:

Significantly it was women designers, above all the Scots Phoebe Traquair, Jessie Newbery, and Ann Macbeth, who made embroidery more of an art form and less of a labour. But it was the inter-war period, which saw the apogee of self-expression and spontaneity in embroidery. Rebecca Crompton's remarkable appliqués, often multi-layered, using machine stitching, shocked conventional embroiderers in the 1930s. Vital and spontaneous were key words for Rebecca Crompton and she favoured collage, maintaining that any elaborate preparations which deferred contact with the material and the making process deprived an embroidery of vitality (Harrod 1996 150).

Macbeth's teaching methods continued to be used in Scottish schools until the 1950s, her significant contribution was acknowledged by her colleague, friend and artist, de Courcy Lewthwaite Dewar, in Macbeth's obituary:

Succeeding generations of small girls owe it that their school sewing is no longer a matter of painful white seams of interminable length but gay stitchery of coloured materials (Dewar 1948).

Also in 1921 Macbeth established educational links with the amateur embroiderers after settling in the Lake District, along-with May Spence, she started the Women's Institute in Patterdale, and organised classes in embroidery (Mitchell 2002 personal communication). Both the design teaching in Scotland and Macbeth's links with the amateur embroiderers

would have been influential on Coats vision for the NDSS. However, in Aberdeen, Dorothy Angus, Gray's School of Art embroidery lecturer, had been running classes for the recreational groups, and suspicions developed when the amateurs insisted on carrying out their own tests at the end of the course, rather than showing trust and confidence in the views of the art school lecturers (Sutherland 1934 1). David Sutherland, Principal of Gray's School of Art, outlined Angus' sentiments in a letter to William Hutchison:

The only practical way that the design of needlework, embroidery, etc. can be imparted to those country matrons and maidens is through the medium of printed transfers and her idea is to gather good designs done by students and others-get the headquarters of the Women's Rural Institute to undertake to purchase them and distribute to all their rural branches. [...] She maintains that this is about the only way in which the general taste of the community can be stimulated other than sending teachers as missionaries of beauty and good taste (Sutherland 1934 1).

Both these suspicions and perceptions were to thwart the progress of the Scheme in its drive to improve amateur design.

Coats established a tradition of using exhibitions for trade promotional purposes, both nationally and internationally, in the nineteenth century. When for example they had used the Great Exhibitions to their commercial advantage, Coats creative displays won several medals at the 1878 Paris Exhibition (PMA and SCRAN 2001a). At Glasgow's Great International Exhibitions in 1888, 1901, and 1911 industrialists, such as Coats, could seize the commercial opportunities provided to compete with their rivals, Clarks of Paisley and DMC, with impressive displays (PMA and Coats 1955 14).

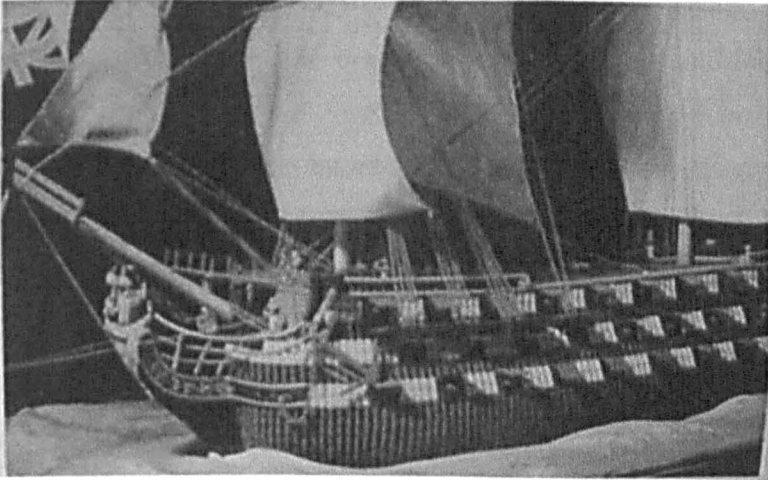
In the 1888 Glasgow International Exhibition they eclipsed their rivals, Clarks of Paisley, by showing a scale model of their new spinning mill at Ferguslie, using 50,000 spools of thread (Coats 1955 14)(Fig 4). By the 1880s, Coats market dominance was such that their Ferguslie mill was expanding rapidly, an upshot of the tremendous economic progress they had achieved in the industrial world. The appearance of Coats' mills was a visual proclamation of success and prosperity and they used the exhibits to reinforce this, to attract the attention of the consumer (Burton 1977 190).

In the 1901 Great International Exhibition at Glasgow, the inclusion of a model of one of the world's most famous lighthouses, the Eddystone, built just three years earlier, associated their thread goods with other significant recent design achievements in the early Edwardian period (Glasgow International Exhibition Guide 1901 79; Coats 1955 14; Trethewey 2001). The nautical theme associated it with their Anchor brand, and Coats and Clarks own impressive yachts, symbols of financial achievement.²⁷ Coats showed specimens of their sewing and crochet cotton with the model of the Eddystone lighthouse,

²⁷ In 1943 Coats consulted Mackie, GSA, asking for student designs for their product identity.



4: Coats' Anchor Mill Exhibit 1888



5: Coats' Ship Model Exhibit 1924

¹ These exhibits also provided a multi-layered perspective on introducing the economic and social aspects of working class women. Kufner and Mitchell, P. 1995. Glasgow's Great Exhibition, 1888, pp. 20-24, 200-201. University of Warwick, Coventry.

built of approximately 10,000 spools of sewing cotton (Coats 1955 14). The lighthouse, centrally-placed, was surrounded by trophies, showing the principal processes of sewing cotton manufacture. Lewis F. Day in *The Art Journal* commented on the difficulty of attracting attention to exhibits not at first sight interesting (Day 1901 293). He suggested that Coats display was one of the more successful of its type as there was 'no pretence in the art of manufacture, so there was no great attempt at artistic display' (Day 1901 293). In 1924 a model of Nelson's *Victory*, model made of specially turned thread spools, was exhibited at the Wembly Exhibition (Fig 5).

Glasgow School of Art staff also exhibited successfully promoting contemporary design rather than commodities, establishing this tradition in Glasgow as early as 1897. The *Art Journal*, promoting the new Glasgow movement, recognised the achievements of the GSA embroiderers in the national annual art school's competition winning three of sixteen gold medals, eight silver and twenty-three bronze (Schoeser 1998 36). The teachers and students participated both as exhibitors and organisers in Glasgow's Great International Exhibitions, which also explored cultural differences. In the Women's Art and Industry section in the *Glasgow International Exhibition* in 1888, teachers were able to view textiles from German elementary and technical schools, which had been selected by the Grand Duchess of Baden, Germany, as well as material from Poland, Spain, Madeira, Russia, Greece, Jamaica, and Iceland (The Art Journal 1888 8; Kinchin and Kinchin 1988 36).

The teachers demonstrated a lively interest in foreign embroidery design. The 1901 Exhibition, extended these opportunities by including in the education division of the Women's section in the Industrial Hall, exhibits showing how needlework was taught in the public schools of France, Hungary and Norway (Glasgow International Exhibition Guide 1901 54). In the 1901 Exhibition the local Glasgow schools displayed needlework, encouraged by Newbery and MacBeth, who were women's committee members for the exhibition in the Decorative and Ecclesiastical Arts building (Glasgow International Exhibition Guide 1901 134). In the working handicrafts and applied arts section more textiles were on show from Britain, Germany, Hungary, Russia, Norway, and Sweden (Glasgow International Exhibition Guide 1901 54). Other embroideries from countries such as France and India appeared elsewhere in the Industrial Hall, and even more were shown in the philanthropic division (Glasgow International Exhibition Guide 1901 134).²⁸

Following their success at the 1901 Great International Exhibition in Glasgow, Newbery and Macbeth were invited to exhibit at the 1902 British Crafts Exhibition at the *Iparművészeti* (Applied Art Museum), Budapest, initiated by Jenő Radisics (Kinchin 1999

²⁸ These exhibitions provided a middleclass perspective, not reflecting the economic importance of the working class women Kinchin, J and Kinchin, P. 1988. *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions 1888, 1901, 1911, 1938, 1988*. Wendlebury, White Cockade.

209).²⁹ Macbeth exhibited three embroideries, and her work, along with Newbery's, and the Glasgow Four women was highly acclaimed by the reviewer Pál Náday:

It is rather strange but nevertheless obvious that it is the women belonging to this school who are in the forefront of entering into the spirit of this style. These women like Mrs Newbery and Miss Macbeth, are able to embroider a lyrical, intimate atmosphere onto cloth... They make beautiful things, virtually all with simple appliqué, satin and running stitches (Nadi in Kinchin 1999 209-10).³⁰

Macbeth's influence was even wider as she also exhibited in Germany, and her immense talent was recognised with the award of diplomas from Paris, Tunis, Ghent, Budapest and Chicago (Ives 1981 4).³¹ Throughout history, often through collaborations, exhibitions have influenced and promoted styles, and an example of this was the 1916 *Ancient and Modern Embroidery Exhibition*, held at GSA, supported with textile loans from the V&A Museum (GSA 1916).

Later in July 1932 exhibition initiatives of both industry and education came together in another exhibition, *Modern Embroidery*, at the V&A. Organised by the British Institute of Industrial Arts, the exhibition was supported by the Board of Education (Hogarth 1933 13). Featuring both British and European embroidery, including designs from France, Sweden, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Poland, Italy, and USA (Morris 1986 128). Textiles exhibited included modern bags and belts by Emmy Zweybrück, a linen antimacassar by Vittoria Zeechin, a student of *Civica Scuola Professionale Femminile*, Venice, promoting international trends (Hogarth 1933 25, 96-7, 112). Ann Macbeth exhibited a tea cosy, which was typical of her practical designs acquired later for the NDSS, in preference to her more significant artworks (Fig 6). Other British embroidery designers of the 1930s exhibited, and some were later to play significant roles in the Scheme, such as Rebecca Crompton, Kathleen Mann, Embroidery Lecturer, GSA, and Elizabeth (later known as Grace) Thomson, Bromley (Hogarth 1933 24-5, 28-9, 69). The inclusion of these particular artists of international renown, and their practical textiles such as bags and tea cosies, rather than their more artistic works, suggests Coats covert involvement was likely. Also, exhibited were embroideries from organisations that featured in reviews of the 1925 Paris Exhibition, such as the Chrudim State School of Embroidery (Hogarth 1933 107-9, 118-

²⁹ Radisics was Gyarmathy's agent.

³⁰ Macbeth exhibited a cushion, towel and table cover. The Museum purchased one of Macbeth's exhibits.

³¹ Macbeth continued to support the Glasgow Lady Artists exhibition. Macbeth's work praised thus 'excels in bold decoration and colour' GSAA newspaper review 23-11-35. Macbeth was awarded the Lauder medal 1930 and 1938. The NDS also exhibited 1937 at the Lady Artist Club. In 1937 an NDS exhibition was acclaimed as the 'most successful yet and much interest in the foreign specimens' GSAA NDS summary 1937.

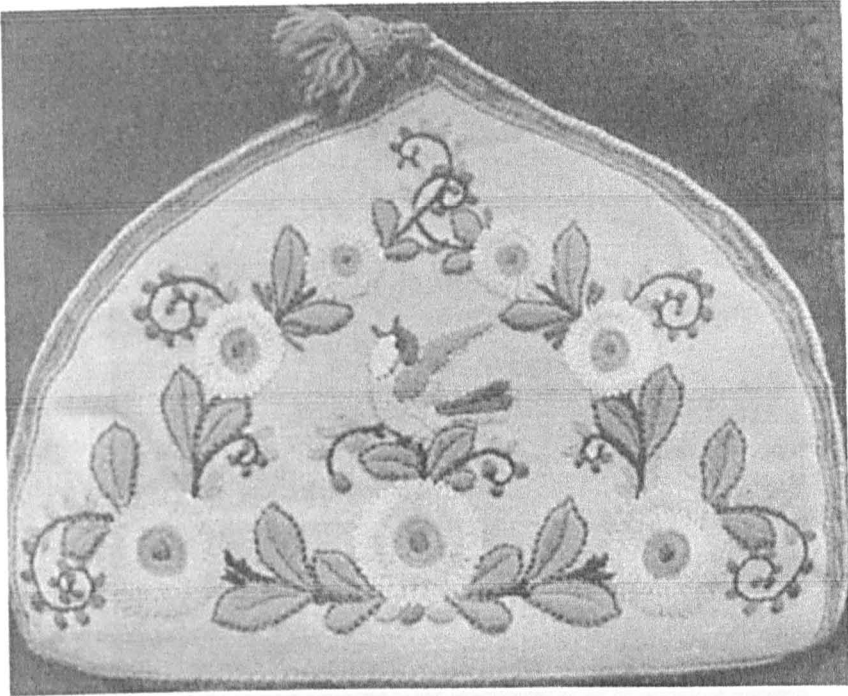
9).³² Distinct from these was a design by Miss P Spence-Allan of Coats' Anchor 'Art' department (Hogarth 1933 85).

Another Zweybrück design for this same 1932 *Modern Embroidery* exhibition, was promoted in *Stickerereien und Spitzen*, simply titled «Runde Tüldecke» (Round Tulle cloth) (Schiebelhuth 1932-3 12; Hogarth 1933 96-7)(Fig 86). This design is in the GSA NDS collection, listed as 'possibly German', and is discussed later in chapter eight. Rebecca Crompton presented three sessions on design and colour and Elsie Williams one session on the preparation of design. At the time the practical demonstrations by Crompton were controversial, as women walked out in protest at her free and lively use of the machine (Edwards 1988 10). The following year in *Modern Embroidery*, a special number published by *The Studio*, largely based on the exhibition, the designs accompanied with illustrations and instructions to copy the works, in a style typical of Coats' *The Needlewoman* journal, were promoted internationally (Hogarth 1933).³³ Coats industrial copying approach to design was evident, and was later to define their practices and principles in the NDS. Soon after Coats began their research and implementation of the Scheme. This exhibition linking industry, museum, and education personnel was the antecedent to the NDSS, which was developed by Coats based on their own business model.

Their vision for the Scheme included pivotal roles for the ScAS, their principals and lecturers. Macbeth's GSA loan scheme was key to the future dissemination of the textiles collected. Coats exhibition rationale linked technological achievement, success and prosperity to fill their order books, whereas the lecturers exhibited to promote design, elevating embroidery to art status. Coats invitation to the ScAS principals was made indirectly through Frank Michie, HM Chief Inspector of Schools (HMI). In 1934 Michie wrote to the ScAS principals enthusiastically welcoming industry's gesture to art, and sanctioned the Scheme (Michie 1934). Thus creating a link for Coats, between industry and education, to both established educational systems and respected personnel. The principals: William Hutchison, GSA, Hubert Wellington, ECA, David Sutherland, Gray's School of Art, Aberdeen and Francis Cooper, Dundee College of Art (DCA), formed the Permanent Committee, which met annually to oversee the Scheme. Their motivation and key roles in the Scheme and the factors which influenced the collection are discussed in the

³² Embroideries from the Föreningen Handarbetets Vänner were also included Hogarth, M. 1933. *Modern Embroidery*. London, The Studio.

³³ GSA F2. Some of these designs were later acquired for the NDSS, also V&A purchased many of the contemporary textiles exhibited Morris, B. 1986. *Inspiration for Design: the influence of the Victoria and Albert Museum*. Sussex, RJ Acford. Later in 1933, Mann cooperated with J & P Coats designing an embroidery *After the Manner of Watteau*, published in *The Needlewoman* journal, in a similar format to the *Modern Embroidery* publication, with design transfers available for purchase Mann, K. 1938. *After the manner of Watteau. The Needlewoman: 20-21*. Mann's enthusiasm for embroidery design began her support for Coats and the NDSS.



6: Ann Macbeth Teacosy

by [Einar Zweybrück] Perle Club
Dresden design #DS-15A



86: [Emmy Zweybrück] Round Cloth
Bremen design NDS GSA

Chapter 4: The Needlework Development Scheme: Unravelling the Shaping of the Collection

While the Colleges of Art are mainly interested in modern design, it was agreed that the collections could embrace all crochet and embroidery, whether ancient or modern, provided it was of a kind, which could inspire modern work. It was also agreed that the collections could usefully include brocades, etc., where the design could be adapted to Needlework (NDS 1934a).

In 1934, C.H. MacKenzie, Deputy Director of TCA, recommended the above items for collection in the NDSS, reflecting Coats own business interests. He also indicates Coats adaptation of pattern design philosophy, which increasingly made an impact on the design process advocated by the Scheme. Through themes of politics, economics and design education this chapter explores the type of textiles collected and extent to which Coats commercial interests shaped the collection. The motivation and key roles of the Scottish Art School (ScAS) principals and embroidery lecturers is identified.¹ Firstly, the reasons for Coats anonymous funding of the Scheme, and the influence of art/industry debate are established.

The anonymous status of the NDSS funding contradicted Coats open philanthropic legacy. Following a model of philanthropy established by David Dale and Robert Owen, at New Lanark, Scotland, Coats instigated various social, educational, and recreational initiatives (Allen 1989).² Both Coats and Clarks have always been considered generous benefactors, in 1949 C Stewart Black in his *Story of Paisley*, acknowledged Coats and Clarks were 'Paisley's most generous benefactors [having given] lavishly to the town' and provided their staff with 'patriarchal care and kindness' (Black in Macdonald 2000 62). The generous funding of the NDSS in 1934, seven thousand pounds or the equivalent of £389,000 today, was a radical departure by a business which had developed an enviable philanthropic record, despite the concealed commercial interests (NDS 1934a; McCusker 2001).³ Coats anonymous funding of the NDSS obscured their involvement, and the divergent commercial initiatives were hidden.

¹ See Table 9 for an overview of key Coats, NDS, and other influential Arts people.

² David Dale and Robert Owen were mill owners and social pioneers, who introduced the provision of decent homes, fair wages, free health care, education, and nursery care for his workers (Allen, N. 1989. *David Dale, Robert Owen and the story of New Lanark*. Edinburgh, Moubray House Publishing. Coats would have been well aware of the public prestige created from the provision of such services. In Paisley, Coats held annual exhibitions at their factories, offering prizes to encourage good skills and participation. Their educational initiatives encouraged embroidery and promoted their products. However, their public generosity didn't always equate with the reality of their business world: in Italy, the girls had to sew together their own pre-cut uniforms Keir, D. 1962. *The Story of J & P Coats*. Coats Viyella plc. Typescript. Uxbridge.

³ This investment was planned for the first seven years only. A reversal of this situation exists today with the £660,000 funding of the Centre for Advanced Technology at the Glasgow School of Art. This digital technology facilitates the copying of designs.

Long may Paisley's sons inherit
The Clarks' and Coats's public spirit
(Anon in Macdonald 2000 70).

As the Scheme was closely linked to their sales plans, they may have wished to protect the family's philanthropic record, by the anonymous funding. More importantly, Coats would not have been able to get the backing of the various education and museum personnel and authorities for the Scheme if their commercial motive had been apparent, as discussed later. In 1934, at the outset of the NDSS, Mr Michie, HMI Inverness, confirmed the anonymous status of the Scheme to the ScAS principals stating it was 'in no way connected with the sale of Coats cottons, but was intended solely to raise the standard of needlework in this country' (NDS 1934a). In fact, Michie was so convinced of Coats 'earnest' motives he encouraged the principals to determine if the schools could themselves financially support the Scheme:

If part of the expenditure for the purchase of collections could be passed through the accounts of the Colleges it might be possible to have it recognised as 'Approved Expenditure' (Michie 1935 1).

Documents in the Paisley Museum Archive records show this was facilitated by the schools, as the purchases were passed through the school accounts before they were reimbursed by Coats (NDS 1938b). In Dundee the treasurer of the college paid for the textiles, and in Edinburgh payments were made through the City Chamberlain (NDS 1938b).⁴ However, later in 1938, it was this procedure, which caused much consternation for the principals, as Mr Moore, Sales Manager of TCA, demanded more accountability, in the form of a receipt for each textile purchase.⁵ Mr Cooper, Principal of DCA, clarified the strategic importance of the principals' role:

When the Scheme was first discussed it had been explained that they as institutions maintained by public sources, could not in any way be directly connected with a scheme sponsored by an industrial concern, and that it was this principle that was responsible for the original decision to leave the working of the Scheme entirely in the hands of the Permanent Committee (Cooper in NDS 1938).⁶

⁴ Hutchison, Principal of GSA, was not at the meeting where financial organisation was discussed. Other GSA archives do not shed light on this issue.

⁵ The receipts had already been issued to the treasurer and City Chamberlain.

⁶ Relationships between the Principals and Coats were often strained, for example in 1941 as they attempted to get Coats to pay money promised to the teachers for their involvement in the Scheme, Mr Cooper, DCA, stated:

The attitude that Coats takes is like the Bank of England they admit no errors or irregularities. Cooper, F. 1941. *Letter to Hutchison*. Glasgow School of Art Archives. Glasgow. 26 Feb 1941.

As the schools were maintained largely by public grants, the principals could not be directly involved with a scheme sponsored by an industrial concern. Hence the principals formed the Permanent Committee, and became responsible for the workings of the Scheme at the outset.

Initially, the principals were encouraged by financial incentives offered to the schools; from 1935 fifty pounds per annum, the equivalent of £2800 today, was offered to each art school, as working costs for the next six years (McCusker 2001). The principals and the lecturers believed Coats were committed to the development of design in embroidery, and turned a blind eye to both their sales motivation and interventionist practices.⁷ However Coats' anonymity was an issue with which the principals became uncomfortable. In 1938, as the sales personnel prepared their stand for the *Empire Exhibition* at Bellahouston Park, Glasgow, Coats wrote to Francis Cooper, Principal of DCA, requesting anonymity in regards to the Needlework Development in Scotland loans for the exhibition:

As it is our intention to approach several British sources such as the Royal School of Needlework, the Victoria and Albert Museum, etc. All specimens loaned to us for this purpose will be displayed in glass cases with the usual type of acknowledgment, such as 'loaned by courtesy of...' [...] it is quite obvious that no connection could be construed between this firm and the Needlework in Scotland Scheme (Moore 1938).

Cooper, regretted the request, but wrote to Hutchison, the newly appointed principal of GSA, and suggested there was 'no real danger' in granting Coats their anonymity (Cooper 1938).

Such was the covert nature of many of Coats practices that people were unaware of their influence. Meryl Secrest in Kenneth Clark's biography, explains that Coats had a long history of preferring to do their philanthropic activities anonymously, 'Good deeds be done in secret, lest they be contaminated by the sins of pride' (Secrest 1984 94). Margaret Swain, a respected Scottish author, explained her understanding of Coats desire for anonymity:

They also seemed to not make a fuss, rather to hide the fact they were [funding the Scheme]. It was sometime before I found out. Better that it was by itself. At that time there was a vulgar style of needlework on the market as well (Swain 2001 personal communication).

⁷ However only £25 pre annum was paid by Coats in the latter years.

Few people realized Coats were supplying 'editorials', which often included designs created at the Anchor studio, to many publications (Frew-Patterson 2002 personal communication).⁸

As well as showing their support for the Scheme, the ScAS principals also participated actively in the art / industry debate. Wellington, ECA, wrote to Hutchison to allay his fears about some of the views expressed by Frank Pick, at an Industrial Design Council meeting:

His tendency is to ignore the fine arts and to establish something of an industrial council of advice or control in selected colleges. He ignores the reality of tradition in schools of art and or rather deplores it (Wellington 1934).⁹

Hutchison showed his interest in the debate when he responded to letters of criticism, to *The Times* on the *Art in Industry Exhibition*, Royal Academy, London. He expressed his concerns in relation to the art / industry debate stating:

The apt references to flirtation and marriage in connection with the Royal Academy Exhibition, which have appeared in your columns, prompts one to ask if it is not the very existence of this prolonged flirtation, which has occasioned the Exhibition. The Royal Academy may be looked upon as a well-meaning match-maker anxious to turn a promising flirtation into a genuine love affair culminating in marriage. To speak more plainly, had it been possible to arrange a perfect Exhibition, there would have been no need to arrange it at all (Hutchison 1935a).

The Board of Trade's (BoT) Scottish Council of Art and Industry Committee (SCAI) membership included JOM Clark, Director of J & P Coats, Frank and George Donald, the Dundee linen weavers, Hutchison, GSA, and Wellington, ECA, and the female members: Gylla MacGregor of MacGregor, the Chairwoman of the Scottish Women's Rural Institute (SWRI), and Lady Victoria Wemyss; a network that played an active role in the organisation and promotion of the NDSS (HMSO 1936 6).

In 1935 the SCAI released a report *Education for the Consumer*, which examined the role of art education in elementary and secondary schools, and stressed the importance of teaching the appreciation of art (HMSO 1936 2; Woodham 1983 20). But the commercial motives of the members were exposed with the formation of a separate committee, chaired by Lady MacGregor (HMSO 1936 11-14). Their brief was to 'collect and examine samples of needlework and craft materials suitable for use in the schools, to consider prices, and to report' (HMSO 1936 11). The report suggested the cheapest materials used in needlework

⁸ *The Embroideress* journal regularly featured articles including information related to NDSS works, for example issue 71, 1938 included an article titled: *The Associated Country Women of the World Handicrafts Conference*. NDS examples in the Dundee University collection are design derivations of works illustrated in the above.

⁹ Pick, 1878-1941, was chairman of The Board of Trade's, Council of Art and Industry, and the chief executive and deputy chairman of the London Passenger Transport Board.

in schools were not the best, and the education authorities could make savings of up to twenty-three percent, if they purchased directly from the manufacturers in bulk, rather than through the scholastic agents. Significantly, a lack of coordination between the art, handwork, and needlework departments in the schools was only identified towards the end of the report (HMSO 1936 10). In 1936, in an effort to stimulate the teaching of crafts, the SCAI organised an exhibition of school crafts. The *School Craft Exhibition*, included work from the Harris Academy, Dundee, GSA, ECA and DCA. It was held at venues such as the Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh, and People's Palace, Glasgow, and was well attended (HMSO 1936 5).¹⁰ Primarily, the industrialists saw their involvement in the SCAI as an opportunity to further their own commercial ventures.

In 1939, The BoT suggested that J & P Coats limit their production of handicraft threads to ten percent, for export only, and the NDSS was abandoned (Coats 1939-1945 6). This government request was a part of wider demands from London as pressure was put on major companies to raise revenue for the war to strengthen the British economic situation (Anon 2002). Coats were asked to sell off some of their American concerns, but this was averted by prompt action in America by their directors, including Henderson, Martin, and JOM Clark (Anon 2002). In September 1939 the Coats' Board agreed to suppress the NDSS, and gained approval of the principals the following month (Coats 1939 158, 161).

After the War, in 1944 the BoT established and generously funded the Council of Industrial Design (CoID). At a Coats' Board meeting, in December 1944, Martin suggested if the newly named, Needlework Development Scheme (NDS), was to be extended to England, Coats would receive a better return from an advertising point of view, revealing Coats true motive for restructuring the Scheme (Coats 1944 181). Martin expressed his opinion regarding the weakness of the earlier NDSS, an opinion based on one particular incident:

The disadvantage of the pre-War Scheme was the committees they themselves formed were too unwieldy and too much hampered by conflicting personalities and personal interests to produce the most fruitful results (Coats 1944 181).¹¹

This concealed Coats ambitions to further their sales ambitions in the amateur market. However, both political and economic decisions were to continue to impact on the scheme.

Soon after the restart of the Scheme the BoT removed the ban on the import of handicraft threads (Coats 1946 22). Both politics and economics were intertwined, and

¹⁰ The Exhibition was held for two weeks at each venue with impressive visitor numbers: Edinburgh: 28,000, Glasgow: 16,729, Albert Institute Dundee: 13,258, Art Gallery, Aberdeen: 9,100, Inverness Royal Academy: 2,250, and Burgh Museum, Dumfries: 5,500 HMSO 1936. *Exhibition of School Crafts in Scotland*.

¹¹ In 1938, Louisa Chart, ECA, refused to circulate a NDSS Exhibition, which she had organised independently without committee approval.

further complicating the issues was Coats support behind the veil of anonymity, which contradicted with their open philanthropic legacy. As late as 1954, the *Evening News* in Glasgow repeated Coats' propaganda, declaring 'the NDS was a non-commercial operation supported by trade contributions' (Evening News 1954).

Similarly, just as contacts were the lifelines of Coats business, in a similar way these connections provided the pulse for the NDS, when the Scheme re-started in 1945. The anonymous funding enabled Coats to assemble an impressive array of supportive and influential people to facilitate their sales aims. Constance Howard, the English artist and educator claimed that the GSA had requested a restart of the Scheme (Howard 1983 21). However an archived letter from the Townswomens' Guild secretary, suggests the initial prompt came from London (Horton 1940). The Guild's handicraft coordinator was Lady Daniel, wife of Sir Augustus Daniel, the former director of the National Gallery. Daniel was likely to have been an acquaintance of the then National Gallery director, Kenneth Clark, a close family member of Clarks & Co.

Martin's role in the NDS became pivotal, later in 1945, as explained in a letter from him to Mr Dickey, of the MoE, London:

'Needlework Development Scheme' is the name registered in Edinburgh under the Business Names Act 1916, under which I Colin MacGregor Martin, carry on the work of the Scheme, which is to encourage needlework in schools, colleges and girls organisations and in the home. It is not a corporate body and consequently does not have a memorandum or Articles of Association (Martin 1945).¹²

Social contacts increasingly played an important role in the Scheme's development. In 1944 Coats' Joint Sales Committee instructed Martin to find suitable contacts in London (Coats 1944 181). Later in 1945 Leigh Ashton, the newly appointed director of the V&A, and a long time friend of Kenneth Clark, opened the NDS exhibition celebrating the reinstatement of the Scheme, at the GSA. Immediately after the exhibition Martin wrote to Ashton requesting a meeting to discuss the V&A Museum's role, and the NDS soon resumed in a revised format.

After protracted negotiations, an agreement with the Treasury to allow the textiles to be imported free of customs duty seems to have been granted on the grounds that the NDS was 'strictly non-advertising' as explained in a letter from Digby to Hunt, editor of *House and Gardens* magazine (Digby 1951). To avert the tax payment, a card index system recording the exact movement and location of the works, and an Advisory Committee was to be established (NDS 1947b). The Advisory Committee, established in 1945 to ensure

¹² Martin had wished to return to Austria after the war, but his Austrian born wife Felice, who had endured two wars there, preferred to remain in Glasgow (Authors interview with George Martin 2001).

Treasury's demands were met, included Grace Thomson, MoE, London, JD McGregor, SED, Martin, and George Wingfield-Digby, the V&A Museum textile representative.¹³ The V&A under Ashton's directorship was to play a significant role in the NDS as the agreement allowed Coats to further their aims and transform the focus of the NDS. Initially the Museum circulated one hundred framed textiles to interested schools of art in England, but later reduced this to thirty framed textiles (Bedford 1946). Just as in the *Modern Embroidery Exhibition* at the V&A Museum in 1932, links were established between industry, education and the museum.

Earlier in 1934, Coats own business interests were reflected in the list of needlework that C.H. MacKenzie, Deputy Director of TCA, recommended for collection. His definition of needlework was 'anything which made use of a needle, crochet hook or knitting pin' (NDS 1934a).¹⁴ As the collection developed there was a growing emphasis on embroidery, rather than the other suggested forms of needlework: knitting and crochet, reflecting the teacher's interests. A preference was declared for the collection of 'church work'. The simple reference concealing the pivotal role that Coats had planned for the successful Viennese designer and educator, Emmy Zweybrück, who began employment with Coats Mez AG company in Germany in November 1934 (NDS 1934; Heller 2002 personal communication).

In Scotland, there was an established appreciation for ecclesiastical embroidery, as it enabled embroidery to be taken more seriously. At the turn of the twentieth century, Fra Newbery, Principal of GSA, had believed that religion could be made more attractive to the worshipper, and elevated embroidery to an art form (Rawson 1996 424). Ecclesiastical design was a departure from Zweybrück's previous work, thus it could be assumed these important designs, discussed in chapter eight, were especially commissioned by Coats for the Scheme.

Coats intention to network with their agents throughout the world was evident from the early stages of the Scheme, as Mr Goode from the TCA explained:

With regard to specimens of Tatting, Netting, Needleweaving, Hedebo, and Hardanger it was decided that the source of supply was USA, Mexico, Sweden, Denmark, Norway,

¹³ Wingfield-Digby somewhat unwillingly became the V & A's representative on the NDS Advisory committee, which met in London annually to select works for the NDS from 1946-1962 Digby, G. W. 1947. *Letter to Leigh Ashton*. V & A Art and Design Archives. NDS fol.1. London. Mar 13 1947. Martin must have been aware of Digby's reluctance as a lunch at the Hyde Park Hotel was promised following the inaugural meeting of the Advisory committee.

¹⁴This meeting was attended by Goode and Hudson from the Advertising department, the Scottish Art School principals, their design and embroidery teachers, and Miss Ph. Spence Allen, Coats Art department NDS 1934a. *Minutes*. Glasgow School of Art Archives. Glasgow. .

respectively, in view to obtaining photographs and full information regarding the specimens available (NDS 1934).¹⁵

Some compromise by the lecturers must have been made from the beginning, as at the inaugural selection meeting in December 1934, specimens, including photographs, acquired by Coats' sales agents for thirty-two pounds (the equivalent of eighteen hundred pounds today) were presented (NDS 1934; McCusker 2001).¹⁶ From the outset of the NDSS parsimonious strategies had an impact on the original character of the collection, as copies of designs made at the Anchor Studio, Paisley were selected (NDS 1934b).¹⁷ Copies of Mexican d'oylies, Danish Hedebo cloths, and Norwegian Hardanger were made at the Anchor Studio, in preference to the purchase of originals (NDS 1934b).¹⁸ Driven by commercial success Coats encouraged Zweybrück and her team in Vienna, to interpret other designs, as a newspaper report *Embroidery on Show* suggests:

Embroiderers will be charmed with the work of Emmy Zweybrück. The artist uses a variety of materials and is uniformly successful with all of them. A delightful piece of her work is a Mexican cape, which combines striking colouring and excellent stitching (Citizen 1935).¹⁹

In September 1965 an article *Fine embroideries on view*, promoting the RSM NDS Exhibition illustrated an 'Estonian' border dated nineteenth century (Knitting and Needle Trade 1965).²⁰ However, original NDS listings suggest this embroidery was Viennese, indeed most probably a copy completed in Zweybrück's atelier in the 1930s (NDS 1945b).

During this era, industry throughout Europe failed to recognise the role of the designer, thus the anonymous status of many NDS designs (Centre des Documentació i Museu Tèxtil 2003). This allowed Coats to conceal the provenance of many of the textiles in the Scheme. As revealed later, newspaper cuttings indicate Coats almost certainly created

¹⁵ Mr Goode from the Advertising department attended the meeting, with the embroidery teachers and Mr Russell. The photographs of Tating, Netting, Needleweaving, Hedebo and Hardanger were presented for selection, reflecting Coats' interests. The sales agents were Oxford and Cambridge graduates trained in commerce and languages.

¹⁶ This was out of a total of two hundred pounds allocated for collection that year or the equivalent of over eleven thousand pounds today. McCusker, J. 2001. *Comparing the Purchasing Power of the Pound*. URL <http://www.eh.net/hmit/ppowerbp>. [14 May 2003].

¹⁷ Samples sent from Mexico were priced at \$10.45, but it was suggested the Anchor Studio could copy them for £1. NDS 1934b. *Minutes*. Paisley Museum Archives. PMA 3151 3/2/1. Paisley. 14 Dec 1934. At this time the currency conversion rate was \$5 to the pound (3.60 pesos to the dollar). Therefore Coats saved money by making the copies at the Anchor studio, and may have had another use for them at the Anchor studio. McCusker, J. 2001. *Comparing the Purchasing Power of the Pound*. URL <http://www.eh.net/hmit/ppowerbp>. [14 May 2003].

¹⁸ Samples sent from Mexico were priced at \$10.45, but it was suggested the Anchor Studio could copy them for £1. NDS 1934b. *Minutes*. Paisley Museum Archives. PMA 3151 3/2/1. Paisley. 14 Dec 1934.

¹⁹ Several 'Mexican' designs were accessioned in the NDSS, for example NDS 639, a cushion with two bands of a repeating motif on natural scrim and NDS 888 RSM 1962:1252 a table runner. Mexican Tenerife wheel designs are: a mat NDS 526 Aberdeen, NDS 615 EG 2239, NDS 572 two d'oyleys, a blouse NDS 251. 'Authentic' sampler designs are NDS 230 RSM 1962: 1248; NDS 233; NDS 235 RSM 1962, dated 1835; NDS 248, RSM 1962:1250, dated 1850-75; NDS 260, RSM 1962:1251, dated 1850-1875. NDS 949 a belt.

²⁰ RSM 1962.1120 NDS 239

many of the textiles in the collection in their design studios, in Europe, Paisley, Glasgow and Italy, subsequently the provenance of these textiles remained obscure.²¹ Remaining archive lists show the personnel in Glasgow believed these works came from the country of origin of the style rather than from the design studios. Subsequently, uncertain dating of the NDS textiles suggests textile curators are unclear of the date of creation, and often record the 'recreated' works as being from the country of origin, such as Hungary or Yugoslavia (Oddy 1962 personal communication; Miller 2002).

In the formative years of the NDSS the ScAS lecturers played a significant role in selecting textiles. They also collected the European textiles during the summer of 1934. The exceptional 1930s Austrian, German and Italian works in the NDSS were created in a tense social and political environment, when design was increasingly being defined as 'industrial design'. Alex Russell, Head of Department of Design, DCA, visited Austria and Germany, and Kathleen Mann, GSA embroidery lecturer, visited France and Italy spending approximately three hundred pounds each on textiles characterised by their modernist appearance (NDS 1934).

The ScAS lecturers on the NDSS Sub-Committee were encouraged by a financial incentive for working expenses. The incentive of fifty pounds per teacher per annum can clearly be construed as generous, as Kathleen Whyte, then beginning her teaching career in Aberdeen, only earned one hundred and forty pounds per annum, as an assistant art teacher (Whyte 1938).²² Interested in contemporary design, the lecturers were influenced by the German embroidery design journal, *Stickereien und Spitzen* (NDS 1934). In relation to the Scheme Coats concealed their involvement both externally and internally.

Coats would have been heartened by the teachers' use of this journal, as they were already covertly publishing designs from their Mez AG workroom in *Stickereien und Spitzen*.²³ This journal appears to have been supported by Coats in a similar formula to *The Needlewoman*, as negotiated with William Briggs & Co in 1939 (Coats 1939-1945 18). Coats' paid an annual fee for the inclusion of a full back page advertisement and a feature article. *Stickereien und Spitzen* was unusual in that Hitler did not suppress Alexander Köch, Stuttgart, unlike many other publishers of German modern art and design journals.²⁴ In an embroidered tulle table cover design published in 1921, Zweybrück celebrates Köch's sixtieth birthday (*Deutsche Kunst und Dekorative* 1921).

²¹ The 1956 *The News Reel* reveals Coats mill at Acqualada, Italy had an embroidery department, and significant numbers of 'anonymous' table linen items from Italy are in the collection.

²² Kath Whyte's starting salary in 1933 at Frederick Junior School, Aberdeen was £140 per annum GSAA Kath Whyte diary.

²³ This information has been deduced by an analysis of *Stickereien und Spitzen* journals from 1928-1935.

²⁴ Another of Koch's journals *Deutsche Kunst und Dekorative*, had from its first issue shown it was following the nationalist line: 'This undertaking gives itself the mission to bring about a gathering up and fertilization of indigenous arts in all fields, and also wring respect for German art in foreign countries, yes, to help

Another Zweybrück design covertly appears on a cover of the 1938 *The Embroideress* journal referred to as 'lovely work being carried out today in Germany, lent by *Handarbeiten Aller Art*' (formerly *Stickereien und Spitzen*)(Rolleston 1938 1543)(Fig 7). Transfers for this and three other designs were available for purchase. It seems likely the two mats illustrated on the *The Embroideress* cover were NDS designs now lost (NDS 1945b).²⁵ These works were described as two mats, featuring flower and bird motifs in a surviving GSA NDS document (NDS 1945b).

Eager to conceal their commercial motives, the lecturers were advised to contact Coats' agents directly, without mentioning Coats' name, and requested a copy of their letter be sent to Coats Sales Promotion Department in Glasgow (NDS 1934b). On Mann's behalf William Hutchison, Principal of GSA, displaying his eagerness to assist with the task of improving design, wrote to Vladimir Polunin, the painter and theatrical designer who had worked with Diaghilev in France, asking for the addresses of people in Paris whom Mann could visit (Hutchison 1934; University College of London 2000).²⁶

Only a few historical embroideries were actually acquired in France, by Mann, a reflection of the fact that France was not an important market for Coats at that time (NDS 1934a). Thread sales in France were dominated by the French company Dollfus-Mieg & Cie (DMC) their rivals.²⁷ Coats did not have a mill in France and would therefore have been considerably less motivated to engage in dialogue with French sources. Clearly, the extent of Coats commercial motives influenced both exclusion from as well as inclusion in the NDS.

Mann's visit to Italy proved to be more fruitful, albeit under Coats direction, as many of the works were acquired from industrial sources, likely to be Coats' clients. Although there is no specific evidence, it is probable that Sir James Henderson, the Italian based TCA director, would have been Mann's source for recommendations of embroideries to collect. Included in a later newspaper report was an acknowledgment, 'thanks to their friends in Milan quite a number of Italian specimens were obtained in a short time', of the contribution made (Daily Herald 1945). After the War Sir James was based in Milan again. He was likely to have had an active role in the acquisition of embroideries, as at the inaugural meeting of the reorganised Scheme in 1945 he advised that 'in view of the

Germany and German speaking lands to achieve victory in competition with other nations'. Koch in Stein, L. 1995. *German Design and National Identity 1890-1914. Designing Modernity: The Arts of Reform and Persuasion 1885-1945*. W. Kaplan. London, Thames & Hudson: 49-78. 50.

²⁵ NDS 831. NDS 1945b. [List 1945 NDS Exhibition]. Glasgow School of Art. Glasgow.

²⁶ Vladimir Polunin, (1880-1957) painter and theatrical designer, born in Moscow and taught Stage Design at the Slade School, London. University College of London. 2000. *Stage Design*. www.ucl.ac.uk/slade/History.htm. [6 Dec 2001]. Hutchison suggested Madame Vassilief.

²⁷ DMC mills were French based in Paris, Belfort, and Mulhouse.



7: *The Embroideress* cover 1938

hostilities in Europe, there was a non-likelihood of any large number of specimens available before 1946-other than those already in possession' (NDS 1945c).

Notes prepared by Hutchison, for Lady Swan, wife of Glasgow's Lord Provost, who gave the speech at the opening of the Needlework Development in Scotland's inaugural exhibition, at the McLellan Galleries, reflect the lecturers' contribution:

The ladies and gentlemen who made the collection did long and arduous journeys during their holidays in order to acquire these specimens, and our thanks are due to them for the initiative and energy they have shown. Each of the four schools had a representative involved, and all made their expeditions separately (Hutchison 1935 2).

The other ScAS embroidery lecturers, Louisa Chart, ECA, and Dorothy Angus, Gray's School of Art, collected the British works (NDS 1934c 4). The lecturers, along-with Miss Ph. Spence-Allan, Head of Coats' Art Department, made the final selections.

The Scottish works were mostly collected from eastern Scotland, showing a preference for work produced locally, or maybe these works were available cheaply in comparison with others, or they could have been enthusiastically donated.²⁸ The lecturers were recommended not to seek historical needlework or embroidery as the Scheme considered this to be the role of the museum, and Coats' advertising personnel considered it was financially impossible to collect representative samples of historic needlework and embroidery (NDS 1934a). Historical works contributed to only ten percent of the NDSS collection (NDS 1945a).²⁹ GSA archival records indicate the provenance of some works, as purchased from either dealers or private collectors, perhaps returning from holiday abroad. However the provenance of many 'traditional' works are unlisted.³⁰

From the outset individual preferences played a role. In 1935 Cooper, DCA, recommended an emphasis be placed on British works:

While the collection is extremely valuable and interesting, the proportion of British work is small, and especially of a type which would be directly helpful to schools and WRI[...]better if the sub-committee purchased immediately suitable specimens and commissioned selected (Cooper in Lawrie 1935 1).³¹

²⁸ There were a large number of works collected from Ida Barnett, embroidery teacher Dundee College of Art, Helen Gorrie, and Rosina Slaughter, Dunfermline GSAA NDS List. Eleanor Forbes, Fife, recalls selling a skullcap made from an RAF blanket at the George Watson Ladies College, Edinburgh, to the NDS for five pounds in 1947, following its display at an RSM NDS Exhibition Forbes, E. 2001. *NDS make-do-and-mend skullcap*. Telephone Conversation. Ceres, Fife. Nov, 2001.

²⁹ From 1945 historical works were acquired, significantly many from John Jacoby's collection. Perhaps these were unwanted for the Jacoby-Ilke collection in Switzerland, where he deposited most of his collection. Jacoby had a long association with the NDS, as records show he exhibited and lectured at the GSA in 1936. He also offered works, including a Palestine robe to the GSA collection.

³⁰ Mrs Abbot, London, sold 30 textiles to the NDS. NDS 1945b. [*List 1945 NDS Exhibition*]. Glasgow School of Art. Glasgow.

³¹ Coats suggested needleworkers execute, after submitting designs, specific specimens Lawrie, E. 1935. *Letter to Hutchison*. Glasgow School of Art Archives. Glasgow. 6 Jul 1935. Louisa Chart, on holiday, attended the 1937

However, thriftiness played a role again in 1937, when James Hamilton, Head of Department of Design Gray's School of Art, Aberdeen, travelled to Spain, just prior to the Spanish Civil War (NDS 1935). He found 'few embroideries worthy of collection' to take advantage of the good exchange rate, and from that point on Coats appeared to change their policy on the lecturers travelling to collect works. Later in 1945, a different set of circumstances arose in Spain and the NDS was able to acquire four panels of a bull fight scene, purchased from *Calazans*, Barcelona, via Fabra y Coats. Martin explained why 'extracts from a wonderful large table cloth' seen by him in Barcelona in autumn 1945, an expensive purchase, two hundred and twenty-five pounds, was possible:

Fabra y Coats thought it politic to purchase the embroideries themselves from the customer, and these are being held until a convenient opportunity presents itself to have them sent (NDS 1948a 5-6).

In this way Coats were also able to encourage their subsidiary companies to support the Scheme.³² Although these NDS works appear to be lost, it seems certain their design had a marked influence on 1950s embroidery design as several Dundee NDS works feature bulls, for example Jennifer Gray's Bull wall hanging and M Nash's mat.³³

Coats were able to exert considerable influence on the type of textiles collected. In 1945 Mr Dickie, Inspector MoE, announced at one of the initial meetings of the London based NDS Advisory Committee:

Mr Martin has been responsible for collecting on behalf of Coats a large and comprehensive collection of embroidery. His firm are anxious to make the collection available for schools in the UK (Wingfield-Digby 1945).

Revel Oddy, former Keeper of Textiles, RSM, explains his belief that Coats' agents were well qualified to select embroideries:

There was an army of agents going around the world and they just bought things and there isn't very much to it, the agents themselves were no fools, they would be able to see what was good stuff (Oddy 2002 personal communication).

However, Coats *The News Reel* journals reveal the agents were usually Oxford or Cambridge graduates of languages, business, and economics, not design. Corporate records indicate in the 1930s Martin, a TCA Board member was also on the board of both the

Paris Exhibition, where she purchased the Grand Prix award winning design at the 1937 Paris Exhibition held in the GSA NDS collection.

³² At this time Don Fabra was on Coats' Board.

³³ Jennifer Gray wall hanging, DUNUC Arts: 229. NDS 4551. M Nash, mat, DUNUC Arts: 231. NDS 4691.

Anglo-Hungarian Thread Company and the Bratislava Company, and travelled regularly. It seems likely that opportunities for Martin to acquire textiles for the Scheme were widely available. The enthusiasm of Coats personnel to collect textiles is shown in the description of a Mr Scott's efforts in 1946. As a temporary clerk called in to help with the re-organisation demanded by Treasury, he re-catalogued the collection, and proved unstinting in his efforts:

He unearthed specimens from forgotten corners of TCA and J & P Coats and worked like a black whether on clerky duties or really helping in all the lifting and carrying and dirty jobs that this entailed: he didn't just sit neatly at a clerks desk but threw himself into the Scheme and saved the situation (NDS 1947a).³⁴

Alison Settle, CoID Housewives Committee member, writing in *The Bulletin*, recognised the influence and extent of Coats' network and inspirations:

Commercial firms are helping the Scheme: one has assembled a worldwide team of artists to contribute designs. If the lazy daisy survives such an onslaught, it deserves a long-life on tray cloths and tea cosies (Bulletin 1947).

Martin's position on various Coats' boards provided him with the opportunity to collect many textiles and illustrated books. In 1943 he was on Coats' Boards in Brazil, Portugal, Canada, South Africa, China and India (Coats 1939-1945 154).³⁵ The following year he was on boards in France, Switzerland, Portugal, Bratislava and the Far East Liaison group (Coats 1939-1945 170). His representation on these boards coincides with textiles collected from these areas. In 1947 he purchased twelve embroideries in Hungary, in 1948 he visited Mexico, in 1949 he visited Central Europe for eight weeks (NDS 1947b; NDS 1948b; NDS 1949a). Also in 1949 he was a director of the TCA Forsaljingofosening business (Coats 1943). His choices of ethnic designs made a significant contribution to the collection. However, by this time many of the designs were copies made by state co-operatives or for tourism purposes. These designs are discussed later in chapter seven.

As well as Martin's acquisitions in 1947 collecting tours were undertaken, by Miss McCredie, GSA, who visited Denmark and Sweden and Kay Köhler, NDS 'expert-in-charge', in Switzerland, Italy, France and Belgium (NDS 1947b). An example of Köhler's purchases is a GSA NDS tea cosy from the Grisons, in the South-east Alps of Switzerland, featuring a cross-stitch design (Coats 1951 9).³⁶ Coats paid the women some expenses but Köhler paid for her own travel (NDS 1947b). This tour had a further aim as the women

³⁴ Kay Kohler, the then NDS 'expert-in-charge' spent much of her time supplying advertising department with editorials.

³⁵ He was also on the Trademarks Board.

³⁶ GSA NDS F51.

used questionnaires to establish methods used in design teaching, discussed in chapter nine.

Other personal preferences also shaped the collection, for example in 1952 Wingfield-Digby, the V&A advisor, considered some Mexican colours to be too bright:

Colour schemes would be jarring, due to the use of synthetic dyes producing harsher shades than vegetable...traditionally used in earlier times (NDS 1952).³⁷

A compromise was reached and they were added to the collection, but not circulated.³⁸

Documents suggest Grace Thompson, HMI, London, had considerable influence on the selections from 1945-1961.³⁹ In fact, such was her interest she continued to attend the meetings even after she was no longer required, perhaps in order to assert her own education views on design selections and the Scheme aims.⁴⁰ Relationships between the selection committee members were not always harmonious, and Wingfield-Digby showed disinterest, often leaving meetings prior to the selection process (NDS 1949b).⁴¹

Textiles were acquired from various sources, including tours, gifting, and it seems likely many passed into the Scheme after Coats had used them for other reasons within their organisation. Some textiles were donated to the NDS following analysis in Coats' laboratories, for example, in 1947, the NDS acquired some embroideries from Coats rivals, *Noël of Paris* (Coats 1950-7).⁴²

Contacts were valuable sources for the acquisition of textiles, and donated textiles formed an important component of the collection. John Jacoby, an authority on the history of embroidery, either sold or donated historical textiles to the Scheme.⁴³ The Jacoby textiles were accessioned in the 1930s and 1940s, with the remainder of his fantastic collection going to the Jacoby-Ilke collection in Switzerland (Oddy 2002 personal communication).⁴⁴ NDS fragments donated by Jacoby include rare examples of Tudor design (Embroiderers' 1971 15). A well-used Tudor fragment, in the GSA NDS collection from the time of Elizabeth 1 or Charles II, originally featured a sprig of carnation and

³⁷ Wingfield-Digby published *Elizabethan Embroidery* in 1962.

³⁸ In 1958 Wingfield-Digby looked in Holland, but was 'unable to find anything I liked, two thirds of well known embroiderers work in a sort of 'William Morris' fairytale style, unsuitable for NDS. Digby to Martin 15 July 1958

³⁹ Thompson was promoted to the Inspectorate and was 'replaced' by Miss Sharman. Thompson also influenced the Scheme in other ways. Her Bromley embroiderers created Kessell's designs, and Iris Hills the 'expert-in-charge' 1955-60 was taught embroidery by Thompson. The Bromley influence was extensive.

⁴⁰ Thompson had been promoted to HMI and was 'replaced' on the committee by Miss Sharman.

⁴¹ In 1949 Martin wrote to Wingfield-Digby, who left before new purchases were viewed. Such was the animosity between Mr McGregor and Miss Thompson that I did not have the suitcases deposited for you at the V&A Martin, C. 1949. *Letter to Wingfield Digby*. V & A Art & Design Archive. MA/1/N part 1. London. 25 Nov 1949.

⁴² RSM 1962 1125, NDS 1468.

⁴³ John Jacoby presented a lecture and exhibition *Evolution of lace*, at GSA in 1933. GSA 1933-4. *Annual Report*. Glasgow School of Art Archives. Glasgow. 11.

⁴⁴ Several Jacoby-Iklé samples are included in the RSM NDS collection, for example RSM 1962.1256, 1257, 1258, 1259, 1260, 1261, 1262, 1263, 1264.

honeysuckle with rose and leaf, worked in black silk back and silver gilt chain stitches, which have now in parts worn away, more so than the Embroiderers' Guild samples (Johnstone 1986 24-5)(Fig 8).⁴⁵ When viewed alongside two other NDS fragments, held in the EG NDS collection, featuring flower motifs and scrolling stems with acorns and leaf shapes, a reconstruction of the original Tudor design is possible (Nevinson 1936 78-9; Embroiderers' 1971 15) (Fig 9-11).⁴⁶ The likely source of this design is from a printed pattern book, as from the fifteenth-century books included herbal, natural history and emblem designs were published. The ruthless attitude of later seventeenth-century designers, recorded in a letter from Henage Finch, explains the fragmented state of these NDS Tudor designs:

But as for the Carpet and the Chayr and stoole, I should despayre of seeing an end of them, if John Best had not found out a way to ease her [the writer's wife]. But now John takes those borders which my mother wrought and cutts out every single Flower and Leafe, and when these are so voyded, he draws some Turning Stalks for my Wife to work, upon which he will so place the Flowers and Leaves, that it shall seem as if all had been wrought together, and be perfectly sutable to the pattern on the bedd (Finch in Nevinson 1936 80).

These EG NDS Tudor fragments, along-with other NDS textiles, such as early seventeenth-century samplers and lace were exhibited in South Australia in 1986 (Johnstone 1986).

The history surrounding the creation of a rare NDS RGU textile *Sea Shanty*, designed and signed by Beatrice Campbell, and stitched by Lily Yeats, partly illustrates the Arts and Crafts Movement theme, which along with the influence of industry's approach to design, is dominant in this research (Fig 12).⁴⁷ Yeats while employed by May Morris, stitched the distinguished Kelmscott bed hangings for William Morris. In 1888 she spent forty weeks embroidering them, and earned ten shillings for a weeks work for Miss Morris (Gifford 1994 29). This meagre payment incited her father, who had a reputation for living a wayward life-style, to sarcastically retort:

We all tell her we now mean to be very civil to her. Spend up before the family nab it (Yeats in Gifford 1994 30).

⁴⁵ GSA NDS GB1. The black dye used will have rotted the silk and caused some of the degradation.

⁴⁶ EAMEG 206, EAMEG 207.

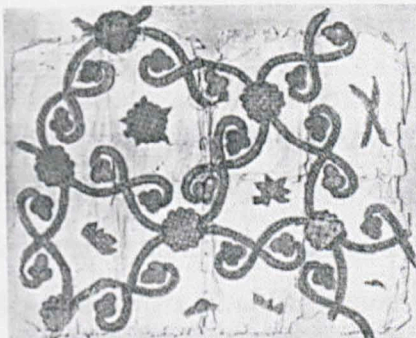
⁴⁷ RGU NDS 825. Lily Yeats was a sister of WB Yeats.



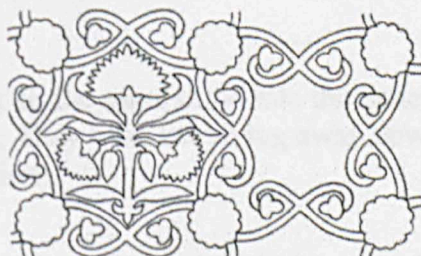
9: Jacobean Fragments NDS EG



8: Fragment NDS GSA GB



10: Reconstruction of Textile



11: Reconstructed design

The payment was less than the twelve shillings and six pence the Coats' Ferguslie mill girls earned earlier in 1850, and their pay was considered to be a poor wage (Anon 2002).⁴⁸ Yeats remarked on the mundane work, which she was mostly required to stitch for Morris:

People outside would have thought that we made beautiful curtains, bedspreads, etc., but what we did was start work for great ladies who probably never finished it. We worked an inch or two of ground, half a flower, a leaf and a bit of a stem. These part pieces probably appeared on the laps of the new owners as a sign that the owner was thoroughly occupied (Yeats in Gifford 1994 30).

A view was established about the relationship between women and needlework by the educated and powerful, especially the Arts and Crafts Movement, and was spread by colonisation and migration.

The *Sea Shanty* was probably purchased by Dorothy Angus, Embroidery Lecturer, Gray's School of Art, Aberdeen in the Irish Free State, just prior to Yeats retirement in 1941, from the *Cuala* workshop in Dublin, where she worked with her sisters (Magpie 1945).⁴⁹ The acquisition of this work was celebrated in 1945 in an Aberdeen NDS exhibition review:

A lively and frolicsome a piece as you would wish. It is worked on a brilliant blue background, and simply sparkles with animation; even the sun seems to be dancing an Irish jig (Magpie 1945).

In 1946 this work was included in an exhibition at the Royal Scottish Academy Galleries, Edinburgh, in the *Society of Scottish Artists 52nd Exhibition*.⁵⁰

Contrasting with the liveliness and spontaneity in design shown in the *Sea Shanty* are numerous mats, cloths and d'oyleys probably made in Coats' workrooms. Margaret Wilson, an NDS embroiderer in the 1950s recalls the source of such work:

Masses and masses of work all the same came into the Scheme. A group of foreigners came in and did work for it. They were beavering away downstairs, happily (Wilson 2001 personal communication).

Loan collections of historical and modern embroideries were developed with examples purchased, donated, commissioned or made in Coats' or Zweybrück's workshops for the Scheme's collection.

Many have since been lost but surviving photographic negatives and journal illustrations help to create the design history. Although lost from the ECA NDS collection

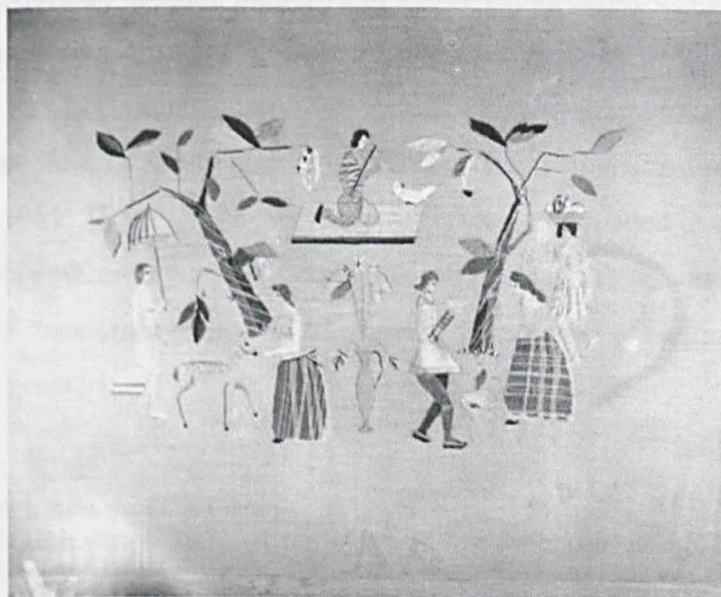
⁴⁸ The Ferguslie girls worked nine hours a day five days a week.

⁴⁹ There are only three works designed by Yeats following her retirement held in collections in Ireland.

⁵⁰ This information is written on the back of the *Sea Shanty* frame and was confirmed by Jim Fiddes, RGU Librarian.



12: *Sea Shanty*



13: Design made at the Verein für Deutsches, Berlin, NDS ECA (lost)

three shirts, illustrated by surviving photographic negatives, reveal various influences on their design.⁵¹ For example a Hungarian shirt of natural linen embroidered in green thread, reveals a design influenced by the artist and educator Máriska Undi, discussed later in chapter seven (NDS 1945b)(Fig 13).⁵² Another 'Hungarian' shirt densely stitched in red and black cross-stitch with cut spangles bears a close resemblance to Romanian shirts marketed by Liberty of London in the early twentieth century (Liberty 1910 12; NDS 1945b)(Fig 14).⁵³ Another Romanian shirt bears a close resemblance to an EG NDS collection shirt suggesting it was most probably made by a state co-operative (Fig 15).⁵⁴ The authenticity and design influence on similar textiles is discussed in chapter seven.

Another lost ECA NDS design, also illustrated by a surviving photographic negative, reveals an oblique reference to political events by the designer (Fig 16).⁵⁵ Existing documents state this design was made at the *Verein für Deutsches*, Berlin, workshop, which drew considerable support from the Third Reich. Created at a time when Mussolini proclaimed the birth of a new Roman Empire the design appears to reference the Italian conquest of Ethiopia. Other NDS designs, referencing political and social issues are discussed in chapter eight.

NDS documents in various archives and the numbering of individual textiles indicates over 5,000 textiles were collected. Individual preferences and taste shaped the collection, which included rare historical, peasant, modern and 1940s-1950s ethnic design examples. Coats' European 'peasant' designs contrast with the modern European textiles collected by the lecturers from the ScAS. Unique and diverse, the collection was lent to schools, art schools, as well as amateur groups and youth clubs and played a significant role in design education from 1934-1961. These textiles were then exhibited and loaned in order both to help teach and promote embroidery as an art form and sell threads, as discussed in the following chapter, *The Promotion of Design by Industry: the Impact of Cultural Politics and Economics*.

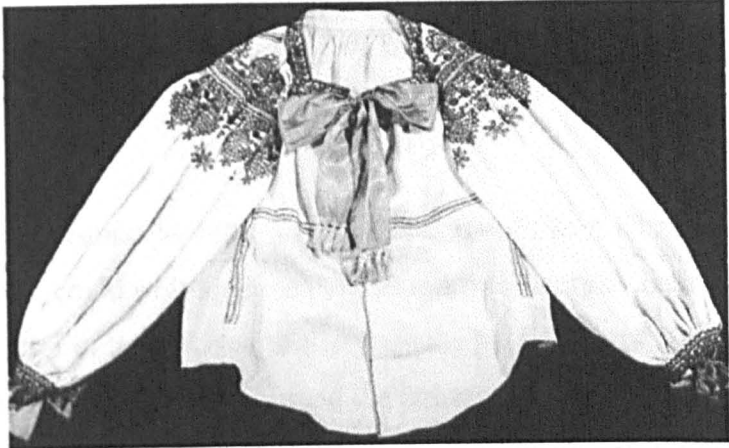
⁵¹ These NDS negatives are held in the ECA Library.

⁵² Louisa Chart, ECA, gifted this shirt, NDS 727, to the Scheme. NDS 1945b. [*List 1945 NDS Exhibition*]. Glasgow School of Art. Glasgow.

⁵³ ECA NDS 717. Ibid.

⁵⁴ ECA NDS 1432 and EG NDS 1433. Ibid. In 1904, Dimitre Camsa, the President of the Cultural Committee of the Astra Library in Sibiu, a centre of Transylvanian German culture, produced an album of two hundred and eighty four typical Rumanian embroidery and weave designs *Din Ornamentica Ramana* Taylor, L. 1991. *Peasant Embroidery: Rural to Urban and East to West Relationships 1860 - 1914*. The Journal of Decorative Arts Society 14: 47-50. Princess Marie of Romania, the daughter of Prince Alfred the Duke of Edinburgh and the Grand Duchess Marie Alexandrovna of Russia, married the Romanian heir to the throne, Prince Ferdinand in 1893 Lowe, S. 1999. *From Maori tea-hut to Turkish palace: the 'dream houses' of Queen Marie of Romania*. Journal of the Decorative Arts Society 23: 19-31. An enthusiastic patron, Princess Marie supported the establishment of the School of Decorative Arts in Bucharest Lowe, S. 1999. *From Maori tea-hut to Turkish palace: the 'dream houses' of Queen Marie of Romania*. Journal of the Decorative Arts Society 23: 19-31. In 1910 Princess Marie endorsed Liberty & Co's marketing of Romanian handicraft.

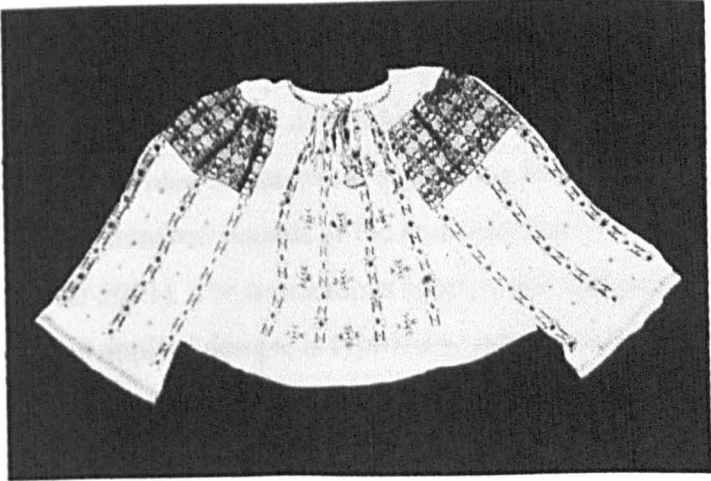
⁵⁵ ECA NDS 553.



14: Hungarian blouse NDS ECA (lost)



15: 'Hungarian' blouse NDS ECA (lost)



16: Romanian blouse NDS ECA (lost)

Chapter 5: The Promotion of Design by Industry: the Impact of Cultural Politics and Economics

It well becomes the Brothers Clark
To leave behind them such a mark
(Anon in Macdonald 2000 70).

The motto paraded on a banner in 1882, when the *George A Clark Town Hall* was inaugurated in Paisley, could well apply to the influence of George Clark's descendant, Kenneth Clark, Director of the National Gallery, on the NDS. The influence of Clark's unrecorded role, which frequently determined the Scheme's course, is discussed in this chapter. Within the themes of NDS design initiatives, such as the Mary Kessell, Danish, Swedish, and artist commissions the influence of exhibitions and publications is also explored. Key ideological shifts from the industrial designer/maker to Arts and Crafts Movement are contrasted to reveal the impact of the NDS on British design.

Kenneth Clark's strong family links to the NDS, as son of the wealthy Clarks & Co director, Kenneth Mackenzie Clark, were reinforced, as he was married to Jane Martin, sister of NDS and Director of The Central Agency, Colin Martin. Generous funding was granted by J & P Coats, for NDS exhibitions and publications, in an effort to improve design and develop public interest (Martin 1962a; McCusker 2001).¹ The publicity strategies advanced design initiatives and the aesthetics promotion, part of a broader campaign, influenced a variety of audiences, including school girls, college students, amateur embroiderers and textile designers.


In 1935 the inaugural NDSS exhibition was held at the McLellan Galleries, Glasgow, and then toured to Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen. A review prior to the exhibition in *The Bulletin*, featured a 'Tyrolean' styled design by Zweybrück (Fig 17). The article encouraged people to place a value on the work, suggesting the textiles had cost a considerable amount, eight hundred pounds or the equivalent of ten thousand pounds today (Bulletin 1935; McCusker 2001). The tremendous support and enthusiasm of the principals to encourage an interest in applied design, is typified in Hutchison's letter to Lady Swan, wife of Glasgow's Lord Provost, who opened the exhibition:

The intention of the exhibition is to show how countries are tackling the question of design for embroidery. One can note the quite different change to modernity. It is not intended as something the Scottish needleworkers will copy. But may stimulate fresh efforts and fresh triumphs in this fascinating medium (Hutchison 1935).

¹ As discussed earlier in chapter three, significant investment, the equivalent of over two million pounds today, was spent between 1945-1962. See Table 6 for an overview of the most important NDS Exhibitions.



17: Rebecca Crompton lecturing in Aberdeen 1937



**EXHIBITION
of EMBROIDERY**

Organized by the four Scottish Schools
of Art with a view to promoting
interest in Needlework in Scotland.

CONTEMPORARY BRITISH & FOREIGN WORK

**WILL BE OPENED TO-DAY
at 2.30 p.m. by LADY SWAN**
(Wife of Lord Provost Sir A. B. Swan)

**in the M'LELLAN GALLERIES,
SAUCHIEHALL STREET**

Admission To-Day by Invitation Only.
Daily 10th till 27th Feb. 10 a.m. to 6 p.m.
ADMISSION 1/.

18: NDS Exhibition Advertisement 1935

In 1938, a NDSS exhibition was held to target Coats amateur market, encouraging both participation and an improvement in skills. It featured Dutch ecclesiastical textiles prominently, which Louisa Chart, ECA, purchased at the 1937 Paris International Exhibition, but mostly the exhibition was an opportunity for the amateur embroiderers to show their work. Coats encouraged participation and over one thousand women entered for the generous prize money of two hundred pounds, almost ten thousand pounds today (NDS 1938a; NDS 1938b; McCusker 2001).

In Glasgow, the exhibition was overshadowed by the 1938 Empire Exhibition, however in Aberdeen the curator of the *Art Gallery* stated it was 'the best attended exhibition yet' (NDS 1938b). To further promote the designs ten thousand *Contemporary Embroidery* booklets were published (NDS 1938a). However, plans to sell the booklet at the Empire Exhibition did not materialize, as SED had failed to acquire space for NDSS to exhibit, or perhaps the move had been vetoed by Coats, as they had plans to exhibit the NDSS textiles anonymously within their display (NDS 1938a).

Coats organizational framework for the Scheme was immense, and communication was taking place on an international level, encouraging an active, creative, cross-fertilisation of ideas between different cultures. Although the NDS was on the surface not commercial many publications were both distributed free and available for sale, continuing the pattern of publicity Coats had generated since the nineteenth-century. The promotion of the NDS through literature began in earnest in 1946 when Colin Martin, during a period of post war scarcity of resources, received a paper licence after protracted negotiations (Dickie 1945; NDS 1946a). This enabled a quantity of paper to be printed to schools free of charge, as well as an Anchor edition for sale in 'Home Empire and Foreign markets' (Coats 1944 152). Recognizing the potential importance of the publications, Coats employed Harold Anderson of *The Studio*, to design the graphics and layout, as well as posters for the London Underground to promote the 1950s NDS Tea Centre exhibitions (Martin 1962a).²

Perhaps one of the most invigorating Scheme programmes was the lecture tour by experts, which began in 1937 with a tour of art schools in Scotland by Rebecca Crompton, accompanied by her two hundred-piece exhibition. The logistics of this tour were complex; it included framed works over two metres in height. In Dundee over five hundred people attended the lecture and the demand for seats by students exceeded availability (NDS 1938c)(Fig 18). Following on from the success of the Crompton tour the NDSS invited Zweybrück to visit Scotland for a lecture tour in 1937, however after protracted

² Anderson was a former Coats employee. The Central Agency 1938. *The Central Agency Exhibition Catalogue*. Paisley Museum Archives. 3151 3/2/1. Paisley.

negotiations, initially with Mr Russell, DCA, it did not materialise. A fee of ten pounds (the equivalent of five hundred pounds today) was offered for the tour of the four Scottish Art Schools (NDS 1939b; McCusker 2001). Two years after initial enquiries began Mr Moore, Manager of Coats Sales Department, declared Coats would take over all the financial arrangements (NDS 1939a). Finally she stated 'the visit would conflict with her American visit and otherwise it would not pay for her to undertake the Scottish tour' (NDS 1938d).

Later in 1946, Feodova Pavlu from Slovakia lectured at various art schools throughout Britain, accompanied by an exhibition, including national costumes, photos and plates for use in an epidiascope (NDS 1946a). Coats' corporate archives reveal this was another collaborative venture as the tour was organised by Mr Neate, Manager of the London National Needlework Bureau, and her salary and expenses were funded by the 'Slovakian authorities' (Coats 1946 156; NDS 1947a). Soon after the Second World War and Nazi occupation ended, the Czech Ministry of Internal Trade allocated goods for textile production, thus they would have supported British interest in Slovakian embroidery (Sotkova 1979 64-5).³

Also in 1946 Kay Köhler, NDS 'expert-in-charge', presented a lecture *Embroidery as an Expression of National Characteristics* to the Royal Society of the Arts, London and was awarded a silver medal by Princess Elizabeth in recognition (Köhler 1946; NDS 1947b). An important Scandinavian design initiative began in February 1948 with a nationwide lecture tour by Gertie Wandel, Head of *Selskabet Til Haandarbejdets Fremme* (Selskabet Til Society for the Promotion of Handcrafts) in Copenhagen, Denmark. The tour funded by the British Council, introduced craft ideologies to the Scheme (NDS 1948). The *Haandarbejdets Fremme* funded by the state, offered embroidery classes and art school graduates developed designs for sale, and following approval by the education authorities designs were available for school-girls (Carson 1948). Mary Carson writing an article *Two attitudes to needlework* in *The Herald*, prior to the Glasgow lecture, compared the British embroidery transfer made and sold by industry and the Danish method, describing the Danish system thus:

The essential difference between the attitude of the Scandinavians and our own is that they recognise the value of good design. Also with us there seems to be no halfway between those who accept slavishly the transfers available and those highbrows who hold that no work is of any value unless the embroiderer has created the design as well as done the sewing.

³ Declaring the extreme poverty, while exhibiting the works borrowed from Czechoslovakian Museums Madame Pavlu appealed 'for bits and pieces to help the Czechoslovakian peasants' Bulletin 1946. *Lost Art in Scotland*. Glasgow School of Art Archives. 1946 Newspaper Cuttings. Glasgow. 21.

The Danes recognise that one has to be trained in order to be able to design, and naturally it is only the few who can specialise in this way; yet there is no reason why the ordinary housewife, for instance, should therefore be deprived of the pleasure and satisfaction of working on a good design. This is in fact art allied to industry (Carson 1948).

Carson overlooked the fact that art school graduates created designs by developing ideas from drawings at the Danish Handcraft Guild and supplied these to the schools (Bengtsson 1960 28). The NDS lecture tours and exhibitions created tremendous interest in contemporary embroidery.

Contrasting with the Scandinavian craft design practice was the artist/designer ideology, encouraged by Kenneth Clark. Earlier in 1929 Clark, who read history at Oxford, but developed his interest in fine art from the age of seven conceived a scheme to organise exhibitions for young artists, and he personally funded both Roger Fry and Graham Sutherland (Secrest 1984 26). Clark, the connoisseur who had nurtured his own appreciation of art, saw fine art as the answer to creative design.

In 1943 in another design initiative Clark recommended two war time artists, Barnett and Freeman to design box labels for Coats (Keir 1962 vol 4 43). JOM Clark, Coats' director, considered the introduction of artists to the challenge of designing Coats' commercial identity refreshing, stating:

All too often the designer thinks, we will please our clients; there is plenty of room here, I'll put in the anchor twice (Clark in Keir 1962 vol 4 43).

J & P Coats corporate identity image of the anchor and chain stemmed from their love of sailing in the nineteenth-century, indeed it is still used to market their threads today. Kenneth Clark also suggested Coats employ artists to paint pictures of industry, however the firm did not consider this would be of value (Coats 1946 138).

Earlier in 1941 Clark's views on the interpretation of art were revealed in a newspaper *Letter to the Editor* column:

I agree with Sir Kenneth Clark that 'the responsibility for understanding works of art and interpreting them to the average man must always rest with a small minority' (Young 1941).

In 1945, Clark had the opportunity to consolidate his opinion on art interpretation, as he received an invitation from the Crown Prince of Sweden (Elton 1945). In Sweden the craft ideology of the interpretation of design, discussed later, was inline with Clark's view on the interpretation of art.

In 1946, Clark in his role as Director of the Cotton Board, created a revolution in cotton fashions by engaging top artists, among them Sutherland, Henry Moore, John Piper, Duncan Grant and Vanessa Bell to design fabrics (Mendes and Hinchcliffe 1987).⁴ That same year the NDS, encouraged by Clark pursued an initiative to increase the number of British designs in the collection 1945. For over a decade Kenneth Clark promoted the work of Mary Kessell, and her design work became one of the main themes of the post war era in the collection. Clark met Kessell a recent graduate painter of the Central School of Art, in 1940, in what was to become a significant turning point for NDS design initiatives (Secrest 1984 167-173).⁵ Subsequently, Clark had an affair with Kessell (Secrest 1984 167-173). Prior to her work for the NDS, during the late summer and autumn of 1945, Kessell visited Belsen and other concentration camps and travelled in Germany for many months as an official war artist. Often harrowing, her journal and drawings also included excerpts, which displayed both sensitivity to and an interest in creativity with textiles:

The lorries are filling, half the trees of Belsen are picked dry of leaves to make the journey with them. They have made clothes of their bedding; those who left Camp 1 in a blanket leave in cotton frocks of mattress covers and blanket coats and jackets (Kessell 1946 59)(Fig 19-20).

Kessell returned from her wartime experiences in 1945, and Clark instigated an experimental NDS initiative; Kessell was commissioned to design for the Scheme (Martin 1949). Some of Kessell's NDS designs appear to have been informed by her figure

⁴ Although Clark was influential both his practices and choices were questioned, for example Leonard Elton writing to DS MacColl, Keeper of the Wallace Collection and Tate Gallery:

He seems to me on the whole a good sort of person to have around, even if he completely debilitates art criticism by frightening all the paid journalists into writing up his own very mediocre little bunch of Austin Roadsters, none of whom have any real ability. Elton, L. 1945. Letter to MacColl. Glasgow University Special Collections. MS MacColl B45. Glasgow. 22 Feb 1945.

An American critic, Baker, (1922-1958), also expressed his concerns about Clark, writing to MacColl:

Kenneth Clark as I read him in the Listener, exasperates me: not only by his damn superiority, which wants a well planted kick in the pants, but even more by his calm omniscience about things he really knows nothing about. He and the rest seem to think art is rather like motor cars, that have to change their fashionableness every year or so, that become superceded, that actually become obsolete and pass off the map of machinery. For a fellow who should have developed an historical mind, his view, though less stupid than Read, is childish. Baker 1936. Letter to MacColl. Glasgow University Special Collections. MS MacColl B30. Glasgow. 7 Jan 1936.

A French painter Jacques Emile Blanche (1861-1942) also expressed his misgivings:

I have my doubts about Kenneth Clark's knowledge and taste for pictures. Blanche, J. 1938. Letter to MacColl. Glasgow University Special Collections. MS MacColl B231. Glasgow. 9 Jul 1938.

⁵ Kessell attended the Clapham School of Art 1935-7, and Central School of Art 1937-9. In 1937 she was commissioned to illustrate Osbert Sitwell's book *Mrs Kimber*, and in 1939 she began painting *Judith and Holofernes* mural at Westminster. Kessell illustrated Theodore Besterman's *Dictionary of Love*, the complete text was destroyed in the war. She graduated in 1939.



19: Mary Kessell Belsen Sketch



20: Mary Kessell Belsen Sketch

drawings from Belsen, for example *Babes in the Wood*, which is in the V&A collection (Fig 21-2).⁶ Plans for Kessell to learn embroidery to complete her own designs were judged by the NDS Advisory Committee to be ‘an unqualified failure’ (NDS 1947a) Thus, Kessell collaborated with a Florence MacFarlane, a graduate of GSA, and again the hand-embroidered results were below the expectations of the Advisory Committee.⁷ Despite the results, the first NDS Kessell exhibition, including ‘both the successes and failures,’ was held in 1947, at 3 Mount Square, Hampstead, perhaps in the home which Clark purchased for her, just around the corner from his mansion (Embroidery 1947 30).⁸

The NDS Advisory Committee considered Kessell’s designs to be ‘excellent and stimulating’ (NDS 1947a). Five experts from the Bromley School of Art, (Grace Thompson, NDS Advisory Committee member’s former school), were invited to interpret Kessell’s designs: Iris Hills, Joan Whyman, Marion Campbell (hand embroidery) and Lilian Willey and Frances Beal (machine embroidery). Kessell was not given a free hand, Thompson’s advice was noted in pencil by a concerned Digby, ‘If an artist were asked to make designs for embroidery it was essential particular designs for specific purposes shall be asked for, such as dress materials, coverlets, cushion covers and the materials to be used must be considered’ (NDS 1947a).⁹ However, financially well-rewarded, Kessell continued designing for the Scheme until 1950, receiving over two hundred pounds annually, the equivalent of five thousand five hundred pounds today (NDS 1946a; McCusker 2001). The generous payment continues to be resented by other NDS women, as the Bromley teachers who executed her designs received twenty-six pounds each, an equivalent of six hundred and seventy pounds today (NDS 1946b; Hills and Geddes 2001 personal communication; McCusker 2001).

Kessell’s excellent retentive memory and exceptional artistic talents were undisputed, however her designs were independent of contemporary international design trends, and more significantly, successfully translated into machine embroidery, which conflicted with Coats aim to sell hand embroidery thread. Martin expressed Coats’ disappointment:

Hand embroidery interpretations of Kessell were archaic rather than generally modern in interpretation. The results of the Kessell experiment will not cause a renaissance in hand embroidery (NDS 1950b).

⁶ *Babes in the Wood* design panel V & A CIRC 329A-1962 and *Babes in the Wood* embroidery V & A CIRC 329-1962.

⁷ An example of Florence MacFarlane’s interpretation is V & A CIRC 319b-1962.

⁸ In 1941, Clark bought Capo di Monte, a quaint house on the edge of Hampstead Heath. Secret, M. 1984. *Kenneth Clark: a biography*. London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson.

⁹ Digby sought advice from NM Wade, needlework teacher at Bradford College of Art, on this issue.



21: Mary Kessell
Babes in the Wood design



22: *Babes in the Wood* embroidery

Consequently the Advisory Committee considered the cost of the experiment was greater than was reasonable for the rewards (NDS 1950b). At the suggestion of an exhibition, Digby considered it would excite interest, but expressed his reservation to Martin 'I myself see it in a rather simpler light, but it is hardly relevant in this case' (Digby 1950).

Nonetheless in 1950 Philip James, Director of the Arts Council, agreed to fund a tour of Kessell's designs to Sunderland, Worcester, Halifax, Aberdeen, Norwich, Portsmouth, Reading, Dartington, and Penarth, near Cardiff (Embroidery 1950).¹⁰ Beginning in London it visited over thirty venues, the tour extended into 1952. But many favourable reviews were included in the press, for example, the *Manchester Guardian* praised Kessell's designs as 'graceful, sensitive, with flowing line, reminiscent of Chinese style' (Manchester Guardian 1950).¹¹

During this era of reform the government implemented plans to decentralise the population. In 1946, in Scotland recovery plans were led by the New Towns Scotland Act, and within two years the building of Glasgow's peripheral estates was underway in East Kilbride, Castlemilk, Drumchapel, and Easterhouse (McConnell 2000 2). Poor public transport and limited local amenities restricted women to their home environs, thus embroidery was an ideal past time to encourage. In this way Coats had both a ready rural and metropolitan market for their threads.

Other initiatives introduced by the Government of Britain aimed to stimulate both the local and international consumer desire for quality goods, while improving taste. Earlier in 1944, the BoT established the Council of Industrial Design (CoID) to manage design reform (Woodham 1996 55). The membership of CoID included Kenneth Clark and Alix Kilroy a leading female civil servant, who was a friend of Jane Clark's since school days at Malvern Girl's College and Somerville College, Oxford (Woodham 1996 55).¹² The CoID Housewives Committee included Audrey Withers, *Vogue* editor, Helen Bentwich of the LCC Education Committee, Alison Settle, former editor of *Vogue*, *The Observer* and *The Lady* journalist, and Lady Sempill (Cecilia Dunbar Kilburn) RCA artist and designer (Woodham 1996 56).¹³ This design reform organization drawn from a narrow social and cultural milieu was to play an active role promoting the NDS into the 1950s.

¹⁰ The exhibition was also held in 1952 at Glasgow's Kelvin Hall Museum.

¹¹ Kessell's willow pattern designs may have suggested commercial possibilities as later Josiah Wedgwood & Sons collaborated with Coats Anchor Studios to produce five transfer designs to coordinate with a line of dinner ware. The embroidery transfer designs were sold as an Anchor embroidery leaflet in *Woman's Own* Coats, J. P. 1954. *News Reel*. Paisley Museum Archives. 3. Paisley. 1954. 11. Josiah Wedgwood was a member of CoID.

¹² Jane Clark, Kenneth's wife was Colin Martin's sister.

¹³ In 1939 the Dunbar Hay Gallery opened and Lucy Norton, whose husband owned a thread mill in the north, opened an embroidery department in the Gallery Clark, H. 1999. *Selling Design and Craft. Women Designers in Britain in the 1920's and 1930's*. S. Worden and J. Seddon: 56-63. Lady Sempill was a design adviser to Liberty. 61-2.

Kessell's designs were further promoted with the publication of a twenty four page booklet, *Experiment in Embroidery Design*, which accompanied the Kessell exhibition. Members of the CoID Housewives Committee were actively involved endorsing the designs, supporting the NDS. They opened exhibitions, and wrote columns in magazines and newspapers. Offering encouragement, Audrey Withers wrote in *The Times Educational Supplement*, 'that it [the Kessell exhibition] should help close the gap between everyday life and good creative work' (Withers 1950). In the Aberdeen press, Lady Sempill pleaded for more activity under the heading *Get back to your needlework* (NDS 1949-1961). Other publications were similarly enthusiastic with titles such as *The Embroidery vogue grows*, *No more crinoline ladies*, *Revolution in Embroidery* and *Fruit of Needleworker's Revolt* (Picture Post 1951; Evening News 1952). The Cambridge Review described the designs as 'based on traditional themes of great beauty, interesting and unusual, finely and sensitively interpreted' (Cambridge Review 1950).

Emerging from the 'make do and mend era' of the war years, when rationing was still in place, this work caused quite a stir. To a certain extent 'make do and mend' continued into a 'do-it-yourself' era and demystified design as a wonderful activity for the homemaker (Partington 1989 211). During this era other organizations supported the Scheme, for instance in 1948 the MoE supplied the NDS with 50 clothing coupons (NDS 1948).

In this way the Kessell designs on useful objects such as bags, gloves, cushions and table-mats promoted the 'do-it-yourself' activity. Margaret Rivers, a former Chairwoman of the Embroiderers' Guild recalls her impression of the exhibition:

I did in-fact see the NDS in London in 1950. It attracted a lot of attention and was much enjoyed particularly, I think, for its introduction of new ideas and the colour and the liveliness of the work. It should be remembered that at this time-five years after the war-fabrics [...] were still rationed, so the achievements of the exhibition were really something (Rivers 2001 personal communication).

In 1951 the BBC *Design for Women* programme featured the Kessell exhibition (Martin 1962b 7). However, the Advisory Committees' ambivalence towards the designs was recorded in the minutes:

The book represents the story of the struggle... We had hoped that the Mary Kessell designs would lead to the creation of hand embroidery of great merit, but instead, the experiment proved a triumph for the machine. The machine in the hands of skilled embroiderers who were themselves artists (NDS 1952b).

In 1952 replying to Digby's suggestion for more involvement from Kessell, Martin, commercially motivated, and perhaps aware that her affair with Clark was waning, responded thus:

I do not favour asking Mary Kessell to write an article. *The Experiment in Embroidery Design* has already received a fair amount of publicity and the results of the experiment have somewhat led us off the mainstream of our work (Martin 1952).¹⁴

In June 1961, Barbara Morris, Research Assistant V&A, confirming her approval selected the majority of Kessell's designs and textiles for the London Museum's collection.¹⁵

Influence from Kessell's designs can be seen in the machine embroidery of Susan Riley, Lilian Willey and other prominent embroiders of the 1950s. However, a *Mary Kessell* retrospective exhibition, organised by her husband, Tom Eckersley, held at the Camden Arts Centre in 1980, failed to acknowledge her NDS designs (Godfrey and Nicholson 2001 personal communication).¹⁶

In 1950, a critical letter *Unfinished thinking mars exhibition*, written by Marilla Shirley, a teacher, published in the Nottingham Journal, called for a comprehensive exhibition by more than one artist (Shirley 1950). Digby's unofficial advisor NM Wade, needlework teacher at Bradford College of Art, voiced similar views:

The attempt by the NDS to bridge the gap between design and worker might have met with more success if an experienced team was drawn from more than one college. Fresh thoughts and views may have been obtained (Wade 1950).

Always quick to respond to criticism, the NDS promised to approach more artists (NDS 1950a). Mr G Monk, Head of Design, Camberwell School of Arts and Crafts, and Mr Richardson, Maidstone School of Art, and Roger Nicholson, Head of Textiles, St. Martins, were the first in a series of artists to be commissioned to produce designs (NDS 1950b 3). Again Grace Thomson was unwilling to allow the artists freedom, advancing the 'do-it-yourself' ideology, stating 'the designs should be such that they could be adapted to different subjects' (NDS 1950b).

The designs by Monk, Nicholson, and Richardson were considered to be 'disappointing', as the committee agreed the most successful results were from designers

¹⁴ Kessell's affair with Clark ended in October 1953, with his wife Jane in a miserable state of health.

¹⁵ Morris was granted first choice from the NDS collection, excepting the thirty pieces each Scottish Art School was able to choose from their one hundred pre-war works.

¹⁶ Kessell's experience designing for the NDS appears to have informed her future career, as she lectured in jewellery at the Central School from 1952-6, and in 1979 won de Beers International award at the Guildhall, London. Godfrey and Nicholson have a surviving unpublished copy of the Kessell Retrospective Exhibition catalogue.

with an intimate personal knowledge of technique (NDS 1952a). Other artists, including Robert Stewart, GSA, the Bromley teachers, and Margaret Traherne, were offered commissions (NDS 1951a). Pencil notes in RSM accession records confirm that Traherne preferred to use her maiden name, Peggy Natrass, for her NDS designs, distancing them from her other highly regarded stained glass work (Oddy 1962).¹⁷ The figurative designs of Traherne and Stewart were machine stitched, which contrasted with the other handmade NDS designs developed from the Arts and Crafts Movement inspired Scandinavian ideology, which were more suited to Coats commercial hand embroidery thread enterprise.

Parallel with the NDS designer/maker commissions was the other important NDS initiative to advance the design of Scandinavia. Following the Second World War the Scandinavian countries in a bid to win markets asserted themselves within the British economy. In 1947 Ulla Kockum designed fifteen NDS Swedish designs, and later in 1949 thirty purchases from Finland, Norway, Denmark and Sweden made a collective impact (NDS 1947a 12; NDS 1949b). Exhibitions played an important role promoting the goods to the British market, for instance Gertie Wandel's, lecture tour included seventy modern Danish embroideries including works lent by the Danish Queen and introduced another wave of design influence (Carson 1948).¹⁸ The tour promoting the arrival of the Scandinavian era visited eight centres, beginning at the British Council, then visiting Bromley School of Art, Geffrye Museum, Brighton School of Art, Bath School of Art, Birmingham School of Art, GSA, and ECA. Designs from this exhibition were disseminated further as some were acquired for the NDS collection, for example a tablecloth made by Wandel in 1939 under the pseudonym *Dida* for a Danish Handcraft Guild Exhibition is in the RSM NDS collection.¹⁹ Well publicised, Carson contrasted the differences between the transfer method in Britain and the state supported Danish system:

So when a Danish woman wants to embroider an article of dress or something purely decorative she goes to this 'school', chooses the design which appeals to her, then buys the article with the design on it and the work started in a corner of the material (Carson 1948).²⁰

¹⁷ Miss Millar, NDS secretary supplied this information to Oddy.

¹⁸ RSM 1962 1116, NDS 3120 is the 1939 table-cloth by Wandel which was exhibited under the pseudonym *Dida* in the Danish Handcraft Guild Exhibition Oddy, R. 1962. *Royal Museum of Scotland List of Additions to the Art and Ethnography Department, 1055-1262*. Royal Museum of Scotland. Edinburgh.

¹⁹ RSM 1962 1116, NDS 3120 is a 1939 table-cloth by Wandel.

²⁰ Published in the Glasgow Herald. The British Council, with the NDS incurring only £30 expenses, funded Wandel's international travel NDS 1948. *Draft Report*. Paisley Museum Archives. 3151 3/2/1. Paisley. 25 Mar 1948.

The Danish Handcraft Guilds produced designs and embroidered works reproduced for commercial purposes (Bengtsson 1960 27). Soon after the tour Alison Settle, CoID, in the *Observer*, promoted an evolving aim of the NDS, asserting:

The marked revival of embroidery in this city as a woman's art and recreation is resulting in a movement to end the poverty of design to be found in trade materials (Settle 1947b).

Pencil notes in archive records reveal this caused much consternation at Coats' National Needlework Bureau, London resulting in the need for reconciliation between Martin and Mr Neate of the NNB (Settle 1947b).

Also in 1948, in Coats drive to improve design, they employed Ulla Kockum, from Sweden, as NDS 'expert-in-charge' in Glasgow. Kockum was one of three people recommended to Martin by Mrs Sampe-Hultberg a 'leading figure in Swedish crafts circles' (NDS 1947b). Only twenty-seven years of age, Kockum was a graduate of the Stockholm School of Art, and from the Swedish craft organization, *Jönköping Läns Hemslöjdsförening* (Jönköping Home Craft Association). The Swedish craft organizations developed from the Arts and Crafts inspired *Foreningen Handarbetets Vanner* (Friends of Weaving and Needlework) founded in 1874 to counteract the influence of imported designs (Kockum-Øverengen 1951 23). Many other homecraft associations were established to encourage craft and provide income and in 1940s Britain, were considered successful in 'restoring crafts to an active and worthy role in homemaking' (Scottish Home and Country 1948 329). The Swedish handcraft organizations aimed to gain solid knowledge of peasant arts by copying and adapting old patterns and techniques, by making them available to handworkers (Zickerman 1951 35). Copies of original peasant designs were available and by the 1950s the craft associations were providing designs for amateurs and schools to 'make things easier' (Kockum-Øverengen 1951 23).

The *Svenska Slöjdföreningen* (Swedish Society of Crafts and Design) published books, pamphlets, designs, and drawings, free, and set the standard, which other societies followed; their publication formula was subsequently adopted by the NDS. The 'expert-in-charge-role' facilitated the development of the character of the Scheme and during Kockum's period of influence from 1948-50, there was tremendous growth in the production of Swedish designs and publicity material. Featured in her 1952 NDS book *Embroidery of Sweden*, was Kockum's snow crystal inspired Christmas mat, made at the *Jönköpings Läns Hemslöjdsförening* (Kockum-Øverengen 1950 7)(Fig 23). This design included in both the GSA and DUNUC collections, reveals both her creativity and unequivocal willingness to

their “rough copies” (1990: 107). The cards were purchased from
 Kalle, which incorporated designs from all over Sweden, with designs
 from art school graduates. The cards are now in the KSM and LA NDS
 collections (Overengen 1951: 23-4). It appears both Coats’ commercial
 interest and Kalle’s involvement in the design process accelerated the acceptance of
 the copying of designs and motifs.

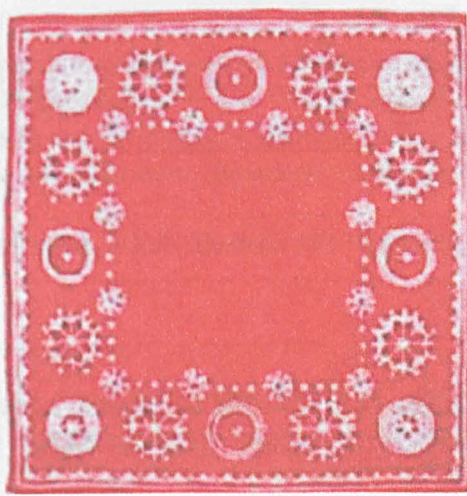
FIG 23

Though the NDS collections have been designated many of the works labeled Swedish
 in various collections, Kalle’s work is a Swedish design and text. They
 expanded the acceptance of the copying of designs. Kalle’s machine to copy
 designs is housed at the National Archives and the Royal Library of Sweden at the V&A.

I have a very good collection
 of Swedish Christmas cards
 and I am very interested in
 producing them for you.

Ulla Kockum, December
 1941

Sweden is the best
 for the Christmas cards.



23: Ulla Kockum Christmas Mat

Ulla Kockum, December 1941, Ulla Kockum-
 Overengen. The design of the mat, involving the commercial
 nature of the Swedish Christmas cards, leading to the designs for traced goods
 was popular in all social classes. She possessed the recipe of both the quality and success
 “Many hundred copies of our Christmas cards sold in 1930”, possibly the same as the
 Coats and Kalle NDS Christmas card, described above (Overengen 1951: 23-4).
 In the NDS collection there are several works, which are exact copies, such as the V&A NDS
 Christmas card of Ulla Kockum and her long, traditional Swedish symbols. A hanger
 (1941), it is an exact copy of a traditional pattern purchased from *Hemslöjdsförbundet* in
 1941, see note 19 (NDS 1941).

Kalle’s production of cards continues based on the Scandinavian craft tradition. In
 1948 Coats developed both a Museum and Library, at their new NDS headquarters at 89
 Wellington Street, Chicago (1948-1949). Martin’s success in securing funding from
 various sources for the NDS is evident in this venture which was funded by Coats’ Staff
 Chapel (Coats 1948-1949). Books were also included in the library section of the museum.

make straight copies of designs.²¹ In 1947 several works were purchased from *Nordiski Industri AG*, which prepared embroidery for sales all over Sweden, with designs by Swedish art school graduates, some of these designs are now in the RSM and EG NDS collection (Øverengen 2001 personal communication).²² It appears both Coats commercial interests and Kockum's willingness to commission design copies accelerated the acceptance of the copying of design as a worthwhile practice.

During her NDS Glasgow reign, Kockum designed many of the works labelled Swedish in various collections. A paradox existed, in Coats drive to improve design and taste, they entrenched the commercially led 'copying' approach to design. Kockum's readiness to copy designs is shown in her communication with Peter Floud, Keeper of Textiles at the V&A:

I heard you are planning to buy contemporary British embroidery. As we have difficulty in purchasing outstanding British examples [we are] interested whether you are going to include recent purchases in the circulating collection. We would be interested in making purchases from the same artists or even duplicates (Kockum 1948).

Hugh Wakefield, Assistant Keeper V&A, showed this was not a practice he advocated, in his reply:

Purchases are for circulation outside the museum. It is undesirable to produce duplicates, but the collection could contain works by the same artist (Wakefield 1948 fol2).

Later, coinciding with the *Living Traditions* exhibition in Edinburgh, Ulla Kockum-Øverengen wrote *The Living Tradition of Swedish Needlework*, revealing the commercial nature of the Swedish Homecraft associations. Stating that the designs for traced goods were made by art school graduates, she reminded the reader of both the quality and success 'fifteen hundred patterns of one Christmas pattern sold in 1950', possibly the same as the GSA and DUNUC NDS Christmas mat, described above (Kockum-Øverengen 1951 23-4). In the NDS collection there are several works, which are exact copies, such as the V&A NDS Christmas runner of Lucia Girls and Star Boys, traditional Swedish symbols. A hardanger embroidery, it is an exact copy of a traditional pattern purchased from *Hemslojdsforbundet* in 1948, but made in 1950 (NDS 1962).

Kockum implemented many initiatives based on the Scandinavian craft tradition. In 1948 Coats developed both a Museum and Library, at their new NDS headquarters at 89 Wellington Street, Glasgow (NDS 1949a). Martin's success in securing funding from various sources for the NDS is evident in this venture which was funded by Coats' Staff Council (Coats 1946 138). Books were also included in the library section of the museum.

²¹ GSA F45 NDS 1823; DUNUC ARTS:291, NDS 2131; EG

²² RSM 1962.1107, RSM 1962.1108.

Earlier in 1946 Coats' personnel manager purchased books to the value of two hundred pounds, (or the equivalent of four thousand five hundred pounds today) (Coats 1946 222; McCusker 2001). The museum provided further design dissemination opportunities, and initially Kockum developed a Swedish décor (Martin 1962a). The Museum was located at the entrance to the Wellington Street premises, whereas the NDS was located in the basement, and the women entered from a side door, and apart from contact with Martin, did not mix with other staff, even though the Design Studio was housed on the top floor (Myerscough 2002 personal communication). Later in 1962, some of the valuable books purchased from all over the world, were gifted to institutions, along with the textiles.²³

A relationship between Coats commercial initiatives in other parts of the world and the NDS is evident in another initiative: the plain sewing programme. It is likely this was related to a 1943 Coats' scheme in America, the *Spool Cotton Company*, of which Martin was a Board member. The *Spool Cotton Company* aimed to increase the number of women who could sew and thereby increase the sales of thread (Coats 1943). In 1946 Martin identified in a letter to PL Smith, Treasury, that plain sewing was a future aim of the NDS:

Studies are being made to increase the scope of the NDS to cover plain sewing and dressmaking in Domestic Science. Embroidery is in the Arts (Martin 1946).

Also, Martin indicates Coats new focus by referring only to the English education system.

In 1947 Alison Settle, voicing the view of the CoID Housewives Committee, wrote in *The Lady*, prior to the introduction of Coats new sewing initiative:

The embroiders, who have had to turn to other means of earning during the past lean years, are coming back to the dress trade and in their wake the amateur and 'little' dressmaker once again hope to decorate clothes with those touches of handwork and embroidery which lift the simplest cut out of the class of commonplace (Settle 1947a 1).

In the same article Settle drew attention to some of the NDS new Spanish, Hungarian and Mexican acquisitions, which were acquired by Martin, revealing his multi-faceted role in the Scheme:

In this country there is a great liking for Spanish work [...] for Hungarian knot stitches, [...] for coloured Mexican bird borders in cross-stitch, and for dress touches on pockets inspired by typical Danish work, white on blue (Settle 1947a 1).

²³ The GSA Textile department has some rare NDS Library books and design folios dating back to the 1870s.

In the late 1940s the relationship between CoID and the Scheme continued to develop, as shown in a request for images of NDS textiles for their CoID London library (Miller 1949).²⁴

During this late 1940s-50s period most young women's future employment was assumed to be homemaking, and in this somewhat conservative and indeed regressive climate, sewing was encouraged. Along-with the Kessell design initiative, and the Scandinavian craft focus, in 1948, Jean Kinmond, DCA, was employed by Coats to introduce sewing loans and publications to schools. Although producing work for the NDS, Kinmond who enjoyed close relations with Coats' management, was based in the Anchor Studio (Frew-Patterson 2002 personal communication). The new initiative, the inclusion of plain sewing, was launched in England, where plain sewing and dress-making was taught in domestic science. However later in 1951 criticism of the standard of the sewing samples by Thomson, HMI, and Smale, MoE, of the Advisory Committee resulted in three hundred works being withdrawn (NDS 1951b).

Following this Kinmond drew attention to her new plain sewing initiative, visual aids for use in schools, writing in an Edinburgh press article titled *New Designs to Embroider*:

I was very impressed by one of the Scheme's visual aids in connection with plain sewing. This is an attractively designed display unit to help in the teaching of dressmaking (K.J 1954).

By this time the Scheme's efforts to influence the amateur embroiderers design was successful, as outlined by Robert Stewart, Head of Textiles, GSA, in the *Design* journal:

Scotland has led the way in sponsoring a scheme to raise the standard of embroidery design by the provision of designs, which the home-embroiderer can accept as prototypes (Stewart 1951 9).

The Scheme continued to encourage amateur women, in *Scottish Home and Country*, in its discussion of the activities of the NDS stated:

The headquarters of the Scheme, at 89 Wellington Street, Glasgow, have become a living reference library, containing collections of the best achievements of the different countries whose traditional embroideries are of high standard, and they are in the process of gathering together small collections of worked specimens which are accompanied by charts and directions, and which are available to SWRI members [...] Only by such means can the taste of the general public be influenced and the standard

²⁴ The images requested were for the following works all in the GSA collection: NDS 301 GSAGB50 panel *Carnival*; NDS 514 GSA F29 *Love of Christ to Man*, Holland; NDS 683 GSAF16 *Tea Cosy* Germany; NDS 732 *Frontal* Holland; NDS 747 GSA F15 *Pieta* Germany.

not only of individual accomplishment but of public demand, be raised (Scottish Home and Country 1952 12).

In 1952, the V&A had shown its commitment to the aims of both the NDS and CoID by commissioning Iris Hills, Bromley School of Art, to design a series of panels demonstrating a technique-based method of teaching embroidery, initially for loan to Art Schools and Training Colleges.²⁵ Iris Hills, a RCA graduate in illustration, with a City and Guilds Diploma in Dressmaking, and some embroidery instruction from Grace Thomson.²⁶ The focus on self-sufficiency and thrift ensured the demand was great, so it was decided to reproduce the panels in full colour and issue them in book form, *Introduction to Practical Embroidery* (Hills 1952). The twenty plates, accompanied by technical notes, were developed for teachers in all types of schools, the Women's Institute and the individual needlewoman, 'who without guidance, lacked the confidence or imagination to produce her own designs' (Morris 1986 129).

An increase in publications brought a tremendous impetus to the effectiveness of the Scheme. From 1949, the NDS had a mailing list of eleven thousand, and published a series of technique-based bulletins, *And so to Sew* and *And so to Embroider*, were published each term, approved by both MOE and SED (Martin 1962a). Initially, copies in attractive leather wallets were sent free of charge, to every embroidery/sewing student in each participating school. From 1948-58, a staggering number of bulletins, seven million *And so to Sew*, were published and from 1948-1962 eight million *And so to Embroider* bulletins up to 1962 (Martin 1962a 24).

From 1948 various colour illustrated technique-based booklets were published for the schools market, written by the Bromley team who had interpreted the Kessell designs (Hills and Whayman 1948; Allsopp 1949; Hills, J. Whayman et al. 1949; Hills, J. Whayman et al. 1950; Allsopp 1953)(Fig 24-5). Also, these NDS books were published for sale in an identical manner, less the author's name, as the *Anchor Needlework Series* (Fig 26). Later in 1956 the book *And so to Sew* was published, and in 1960 *And so to Embroider*.²⁷ A PMA NDS scrapbook reveals NDS articles were featured in international publications: in 1954 *Brigitte*, Germany, 1958 *Textil*, Spain, and the *Christian Science Monitor*, Boston (NDS 1949-1961).

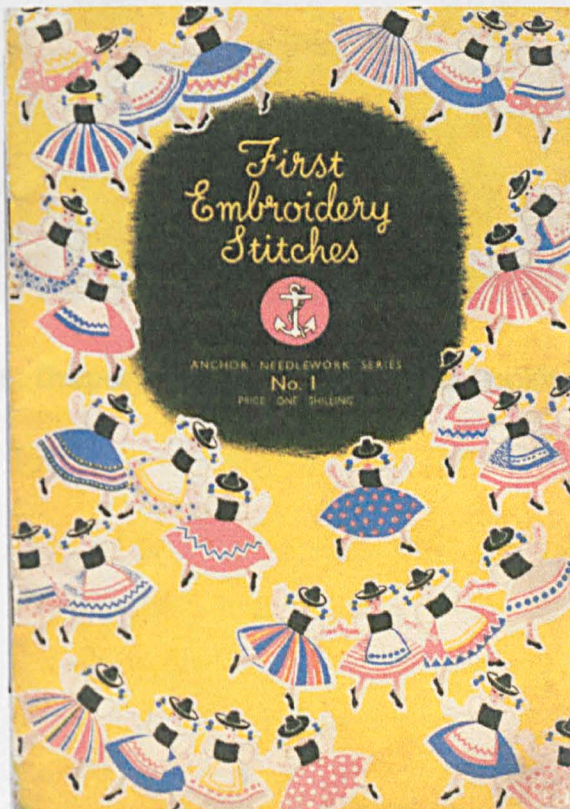
²⁵ In 1955, Hills became the NDS embroidery expert in charge and remained to the close of the scheme.

²⁶ Indeed later in 1955, she became the NDS 'expert-in-charge', and her design emphasis impacted significantly on the 1955-1960 era of the scheme, and the encouragement of home sewing continued.

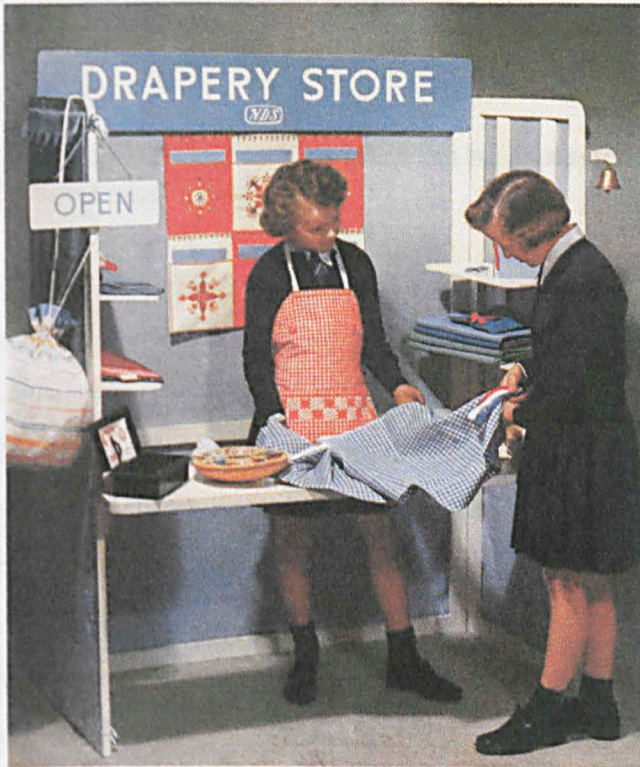
²⁷ In 1957 Martin proposed the publication of another book based on the schemes collection. Geddes, Digby, and Dickie, HMI, considered and subsequently declined to write the book.



24: 'Ethnic' designs emphasised in NDS booklet



25: NDS 1949 *Anchor* booklet cover



26: Drapery store scene in a NDS booklet

The early 1950s were a lively and vibrant period for the NDS, as Dorothy Allsopp, ARCA, a teacher from the Dyke House Modern Secondary School, began her five year NDS tenure, a role she took up with extraordinary energy and commitment (Godfrey and Nicholson 2001 personal communication). She undertook numerous lecture tours throughout Britain, completing an average of forty lectures per year, travelling first class by train laden with boxes of embroideries (Martin 1962a). Allsopp visited education inspectors, amateur group organisers, teachers, students, and school children, offering lectures, mini exhibitions and workshops (Allsopp 1979 119). She expressed her outlook on embroidery design thus:

Anything that can be expressed in pencil or paint can be expressed by embroidery, too (Allsopp in Good Housekeeping 1953).

New technology was tested and then embraced by the Scheme. The production of a series of coloured slides, *Designing with Fabrics*, *Designing with Textures*, *Designing for Embroidery*, was developed for the primary schools in 1951. Later *Design from Traditional Embroidery* and *Designing for Machine Embroidery* slide sets were developed.²⁸ These were sold throughout Britain, and later in 1962 to the Dunedin, New Zealand Teachers College, disseminating the NDS design style internationally (Martin 1962a).

In a bid to educate the aesthetics of the nation the government launched the *Festival of Britain* in 1951. Woodham describes the BoT key aims:

To promote better standards of design in British industry, to advise manufacturers and government departments on design matters, to promote design education and training and to educate the public in the importance of 'good design' (Woodham 2001 47).

Organised by the Society for Education and the Arts Council, the Festival was planned as a design tonic to the nation. Barbara Jones the planner of the British Popular and Traditional Art Exhibition, declares she did not have the same vision as the Society for Education, 'I think the Society [Education] had in its mind more tradition and smocking... than were in mine' (Jones 1976 129-30). The different visions resulted in tradition presented as an essential part of modernity. A major embroidery by Constance Howard *The Country Wife*, was exhibited in the Country Pavilion, to appeal to the rural audience, contrasting with sleek modern interiors, including a minimum of decorative features (Harrod 2001; Woodham 2001).

²⁸ Leicester Museum kindly lent a complete set of these slides.

Unable to secure a London venue during the *Festival of Britain* celebrations, a second NDS national touring exhibition visited ten towns.²⁹ In Glasgow it was shown at the prestigious Kelvingrove Museum, the exhibition featured both traditional and contemporary textiles with a craft, smocking, quilting and patchwork focus. It was incorporated into the *Festival of Britain* programme of each town, accompanied by an active campaign to encourage schools to borrow NDS works, which resulted in a waiting list (NDS 1951b).

In 1951, the Scottish Council of Industrial Design, in both a commercial and taste developing initiative, commissioned well-known artists to design for embroidery transfers. A letter from Wyndham Goodham, Chief Officer of CoID's Scottish Committee to Sax Shaw, an Edinburgh designer, offered him one hundred pounds for four designs, but encouraged liaison with the NDS, writing:

It will for the first instance, be necessary to ask you, unless you are already interested in needlework to co-operate with the Needlework Development Scheme, [...] to at least sufficiently understand the possibilities of design inherent in the various types of stitches. Furthermore we could probably usefully discuss the kind of objects for which these designs are usefully worked, and therefore what would be the most useful size and shapes of design for you to experiment with in the first instance (Goodham 1950).³⁰

This reveals both Coats stitch led concept of design, and their desire to print and sell designs as transfers. Shaw did not appear to proceed with this 'opportunity'.

In promotional literature Coats involvement was again concealed behind the SWRI's participation, as Coats suggested the initiative and publication of the transfers was instigated by the SWRI. Margaret Bremner, Lana Mackinnon, Arthur Fairweather, and Leonard Rosoman of Edinburgh, and Maureen Roxburgh of Galashiels were encouraged to draw inspiration from their countryside, seaside, and cities (ScCoID 1951; Scottish Home and Country 1952). Rosoman also designed a painted mural, *Fishing Village*, which included a traditional Shetland boat (Cumming 2001 43)(Fig 27). Both Rosoman and Fairweather's designs draw on Scottish themes, but many of the other designs show a strong Scandinavian influence, which had dominated the NDS accessions and activity from 1948 (Scottish Home and Country 1952 329).³¹ In order to implement the initiative Coats

²⁹ The Kessell exhibition was the first Arts Council funded NDS touring exhibition.

³⁰ A copy of this letter was kindly supplied by Liz Arthur.

³¹ SWRI members perhaps designed the Scandinavian textiles. Rosoman's design *Hebridean Village* and the embroidery are now in the GSA NDS collection gifted by Elisabeth Geddes and Iris Hills in 2003, as a result of this research.



27: Hebridean Village detail GSA NDS

Figures 26 and 27 represent Dorothy Dwyer's members to design, while other members, such as Kathleen Whyte, were only commissioned to make

1953, these textiles were shown in the *Living Traditions* exhibition held in Edinburgh that year as well. The exhibition, which included work appealing to all tastes, was

comprehensive, including both traditional and modern design, and sourced ten towns. Traditional

collections, including the Hebridean shawl, Georgian waistcoat, and Queen Anne

may have made a compromise to allow SWRI members to design, while other more recognised artists, such as Kathleen Whyte, were only commissioned to embroider.³²

In 1951, these textiles were shown in the *Living Traditions* exhibition held in Edinburgh from June to September. The exhibition, which included work appealing to all tastes, contrasted both traditional and modern design, and toured ten towns. Traditional embroidery, including an Elizabethan stomacher, Georgian waistcoat, and Queen Anne apron was contrasted with craft, smocking, patchwork and quilting featuring children's dresses. Two displays of contemporary British embroidery showed the CoID NDS commissions, including Robert Stewart designed cushions and placemats with a *Festival of Britain* theme, now in the GSA and RSM NDS collections.³³

The transfer designs were developed for amateur embroiderers and promoted in the *Scottish Home and Country*. Barbara Morris, V&A, commended the improved standard of design:

In 1951, the Scottish division of CoID commissioned a group of well known artists to design for embroidery, and persuaded manufacturers of embroidery patterns to put the best on the market. The result has been a series of transfers and ready-traced goods far in advance of the average level of commercial production (Morris in Hills 1952 1).

Later, in 1953, Clark, as Director of the Cotton Board, facilitated a major three-week exhibition at the Cotton Board's *Colour Design and Style Centre* in Manchester, in a drive to impress the consumer with its designs for everyday living. Over two hundred exhibits were included, one quarter of them by Winsome Douglas (Anon 1953).³⁴ The exhibition was well attended and the different venue brought a new audience of textile designers, and architects, as well as students and school children (NDS 1952b). It also served as a marketing attempt aimed at the domestic consumer. Douglas's designs, influenced by the Scandinavian modern aesthetic but reminiscent of Mexican designs were to have considerable influence on mainstream 1950s textile design, signalling the direct influence of the Scandinavian style on British taste (Anon 1953). Many of her NDS designs are now held in the V&A and Paisley Museum NDS collections.

The *House and Gardens*, a reputable home interiors magazine published a special supplement *Sewing at Home*, in association with the Cotton Board, featuring promotional

³² Kathleen Whyte and Margaret Clarke, teachers from GSA, Jessie Dunn, Needlework Development Scheme Glasgow, Winsome Douglas, L Thomson and E Wray former students of Dorothy Allsopp's at West Hartlepool, were the embroiderers.

³³ GSA GB63, RSM 1075, & RSM 1962.1076. Robert and Roger Nicholson designed the exhibition, and later they designed both the major 1953 and 1957 NDS exhibitions. A cushion designed by a GSA student, Jennifer Moncrieff, was also exhibited.

³⁴ A protégé of Dorothy Allsopp's, Douglas spent periods working at the NDS in Glasgow, many of her NDS textiles are included in the Paisley Museum collection.

images of NDS embroideries (Fig 28). Appealing to women who sought to express their individuality in their homes it depicted different versions of accessorised interiors, incorporating NDS cushions and sewing accessories (Good Housekeeping 1953)(Fig 29).³⁵ The booklet served both as a consumer handbook and a hobby manual describing the ways cotton could be used to decorate a home. Active participation in embroidery leisure time activity was encouraged further in a Roger and Robert Nicholson designed publication *And so to Furnish*, featuring NDS furnishing accessories.

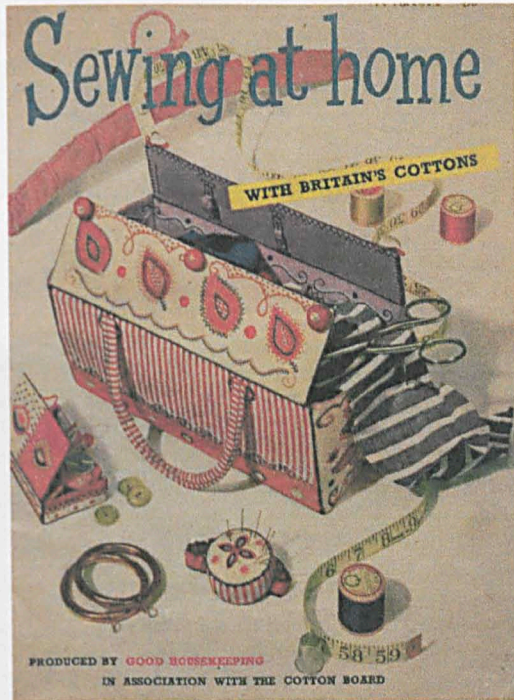
The following year, in 1954 a major exhibition was held at the Tea Centre, Lower Regent Street, London (Fig 30). The Tea Centre from Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) was considered a luxurious venue (Geddes and Hills 2001 personal communication).³⁶ Opened by Lady Sempill, CoID, over 14,000 people including two hundred and sixty seven school parties, attended during the four-week show (Martin 1962a). The exhibition was supported with a publication, *A Background to Needlework*, showing mostly contemporary designs. It was reported that school parties were queuing and many stayed for two-three hours. Coats perceived a continuing demand for designs to copy, observing 'the publication table was inundated with enquiries for transfers for embroidery, especially designs which would coordinate into current interior design schemes' (NDS 1954). There were numerous exhibition reviews in a variety of publications, including the *Architects Review*. In the *Manchester Daily Despatch*, Eileen Anderson encouraging thrift, commended 'the unexpected fabrics, as well as inexpensive fabrics' (Anderson 1954).

A new level of promotion began, as international audiences were targeted; overseas radio broadcasts to Malta, Finland, and Canada were made, and Lady Bliss provided press coverage in her weekly letter to the American Women's Association (Martin 1962a 8). Páthe Pictorial made a short film documenting the school parties visiting the exhibition. However, for the first time criticism of the NDS began to be recorded in journals such as *Embroidery*. Muriel Dale's views contained racially exclusive overtones, perhaps influenced by some of the more direct design interpretations. Dale criticized the repetition of the two colour schemes black-white and red-white, and the leaning on Swedish design as a source of design, and concluded:

Rejecting the traditional designs of your own country may be well enough, but it hardly seems to justify succumbing to the contemporary designs of another country (Dale 1954 48-9).

³⁵ Several of the cushions are in the PMA NDS collection.

³⁶ Ceylon (now Sri Lanka).



28: Winsome Douglas NDS embroideries



29: SWRI West of Scotland Embroidery Exhibition 1948
© SCRAN

At the same time an anonymous contributor commended the standard of student design in the Embroiderers' Guild Challenge Cup but condemned the NDS designs:

The NDS exhibition gave rise to no such feelings, but to a rather gloomy conviction that the solemn young workers crawling under one's feet will continue copying formal designs in scarlet, black and white, until they finally teach the same technique to their own daughters and grand-daughters. Is this really fulfilling the original aim of the NDS? And, what is much more important, is it in the best interests of embroidery? One wonders... (L.A 1954).³⁷

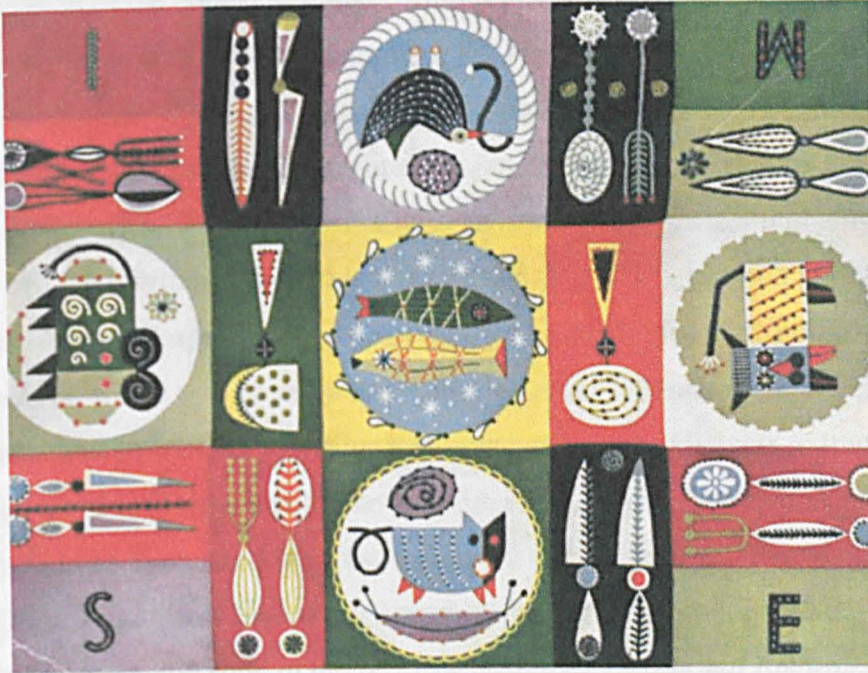
However, in 1955 the Arts Council continued their support, and another NDS exhibition began a two-year tour of Britain, as Iris Hills a RCA graduate in illustration, began her term as the 'expert-in-charge,' along-with the embroiderer Elisabeth Geddes, from Bromley.³⁸

The final large-scale NDS exhibition, *Design from Traditional Embroidery*, was held in 1957, at the Tea Centre, London, as the result of another NDS design initiative. Roger Nicholson, RCA and Grace Thomson, HMI selected the exhibits from a total of three hundred and fifty, based on colour, texture and the appropriateness of the article to the exhibition section, such as designing with fabrics, textures, cut paper, plant forms and traditional sources, appealing to the school audiences (Hills 1957)(Fig 31). Designs developed from 'traditional' NDS embroideries, which formed two new loan collections were on view (Martin 1962a 11). Opened by Loelia, Duchess of Westminster, a member of the Council of the Royal School of Needlework, it aimed to show viewers, especially school girls, sources of inspiration for embroidery and design development (Martin 1962a).

Regular advertising in both the *Journal of Education* and the *Times Education Supplement* drew an enthusiastic response from the school groups (NDS 1949-1961). School bookings closed prior to the exhibition opening, 17, 290 people attended the exhibition, including two hundred and ninety-four school groups (Martin 1962a 12). A wider audience was reached through television; Iris Hills was interviewed at the exhibition for a thirty minute BBC *Mainly for Women*, afternoon television programme (Martin 1962a 12). However, Digby, again concerned, consulted Barbara Morris, Research Assistant at the V&A, for comment on the design interpretations. Morris' disappointment reflected in the following appraisal of an evening bag design developed from an Ayrshire christening robe design:

³⁷ Possibly Mrs Leach of the Edinburgh Embroidery Guild.

³⁸ Later in 1957, as it became increasingly difficult to find a replacement for Iris Hills, Martin 'wrote in private notes to the Advisory Committee 'Elisabeth Geddes felt constricted by the nature of the NDS work. It was impossible for her to get around and see new trends in the outside world. One of the reasons she wanted to leave. Iris Hills attitude was therefore dictated by a determination not to hamper Elisabeth Geddes in any way NDS 1957. *Private Notes to Advisory committee*. V&A Art & Design Archives. MA/1/N part 2. London.



31: Roger Nicholson NDS design

The rising number of consumers' books published in the 1950s showed further evidence of the impact of the NDS. As the popularity of consumer magazines grew, Gertrude Wandel, Helene Douglas, Elizabeth Gaddy, Kay Kohler, and Joan Nicholson amongst others, produced volume books, endorsed by NED and LCC consumer inspectors and craft groups. Some of the books included letters promoting the NDS and included NDS illustrations (Coffey 1953, Nicholson 1954, Douglas 1955, Leach 1959). Kohler's book *Industry Designs Sketchbook*, clearly illustrated the impact of both the Scandinavian and Dutch industrial approach to design. She introduced the book by encouraging the reader to make copies and use transfers of the included designs (Kohler 1952 2-3).

¹ Books were given first choice of the NDS collection, during Glasgow mid-June, prior to the announcement of the design of the Glasgow NDS 1951a. *Industry Designs Sketchbook*, V&A Art & Design Centre, MA12 5PL, London, 11 June 1951.

² *Industry Designs Sketchbook* in NDS collection, V&A 204.

³ <https://www.vandae.co.uk/collections/national-design-series> and [BUNCC NDS 1420](https://www.buncc.org.uk/)

⁴ *Industry Designs Sketchbook* was available in paperback and cloth, and the paperback version was compliant with the copyright requirements of the mid-century colourist Ben Street FR, R., Holler, T. and C. Gallery and Glasgow Fine Art Institute, Corvax.

The Ayrshire christening robe design is a basic motif more or less copied. The translation has lost all the delicacy and charm of the prototype without achieving an original interpretation. Inspiration from other crafts such as glass, pottery, decoration, and engraving, illuminated manuscripts brought out a more original and fresh approach than an actual embroidery. This is only valid from the point of view of design, historical and traditional embroidery must be studied for technique and suitability of materials (Morris 1961).

Ironically, later in 1962, Morris selected the majority of the textiles from the *Design from Traditional Embroidery*, for the V&A Museum's collection, despite her earlier condemnation of the copied designs.³⁹ Along-with Scandinavian, Kessell, and Douglas acquisitions these textiles form the bulk of the Museum's two hundred NDS works.

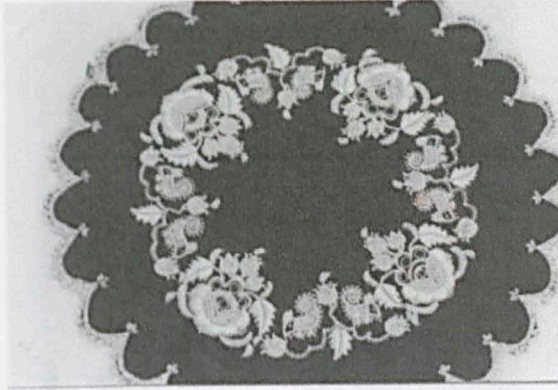
Indeed, this research shows there was an anomaly in the design translation of some of the 'traditional' designs used as inspiration. For example, observations of the NDS collections reveal a 1950s mat design, was an interpretation, most probably by Coats of a Sárköz coif, and further copied to a child's dress (Fig 32).⁴⁰ The rich Sárköz coif design was from a more prosperous region of Hungary, in the Matyö area, not far from the Danube river, which was an early transportation route bringing more prosperous economic conditions, and various design influences, encouraging the villagers to transform their costumes (Fig 33).⁴¹ However the new design showed very little design development; it had simply been transposed from the coif to the mat to the dress (Fig 34). The booklet *Design from Traditional Embroidery* promoted the copied designs and the NDS mat was reproduced on the title slide in the NDS *Design from Traditional Embroidery* series (Fig 35-6).

The rising number of embroidery books published in the 1950s showed further evidence of the impact of the NDS. As the popularity of embroidery increased Gertie Wandel, Winsome Douglas, Elisabeth Geddes, Kay Köhler, and Joan Nicholson amongst others, published various books, endorsed by SED and LCC education inspectors and craft advisors. Some of the books included inserts promoting the NDS and included NDS embroideries (Köhler 1952; Nicholson 1954; Douglas 1955; Leach 1959). Köhler's book *Embroidery Designers Sketchbook*, clearly illustrated the impact of both the Scandinavian and Coats industrial approach to design. She introduced the book by encouraging the reader to make copies and use transfers of the included designs (Köhler 1952 2-3).

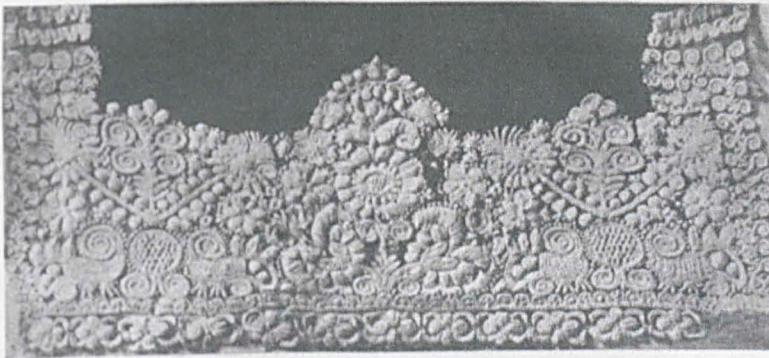
³⁹ Morris was given first choice of the NDS collection, visiting Glasgow mid- June, prior to the announcement of the closure of the Scheme. NDS 1961a. *Advisory Committee Minutes*. V&A Art & Design Archives. MA/1/N part 2. London. 14 May 1961.

⁴⁰ Several of these mats are held in NDS collections: V&A 264, EG 1421, 1422, 1426, 1428, 2082, 2084, 2085 and DUNUC NDS 1420.

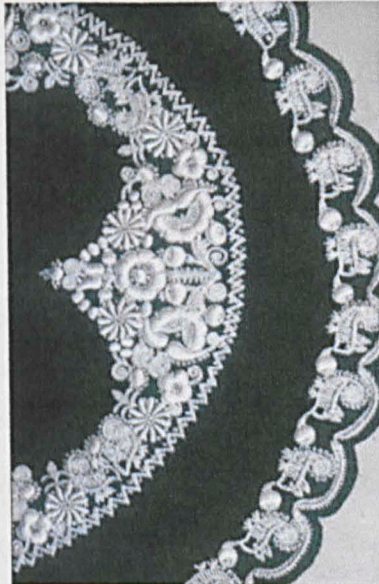
⁴¹ Expensive materials were symbols of prestige and wealth, and the garments became more sumptuous with the addition of gilt braiding, sequins and brightly coloured floss thread Fél, E., Hofer, T. and C. Csillery 1969. *Hungarian Folk Art*. Budapest, Corvina.



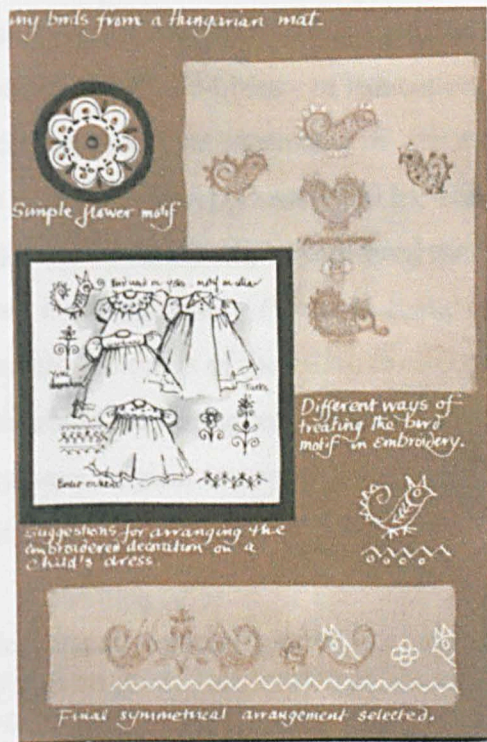
32: Mat '1940s' NDS DUNUC



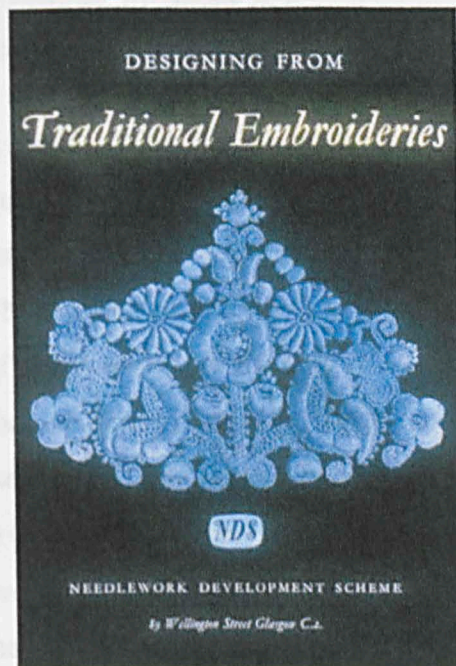
33: Sarköz embroidery on a Bride's Cap



34: NDS Mat 'Sarköz 1900s' V&A



35: NDS Design for Traditional Embroidery design development



36: NDS title slide

Coats also, published embroidery books for the international market, the first in 1950, when the advertising department collaborated with Professor D Maria Clemantina C de Moura, to publish the book *Bordados Tradicionais de Portugal* (Coats 1950 6).⁴² The book, which included designs to copy, was launched at 'one of the chic restaurants' in Lisbon, attended by representatives of the Ministry of Education, and Government Folklore and Propaganda departments, head mistresses of 'the most important' girls' high schools, and the *Beaux Arts* world and Press (Coats 1950 6). The Director of the *Museu de Arte Popular* helped celebrate the book launch, by outlining the history of embroidery. Also published as *Traditional Embroideries of Portugal*, many of the works illustrated in this book are included in Scottish holdings of the NDS, for example a NDS GSA apron.⁴³

NDS notes, which accompanied the Portuguese designs, reveal that the NDS circulated these designs as though they were original in concept, for example a *Viana do Costelo* costume was described thus:

The costume worn by the peasant women from the rural districts round Viana do Costelo is extremely gay and original. The women of Minho have a true artistic sense which is shown in the way that they decorate their gala costumes. [...] Any uncovered areas of fabric are filled in with crosses, stars, lozenges, daises etc. the finished effect is most original and markedly of the people. As the needlewoman usually invented their own designs, this resulted in a great variety of motifs and stitches though, at one period, there was a preference for including a shield and royal crown and the heart motif was greatly used (PMA NDS collection).

Either the person writing the notes was blissfully unaware of the origin of these particular textiles or she was referencing a different book. However importantly Coats seemed to have concealed the copied origin of these textiles. In 1950, these designs were highlighted in newspaper publicity for a NDS exhibition at the GSA (Fig 37).

In Italy, a large number of books were published by Cucurini Cantoni Coats, possibly translations of the Anchor booklets published in Paisley (Minto 1951 9-13).⁴⁴ The titles reflecting techniques promoted by the Anchor workroom, such as *Il punto smock* (Smocking), *Il punto Ombra* (Surface Stitchery), *Il punto a girno* (Drawn Thread Work) (Minto 1951 10-11). Coats were promoting design cross-culturally and between their trade organizations and the Scheme.

⁴² A copy of this is held in the GSA Library.

⁴³ GSA Portuguese apron F40, NDS 1075; RGU: NDS1079, NDS 1060, 1064, NDS 1069, NDS 1074, NDS 1283, NDS 1394. RSM: 1067, 1070, 1076, 1078, 1282, 1286. ECA: 1287, 1291, 1297, 1683, 1810. EG: 1066.

⁴⁴ The books titles: Surface Stitchery, Drawn Threadwork, Drawn Thread and Counted Thread Work, Cut Work, Lettering, and Smocking Minto, I. 1951. *Italian Embroidery*. Embroidery 1 (1): 9-13.



37: GSA students admiring a Portuguese skirt

In conclusion it is clear that J & P Coats business approach was replicated in the NDS. The importance of networking was impressed on the embroidery experts, who were encouraged to be omnipresent (Allsopp 1979 119). Coats tremendous financial investment, international vision and magnificent publicity organization ensured interest in embroidery and design grew to a remarkable level, and efforts to mould consumer taste and sell threads were indeed successful. The combination of the unique network and complex dealings of Coats' industry, the 'cultural élite' of the most influential art and design establishments, the V & A and National Gallery, and design reform institutions, such as CoID, the education leaders, and journalists, ensured the Scheme's success.

An overt insistence on the copying of designs, and the NDS Scandinavian influenced schools focus, coincided with a decrease in interest from the art schools. One of the Scheme's original aims was to encourage the amateur embroiderers to create their own designs, yet influenced by the Swedish method the copying of designs was encouraged. The designs and transfers presented in *The Needlewoman*, organised to be copied and offered for sale, conflicted with the original NDSS aim to improve design in Scotland. The artist Roger Fry's philosophy of design published in *The Embroideress*, perhaps reveals Coats' stance, given Fry's sponsorship by Kenneth Clark, or indeed could it have been Clark's view:

In the long run it is not nearly so important whether an artist himself invents a motif as what he makes of a motif once it has come into existence (Fry in Anon nd).

Advisory Committee minutes from 1961 show Martin placed importance on the views of Clark and Sir Gordon Russell, CoID, suggesting they could write the introduction to a book on the Scheme, which unfortunately did not eventuate (NDS 1961b).

The Scandinavian designs promoted in the 1940s and 1950s inspired design in a wide array of textile interpretations and Kessell's designs contributed to the 1950s impetus towards machine embroidery. However, contrasting with these designs are many NDS copies held in various collections, including national museums, of similar provenance, although this remains unrecorded in the accession records, for example the GSA Yugoslavian child's dress.⁴⁵

Coats, driven by commercial desire, and failing to recognise the importance of the role of the designer, themselves copied textile designs. Their vision for embroidery design emanated firstly from stitch and technique, and secondly the copying of design, without valuing the role of interpretation in design. An emergent issue in this research was the influence of Coats on design in Central Europe and a parallel influence of those designs on

⁴⁵ GSA F54 NDS 1400.

both Coats design philosophy and ethnic inspired design in Britain. The ethnic embroideries collected by Martin and the Coats' agents throughout Europe provided a wealth of stitch inspiration and the next chapter begins an historical analysis of the background of such works.

Chapter 6: 'Purity' and Diversity: the Authenticity of a 'Peasant' Aesthetic

So it always is in the history of the arts: style grows gradually from style, and forms and technique are slowly modified by nationality, by new manners of life, or by the temperament or period of an individual ([Mackie 1938 6]).¹

Included in the introduction to *Contemporary Embroidery* the above quote by Campbell Mackie, Head of Design, GSA, indicates that he considered design to evolve from a varied range of influences, uniquely interpreted.² In this chapter it is argued that a diverse range of influences contributed to the peasant designs as viewed by artists at the turn of the twentieth century, rather than, their being considered to be a 'pure' source of design. The peasant textiles acquired from varied sources, by chance, by Coats' agents and Colin Martin, encapsulate the evolution of peasant design style from the seventeenth to an ethnic inspired style of the mid-twentieth century, at a time when various external factors influenced the design. Seventeenth and eighteenth century designs in the RSM and EG NDS collection are characteristic of the areas where they were acquired prior to commercial design manipulation. This research explores the influences on such characteristics.

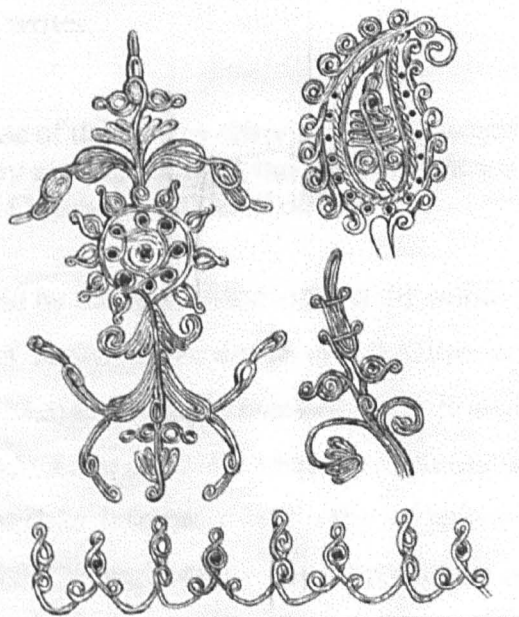
Current debate surrounds 'traditional' and 'pure' designs, but a more accurate debate relating to the peasant embroideries of Central Europe would be one of 'purity' versus 'diversity' of design. The dominant theme in this chapter is the diversity of design influences, which contributed to the peasant aesthetic. An underlying issue is the influence of patriarchal attitudes towards women, suppressing them both financially and educationally. Issues of patronage and class are included in the comparative analyses of home industries in this chapter and chapter seven. The Arts and Craft Movement issue, which emerges is the effect of aristocratic patronage supporting women to embroider. Included in the influences on the development of the aesthetic is the role of exhibitions and individuals such as Walter Crane, the Arts and Crafts Movement idealist, who saw no contradiction between the peasant's idealised life and their often wretched circumstances, stricken with poverty.³

A NDS garment illustrates the difficulty in determining the provenance and authenticity of textiles. A semi-circular cape, originally blue in colour, stitched with silver thread and cord, and inlaid with turquoise cabochon jewels is listed as 'possibly French, about 1895'

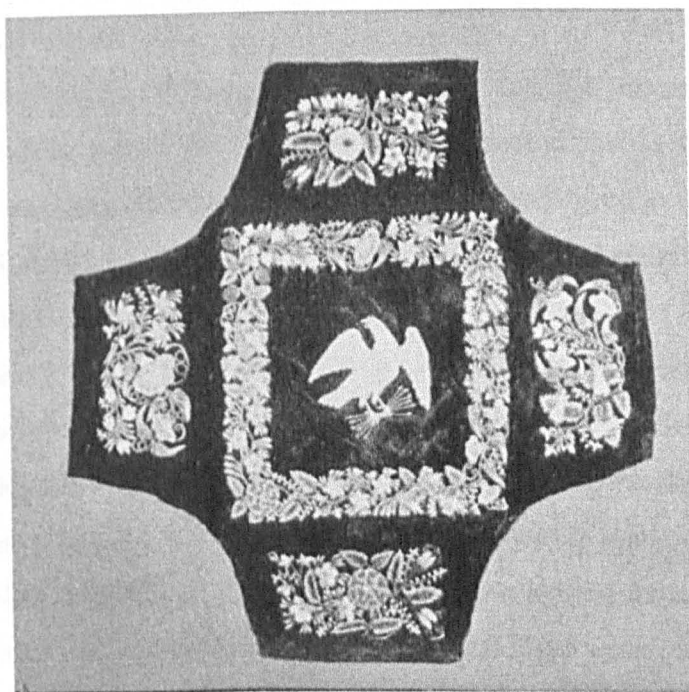
¹ Minutes suggest Campbell Mackie prepared the introduction to the catalogue NDS 1938. *Permanent Committee Minutes*. Paisley Museum Archives. 3151 3/2/1. Paisley. Mar 1938. 6.

² The 1938 *Contemporary Embroidery* was the first exhibition catalogue for J & P Coats' Needlework Development Scheme.

³ In Vaidi Hunyad (now Hunedoara, Romania), Crane commented on the Turkish character of the village and wrote 'the people seemed poverty stricken and wretched for the most part Crane, W. 1907. *An Artist's Reminiscences*. London. 476-7.



38: Köhler sketch of cape design



39: RSM Moosehair embroidery

and white in colour in the 1965 RSM catalogue, *Needlework Development Scheme* (NDS 1945b; Oddy 1965)(Fig 38).⁴ In 1960 Kay Köhler in *Flower Embroidery*, suggested the 'palest chalk-grey' cape was reminiscent of Watteau's pictures of Court beaux in the eighteenth century, and suggested ways of using the motifs to decorate 'Dorothy-bags' or aprons (Köhler 1960 54). She writes:

The leaf pattern reminds one of the Paisley shawls which showed this type of Oriental-inspired foliage; embroidery and fabrics were then much influenced by the cargoes imported by the East India Company (Köhler 1960 54).

Perhaps dry-cleaning organised by the NDS could explain the colour change, or the initial NDS record could be incorrect. However, the design motifs subsequently provided clues for textile historians. In 1963 Margaret Swain suggested it was probably Indian, but acquired in France (Oddy 1962). Later in 1976 a visiting expert indicated it was 'probably Turkish or from one of the countries influenced by Turkey in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century' (Oddy 1962). Oriental influences are apparent in many of the NDS textiles, designed in response to trade, migration, travel and the influence of the powerful and wealthy. The determination of the provenance and authenticity of textiles is complex and thwart with such difficulties.

Another NDS example highlighting diverse design influences, where sufficient pieces of a puzzle exist to make a coherent statement, is a 'traditional' 1850s moose hair embroidered stool top from the RSM collection (Fig 39).⁵ Acquired in England in the 1930s for the NDS, the stool-top's design is stitched in white and stained red, green, yellow, and blue moose-hair on brown velvet, backed with birch bark. Ironically the moose hair technique evolved from a shortage of commercial threads. The design features an eagle holding thunderbolts, with a floral border, displaying a French floral design influence. As birch bark was the Micmac's material of choice for clothing, the use of velvet indicates that this work was made with the tourist market in mind.

The Micmac (Nikmaq), Nova Scotia Indian moose hair embroidery considered indigenous by ethnographers was developed by a French Jesuit order, as early as the sixteenth century (Swain 1975 726-9; Taylor 2002 201).⁶ The Micmac 'tradition' began in the late seventeenth century when three English girls, were captured and taught technique by the Indians.⁷ Later the girls became nuns and the moose hair embroidery technique was

⁴ RSM 1962.1123, NDS 82. This RSM NDS textile was unavailable for viewing and photographic images of it are unavailable.

⁵ Mi'Kmaq embroidered stool top. R.M.S.1962.1246, N.D.S. 48.

⁶ Micmac derives from Nikmaq. Harrison, J. 1987. *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples*. Toronto, McClelland and Stewart.

⁷ In 1686 a six year old English girl, Mary Ann Davis, was captured in a combined French Indian raid on Salem, Massachusetts and was brought up by an Abnaki warrior on the banks of the Penobscot river. By the

brought to the seminary. They based many of their designs on delicate French embroidered floral patterns introduced by the French Jesuit order, rather than geometric designs, bringing a dramatic shift in decorative styles.

The Indian girls displayed a reluctance to learn embroidery at the Seminary, as shown in the following early seventeenth century quote:

We have Gallicized a number of Indian girls, both Huron and Aloquin... [..].It is a very difficult thing, not to say impossible, to Gallicize them ..we find in them docility and intelligence, but when we least expect it they climb over our fence and go off to run in the woods with their parents, where they find more pleasure than in all the comforts of our French houses (Mere Marie de l'Incarnation in Swain 1975 727).

This interaction brought about pervasive changes to the Indian people's lives perpetuated by trade with the European. The evolving design influences reveal a cultural and economic upheaval, which adapted a Neolithic Indian culture (Harrison 1987 20).⁸ The Micmac 'tradition' continues today providing works for the tourist industry in a 'traditional' floral style design.⁹

Interest developed in folklore in Europe during the Romantic period driven by intellectuals who acclaimed folk poetry, music, and peasant dress.¹⁰ The anti-industrialization beliefs of John Ruskin and William Morris in-part inspired the peasant art movement (Harrod 1996 13).¹¹ The Arts and Crafts attempt to resist progress and preserve social status quo in an industrial age thus contributed to the development of 'peasant' design.

Museums played an important role in stimulating and promoting interest in peasant design. In the history of modern applied art the Crystal Palace exhibition of 1851 is generally considered to be the catalyst for the foundation of museums all over Europe, and in connection with these came the growth of the colleges of applied arts. Across Europe, a number of museums and associations concerned with applied art were being established, under the influence of the South Kensington Museum: the Union Centrale des Arts

time of her rescue, by a Jesuit missionary, in 1691 she had lost her English language. Two other nuns had similar experiences before joining the seminary and establishing the moose hair technique. Mere Marie de l'Incarnation (1599-1672) Swain, M. 1975. *Moosehair Embroidery on Birchbark*. *Antiques* 107: 726-9.

⁸ Dated 1850-1900, it was purchased from T.W.Watkins, Cromer, England NDS 1945a. *Document*. Glasgow School of Art Archives. Glasgow. 1945. , Oddy, R. 1965. *Needlework Development Scheme*. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum.

⁹ This information obtained in conversation with the Canadian ethnographer Sandra Neilsson July 2003.

¹⁰ See Table 7: Design, Embroidery Education and Exhibitions in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, 1890-1920, for an overview of the development of design, embroidery education, exhibitions and other significant events.

¹¹ The ideology of Ruskin as expressed in *The Stones of Venice* would have appealed to Hungarians wishing to express their national heritage:

I said that the power of the human mind had its growth in the wilderness...not within the walls of Florence, but among the far away fields of her lilies, was the child trained who was to raise the headstone of beauty above all the towers of watch and war. Wilson, S. 1998. *Walter Crane (1845-1915) in Budapest*. M.A. Royal College of Art.

Decoratifs in Paris of 1863, and the Osterreichisches Museum fur Kunst and Industrie in Vienna in 1864.¹² Other applied art museums were established in 1867 in Berlin The Applied Art Museum, and in 1873 in Brno and Budapest. Also in Germany in the 1870s Industrial Art Museums were established in Dresden, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Kassel, Kiel, and Leipzig (Schwarzer 1992 45; Salmond 1998 191; Crowley 2000 45). The underlying motive was a concern with reflecting Henry Cole's South Kensington Museum principles of improvement of the standard of design for industry and thus enhancing the prospects for national trade (Crowley 1995 9).

International exhibitions popularised national identity as a vital component in the evolution of style, and late nineteenth century artists, architects and designers were officially encouraged in their cross-fertilisation of ideas. In 1867, at the Panslav Congress in Moscow, the ethnographic exhibition included the Slovaks, Ruthenians, and Croatians of Hungary (Taylor 2000 32). In the same year Paris held an ethnographic exhibition where costumes of France, Netherlands, Austro-Hungary and Russia were displayed (Kresz 1974 198). Such exhibitions stimulated a period of vigorous collecting by the museum officials.

In the 1870s, when the dual monarchy began to feel the pressure of national rivalries state intervention occurred. Vienna was led by its desire to increase trade and focused its attention on the lace industry in preference to the handmade embroidery. Indeed patronage of art and design, sought to reconcile the problem by investing in the provinces, a policy of an indirect form of peasant relief. There was a growing desire to encourage national art, hence the establishment of local museums and *fachschulen* (craft schools), which aimed to revive the home industries and train workmen rather than artists and lecturers. National identity was a vital component of the evolution of style, popularised through the International Exhibitions, and the late nineteenth century artists, architects and designers, who were officially encouraged in their cross-fertilization of ideas.

In the mid 1880s the Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht took over control of the *fachschulen* ('secondary' craft schools) from the Ministry of Commerce and Trade, supporting one hundred and fifty *fachschulen*. Some *fachschulen* offered lace and embroidery courses specifically for girls whereas boys were offered a variety of disciplines to study, such as ceramics, cabinet making, and graphic art. It became apparent to those in power in Vienna, that the education of women would bring social and economic advantages to industry.

¹² In 1950 J.P. Wilefoil recommended the Osterreichisches Museum's *Werkstatts* shop at *Karntnerstasse*, along-with other Needlework Development Scheme sources to Wingfield Digby, V & A Museum, as a possible place for purchasing textiles for the museum Wilefoil, J. 1950. *Letter to Digby*. V & A Museum. NDS fol.2. London. 26 Jun 1950.

Patriarchal attitudes towards women were shown in the textile collecting practices of the museum officials. Peasants were not all elevated to the monetary economy through the 'sale' of their works, as museum officials often took advantage of the illiterate peasant women. In 1930 Kratina alluded to the patriarchal attitude of Kretz, collecting for the Museum of Ethnography, Prague, who gave little shiny trinkets to the peasant women in the Carpathian Mountains in lieu of payment:

It was he who gave little shiny trinkets in exchange for rare embroideries and cups which the housewives gladly got rid of, not knowing that they were helping him build a marvellous collection (Kratina 1932 173).¹³

The enthusiastic museum and artist collectors, looking for 'authentic bargains' romanticised peasant life and industry.¹⁴ Many peasant women would have been in a situation of dire poverty and most probably illiterate. Kretz was perhaps out of touch with the basic economic needs of peasant life, and prevented them from advancing their poverty stricken position. The trinkets were used solely for decorative purposes in embroidery (Makovski 1926)(Fig 40-1).¹⁵ The romantic ideal led the peasants to believe they could be integrated into society without abandoning their 'traditional' way of life (Hofer 1983 139).¹⁶

An example of criticism and individual interpretation of the evolving style presented by artists with romantic ideals is that of the two artist travellers, Marianne Stokes, and her husband Adrian. They recall during their visit to Körösfo, in the Kalotaszeg area, Hungary, that women showed them very old embroideries of rich patterns on linen worked in indigo or a paprika red colour, which contrasted with the new 'rather thin' designs (Stokes 1909 199).

During this era, smaller countries were simultaneously seeking independence from the political domination of the powerful empires in Russia, Germany and the Austro-

¹³ These textiles are in the Ethnographical Museum of Prague.

¹⁴ An example of criticism and individual interpretation of the evolving style presented by artists with romantic ideals is that of the two artist travellers, the artist Marianne Stokes, and her husband Adrian. They recall during their visit to Körösfo, in the Kalotaszeg area, that women showed them very old embroideries of rich patterns on linen worked in indigo or a paprika red colour, which contrasted with the new 'rather thin' designs Stokes, A. 1909. *Hungary, painted by Marianne Stokes, described by Adrian Stokes*. London, A & C Black. 199.

¹⁵ Michael Haberlandt's, Director of the Museum Für Volkskunde in Vienna, in 1911 praised the multiplicity of design in Moravian embroidery:

The variation of ornament met within these articles is extraordinary, a fact which can be verified by examining some hundreds of examples, all of which will be found to have been executed with exquisite taste and without a duplicate Crowley, D. 1995. *The Uses of Peasant Design in Austria-Hungary in the Late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries*. Studies in the Decorative Arts (Spring): 2-28.

¹⁶ An example of the status of embroideries linked to social symbolism is that of the dowry pillows made in the Kalotaszeg region by girls from the age of eight Levetus, A. 1906. *Austrian Peasant Embroidery*. The Studio 38: 111-118. As peasant art moved to satisfy bourgeois taste there was corresponding shift towards profanization and a decrease in the observation of ritual practises Hofer, T. 1983. *Peasant Art 1800-1914*. New Hungarian Quarterly 92: 133-9.



40: Trinkets worn as hair decoration



41: Trinkets worn as hair decoration

Hungarian Monarchy. Encouraged by the success of the 1868 Paris exhibition, Jacob Falke, the art connoisseur, organised a 'National Home Industry' section in the 1873 Vienna exhibition (Kresz 1974 198). In Falke's commendation of the Swedish home arts, at the Vienna Exhibition of the home-arts presented by European women, he applauded the Swedish works:

The only works ... that possessed some tendency to true artistic vitality and independence were some of the Swedish domestic embroideries, the designs of which were based upon native patterns and executed in the time honoured national manner (Tallberg 1905 111-6).

International interest developed from the success of these exhibitions prompting Sweden, Russia, and Hungary to organise handicraft movements. One of the earliest state funded textile organisations was the *The Svenska Slöjdföreningen* (The Swedish Society of Industrial Design) established in Sweden in 1860 to benefit the textile schools, and supported by the King (Tallberg 1905 115; Woodham 1997 32). The *Svenska Slöjdföreningen*, which promoted design by publishing books, pamphlets, designs, and drawings, free, set the standard, which other societies followed. The practices of this organisation later influenced the NDS, as discussed in the previous chapter. Later in 1874, *The Handarbetets vänner* initiated by women, and partly funded by the government, following Falke's commendations was established.¹⁷ Textiles created at this organisation were assimilated into the NDS in the late 1940s, and indeed the craft approach introduced into the scheme by Ulla Kockum in the late 1940s was truly influential as discussed in chapter five.

By the 1870s other philanthropic art industries were also established as an alternative mode of production. Aristocratic entrepreneurs and intelligentsia in Russia, concerned that under strong western European influence, Russia was losing its own indigenous culture, began to develop *kustar* industries (Salmond 1998 1; Taylor 2000 32). In 1876, the *Abramtsevo kustar*, was founded, followed in 1891 by the *Talashkino, Solomanko kustar*. Between 1876-1917, thirty-five prominent *kustar* workshops were active throughout Imperial Russia (Salmond 1998 xiii). During a fifty-year period, professional artists adapted designs to the needs of modern life.

¹⁷*The Handarbetets vänner* (The Association of Friends of Needlework). Other societies included the Nordiska Kompaniets (1897) and Gröbel's (1885). An example that illustrates the influence of handicraft societies on traditional local economy system is a Dalecarlian toy horse, 1935-40, in the RSM collection.¹⁷ Wooden toy horses made in the woodland area of the Dalecarlia province were traditionally part of their economy system, Dalecarlians visited other parts of Sweden selling casks and such things, and paid for their lodgings by giving children a toy wooden horse.

Today *Handarbetets Vännerns skola* continues to educate handicraft lecturers, consultants, and craftsmen promoting Swedish handicraft 'tradition'. Embroiderers create custom ordered works in the studio for public spaces and ecclesiastical use Øverengen, U. 2001. *Letter to Author*. Stockholm. 18 May 2001.

Elena Polenova, the artistic director of the influential Abramtsevo *kustar*, developed a neo-Russian modernist style, which was adopted in workshops such as the Torshok, in the Tver province (Salmond 1998 152). Torshok had an established reputation for its gold embroidery and decorative leather-work, however, in the Technical School established by local *cloisters* (convents), a new commercial style developed. Orders came for peasant wedding dresses and clothes from Catherine II and Tsar Alexander. Wendy Salmond found the professional artists in the *kustar* industry altered the production of goods, by adapting them to the needs of modern life and the market economy, bringing a change in taste and consumption, the demand for artistic peasant made goods such as lace, embroidery and toys, passing from the middle class to the aristocracy. It helped to shape a certain image of Russia, which has remained in the western world.¹⁸

The success of the change to the new patterns was short-lived, and did not escape comment at the time, as quoted by Salmond:

For the peasant women of Katunskaiia volost, Balakhninskii uezd, in Nizhnii Novogorod province, who produced drawn thread work for ten to twenty kopeks a day, 'the more fashionable new designs pay better as long as a small number of people are producing them, but as the number increases the amount they earn decreases, until a new kind of stitch appears and higher prices are observed once again (Berens in Salmond 1998 153).

Following the Austrian invasion of Galicia, Russian and Ukrainian women established workshops in 1916, during a period of risk and privation (Salmond 1998 183). However, with only one of them with Slavic roots they had great difficulty determining the genuine folk embroidery from that copied from pattern books published by the French DMC (Salmond 1998 246). Albums featuring Scandinavian, Czechoslovakian, Hungarian, Yugoslavian, Bulgarian, and Moroccan patterns and publications of compilations from other nations were readily available (Salmond 1998 246). Designs from various cultures were already assimilated into the Slavic style. The aristocratic women found that it was almost impossible to prolong the 'peasant design' or adapt it to commercial purposes.

Eileen Boris summarises the emergence of the peasant economy and the role of governments and the aristocracy:

As industrialisation supplanted traditional work, disrupting the peasant economy it also displaced artisan labour. The European elites and governments responded by subsidising the textile arts. Workers were paid by the piece, an offering of small monetary reward. Italian nobles sponsored lace-making classes. In Greece, under the patronage of Queen Olga, four hundred and fifty women and girls created model

¹⁸ In 1888, the Ministers of Agriculture and the departments fostered peasant crafts by establishing technical schools, and specimens of embroidery were collected and served as models for copying Vallance, A. 1906. *Russian Peasant Industries*. The Studio 37: 241-8.

patterns for other country weavers and embroiderers. France encouraged decorative embroidery; Sweden charted a Society of Handiwork to preserve the national arts; Germany's extensive industrial education curriculum included spinning and weaving; the Belgian and Swiss governments operated workshops. Austro-Hungary not only fostered local exhibits, improved handlooms, and developed quality dyes but also incorporated the Hungarian Trading Company to market the results of peasant crafters (Boris 1986 124).¹⁹

Following the foundation of the home industries, in the late 1870s a transition began from the ethnographic approach, collecting and recording of historical examples of peasant handicraft, to the use of peasant textiles as models when there was a drive to improve design in a competitive commercial market. In 1879, the *Osterreichisches Museum fur Kunst and Industrie*, Vienna, encouraged by both the increased trade of the 1860s and the exhibition successes, established an atelier for students to design patterns for lace. Falke, the second director of the Vienna Museum, *Osterreichisches Museum fur Kunst and Industrie*, mimicked the taste-making practices of the South Kensington Museum by encouraging the simulation of historical textiles and established a collection of lace (Crowley 1995 24). An atelier was established for Mathilde Hrdlicka (wife of the museum's director) and Fräulein Hofmanninger to compose designs for the students of the fachschulen schools to copy (Levetus 1902 169). Design dissemination was developed further as women were brought in from the Erzebirge, a mountainous area in northern Hungary (now Slovakia) to teach the girls to carry out 'traditional' patterns (Levetus 1902 167).

The following observation by Abdul Gardizī, the eleventh century Persian historian, indicates an interest and fascination for the textiles of the Magyar people over many centuries:

The Magyars are a very appealing and beautiful people... Their clothes are made of brocade (Abdul Gardizī in Földi-Dózsa 1980 75).

¹⁹ The following lines from the Burano fishermen's song illustrate the token recompense Italian women received for their intricate lacework:

From Tesera in Gosperol come hither in a boat in order to have some lace made. It will be put on a cushion which is like a sieve full of apples... when you have finished it send it to me by your little girl and I will give her a piece of cheese, an apple, a pear, a knot of garlic, a nut and a chestnut for her to take with her to school. Ricci, E. n.d. *Old Italian Lace*. London, William Heineman.

For centuries patriarchal attitudes existed in Italy, men regarding embroidery with contemptuous pity. Ricci, E. n.d. *Old Italian Lace*. London, William Heineman. 197. However in 1872, severe economic conditions existed in Venice as the lagoons iced over and fishing was no longer profitable. Paulo Fambri and Countess Andriana Marcello revived the ancient industry of Burano Point lace. At that time there was one remaining woman with the knowledge of the technique. Seventy year old, half blind, Cencia Scarariola, was able to demonstrate her skill, and the revived industry began. Countess Marcello found old samples of the Point to copy and Fambri provided the capital. After the success of Point lace in Burano, the Aemila Ars was founded on Arts and Crafts Movement principles. From Bologna to Puglia, Umbria, Tuscany, Lombardy and Sicily the Aemila Ars spread. In Rome the *Societa co-operativa delle Industrie Femminili* (Feminine Industry Association) developed unaided by the state and civic authorities.

In Budapest in 1885, at a National Industrial Exhibition and Fair, Etelka Gyarmathy, motivated by social concerns, and influenced by the English folklorists to create work in the villages, organised the Kalotaszeg room, which was one of the most admired in the home industry section (Gál 1965 230).²⁰ Gyarmathy, was the first woman to organise embroidery in the villages, and thus the embroidery of Kalotaszeg became the first Hungarian handicraft to be known outside Hungary responding to the dire situation of the peasant women, who were both educationally and financially disadvantaged (Kresz 1974 199).²¹ Together with her husband, Zsigmond, Director of the Bánffyhunyd Savings Bank, they organised exhibitions popularising the Kalotaszeg region (Kresz 1974 199).²²

Gyarmathy's Kalotaszeg room was a spectacular success, influencing the taste of the European aristocracy, for example, Empress Erzsébet (Elizabeth) decorated her villa near Vienna with Kalotaszeg furniture and embroidery, endorsing her royal family's links with Hungary (Stirton and Kinchin 1999 43). Displaying a taste for commercial designs Empress Erzsébet, along-with many other aristocrats was a regular client at Nowoty Needlework shop, Vienna, which in the late nineteenth century had developed a reputation for the commercial supply of Hungarian peasant patterns (Serena 1998 22-5).²³ Aristocratic women played an important role by disseminating design both nationally and internationally, and by importing and exporting styles.

²⁰ Kalotaszeg is now Zona Călata, Romania. In 1867, at the Panslav Congress in Moscow, the ethnographic exhibition included the Slovaks, Ruthenians, and Croatsians of Hungary Taylor, L. 2000. Displays of European Dress and Textiles in the Paris Exhibition- 1862-1900. *The Lost Arts of Europe*. D. Crowley and L. Taylor. Haslemere, Surrey, Haslemere Educational Museum.

²¹ Earlier in the eighteenth century Austro-Hungarian Empire serfs and cottagers formed ninety percent of the population, the urban bourgeoisie representing only two percent and the nobility five percent Pogany, A. 2000. Economic change and ethnic minorities: Hungary in the twentieth century. *Economic change and the national question in twentieth-century Europe*. M. Teichova, Pátek. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 298. In 1848 as a result of the National Revolution the serfs were liberated. Both the social position of the peasants and the difficulties in agriculture following their liberation increased their poverty. In reality peasants were socially at the bottom of feudal stratification. In the Hungarian states, by 1910, German and Hungarian women enjoyed over a seventy-five percent rate of literacy, compared with the mostly rural, ethnic minority, Ruthene and Romanian women, who had less than twenty-five percent literacy, the lowest rate of the various Hungarian nationalities Pogany, A. 2000. Economic change and ethnic minorities: Hungary in the twentieth century. *Economic change and the national question in twentieth-century Europe*. M. Teichova, Pátek. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 298. Later in 1930, fifty-one percent of the population remained agrarian, with one-third of the land owned by the great estates.

²² Gyarmathy spoke only Hungarian, unlike other people in her social position, who could speak three languages. Adrian Stokes who dined with the Gyarmathy's suggests this was 'purely patriotic' Stokes, A. 1909. *Hungary, painted by Marianne Stokes, described by Adrian Stokes*. London, A & C Black. 109

²³ Erzsébet, the Empress of Austria, her daughter Valerie (who married Archduke Franz Salvator of Tuscany), Maria of Bavaria (wife of Francesco 11), Countess of Trani (wife of Ludivico di Bourbon, brother of Francesco), Archduchess Sophie (Franz Josef's mother), Baroness Berta von Sutta (Austrian pacifist), and the Hungarian Esterhazy family, were all clients of the Nowotny Needlework shop in Freissingergasse, Vienna. Established by the Moravian immigrant Anton Nowotny in 1818. His son and successor from 1890, Ludwig 11, was famous for his collection of Hungarian, Romanian, and Czechoslovakian peasant patterns Serena, R. 1998. *Embroidery and patterns of late-nineteenth century Vienna*. Suffolk, U.K, Antique Collectors Club.

Artists encouraged by Ruskin and Morris' criticism of industrial productions developed an enthusiasm for the novel style of art found in peasant textiles. Peasant art or village aesthetics became a recognised design theme, and were seen as a valuable source for progressive design. In the 1840s Josef Mánes, the Czechoslovakian painter visited Czech, Moravian, Silesian, and Slovak villages recording folk costumes (Sotkova 1979 55). One of the first and indeed internationally influential artists using peasant works was the fine artist Wassily Kandinsky. A trained ethnographer, he had sketch books full of costume studies (Weiss 1995 v-xvi & 37-38; Taylor 2000 32). In 1889, he visited Zyrian communities and sketched their dress in detail. Later he taught at the influential Bauhaus school, but lost sight of his early regard for applied arts, dismissing the idea of borrowing from primitive art (Weiss 1995 xvi-5).²⁴ Folk art was looked upon romantically by Kandinsky and was seen to reflect parts of the unspoiled character of the nation. Collecting trips among the peasants of Europe were to remain important to the avant-garde into the early twentieth century.

By the mid to late nineteenth century characteristic embroidery design had evolved in different localities in Hungary, as Kinchin confirms:

... Transylvania. This geographically remote area in eastern Hungary was felt to be the country's heartland, a place in which Hungarian traditions had survived in their most distinct form, relatively free from Hapsburg intervention (Kinchin 2002 69).

Initially, interest in the peasants working in feudal conditions was superficial as Alice Gáborján writes in *Hungarian Peasant Costumes*:

It was felt that poverty, cultural backwardness, social depression, and isolation gave a noble and simple simplicity to the lives of the peasants, with their beautiful gaily coloured clothes and the precise aesthetic quality of every aspect of their life, mirrored in the folk tales, songs and wood carvings. Observers perceived an aesthetic instinct in their colourful naïve costumes, and a moral instinct in their social position. According to this concept peasant costumes gave the illusion of a good, constant, unchangeable world. Peasants were the embodiment of the natural, happy state, innocence and ancient simplicity (Gáborján 1988 5).

The snowy mountains of Transylvania formed a cultural borderline between the eastern and western influences, for a while protecting the local economy from industrialisation. The Kalotaszeg area lay between the rivers Kalota (now Călata) and Kőrös (now Crișu Répede & Crișu Alb), in a mountainous area between the Transylvanian Basin and the Hungarian Great Plain (Fig 42). The isolation of the Kalotaszeg area contributed to the characteristic design, which was worked on a special linen base fabric. Later, in the 1930s Máriska Undi in a state supported publication, continued the 'pure' concept stating:

²⁴ At the Bauhaus it was unacceptable in the applied arts to reference peasant and 'traditional' sources it was considered acceptable for fine artists.

There were thirty-four parishes populated with people who were considered to be eighteen thousand people of 'pure' Hungarian descent (Undi 1932-1945 3).

Not only was the design considered a pure source but also, the fabric of the embroideries was exclusive to the Kalotaszeg district. The flax which flourished along the river-banks, was developed into a linen called *fodorvászon* (frizzled linen), in a beating process by the people of Kalotaszeg (Kriesch-Körösfoi 1911 43).²⁵ The linen held an enviable reputation, and embroideries of a unique curved linear design, were stitched on it, in a braid like chain, the designs not drawn but made by the needle (Hofer and Fél 1979 49)(Fig 43).²⁶ However, it could be argued that the style of embroidery was freely simulating passamenterie, such as the example worn by Count Miklos Esterházy in the seventeenth century (Undi 1934 fig 62)(Fig 44). Many patterns were passed from the nobility to their servants, circulating the designs, thus facilitating wider circulation of the designs.

Averil MacKenzie-Grieve in *Old Hungarian Lace*, explained the design assimilation process as it passed from the aristocracy to the peasant women:

Dainty products of feminine invention did not remain an exclusive property of aristocratic households; the serfs daughter, after having made the beautiful lace for her mistress, copied it for her own use at home. But usually she did not possess the fine thread and silk she had worked for her lady, instead she used home-spun hemp or linen thread. Because of the use of coarser material, and from being copied for generations the patterns departed more and more from the original form used in aristocratic families. Changes of composition and the accumulation of decorative elements show that the people, even when taking over the cultural treasures of the upper classes, always reshapes them to a certain extent, adapting them to its own taste (Mackenzie-Grieve 1940 526).

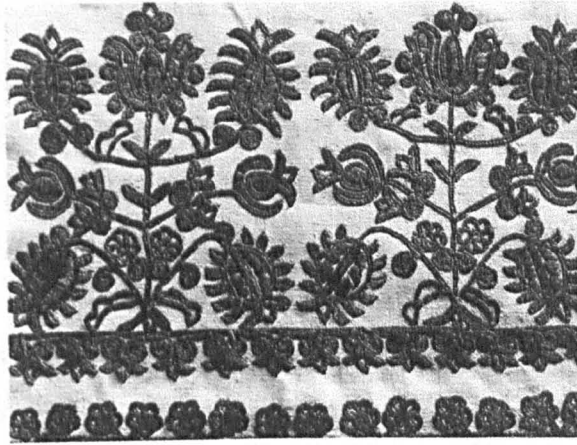
Further dissemination of designs was advanced by the publication of several books, including *Ungarn's Ornamente der Hausindustrie*. Written in 1878 by the Budapest academic Dr Carl Pulszky, it included both French and German translations. The designs were drawn from a variety of examples, including eighteenth century Austrian aristocratic, and Austro-Hungarian rural examples, such as one from Bánffyhunyard, Kalotaszeg (von Pulszky 1878 27).²⁷ Later, in 1885 József Huszka, art teacher and ethnographer and native of the Hungarian Plain, the land of the German speaking Székely, wrote *Hungarian Style*, identifying local folk motifs (Hofer 1983 137).²⁸ Huszka's pattern books, which connected Hungarian folk ornamentation with Persian, Indian and other oriental arts, influenced his

²⁵ The linen was beaten in water to achieve a frilled effect.

²⁶ Known as *írásos* or pre-printed technique.

²⁷ This book was gifted by the NDS to the GSA in 1962.

²⁸ Huszka (1854-1934) documented patterns from the painted chests and *cifraszűr*, the embroidered freize coat which had been commercially manufactured in the German speaking town of Heltau (now Nagydísnód, Císnádie) since 1870 Hofer, T. 1983. *Peasant Art 1800-1914*. New Hungarian Quarterly 92: 133-9.



43: Kalotaszeg c.19 curvilinear embroidery



44: Passamenterie embroidery on aristocratic garment

friend, the architect Ödön Lechner and later Vilmos Zsolnay, the commercial and domestic ceramics designer/manufacturer (Wilson 1998 51).²⁹

Through commerce, migration, exhibitions and publications, the dissemination of design occurred rapidly, for example Hungarian influenced designs were appearing in *Clare Embroidery* in Ireland by 1900 (Rowe 1988 53). The Hungarian design was possibly introduced earlier by Pauline Prochaska who designed and managed the Royal Irish School of Needlework, formed in 1882 (Lamour 1992 12). Over the centuries, the role of the aristocracy has had a long established tradition in supporting the making of textiles. Many of the peasant women involved in the creation of the peasant embroideries were both rural and illiterate, whereas the women organising the home industries were aristocratic, middle class and urban. With aristocratic support a transition from an ethnographic approach collecting and recording design, to the 1890s effort to modernise and improve design in a commercial environment occurred.

Gyarmathy was one of the earliest to use her aristocratic patrons' contacts abroad to market peasant embroideries. The embroidery sales of the *Iparművészeti Társulat* (Hungarian Association of Applied Arts) enabled the women of Kalotaszeg to be the first in Hungary to earn a livelihood from the sales of embroidery, and integrate into Hungarian society (Hofer and Szacsvey 1998 2). In 1890, Princess Croy Eugenie made the first large-scale sales contacts for Gyarmathy's workshop, and in Hungary Princess Esterházy Pálné assisted with the marketing (Taylor 1991 50). Gyarmathy's business acumen brought a change in the practice of peasant barter, moving to a capitalist open market, selling the embroideries in the cultural capitals of the world.

Spurred on by the success of the village embroidery, Gyarmathy established workshops in the urban centres of Kalotaszeg: Bánffyhunyard (now Huedin) and Kolosovár (now Cluj-Napoca). Her influence was wide spread as she hosted the Habsburg archduchess Izabella, as well as renowned Hungarian and foreign artists, including Walter Crane, the Finn Akseli Gallen-Kallelo, the ethnographers Antal Hermann, János Jankó, Ottó Herman and the musician Belá Vikár (Szacsvey and Hofer and Szacsvey 1998 1).³⁰ In 1896, coinciding with the Millennial celebrations and exhibition, Gyarmathy produced a book *A Kaltaszegi*

²⁹ Later in 1891, a school of machine embroidery was established in Dornbirn, Vorarlberg, and designs were either drawn by the director of the fachschulen, or by Mathilde Hrdlicka and Fräulein Hofmanninger, at the Vienna Museum's atelier, and supplied to the students to simulate, or developed at a special department at the school, and manufactured at the numerous local factories.²⁹ By providing the schools with Secession influenced designs the Austrian State hoped to improve the standard of design in industry. Coats' *News Reel* journal states J & P Coats' Harland, Austria industry, supplied the Vorarlberg machine embroidery business which created typical Swiss embroidery work on cloth for blouses and aprons Coats, J. P. 1950-7. *News Reel*. Paisley Museum Archive. Paisley.

³⁰ Antal Hermann was the director of the Hungarian Ethnographic Society, János Jankó later became the director of the Museum of Ethnography and planned and organised the Ethnographic village at the Millenary exhibition. In Crane's own records of his journey in *An Artist's Reminiscences*, he fails to mention Gyarmathy, writing that he was entertained at a private house in Bánffyhunyard—'though the lady herself was absent', but most authors claim he was hosted by her. Crane, W. 1907. *An Artist's Reminiscences*. London.

Varottásról 'egy roman Urnak promoting the Kalotaszeg embroideries (Taylor 1991 48).³¹

Taylor states that Gyarmathy claimed the home industry workshops were producing perfect embroideries, but on analysis, in 1973, by the Romanian ethnographer Pompei Murasanu, they were found to include design copies of oriental scarves worn by Hungarian nobility, and were considered by Murasanu to be very inaccurate (Taylor 1991 48).

However, the Millennial celebrations were honouring the one thousandth anniversary of the Magyars' conquest and settlement of the Carpathian basin from the east. Oriental influence in design had long been in evidence in the Carpathian basin. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century Turkish invaders travelled along the roads of Hungary, introducing oriental design (Kratina 1932 167). In the sixteenth century Magdalene Orszagh, a noble lady acquired the art of Turkish needlework from Turkish prisoners (de Palotay 1939 121). Orszagh, who was considered an authority on dress ornament, states her passion for such designs, writing to her daughter:

One of our patterns is with Lady Barbara; it is a large pattern; there is weaving on it, and your pearly embroidery, which could not be finished for the wedding, but was completed afterwards, that is also on it... Get it and send it back to me. Either by gentle means, or with wrath but get it back... We should be more grieved by the loss of this model than by losing much of our costly treasure (Orszagh in de Palotay 1939 121).³²

In 1940 MacKenzie-Grieve in *Old Hungarian Lace*, referring to a later period of design, expressed parallel views:

Imagination and inventiveness of peasantry not only expressed in what it had taken over and adapted to its own taste from artistic and cultural values of the upper class but first and foremost by its autochthonous property. Much lace made for the purposes of home industry by women of the people after artistic patterns, partly modelled on old traditions, and partly modelled to new use (Mackenzie-Grieve 1940 526).

Kinchin acknowledges the oriental influence and outlines its further design dissemination:

Progressive Hungarian designers and critics of the time felt that folk ornament most clearly expressed both the eastern strain within Hungarian identity-which looked back to its mythic origins in Central Asia-and a connection to nature through stylised floral forms. Many folk embroidery patterns were stitched in strips, side-by-side, with a terminating line at their base, and one can see how these were readily transferable onto the often vertical forms of Secessionist or Arts and Crafts furniture (Kinchin 2002 71).

³¹ In 1892 a Budapest Art Gallery displayed an exhibition of applied arts which was included in the Hungarian section at the 1900 Paris Exhibition. Both Teréz Zsolnay Mattyasovska and Julia Zsolnay Sikorska, daughters of Vilmos Zsolnay the Hungarian ceramic designer/manufacturer, displayed bonnets and laces. Wilson, S. 1998. *Walter Crane (1845-1915) in Budapest*. M.A. Royal College of Art. 96. In 1898, Sikorska published a ten page collection of pattern designs in the first volume of *Magyar Iparművészet*.

³² An example of a nineteenth century peasant design illustrated in Undi's *Fancy Needlework and Weaving: The history of Hungarian decorative embroidery and weavings from the Time of the occupation of Hungary by the Magyars till today* shows a possible derivation from an eighteenth century oriental style tulip design on an aristocratic Hungarian jacket Undi, M. 1934. *Fancy Needlework and Weaving: The history of Hungarian decorative embroidery and weavings from the Time of the occupation of Hungary by the Magyars till today*. Budapest.

In 1983, Tamás Hofer, a Hungarian cultural historian, wrote in *Peasant Art 1800-1914*, that there was much vigorous artistic activity in that period, stating:

In Hungary, too, nineteenth-century observers were looking for surviving archaic traditions and were describing these forms of peasant expression as the most ancient heritage of the nation. However, as recent studies show, a great many of these forms and styles were not inherited but created in that very period. In fact Hungarian peasants showed an unusually high degree of creativity and produced a wealth of melody, poetry and decorative forms (Hofer 1983 133).

Alice Gáborján echoes Hofer's views stating design individuality indeed existed:

Each historical period was reflected in the clothing of the peasants, in the form of single elements of style. Peasant costumes evolving from high society and much later than urban fashion are still part of the main stream of their culture. Elements of a particular age may be found, like a distant echo, in the clothes of peasants adapted according to their means and way of life. The further away the historical style created by a society in a higher financial and cultural position, the greater the number of variations in the peasant costumes. The relationship between the higher culture, unified within each period, and the peasant culture, developing within it, was balanced by simplicity and the variations created by distance (Gáborján 1988 6).

Boris summarises that the home industries blossomed at the same time that urban intellectuals 'rediscovered' traditional 'primitive' society (Boris 1986 124). Evoking her comment is the following quote:

Folk art is, indeed the oldest of the aristocracies of thought, and because it refuses what is passing and trivial, the merely clever and pretty, as certainly as the vulgar and insincere, and because it has gathered into itself the simplest and most unforgettable thoughts of the generations, it is the soil where all great art is rooted (William Butler Yeats in Glassie 1989 4).

This interest was heightened at the turn of the twentieth century, with claims made of a pure source of Magyar design in Transylvania, and has continued in recent research. In London, Walter Crane developed a friendship with a young Hungarian, Kálmán Rozsnyai, an agent for Gyarmathy, which later led to his invitation to visit Hungary (Wilson 1998 53).³³ In October 1900, Crane's exhibition opened at the Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest, and was met with an enthusiastic response.³⁴ Mór (Maurice) Jókai, the writer

³³ Prior to Crane's visit to Hungary, Rozsnyai stayed as a house-guest with Crane for two and a half months. Rozsnyai wrote under the pen name of van der Hoske and Sydney Carlton Wilson, S. 1998. *Walter Crane (1845-1915) in Budapest*. M.A. Royal College of Art.

³⁴ It was Jenő Radisics, and the civil servants of the Ministry, who invited Walter Crane to exhibit in Hungary in 1900. Crane exhibited from 10 October to 5 November 1900. He had had earlier Exhibitions in

introducing Crane at a banquet, in his honour in Budapest, claimed Crane was responsible for introducing two principles: the beauty of art into the workshop and encouraging popular art to the point where true taste and living simplicity may become universal (Gál 1965 220).

Crane's enthusiastic letter, written prior to his visit, appeared in a special number of *Magyar Iparművészet* (Hungarian Applied Arts), to coincide with his exhibition. It was perhaps influenced and informed by Rozsnyai, inspiring Crane to write the following:

The particular character of the Hungarian people, however, its rich and inexhaustible imagination manifesting in floral design, its romantic and practical sense as well as its great skill in the execution show up from the end. Nothing can surpass the beauty of some of the needleworks, and the patterns from the embroidery, and the loveliness of traditional peasant stitch-works increasing the colour effects of the costume. Many of them remind one, regarding type and form, of the beautiful Persian and Indian embroideries... there is a characteristic Hungarian feeling in everything and dominates, overpowers every ascendancy (Crane in Stirton and Kinchin 1999 33-4).

Accompanied by Rozsnyai, Crane travelled to Pécs, Szeged, Arad, Vaidi Hunyad, the university town of Kolosovár (now Cluj-Napoca), and Bánffyhunyad (now Huedin), the urban centre of Kalotaszeg. However, he does not appear to have visited the rural villages of Kalotaszeg, to witness the changes occurring in peasant design, only Gyarmathy's workshops. Had Crane visited the rural areas of Kalotaszeg he may have received a more accurate impression of the transitional stage of 'peasant' embroidery.³⁵ He visited Gyarmathy's urban workshops in Kolosovár and Bánffyhunyad, and was particularly impressed, by an old Bánffyhunyad woman who was working with old patterns (Crane 1907 478).³⁶ On visiting the School for Model Designing (now Academy of Applied Arts), Crane observed the use of folk art in art and design education, as students were studying traditional peasant patterns for embroidery and painted decoration for furniture making and

both Vienna and Budapest (1895), but these were less influential. Earlier in 1897, coinciding with the Vienna Secession, Hofrat von Scala, director of the Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie, organised an exhibition of work by the English Schools of Art. Through both his directorship of the Museum and as Inspector of Schools von Scala's powerful dual role allowed him to have significant influence. Modern English methods of teaching were introduced with study from nature and brushwork replacing drawing from the cast, most schools had their own living models, including fowl, turkey, cats, and parrots and animals became common textile design imagery Levetus, A. 1905. *Austrian Lace Schools*. *The Studio* 35 (149): 19-30.

³⁵ In Bánffyhunyad Crane sketched the peasants in their 'brilliant' coloured costumes. Crane's sketch of a peasant girl drawn during his visit to Hungary shows a later style of dress, compared with that in Aladár Jllès watercolour, showing peasant girls from the Körösfo (now Izvolrul Crişulni), Kalotaszeg area. Traditionally the *muszuj* skirt was lined with a wide cloth band of red or orange. Later on these bands were embroidered. The two bottom bands of the *muszuj* are tucked into the waist so the coloured band is displayed and a bit of the white petticoat can be seen on both sides. These images suggest a transitional stage in design and are further evidence that Crane was more likely to have seen a design development of dress ornamentation.

³⁶ In his recollections Crane wrote 'we saw also a characteristic cottage interior, with its big tiled stove, and beds piled with embroidered pillows', which suggests he visited Gyarmathy's recreated exhibition villages. Crane, W. 1907. *An Artist's Reminiscences*. London.

pottery (Crane 1907 473). Stirton and Kinchin suggest that Crane recognised some of his Arts and Crafts ideals in the teaching of the schools but was aware of the difficulties of using rural objects in an urban context far removed from the making or meaning of the peasant work (Stirton and Kinchin 1999 34).

By the late nineteenth century Hungarian artists, architects, and academics considered the Kalotaszeg region to be a pure source for Hungarian art, yet the home industry had already been operating for two decades.³⁷ The architects, designers, critics, and ambassadors of culture were no longer viewing pure design but design permutations created from various influences and personal expressions for a commercial market.

Also, at the time of his visit Crane was unaware of other forces in place as he visited the Model Drawing Schools and Gyarmathy's workshops, as neither did he see the methods of teaching in the *fachsculen* (craft) schools, nor the changes occurring in the mountainous rural villages in the Kalotaszeg. Through both his exhibition work and lectures he encouraged the use of 'peasant' embroideries in urban interiors. Consequently, he encouraged artists, civil servants, and the state into imitating the already commercially influenced 'peasant' design.

Increasingly peasant embroidery appeared in urban homes and haute-bourgeoisie interiors, bringing partly domestic intimacy and partly the atmosphere of exoticism. By this time the 'pure' or unique source of embroidery design in Kalotaszeg had undergone various style developments, adapting to the commercial markets of the urban culture centres of Europe. A paradox existed as Crane both inspired the preservation of the rural traditions and their re-invention by urban artists.³⁸

³⁷ One of the most influential Hungarian artists, Aladár Kreisch, was so impressed with one of the most beautiful of the Kalotaszeg villages, Körösfő, that he added it to his name Kresz, M. 1974. *Ruskin, Morris, Crane and the Discovery of Hungarian Peasant Art*. *New Hungarian Quarterly* xv (53): 197-203. Encouraged by the anti-industrialist sentiments of Crane, Körösfői-Kreisch established the Gödöllő colony near Budapest in 1904, assisted with Government subsidies Nagy, I. 1982. *The character of Hungarian Art Nouveau as reflected in Hungarian research: 1959-1981*. *Acta Historica Arium* 28: 383-482. Mária Kresz quotes Körösfői-Kreisch to summarize the special value of folk-art:

What is the reason that we are beginning to appreciate, admire and love folk art so highly? Two things give folk art its special value and make it precious. One, that it is the most harmonious, most pure-type of certain aesthetic principles. Second, that in its essence, its very backbone it is distinctively national carrying the flavour of the race [...] The artistic principles of folk art identify with surrounding life, and are accompanied by loyalty to the material and elegant decoration. Kresz, M. 1974. *Ruskin, Morris, Crane and the Discovery of Hungarian Peasant Art*. *New Hungarian Quarterly* xv (53): 197-203.

³⁸ In his 1905 book, *Ideals in Art*, Crane expressed his continued enthusiasm for peasant costume:

The peasantry in all European countries alone have preserved anywhere national and local picturesqueness and character in their dressing; often, too, where it still lingers unspoiled, as in Greece and in Hungary and Bohemia, adorned with beautiful embroidery worked by women themselves. The last relics of historic and traditional costume must be sought therefore among the people, and for picturesqueness we must seek the labourer Crane, W. 1905. *Ideals in Art*. London, George Bell & Son.

Later in *An Artist's Reminiscences* Crane recorded his earlier observations:

We also saw a characteristic cottage interior, with its big tiled stove, and beds piled with embroidered pillows. An old woman was sitting at the window busy at work on an elaborate piece of embroidery,

Later in 1907 he finally recognized the influence of urban bourgeois taste on the designs:

It does not seem possible to transform unconscious spontaneous art into conscious learned art, any more than it is possible for wild flowers to flourish in a formal garden (Crane 1907 478; Crane in Stirton and Kinchin 1999 34).

Crane's philosophy on textile design was to have a marked impact on design:

The actual systems of building pattern, of pattern forms [...] have been discovered long ago, but it is in their recombination and adaptation, our interpretation and use of them, and in the power of variation of expression, that modern invention and predilection tell (Crane 1898).

Coats collected several designs for the NDS that symbolise Crane's influence, revealed in the following chapter seven, *Ethnic design: from diversity to the imposition of a static aesthetic*. The development of design in home industries, state co-operatives and workshops is considered. Through analyses of NDS textiles the impact of both Máriska Undi's and Mária Hollósy's artistic flair in the *Izabella* home industry contrasts with both Gyarmathy's and the later state controlled organisations.

which would take about six months to finish... These peasant embroideries were being collected extensively by the privately rich people in the towns, and fine old pieces were becoming rare. Schools of embroidery were being established in the towns to teach the work which the peasantry had taught themselves, and of course at every remove, the patterns became tamer Crane, W. 1907. *An Artist's Reminiscences*. London

Chapter 7: Ethnic Design: From Diversity to the Imposition of a Static Aesthetic

Colin Martin is back from Central Europe with lovely specimens of Hungarian work (Settle 1947).

In 1947, Alison Settle, the CoID Housewives Committee member, highlighted Colin Martin's acquisition of twelve Hungarian textiles in *The Observer*, under the title, *The Revival of Embroidery Again* (NDS 1947b). Settle's use of the word *revival* is interesting in the context of this research, which discusses whether Coats did indeed revive design through Martin's acquisition of these textiles and the dissemination of their design. The 'peasant' textiles acquired from varied sources, by chance by Martin and Coats' agents, encapsulate the evolution of peasant design style from the eighteenth century to 1940s. Also, the NDS collection allows for the contrasting and comparison of design made in home industries, state run co-operatives, workshops and tourist industries.¹

Extensive archival research, object studies, and cross-referencing of these sources created typologies, which provided answers to the identification and provenance of 'peasant' textiles in this collection. Related historical and contemporary literature has allowed an understanding of influences, such as patronage, migration, trade and symbolism on the design to develop. In this chapter an exploration of design development is offered by way of a chronological survey of home industries, state supported organisations and workshops.

A significant issue is the changing political climate resulting in the state support of reinterpreted ethnic designs. A later contrast is offered by way of designs recreated in Coats' design studios, commissions or by the NDS. Archival records from 1940s - 1960s indicate the detailed recording of the provenance of the items collected was of little importance to those acquiring the textiles or creating the records.² Many works were simply recorded, for example, as 'Hungarian', 'Mexican', or 'Viennese', but were considered to be 'traditional'. In 1960 Kay Köhler described a 'nineteenth century Austrian' embroidered border as 'bold and exciting' (Köhler 1960 64; Geddes 1961 30)(Fig 45).³ This design has an affinity with the style of Coats' 'ethnic' designs. Another design listed as Setukesien, Estonia nineteenth century in the RSM NDS collection is

¹ See Table 8 for an overview of Home Industry and State Cooperative development.

² Contrasting with Coats approach is the contemporary practice of Anne Morrell, for the Calico Museum in India. Morrell videos the artist, and records the date the work was made, cost and any other writing on the artist. Morrell, A. 2002. *Interview with Author*. Edinburgh. 30 Jun 2002.

³ GSA & Embroiderers' Guild, Hampton Court, England. In the 1950s, the description 'traditional' was used liberally in the NDS publications.

referenced as Viennese in NDS archives, perhaps made in Zweybrück's atelier in Vienna.⁴ This design was used to publicise the RSM 1965 NDS Exhibition (Knitting and Needle Trade 1965 37). Authentic Estonian fragments, in the Dundee collection were possibly the inspiration for the RSM NDS copies.⁵

Contrasting with Gyarmathy's home industry discussed in the earlier chapter is one established in Cífer, Northern Hungary (now Slovakia). In 1892, the precursor of the Izabella home industry was organised under the Austrian influence of Charlotte Zichy, a lady-in-waiting at the court of Empress Erzsébet, who established an embroidery and drawing school in the village of Cífer (Cisárová-Mináriková 2001a 1).⁶ Mária Hollósy, an embroidery drawing and design graduate from the Budapest School of Applied Art became the first designer and teacher of the Cífer School (Cisárová-Mináriková 2001b 10; ETN 2003). She trained in Italianate white embroidery and traditional Slovak techniques (Cisárová-Mináriková 2001b 10). Over three hundred women attended the school, which accepted commissions for dresses and sacred textiles and exhibited in Vienna and Budapest. The same year Czech, Moravian, and Slovak embroideries were exhibited in a special pavilion in the Paris Women's Arts and Handicrafts Exhibition (Sotkova 1979 54).

In 1894, Hollósy's new two-piece dress became the most popular summer and urban dress of aristocratic society, was patented and exported to Europe and beyond, and sold by Liberty in London (Cisárová-Mináriková 2001a 1)(Fig 46). In June 1895, the German journal *Modernwelt*, published illustrations of the dress design complete with instructions to copy it (Cisárová-Mináriková 2001a 11).⁷

In 1895, charmed by the beauty of Hollósy's designs and their commercial success, Archduchess Izabella, initiated the establishment of the *Women's Association for the Support of Domestic Industry in Pressburg and surroundings*, attracting the support of the Austro-Hungarian government.⁸ In 1896 the organisation was re-named the *Izabella Association* (Cisárová-Mináriková 2001b 10). Hollósy designed for the Izabella home industry, exhibiting in Vienna, Brussels, Madrid, St Petersburg, Glasgow and London, winning several prizes, including the Grand Prix in the 1900 Paris International Exhibition (Cisárová-Mináriková 2001a 8). The design influence from dresses such as Hollósy's new two-piece dress is shown in *Izabella* girl's dresses in the RSM and EG NDS collection (Fig

⁴ FN: RSM 1962.1120 NDS 239.

⁵ DUNUC ARTS:261 NDS 1919.

⁶ Michalides claims the earliest home industry in Upper Hungary (now Slovakia), was the *Zivena* established in 1869, however this industry is not included in other analyses Michalides, P. 1980. *Umelecké remeslá na Slovensku*. Bratislava, Tatran. After *Izabella*, followed *Lipa* and *Skalica* in 1910, and the *Society of Industrial Art* in 1920 Michalides, P. 1980. *Umelecké remeslá na Slovensku*. Bratislava, Tatran. 229.

⁷ A boy's shirt was also designed and named *Albert*, after Archduchess Izabella's only son.

⁸ Pressburg is now Bratislava.

47-8).⁹ The dress design continues to be imitated today for the tourist industry and is exported to the USA.¹⁰

Established to encourage the Hungarian peasant's artistic instincts and love of work, a clause was introduced stating that the Association should 'display professionalism and maintain national character'. The *Izabella* work was more wide-ranging than Gyarmathy's and the quality of design and creativity more tightly controlled by Hollósy and the Archduchess: embroidery, appliqué, lace and tulle works were also made (Undi 1934 82). Orders were received from the noble Austro-Hungarian families of Hapsburgs, Zichys, Pálffys, and Palugyaya as well as from the Belgium, French, German, Spanish, and Dutch aristocracy (Cisárová-Mináriková 2001a 11). Fifteen schools, all led by women who had received artistic training, were set up in villages in Upper Hungary, and by 1911, fifteen hundred embroiderers were working for the association (Cisárová-Mináriková 2001b 11).¹¹ The headquarters were in Bratislava and workshops were also held in villages of the provinces of Bratislava, Nitra, and Trenčín.

A report in the *Art Journal* suggested *The Society for the Encouragement of Hungarian Industries*, was supported by the Princess of Wales, Princess Henry of Battenburg, the Austro-Hungarian ambassador, and Countess Deym, which ensured the association's domestic activities grew rapidly (S.R. 1902 180). As commercial demand in urban centres increased for the home industry textiles the quality of some of the embroidery was questioned. Norman and Stacey's Tottenham Court Road emporium in London commercially exhibited embroideries produced by Arch-duchess Izabella's *The Society for the Encouragement of Hungarian Industries*. A review in *The Artist* in 1902, was somewhat scathing of the work, but showed an understanding of the circumstances in which it was created:

The embroideries are all executed on first-class materials... and well worked in simple stitches... and are said to be all hand-work, by peasants living in the locality favoured by the Society. ... the materials have every appearance of being mill-made. Those at present in are but feelingless and mechanical adaptations of the crude forms and methods of what are generally known as 'Turkish Embroideries.' The latter we have endured for the sake of the colour sense native in the worker and the crumb of traditional interest they give us. But there is no sign-to our eyes-in these Hungarian Embroideries, of its being a case of fostering an indigenous industry, informed with national feeling and traditional art; but rather of the grafting of a possibly unsympathetic industry on a people who are unable to express in it what artistic feeling they may possess (S.R. 1902 180; Stirton and Kinchin 1999 35).

⁹ E.G.3932; E.G.3933; RSM 1962.1165.

¹⁰ This information was kindly supplied by Dr Eva Cisárová-Mináriková.

¹¹ The headquarters were in Bratislava and workshops were also held in villages of the provinces of Nitra, and Trenčín Cisárová-Mináriková, E. 2001b. *Mária Hollósy, 1858-1945: A Rediscovered Embroidery Tradition in Slovakia*. Textil Forum 1: 10.



47: *Isabella* child's dress NDS EG 3933
© Embroiderers' Guild



48: *Isabella* child's dress NDS EG 3932
© Embroiderers' Guild

¹² NDS 612 EG T395

¹³ Mária Undi, 1877-1949, Újvidék, K. 1996 *Újvidéki népművelési és kulturális egyesület. Értékesítési Nyomtatvány*

¹⁴ Also János Radócs and others included designs in their location titled *Székely Népművelési Egyesület, Kézbesi*. This information was kindly verified by Cecilia Gausson.

The influence of the aristocracy was extensive, both in developing commercial initiatives and introducing many designs, and pattern books, which had been available since the sixteenth century. Embroidery pattern books came from Italy, Germany and France. G. Vavasore's Venetian book, dated 1532, and Nuremberg books in 1527-29 by P Quentelo and in 1604 by I Sibmacher (Sotkova 1979 17). As well, frequent Turkish invasions occurred over the centuries bringing subsequent infusions of oriental styled design, the last infiltration being in 1683 (Sotkova 1979 17). Rose Kratina attributes the influence of oriental design to the sixteenth and seventeenth century invasions by the Turks:

Slovak women captured by the Turks and kept in their camps probably learned this type of embroidering, and brought this knowledge with them when they returned to their homes (Kratina 1932 167).

An early NDS EG *Isabella* design, illustrates the evolution of design. It is a late nineteenth century bonnet mostly stitched in an oriental technique, trimmed with tinsel lace showing a style and technique analogous to fifteenth century Russian designs (Sotkova 1979 19)(Fig 49).¹²

Later a different type of influence was generated by Máriska Undi, an accomplished artist and designer, trained in a system of design education, which drew on English models, a graduate of *Mintarajziskola* (a precursor of the School of Applied Art). In the early twentieth century, she exhibited with the Gödöllő colony, sharing an enthusiasm for Hungarian mythology and folk art, designing furniture, stained glass, tapestries, embroideries, toys, frescoes, graphics, illustrations and fashion designs (Geller 1996 57).¹³ In 1903/4 Undi published Secessionist styled designs in the journal *Mintala Pok*.¹⁴ She systematically collected ethnography (Geller 1996 57).

An active campaigner for dress reform, Undi wrote feminist articles and gave lectures, such as *Nő és Társadalom*, which attacked the wearing of corsets (Geller 1996 57). Her own designs show varied influences, in 1907, she enriched her English style with Viennese geometric shapes and included motifs from folk art. In 1904 at the St Louis Exhibition she was awarded a medal for her children's book illustration, and following the example of the

¹² NDS 612 EG T395.

¹³ Mariska Undi, 1877-1959, Geller, K. 1996. *Undi Mariska: gyűjteményes kiállítása*. Budapest, Nyomdacoop.

¹⁴ Also Jenő Radisics and others included designs in the publication titled *Szövő es fonópari füzet, Kerepesi*. This information was kindly supplied by Cecília Örine Nagy.

Weiner Werkstätte she published postcards. In 1912, Amelia Levetus described Undi as 'a young lady artist of exceptional talent' (Levetus 1912 242).

An influential teacher at the Budapest School of Applied Arts it is likely she was involved with the Society of Applied Arts (SAA), which sold both embroidery and weaving.¹⁵ Several SAA designs with a Secessionist style, likely to have been produced under Undi's influence are in the NDS collection, including a RSM man's apron acquired from the SAA (Fig 50).¹⁶ This design has an affinity with a design included in Undi's 1934 publication (Fig 51).¹⁷ When embroidery was interpreted from various influences, rather than copied to satisfy the taste-makers of the time and their commercial demands, an interesting worthwhile transitional style of design evolved.¹⁸ Undi's creative designs drew on various influences, and were proto-art deco in style.

In the meantime, in Budapest, the Museum of Applied Arts focused on improving the technical and artistic aspects of some crafts, to enable them to compete against the Austrian and German imports. The civil servants along with influential museum personnel decided which art collections would be sent to international shows. In 1902 the enthusiasm of Jenő Radisics, the Director of the Budapest Museum of Applied Art, for British work resulted in another British Arts and Crafts Exhibition at the *Iparművészeti Múzeum*.¹⁹ Ann Macbeth's success at the 1901 Great International Exhibition in Glasgow, ensured an invitation for her to exhibit (Kinchin 1999 209). Macbeth showed three embroideries

¹⁵ In 1906 the Gödöllő carpet workshops became the Royal School of Applied Arts, and worked designs made by artists Crowley, D. 1992. *Modernity and Tradition in Hungarian Design. Design and Culture in Poland and Hungary 1880-1990*. D. Crowley and L. Taylor. Brighton, University of Brighton. Ashley Brown writing in *Ilonka Karasz, modernist pioneer*, explains that the curricula at the Royal School of Arts and Crafts in Budapest was influenced by both Austrian design, particularly the Weiner Werkstätte, and Hungarian peasant art's bold stylised floral patterns Brown, A. 2000-1. *Ilonka Karasz, Modernist Pioneer*. *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 8 (1): 69-91.

¹⁶ NDS 576 EG stag runner; NDS 620 EG man's apron; NDS 666 EG tea cloth, NDS 754 DUNUC 270 stag runner; NDS 755 EG Irarsos design; NDS 769 EG part of a cover; NDS 694 EG border. Lost SAA NDS 156 ECA. Other SAA NDS textiles of unknown locations are: 501 apron, 503 blouse, 527 Christening robe, 601 peasant borders, 622 blouse, 656 cushion, 756 stag runner, 797 cushion cover.

¹⁷ The NDS number of this apron suggests it was one of Martin's purchases in 1947. This apron shows a close resemblance to a design published in 1909 in the *Uns Textiler Kunst* journal, featuring designs from the Berlin Kunstgewerbe collection, and a later design development by Undi in 1934. von Westheim, P. 1909. *Ungarische Volkskunst*. *Aus Textiler Kunst* 12: 487-493.

¹⁸ Other organisations also produced peasant-influenced designs, for example, in Budapest Julie Vajkai, a novelist, resolved to help war orphans by establishing work-rooms and by 1925 eight hundred children were enrolled Teague, U. 1925. *The work of the Save the Children fund in Budapest*. *The Embroideress* 11: 251-4. Embroidery then lace-making and sewing classes were established for the girls and basket-making and carpentry for the boys. The workrooms received a subsidy from the Government, but the Hungarian embroidery teachers aimed to teach the children as quickly as possible to make 'saleable' embroidery. The designs were 'Hungarian' but the materials were supplied from London. This was a time of famine in both Austria and Hungary. Children were sent to Denmark to help overcome the shortages of food. Felice Hansch Colin Martin's wife stayed in Denmark and was influenced by Danish embroidery ever after. J & P Coats sent food parcels to their Harland, Vienna mill.

¹⁹ In Hungary the English Arts and Crafts offered a political opposition to Austrian and German influences Nagy, I. 1982. *The character of Hungarian Art Nouveau as reflected in Hungarian research: 1959-1981*. *Acta Historica Arium* 28: 383-482.



50: Bridegroom's Apron RSM NDS



51: 1930s Bridegroom's Apron

designed by her and embroidered by Clara Bently, all for sale.²⁰ The embroideries of Macbeth, Newbery, and the Glasgow Four women (the Macdonald sisters) were highly acclaimed in Budapest. Kinchin in *Hungary and Scotland, a dialogue in the decorative arts* identifies the significance of the Glasgow School women by quoting Pál Náday:

It is rather strange but nevertheless obvious that it is the women belonging to this school who are in the forefront of entering into the spirit of this style. These women like Mrs Newbery and Miss Macbeth, are able to embroider a lyrical, intimate atmosphere onto cloth... They make beautiful things, virtually all with simple appliqué, satin and running stitches (Naday in Kinchin 1999 209-10).²¹

As enthusiasm grew fine artists became involved in embroidery. In the early 1900s, Anna Lesznai, a painter and applied artist, and a member of *The Young* group of architects, employed peasant girls to execute embroidery designs (Levetus 1914 217; Nagy 1982 394).²² Lesznai's late secessionist decorative art is characterized by a dense colourful exuberant vegetation from the flower-ornamentation of Hungarian folk art on her embroideries, drawings and illustrations made to her own tales (Levetus 1914 217). Images in *The Studio* journal show a similarity in style of both Lesznai and Macbeth. Design was also disseminated in the *fashschulen* (craft) schools in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which subscribed to *The Studio* journal. Both teachers and students would have been familiar with the work of both Macbeth and Newbery. An art nouveau rose design by Fräulein Hofmanninger, made at the Chrudim facschulen, a Czech speaking Bohemian market town, was sold in the markets of Prague and Vienna (Levetus 1905a 24)(Fig 52). The design appears to reference Jessie Newbery's rose design (Fig 53). Both Newbery and Macbeth's designs were acquired for the NDS and influenced other designs from Central Europe also accessioned for the Scheme, inspiring future waves of design dissemination in Britain (Fig 54).

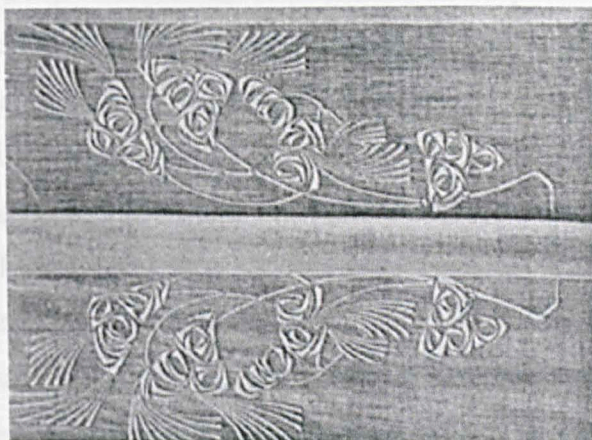
Austrian lace won the Grande Prix in both the 1900 Paris and 1904 St Louis exhibitions, and this success thus provided the government with encouragement to regulate the lace industry and train teachers (Levetus 1905a 21).²³ By 1902 teachers who trained at the Imperial and Central Schools of Lace, began the 'wandercourse' expeditions, visiting,

²⁰ A cushion by Macbeth was shown in the Wylie and Lochhead drawing room (£3.13.6d), and a needlework towel priced at £1.10.6d and a tablecover £4.14.6d Anon 1902. *Exhibition List*. Glasgow School of Art. Glasgow.

²¹ In the 1902 Turin Exhibition the embroidery of Newbery, Macbeth, and their Glasgow School of Art students received much praise in *The Studio* for the individuality of their designs, unity of forms and colour schemes *The Studio* 1902. *Turin Exhibition*. *The Studio* xxvi: 99. Macbeth was awarded a silver medal in Turin.

²² Lesznai was a member of *The Young* a group of eight artists appearing around 1907-8 Nagy, I. 1982. *The character of Hungarian Art Nouveau as reflected in Hungarian research: 1959-1981*. Acta Historica Arium 28: 383-482.

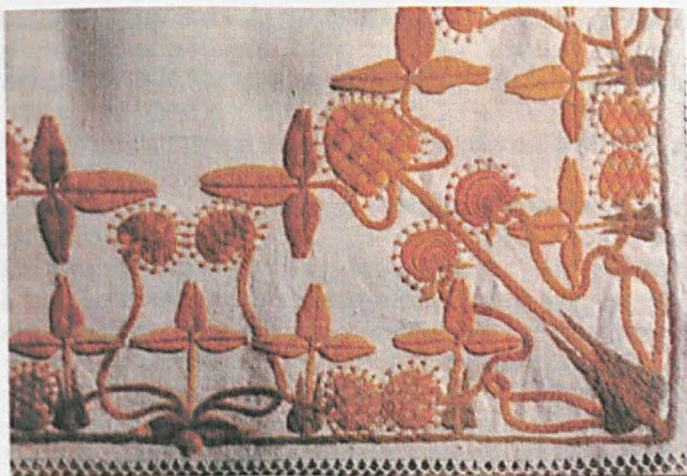
²³ Levetus, a journalist and critic, who graduated of the Birmingham School of Art, lived in Vienna, and displayed her advocacy for the Secession Movement writing articles for both Viennese and English journals.



52: Embroidery design by Fraulein Hrdlicka



53: Jessie Newbery Cushion Cover early c.20



54: Jessie Newbery Mantle Border

practising, and teaching in the Erzgebirge and other remote areas of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Levetus 1905a 213). Travelling libraries, patterns and models were loaned to the schools (Levetus 1905b 214).²⁴ In 1912 the state funded a Budapest Royal Arts and Crafts School interiors and decorative art exhibition, including designs by Mariska Undi, on the Hungarian side of the Carpathians (Levetus 1912 242). In Kashau an over fifteen thousand people attended the exhibition (Levetus 1912 242).

The re-drawing of the borders played an all-important role in the course of folk art and changes in style in a different commercial environment. National independence and identity were strong motivating forces on the development of peasant design. The first third of the twentieth century was a period shaped by the devastating conflict of World War One and in the quest for political ascendancy Vienna and Budapest were not only rivals but also sought their own separate identity.²⁵ Nationalist issues were at their most concentrated in Hungary, resulting in a richness and diversity of folk arts (Stirton and Kinchin 1999 30). In 1918 various successor states to the Austro-Hungarian Empire were created: Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia. Village dress became the model on which to base a national revival in design. The 1920 Treaty of Trianon, in which Transylvania was surrendered to Romania, played a major role in the course of folk art changes in style (Szacsvey and Hofer and Szacsvey 1998 7)(Fig 55).

In 1918 the province of Pozsony (now Bratislava) fell into Nazi territory and the *Izabella* industry relocated to Budapest. Then in 1919, the architect Dušan Jurkovič

²⁴ In a move that acknowledged the education of women could bring social and economic benefits to industry during times of political tensions and social discontent, the State changed its direction of support. In 1904, the Austro-Hungarian State, aligned education of lace making with its economic policy. The Central Spitzen-Curs (Central Lace Course) was established at the Central Lace School in Vienna, as the executive of the government, and thirty schools were established in the following four years Levetus, A. 1905a. *Austrian Lace Schools*. The Studio 35 (149): 19-30. The students from throughout the Austro-Hungarian Empire were able to live at the school, staying at a home in Vienna, opened in September 1904. By offering a small payment to the workers the Austrian state seized the opportunity to improve both the home and export lace trade.

Also in 1904, the *Verein zur Hebung der Spitzen-Industrie* (a Society for the Encouragement of Lace Making) was established, with the Arch-duchess Maria Theresia as patron, to further lace-making and increase the earnings of the lace-makers Levetus, A. 1905a. *Austrian Lace Schools*. The Studio 35 (149): 19-30. The society along-with the schools operated as a small business, employing agents to commission and collect the lacework, which was sold in a shop in Vienna. The lace-making schools were influenced by fashionable taste, firstly, Italian relief lace patterns were chosen for copying in preference to French and Belgian designs, secondly Irish lace became in vogue and a new style of Irish-Austrian lace was designed. By 1904, more than forty thousand women were engaged in these lace industries alone, where the schools furthered the interests of the local lace and embroidery industry, for example, both the Dornbirn in Vorarlberg and Graslitz in Bohemia areas were known for their lace trade and subsequently schools of machine embroidery were established Levetus, A. 1905a. *Austrian Lace Schools*. The Studio 35 (149): 19-30. By 1905, forty thousand girls were training for machinist roles in the textile industry in lace and embroidery fachschulen, established in all districts where the textile industries were established, from Vienna to the Erzgebirge, North and South Tyrol, Galicia, Bohemia Wolds, East Bohemia, Silesia, Carniola, the coast land, and Dalmatia Levetus, A. 1905b. *The Craft Schools of Austria*. The Studio 35 (149): 201-219.

²⁵ By 1909 the entire population of Hungary was about twenty million people, made up of 9m Magyars, 5m Slavs, 3m Rumanians, 2m Germans, 1m others, and all the nationalities were contributing to the Hungarian design style.



55: Map of Hungary before and after 1920

instigated a state organisation charged with the promotion of textile design and manufacture in the new Czechoslovakia, and the home industry came under state control, renamed Detva (Crowley 1995 28; Cisárová-Mináriková 2001a 12). Jurkovič collected popular examples of art for use as models, however a comparison of images of textiles in his collection, show them to be derivatives of those in Arch-duchess Izabella's collection. A NDS apron in the Embroiderers' Guild collection is a further derivation of the Jurkovič example (Fig 56-8).²⁶ Banners designed in 1923 by Mária Hollósy, reflect the discontent of the women who no doubt considered their design, and creativity was compromised by the state Detva organisation (Cisárová-Mináriková 2001a 39-43)(Fig 59-60).²⁷

A comparison of photographs and NDS *Izabella* textiles offers a panorama of design development over several generations, beginning with images in *The Studio* journal showing Bukovina women at a market (Fig 61-2). A GSA NDS man's shirt and a EG NDS blouse acquired from *Izabella*, Budapest are influenced by the style of design from Bukovina, of Greek origin (Fig 63-4).²⁸ Close observation of the shirt design reveals the Greek king pattern (Johnstone 1961 27)(Fig 65-6).²⁹ Taylor discusses the development of 'local' style over a period of three to four generations quoting Tamás Hofer and Edit Fél 'it can develop fully or reach a peak, after which stagnation and decline may set in'(Hofer and Fel in Taylor 2002 201). These garments are examples of such a design development, which references diverse influences. The above NDS designs draw on both oriental and Greek embroidery design and technique.

Kratina suggests a common phrase used by Detva embroiderers 'holes after the Turkish fashion' was in use in the 1930s, and claims it was purely Persian with a 'bent needle', as such embroidery with a hook was unknown in the west (Kratina 1932 167). The other likely source for the oriental influence cited by Kratina was the introduction of oriental design by Croatians who settled near Bratislava and southern Moravia³⁰ (Kratina 1932 167). Two RSM NDS embroideries dated late nineteenth century, Detva, and listed as typical of borders representing the districts of Samokar, Sofia and Cravo (Fig 67). A later twentieth century design derivation from Detva is illustrated in a shirt by Šotkova (Oddy 1965; Šotkova 1979)(Fig 68).³¹

²⁶ EG 2529.

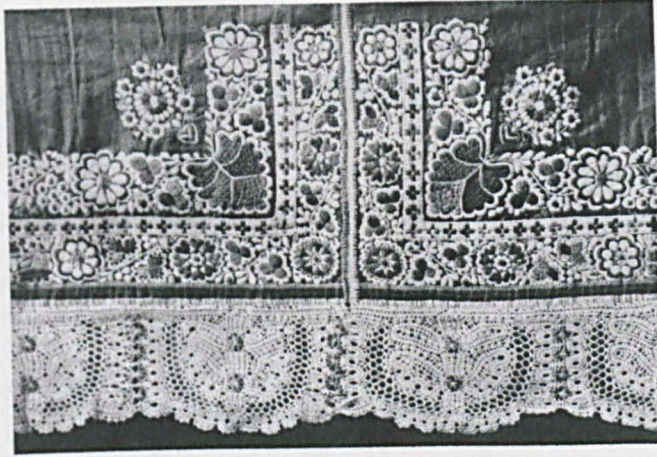
²⁷ The RSM design has affinity with V&A T236-1929. Oddy, R. 1962. *Royal Museum of Scotland List of Additions to the Art and Ethnography Department, 1055-1262*. Royal Museum of Scotland. Edinburgh.

²⁸ The man's shirt is GSA F24. Accession cards at the Embroiderers' Guild have confirmed the provenance of these textiles cross matched with GSA archive lists NDS 1945a. *Document*. Glasgow School of Art Archives. Glasgow. 1945.

²⁹ Blouse: EG 2529. Also in the NDS are shirts acquired from Bukovina: EG 2525.

³⁰ Moravia is now the Czech Republic.

³¹ The RSM design has affinity with V&A T236-1929. Oddy, R. 1962. *Royal Museum of Scotland List of Additions to the Art and Ethnography Department, 1055-1262*. Royal Museum of Scotland. Edinburgh.



56: Peasant Pinafore c.19



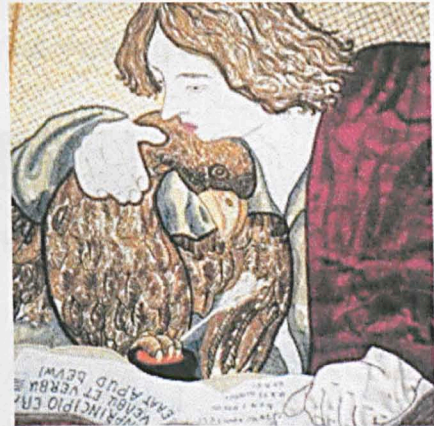
57: Jurkovic *Isabella* Apron



58: *Isabella* Apron NDS EG
© Embroiderers' Guild

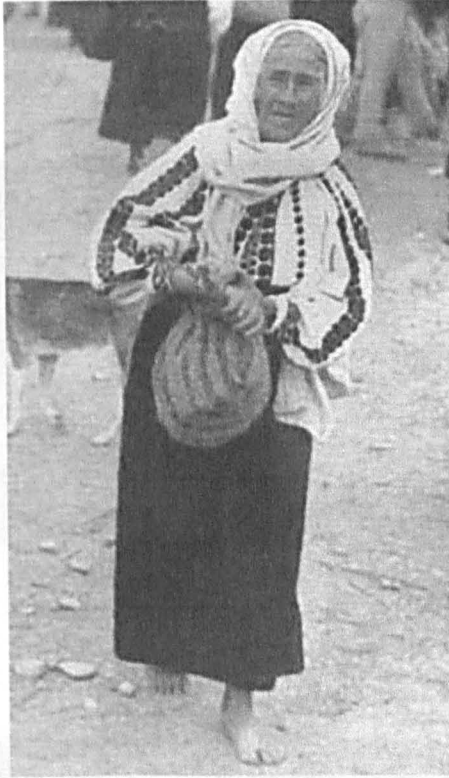


59: Mária Hollósy Banner 1923



60: Mária Hollósy Banner details

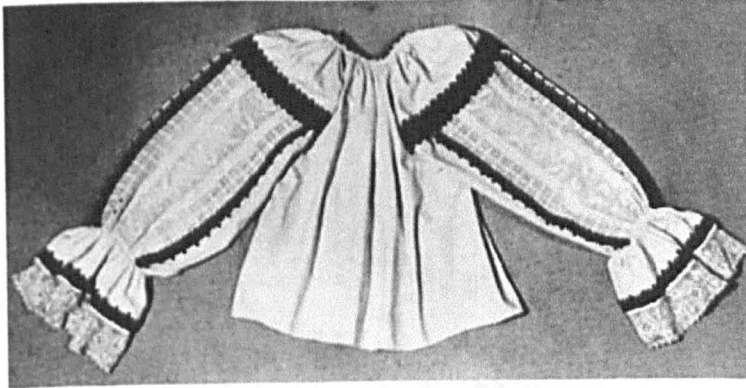
12. detail of a Bukovina design worn in a market



61: A woman at a Bukovina market wearing a shirt showing a characteristic design



62: Detail of a Bukovina design worn in a market

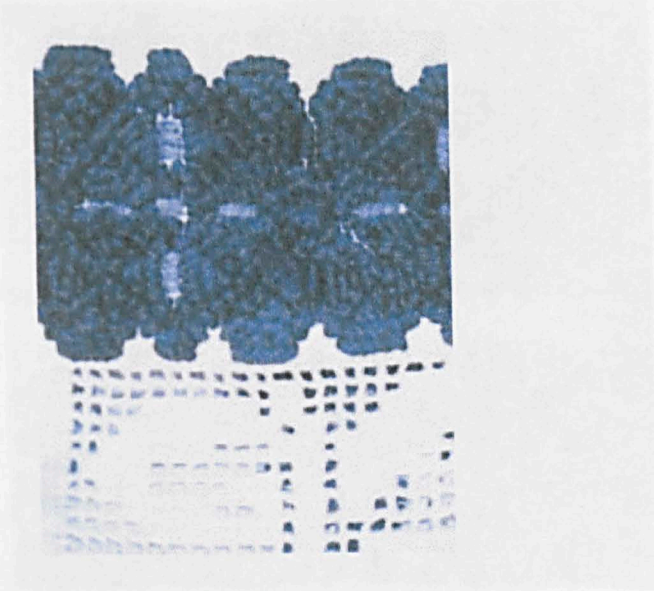


63: NDS *Isabella* man's shirt GSA

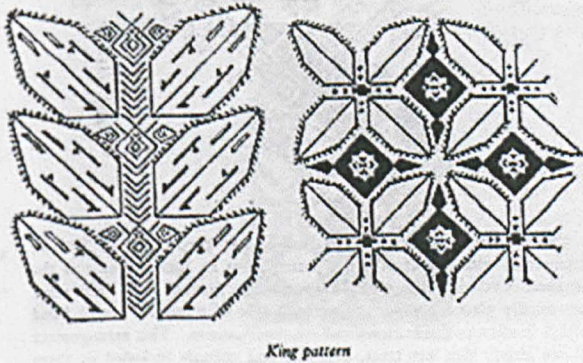
© Design of GSA NDS man's shirt design



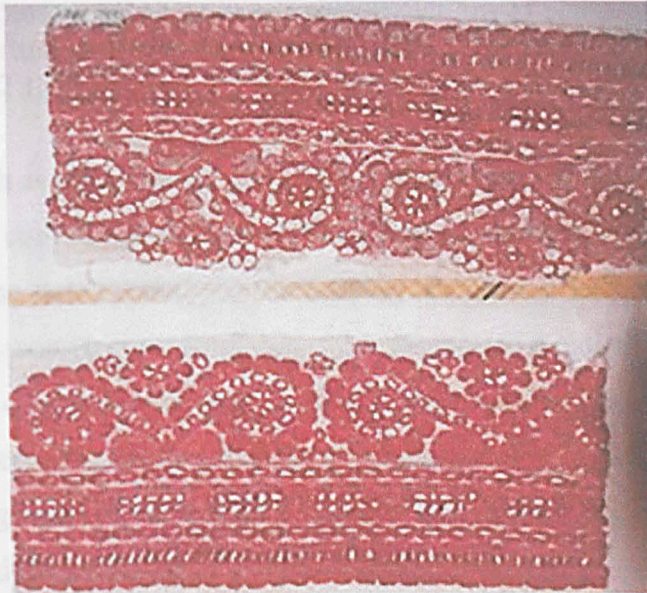
64: NDS *Isabella* woman's blouse
© Embroiderers' Guild



65: Detail of GSA NDS man's shirt design



66: King pattern



67: Two sections of a Czechoslovakian border
NDS RSM



68: Detva women's sleeve border

²²Visiting were held in Romania, Bulgaria, and Riga in 1962. *Keith D. 1962. The Story of J & P Coats: Coats Worldwide*. Syracuse, Ukraine. Other Coats' industries may have contributed to the character of the industry of the country, where the industries were located. A 1956 edition of the News Reel mentions an embroidery department was attached to the mills at Anagnino, near Lazio in Italy. In the late nineteenth-century Coats sent embroidery reports from Palermo to Russia. *Keith D. 1962. The Story of J & P Coats: Coats Worldwide*. Ukraine. Maria Gier's family saw images of embroideries worked by her relatives in Romania during that era. The designs are typical of southern European embroidery. Two RSM and 10 NDS Russian boys and girls' "white-on-white" dresses from the same "Palermo" mills, suggesting they may have been made by Coats personnel who worked for the Russian government. For more information on this see Clark, M. 2016. *Lightness at the Seaside: Chastity, Coats, and the American Market*. 2nd.

Beliefs such as those of Frantisek Kretz, the museum official, expressed in his memoirs, were likely to be typical of influential male civil servants and museum personnel, given the evolution of design in state instigated embroidery organisations:

Efforts to modernise peasant art according to the regulations of composition have always met with unfortunate results. Copy or crystallize them but don't modernize them (Kretz in Kratina 1932 173).

Authoritative voices such as these spread patriarchal views and trivialised women's design initiatives. The post war communist regimes prolonged peasant art, and suppressed design and women's work, as the state encouraged the copying of patterns. Paradoxically the officials and aristocratic women considered they were promoting a nationalist design look, indeed the designs drew on a variety of international sources and only when artistically trained women were involved in the design process did further design development occur.

Through the encouragement of the women's industry the peasant was socially and culturally integrated, and the evolution of a modern design style was shaped. The peasant design process when led by an artistic person such as Mária Hollósy was not static. Commercial initiatives, travel, publications, and evolving influences and interpretations shaped the designs. When embroidery design was affected by various influences, such as migration and colonisation, artistically created rather than copied to satisfy the tastemakers of the time and their commercial demands, a modern style of design did evolve.

In spite of powerful industrial progress folk culture was encouraged within national cultural propaganda. At this time the dissemination of colonial design by Coats was seen as a threat, as recorded later in 1934 by Mária Undi:

This dangerous invasion of western decorative forms-with which came the influence of western architectural and decorative style-was propelled by the western thread trade manufacturers, who wanted a better market for their productions and threatened to swamp the home style of decoration altogether (Undi 1934 53).

In both Romania and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, classes were held for the J & P Coats' mill girls, who learnt to make embroidered tablecloths and d'oyles (Keir 1962 vol.3 54).³² Also, in Bratislava Coats organised sewing classes for women, which were very popular

³²Classes were held in Romania, Bulgaria, and Riga as well. Keir, D. 1962. *The Story of J & P Coats*. Coats Viyella plc. Typescript. Uxbridge. Other Coats' industries may have contributed to the character of the embroidery of the country, where the industries were located. A 1956 edition of the News Reel mentions an embroidery department was attached to the mills at Acquacalda, near Lucca in Italy. In the late nineteenth-century Coats sent embroidery experts from Paisley to Russia. Keir, D. 1962. *The Story of J & P Coats*. Coats Viyella plc. Typescript. Uxbridge. Moira Clark kindly sent images of embroideries worked by her relatives in Russia during that era. The designs are typical of Scottish Ayrshire embroidery. Two RSM and EG NDS Russian boys and girls 'aristocratic' dresses both feature 'Paisley' motifs, suggesting they may have been made by Coats personnel who worked for the Russian aristocracy. For more information on this see Clark, M. 1992. *Reflections in the Samovar*. Chandlers Ford, The Merdon Marque.2nd.

(Sventeniková 1998).³³ The post-war communist regimes responded by initiating programmes, which prolonged the lifespan of ‘peasant design’.

In 1932 the *Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht* commissioned Máriska Undi to publish peasant designs, developed from her ethnography collection, in print from 1932-1945, in journal format *Magyar Kincsesláda* (Hungarian Embroidery Treasure Box), included both English and German excerpts (Fig 69). In 1934 Undi wrote *Fancy Needlework and Weaving: The history of Hungarian decorative embroidery and weavings from the Time of the occupation of Hungary by the Magyars till today*, which included both designs and text on the evolution of Hungarian embroidery and weaving design (Undi 1934). Undi’s designs could be reworked into ‘national’ patterns for textiles and furnishing decoration. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Martin acquired designs such as these for the NDS.

Labels on two Robert Gordon University, Aberdeen NDS embroideries made by the state co-operative *Háziipari Hangya Szövetkezet*, (National Hungarian Home Industry Society) claim authenticity, however the designs of the embroideries from Karad and Vaárosnavény, show a strong influence from Madeira embroidery (Fig 70-4). This style of embroidery design developed quickly as Madeira was a popular holiday destination of the aristocracy (Undi 1934; NDS 1945b).³⁴ Originally this National Hungarian Home Industry Society was a branch of the *Izabella*, but it separated and became the largest Hungarian home industry organisation, operating for thirty years until it was ‘compelled to liquidate in 1933’ (Undi 1934 82). The state replaced it with the Hungarian Women’s National Association (Undi 1934 83).

Typical of the static design in the state organisations is an unidentified, unlabelled richly embroidered Czechoslovakian tunic, in the Dundee NDS collection (Fig 75). The dense design on the cuff is derived from a late nineteenth/early twentieth century oriental design from Piešťany, Slovakia (Bazieličowna 1960 81) (Fig 76).³⁵ The tunic is the same as a dress featured on the cover of a 1931 issue of *The Needlewoman*, made and marketed by *Slavonic Handcrafts* in London (Coats 1931)(Fig 77).³⁶

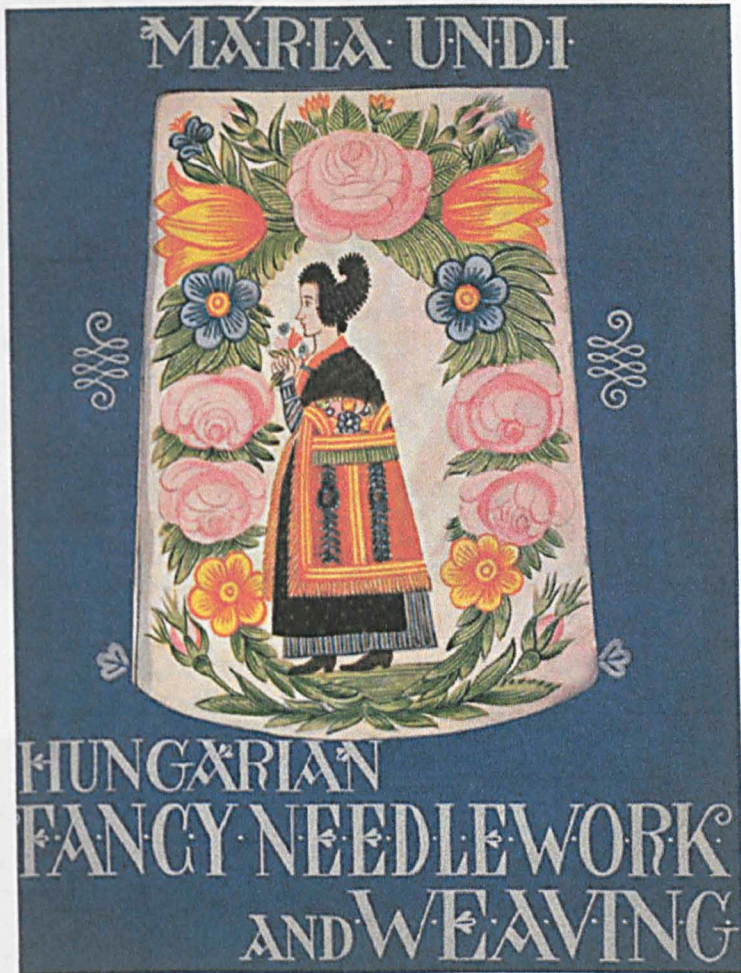
Another wave of peasant embroidery design developed in the town of Mezőkövesd, Hungary, an ethnographical tourist attraction where the church parade was famous for the display of embroidered national costume (Modern Motor Travel 1948 25; Fél and Hofer

³³ This information kindly supplied by Beata Varmusova, Bratislava.

³⁴ Labelled ‘*Vente cooperative ouvrages de l’industrie à domicile hongrois, Hangya Budapest*’ (sold by home industry Hangya Budapest). ‘*Produit authentique de l’art populaire hongrois, fait par les membres des sociétés cooperatives affiliées à l’Union «HANGA»*’ RGU NDS.

³⁵ Contrasting with these state controlled designs are Juliet Kinchin’s collection of textiles made by women for their own use, with some of the expressive images revealing scenes of domesticity in a patriarchal environment.

³⁶ DUNUC ARTS: 297, no NDS number.



69: Mária Undi 1934 Book Cover

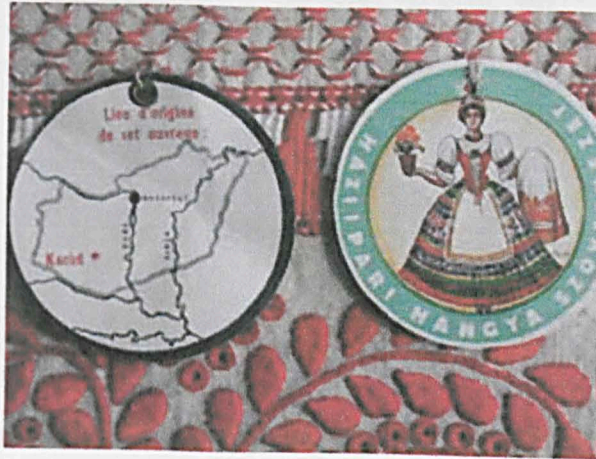


70: Madeira lace and gold raised embroidery 1900s



71: Madeira inspired embroidery NDS RGU

4. Embroidery Label NDS RGU



72: Place of Origin Label NDS RGU



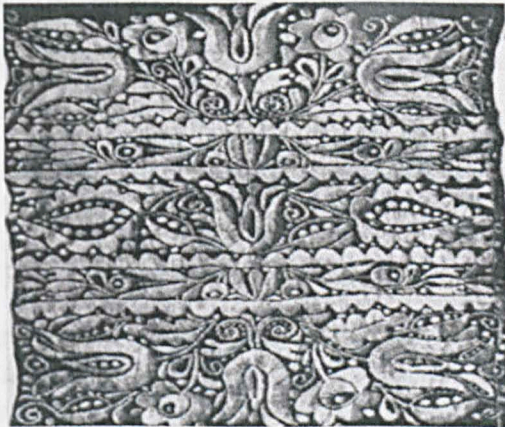
73: Price Label NDS RGU



74: 'Authenticity' Label NDS RGU



75: Tunic sleeve embroidery NDS DUNUC



76: Slovakian embroidery Late c.19



77: *The Needlewoman* Cover

and Fél 1979 51). Women of Mezőkövesd designed embroidered works, such as blouses, tablemats and d'oyleys, which were sold in the markets and parks and by peddlers in the streets of Budapest, as well as in Vienna, Paris, London and New York (Modern Motor Travel 1948 25). Edit Fél compares Erzsébet Rakamazi's formal designs with their floral centred style to Panni Pék's less restrained filling of space on ornately decorated aprons and bodices, which she suggests were drawn free-hand by women designers, suggesting some slight individual interpretations were made (Fél 1958 32).

The NDS Hungarian designs from Mezőkövesd, Hódmezővásárhely, and Balmazújváros show a close resemblance to nineteenth century styles included in Undi's *Magyar Kincsesláda*, commissioned by the state. Paisley Museum NDS archives reveal Colin Martin bought twelve Hungarian embroideries in 1947, along-with illustrations, for a favorable fifty-four pounds, or the equivalent of thirteen hundred pounds today, possibly most probably from street peddlers or in the market in Mezőkövesd (Modern Motor Travel 1948 25). Anonymously written in 1948, possibly by Martin or a Coats' employee, *The Village that lives by embroideries*, highlighted the importance of embroidery to the economy of the town:

Visiting foreigners are lured to the embroidery village by the fame of the Church Parade and by the all-absorbing passion of bargain hunting. Cheap enough in the streets of Budapest where they are peddled by the peasant women themselves, Mezőkövesd d'oyleys, table centres, blouses are cheaper still at their place of production (Modern Motor Travel 1948 25).

Perhaps originating in these or similar markets, most of these simulations of Undi's published designs, stitched in Coats' floss thread, remain in Scotland at the RSM and Dundee University collections (NDS 1947a; McCusker 2001)(Fig 78-83).³⁷ There are many NDS works held in various collections, including national museums, of such provenance, although this remains unrecorded in the accession records. Surviving NDS

³⁷ £ 1314.42 is today's equivalent of £54.14.0d. Martin's purchases are likely to have included the following NDS textiles:

RSM 1962.1181, NDS 1431: cushion-cover design from Hódmezővásárhely. A modern development from a design such as Hofer, T. and E. Fél 1979. *Hungarian Folk Art*. London, Oxford University Press. See also fig. 89 Undi, M. 1934. *Fancy Needlework and Weaving: The history of Hungarian decorative embroidery and weavings from the Time of the occupation of Hungary by the Magyars till today*. Budapest

DUNUC Arts: 292, NDS 1424: pillow front Transylvania. Compare with NDS EG 3843 pillow front featuring both Ottoman and European influences.

DUNUC Arts: 272, NDS 1473: part of a sleeve compare with design fig.86 embroidered best sheet in Undi, M. 1934. *Fancy Needlework and Weaving: The history of Hungarian decorative embroidery and weavings from the Time of the occupation of Hungary by the Magyars till today*. Budapest

DUNUC Arts 274, NDS 1135 : part of a cuff

RMS 1962.1180, NDS 1430: front of a pillow design from Comitát Bekés.

Martin's enthusiasm for these embroideries was most probably published anonymously Modern Motor Travel 1948. *The village that lives by embroideries*. Modern Motor Travel 25 (Apr). A 1930s purchase was: RSM 1962.1179, NDS 701 part of a valance design from Balmazújváros.



78: Peasant Best Sheet



79: Part of a sleeve NDS DUNUC

81: Pillow Front NDS DUNUC

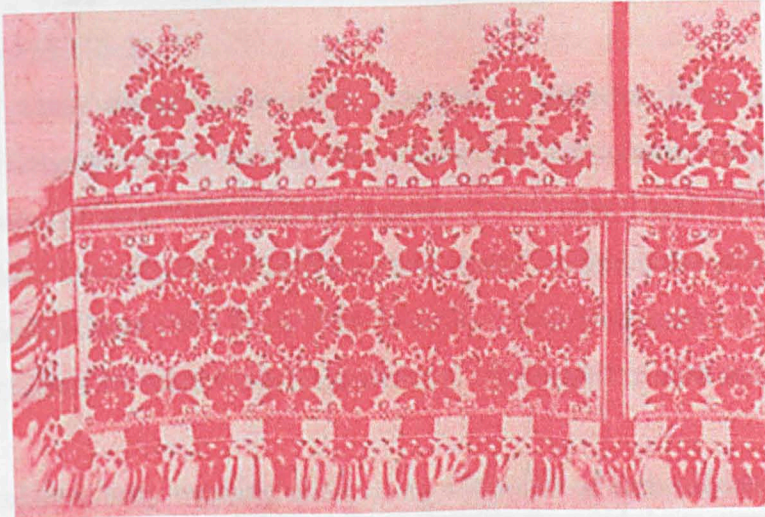


N. lap. Vájrólendű orp. Nagytrókos páros kímőssel. (Cőroszte.)

80: Mária Undi 1930s design



81: Pillow Front NDS DUNUC



82 Peasant Bed Sheet



83: Part of a Valance NDS RSM

lists reveal these textile designs were circulated to the schools and other groups as 'traditional' designs. The GSA NDS list reveals a NDS cushion design is described as 'Balkan,' but was created by a soldier at Wormwood Scrubs and purchased in London for two pounds (NDS 1949). This design has affinity with designs promoted in *The Needlewoman*, in Coats' National Cushion series, and is possibly a Coats pattern (Needlewoman 1932 12-3).

Other NDS 'ethnic' designs were perhaps created in Netherpton, Wishaw, Scotland by refugees from Hungary, Latvia, Poland, the Ukraine and Yugoslavia living at *Cala Sona*, a home for displaced persons from the Belsen camp in Germany (Coats 1960 4-5). A Ukrainian woman, formerly one of Hitler's child slaves worked cross stitch designs freelance for Coats (Coats 1960 7). A 1960 *News Reel* article describes a presentation of embroidery for Coats, by other *Cala Sona* women, who hoped to earn some income:

Someone had been busy washing and ironing a number of embroidered mats, cloths and runners-in readiness for an exhibition the following day-and these were laid out, clean and crisp and colourful, on the tables and chairs in the room. The embroidery and crochet had been done by the women folk at *Cala Sona*, -for they have always engaged in some form of needlecraft ever since childhood. Now they hope to sell their work to help pay their way (Coats 1960 6).

The embroidery designs made by the women for some extra cash are likely to have been acquired for the NDS collection, however the origin of these designs was not of significance to Coats. A Yugoslavian dress made by an employee of Coats was donated to the Paisley Museum in the 1960s.³⁸ A NDS 'Romanian' dress in the EG NDS collection was possibly made at *Cala Sona*.³⁹ Coats commissioned various ethnic groups and the range of design influence is of an enduring significance.⁴⁰

The women's movement played a significant role in the development of design. Ideas spread from the least industrialised areas of Europe to the most industrialised. Creative designs by artistically trained women such as Máriska Undi and Mária Hollósy developed new aesthetics. The design only became static when promoted by the state in the interests of nationalism, when paradoxically the many influences on design such as migration,

³⁸ This information was obtained from archives at Paisley Museum.

³⁹ EG2561

⁴⁰ In 1954 *The News Reel* journal described the Ukrainian designs of Marie Hrynek, 'exquisite Ukrainian embroidery done without a transfer' Coats, J. P. 1954. *News Reel*. 3
The contribution, which various ethnic groups can make to textile design, was recognised in 1932, by Adele Coulin-Weibel, Curator of Textiles, Detroit Institute:

It is the duty of each immigrant American to bring to his new home the arts and crafts of his country, to foster them into his new tasks. Coulin Weibel, A. 1932. *Peasant Embroidery*. Bulletin of Detroit Institute of Art (Jan): 45-6.

travel, patronage, occupation and trade were overlooked. Official personnel, encouraged by the beliefs of Walter Crane and the Arts and Crafts Movement, had a negative influence on women's design.

Neither the creativity nor the authenticity of these designs was of concern to Coats who were eager to promote the use of their various threads as shown in these NDS examples. Most of these designs were indeed not authentic, but copies made in state workshops, organisations, and tourist industries using Coats' thread. The following chapter, *Tradition Masked by Modernism: the Influences on key Designs in NDS Embroideries of the late 1920s to 1930s*, offers a contrast of a different style of design process created in a similar epoch to the state run cooperatives and workshops of the 1920s-1930s. The cultural setting in fascist Europe and external influences on design such as the Bauhaus, and fashion for peasant and traditional themes is explored.

Chapter 8: Tradition Masked by Modernism: the Influences on Key NDS Designs of the late 1920s to 1930s

There is more tradition in the work that commonly goes by the name of 'ultra-modern' than might at first be supposed; more perhaps than even the artists themselves would invariably be prepared to claim (Kendrick 1935 1181).

In 1935, Kendrick, Keeper of Textiles, V&A, alluded to the difficult situation for decorative designers during the 1930s, when their design was suppressed. Several textiles in the NDS collection appear 'modern' but reference, obliquely, other powerful political design influences. The Austrian, and German designs collected by Alex Russell, DCA, and Italian textiles collected by Kathleen Mann, GSA in 1934, provide a strong contrast to the 'peasant' works, which played an important role in the development of ethnic design documented in the previous chapter.¹ Motivated by the desire to improve textile design in Scotland the lecturers selected works of a modern appearance, designed within the accepted confines of the politics of the time.

During the interwar years, when design was governed by a patriarchal vision, women were constrained and in response developed a dissenting design aesthetic. In this context this chapter explores both the cultural setting in fascist Europe, and external influences, such as the Bauhaus and the fashion in fine art for peasant and traditional themes. Through the consideration of significant designs by Emmy Zweybrück-Prochaska, Elsi Köhler, Amelia Chierini, Käte Luise Rosenstock, as well as Italian and German ecclesiastical works of the 1920s-1930s, which explored complex political ideas the debate is argued.² The role of the Scottish Art School lecturers and Coats in the dissemination of these designs is also refined. An emergent issue is the change in status of the designers as they moved from the position of recognised artists to anonymous commercial designers working for and influenced by J & P Coats. This study places the NDS designs within modernism and concludes by considering their influence on the design of British artists, educators, and students.

As discussed in the Methods section, extensive archival research, including examination of documents from the NDS and J & P Coats, newspaper clippings, photographs, and journals has been completed. The archival material, object studies and reference, to related literature have informed this study, and made analyses of the designs possible. The cross-referencing of these sources created typologies, which provided answers to the

¹ Mr Russell visited Germany and Austria, and Kathleen Mann visited France and Italy spending approximately £300 each purchasing the embroideries NDS 1934c. *Minutes*. Paisley Museum Archives. 3151 3/2/1. Paisley. 18 May 1934.

² Emma Zweybrück-Prochaska (1890-1956). There are no works attributed to Köhler in the collection, but it is apparent that this acknowledgement has been omitted from the archives, and other records, this is discussed later.

identification and provenance of some of the textiles in the collections. Reference to related contemporary literature has allowed an understanding of the context of the issues, that the artists were commenting on, to develop.

Prior to the lecturer's involvement in the NDS, there was an impetus given to embroidery by the 1932 V&A Exhibition *Modern Embroidery*. It was in this new climate promoted by the London Exhibition, that the lecturers travelled abroad in 1934 to acquire significant works as inspiration for the Scottish embroiderers. Mary Hogarth's introduction to the 1933 special number of *The Studio*, *Modern Embroidery*, promoting the above exhibition, highlights the use of tradition as a design source for the embroiderers:

Modern Embroidery should be the invention of today in design, and should express this age. The technique should be governed by design. Since the Great War a new school of design has been growing up in Northern and Central Europe. It was given great impetus by the exhibition of 1925 in Paris. We can trace tradition in all the plates in this book, and yet we can truly say they are of our time and could have only been designed in this age (Hogarth 1933 1).

Most of the unique works obliquely referencing political issues discussed in this chapter were not included in the exhibition, except for works by Emmy Zweybrück, and Vittorio Zeechin of the *Civica Scuola Professionale Femminale* (Hogarth 1933 112; Coats 1958 158). GSA NDS archive records show the largest group of artist textiles collected was by Zweybrück. Women such as Zweybrück made important contributions to design education, and led successful design careers, during a period of political and cultural oppression, but their contribution to design has been overlooked in the literature. Also, the Design History focus on the Modern Movement, particularly the Bauhaus, has resulted in the disregard of other associations between design and society (Doordan 1995 257).³

Restrictions on women and the applied arts, by the Bauhaus, the experimental school of modernism, helped to create dissenting, marginal, fragmentary design movements, as typified in these NDS embroideries. Abstract, geometric forms, primary coloured, produced by technology, with no figurative or symbolic elements are considered by many historians to characterise much design of the Modern Movement. Figurative, decorative embellishment and the intrinsic pattern of textiles were at odds with both the functionalism

³ In 1990 Greenhalgh extrapolated twelve features of the Modern Movement, some of which were shared by the various schools Greenhalgh, P. 1990. *Modernism in Design*. London, Reaktion Books. In 1992 he narrowed his defining process down to two concepts: 'objectification' and 'holism':

'objectification': the process whereby modernists appeared willing and able to step outside the continuum of history[...][and holism every element is related to every other and functions as a whole[...][Past values were rejected [...][and there was little diversity Greenhalgh, P. 1992. Maelstrom of Modernism. Crafts 116 (May/June): 17-19.

Doordan writes 'history can be distorted if a discussion on the feelings of the people is evaded', which holds true for many of these NDS embroideries included in this chapter. Doordan, D. 1995. *Political Things: Design in Fascist Italy. Designing Modernity: The Arts of Persuasion 1885-1945*. W. Kaplan. London, Thames and Hudson.

elements in favour of the manipulation of form, and rejected tradition and historicism as a source of a design.

Initially, however, embroidery played a significant role in the development of the modernist image. In 1898, Mary Logan claimed in *The Studio*, that Hermann Obrist, the German sculptor, in collaboration with Bertha Ruchet, while they visited his studio in Florence in the early 1890s, created embroidery designs which were stitched by local Italian women (Logan 1896 100).⁴ The embroideries became the first modern art designs, exhibited in Munich, artists revelled in the creativity, with its subtle variations of colour, and texture with relief.⁵ Ironically this applied art form, which encouraged modernism, was later considered to be too decorative to be included in modernist design mandates.

Obrist, a member of the *Vereinigte Werkstätten für Kunst im Handwerk* (United Workshops for Art in Craftwork), had a decisive influence on education in Germany, as along-with Wilhelm von Debschitz he established the *Lehr- und Versuch -Ateliers für freie und angewandte Kunst* (Teaching and Research Studio for Applied and Free Art) in Munich in 1902 (Deubner 1912 -3 44).⁶ The school focused on practical training in applied art rather than the drawing approach of the *Kunstgewerbe*, aiming to encourage students to express themselves (West 2000 137). Dedicated to the production and sale of furnishing and homewares, the *Vereinigte Werkstätten* was promoted in magazines, eliminating the distinction between the fine and applied arts.

The success of the workshops was in part a catalyst for the formation of the *Werkbund* in 1908, along-with the beliefs of Hermann Muthesius. In 1898, Muthesius was appointed the German architectural attaché and inspector to schools in London for seven years. He provided German educational institutions with models for the reform of design schools. Muthesius believed Germany would be improved in terms of aesthetics, taste and economy with a universal style of design. In Britain he observed British architecture, art and design, and took the works of the Arts and Crafts Movement as inspiration, in a quest to have German products recognised for their positive characteristics (Woodham 1997 32).⁷ It is

⁴ Bertha Ruchet was director of his Munich atelier.

⁵ L. Deubner in *The Studio* repeated the claim that Obrist's embroideries started the Modern Movement Deubner, L. 1912-13. *Modern German Embroidery*. The Studio 57: 39-47.

⁶ In 1897 the *Vereinigte Werkstätten für Kunst im Handwerk* (United Workshops for Art in Craftwork) was established to promote an awareness good design and taste in both artists and consumers, fusing William Morris' utopian ideals and commercial reality West, S. 2000. *The Visual Arts in Germany*. Manchester & New York, Manchester University Press. Zwëybruck had designs woven at the Berlin workshops Anon 1928. *Zweybrück*. Die Kunst 62: 179-180. A lost embroidery: ECA NDS 553, was made at the *Vereinigte Werkstätten für Kunst im Handwerk*.

⁷ In 1908 the *Werkbund* was formed, politically motivated, linked to the government, it began to address economic problems West, S. 2000. *The Visual Arts in Germany*. Manchester & New York, Manchester University Press. The *Werkbund* aimed to improve industrial production through the creation of 'type forms', without embellishment which might threaten the appearance of its construction Woodham, J. 1997. *Twentieth*

known that Muthesius returned to Germany with some of Jessie Newbery's embroidery (Bedford and Davies 1979 281).⁸

Against the convention of the era, Muthesius supported his wife, Anna who was one of a few German women able to pursue a career in ladies clothing (Droste 1989 186).⁹

Dresses designed by Newbery were included in Anna Muthesius' 1904 book *Das Eigenkleid der Frau*, which included rational dress design (Swain 1973 106). More commonly however, patriarchal attitudes marginalized women designers, and categorised feminine handicrafts, such as embroidery as appropriate for women, the guardians of tradition. As Droste writes this perception was established much earlier:

Men like women saw working with textiles a natural affinity for women-perpetuating a division of labour according to sex, which had been firmly entrenched since the nineteenth century, if not longer (Droste 1990 72).

At the turn of the twentieth century this was extremely restrictive for women designers, as Droste, the Bauhaus archivist, explains:

The definition of 'feminine' art became so narrow that in its final analysis it was completely incompatible with the term 'artist' (Droste 1989 175).

In 1909 as women were granted legal membership in German political parties, men were also alarmed by their influx into art (Anger 1996 132). Influential critics such as Karl Scheffler, began to publish anti-feminine art ideas which had much influence (Anger 1996 132). In *Die Frau und die kunst* (Women and Art), Scheffler, a future Bauhaus lecturer, argued that women were unable to produce works of culture because of their ties to nature and lack of spiritual insight (Scheffler in Musicant 2000-1 194). Later in 1911 in Glasgow Anning Bell, the newly appointed Professor of Design, GSA, echoed these prejudices:

The work done in the design studios seems too 'feminine' in character. The very excellent embroidery class, which is conducted on admirable lines is by far the best but a style of design which is very suitable to embroidery seems to have crept in everywhere (Bird 1983 113).

The conflicts of World War One, the fragmentation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the Russian Revolution brought political and socio-economic changes, while the modernist schools were forming. In the late 1920s the Wall St crash heightened economic

Century Design. Oxford & New York, Oxford University Press. Gradually the principles moved further away from the applied arts, focusing on mechanical and electrical products, and transportation forms.

⁸ Jessie Newbery and Anna Muthesius remained friends. The Muthesius' were also friendly with Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Margaret Mackintosh. Bedford, J. and I. Davies 1979. *Remembering Charles Rennie Mackintosh*. The Connoisseur: 280-88.

⁹ In 1906 Muthesius suggested that women should be taught alongside men. Droste, M. 1989. Women in the Arts and Crafts: Women in the Arts and Crafts and Industrial Design 1890-1933. *Fraun im Design / Women in Design: Careers and Life Histories since 1900*. 179.

chaos and tensions. At the Bauhaus, the influential modernist school, patriarchal attitudes marginalized women designers, and categorised handicrafts, such as embroidery as appropriate for women (Droste 1990 72). Droste writes of the perceptions existing at this time:

It may be noted that the Weimar Bauhaus presented a number of fundamental obstacles to the admission of women and that those who overcame the first hurdles were forcibly channelled into the weaving workshop. Much of the art produced by women was dismissed by men as 'feminine' or 'handicraft' (Droste 1990 40).

As women received the vote and were given a voice in political realms, their participation in public and artistic life was perceived as a threat. In this climate the Bauhaus, widely acknowledged as the school that unfurled modernism, was founded in Weimar, Germany, in 1917, and further enforced these limitations. Educational opportunities for women had been limited and they continued to be oppressed in the inhospitable climate of the Bauhaus (Droste 1990 40). In 1920, Walter Gropius introduced a more rigorous entry policy, restricting the number of women to a third of the new entrants, he stated:

No unnecessary experiments should be made, and that women should be sent direct from the *Volkurs* to the weaving workshop (Gropius in Droste 1990 40).

The dilemma of the reduced number of women, and their 'feminine' or 'handicraft' tendencies was solved by the creation of a women's class. Isolated, they soon formed the textiles class, leaving fine art, architecture, and the furniture departments to the men:

From the very start the weaving workshops formed the territory of the many women who joined the Bauhaus, particularly in the early years. Since only some of the women could be rejected, but since they were clearly not allowed their fair share of the study places, the Council of Masters approved the setting up of a women's class. In doing so it revived an institution from the world of the academies and schools of Arts and Crafts. For many years such classes represented the only educational opportunity open to women, with textile techniques, decoration and decorative drawing their only subjects of study (Droste 1990 72).¹⁰

At the Bauhaus, opposition to women designers continued to develop. Scheffler considered mass culture, woman, the decorative, and ornament as collective opponents to high art (Anger 1996 137).

¹⁰ The curriculum, after an introductory experimental session in appliqué and embroidery, focused on the production of knotted and woven commercial samples for industry Droste, M. 1990. *Bauhaus: Bauhaus Archiv 1919-1933* Berlin, Baush-Archive Museum.

In 1925, when the Bauhaus moved to Dessau, Gunta Stölzl was unanimously appointed as master of the weaving workshop by her students instead of Georg Muche, the preference of both the Bauhaus' leadership and Wassily Kandinsky (Irving 2000). Also, in what could have only been a frustration for the male leaders, Stölzl's textile class was the only one to consistently run at a profit. Textile techniques, decoration and decorative drawing were the main areas of study (Droste 1990 72). It encouraged consumers to decorate their interiors with tapestries rather than paintings (West 2000 153). The emergence of textiles into a position of prominence defied the 'accepted' assumption that design for industry was a male preserve (Droste 1990 38). Importantly, this success led to design studio opportunities for women, preferred by many to fulltime employment in trade and industry (Droste 1990 151).

During this era Hitler recognized the potential for design to be a 'great improver', and national values and traditions were emphasized, while modernism was rejected (Greenhalgh 1990 15). Ideas of the blood and soil formed the foundation of the perspective, they propagated two myths: the woman as guardian, child-bearer and protector, and the German home as the centre for both the raising of children and the welcoming of the returning warrior (Weißler 1989 234). Sabine Weißler in *Imprisoned without a Role*, quotes an excerpt from a 1935 issue of *Die Dame*:

It was always the same in the most fateful hours of German history, it was not only the army who were fighting, the entire people joined in, and women held the fort, the home, which had to be guarded and protected along the difficult road to the future. The home of the children, of old memories of sacred ideas (Anon in Weißler 1989 235).

Folk embroidery was paradoxically acclaimed in Nazi Germany, and applied art evolved in line with the National Socialist view of the world. Workshops produced textiles for representational buildings commissioned by the government (PröbI-Kammerer 1996 41). The following quote details the encouragement of 'German-ness' in the countryside, soil, and peasantry in the crafts:

If the powers of origin, the creative forces derived from the soil and the countryside, from folk traditions and people's homes, are experienced and understood to their full depth again in Germany today, then there will be a solid base for German crafts flowering even more (Passarge in PröbI-Kammerer 1996 40).

Both Hitler's encouragement for the traditional and opposition to modernism created a design niche for embroiderers, which they could only accept, given the animosity towards their designs in the modern design realm.

In Austria design studio opportunities for women evolved as a result of different circumstances. The *Osterreichisches Museum für Kunst and Industrie* was established in

Vienna in 1864, and the Secession was formed in Vienna in 1897, in part as a response to the Museum's exhibitions, including Scottish and English design. The Modern Movement in decorative art grew through promotion in exhibitions and publications. Eight years later, in 1903 the Wiener Werkstätte was founded to tackle aesthetic issues.¹¹ It included the applied arts, and was supported by a wealthy Viennese middle class until 1932 when it closed. The curriculum was related to commercial design, through workshop practice, and the forging of links with industry.

Emmy Zweybrück attended the *Osterreichisches Museum für Kunst and Industrie Kunstgewerbe* (Academy of Applied Arts) studying in a curriculum, based on the British system, and steeped in the Secession.¹² In 1914, in defiance of the gender divide in education, Zweybrück established her own embroidery atelier and school, accepting advanced students of embroidery from abroad as well as from Vienna, advertisements for the School were regularly placed in the German 'fine art' and 'applied art' journals (Levetus 1926 181-2; Hoffman 1930 197). Her private Zweybrück School of Drawing and Applied Art in Vienna, for girls aged six to fourteen and fourteen to eighteen, was recognised by government (Levetus 1926 181-2).

Zweybrück's pedagogic approach would have been influenced by Frank Cizek's creative teaching methods, as she also taught at his school, encouraging creative drawing and design, with an understanding of modern art (Hoffman 1930 280).¹³ Josef Hoffmann elaborates on Zweybrück's philosophy, evident in both her designs and her student work, as indicated in *The Studio*, her criteria were 'artistic sense, pattern, rhythm, and articulation in artistic expression to prepare students for an applied art profession' (Levetus 1926 181; Hoffman 1930 197). Free creative work with an understanding of modern art, was encouraged by Zweybrück in her efforts to prepare students for an applied art profession (Hoffman 1930 332). Commissions were received from the wealthy patrons of Vienna and abroad. Zweybrück quickly developed an international reputation; from 1916 her work frequently received favourable reviews in *The Studio*, *Die Kunst*, *Deutsche Kunst und Dekorative*, *Stickereten und Spitzen* and later the American *Design* journal (*Die Kunst* 1928). Zweybrück's designs, included in the Austrian Pavilion at the 1925 Paris Exhibition, received more recognition in *Deutsche Kunst und Dekorative* (*Deutsche Kunst und Dekorative* 1925 79).

¹¹ RGU NDS 659 is a net mat from the Wiener Werkstätte. Edward Wimmer who set up the fashion department visited Glasgow Bedford, J. and I. Davies 1979. *Remembering Charles Rennie Mackintosh*. The Connoisseur 280-88

¹² The museum's atelier provided students with the opportunity to design from historical artefacts, and the museum was able to instil principles of taste.

¹³ The Cizek School was established in Vienna in 1898. Cizek studied the creative powers of the child and considered method to be the most important aspect of design work Hoffman, J. 1930. *Austrian Applied Art*. Vienna, Verlag Heinz and Co. 28

During the late 1920s, Zweybrück, was commissioned to design embroidered cloths for *S.S. Bremen* (Breuhaus 1930 192; Hoffman 1930 197; Schiebelhuth 1930-1 43-4)(Fig 84-5).¹⁴ This north German Norddeutscher-Lloyd Liner was a symbol of Germany's recovery from the War, and was used in advertising propaganda to signal the official acceptance of modernism (Heskett 1995 262).¹⁵ Zweybrück's nature inspired designs, in a subdued monotone modern effect, illustrated in Breuhaus' *Der Ozean Express Bremen*, added to the luxurious impression given in the first class saloon of the S.S. Bremen, frequented by high-ranking military personnel and the wealthy elite (Breuhaus 1930 138 & 142). Zweybrück's designs were made at the Vereinigte Werkstätten, in Munich, which drew considerable support from the Third Reich (Pröbl-Kammerer 1996 41).¹⁶ Embroideries and tapestries were made for Kraft-durch-Freude (strength-through-joy) type hotels, ocean liners, airports, officer's quarters, army buildings, and the then new chancellery building in Berlin (Pröbl-Kammerer 1996 41).¹⁷

A GSA NDS design is similar to both the *Bremen* designs and is the same as a design Zweybrück exhibited at the 1932 V&A *Modern Embroidery* exhibition (Hogarth 1933 20)(Fig 86). The provenance of this work is obscure in archives, listed as 'possibly German' in the GSA NDS listings, and attributed to Zeechin in both archive lists and on the reverse of a photograph held in the GSA NDS collection. Images included in *Stickereten und Spitzen* and *Modern Embroidery* prove this was indeed a Zweybrück design and part of a set of cloths for the *Bremen* (Hogarth 1933 21)(Fig 87).¹⁸

In 1931 Zweybrück's international reputation resulted in an invitation to present a series of lectures at Columbia University, Metropolitan Museum, New York, and Louisville, Kentucky, as well as a two-week course at Willesbare, Pennsylvania (Genaur 1938 26). The success of this venture saw it repeated again in 1938, when Emily Genauer, art critic of the World Telegram, in New York, interviewed Zweybrück, in a discussion full of contradictions (Genaur 1938).¹⁹ Zweybrück's comments reflect reluctance on her part to

¹⁴ The *Bremen* was launched in 1928 and completed in 1929. In 1940 it was to be refitted for the invasion of England but was burnt out by a cabin boy's act of revenge.

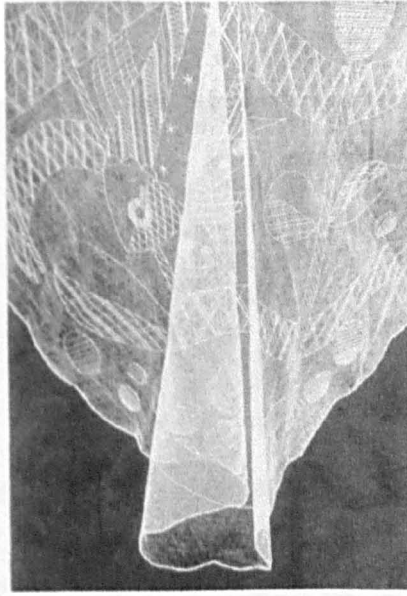
¹⁵ Fritz August Breuhaus and Paul Ludwig Troost were the commissioners. Troost, an architect, converted Hitler from an enthusiasm for Baroque to Neo classical forms Heskett, J. 1995. *Design in Inter-War Germany: Designing Modernity: The Arts of Reform and Persuasion 1885-1945*. W. Kaplan. London, Thames and Hudson: 257-286.

¹⁶ Woven textiles were also made for her at the *Vereinigte Werkstätten für Kunst im Handwerk*. *Die Kunst* 1928 *Zweybrück designs for Vereinigte Werkstätten für Kunst im Handwerk*. *Die Kunst* 62: 179-180.

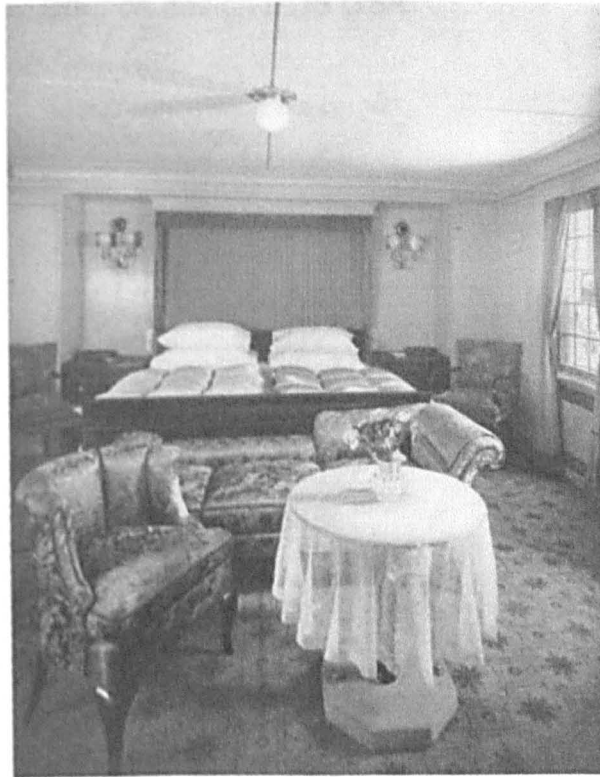
¹⁷ Zweybrück's *Bremen* design was promoted widely, in the *Modern Embroidery Exhibition*, organised by the British Institute of Industrial Arts at the V&A, in July 1932, and in *Modern Embroidery*, largely based on the exhibition. Zweybrück's design or a copy, is included in the Glasgow School of Art NDS collection listed as 'possible German' GSA F20

¹⁸ As discussed earlier, Zeechin was an Italian embroiderer based in Venice.

¹⁹ See Appendix 1 for a copy of this article.



84: Bremen Cloth detail

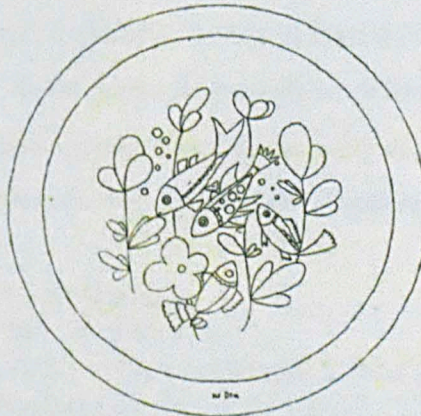


85: Emmy Zweybrück cloth in Bremen interior



86: [Emmy Zweybrück] Round Cloth Bremen design NDS GSA

NEEDLE-RUN EMBROIDERY ON NET
BY EMMY ZWEYBRÜCK



A circular table covering embroidered in white thread on net. The stitches are needle-run, darned, cross-hatched, done in rows of various distances, to render tones of light and shade effects as in a pen-drawing. The piece is one of a set made for the steamship "Bremen."

87: Instructions to copy Zweybrück design

commit to such discussion.²⁰ At a delicate time, Zweybrück, was guarded in her comments about the influence of the annexation of Austria by the German Reich, claiming the Anschluss meant little to Austrian artists (Genaur 1938 14). Genaur challenged Zweybrück's pro-fascist views 'Mussolini's attempt to revive the spirit of ancient Rome had made Italy a leader in modern art' (Genaur 1938 14). Zweybrück denied any knowledge of the state sponsorship of the arts in Italy, but showed her approval of the fascist system replying:

Italy's production of china, glass and other objects of décor has improved marvellously in the years since Mussolini came to power (Zweybrück in Genaur 1938 14).

Another NDS design is simply titled 'Venice' in the Dundee NDS listings and by Zeechin in the 1945 GSA NDS archive list. It is held in the Dundee University NDS collection. However, it is a narrative by Zweybrück, the true title «*Sonnensegen*» (Suns Blessing) (Michel 1933-4 58)(Fig 88-9). The design references a 1932 Hollywood movie, which presented Venice in an art deco style, and appears to comment on the luxurious conditions enjoyed by the middleclass tourists travelling on liners.²¹ A symbolic image of the SS Bremen cloth is included on the design's ship deck, along-with a peasant woman carrying a basket of fresh fruit. Perhaps a reference to the bountiful supplies of food enjoyed onboard by the middleclass tourists, compared with the 'mature fruit dispersed in traces' as in the text.²² 'Traditionally' costumed *massaie* (rural housewives) offered baskets of fruit or farm produce to those in power at fascist folklore festivals and ceremonies (Willson 2002 158). This could be a reference to the contrast, which existed between the conditions of those in power, and the poverty of the rural poor, who endured hardship and a scarcity of resources. Edwin Redslob's aphorism surrounds the image:

May the sun bless over the holy distance,
 May the sails, glide, over free open spaces,
 May the gliding clouds, believe in the people who follow you,
 Mature fruit dispersed in traces (Zweybrück in Michel 1933-4 58).²³

In 1920, Edwin Redslob, born in Weimar, was a nominee of the German Werkbund to the post of *Reichkunstwart* (State Art Officer), and became the manager of the

²⁰ Genaur asserts Zweybrück was a 'strong believer in co-educational teaching', yet for almost twenty years she had operated a single sex girls school Genaur, E. 1938. *Italy a Leader?* Art Digest 12 (August): 14.

²¹ Images included in *Stickerien und Spitzen* prove this was indeed a Zweybrück design. Another Zweybrück work probably titled *Conversations*, included in archive lists appears to be lost.

²² Following World War One food shortages were so severe children were sent to Scandinavia. Again during the Third Reich Austrians experienced severe shortages of food. After the Second World War Coats sent 150 food parcels to their Harland mill.

²³ Sonne segal über selige weite, Gieite, segel, über blaue fluren, Gieite, volke, gläubig im geleite, Reife frycht es streut mit spyren (*Stickerien und Spitzen*, 1933-4, p.58) DUNUC ARTS:255; NDS 790



88: Emmy Zweybrück *Sonnensegun*



89: Emmy Zweybrück *Sonnensegun* detail

Wuerttenbergischen museums, responsible for national art and culture questions. Redslob made numerous attempts to evolve a state policy for applied arts and design seeking to introduce a statute to improve recognition for applied artists (Taylor and Wilfried 1990 116). In 1933 Redslob disassociated himself from the National Socialist German Labour Party, and was dismissed by the Nazis (Doordan 1995 277).²⁴ German crafts people were under considerable threat as a result of the expansion of industry. Earlier, Zweybrück hailed him as a hero, along-with her graphics teacher, Rudolf von Larisch in a work published in 1931 (Schiebelhuth 1930-1 45). In the later 1930s Redslob wrote articles for the American *Design* journal (Payant 1938 1).

Coats corporate records reveal that in 1933, Coats established an agency to 'collect patterns and designs from all parts of the world' (Coats 1933 74). Coats envisaged this bureau would also supply college students with contemporary inspiration (NDS 1935a).²⁵ In November 1934, Zweybrück was appointed to Coats Mez AG mill, Coats German subsidiary, and hence the Harlander AG mill, near Vienna (Heller 2002 personal communication). The Harlander commissioned designs from her embroidery atelier in Vienna, for promotional purposes in trade exhibitions (Martin 2001 personal communication; Heller 2002 personal communication). This reveals both the extent of Coats commitment to the NDS, and the closeness of both their commercial design activity and the provision of inspiration for students.

The economic crises in Austria and the harassment suffered by artists, made it more and more difficult to maintain an art school and an art studio under the premises of the aesthetic values, which were held in Vienna. Professor Friedrich Heller, who organised an exhibition *Emmy Zweybrück*, in Vienna in 1989 based on 'paper work not embroidery', suggests 'her work for Coats-Mez was in a certain way a contradiction against her self-understanding as an independent artist or craftswoman' (Heller 2002 personal communication).²⁶ Advertisements for her school appear in *Stickereien und Spitzen's Handarbeiten Aller Art* as late as August 1939 (Handarbeiten Aller Art 1939 9).²⁷ It is likely it closed in the sense of it being a true atelier and school, but remained open for Coats' commissions. Just as Coats had previously played a role in encouraging thread sales in Central Europe through introducing British design, they now aimed to improve their commercial profits in Scotland by introducing designs from many other nations. Coats thus influenced design and design education by collecting and supplying contemporary designs

²⁴ Edwin Redslob (1884-1973) established a university and set about finding banished artworks after the Second World War.

²⁵ In 1935 Madame Héraudet, who was to lead the Design Bureau, attended the meeting with Coats personnel and the Scottish Art School principals.

²⁶ Colin Martin sent material to this exhibition. Martin, G. 2001. *Interview with Author*. Locharron. Oct 2001.

²⁷ Emmy Zweybrück-Prochaska *Kunstgewerbliche Schule u. Werkstatt*, Wien viii, Piaristengasse 47.

and created 'traditional' European designs, for use by both educational and amateur organisations.

From 1934, Zwëybruck's designs created following the formation of the NDSS show a shift in style, becoming ecclesiastical and fascist in appearance. Founded in 1919, Benito Mussolini's Italian Fascism became a major political force, which used the applied arts to 'domesticate' the revolution, promoting fascism in everyday life (Doordan 1995 225). Portrayals of women emphasised their traditional domestic roles of child bearing and raising, as women were portrayed as guardians of the home of the children, of old memories, and of sacred ideas (Woodham 1983 99; Doordan 1995 226-7). Given that Coats had prioritised the collection of ecclesiastical design it seems likely they would have indicated the type of work they preferred.

GSA's Zwëybrück *Madonna and Two Angels*, and Dundee's *Madonna and Child and Holy Family* are both ecclesiastical and fascist in appearance (Fig 90-2).²⁸ Zwëybrück's *Madonna and Two Angels*, inscribed *Unsere liebe frau* (My beloved lady) portrays the Madonna as a young women surrounded by her two angels in a reflective pose.²⁹ The *Holy Family* embroidery simply titled «*Bildstickerei*» (Embroidered surface), suggests this work was produced in a commercial environment, where the anonymity of both the designer and design was the norm (Spring 1935-6 38). The text, included in the design *Is ist ein Reis entsprungen Aus einer Wurzel zart* (A tender root has risen in the field) is perhaps a reference to the Italian fascist government's 'Battle for Grain' campaign to increase production of wheat and other cereals.³⁰ The text subversively adapts a line, *Es ist ein Ros' entsprungen*, from a German Christmas carol, simply substituting the word *Reis* (rice) for *Ros* (rose).³¹ The simple modification would not be noticed at a glance.

A further indication of Coats' enthusiasm for Zwëybruck's design is seen in the graphic representation of this embroidery, which was published in the press advertising the inaugural NDSS 1935 Exhibition at the McLellan Galleries (Citizen 1935)(Fig 17). Coats enthusiasm for the 'Tyrol' look was further demonstrated in a double page full colour spread in the 1934 *The Needlewoman* journal, showing a 'so chic' crochet ensemble with a hat in new Tyrolean shape, complete with instructions (Coats 1934 22)(Fig 93).

The 1945 review of the NDS Exhibition in Aberdeen recognised Zwëybrück's lively design, but overlooks her oblique political commentaries:

In contrast [to the German embroidery] the Austrian work is full of colour and gaiety. There is a spontaneous free technique in the panels of applique. The figures of the Holy

²⁸ GSA F 2; DUNUC ARTS: 996, NDS 733; DUNUC ARTS: 250, NDS 525.

²⁹ GSA NDS F2.

³⁰ With gratitude to Alison Coleman for the German translations in this research.

³¹ This information kindly given by a Margaret Hiley, at the *Trailblazers* conference.



90: Emmy Zweybrück *Madonna and Two Angels*



91: Emmy Zweybrück *Madonna and Child*



92: Emmy Zweybrück *Madonna and Child and Joseph*



93: *The Needlewoman* 1934
Tyrol styled designs

¹⁰ A fashion illustration design (DUMFRIE ARTS; 252, NDS 250) is the same as one featured in a book by the author, *Design for Fashion*, C. 1980, Peter Hansch, Edinburgh, Colin Martin, p.24. The woman carrying the basket sold toys in their first commercial initiative. Drake, M. 1990, *Bookish Bookish*, London, pp.19-22. Harris, David, *Art & Design*, London, pp.149-150. DUMFRIE ARTS; 249 NDS 248 & DUMFRIE ARTS; 251 NDS 249 and RGU NDS 253 & 255 works are in the collection of the Scottish Textile Design Centre (STDC) at Glasgow. BGS NDS 356 & NDS 352.

Family in bright Tyrolean costume and decked with spring flowers have a naive and joyous charm (Magpie 1945b).

Both the Fascists and Nazis were concerned with showing the family as a cohesive family unit (Doordan 1995 247). Children symbolised innocence, continuity between generations and unquestioning faith in authority, thus were used in wartime imagery to convince the child to accept war as natural, and reassure the adult that war was not as horrible as one might fear (Doordan 1995 247). Included in the Scottish NDS collections are several Zweybrück designs referencing children and toys.

In the American *Design* journal in 1934, Zweybrück wrote a leading article titled *Toys a Modern Art Problem*, discussing her concerns:

A good toy is one that appeals to the child's imagination, takes hold of his heart and becomes part of his life. It must not copy nature, but only suggest the character of the thing it represents. Instead of revealing everything, it ought to stimulate the child's imagination. The main thing in making toys is to use many bright, rich colours and glittering or very soft materials, that are agreeable to the eye and to touch (Zweybrück 1933-4 184).³²

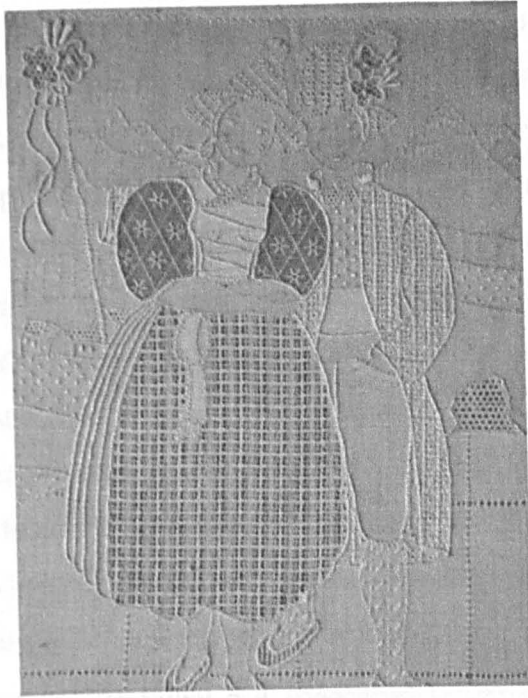
Zweybrück's designs are testimony to the fact that she didn't only view toys as a modern art problem. Her lively designs include elements unacceptable to the restrictive modernist agenda. Figurative, symbolic, colourful, and decorative designs reference traditional subjects, for example the Madonna, but are presented in a style acceptable to the dictates of those in power. Interestingly, the designs are not overtly fascist but subtly reference themes encouraged by those in power. The decorative design of fascist appearance is outside the confines of modernism, according to historians.

The Dundee and Aberdeen NDS collection includes several Zweybrück designs of a similar style, including «*Oestreichische Tracht*» (Austrian Dress), and «*Frühlingssonne*» (Spring sun)(Zweybrück 1936-7a 112)(Fig 94).³³ Simply listed in GSA archives as 'au jour' (an embroidery technique) rather than by the titles, and published in 1935-6, the style suggests these works were made at Zweybrück's atelier (Zweybrück 1936-7a 112; NDS 1945b). All the designs show figures in peasant dress, usually carrying baskets of produce, referencing the gifting of produce to the political elite by peasants.

Images in *Stickereien und Spitzen*, attributed to Zweybrück at Mez AG's studio indicate she was also employed by Coat's Mez AG studio to produce a range of commercial style

³² A Zwëybruck toy horse design (DUNUC ARTS: 252, NDS 296) is the same as one featured in a photograph of Felich Hansch Martin, C. 1989. *Felice Hansch*. Edinburgh, Colin Martin. p.24. The women students at the Bauhaus sold toys in their first commercial initiative. Droste, M. 1990. *Bauhaus: Bauhaus Archiv 1919-1933*. Berlin, Baush-Archive Museum.

³³ DUNUC ARTS: 249 NDS 426 & DUNUC ARTS: 251 NDS 588 and RGU NDS 853 & 868 works are in this series, and similar ECA works are now lost: ECA NDS 556 & NDS 552.



94: [Emmy Zweybrück] design NDS RGU

designs (K.M 1939). A 1939 *Stickereien und Spitzen* article reveals an un-named tea cloth held in the NDS Aberdeen collection, which bears a close resemblance to commercial designs by Zweybrück (K.M 1939 184-5; NDS 1945a)(Fig 95-6). Described in a surviving NDS list as a “handsome specimen typical of the lovely embroidered house linens used by the people of Austria”, a modern design it features Hungarian inspired peasant motifs of a floral design with birds (NDS 1948 4).³⁴ This work has been cut in half by the NDS, no doubt to provide two samples for design observations rather than one, which was a normal museum practice at that time.

Zweybrück’s design position at Coats offered employment in a difficult economic and political environment. Appearing regularly in *Stickereien und Spitzen*, her commercially orientated designs were always attributed to the Coats’ Mez AG business. These anonymous works compromised Zweybrück’s design as she was designing works to be copied, which was against her creative design philosophy. Transfers for some of her designs were included in *Stickereien und Spitzen* (Zweybrück 1936-7b 72-5). Also designs representing those of other cultures appear to have been made at her atelier.³⁵

Her other more artistic NDS designs showing an awareness of fascism are likely to have been created at her Vienna atelier for the NDS. Coats would have indicated the type of designs they preferred to Zweybrück, and perhaps used these designs to advance their commercial interests when negotiating with the National Socialist regimes. During the 1920s and 1930s Sir James Henderson, Managing Director of Coats from 1932, was resident in Italy, and would have dined with Mussolini’s officials while negotiating deals for Coats (Anon 2002). The Fascist regime allowed companies to market a wide range of acceptable politically inspired images (Doordan 1995 237). Coats would have been aware of this when they displayed the works in trade exhibitions.

The NDSS invited Zweybrück to visit Scotland for a lecture tour in 1937, however after protracted negotiations initially with Mr Russell, a fee of ten pounds (the equivalent of five hundred pounds today) was offered for a lecture tour of the four Scottish art schools (NDS 1939c). Two years after initial enquiries began Mr Moore, Coats Sales Department, declared Coats would take over all the financial arrangements (NDS 1939b). Finally she stated the visit would conflict with her American visit and otherwise it would not pay for her to undertake the Scottish tour (NDS 1939a). However, in 1939, Zweybrück emigrated

³⁴ RGU NDS 947. The 1945 GSA NDS archive list confirms this describing the work as ‘Austrian. Peasant motifs, floral with birds’.

³⁵ Several ‘Mexican’ designs were accessioned in the NDSS, for example NDS 225 ECA (lost), and NDS 639, a cushion with two bands of a repeating motif on natural scrim and NDS 888 RSM 1962:1252 a table runner. Mexican teneriffe wheel designs are: a mat NDS 526 Aberdeen, NDS 615 EG 2239, NDS 572 two d’oyleys, a blouse NDS 251. ‘Authentic’ sampler designs are NDS 230 RSM 1962: 1248; NDS 233; NDS 235 RSM 1962, dated 1835; NDS 248, RSM 1962:1250, dated 1850-75; NDS 260, RSM 1962:1251, dated 1850-1875. NDS 949 a belt.



95: Emmy Zweybrück 1939 design



95: Emmy Zweybrück 1939 design



96:[Emmy Zweybrück] Teacloth NDS RGU

to America with her daughter, not because her father was half Jewish, 'she had several friends supporting her, but because it was difficult to make a living in Austria and Germany as an artist' (Heller 2003 personal communication). Professor Friedrich Heller, who is currently writing Zweybrück's biography, also, suggests it was a 'contradiction against her self understanding as an independent artist working for Coats to continue working in Austria' (Heller 2003 personal communication).³⁶ Later in 1945 she explained her design approach:

One of my chief aims last summer, while teaching at the California College of Arts and Crafts, San Francisco, was to show my pupils how they could use nature without copying it in a dull, uninteresting and old fashioned way. A flower should be treated as a motif, as would a house, a figure, a geometric form. The principles of design are based on a law of rhythm, as music is and we have to learn to produce a design composition in a similar way (Zweybrück 1945 12).

Following her death in 1956, the *Los Angeles Times* honoured her contribution to design education and industrial design (Los Angeles Times 1956).³⁷ Zweybrück's impact on design was widespread, for example a 1936 Susie Cooper ceramic design *Nosegay* features an interpretation of a Zweybrück design published in *Stickereien und Spitzen* in 1931-2. Later in 1948 *The Studio* published a Susie Cooper *Nosegay* ceramic jug along-with a tea cosy featuring the same design, a likely collaboration with Coats (Cox 1948 52)(Fig 97).³⁸

Designs in some of the Italian NDS works in the NDS RSM, and Aberdeen collection also, suggest other artists were aware of Fascism. In 1965, Revel Oddy, Keeper of Textiles, RSM, acknowledged the continuing unease with both the Austrian and Italian designs in his exhibition notes:

The technique of Amelia Chierini's cushion cover Adam and Eve is worth studying. On the other hand the same embroideress's panel Madonna and Child and the Austrian panel Madonna by Emmy Zweybrück-Prochaska, Vienna, may send shudders of displeasure or even horror down some people's spines today (Oddy 1965).

The designs maybe discomfoting to some but this does not justify their exclusion from design history. Amelia Chierini, a nun from Trieste, created these designs during an era when classical forms and themes pervaded political designs (Doordan 1995 241) (Fig 98-9).³⁹ The designs created by Chierini, and some of the fascist supported schools, carry

³⁶ The Austrian Museum of Applied Art, in Vienna, MAK, has ten Zweybrück works in its collection. Photographs are unavailable, but it appears only one of the MAK works bears any relationship to the NDS designs Voelker, A. 2003. *Information on MAK Zweybruck accessions*. Personal email to author. Vienna. In the USA an example by a student of Zweybrück is held in a private collection of Marge Hillier.

³⁷ The article titled *Mrs Emmy Zweybrück, Designer, Dies*, mentions Zweybrück's Catholic funeral was held in New York City.

³⁸ This book was written by Mrs Ronald Portway under the pen name Hebe Cox.

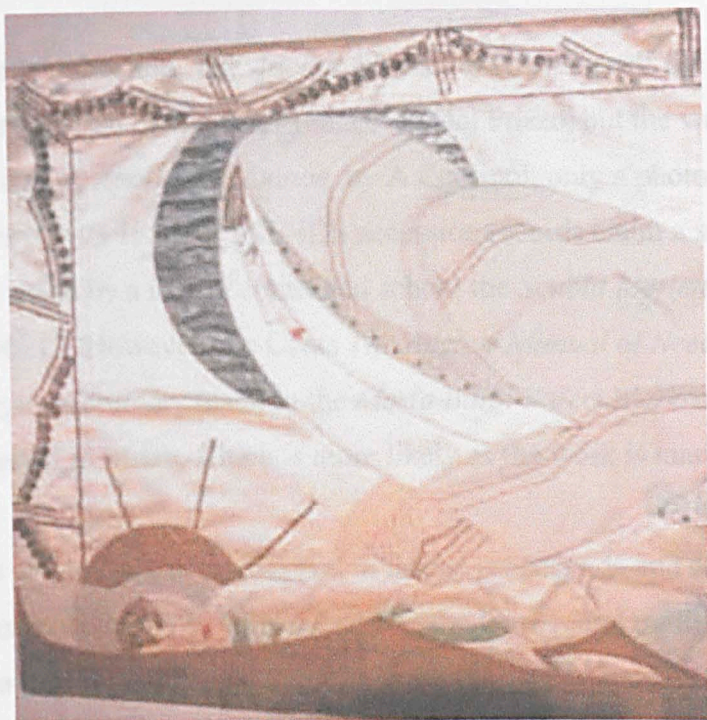
³⁹ RSM 1962 1140, NDS 593.



97: Susie Cooper ceramic jug featuring Zweybrück inspired design with tea cosy



98: Chierini *Adam and Eve* NDS RSM



99: Chierini *Madonna and Child* NDS RSM

¹⁰ *Apollonia Dama*, online, Edinburgh College of Art NDS 329. Listed in NDS list as 'Apoth and Child'.

¹¹ This agreement was signed by Margaret Miller, the NDS secretary in 1945. The school later became Costa College, in the town of Marcella, Bergamo, as part of historical and geographical research. *Numero 1888* work titled *Madonna and Child* is by Zoecine. RSM1942: 1, 200, 201.

¹² *Madonna and Child* work listed in 1947 records lists fascist influence. Made by the nun Lydia Rigbetti, it drew inspiration from a 16th-century Italian design through the artist's and is held in the BG NDS archive. *Numero 1888* NDS 1773. Costa, J.P. 1955. *The Art and Manual of Needlework*. London, Bloomsbury, 241.

images from the political regime, which encouraged Christian symbolism, myths, fables and power of ancient Rome (Doordan 1995 232; Woodham 1997 103). In 1947, the earlier mentioned newspaper review *Aberdeen Exhibition of Modern Embroidery*, under the sub-heading *Classical Beauty*, delighted in the fascist influenced images:

The Italian work is more influenced by tradition than that of any other nation. One is struck by the classical feeling of the designs, and the meticulous beauty of the stitchery. The circular panel of Apollo and Danae and another in the Signs of the Zodiac [...] create the strong Roman designs and give a wonderful effect (Magpie 1945a).⁴⁰

Illustrated in Coats publication, *The Anchor Manual of Needlework*, the *Signs of the Zodiac*, was a composition by the artist Francesco Dol Pozzo, but the work is now lost, as is the ECA NDS design *Apollo and Danae*, by A Cerninoi, only a photographic negative of this work survives (Coats 1958). RSM NDS accession records claim a similar work, titled *The Planets*, was made by a fascist controlled school the *Scuola Merletti Della Contessa*, Venice (Oddy 1962).⁴¹ However, the Coats *The Anchor Manual of Needlework* suggests it is a *Piave di Soligo* embroidery made in the *Marta Balbi Valeri Workroom*, purchased at the Seventh Triennial in Milan, which is more likely as the work is machine made (Coats 1958 163).⁴²

The designers would have been exposed to fascist propaganda and embroidery training at school. The fascists committed to racial purity, the family, and tradition encouraged embroidery, even though it contradicted their drive for technology (Willson 2002 129). The fascist women's organisation *Massaie Rurali*, with a membership of over one and a half million women in the 1930s, included as one of its four aims 'to improve furnishings in rural homes,' and national competitions were held offering a few prizes of material to make bed linen (Willson 2002 78 164). Embroidery training was offered and exhibitions featured women wearing regional costumes (Willson 2002 126). As well as encouragement in domesticity fascist decorated consumer objects were available for women, such as an ornate handbag by A Cerninoi, featuring a Roman scene held in the Aberdeen collection (Fig 100).⁴³

⁴⁰ *Apollo and Danae*, missing Edinburgh College of Art NDS 528. Listed in NDS list as 'Apollo and Daphne'.

⁴¹ This information was supplied by Margaret Millar, the NDS secretary in 1965. The school later became *Centro Adestramento Professionale Merle Haire*, located in Marcello, Burano, an area of historical embroidery and lace significance. Another RSM work titled *Mounted Knights* is by Zeechin: RSM1962: 1139 NDS 529.

⁴² Another Italian work made later in 1947 reveals less fascist influence. Made by the nun Lydia Righetti, 1st Dell' Addolorata, Milan it features fashion design through the centuries and is held in the EG NDS collection: EAMAG:2223. NDS 1759. Coats, J. P. 1958. *The Anchor Manual of Needlework*. London, Batsford. 1st. 142.

⁴³ RGU NDS.



100 [Cerninoi] Handbag NDS RGU

¹⁰⁰ The final labels and text graphic designs were designed by Brudilova, and approved in Costs' Glasgow office.

¹⁰¹ Costs supplied "direction" to journals such as the *Embroiderer*, approximately, hence it is likely this article was supplied by them. Peter-Petermann, H. 2000. Interview with author. Glasgow, 2002.

¹⁰² *IBS*, 1962, 1134, NDS, 51.

¹⁰³ The medieval *Hungertuch* designs were influenced by the eleventh century Romanesque designs created by 1048.

A fascist presence existed in the familiar patterns of everyday life as design was used to influence people (Doordan 1995 225). Embroidery threads, mostly used by women, were labelled with emblems of power and production: sickles, guns, and shovels (Coats 1930) (Fig 101).⁴⁴ Coats marketed their embroidery threads throughout Central Europe, adorned with such National Socialist images. A 1938 report from the Country Women of the World's conference, in the *Embroideress* journal, expressed delight in fascist embroidery, 'the largest and most interesting exhibit to us, as it had the most embroidery was presented by the Italian Massaie Rurali' (Embroideress 1938 1689).⁴⁵ In this way the fascist support for handicraft in Italy ensured a market for Coats' threads.

In Germany artists referenced political and social situations obliquely, as shown in German ecclesiastical designs held in various Scottish NDS collections, including Aberdeen, Glasgow, Dundee and Edinburgh. It is perhaps no coincidence that these NDS designs, are from Leipzig, near Coats' Mez Freiburg and Braulingen mills, and Munster near the Mez AG Elberfeld mill. The earlier mentioned 1945 newspaper review of the NDS exhibition, celebrating the post-war resumption of the organisation, highlighted the contrast in design offered by the German work, under the sub-heading *Restrained German work*:

There is a certain austerity of spirit in all the German work; it is restrained, yet wonderfully expressive. The panel of the Last Supper, is treated in a direct, geometric style, but is full of vitality (Magpie 1945b).

Designed by Professor Hannenüte Kämmerer, the *Twelve Apostles (Last Supper)* was worked by students of the Schule für Handwerk und Kunstgewerbe, Münster (Fig 102-3).⁴⁶ Its stylised figures, and text are similar to the *Hungertuch* (Hunger cloth) lenten cloth figures, also created by the Münster School in the late 1920s (Ziegert von Debschitz 1931-2 193; Embroidery 1960 10).

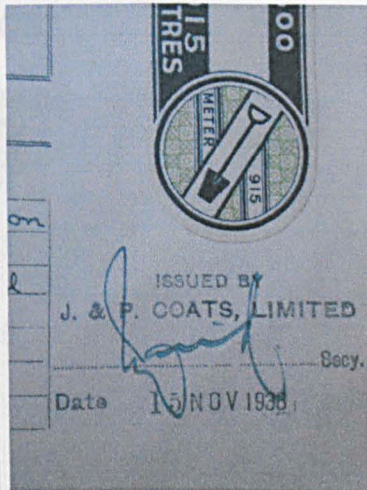
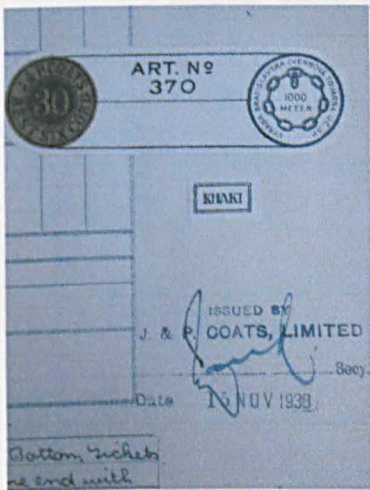
Designing from artefacts was an established practice in the Kunstgewerbes, as links with the ateliers of the Museums of Applied Art had existed since the mid-nineteenth century. These 1920s designs were partly inspired by the 1623 *Hungertuch* Lenten hangings, used by the Catholic Parish Church of Telgte, near Münster (Embroidery 1960 10-11). Following the Catholic tradition they were hung on Ash Wednesday and remained until Easter Saturday.⁴⁷ Kämmerer's *Pieta*, features the Madonna holding a dead baby

⁴⁴ The End Labels and box graphic designs were designed in Bratislava, and approved in Coats' Glasgow office.

⁴⁵ Coats supplied 'editorials' to journals such as the *Embroideress*, anonymously, hence it is likely this article was supplied by them Frew-Patterson, H. 2002. *Interview with Author*. Glasgow. 2002.

⁴⁶ RMS. 1962.1155. NDS 537.

⁴⁷ The medieval *Hungertuch* designs were influenced by the eleventh century Romanesque designs created by nuns.



101: Coats thread label designs 1938 PMA

102: Schult's Tackler's Apparel Retail

FIG 102-3



102: Schule *Twelve Apostles*
NDS GSA



103: Schule *Twelve Apostles* detail

A common design in the NDS/NIS collection, portrays the *Madonna* crowned in thorns and dressed several times. In remnant of the misery suffered by Jesus, it alludes to his crucifixion and concludes with an excerpt from the *Hail Mary*:

He who was born for us,
 He was born innocent, was crowned in thorns, and was crucified,
 Holy Mary Mother of God.

¹² These designs are in collection of *From the memory of Jodelle Wuerth* (GSA NDS F12)
¹³ <http://www.etsy.com/listing/115018303>

Jesus with a direct Bible quote: 'Then it came to pass, so that the word would be fulfilled' (NDSS 1938 4).⁴⁸ In 1931 Wanda Ziegert wrote 'Embroidered with dying Christ these Lenten pictures still served the memory of the curtain in the temple in Jerusalem' (Ziegert von Debschitz 1931-2 192-3). Such a memory would have been at odds with the existing political regime. This work was inspired by the Hungertuch Lenten hangings but cleverly referenced the artist's own political concerns.

Another design from the Münster school draws on Christian religious beliefs and socialist imagery. H Drunkenmölle's the *Madonna and Child* features a stylised Virgin and baby Jesus, above a crescent shape, holding a sprig (Fig 104).⁴⁹ The designs featuring disproportionate, enlarged upper bodies and halos, enhanced the holiness of the image, as the political regime attempted to sideline their doctrine. The stylisation of the biblical figures is in line with modernism, but their decorative use of gold thread and fabric is against the modernist mandate. These works differed from approaches used by fine artists. In an exhibition of degenerative fine art during Hitler's era, the works of artists who mocked religious feelings or attempted to confuse people as to the nature of religious experience were included (Grosshans 1983 109).

Many of the designs of *Schule für Handwerk und Kunstgewerbe*, Münster show the same interest in simplification and abstraction, as does the Bauhaus work. The students and staff used modern methods to record and respond to events around them. Unmistakable in surviving works is a marked political engagement. In the 1920s the National Socialists in Germany were able to depend on the passive acceptance of the State Church, churches were decked out in swastikas and pastors cried 'Heil Hitler' (Elshtain 1987 137).

Increasingly religion was at the periphery of National Socialist ideology, and opposition to organised religion existed. The pastors and priests would have been acutely aware that Hitler's war motives were in conflict with the Latin scriptures in the Bible, which they recited to their congregations. In strongly Catholic areas women refused to relinquish their habits and faith, to meet the demands of the Nazi order, and were often backed by the priest or a parson in their resistance (Elshtain 1987 190).

A student design in the RGU NDS collection, portrays the *Madonna* crowned in thorns and crucified several times. Resonant of the misery suffered by Jesus, it alludes to his crucifixion and concludes with an excerpt from the Hail Mary:

He who shed blood for us,
He was held hostage, was crowned in thorns, and was crucified,
Holy Mary Mother of God,

⁴⁸ *Dann solches ist ge schenen auf dass die schrift er fuetlet wuerde* (GSA NDS F12).

⁴⁹ RMS.1962.1155. NDS 537



104: Drunkenmolle, Schule,
Madonna and Child
 NDS RSM

Another Münster student work is the GSA NDS stole, which features naïve figures with sacred emblems and includes the text *das wort bei gott und um anfang war das wort* (art by the word of god) (Fig 106-7).⁵¹

The young students, living in a chaotic and confusing world, would have been exposed to extensive propaganda in the schools. In an inhospitable climate education for women was opposed by the National Socialists, who limited them to the study of 'appropriate' subjects at universities (Loehlin 1999 33). The Münster images are all the more interesting as they show the students' rebellious intent, when their own personal freedom was suppressed. These students were inspired by the artefacts but cleverly referenced their own political and social concerns.

The women were creatively designing within contradictory limitations, on the one hand suppressed by the paternalistic views of the modernist era, but on the other, encouraged in Central Europe by Fascist, and Nazi regimes to produce religious designs. The influence of these designs on Scottish ecclesiastical embroidery is discussed in the following chapter.

The marginalised position of embroidery and its connection with the home enabled women to continue to develop expressive designs forbidden to painters and sculptors. The Dada artist Hannah Höch, as pattern designer of a large German needlework journal, printed by Ullstein Verlag, Berlins major newspaper and magazine publisher, would have been able to encourage and exert further subversive influence on the embroiderers (Lavin 1993 10). From 1916-1918, Sophie Taeuber-Arp and her future husband Jean Arp initiated further subversive embroidery activity as members of the Zurich Dada group (Lancher 1982 5). Arp outlines their use of embroidery to challenge the fine art tradition:

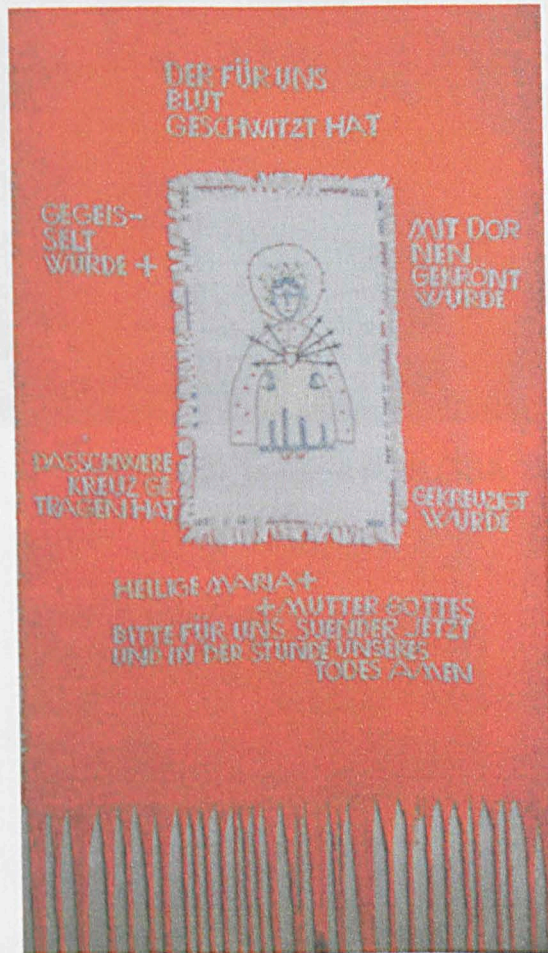
Sophie Taeuber and I resolved never to use oil colours again... Oil painting seemed to us to belong to an arrogant pretentious world... During the years that we abstained from oil painting we used in our works exclusively paper, cloth embroidery as spiritual exercises (Arp in Vincentelli 1989 9).

Another NDS ecclesiastical design *Angel's Head*, attributed to Zweybrück, lacks the rhythmical structure of Zweybrück's style (Fig 108).⁵² However, when viewed beside Elsi

⁵⁰ Der für uns blut geschwitz hat, Geigeis-selt wurde+, mit dor nen gekrönt wurde, Dasschwere kreuz ge tragen hat, gekreuzigt wurde, Heilige Maria+mutter Gottes, bitte für uns suender jetsr, und in der stunde unseres todes Amen (Robert Gordon University:NDS 808).

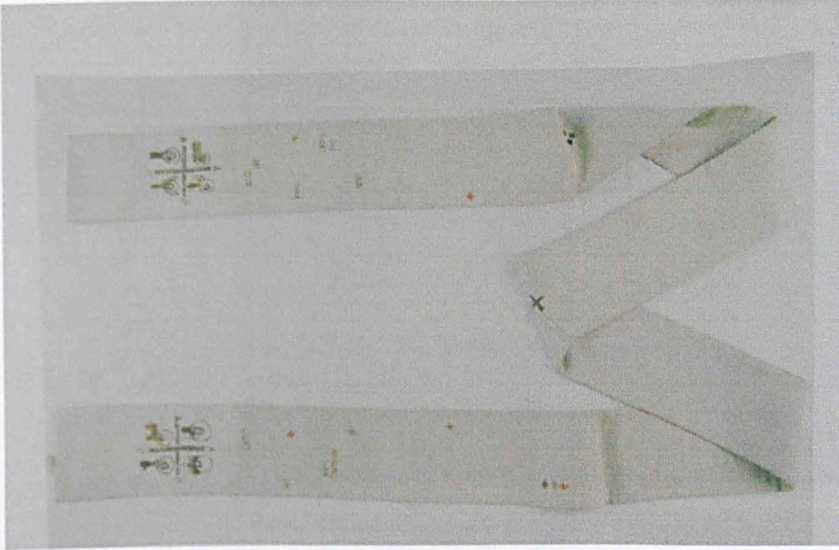
⁵¹ Claire Hemingsley, recently interpreted stylised, distorted figures in a stole, GSA F17, as a little girl skipping. The stole features naïve figures with sacred emblems and text *das wort bei gott und* (art words by God) and on the other side: *um anfang war das wort*. Another stole *The Four Evangelists*, is designed by Grete Spuida, DUNUC ARTS:263.

⁵² RMS.1962.1175, NDS 840. Kay Köhler as 'expert-in-charge' (creative director) of the Scheme, from 1945-1948, travelled extensively acquiring embroideries. It seems improbable that her embroidery would not



105: Student design, Schule, *Madonna* NDS RGU

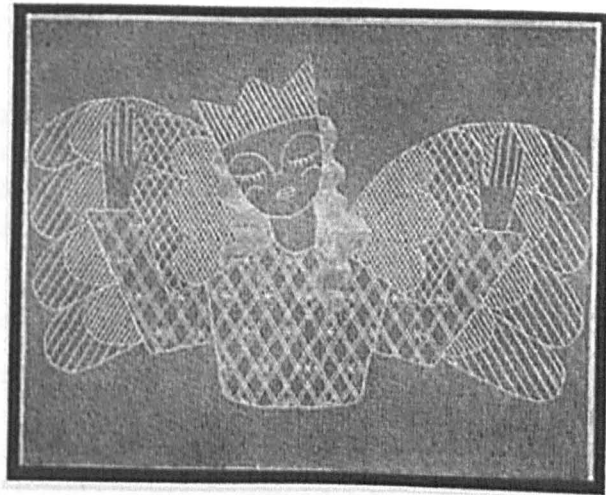
107: Schule State details



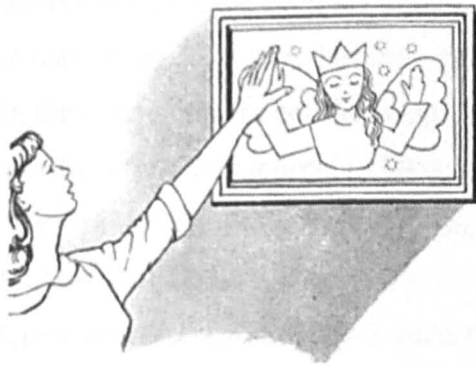
106: Schule Stole NDS GSA



107: Schule Stole details



108: [Elsi Köhler] *Angel's Head* NDS RSM



110: Kay Köhler design to copy



109: Elsi Köhler *Madonna*

Köhler's *Madonna* the provenance is revealed (Schiebelhuth 1929-30 72)(Fig 109-110).

Köhler's 1920s interpretation of the *Madonna*, portrays a modern woman in a mannequin like pose, created when technology and the German print industry were growing rapidly (Lavin 1993 56-7). Schiebelhuth compares and contrasts Köhler's new '*Madonna*' with the traditional *Madonna* image:

Innumerable painters have talked about it, and the *Madonna* comes to us always with heavy eyes and calm forehead. Always the cleanest, purest imagery. The unbound image of the *Madonna* being free. The idea of the *Madonna* changes with every generation (Schiebelhuth 1929-30 72).⁵³

The image of the glamorous or threatening 'new woman', as presented in the media, was a distorted picture of reality (Lavin 1993 56-7). The newly modern women had an ambiguous role in German mass culture, as the patriarchal vision for women was fused with the growing consumer market where women were encouraged to redefine their bodies as commodities.⁵⁴ The Weimar republic encouraged the consumer leisure culture of the *neue frau*, using the print media to 'project' images of women posing as for beauty advertisements; the bobbed Dietrich hair-style was fashionable after her 1930s movie *Blue Angel* (West 2000 175). Köhler's design draws on the changing cultural conflicts existing in the newly modernised Germany. Coats promoted the *neue frau* image on the covers of *The Needlewoman* journal in 1935 (Coats 1935a; Coats 1935b)(Fig 111-2).⁵⁵

From the late 1920s sophisticated designs by Köhler appeared in *Stickereien und Spitzen*, *Die Kunst*, *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* (Schiebelhuth 1929-30 72; Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration 1930-3 147). Captions in *Stickereien und Spitzen* journals reveal Köhler resided in Leipzig until 1929, then she moved between Leipzig and Vienna, until 1933-4 when she took up residence in Vienna, following Hitler's appointment as Chancellor.⁵⁶ However after her move to Vienna, her illustrated designs in *Stickereien und*

be included in the collection, contrary to the archive records. The opportunity for Köhler to identify the designs as her own would have been available as the list of textiles was drawn up in 1945.

⁵³ The *Madonna* first appeared in the third century, as a humble, generic mother drawn in the Roman catacombs. Then, following the Council of Ephesus' 431 proclamation that she was the mother of God, she was transformed into the Queen of Heaven. Throughout history the *Madonna* has been the subject of controversy. In the early Christian Church opponents of religious art argued that the Virgin Mary represented a pagan idol. The evolving theory of Mary generated new subjects such as the Immaculate Conception, portrayed in the seventeenth century. The varied representations of Mary have shown a range of religious and cultural meanings. Her image has spread throughout Western cultures, portrayed according to differing indigenous artistic styles and traditions.

⁵⁴ The German consumer society was dominated by the middle class who helped to facilitate the process of aesthetic change West, S. 2000. *The Visual Arts in Germany*. Manchester & New York, Manchester University Press.

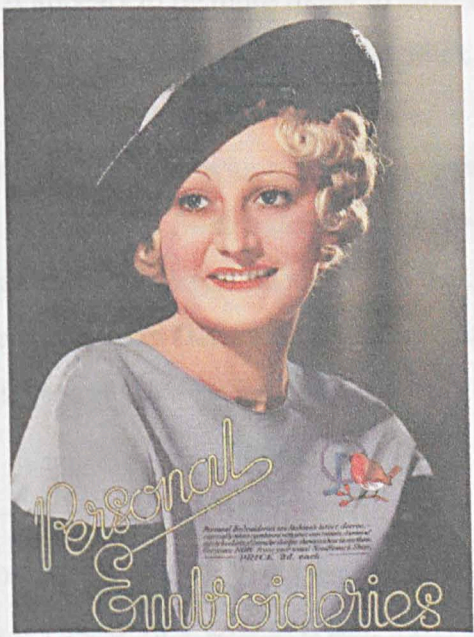
⁵⁵ Other NDS works, Fini Ehrendorfer-Skarica's *Vienna Sampler* (as it is referred to in archives) draws on the encouragement women were given to refine their body shapes inline with modernity's constructed ideals. RGU NDS 770.

⁵⁶ This information is derived from an analysis of Köhler's designs in *Stickereien und Spitzen*.

FIG 111-2



111: Lingerie embroidery in *Neue Frau* advertising style 1935



112: Personal embroidery in *Neue Frau* advertising style 1935

Spitzen, reflect a change to the commercial production of lace trims, d'oyleys and tablecloths, most probably designed under Zweybrück's direction and influence.

The *Angel's Head* design was most probably made at the Zweybrück's atelier, designed by Köhler and perhaps embroidered by Felice Martin.⁵⁷ Another 'Zweybrück' work *Madonna* shows a similarity to Köhler's *Madonna*, as the gesture of the arms carries a remarkable resemblance to Köhler's 1929 '*Madonna*' (Fig 113). It has a colourful exuberance, with both the Madonna and child in a protective pose.

In *Madonna and child*, another 'Zweybrück' work, the white Madonna appears as a 'pure' woman with a fixed penetrating gaze, in the style of an icon, protected by the arms of the child (Fig 114). Decorative beads, sequins, silver and gold threads embellish the image, at a time when fine artists shunned such lush decoration. Featured in the press review of the 1945 NDS Exhibition in Aberdeen, the *Madonna and Child*, was simply referred to as an 'Austrian appliqué in glowing colours reminds one of a Russian icon'. Indeed, today the reference to the Russian icon in the design is still detected, ignoring the true influence, as has been argued clearly, a reflection of the ambiguous role of the 'new woman' in Germany.⁵⁸ Another Dundee NDS textile *Angel*, is attributed in archives as 'by a student of Zweybrück'. It appears to be more likely to have been designed by Köhler, but perhaps under Zweybrück's direction. The image of the black *Angel* appears to comment on the racist views of the ruling political regime (Fig 115).⁵⁹

Later in 1946, Kay Köhler, qualified as an architect, was employed as 'expert-in-charge' at Coats NDS. In her address, *Embroidery as an Expression of National Characteristics*, to the Friends of the Royal Society of Artists, in London, she discussed the use of distorted figures in Modern German church embroideries.⁶⁰ Köhler stating that the designs were distasteful to religious people, and referring to the stylization in modern

⁵⁷ George Martin, Colin's son has the original photograph of this work, taken for the 1938 catalogue, one of only a few things from the NDS retained by Colin Martin, suggesting it was of significance to him or his wife.

⁵⁸ Crissie White, former Head of Textiles, GSA, referred to these works as being influenced by Russian icons White, C. 2002. *Interview with Author*. Glasgow.

This work, the first image in the 1938 NDS catalogue, *Contemporary Embroidery*, appears later in Köhler's 1960 book, *Flower Embroidery*, referred to as a 'demure angel' Köhler, E. 1960. *Flower Embroidery*. London, Studio Vista. Köhler's suggested techniques, to recreate the image are in a way similar to other 'Zweybrück' works, which bear a resemblance to Köhler's 1929 *Madonna*, published in the 1929 *Stickerien und Spitzen*.⁵⁸ This design was probably created in Zweybrück's Coats' atelier, hence its resulting anonymity. Thus, after her period working for Coats, Köhler shows she has submitted to the practice of copying designs, by suggesting this approach. Although a piece of art needlework rather than commercial embroidery, the designer would not have been credited, because it was created in a commercial environment. It seems that initially artistic designs were produced in the Coats 'atelier', but the imaginative freedom does not seem to have been sustained. Value was placed on commercially made goods, and the firm employed designers in an effort to promote sales.

⁵⁹ DUNUCARTS: 253; NDS 745

⁶⁰ The term 'expert-in-charge' given to the embroidery expert, was another Coats' guise, as Colin Martin, a director of various Coats' boards was both managing and directing the scheme.



113: [Elsi Köhler] *Madonna and Child* NDS RGU



114: [Elsi Köhler] *Madonna and Child* NDS RGU



115: [Elsi Köhler] *Angel* NDS DUNUC

¹¹⁵ Kathleen Wilson, Textile Lecturer GEA, justified the imagery used by referring her students to 'modern designs, improving the quality and beauty'. White, C. 2002. *Interview with Author*. Glasgow.

¹¹⁶ Köhler was most probably a friend of Felice (Friedrich) Cella-Maroni's wife, as they would have worked together in Zwettl's studio.

¹¹⁷ Cella 1911.

¹¹⁸ GMA 1916, 116; NDS 1916. Also RSM 1962, 114; NDS 1916.

design, appears to have compromised her own 'modern' beliefs illustrated earlier in

Stickereien und Spitzen:

Just before the war, German embroiderers were making very modern church embroidery designs of distorted figures. The technique and colour were pleasing, but the designs were distasteful to religious people in that the distorted and top heavy figures were not the result of childhood's naïveté, but of a queer debased mentality which has not been confined to embroidery design only (Köhler 1946 63-4).⁶¹

After her survival of the Nazi era, when she undoubtedly would have feared harassment, Köhler may have elected to erase her artistic past. Also, uncomfortable with the displeasure and cool reception the Scottish people demonstrated towards her artwork, while faced with the prospect of having to encourage their embroidery design, she would have happily disowned her 'too modern' designs.⁶²

This research also clarifies the provenance and history of other NDS designs held in Great Britain. The GSA NDS archive list indicates works held at the RSM, V&A, and GSA are referred to by a Christian name only, for example simply listed: by 'Kate Louise'. This record, most probably evolved through a friendship of Köhler's with Käte Luise Rosenstock, also originally from Leipzig. From 1925 Rosenstock's designs featured regularly in the German journals *Stickereien und Spitzen*, *Die Kunst*, and *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*, including designs of a commercial nature, perhaps produced for Coats' Mez AG, suggesting a professional link between Köhler and Rosenstock (*Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* 1928-9 68-9; R. H 1928-9 53; *Deutsche Kunst und Dekorative* 1931-1932).

The GSA NDS net panel *St Francis* shows a heavily stylised saint figure surrounded by animals, birds, fish and flowers (Fig 116).⁶³ Another Rosenstock design held at the RSM, features medieval style imagery of knights on horses, in-front of castles.⁶⁴ Contrasting with Rosenstock's ecclesiastical and medieval imagery are two works, which seem to have been produced for Coats commercial activities. The RSM NDS *Peasants in a market* design by Rosenstock compares with similar designs published in *The Needlewoman* in 1935, described as street scenes in a peasant market, the modern designs were accompanied with instructions and transfers for purchase were available (*Needlewoman* 1935 22-3, 33)(Fig 117-8). Another RSM NDS cloth features a floral design of a more commercial nature, attributed to Rosenstock, made in London in 1938. By threading information from these

⁶¹ Kathleen Whyte, Embroidery Lecturer GSA, qualified the imagery used by referring her students to medieval designs, 'improving the sensitivity and humanity'. White, C. 2002. *Interview with Author*. Glasgow.

⁶² Köhler was most probably a friend of Felice (Hansch), Colin Martin's wife, as they would have worked together in Zweybrück's atelier.

⁶³ GSA F18.

⁶⁴ RSM 1962.1156. NDS 660. Also RSM 1962.1154.NDS 534.



116: [Käte Luise Rosenstock] *St Francis* NDS GSA



117: [Käte Luise Rosenstock] *Peasants in a market* 1938 NDS RSM



118: *The Needlewoman Street scene in a peasant market* 1935

Rosenstock works, corporate records and NDS archives it appears likely a link existed between the London National Needlework Bureau, *The Needlewoman*, and the NDS.⁶⁵ The NNB sold transfers to *The Needlewoman* readers. This suggests Rosenstock, may have been Jewish and exiled in Britain, perhaps employed at the National Needlework Bureau, London.

One of the NDS's aims was to encourage the amateur embroiderers to create their own designs, yet *The Needlewoman* was selling transfers, which facilitated the copying of designs. The designs and transfers presented in *The Needlewoman*, organised to be copied and offered for sale, conflicted with the NDSS's aim to improve design in Scotland. Coats extensive network enabled a flow of design inspiration through both educational and commercial routes.

The modern Austrian, German and Italian textiles reflect a continuation of tradition as a source of design, created by artists mindful of the Nazi and Fascist regimes, and constrained when design was governed by a patriarchal vision. Modernist approaches suppressed their figurative, decorative style, which often drew on tradition, and both the Nazi and Fascist regimes encouraged the Austrian, German, and Italian designers. Suppressed at the time this style of design is subsequently overlooked by recent constructs of modernism. These modern designs had an immediate and significant impact on British textile design.

In 1937 a *Weekly Herald* newspaper report, coinciding with the influential English embroidery designer and teacher, Rebecca Crompton's NDS lecture tour and Exhibition, indicated that modernism was well established in embroidery design:

Modernism in art has spread to needlework. Gone are the days of samplers with little robins in the corners. The modern needlewomen, as exemplified by Mrs Rebecca Crompton deals with such things as spectacles, cups and saucers, and garden rollers. She works like an artist creating her pictures by embroidery, and her scope ranges over small and large canvases. Although she is an Englishwoman Mrs Crompton is giving a hand with a Scottish scheme for the development of needlework (*Weekly Herald* 1937).⁶⁶

Although the design influence is simply referred to as modernism, Crompton's NDS designs show a range of influences, for example futurist, Roman classicism, Weiner Werkstätte, and Dada collage.⁶⁷ Crompton's collage approach to embroidery design challenged a conservative reviewer's taste, but soon introduced a much freer approach to

⁶⁵ RMS 1962.1153. NDS 379. An archive list describes the design as 'in the style of Austrian, German, and Italian examples'.

⁶⁶ Crompton was Kathleen Mann's former teacher.

⁶⁷ Such designs are held in both the NDS Scottish and V&A collections. Her futurist *Peasant Dance* painting is either copied, or inaccurately listed as embroidery by L.M. Walsh. DUNUC ARTS: NDS 661. Most probably designed by Crompton, embroidered by Walsh Dean, B. 1996. *Rebecca Crompton and Elisabeth Grace Thomson*. London, Beryl Dean.

textile design (Embroidery 1937 viii). Crompton's ScAS lectures were extremely popular with over five hundred students attending the lecture in Dundee, some could not be admitted owing to the demand for seats (NDS 1938). Although not teaching in Scotland Crompton's friendship with Kathleen Mann and links with the Scheme would have ensured the impact of the European designs was considerable in Scotland. In England artists influenced by Crompton such as Lilian Dring continued her spontaneous style, as illustrated in the RSM NDS 1941 work *The Parable*.⁶⁸ Kathleen Mann's enthusiastic involvement both in the Scheme and through the dissemination of her ideas in her publications increased the lively influence of both modern and peasant design.

The designs inspired by these works indeed met Campbell Mackie's dictate for design:

Modern work will always owe something to the inspiration of the past, but to be vital and stimulating, it must belong to today. It is possible to be at once traditional and modern ([Mackie 1938 6]).

However, complex and multiple strategies were at work, as Coats market forces played a role in shaping the production of designs referencing political events or themes acceptable to the ruling political regimes. Artists such as Zweybrück, Chierini, Köhler, Rosenstock, and those from the Münster *Schule für Handwerk und Kunstgewerbe*, skilfully developed a design relationship between visual style, political and social comment, during a period of intense conflict and hardship. Nonetheless the underlying problem of Coats propaganda with sales existed as many of the designs were created as articles of trade rather than museum pieces. However the skill and artistic talent of the women designers ensured the works were successful both as trade items and works of art. In the following chapter nine, *Textiles and Education: the Influence of Industry and Politics*, the use of these designs in the pre-War NDSS in Scotland is contrasted with a different process of design promoted by the NDS in England from 1945-1962.

⁶⁸ RSM 1962.1059: NDS 107.

Chapter 9: Textiles and Education: the Influence of Industry and Politics

...not to encourage imitation, but as an education in contemporary art.

Each year a member of the purchasing committee is commissioned to buy some pieces of embroidery from a particular part of Europe. One member has visited for this purpose Germany and Austria, another France and Belgium [Italy]. This year the choice was made at the Paris exhibition, where embroideries from all countries were collected [...] 'One of the most interesting things about the scheme,' finished Miss McCredie, 'is that it emphasises contemporary art. We don't aim at reviving embroidery of the past, but at stimulating a new art which will be representative of the life of today (McCredie in Weekly Herald 1936).

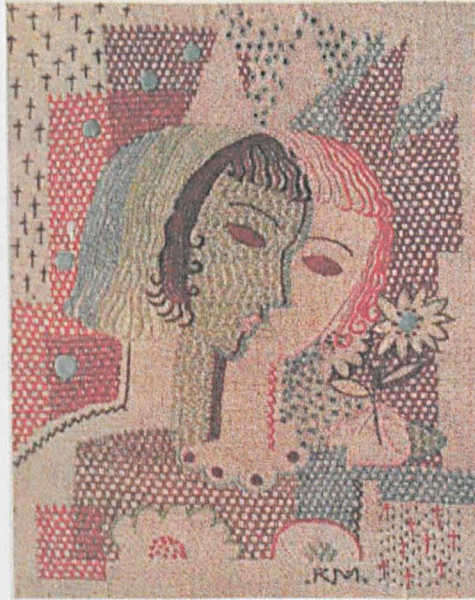
The above comment, including the quote by Agnes McCredie, Head of Department of Embroidery at GSA, reflects the creative aesthetic approach held by the lecturers in the 1930s contrasting with Coats readiness to copy designs. This chapter explores the design-focused interest of the ScAS lecturers in the early stages of the scheme and their innovative practices. In this context the art schools and their role in the scheme is discussed. The use of the NDS textiles in education is explored, contrasting the innovative teaching at the GSA with the influence of the market led philosophy of Coats, which were increasingly in evidence by the 1950s. This research clarifies whether or not Coats generated conditions for changes in design and their impact on the education curriculum. Played out in this history are issues of gender and education, and the distinction between both commercial and Arts and Crafts Movement influenced design approaches in opposition to lively spontaneous design.

In the early 1930s as the NDSS was organised, another rich period of design teaching began at the GSA with the arrival of Kathleen Mann, ARCA (GSA 1930-1 7).¹ Her design exemplified the fresh approach encouraged by her former teacher Rebecca Crompton, whereby freedom in design was important.² In 1934, as discussed earlier, Mann played a vital role for the NDSS selecting the modern Italian and some French textiles. Initially NDS loans were organised by Mann, during 1933/34 eighty schools in the west of Scotland

¹ Mann came from the Cheltenham School of Arts and Crafts, selected from 36 candidates.

² At primary school in Derby, Crompton developed some of her embroidery skills by studying and completing a design by Ann Macbeth. Crompton's teacher was a friend of Ann Macbeth. An inspiration to her students, Crompton often wore peasant styled dress while teaching. Crompton's aunt gave her a hamper of textiles from Romania. Her sister Jane wrote:

We children were thrilled, it was full of the most exciting and wonderful things-lovely wall hangings, woven and embroidered by the peasants-beautiful carpets in brilliant colours and the finest lawn cloths exquisitely worked around the borders. Amongst all this was a length of white hand woven crepe material with a border of peasant embroidery worked with orange and red floss silk, which she unpicked to find out how it had been worked. She then completed the border. Dean, B. 1996. *Rebecca Crompton and Elisabeth Grace Thomson*. London, Beryl Dean.



119: Kathleen Mann NDS ECA (lost)



120: Kathleen Mann Kalotaszeg costume

were borrowing up to twelve items per year (GSA 1933-4).³ With her established link with both Coats and active participation in education, Mann played an important role in the formative years of the NDSS. As well as collecting works and organising their circulation, Mann's own works were also purchased and circulated, and their design disseminated throughout Britain.

In a lost ECA NDS example, Mann drew on the idea that the Greek peasants often depicted one part of the figure full faced with another part of the same profile (Mann 1939 80)(Fig 119). The design plays around the use of front view and profile view of a girl's head, neck and shoulders (Mann 1939 80). Peasant design was a source of inspiration in both Mann's own work and her teaching. A copy of her teaching notes shows her detailed insight into the history of textile design was shared with her students:

Spanish embroidery owes its variety to the mixture of Mohammedan and Christian influence. The south of Spain was practically a Mohammedan country until the end of the fifteenth century, and gave an oriental influence to the colour schemes of the country. The north of Spain was Christian and was allied to that of Italy, with whom it had close religious and political associations. When printed pattern books began to be produced Spain borrows illustrations from those of Italy and only differs from the Italian style in the preference for Oriental colouring, the Italian being of a more sober style (Mann 1932 29).⁴

An accomplished draughtswoman, Mann's 1931 and 1936 books *Peasant Costume in Europe 1 & 2*, presented peasant designs in a modern style, and were used in the GSA embroidery course (Mann 1931; GSA 1932-3; Mann 1936)(Fig 120). However, both her teaching career and full involvement in the NDSS was shortened by the limiting marriage bar legislation of the time, as she was forced to resign, after marrying Hugh Crawford, in March 1935 (The Herald 1935).⁵ Reluctantly, Hutchison, GSA, informed Mann 'the Governors decision was come to with great regret on the matter of principal' (Hutchison 1935c). The marriage bar had been in existence in Scotland since 1915, and limited women's participation in public life, encouraging them to be homemakers and mothers. As the clergy of the Church of Scotland were involved this could be interpreted as both an ideological and economic strategy, which set married women against single women, while the male establishment protected their own aspirations (Adams 1990 90).

Mann's enthusiasm and success in teaching was recognised by Hutchison, who described her as 'an extremely interesting and capable person' and GSA embroidery was

³ The period of loan depended on the items popularity, the maximum length of loan was one year. An annual fee of £1.10.0 was paid for administration.

⁴ These notes kindly supplied by her son, Hamish Crawford, 2002. The embroidery historian Louisa Pesel influenced Mann.

⁵ A friend of Mann's, Margot Robson suggests they had kept their marriage quiet for a while prior to the wedding announcement in the newspaper. Robson, M. 2001. *Interview with author*. 5 Jun 2001.

described as 'bright and stimulating' (GSA 1934-5 11). In an educational article *Embroidery*, written prior to her resignation, Mann advised lecturers to work with enthusiasm and commonsense rather than striving to please the authorities (Mann 1934 6).⁶ She highlighted the problem of the isolation of the design of embroidery from the making, but it continued to be taught in this divided manner in secondary schools throughout the next decades.

After her retirement, she wrote various publications revealing her spontaneous and free design style in *Embroidery Design and Stitches* and *Applique Design and Method*, which was reviewed in 1937 in *Embroideress* journal:

She appears to sketch out her subjects as easily as most people would write their own signature. Charming use of costume in embroidery (Embroideress 1937 1540).

Mann's books encouraged creativity in design, as outlined in the introduction to *Embroidery Design and Stitches*:

The purpose of this book is not to assist students in the copying of work surviving from the past, but to guide them in the production of embroideries, which are consistent with the present while remaining in the great tradition of British embroidery. The author hopes to point the way to spontaneous design through stitching, and to widen the outlook towards the possibilities of design (Mann 1937 5).⁷

Reaching a wide audience including America, it was despite some reservations, favourably reviewed in the *Embroidery* journal in 1937:

Some of Miss Mann's drawings are reminiscent of Mrs Crompton's, but Miss Mann does not develop the latter's taste of the bizarre in materials. Her embroidery and designs are more utilitarian. They are not just pictures that happened to be sewed instead of painted. No Miss Mann's danger is in the risk of her style's weakening into sentimentality, which she comes dangerously near to in her sampler of cutwork stretched over velvet illustrated in *Embroidery Design and Stitches*. She is to be congratulated on her chapter head drawings... Here is humour and a delightfully light touch (F.L 1937 20).

Mann's continued enthusiasm for peasant design is shown in her later 1939 *Design from Peasant Art* (Mann 1939). However her interpretative and spontaneous design process contrasted with Coats approach to the use of ethnic design. She continued to be involved with the NDSS even after she married and lectured to various schools in the Glasgow area.

⁶ *Art in the School*, no2, was a supplement to the Scottish Educational journal, Dec 14 1934. Mann also criticised the large quantity of bad designs in transfer form at Art Needlework shops. In the same publication, in an article titled *Design and Crafts in the Secondary School*, JD MacGregor, HM Art Inspector, encouraged presentations in design as acceptable for a leaving certificate, but only a few students submitted design and craft work.

⁷ The design featured on the cover *Daisy Chain* is owned by Brian Carter. Carter, B. 2001a. *Letter to Author*. Author's Collection. Glasgow. 18 Jun 2001.

The artist, Margot Robson, recalls an inspiring lecture by Mann, given to twelve-year old girls at the Laurel Bank School in the 1930s (Robson 2001 personal communication). Mann's works featured prominently in later NDS Exhibitions, as explained in a 1949 edition of the Aberdeen Evening Express newspaper review:

There are several modern panels by Kathleen Mann. Her exhibits show a more sophisticated approach with equal craft, and delicacy only found in the Indian and Italian work (Aberdeen Evening Express 1949).

She lived in the shadow of her husband, the artist and teacher Hugh Crawford, and rarely exhibited (Robson 2001 personal communication). Although, archives reveal Mann continued to be involved in the NDS, as Crawford was Principal of Dundee College of Art and perhaps helped select the NDS textiles for the Dundee collection in 1961.⁸ Unfortunately all of Mann's works appear to have been lost or perhaps deleted in the 1950s. Iris Hills, NDS 'expert-in-charge' 1955-60 considered Mann's style to be very 'mannered', it is therefore possible her works could have been considered to be out of vogue in the 1950s, when the collections were reviewed (Geddes and Hills 2001 personal communication).⁹

During the interwar years there was a development in self-expression and spontaneity in embroidery (Harrod 1996 150). Zweybrück's designs were an important component of the NDSS, with a direct influence shown in the work of Mann, and the influential English artist Rebecca Crompton. Mann's friendship with Rebecca Crompton was likely to have had a key influence on the scheme, Crompton was an Examiner of Women's Crafts for the Board of Education in England, and her NDSS lecture tour and exhibition were influential (Risley 1961 25). Constance Howard, the eminent English embroiderer and educator, considered Crompton a very influential teacher.¹⁰ In *Conversations with Constance* Howard's recollections include the influence of Crompton on her own career while a student of the RCA, and more importantly Zweybrück's influence on Crompton:

She remembered Rebecca also being influenced by an exhibition by the Austrian School of Textiles, which took place at this time (Beaney and Littlejohn 2000 3).

⁸ Her husband Hamish Crawford, Principal of Dundee College of Art wrote to Colin Martin in 1961 seeking advice for ways the NDS could continue to be used. Crawford, H. 1961. *Letter to Martin*. Edinburgh College of Art. Edinburgh. 15 Dec 1961.

⁹ The work *Daisy Chain* featured on the cover of *Embroidery Design and Stitches* is in the possession of her nephew, Brian Carter. Carter, B. 2001b. *Telephone Interview with Author*. Jun 2001.

¹⁰ Howard, born in 1910 most probably attended the RCA during the late 1920s-to early 1930s. Jan Beaney and Jean Littlejohn describe Constance Howard as the 'foremost pioneer of creative embroidery in the twentieth century'. Beaney, J. and J. Littlejohn 2000. *Conversations with Constance*, Double Trouble Enterprises.

This seems most likely to have been Zweybrück's Austrian design, perhaps pre NDS. Howard also remembers in one class making a delicate dress using transparent fabrics, stating 'there was a lot of this work around' (Beaney and Littlejohn 2000 3). It would have been necessary for Howard to take external embroidery classes, as she studied mostly woodcut at the RCA, as embroidery was not in the curriculum.

Mann's successor Agnes McCredie did not share her inventive, original approach to embroidery and developed a preference for weaving, hampered by extreme shortages of materials during wartime in the Art School (Arthur 1989 42).¹¹ In 1937, the West of Scotland College of Domestic Science introduced a three-year diploma and McCredie provided advice on the embroidery content. She advocated the inclusion of one afternoon or three hours embroidery for two years, with design to include the 'anatomy of pattern and building up units of simple embroidery' (Hutchison 1937). This supply of teachers with a basic knowledge of embroidery was ensured.

McCredie played an active role organising NDS textile loans for schools and amateur groups. In 1936 Coats achieved a significant leap forward in their promotional aims, as the NDSS began sending works out to schools, under the auspices of the Glasgow School of Art Museum loans scheme (Hutchison 1936). By 1939 fourteen secondary and twenty-six primary schools in Lanark, borrowed the NDSS collections for a week (Mair 1939). The short loan proved to be useful to the lecturers, from both a design and technical perspective, as reported by RM Allardyce, Director of Education in Glasgow, who quoted the head teacher of the Battlefield School, responding after receiving their first loan:

I find that the case of embroideries loaned to this school has been much appreciated as showing a high standard of invention and of handwork. The lecturers are of the opinion that other such cases would be an inspiration and example to the pupils (Allardyce 1939).¹²

St Gerards RC School also forwarded favourable comments:

I have to report that the examples displayed served the very useful purpose of allowing pupils to study at first hand good examples of needlecraft. They also provided an excellent opportunity for recognising the essential and basic stitches of good embroidery. We found them an inspiration and a decided asset to the Art Craft Course. A further development of this scheme is very desirable, as the constant access to such examples would fill a decided want (Allardyce 1939).

¹¹ A student of McCredie's, Dorothy Smith, recalls seeing 'lots of interesting books and things in her office, but they were not shared with the students'. Author's interview with Dorothy Smith October 2001. Smith relied on her Mary Thomas stitch technique books as references. Mary Thomas' books were widely used for decades, as she was editor of Coats' *The Needlewoman*, during the period they were written, it is likely there was some involvement from Coats. Mary Thomas, *Dictionary of Embroidery Stitches*, 1934, and *Embroidery Book*, 1936. Thomas attended NDSS meeting 18 May 1934. In surviving examples of designs by Smith, which she used in her teaching to the Embroiderers' Guild a distinct Swedish influence is shown.

¹² Naturally not all the teachers were enthusiastic, the Adelphi Terrace School replied 'it was quite useful to have the case to show the pupils'.

Mary Meldrum, the Glasgow High School for Girls teacher, expressed her gratitude for the loan of a sampler by Crompton, and indicated the students were encouraged to draw the designs 'I hope I have not kept you waiting for this panel... it is a sheer joy and we are always getting a new sketch from it' (Meldrum 1939). In the first six months of 1939, twenty-two schools had on loan one hundred and ten textiles in Glasgow, Lanarkshire, Dunbartonshire (GSA 1938-9).

From the outset of the Scheme both Coats and Michie, HMI Inverness, would have been aware of several established art school/amateur embroidery initiatives, discussed earlier in chapter three. Loans to amateur groups began in 1938, when collections of embroideries were loaned to Women's Rural Institutes, continuation classes, and social service centres, received twelve articles each for two weeks at a time (NDS 1938). The link to the amateur organisations enabled Coats to promote their commercial aims more widely.¹³

In a move that could be interpreted both as an admission of this and as a barrier to progress, McCredie, Head of Embroidery, GSA, began selling transfers to amateurs, including the much criticised iconic designs of the interwar years, such as the 'crinoline lady' (NDS 1936).¹⁴ The style of the design, including 'crinoline ladies' and herbaceous borders, suggests Coats had some involvement in this initiative (Fig 121). The crinoline lady design epitomised women's idealised association with flowers, featuring a lady wearing a crinoline surrounded by flower gardens. In 1936 thirty designs made by students of the GSA were sold to Women's Rural Institute members (NDS 1936).¹⁵ Later in 1941, Ernest Thesiger in *The Studio*, wrote 'it was quite usual at the GSA for a painted design to be sent to the worker who uses them' (Thesiger 1941 18). He included an example, *The Scolded Wife*, designed by Elspeth Ritchie, GSA, and embroidered by Mrs R Sinclair of the Dumgoyne Rural Institute (Thesiger 1941 26). This example was previously in the GSA NDS collection (NDS 1945; NDS [1945]).

In 1945 as McCredie left to collect embroideries for the NDS in Sweden and Denmark and gather teaching philosophies, a newspaper article in which she emphasised her interest in weaving, and failed to mention embroidery:

¹³ Although the SWRI exhibitions were dominated by loans from the aristocracy, the working class women were also paid attention as they had considerable craft skills Kirkham, P. 1989. *Women and the Interwar Handicrafts Revival A View From the Interior: Feminism Women and Design*. J. K. Attfield, P. London, The Women's Press: 174-183.

¹⁴ These transfers are in the GSA Research Centre. It seems likely Coats drove this initiative.

¹⁵ 2/6d was charged for each time the design was used, and it was to be used no more than eight times. Thirty designs were sold to WRI by the GSA NDS 1936. *Minutes*. Paisley Museum Archives. Paisley. 1 Jun 1936.

There has been a considerable revival of interest in the craft of hand-weaving since the war. I want to see if the Swedish method of weaving on small home looms could be more generally adopted in Scotland (Daily Herald 1945).

This would have baffled Coats, but perhaps they were prepared to compromise on some things in order to achieve their wider aims. McCredie did collect both embroideries and information on the Swedish curriculum, which was to inspire Coats for decades.

Her questionnaire focused on the Scandinavian education systems, the same as Köhler took to Switzerland, included 'all aspects as regards handcrafts and sewing, covering all phases from primary to university education, the latter covering the training of the needlework teacher' (NDS 1947 3). In Switzerland, Köhler found embroidery teaching varied from canton to canton, thus Coats saw more future prospect with McCredie's Scandinavian findings. The contrast in the British and Scandinavian methods, for the submission of a proposal to Mr Dickie, MoE, was discussed at the following NDS Advisory Committee meeting:

Miss McCredie found certain Swedish methods were at opposition to systems advocated in Great Britain therefore it is wrong to present Miss McCredie's factual report without giving the British point of view. An article giving the other side of the story would be written by Miss Thomson (NDS 1947).

This research shows Coats actively pursued the Swedish approach to design from this time. Later in 1948 McCredie resigned from the GSA, but she continued to work with Coats. In 1950 she adapted designs by Enid Marx for their commercial use, revealing both her capitulation to Coats and acceptance of the Swedish design approach, that of preparing designs for the 'less able' woman (NDS 1950).¹⁶ However, Dorothy Smith a GSA student of McCredie's from 1940-44 revealed she looked at a diverse array of influences in her textile design (Smith 2001 personal communication).¹⁷

After graduating Smith taught part-time at the GSA, 1944-1948, evening and Saturday morning classes to Glasgow DoE students who later became teachers. Paintings in her sketchbook record careful attention and detailed studies of NDS designs (Smith 1940s). One such study is of a textile design developed in a Segovian Primary School initiative in the late 1920s (Fig 122). Textiles from areas considered to be isolated in the 1920s, such as Spain, exemplify the extent of Coats interest and the subsequent design dissemination.

A combination of analyses from NDS object studies, accession records, and the 1930s book *Los Bordados Populares en Segovia*, illuminates the history, design source and

¹⁶ This idea inspired Mr Miller, HMI, to suggest the sale of kitsets to the NDS Advisory meeting.

¹⁷ Although she showed some resentment of the limited access students had to textiles stored in McCredie's office. Smith, D. 2001. *Interview with Author*. Glasgow. 29 Oct 2001.



122: Dorothy Smith Sketch



123: Salamancan Sleeve C.19 RSM NDS



124: Winsome Douglas 1950s Mat

context some of these NDS Spanish works.¹⁸ These textiles were used in 1926 in an initiative of Maria Paz Alfaya, the Segovian Primary School's inspector, endorsed by the King, to invigorate design, adapting historical design to everyday use. Originally sourced from La Pedriza, Churreria and La Serrania areas where either more textiles were made or isolated conditions prevented the work from being sold earlier (Lopez 1930 37). Moorish, renaissance, classical and baroque influences were prevalent in these areas (Lopez 1930 37).

Later in 1946, in Madrid twelve Spanish works were purchased for two hundred and thirteen pounds or the equivalent today of six thousand and fifty six pounds, including a seventeenth century design held in the RSM NDS collection (NDS 1946 3; McCusker 2001).¹⁹ One of these textiles showing a diversity of design influences is the seventeenth century RSM sleeve, perhaps from Toledo, which features both oriental floral imagery and ancient animal figures (Oddy 1962)(Fig 123).²⁰ Some textiles used in Paz Alfaya's initiative were from Toledo, previously exhibited at the *Museo Pedagogico* in 1913 (Lopez 1930 12).²¹ Another example is a Spanish altar cloth held in the GSA collection, which features both floral and geometric design, copied from an old design (Lopez 1930 38).²² Legend has it, as recorded by Joseph Pijoan in *The needlework of the peasants of the province of Toledo*, that Toledo was selected as the meeting place of Oriental and Minoan culture (Pijoan 1930 87). A 1940s Winsome Douglas design completed when she was just a fifteen year old school girl at the North Hammersmith Secondary School reveals another interpretation combining the Spanish influence with Mexican paper cuts and sugar work technique, in the Scandinavian modern style (NDS 1952)(Fig 124).²³

Contrasting with these studies are surviving designs from Dorothy Smith's teaching at GSA and to amateur groups, which reveal a strong Swedish influence and an affinity with

¹⁸ Translations of this book kindly supplied by Caroline Weaver.

¹⁹ As the NDS resumed a total of £960 was spent acquiring textiles in 1946, or today's equivalent of over £25,000 McCusker, J. 2001. *Comparing the Purchasing Power of the Pound*. URL <http://www.eh.net/hmit/ppowerbp>. [14 May 2003]. The sleeves: RSM 1962.1227 NDS 953. Other RSM Spanish designs from this project: RSM 1962.1228 NDS 975; RSM 1962.1229 NDS 978; RSM 1962.1230 NDS 979; RSM 1962.1231 NDS 1013; RSM 1962.1237 NDS 1412; RSM 1962.1232 NDS 1246; RGU also has a cloth purchased from the el Esculdolde Sevilla, which features geometric styled floral designs along-with small geometric ancient figures.

²⁰ This sleeve has affinity with Spanish Salamanca sleeves in the V&A collection: V&A T93A-1921 and V&A T94A-1921 given by Dr WL Hildebright displayed in the Textile gallery at the museum.

²¹ Interest in the richness and diversity of design and its manufacture was the subject of El Greco's painting *Family of El Greco* Pijoan, J. 1930. *Needlework of the Peasants of the Province of Toledo*. *Art and Archaeology* (September): 87-92. Formerly in the Pitcairn collection, USA, the whereabouts of this painting is unknown.

²² GSA F42. This work was valued at £4.6s.0d in 1962 by the NDS.

²³ Douglas's talent was recognised as she was seconded by her former teacher Dorothy Allsopp, NDS 'expert-in-charge', from West Hartlepool to the NDS in Glasgow for the summer term of 1952. Importantly, these designs reveal creativity, combining various influences such as Mexican paper cuts and sugar work, in the Scandinavian modern style NDS 1952. *Advisory Committee Minutes*. V&A Art & Design Archive. MA/1/N part 2 London. 31 Oct 1952.

Greta Hammarquist's 1947 design (Fig 125-6). Smith approached her classes with colour, texture, line, fine art and architecture images, but also pre-drawn designs, which could be imitated (Smith 2001 personal communication). Further derivations of these designs feature in a GSA student work by M McLellan held in the RSM NDS collection (Fig 127).²⁴ The influence from these designs was further disseminated through their inclusion in *Trees in Embroidery*, in the NDS series *And So to Sew* (Fig 128). In 1960 the NDS publication featured a similar geometric design for students to simulate and introduce some minimal input of their own (NDS 1960 41).

Another 1950s design by Marion Stewart, Duncan of Jordanstone College, Dundee, embroidery lecturer, draws on the Swedish NDS works (Fig 129). Stewart valued the NDS collection, and recently recalled its importance:

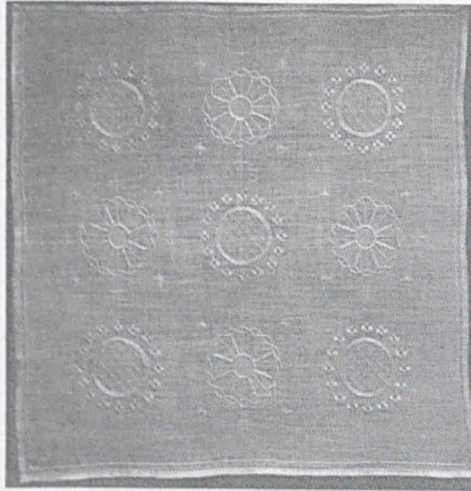
As the students were able to see the embroidery at close hand, in many cases front and back... closeness and contact with them. I felt this compared to books and exhibitions was of great value to see stitching. I remember particularly a little cap, the design built with four triangles, it was in very bright colours, in French knots, and was of African origin. I also enjoyed an ecclesiastical piece in organdie shadow work (Stewart 2002 personal communication).

Distinct from the approach to design provided for amateur groups was that of Kathleen Whyte. In 1948 Whyte, succeeded McCredie, and began her career at the GSA. This appointment coincided with the arrival of Ulla Kockum, from Sweden, to the NDS in Glasgow, and the beginning of a particularly lively time for the NDS, discussed earlier in chapter five. Whyte spent most of her childhood years in India, and acquired a lively sense of colour, which she exploited during the years of scarcity and coupons, developing a resourceful use of material, colour, and texture. An outstanding student of Dorothy Angus in Aberdeen, she used lively stitchery in an expressive manner, and planned a well-structured course giving students freedom to interpret projects (Arthur 1989 47). She also cooperated closely with Robert Stewart and the other design staff (Arthur 1989 47).

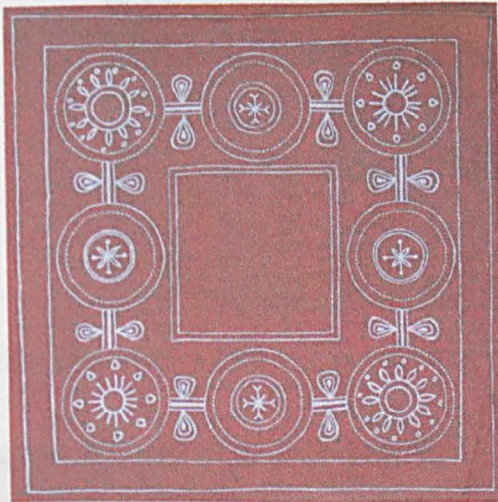
Liz Arthur describes Whyte's presentation of embroideries in 'informal, often humorous, and entertaining sessions' (Arthur 1989 55). A surviving newspaper article illustrates the enthusiastic response of GSA students to the ecclesiastical embroideries (Fig 130). The students were also required to analyse and differentiate between the characteristics of the embroideries in the written diploma examination (Whyte 1950-57).²⁵ Whyte borrowed NDS works regularly, and they were undoubtedly valued in her teaching

²⁴ RSM 1962. 1085

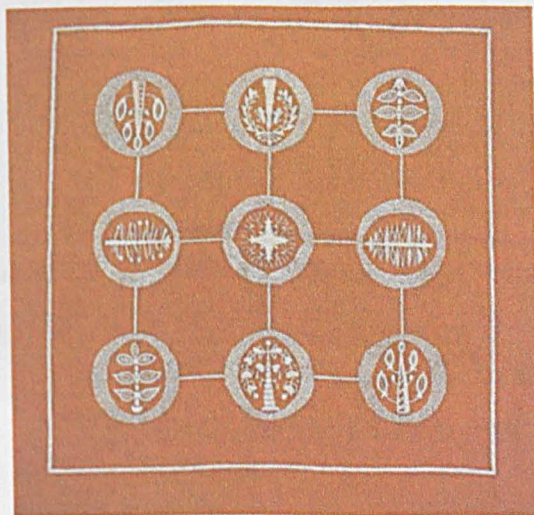
²⁵ In the written part of the diploma exam, historical questions referring to the NDS works were included, for example, 'differentiate the distinguishing features between modern Italian, Swedish and Austrian embroidery. By which characteristics could you distinguish modern Turkish, Finnish and German ecclesiastical embroidery?'



125: Hammarquist Cloth NDS RSM



126: Dorothy Smith Design



127: McLellan Cloth NDS RSM



128: McLellan Cloth in NDS *Trees in Embroidery*



129: Marion Stewart 1950s Apron design detail



130: GSA Students admiring NDS *St Martin and the Beggar*

(Whyte 1950-57).²⁶ Hannah Frew-Patterson, a student of Whyte's, who later worked with her at the GSA, confirmed her enthusiasm for the NDS:

Kath was very keen on the Scheme. Both Kath and I were interested in the techniques and the quality of work. I loved the collection, I thought it was wonderful. It was always fun to get it out (Frew-Patterson 2002 personal communication).²⁷

Whyte's design approach was outlined in a publication, which was reprinted by Coats:

A great many methods and techniques have come down to us, not enough to try to copy them. They must be used as starting points for new invention. Embroidery covers a great variety of needlework activities, or techniques, but is in essence the enrichment of material by a texture of stitchery (Whyte 1958 14).

She explained further her views on good design, which were in opposition to Coats industrial and crafts based copying approaches:

A good design is the most important single factor in creating a good piece of embroidery of any type. What then are the basic principles and modern characteristics of good design as applied to embroidery? There is first of all a feeling of spaciousness, through good proportion-the right amount of pattern to the size and purpose of the article. Planning is simple, motifs are arranged to make borders, or cover a surface in an elementary manner. Shapes are simplified and adapted to contrast in size and form, to suit the designer's purpose. This type of design does not pose elaborate mechanical problems, such as turning a Celtic interlacing, but depends for effect on the subtleties of good proportion, personal taste, and the designer's ability to find and use pattern (Whyte 1958 17).

Evidence of the influence of the NDS works on Whyte's student work survives in her sketchbook (Whyte 1933-1950s). Included are sketches of NDS Hungarian and Mexican peasant blouses, and the GSA NDS *Lamb of God* work, which inspired several sketches (Fig 131-4).²⁸ In 1950, Whyte completed her first Church of Scotland Pulpit Fall, *Lamb of God*, for the Queen's Park Church, Glasgow (Whyte 1983).²⁹

Whyte also developed ideas from the NDS German ecclesiastical designs, discussed in the previous chapter. Her design notes reveal her students were also encouraged to study the German designs (Whyte 1933-1950s).³⁰ These stylised images were interpreted as sacrilegious in character, by the mostly conservative and Protestant Scottish embroiderers,

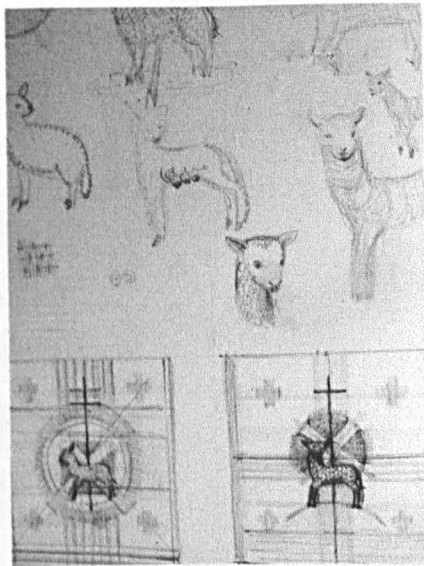
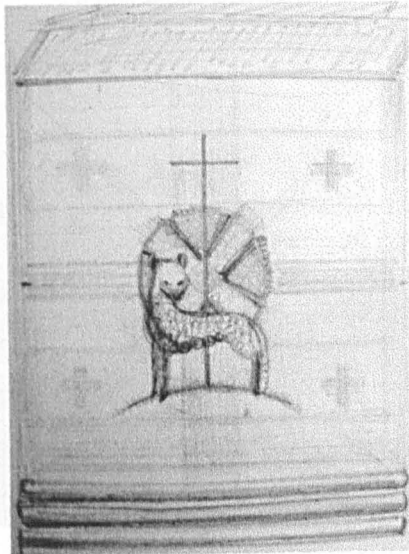
²⁶ GSA NDS lists of the loans Whyte borrowed survive in the archives.

²⁷ After the GSA was gifted the NDS textiles in 1962 they were kept in the department to discuss techniques and aspects of design.

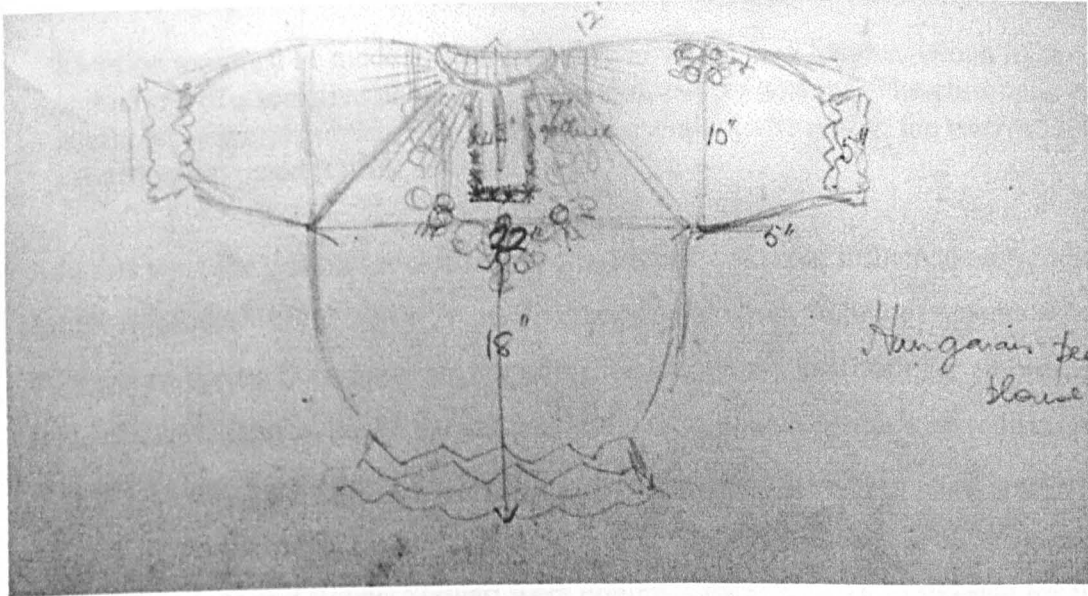
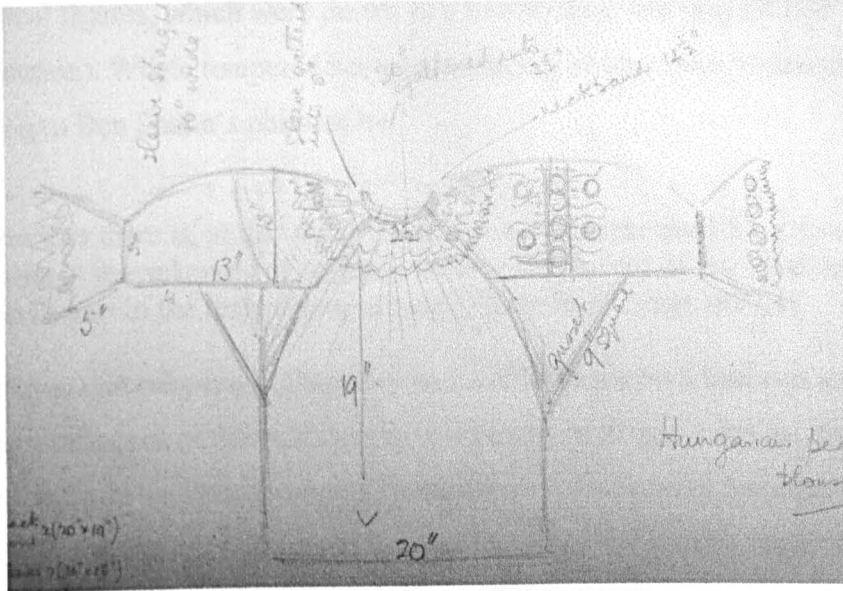
²⁸ GSA F1 NDS 2610, a 1950s Austrian Pall, 15cm x 15cm.

²⁹ This information was kindly supplied by Crissie White.

³⁰ Alongside her sketches of angels she noted 'attitudes of adoration, exaltation, humility, peace, graceful motion, repose. Personal youth and beauty. Botanic gardens shape and texture. Organic, textual'. Whyte, K. 1933-1950s. *Sketchbook*. Glasgow School of Art Archives. DC 29/1. Glasgow.



131-2: Kathleen Whyte *Lamb of God* Sketches



133-4: Kathleen Whyte Sketches of NDS Hungarian Blouses

in the 1930s, and throughout the following decades. In Scotland people were more accustomed to the way German fine artists, such as Otto Dix rejected the faith systems of Christianity (West 2000 78). Whyte believed the elongated, stylised figures in the Münster Stadt Schule für Handwerk und Kunstgewerbe ecclesiastical designs to be inhumane (White 2002 personal communication).³¹ She referred her students to medieval ecclesiastical figures, which were drawn in a less stylised and way (White 2002 personal communication). Whyte tempered her understanding of the German designs in her teaching by referring to Ben Shahn's philosophy:

I believe that there is, at this point in history, a desperate need for a resurgence of humanism, a reawakening of values. I believe that art-art of any kind-can play a significant part in the reaffirming of man (Shahn in Prescott 1977 1).

Her belief was that religious embroidery had a definite purpose and was a conscious art. The modern influence of the NDS works is apparent in Whyte's design, for example *Palm Sunday*, is inspired by the strewing of garments on Palm Sunday, but draws on the Stadt Schule works (Fig 135). Later in 1961, Cordelia Oliver favourably reviewed another of Whyte's ecclesiastical designs:

Mention too must be made of Kathleen Whyte's own *Last Supper*, which to me has something of a sensitive delicacy of a Byzantine ivory carving. The chromatic scale of subtle browns and purples, which draws the eye along the row of the twelve Disciples, is particularly good (Oliver 1960 10).

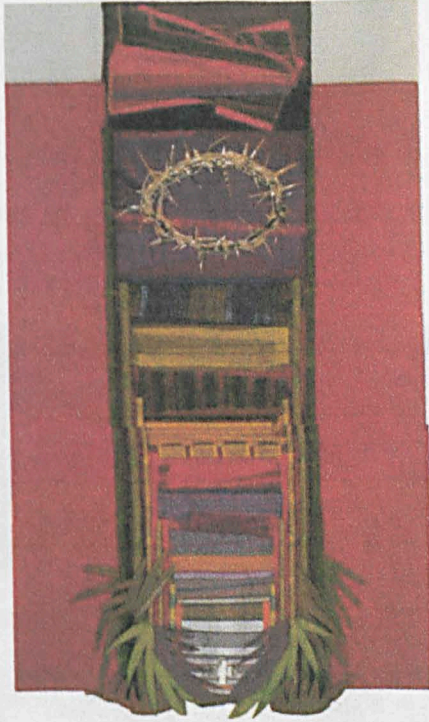
In this way, the German ecclesiastical designs had a marked influence on Scottish church embroidery combined with the diverse array of stitch techniques gleaned from other NDS embroideries. Disseminating her influence further she sold both her embroideries and those of her students to the NDS, and textiles by GSA students of this period survive in NDS collections, for example Lesley Miller's Bible cover design which references the 'light of the world, dove of peace, fish, King of Glory, and Burning Bush' (Fig 136).³² In 1957 both Whyte and Robert Stewart were commissioned to produce designs for the British Artist and Craftsmen Exhibition in Smithsonian Institute, which was circulated in America (British and Craftsmen 1957)(Fig 137).³³ These works are held in the V&A NDS collection. In 1970, Whyte published *Design in Embroidery* (Whyte 1970).

Whyte developed friendships with many of the key NDS personnel, including Ulla Kockum and Dorothy Allsopp, and she knew Elisabeth Geddes and Iris Hills. Later she

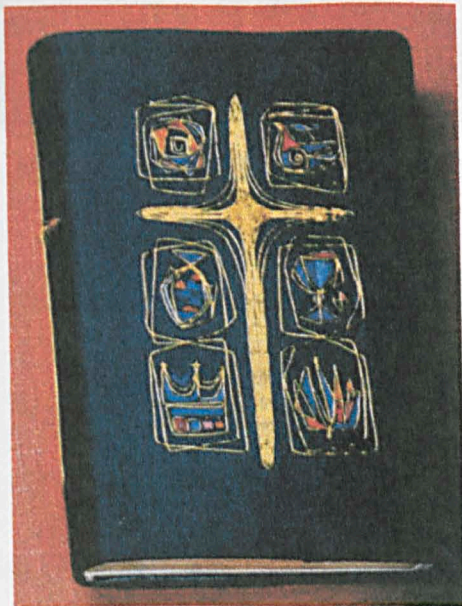
³¹ Whyte noted 'in direct line of this early necessity symbols of ownership, of nature and the seasons.' The German designs are discussed in chapter eight.

³² Miller's design notes accompany her sketches for the Bible Cover, V & A T&D Circ 191a.

³³ John Piper exhibited a cope.



135: Kathleen Whyte *Palm Sunday*



136: Lesley Miller Bible Cover NDS V&A

visited Kockum in Sweden, the other Scandinavian countries and the *Hemslöjd* (Craft) shops where 'could have collected armfuls of beautiful weaving' (Whyte 1970s; Whyte 1975).

As early as 1944 Colin Martin expressed his opinion to the Coats board, with the sales motivations underpinning the rationale of his statement:

Under the old scheme all the specimens became the property of the Schools of Art and became valueless in time, as they were not passed on, after having been made use of by the schools. Extending the scheme to England offered a better return from the advertising point of view (Coats 1944).

One paradox was as Coats shifted their NDS emphasis to England after the war, they moved to a restrictive curriculum, in both secondary and art schools.

In 1945, JOM Clark, Director of Coats, opening the exhibition celebrating the re-start of the Scheme at the GSA, appealed to the Director of Education, to allow art teachers to specialise in needlework, so that a sufficient number of experts would be available to impart instruction on a high level in the interests of fostering knowledge in the art in Great Britain (Daily Herald 1945).³⁴ Cooper, DCA, opening a NDS exhibition in Dundee in 1950, in an era when design was still referred to as art, highlighted the situation:

The supply of trained art lecturers was far short of the required number and the Department of Education was viewing the low standard of work (Cooper in Dundee Courier and Advertiser 1950).

In his recent thesis, *Scottish Art Education and Scottish Culture- A Study of Policy Making From 1837 To The Present*, in this excerpt, referring to needlework teaching in Scotland in the 1950s, Stuart Macdonald claims:

As needlework was not included in the leaving certificate, it was free from the constraints of the exam system, and a more creative course construction was possible for the less academically able (MacDonald 1997 99).

However, this assumes teachers, who were not trained in design, were indeed prepared to develop creative courses.

In England in 1946 as part of the government's recovery plans, the inter-relationship between industry, art training and the community was revised and the National Diploma of Design (NDD) introduced. In 1946 fourteen embroidery students sat the NDD and five passed and the following year ten entered NDD embroidery and only one student was successful (MoE 1948). In both 1946 and 1947 only three machine embroidery students

³⁴ Clark a Cambridge graduate joined the business in 1898 and developed aspects of Coats' industry in Germany, Spain and USA. He retired in 1946. Daily Express. 1958. *JOM Clark*. Daily Express.

were successful in the NDD (MoE 1948). In reality few students took crafts options, preferring instead to specialise in painting and illustration (Harrod 1996 212). It was in this climate that Coats launched an intensive publicity campaign in 1949, regularly advertising the NDS in the following publications: *Journal of Education*, *School Education Journal*, *Times Education Supplement*, *Lecturers World*, and *Lecturers Work* (NDS 1949-1961).

Later in the 1950s, secondary teachers were repressed and Diploma Art and Design lecturers were constrained by the requirements of the National Diploma Design (NDD); large sheets of designs and samples were required for assessment by the board in London (Arthur 1989 57). Margaret Blow, who as a student of Louisa Chart at ECA, in the 1930s spent hours drawing from the NDS pieces, found the English curricula to be very restricting (Blow 2001 personal communication). Teaching in England from 1946-1950, Blow found no opportunity to use the NDS textiles 'the exam syllabus was fairly strict and we didn't venture far off it' (Blow 2001 personal communication). Another factor considered by the NDS Advisory Committee for the poor standard in the NDD was due to the tendency for principals to advise less gifted students to take embroidery combined with a lack of talented teachers (Martin 1952).

Art Schools criticised the NDS for lack of support, but Martin's opinion expressed to the NDS Advisory Committee differed:

The intensive approach to schools collection of embroidery is simple enough for Secondary Schools while being sound in their approach to craft. New purchases will be limited to schools (NDS 1950).

Later in 1951 Miss Thomson, LCC HMI, at an NDS Advisory Committee meeting repeated the relevance of the collection to a craft approach:

A more intensive approach to the schools collection of embroidery is simple enough for secondary schools while sound in their approach to craft (NDS 1951).

The NDS focus on embroidery and sewing in schools in the 1950s, ensured support for the NDS was mostly from primary and secondary schools, and during the 1950s thirteen hundred requests for textile loans were received annually (Martin 1962). Needlework and embroidery had often come to be separated on the timetable, with embroidery sometimes taught by Art teachers. Earlier in the 1930s Crompton and Mann had demonstrated that embroidery design should be alive and free. They divorced it from its source of garment making and emphasised freedom, spontaneity, and textural qualities, with the purpose of 'stimulating the imagination, giving textural delight, expressing feeling and mood' (Harrod 1996 150). A painterly approach using thread as a palette to express ideas was adopted.

This was quite distinct from the 1950s industry-like disciplined approach of decorative embroidery used in dressmaking classes, influenced by the Swedish aesthetic.

Domestic science teachers approached embroidery in a technique-based manner, and it was viewed as a craft subject, which Coats encouraged in their promotional propaganda of the NDS (Fig 138). The teachers began to look forward to the arrival of the 'ready-made lessons' on a Friday (Godfrey and Nicholson 2001 personal communication). The NDS, perhaps Hills, the 'expert-in-charge', recognising the difficulty, encouraged the teachers, thus:

It must be stressed, however, that the loan material and publications are not intended to be used as a rigid scheme of work but their value lies in the support they can give to the efforts of individual lecturers in helping them to develop their own projects which will vary according to the particular problems in the areas and the talent of their pupils (NDS 1961b 6).

But, until the 1960s, needlework was included in the Secondary School Homecraft curriculum, where the emphasis in teaching was on personal hygiene, deportment and grooming (HMSO 1963 79).

The NDS began other initiatives to encourage embroidery in schools, in 1956, it offered scholarships of fifty pounds each to school-girls to study embroidery at Hammersmith College of Art (NDS 1956). Documents reveal that uncertainty about the future of the NDS began a few years prior to its closure, as Martin lobbied at the highest government level. In 1957 the NDS completed an intensive investigation into the teaching of embroidery in England, but the report on the Scottish schools was not completed as Keith Miller, SED was 'too busy' to undertake a survey (Martin 1957). The English report examined one hundred and thirty-six prospectus and made the following summary:

56 are centres for City and Guilds examinations in embroidery
 59 offer embroidery as intermediate craft
 42 offer embroidery at an additional level for NDD
 21 offer embroidery at the main level for NDD
 5 offer embroidery to a special level for NDD (Birmingham, Bromley, Harrogate, Goldsmiths, Maidstone)(Martin 1957).

In 1959, frustrated by the progress of the Scheme, in a letter written to Digby, V&A, Martin advocated the implementation of the Scandinavian educational method (Martin 1959a). He considered pupils were not likely to create their own designs, and only a small minority of less able pupils studied needlework (Martin 1959c). Martin was keen for 'a specific action by the NDS with a view to influencing the curricula adopted by secondary

schools' (Martin 1959c).³⁵ He enquired as to whether a move to establish the Scandinavian method in the secondary school curriculum should be initiated (Martin 1959a). However archives indicate both Elisabeth Geddes, NDS embroiderer, and Iris Hills, NDS 'expert-in-charge', were against such a move (Martin 1959a).³⁶ Recently Geddes confirmed she believed Martin wasn't interested in the art side-just how many threads would sell (Geddes and Hills 2001 personal communication).

In another initiative Coats courted Robin Darwin, Principal RCA, for several years, in an effort to get the RSN incorporated into the RCA (Darwin 1957; Anon 1961).³⁷ However, neither Darwin, nor his Head of Department of Design, Roger Nicholson were ever likely to agree. Darwin considered the cost per student at the RSN was more than the RCA could bear (Darwin 1957).³⁸ However, Coats responded by offering the RCA a financial incentive of ten thousand pounds to cover the deficit. Nicholson, who had designed several of the NDS exhibitions with his brother, and co-authored the NDS leaflet *And so to Furnish*, loathed embroidery, as indicated in an interview with the London artists and educators Anthea Godfrey and her mother Margaret Nicholson:

Nicholson fell out with his wife, so wouldn't have embroidery at the RCA. He hated embroidery, he loathed it. Daggers were drawn. His wife, Joan, was an eminent embroiderer and perhaps he resented the time she dedicated to her own work (Godfrey and Nicholson 2001 personal communication).³⁹

However the RSN operated a commercially based technical design and making embroidery service. The connotations of its close connections with commercial activity, the technical approach to design, and support from industry (it was partly funded by Coats although this was most probably concealed), would have been most unattractive to the RCA. A parallel to the status of embroidery was the marginalisation of fashion at the RCA with its close connections with trade associations and dressmaking (McRobbie 1998 31). Patriarchal attitudes impacted on the exclusion of embroidery, at a time when middle-class women were primarily regarded as homemakers and frequently dismissed in education circles as non-academics.

³⁵ Both Iris Hills, the 'expert-in-charge' and Keith Miller HMI, disagreed.

³⁶ Elisabeth Geddes, was a NDS embroiderer, and Iris Hills the NDS 'expert-in-charge' 1955-1961.

³⁷ Coats paid the equivalent of the RSN premises rent from 1946, fifteen hundred to two thousand pounds per annum Coats, J. P. 1943-1967. *Private Cash Book*, No 2. Glasgow University Business Archives. UGD Coats Patons UGD 199, 1/17/6. Glasgow.

³⁸ Darwin was unable to take the initiative to start a new department, as he considered it cost £30,000 for 50 students at the RSN, whilst it cost £222,000 for 400 students at the RCA. Oddly enough there is only a £50 per student deficit that perhaps accounts for Coats generous agreement to fund £10,000.

³⁹ At this time Anthea Godfrey was actively encouraged by Constance Howard to 'just get into the RCA' Godfrey, A. and M. Nicholson. 2001. *Interview with Author*. London. 12 Oct 2001.

Further complicating the issue was lobbying by others with vested interests, such as Dorothy Allsopp, HMI, the former Hammersmith College embroidery lecturer, who wrote a forceful letter to Mr Devereaux, at the education office, London (Allsopp 1961). Curiously, Allsopp did not position her allegiance with Coats, her former employers, and their vision to improve the quality of lecturers. Instead she disclosed her wariness of the RSN approach dominating an embroidery department at the RCA stating:

I feel rather strongly about this. Hammersmiths and Goldsmiths standard of design is in line with present day development in art and other major crafts. We do not want to encourage two completely different schools of thought. Would it be possible to defer an announcement until I look at the RSN (Allsopp 1961)⁴⁰

In retrospect Allsopp would have seen the demise of embroidery education, in particular its exclusion from the RCA as a contributory factor in its struggle for acceptance, appreciation and value in the art and design world. Perhaps an alternative lobby to get a design-focused embroidery course accepted into the RCA would have been advantageous, while criticising the RSN option, an alternative choice was necessary. The announcement to discontinue the NDS was delayed until the RCA/RSN merger negotiation outcomes were known. Meanwhile an announcement in *The Times*, possibly leaked to the press, suggested the merger was imminent:

The RCA is considering plans to create a new department where embroidery could flourish in an atmosphere of modern design (Times 1961).

In 1959 Martin wrote to Sir Gordon Russell, CoID, highlighting the need for the development of Higher teaching in embroidery, and suggested the gap could be filled by an institution of national scope in London (Martin 1959b). Increasingly principals encouraged less able students to study domestic subjects, and as reported in the 1959 Crowther Report these students were staying at school longer (Martin 1960). The Crowther Report emphasised the intellectual challenge brought through practical experience and recommended provision of Further Education for fifteen to eighteen year olds (Wain 1993 52). In light of this the NDS contemplated the best approach to design in schools, and concluded the stimulation of appreciation was preferable to creativity (Martin 1960). Martin recognised a flow of highly qualified lecturers from a central training institute was the most important factor (Martin 1960).

As new design departments developed needlework and embroidery were submerged in an assortment of titles, such as *Textiles, Fashion and Fabrics*, and *Dress and Design*, as

⁴⁰ Allsopp was former a Hammersmith teacher, NDS 'expert-in -charge' 1950-55, but then HM Inspector, London.

the curriculum sought to offer the pupil a more general experience (Wain 1993 52). An early 1960s design experience was to give pupils an awareness of the relationship between themselves, society and environment through the medium of different materials, and in the case of needlecraft, through the medium of textiles (Wain 1993 52). The study of embroidery became divorced from design, and materials led.

In 1960 the NDS Committee had reported 'the best teaching of creative embroidery was being produced by art teachers rather than needlework teachers, and the best embroidery classes were done in Grammar Schools' (Hills 1960). However, many of these 'best teachers', the art teachers had abandoned the scheme, as the NDS developed textile loans for primary and secondary schools use. Not only had Coats influenced the development of design appropriation and the Scandinavian methods to design but also they actively promoted it through exhibitions and publications. Yet another paradox existed as they were simply filling a design void available to them as the education authorities opted out of the opportunity to train design lecturers, an issue, which increasingly frustrated Coats.

Martin's technical and commercially influenced vision of embroidery often differed from the creative, spontaneous, and expressive approach, as shown in his reaction to contemporary embroidery in 1960. He expressed his dismay at the direction shown in contemporary embroidery:

I saw embroidery pictures by Constance Howard at the Whitechapel Art Gallery exhibition for schools. The embroidery was selected by Margaret Kaye who had three large pieces in. These embroidery pictures are interesting experimental work in free designing, but they seem to me to have little to do with embroidery (Martin 1961).

However, the NDS came to a close at a time when the sale of embroidery thread was as good as ever, but the selling function of TCA was in decline, as the type of business market required took new forms (Robb 1996 68). Also, Coats new management regime was looking to diversify, as the merger with Patons Baldwin was imminent (Robb 1996 68). Indeed just prior to the closure of the NDS support was on the increase, as fifteen hundred loan requests were being received annually (NDS 1961a). Recognising his impact on embroidery Colin Martin was awarded the MBE for services to embroidery in 1961 (News Reel 1961).

In 1961/2 the Coldstream Report marginalised crafts, assuming few students would wish to pursue crafts study, and art schools would provide training for these students with the help of local craftsmen (Harrod 1996 238). Angela McRobbie claims the Coldstream Report reinforced the principle that 'art education meant, first and foremost, an education in the fine arts' (McRobbie 1998 33).

Subsequently in 1963 the report *From School to Further Education*, published by a working party, disclosed the continuing influence of patriarchal attitudes, placing needlework in secondary education, as a technical skill detached from other crafts:

Homecraft should give to girls a useful introduction to the fundamental skills and attitudes, which are of importance for example to the 'needle' trades (HMSO 1963 20).⁴¹

Although Coats failed in their aim to establish 'an institution of national scope in London', due to marginalisation by dominant patriarchal attitudes, embroidery developed quickly in the mid-1960s. The efforts by Coats and the NDS had increased interest in embroidery, as stated by Carol Bell in her 1988 MA dissertation:

The work of the Needlework Development Scheme was also important in raising standards through its pamphlets, commissioning contemporary embroiderers and organising exhibitions. Such activities were important in both the training of lecturers and pupils, as they instigated a reassessment of embroidery, instilling in them, as had happened earlier in the century, an understanding of the potential of embroidery as a creative and expressive medium for school children, an approach it hoped would be carried through in their attitudes to the medium in later life (Bell 1988 57).

In 1963, the Summerson Committee for the Council for Academic Awards recommended the National Diploma in Art and Design replace the NDD, but unsurprisingly, most fine arts were represented except embroidery (Hornsby 1992 36). In 1963 Textiles and Fashion were approved as diploma subjects, but embroidery had to wait another year until 1964 when it was recognised as a degree level subject at Goldsmiths School of Art in the University of London (Hornsby 1992 36).⁴² In 1965 Manchester, Loughborough and Birmingham Colleges of Art established embroidery degrees. At the RCA patriarchal attitudes in the elitist institution only recognised fashion at degree level status after intense lobbying in 1967 (McRobbie 1998 27). McRobbie explains the structure for the theoretical underpinning of fashion took longer to evolve.

In this climate of patriarchal marginalisation it appears embroidery was not approved at the RCA at this time. Indeed, Christopher Frayling, Principal, RCA, in his three histories of the London Art school, only mentions embroidery at the RCA in 1989 after the installation of embroidery computer technology. Indeed, embroidery was introduced as part of constructed textiles at the RCA in 1990 (Nicol 2003 personal communication). Frayling suggests there was 'a return to symbolic decoration and a tendency to use pattern

⁴¹ Keith Miller, HMI, was a member of the working party and attended NDS meetings.

⁴² Also in 1965, in the Primary curriculum, it was recognised that needlework was closely linked with other crafts, 'in which lively invention, wider interests and discriminating judgement can develop alongside the pride of craftsmanship' HMSO 1965. *Primary Education in Scotland*. Edinburgh, Scottish Education Department.

in a certain way' (Frayling 1999 228). The replication of symbols and motifs is recognisable in the RCA design work, as illustrated in Frayling's book (Frayling 1999 228). However, Frayling fails to make the connection between the computer led design aesthetic which compromises embroidery, and the technology. An absence of theoretical engagement appears to exist in this computer led style of design.

As this research shows theoretical engagement and interpretation of artefacts, such as in Scotland in the NDSS and during Kath Whyte's era of teaching at the GSA led to the creation of designs recognised as art. Distinct from this, Coats taste was generally located in the past and with ethnic designs made near their business activity. Coats NDS focus was concentrated in England, where a crafts approach to design was adopted, and the lack of theoretical underpinning compromised the position of embroidery in education. The women teachers were marginalised by the dominant patriarchal attitudes, which did not recognise the need for training in embroidery design. The following reflective chapter ten, *Design from Artefacts: the Value of Socio-cultural Interpretation*, looks at embroidery design issues and implications they could have for contemporary design education. Recommendations for future use of the NDS textiles are discussed.

Chapter 10: Design from Artefacts: the Value of Socio-cultural Interpretation

The value of a legacy lies not in its quantity but in the fruitful use to which we put it (Rothenstein 1922 11).

Rothenstein, the RCA principal in 1922 alluded to the importance of the method of using collections. This research has explained the NDS textiles and points to future directions for textile design from the findings. This reflective chapter looks at the use of the findings and the implications they could have for textile design education. It reveals the interpretation of historical, socio-cultural and political issues in design elevates the work to art status. In this way the NDS collection could enhance contemporary design learning in higher education, secondary and primary schools, adult education and the wider textile community. Practical design processes could translate theoretical interpretations of NDS works into valid contemporary aesthetic solutions in art and design education.

Industry, fine art, and craft philosophies influenced embroidery design in an era when design was emerging as a discipline. These practices encouraged appropriation methods, as design subordinated to industry and Scandinavian craft approaches, which eliminated interpretation in creative embroidery design solutions. An acceptance of pillaging of textile design developed as Britain colonised the Orient competing with France. Edward Said in *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, writes:

Throughout history Britain had a privileged place in the Orient as Britain colonised they considered they possessed the Orient. Exploitative practices driven by trade were established (Said 1978 246).

Said in these words reintroduces the ideas reflected in the Goethe quote, introducing this chapter, Said poses an important question: How do ideas acquire authority (Said 1978 326)?

In 1993 Pauline Johnstone in *The urge towards order*, encouraged interpretation and highlighted problems associated with the borrowing of other ideas in disciplines which are already considered inferior:

The danger of borrowing forms and techniques uncritically is that they simply make adequate replicas. If craftspeople create in this reactive way their cultural position will always be in the second division. An investigative approach to material and messages is required. We now seek symbolic representation of the larger issues- sex, death, power, politics and economy (Johnstone 1993 16).

More recently, Gale and Kaur make a significant point that the appropriation of textiles has occurred throughout time and each successive cultural input enhances it:

It is almost a contradiction in terms to speak of national textile traditions. Given the complex origin of many of the world's textile styles. Textile traditions are neither static nor geographically fixed, and they have constantly changed in response to interactions from different cultures. This is a great strength of textiles and a major part of the way it has contributed to the world's cultural heritage (Gale and Kaur 2002 101).

The copying of a design without interpretation or abstraction cannot culturally enhance a design. Recently, in the report *All Our Futures: Creativity, Culture, and Education*, Dame Tamsyn Imison appealed for an understanding of other cultures to be developed in education:

If you only understand one culture it is like seeing with one eye only, but if you add the dimension of other cultures, you become binocular and things can be seen in perspective. It allows you to appreciate much more (Imison in Robinson 1999 50).

This research suggests that a student can interpret artefacts and integrate his or her own identity into their conceptual development and design solutions. The socio-cultural and historical knowledge of artefacts allows interpretation and engenders individual responses. In settler cultures such as New Zealand, more ethical approaches to art and design continue to develop. In these cultures a minimal interpretation of the ideas of others, is considered to be inappropriate. In this context an appropriate way of using the NDS textiles in contemporary design should involve theoretical interpretation to achieve appreciation and a developed aesthetic response.

Industry representatives, for example Lord Stone of Blackheath, recognise the important link between design and technology:

In the future, creativity in industry, founded on the interaction between design and technology, will be the driver of international growth (Blackheath in Robinson 1999 44).

Also the Design Council supports the call for creativity:

Creative thinking skills can promote quality and coherence in education and training in the interests of industry, the economy and society (Design Council in Robinson 1999 89).

In this digital age it is important to consider that technology is only ever going to be as effective as the teacher encouraging and controlling its use. A committee led by Ken Robinson in a report to the Secretary of State in both Education and Culture *All Our Futures: Creativity, Culture, and Education*, defined creativity thus:

Imaginative activity fashioned so as to produce outcomes that are both original and of value (Robinson 1999 29).

The report suggests that creativity carries with it the idea of action and purpose, in a sense applied imagination. On the issue of creativity and culture they quote the Crafts Council, stating:

Creative practical engagement provides opportunities to share different cultural influences, challenge received thinking, develop means for expression, critical thought and problem solving skills (Crafts Council in Robinson 1999 42).

An opportunity exists to consider students as individuals and empower students to develop their individual design identity, as recognised by the Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum:

There is no such thing as a single general intelligence, which we all possess to a greater or lesser degree. We all have a unique combination of different kinds of abilities, which can and do change throughout our lives (Scottish CCC in Robinson 1999 35).

Observational, analytical, and developmental drawing skills along-with design synectics can allow conceptual development of theoretical issues to flourish, while incorporating an awareness of an ethical design process.¹ Moira Fraser Steele, Director of Education and Research, the Design Council, supports the call for creativity and conceptual thinking:

A core aim of our education system must be to enable all children to develop their creativity and unlock their creative potential... if the innovative and creative minds of tomorrow are to be nurtured and inspired, teaching has to be developed in a way which appeals to the creative and emotional and which encourages conceptual thinking (Fraser Steele in Robinson 1999 64).

Conceptual thinking and analysis allows an awareness of other cultures to develop, incorporating a sense of their history, culture and society. Art Schools such as the GSA include students from fascinatingly diverse cultural backgrounds, and the encouragement of socio-cultural interpretation could provide mechanisms in design for these identities to flourish. Events within this research proved this is not always the case, for example a design

¹ The term synectics is from the Greek word *synectikos*, which means 'bringing forth together' or 'bringing different things into unified connection.' Nicholas Roukes explains its relevance to creativity:

Since creativity involves the coordination of things into new structures, every creative thought or action draws on synectic thinking Roukes, N. 1989. *Design Synectics: Stimulating Creativity in Design*. Worcester, Massachusetts, Davis Publications.

submitted by the author for inclusion in the *Archive, Artifice, Artefact* exhibition catalogue was rejected because it 'did not have the Glasgow look' (Hall 2002).²

In the report *All Our Futures: Creativity, Culture, and Education*, Dame Tamsyn Imison appealed for an understanding of other cultures to be developed in education:

If you only understand one culture it is like seeing with one eye only, but if you add the dimension of other cultures, you become binocular and things can be seen in perspective. It allows you to appreciate much more (Imison in Robinson 1999 50).

As this research shows Scandinavian focus in design in the 1950s limited the cultural dimension of the designs.

To improve the value of textiles and their perceived position in society we ought to demand from the textile education system, and from the curriculum that underpins it, students that do not appropriate or copy for its own sake, but interpret and make use of historical and theoretical studies for the purpose of understanding. The student's individual identity should naturally be encouraged and developed in the design process. As the 1996 Scottish Curriculum Report stated learning involves grappling with the issues to interpret them and find your own idea:

Learning involves going beyond simply acquiring new information and adding it to our existing knowledge. It involves us in making a sense of new information by using our existing knowledge and modifying, updating and rethinking our own ideas in the light of this new information (Scottish CCC in Robinson 1999 92).

This proposed approach mirrors the method developed in fashion design education at Massey University, Wellington, New Zealand. There, first year students begin cultural exploration by spending three days on a *marae*, enjoying instruction from both Maori elders and lecturers. From then on students are encouraged to interpret designs from all cultures in a sensitive way, developing practical design solutions from a theoretical base. Skill development empowers students to translate the theory into practice, including interpretation in the design process. Also students can integrate their own identity and other cultural interpretations into creative design solutions, in an ethical way.

² An image of an embroidered Ayrshire Christening robe was included incorrectly attributed to the author. Previously, the rejected design was successfully exhibited at the *Southern Skies* Exhibition, Barbican Gallery, London, in an exhibition, curated by the internationally renown artist Carole Sheppard, Dean of Elam School of Art, Auckland University, New Zealand.

Contrasting with the Wellington approach is the appropriation recently used in Glasgow textile design. For example in 2000 the GSA Embroidered and Woven Textiles department website described their design process, thus:

Ideas grow direct from materials as well as from visual resources (Taylor 2000).³

This approach to design was also evident in a three-month exploratory case study in the final year of this research. Staff encouraged neither the use of recording skills nor the interpretation of artefacts. This design process was a continuation of the capitulation to copying influenced by Coats in the 1950s. Similarly this same approach was evident in the work of influential educators in the GSA *Archive, Artifice, Artefact* exhibition, held both in Glasgow and Budapest in 2002. However, later in 2003, Jimmy Stephen-Cran, Head of Textiles, GSA, has encouraged drawing in the design process.

A student can interpret artefacts and integrate his or her own identity into their conceptual development and design solutions. The socio-cultural and historical knowledge of artefacts allows interpretation and engenders individual responses. In settler cultures such as New Zealand, where Pakehas live alongside Maori in a bi-cultural manner, more ethical approaches to art and design continue to develop. Design lecturers from Queensland, Sydney and Wellington with an awareness of the sensitivity needed in settler cultures considered the minimal reflection on and interpretation of the ideas of others exhibited in the *Archive Artifice Artefact* exhibition to be inappropriate.

This research has charted the decline in the value of textile design, as designers adopted appropriation methods encouraged and utilised by industry, developed for both profits and amateur artists. But there is the potential for these findings to be repeated today. Recently Dorothy Bosomworth presented a paper, *Craft in the twenty-first century: theorising change and practice* conference in Edinburgh. Bosomworth included works from the GSA *Archive Artifice Artefact* exhibition, and highlighted the speed with which images can be appropriated, and copied in multiples, with digital technology. Bosomworth raises the following issue:

³ Earlier in 1990 Crissie White, Head of Embroidery GSA, outlined her design approach, which reveals the influence of the Needlework Development Scheme:

In embroidery the study of thread and fabric as the raw material of expression leads to various forms in fabric. Traditional techniques are re-examined as vehicles for modern design. Students are encouraged to respect materials to appreciate quality in materials and techniques. White, C. 1990. Glasgow School of Art Department of Embroidered and Woven Textiles. Textile Training and Textile Culture in Europe: 1st European Special Congress. M. Herzog, Strasbourg-Neudorf, Fachverband Textilunterricht: 71-2.

How do craftsmen and women respond to the challenge of making a new aesthetic response to a historical artefact which is imbued with its own context and meaning (Bosomworth 2003 8)?⁴

Perhaps her suggestion for artists to also use technology to record their sketches, designs, photographs, and notes on workshop practice, alludes to the manner in which some artists are skipping these processes in their acceptance of copying or appropriation/misappropriation (Bosomworth 2003 10).

A 1993 research project by Cheryl Welsh, *Future Perspectives of Embroidery in British Higher Education*, states that the study of embroidery in Britain at both undergraduate level and postgraduate level is unique within the European Community. Welsh highlighted the contrasting perceptions and a communication gap between people outside and within embroidery education:

Outside education embroidery is often regarded in a narrow way, governed by traditional techniques and applications whereas students and tutors within education stress its breadth of interpretation... The overriding view related to embroidery and fine art was that embroidery, in the context of art practice, is culturally and critically significant (Welsh 1995 36).⁵

In 2000, in England, Scotland and Wales, thirty-six art and design institutions offer a bachelors degree in Textiles (Schoeser 2000 18). Embroidery is taught in Britain at Glasgow School of Art, Loughborough College of Art, Manchester Metropolitan University, Nottingham Trent University, University of Ulster, and The Royal College of Art (Welsh 1995 36). Some colleges offer embroidery specialisations, related to local industries or founding principles, such as Manchester Metropolitan University, where embroidery is included with Fashion studies, and GSA in Textiles, whereas others such as RCA and Loughborough incorporate embroidery in Multi-Media studies (Schoeser 2000 18). Constance Howard's contribution to embroidery education at Goldsmith's College, and the syllabus she developed has been widely acclaimed (Beaney and Littlejohn 2000). Included in the block course was a one-day museum study (Hornsby 1992 37).

Earlier in 1988 *Archives and Textile Collections in British Colleges* was published, highlighting the availability of textile design and production history, for study. As well, funding problems associated with holding such collections in educational institutions were

⁴ Bosomworth is a Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art academic.

⁵ Cheryl Welsh is a Senior Lecturer in Embroidery at University Central England, Birmingham.

featured (Clark 1988 73).⁶ Some of the collections listed in this paper are used in research methods teaching, for example at Chelsea School of Art, but the role of archive artefacts in the design process is a new research area. Other Colleges, for example West Surrey College of Art, Farnham, and Brighton University, encouraged by generous funding grants are developing artefact based textile design programmes.⁷ As part of their Visual Arts Data Service the textiles in the Surrey collection have been digitised and teaching and learning material are available on a website (Surrey Institute 2003). The artefacts selected by textile experts for specific relevance to the curriculum content provide a learning package to complement practical study of print and weave (Surrey Institute 2003).⁸

Reading Museum includes several NDS textiles in their on-line loans scheme for schools (Reading Museum 2003). A DfES funded study, *Learning and Loans: Loans breathe creativity and culture across the curriculum*, published online by Joy McAlpine writes teachers prefer costumes which the children can try on, revealing the teacher's limited vision of textiles within the curriculum (McAlpine 2003).⁹ Design modules, encouraging interpretation of artefacts and theoretical engagement could be developed from the NDS collections in Britain. Further digital teaching resources could be developed, and in the future there is the potential given the geographic spread of the collections within Scotland, for an online Embroidery Masters.

During the course of this research papers have been presented at conferences nationally and internationally disseminating some information, at the *Making an Appearance: Fashion, Dress and Consumption* conference at Queensland University, and *Trailblazers*, Glasgow University. If benefit is to be gained from this research, dissemination of the findings should continue, as there is tremendous potential for the future of the NDS textiles. For example, the significance of the NDS textiles could be celebrated in a collaborative exhibition, which could include contemporary interpretations.

⁶ The NDS collections held in Scotland were excluded from the paper, which described the collections of twenty colleges, as these textiles were lying forgotten.

⁷ The Surrey Art school along-with their Crafts Study Centre have also received grants of £45K in 2003, and £52K in 2001 for an Anglo-Japanese study programme Surrey Institute. 2003. *Crafts Study Centre*. www.surrart.ac.uk.html. [2 Oct 2003].

⁸ A project referencing archives rather than artefacts, which began in 2001, the University of Brighton's Design History Research Centre Archive developed a web-based resource, which utilises images from their archives. Funded by the Joint Information Systems Committee (JISC) it includes a module, *Fabrics Forming Society*, designed to stimulate investigation by teachers and learners, especially in the Brighton first year Fashion Textiles Design BA teaching Hotchkies, S. 2004. *Fabrics Forming Society*.

<http://www.brighton.ac.uk/designingbritain/hml/ffs.html>. [6 Jan 2004].

⁹ Joy McAlpine was the Project Manager. The NDS textiles are not identified as being NDS on the loan listings, but can be identified by the artist's names and relationship to other NDS collections, and also they have been confirmed as NDS by Reading Museum staff.

Issues in this research are soon to be debated at conferences both at RMIT, Melbourne and Curtin University, Perth, Australia in 2004 (Curtin University 2003; RMIT 2003).¹⁰ For example, RMIT's conference looks at the issue of the sharing of design from other cultures in textile and fashion design, including the 'trafficking of meaning in decoration' (RMIT 2003).¹¹ In England, a research into practice conference at the University of Hertfordshire questions the role of the artefact in art and design research (University of Hertfordshire 2003).¹²

Clearly this research, highlighting the vital role of interpretation of artefacts in design, has the potential to offer interesting new perspectives to the debates. Theoretical engagement with the artefact, exploring socio-cultural issues can be translated into practical design solutions, which elevate embroidery design to art status, and engender respect for the medium. The ideas gain authority, ethically, and designs are culturally enhanced. Further findings are included in the next chapter, *Conclusion*.

¹⁰ RMIT (Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology).

¹¹ All Ornament is a Crime? Cultural debates around decoration, techniques and fashion.

Designers often assume that techniques and styles are theirs for the taking. Trends affirm this. Makers lavishly pile cultural reference upon cultural reference with little regard for sources or context. This theme invites comment on issues behind decoration, the ethics and morality of ornament and the trafficking of meaning in decoration; also, issues around ownership, power relations, cultural sensitivity and interrogation of the visual vocabulary of pattern and design. Who is the arbiter of appropriation? This theme invites exploration of the interplay between cloth, memory and meaning, cultural transmission and cross influence RMIT. 2003. *Intermesh: Exchanges in Fashion and Textiles*. <http://www.Rmit.edu.au/departments/af/intermesh>. [Nov 2003].

¹² Can an artefact do more than simply illustrate a concept? Do artefacts merely stimulate linguistic reasoning? What differentiates artefact-based transactions from linguistic ones? Under what conditions could a successful thesis be presented non-textually? Can one reason with objects? Is research, by definition, linguistic? Are there special conditions for achieving synergy between artefacts and texts? What is the instrumentality of the exhibition? University of Hertfordshire. 2003. *research into practice conference*. <http://www.herts.ac.uk/artdes/research/res2prac/locate1.htm>. [6 Dec 2003].

Chapter 11: Conclusion

What you inherit
From your ancestors
You must acquire
Properly to own
(Goethe in Wandel 1960 2-5).

Goethe's words in *Faust* provoke some useful reflections with which to conclude as they pull together some of the most important strands of this research. The aims and questions outlined in chapters one and two, have been explored within the themes of culture, politics, education, industry, and economics. Included are issues of collecting, making, gender, patronage, symbolism, femininity, domesticity, tradition, nationalism, Modernity, marketing and the authenticity of textile design. This conclusion offers a summary of the findings, and the implications they could have for textile design education. An assessment of the motivation for the NDSS collection with the unravelling of the links between the complex J & P Coats industry network, its links with political and cultural personnel and organisations, was important for the overall understanding of the effectiveness and impact of the NDS. This led to an assessment of the factors that shaped the collection, and to identification of the provenance and history of NDS textile designs.

Following on from this, political, economic and social ideologies were revealed through detailed analysis of the content and context of NDS textile designs. As the research developed other more powerful and important issues emerged. A major theme throughout this thesis is the anonymity of women's design, particularly in the context of designs produced for industry. Analyses of the way in which the NDS textiles were used in education throughout the Scheme provide a contrast of approaches relevant to the way in which textile artefacts are used in education today.

During the first year of the research archives revealed political and economic agendas in J & P Coats' funding of the Scheme, in addition, the links with education authorities were closer than anticipated. In this context chapter three, *The Motivation for a Textile Collection as a Promotional Device*, places the NDS within the economic history of J & P Coats. Established during a period of lively art/industry debate, Coats' aim for the Scheme was to popularise embroidery and needlework, thus increasing thread sales. The global commercial network of Coats, incorporated various organisations, which were inextricably linked to the NDS: the European Central Service Bureau, Emmy Zweybrück's atelier in trade designs, and Coats' studios, for example the Paisley Anchor studio, and to a lesser extent the trade organisation the London National Needlework Bureau. This complex contributed both to the acquisition and production of designs for the Scheme, which resulted in designs of a particular character being commissioned, as discussed later.

In 1933, Coats created a network with all the Central Scottish Art Schools, which increased the dissemination potential of the NDSS textiles. In establishing links with the GSA, Coats recognized the important contribution, which both Ann Macbeth's innovative teaching and the lending museum had made to embroidery design. In 1936, the GSA Lending Museum gave the Scheme a tremendous impetus when the circulation of designs to other schools and amateur organisations began, increasing the effective dissemination of design. Later in 1946 the V&A began their support circulating designs, which complemented the Scheme's collection. Coats were able to utilise circulation mechanisms already in place, at minimal expense to the firm.

Macbeth's links with amateur organisations at the outset of the Scheme would also have been well known to Coats, and more importantly GSA's Continuation classes, an established art school/amateur embroidery initiative. By 1938, collections of NDS embroideries were loaned to Women's Rural Institutes, continuation classes, and social service centres. The women's organisations provided a link to aristocratic, middle and working classes. This enabled Coats to promote their commercial aims more widely and sell more threads to a ready market of consumers.

During the 1930s, the vigour and enthusiasm brought to the Scheme by the ScAS principals and lecturers in their desire to improve design was pronounced. Certainly the most influential embroidery teacher in Scotland at the outset of the Scheme was Kathleen Mann, GSA. She exhibited and published books on peasant design and embroidery encouraging lively designs with both self-expression, and humour. Unfortunately her influence was thwarted by the restrictive marriage bar legislation. Both popular ideology and government legislation encouraged women to be homemakers and mothers, depriving Mann of the educational opportunities she undoubtedly valued. Mann and the other ScAS lecturers through their selection established a collection of modern textiles, where as the works accessioned by Coats were ethnic and industrial designs created in commercial workrooms stitched in their commercial range of embroidery threads.

Within this analysis key NDS people, including the textile designers, selectors, invited lecturers, and management are identified. The NDS collection is an unusual and unique combination of textiles designed by artists of international renown, including some that were commissioned by Coats for trade purposes in intensely active political regimes, and others, which were simply trade designs. Coats' propaganda to improve sales promoting articles of trade rather than museum pieces was an underlying problem. The surviving NDS collections include rare historical, peasant, modern and 1940s-1950s ethnic design examples. The 'peasant' textiles mostly from home industries, and state co-operatives, were assembled by Coats sales agents, based in Europe. In addition, creative designs by schoolgirls contrast with designs by amateurs, and yet others copied from historical

models. Unique and diverse, the collection was lent to schools, art schools, and amateur groups, and played a significant role in design education from 1934-1962.

A result of this research is the sole current listing of the remaining textiles, their storage, cataloguing, and use, developed from archives and correspondence, and the subsequent use of the textiles. J & P Coats' Scheme played a significant role in the dissemination of design interpreted and gathered from many cultures, including the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Germany, Hungary, India, Italy, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Sweden, and Yugoslavia.

This study has also clarified the reasons behind Coats unusual anonymous funding and exclusion of the Scheme from the historical accounts of the company. The anonymous status initially facilitated the involvement of the Scottish Art Schools, and increasingly allowed Coats the freedom to draw in the support of important personnel from museums and education authorities, for example, SED and MoE. Strategic decisions around the closure of the Scheme in 1939 and the reopening in 1945 were linked to decisions by the Board of Trade, and even Treasury showed their support by waiving import duties on NDS textiles.

Coats' commercial success guaranteed economic, political and social networks, for them to engage in the debates of the day. These included membership on the SCAI, and CoID's Scottish Committee. They created close liaisons with the Board of Trade, Treasury, and MoE in England and SED in Scotland. Both Glasgow's and London's 'gentlemen clubs', arts meetings, and dinners for the arts, industry and political elite are likely to have provided further networking opportunities, such as acquiring funding for exhibition tours. Cultural and political personnel, including Kenneth Clark, Leigh Ashton (V&A), Philip James, (Arts Council), Sir Gordon Russell (CoID), Robin Darwin (RCA), influenced both the Scheme and textile education ideology. The intensity of negotiations with education and political personnel increased towards the end of the Scheme as Colin Martin lobbied for formal training for design teachers. Coats extensive communication networks were a vital component in the Scheme's progress and success.

One important undercurrent of the NDSS was the antagonism between the modern design vision of the ScAS lecturers and Coats traditional ethos based on the mimicry of historic and foreign styles. From the beginning divergent collecting policies existed between Coats and the ScAS lecturers, which has resulted in a collection of varied textiles. The lecturers aspired to introduce modernist designs to Scotland; Kathleen Mann visited both France and Italy collecting textiles, while Alex Russell visited Germany and Austria. This approach contrasted with Coats, whose mills and agencies throughout Europe, presented contacts for the acquisition and promotion of the 'peasant' aesthetic. In this way

Coats' agents used their contacts to gather anything from fragments to rare historical works. Coats focused on filling their thread order books and were suspicious of the ScAS principals and lecturers. Although their investment was generous it was administered both carefully and in a complex manner. The uneasy financial and ideological relationship triggered the reorganised NDS in 1945, when paradoxically Coats expanded their marketing efforts to England. There, a less advanced embroidery education environment existed influenced by patriarchal attitudes that marginalised women in education.

In the main Coats collected 'peasant' works, from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Spain, Switzerland, and Portugal. Traditional embroidered crafts played a role in national identity, and copied 'peasant' designs were acquired for use in British embroidery design education. Coats' links through their mills and agencies in Central Europe presented an antecedent to the principles underpinning their decision making, to collect and promote a 'peasant' aesthetic from these countries. Less obvious was Coats' covert role in the acquisition of the textiles. Significantly, Sir James Henderson, Managing Director of TCA, and Coats' agents, especially Colin Martin, assisted with both the collection of textiles and the creation of opportunities for the lecturers to purchase works made by Coats' industry clients in their embroidery trade workshops. Martin's day-to-day business took him from board to board, country to country, presenting numerous opportunities for the collection of textiles. Groups of designs, beyond those presented in detail in this research from Africa, China, India, Mexico, Paraguay and Yugoslavia quite simply wherever Coats' agents and in particular Martin travelled for Coats' business pursuits, were disseminated into British culture. Collected by Coats for the NDS and vigorously promoted these designs were infused through the education networks into both rural and metropolitan Britain, achieving an important influence on textile design from the 1930s-1960s and beyond.

The wheel of advertising and profit margins drove Coats' business world and was at the core of Coats' vision for the NDS. In this context chapter five, *The Promotion of Design by Industry: the Influence of Cultural Politics and Industry on Education*, explores the role of the NDS promotion, exhibitions, and design initiatives in textile design. Following the destruction during the Second World War and the resulting deprivation and rationing, a 'make do and mend' philosophy and hobby culture developed in Britain. Also, this was an era when Fine Art dominated the art and design hierarchy and key individuals such as Kenneth Clark were able to play influential roles. His expertise lay more with art appreciation, but he had a key influence on the NDS designs of this era. As design emerged as a discipline, fine art, and craft approaches and philosophies were adopted by the NDS, in particular those of Clark, and the Swedish craft organisations, whose philosophies were in turn based on Arts and Craft Movement ideals.

From 1946, coinciding with another most influential textile design initiative, that of design commissions by fine artists for cotton fabrics, the NDS commissioned designs by leading artists, including Mary Kessell, Margaret Traherne, Leonard Rosoman, Robert Stewart, and Robert Nicholson. Many of the commissioned artists had no experience of embroidery. The perception that embroidery was an applied art and any design could simply be 'applied', without interpretation or adaptation was endorsed at this time.

Also Clark's belief, 'that the interpretation and understanding of works of art must always rest with a small minority', began to have a dramatic influence (Young 1941). In 1948, Ulla Kockum-Øverengen introduced the Swedish craft organisation approach. In Sweden a few art school graduates produced designs for others to copy. By the 1950s the copying of designs had become an acceptable practice within the NDS. The commercial effectiveness of such a practice had been recognised much earlier by Coats in their business environment. Indeed in 1960, the NDS book *And so to Embroider* presented schoolgirls with designs to copy (NDS 1960 41).

The NDS was supported by CoID, who saw design as a commodity in an increasingly competitive export market (Woodham 2001 26). Industries such as Coats participated in complex negotiations with government officials to promote their sales, behind the guise of improving design. Coats' NDS played an important role in the social reform of the late 1940s - 1950s. Coats were able to exploit the homebound situation of both rural women and those living in newly developed, isolated satellite towns. The socially active circumstances provided by Women's Institutions' and Townswomens' Guilds networks helped promote embroidery. Members of the politically motivated CoID committee supported and promoted the NDS opening exhibitions and promoting it in the media. Audrey Withers, Editor of *Vogue*, and Alison Settle, *The Observer*, *House and Gardens*, and *The Lady* journalist, wrote persuasively. They encouraged women to embrace domesticity as a meaningful pursuit, and to use embroidery skills as a means to brighten up their lives and create aesthetically interesting home environments. The NDS was an ideal mechanism for the political and industrial concerns to reach both rural and urban women.

Coats business was to sell hand embroidery threads, thus it was in their commercial interest to advance the Arts and Crafts philosophy of the value of the handmade as greater than the machine. Technological progress was to be suppressed while magazines and newspaper articles promoted hand embroidery. However, as information technology was developing the NDS, made both radio and television broadcasts, reaching national and international audiences, thus making a further impact on women's lives.

Coats it became clear rode on the wave of consumer object awareness, as the reader was instructed on how to use tasteful embroidered objects to achieve a contemporary look in

the home. The 1950s design aesthetic was linked closely to lifestyle and hobbies. Hobbies combined the protestant work ethic with leisure and copied designs made this achievable by all. A new spirit of vigour and optimism was introduced into design, promoting the colourful, fresh, lively approach of the Scandinavian look. As this research proves both the home embroiderer and education personnel accepted the NDS designs as prototypes, simulating and adapting designs in a style developed by Coats industry. Women and school girls were encouraged to embroider anything and everything from tray-cloths, d'oyleys, cushions, aprons, Bible covers, finger plates, slippers and even objects which seemed to have no rational purpose other than decoration, such as cheval covers. The 1950s Scandinavian style grew rapidly and was enormously popular. Indeed, today it is promoted not only by Ikea, but a diverse range of fashion and interior High Street stores.

At a time when most young women's future employment was assumed to be homemaking, Jean Kinmond of the Coats' Anchor Studio developed a vocational sewing component for the NDS. Based on Coats' American sewing initiative, a concerted effort was made by the NDS, generously funded by Coats, encouraged by government bodies such as Treasury and CoID, and the elite of the London art and design world: Sir Gordon Russell, Kenneth Clark and Leigh Ashton. Through the press the Scheme targeted education personnel with an extensive campaign in various education journals, including the *Education Times*.

In education, embroidery was dismissed as unimportant by the dominant male culture, as decoration was not necessary to the function of the object, as discussed later. However, Coats, both by their links with education authorities, and their enthusiasm for the collection of 'peasant' textiles ensured the ethnic aesthetic was disseminated into British culture. The collection and promotion of a 'peasant' aesthetic was an antecedent to the principles underpinning Coats commercial design approach, which they ultimately considered appropriate for use in education.

This important aspect emerged as an essential issue to develop in this research. Therefore, chapter six, ***'Purity' and Diversity: the Authenticity and Evolution of a 'Peasant' Aesthetic***, covers topics, which were necessary to lay foundations for the following analyses. In chapter seven, *Ethnic Design: from Design Diversity to the Imposition of a Static Aesthetic*, analytical interpretations determine the provenance, history, from which the context, content and authenticity of the NDS 'peasant' designs could be determined.

The discussion of Etelka Gyarmathy's Hungarian home industry offers a new perspective on the complex relationship between the aristocracy and peasant and their influences on art and design, during a period of maximum tension and change. It suggests

that the history of the home industries in the Austro-Hungarian Empire merits a place in the history of modern art and design in Hungary. Design activity during earlier wars, lively social networks amongst the aristocracy, and their holiday travels, also had a tremendous influence on the home industry textiles.

Walter Crane's role encouraging the commercial design activity, in contradiction to his Arts and Crafts ideals was influential on the development of ethnic design by both the home industries and the state. Thus, not only does an acknowledgement of the home industries commercial motivation oblige us to relinquish the romantic notion of 'folk art' as pure and timeless it allows us to appreciate the complexities and contradictions that accompanied the Arts and Crafts Movement impulse that informed so much of the fine art world view. The 'peasant' decoration vogue was of a superficial nature as designs were copied, and the spirit and real vitality of peasant design did not carry over. Later, this copying approach in design was perpetuated further by state organisations, as traditional crafts, such as embroidery played a role in national identity.

Referencing NDS designs, chapter seven *Ethnic Design: from Design Diversity to the Imposition of a Static Aesthetic*, develops themes from the previous chapter, and recognizes the role J & P Coats played in disseminating design from British culture into countries throughout their business empire, as internationally, Coats shared British design with many embroiderers in their mills. Analyses of the NDS 'peasant' textiles provide a panoramic overview of the diversity of Hungarian and Czechoslovakian design that characterised the home industries and workshops. The women's home industry design evolved and adapted itself to external change and modernity, providing some meagre income for the women enduring hardship. The long tradition of women's work and its influence suggests that the home industries deserve much more serious attention from historians.

Following on from a chronological development of home industries, analyses of the NDS 'peasant' textiles reveals a diverse range of influences, including migration, trade, patronage, symbolism and social functions. In addition other influences, such as Jessie Newbery and Ann Macbeth's designs published in *The Studio*, and exhibited in Budapest, filtered into Central European design, and were propagated in a new form.

Contrasting with the home industry works are the designs encouraged by the state agencies and tourist market. Ironically these state organisations, in response to cultural resistance and the infusion of western design, including Coats own activities, presumed their nations lacked an identity. The identity was then invented, drawing on designs, which were already influenced by those of other cultures. The systematic promotion of textiles by official agencies, believing they were promoting designs of nationalistic flavour led to an

era of more static design with little interpretation of ideas. This politically motivated embroidery work provided the women with some income. The state agencies encouraged the production of nationalist styled designs, overlooking the many different international influences, already borrowed and interpreted.

Trans-national relations were, to be sure of profound significance in design. Later, through the NDS these designs were dispersed and assimilated into British culture and an ethnic design aesthetic evolved. Today, in Central Europe, as elsewhere in the world, the preference for 'traditional' art by tourists seeking souvenirs has carried over into the present. The tourist's desire to seek tokens of 'tradition' continues today as fashionable holidaymakers attempt to brighten and lend cultural significance to their world.

Further analyses of NDS designs are included in chapter eight, *Tradition Masked by Modernism: the Influences on Key Designs in NDS Embroideries of the late 1920s to 1930s*, which offers a new perspective on modernism. In the same era as the state embroidery organisations increased, in a period defined by contradictions and inconsistencies, a different design approach developed in Austria, Italy and Germany. Women were required by the political regimes of the day to design by referencing traditional sources. Cleverly the women contested the beliefs of the political regimes, obliquely alluding to the political and social issues of the era.

The designs of Emmy Zweybrück introduce greater complexity into the NDS modern design analyses. An accomplished, internationally regarded, educator and designer, Zweybrück could perhaps be regarded as a supporter of the fascist cause. In her need for employment she was for a time prepared to produce designs for Coats, which would have pleased both political and industrial representatives of the ruling regimes, whom Coats engaged with in business negotiations. Indeed some of Zweybrück's textiles were manufactured in Hitler's favoured workshops. The unusual circumstances that led to the creation of the decorative, figurative and symbolic designs reinforce the claim for these designs inclusion in modernism, simply because they were suppressed and subsequently forgotten.

They illustrate ways in which embroidery artists were able to make political and social statements, with aesthetically attractive imagery, within the restrictive confines of the era. The machine made appearance of Zweybrück's works fitted into modernist dictates, yet the Scheme focused on hand embroidery, in line with Coats' British thread sales operations. The encouragement given to hand embroidery by Coats influenced embroidery and created a perception that there was a reluctance by women to accept technological progress. Later, in the 1950s the NDS machine interpretations of designs by both Rebecca Crompton and Mary Kessell were influential.

Zweybrück's designs are likely to have been commissioned by Coats primarily for international trade exhibition purposes. They were promoted in the German design journal *Stickereien und Spitzen*, which was both approved by Hitler and probably supported by Coats' Mez AG company. After use in the trade exhibitions these designs would then have been purchased by Mr Alex Russell, DCA, and passed into the NDSS collection. Designs most probably by Elsi Köhler and Käte Louise Rosenstock, commissioned by Coats and created under the supervision of Zweybrück in Vienna, were likely to have been produced for promotional purposes such as German trade exhibitions.

Coats' role in the encouragement of such designs becomes less mysterious when seen in the light of the demands required to succeed in business in such difficult times, when ruthlessness and manipulation as a daily occurrence, is considered. Market forces played a role in shaping the design of these textiles, and the promotion of designs referencing political and social events. Complex and multiple strategies contributed to the creation and dissemination of these designs into British culture.

Coats' thrifty and complex approach led to the production of further designs, whose anonymous status concealed their provenance. The anonymity of the designer was a common phenomenon in industry, and should be seen as an indication of the value Coats placed on the designer's role. In the NDS textiles, the role of the designer was made more obscure when concealed in archives. Contrasting with the anonymous status attributed to designers by Coats is that of ethical museum practices which ensure the artist and maker's contribution is acknowledged.

Various design reinterpretations and copies were created by Coats, and circulated as 'traditional' sources of design from their 'suggested' country of origin. These designs created in commercial studios contrast with those by artists aware of modernism such as those made by Zweybrück in Vienna. A likely scenario revealed by research of the collecting agendas was the desire to include many designs, collected not always by authorities or even scholars of design. Simply collected by those with a desire to accumulate as many examples as possible, there is a likelihood the quality of the design was not always considered. Also, to be sure, Coats and the NDS purchased designs from significant exhibitions, such as the Paris International Exhibition (1937) and the 1930s Seventh Milan Triennial. This suggests some of these works surviving in the NDS collection, were the most stunning designs available at that time, and are thus rare, high quality examples from the modernist era.

As this research developed other powerfully important issues emerged and analytical interpretations of the way NDS textiles were used in education emerged. In chapter nine, *Textiles and Education: the Influence of Industry and Politics*, the discussion focuses on

the role of lecturers and teachers in the dissemination of the NDS designs. The ScAS lecturers both collected and introduced the textiles in higher design education. The role of teachers in the use of the NDS textiles was another key factor in the success of the Scheme's achievements. As education authorities neglected the training of design teachers, and embroidery was placed in the realm of domestic science, creativity, innovation and originality were severely compromised. Individual skilful, creative teachers were able to succeed, for example Kathleen Whyte interpreted the designs, and developed an approach of enriching the fabric with stitch initially in a modernist style, which drew on the remarkable diversity of stitch in the NDS works. This rich style, which reflected her love of colour and texture, was to impact on Scottish embroidery into the 1980s. However, those teachers without training in skills and awareness of design process submitted to copying motifs in new arrangements without any interpretation or development.

As early as 1945 Coats took an interest in the embroidery design curriculum, and drew comparisons with systems in Scandinavia and Switzerland. Despite their strong connections with education authorities Coats were not able to persuade the education fraternity to train teachers in embroidery design. Education and government officials aimed to improve the appreciation of design without offering formal specialist embroidery design training. Crafts were held in low esteem and a lack of theoretical underpinning of textiles contributed to the perceptions held in the male dominated institutions where élitist Fine Art approaches dominated.

The pervasive attitude to embroidery as a domestic craft was to thwart the progress and success of the Scheme in the 1950s. In 1950s England women trained in fine art, woodcut, or illustration at the RCA, as embroidery training at degree level was unavailable. A dismissive attitude of 'non-academic' and 'home-maker' towards the women would have prevailed. The 1950s NDS 'experts-in-charge', Dorothy Allsopp and Iris Hills, both studied illustration at the RCA. These women had taken private classes in embroidery, often provided by amateur organisations such as the Embroiderers' Guild. The informal, self-training of embroidery further marginalised its position in education and the arts.

Increasingly less able girls were encouraged to study embroidery, and the Coldstream Report in 1961/2 marginalised crafts, assuming few students would wish to pursue crafts study, and art schools would provide training for these students with the help of local craftsmen (Harrod 1996 238). These authorities failed to value the skill and interpretation required in innovative textile design, and placed embroidery in the domestic arena. From the late 1960s onwards newly established embroidery courses offered specialist embroidery training.

In a final attempt to achieve training for embroidery teachers Coats attempted to champion the RSN to the RCA as a potential school of embroidery. Further indicating their view of design, Coats' chose an institution with a reputation for technical skill rather than design interpretation and creativity, but given the attitudes of the RCA management at the time it is unlikely they would have implemented an embroidery department no matter what the design standard. The perception of embroidery as a largely female pursuit, in a male dominated hierarchy presented an uphill struggle. By failing to value embroidery as something more than a means to sell thread and decorate homes, the education, industry and political elite failed to implement a system of design education for prospective embroidery teachers.

This research states industry, fine art, and craft philosophies influenced embroidery design in an era when design was emerging as a discipline. These practices encouraged appropriation methods, which eliminated interpretation in creative embroidery design solutions. This study reveals that through theoretical engagement with ideas, whether socio-cultural, historical or political, embroidery design can acquire art status. However, if ideas are simply appropriated in embroidery design, craft perceptions prevail.

In Coats' commercial activities designs were regularly copied, and the adoption of this appropriation into the design process of the NDS led to perceptions of embroidery as craft rather than art. This capitulation and acceptance of appropriation had considerable impact, felt both in embroidery education and by the artists. Indeed, the identity and practice of embroidery continues to be marginalised today. Scholarship and academic research including theoretical engagement with socio-cultural, political, and economic issues inherently bound in artefacts such as the NDS textiles, could convince both the fine art and design establishment of embroidery's value.

Ironically the Scheme, which was established as a marketing ploy, is now a collection of many unique and beautiful textiles. The collection was declined by the Glasgow Museums in 1961 and subsequently was gifted to various organisations (Martin 2001; Oddy 2002 personal communication). However, seventeenth to nineteenth century amateur embroidery has been collected and conserved in museums. During the inter-war and 1940s-1950s periods, when design, in particular embroidery, was an emergent academic discipline few embroidered designs were collected. Now the Scottish Art Schools, Royal Scottish Museum, in Edinburgh, Paisley Museum, V&A Museum, and Embroiderers' Guild, Hampton Court hold over one thousand important works of art and design from this transitional period rarely used or seen since 1962. The Dundee University Collection, which has benefited from important funding, is conserved to a high standard, and is now

available to view on line.¹ The well-used GSA collection is now in their Research Centre and was reviewed in a recent conservation report by Lynn Grant (Grant 1999).² The bulk of the V&A NDS Collection was moved to the Circulation Department and travelling exhibitions of modern embroidery were sent to Museums, Art Schools and Teachers Training Colleges throughout England (Morris 1986 129). Later the NDS textiles were transferred to the Permanent Collection. Design dissemination continued internationally, as in 1965 the EG lent several NDS works to the Sydney Embroiderers' Guild, and some of these NDS textiles remain there.³ Later in 1971 more NDS works were included in an EG Exhibition in South Australia.

This study charts the evolution of textile design from this unusual collaboration between industry and education and defines the actual date, provenance, and history of some of the textiles. An assessment of the influence and evolution of a design aesthetic created by material appropriation contrasts with the creative design process used before the fine art approaches of modernity became pervasive.

This significant collection comprises textiles collected by Coats, including historical textile designs created from a diverse array of influences, home industry designs which chart commercial influences, state promoted works designed at a time when nationalist ideologies were dominant, and commissioned designs. Also the collection represents designs created in the industrial design environment of Coats studios. It reflects a diverse range of personal taste, including educators, museum personnel, and those motivated by the demands of business. The NDS designs obliquely referencing socio-cultural and political events are important and powerful examples of embroideries by artists engaging in debates during an era of intense political activity. Contrasting with these are the ethnic works and Coats trade designs, and examples created in design subordinated to industry, which provide a vast design resource.

Used with skill and interpretation the NDS textiles could have an important role in contemporary design education. The NDS textile collection could be a magic key for artists and textile design students, and within the hands of gifted committed teachers of design,

¹ The Scottish Museum council provided a grant of three thousand pounds for a full conservation survey of the collection, materials to re-house it all, and remedial treatment on priority items. Jarron, M. 2003. *Dundee NDS Collection*. Email. Dundee. 4 Nov 03.

² A conservation report was completed on this collection by 2000, however recommended remedial work has not been undertaken.

³ The works lent were: EAMEG 1056, a hanging by Winsome Douglas; 2631, a curtain by Alison Liley and Enid Mason, 916, and several brightly coloured fish designs which were perhaps considered to appeal to the Australians. This information, including some photographs, kindly supplied by Sue Woods, New South Wales, Australia, 2002.

not only could they open the mind of the learner, they then reveal a vast cornucopia of endless delight, challenge and opportunity.⁴

⁴ This concluding statement is adapted from a statement on the arts by Professor Tim Brighouse, Chief Education Officer Birmingham City Council:

The arts are quite simply a magic key for some children and within the hands of gifted committed teachers of the arts they are a key to all children, not only do they open the mind of the learner, they then reveal a vast cornucopia of endless delight, challenge and opportunity

Professor Tim Brighouse, Chief Education Officer Birmingham City Council Robinson, K. 1999. *All Our Futures: Creativity, Culture, & Education/National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education*. Sudbury, Department for Education and Employment.

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Current Needlework Development Scheme Collection Holdings

(List compiled from research 2001-3, sole record post-1965)

Location	Items
Glasgow School of Art	114
Victoria and Albert Museum	245
Royal Scottish Museum	215
Embroiderers' Guild	475
Paisley Museum	89
Dundee University www.dundee.ac.uk/museum/textileE.htm	107
Edinburgh College of Art	45
Robert Gordon University	84
Reading Museum Service www.museumofreading.org.uk/Educationloans.htm	69
Leicestershire Museum Arts and Records Service	25 7 sets of slides
Derbyshire Museum Service	Sewing bulletins
Derby and Derbyshire School Library Service	7
Federation Of Womens' Institute, Belfast	2 cases
Bristol City Museum	24
Embroiderers' Guild, Sydney, Aus.	6
NFWI Denman College, Oxford	Unsure of no.

TABLE 2

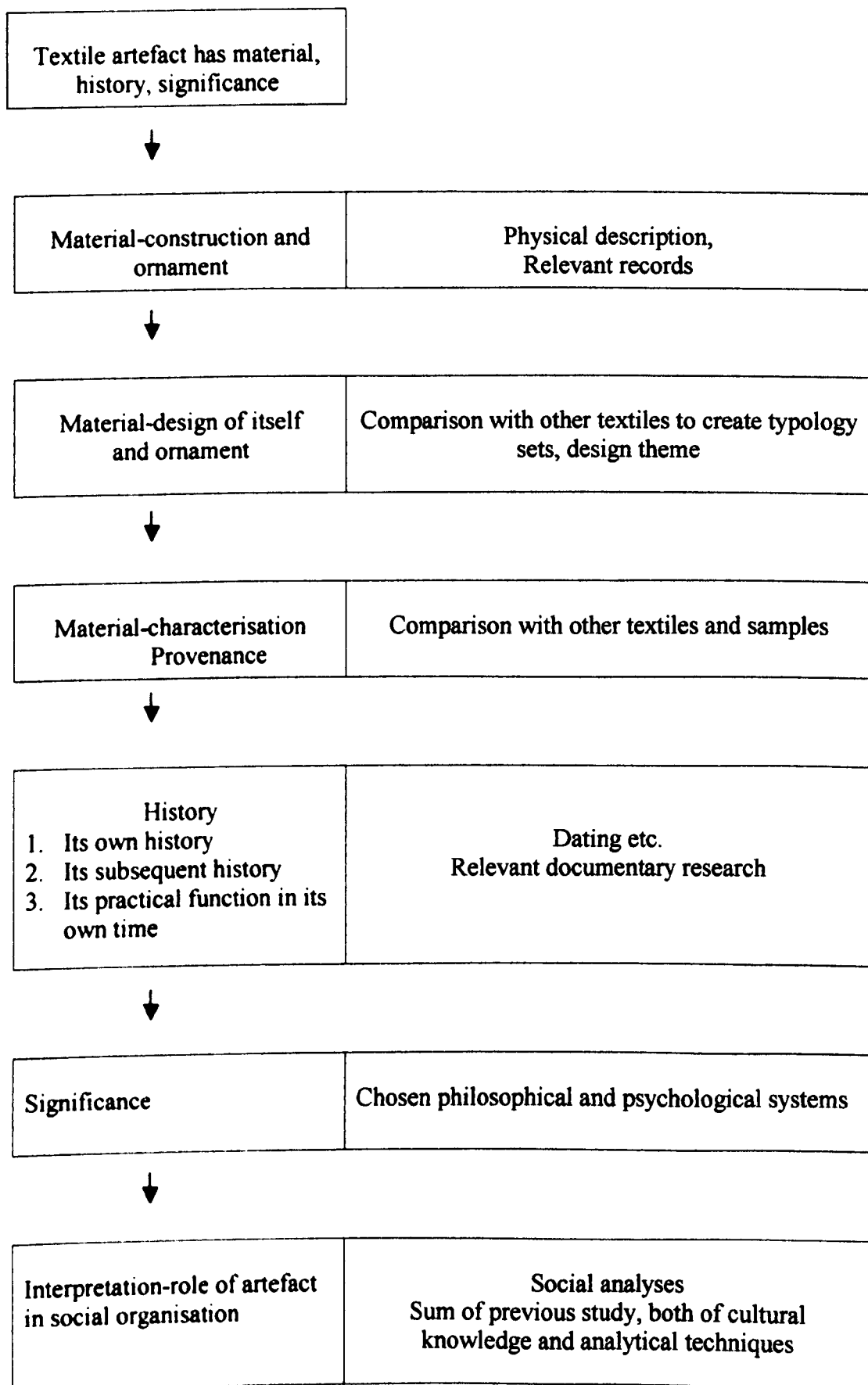
Current NDS Holdings: Listing & Storage

Location	Form of listing	Storage
Glasgow School of Art	Sheaf catalogue	Boxes-new
Victoria and Albert Museum	Custom-made database	Conservation standard.
Royal Scottish Museum	Catalogue	Conservation standard.
Embroiderers' Guild	AD-Lib database	Conservation standard.
Paisley Museum	None	Original NDS suitcases
Dundee University	List	Conservation standard.
Edinburgh College of Art	List	Boxes-new
Robert Gordon University	None	Original NDS suitcases
Reading Museum Service	Catalogue	
Leicestershire Museum Arts and Records Service	Catalogue	
Derbyshire Museum Service	None	
Derby and Derbyshire School Library Service	None	
Fed. of Womens' Institute, N I	None	
Bristol Museum	None	Conservation standard
Embroiderers' Guild, Sydney, Aus.	None	
NFWI Denman College, Oxford	None	In Attic

TABLE 3

Interview Schedule		
Interviewees & Interview Focus	Duration & Type of Interview	Method of recording
NDS People	Semi-structured	
Elisabeth Geddes	One hour	Notes & Phone
Iris Hills	One hour	Notes & Phone
Ulla Kockum-Overengen		Letters & Phone
Margaret Miller	Specific questions	Notes
Margaret Wilson	One hour	Notes
J & P Coats	Semi-structured	
Hannah Frew-Patterson	Thirty minutes	Taped
Bill Sullivan	One hour	Notes
Betty Myerscough	Specific questions	Letter & Phone
NDS & Coats	Semi-structured	
Revel Oddy	One hour x 2	Taped
Margaret Swain	One hour	Taped
Information re NDS People	Semi-structured	
Pauline Hann (DCA)	One hour	Notes
Hannah Frew-Patterson (Kathleen Whyte)	Thirty minutes	Taped
George Martin (Colin Martin)	One and half hours &	Notes
Cordelia Oliver (Kathleen Mann)	Phone	Notes
Margot Robson (Kathleen Mann)	One hour	Notes
Angus Mitchell (Ann Macbeth)	Five minutes	Notes
Crissie White (Kathleen Whyte)	One hour	Notes
	Ten minutes	Notes
Education & NDS Textile Use	Semi-structured	
Anthea Godfrey	One hour	Notes
Margaret Hamilton	One hour	Notes
Anne Morrell	One hour	Taped
Margaret Nicholson	One hour	Notes
Dorothy Smith	One hour x 2	Notes
Margaret Stewart	Specific questions	Letters & Phone
Crissie White	One hour	Notes
Embroidery Education Today	Specific Questions	
Jimmy Stephen-Cran & Susan Telford	30 minutes 30 minutes	Notes
Archive Artefact Artifice Artists	Specific questions	
Sarah Hall, Alison Harley, Claire Hemingsley, Deidre Nelson, Lindsay Taylor	5-10 minutes	Taped
Year Three GSA Textile Students	Specific questions	
Fiona Archibald, Laura Cole, Vhari Henderson, Jane Kellock, Andrea McClurg, Camille Moohan, Clair Sweeney, Jill Wignall	20 minute Group Interview	Video

**Pearce model adapted for the study of Needlework Development Scheme textiles
(Pearce 1994 129).**



**Needlework Development in Scotland Scheme
Foreign Textile Acquisitions, 1934-39**

Austria	
Emmy Zweybrück	36
Fini Ehrendorfer	14
Weiner Werkstatte	12
Other	29
	Total 90
Hungary	
Hungarian Society of Arts	22
Isabella	4 (6)
Other	18
	Total 45
Germany	
Stadt Schule für Handwerk, Munster	11
Verein für Deutsche Kunstgewerbe, Berlin	5
Kate Louise, Leipzig (5 London)	13
Other	22
	Total 52
Italy	
School of Contessa, Venice	2
A. Cernigoi	2
M. Biaggi	2
Legnazzi, Milan	2
Zeechin, Venice	4
A. Chernini	2
Other	23
	Total 37
Poland	15
Sweden	17
Norway	15
China	30
Others	100
	Total 300

Of the approximate total of 1,100 accessions 800 were British, including twenty-one Rebecca Crompton designs: NDS 406, 407, 416, 427, 428, 552, 558, 562, 563, 566, 574, 585, 590, 679, 685, 814, 816, 861, 864, 968, 975.

Key NDS Exhibitions

1935	NDSS Acquisitions. Aberdeen, Dundee, Glasgow, Edinburgh.
1938 & 1939	NDSS and amateur embroidery. Aberdeen, Dundee, Glasgow, Edinburgh.
1945	GSA Exhibition to invite leading experts, such as Leigh Ashton. GSA.
1947	<i>Modern Embroidery</i> . GSA.
1947	<i>Mary Kessell</i> , 3 Mount Square, Hampstead, London.
1949	Aberdeen Art Gallery
1950-2	<i>Experiment in Embroidery Design</i> , Mary Kessell Tour extended to include 32 venues. Arts Council of Great Britain.
1950	NDS. GSA, Aberdeen, RSM, Edinburgh, Gray's School of Art, Dundee.
1951	<i>Festival of Britain</i> . Ten towns.
1951	Included in <i>Living Traditions</i> , Edinburgh. ScCoid exhibition.
1951	United Nations Exhibition
1951	Palace of the Arts, Glasgow. Glasgow Education Committee.
1952	South London Art Gallery. London County Council.
1952	Primavera, London.
1953	<i>Contemporary Embroidery at the Colour, Design and Style Centre of Cotton Board</i> , Manchester.
1953	NDS Embroideries appropriate for primary, secondary, and art schools. The National Congress on Home Economics, Edinburgh.
1954	<i>How and Where to find inspiration for embroidery design?</i> Tea Centre, London. Attendance: 14, 369. 267 school parties. A smaller version. Scottish Building Centre, Glasgow.
1954	<i>New Designs to Embroider</i> , Edinburgh
1955-6	NDS two year touring exhibition to 24 centres. Arts Council of Great Britain.
1957	<i>Contemporary Needlework Design</i> , Tea Centre, London. 350 sewing and embroidery exhibits. Attendance: 17, 290. 294 school groups

TABLE 7

	1850	1860	1870	1880
Design	<p>1850 -South Kensington Museum</p> <p>1855-South Kensington Museum Circulation collection established</p>	<p>1861 William Morris founds Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co</p> <p>1863 Union Centrale des Arts Decoratifs Paris</p> <p>1864 Osterreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie</p>	<p>1874 Walter Crane begins to design for the Royal School of Needlework, London</p> <p>1878 Carl von Pulsky Ungarn's Ornamente der Hausindustrie</p>	<p>1885 József Huszeka published <i>Hungarian Style</i></p> <p>1889 Hungarian Ethnographical Society formed</p>
Embroidery/ Education			<p>1872 Royal School of Needlework London</p> <p>1876 Abramtsevo nr. Moscow <i>kustar</i> founded by Elizaveta and Savva Mamontov</p>	<p>1885 May Morris in-charge of Morris company embroidery</p>
Exhibitions	<p>1851 The Great Exhibition, London</p>	<p>1867 Panslev Congress in Moscow, ethnographic Exhibition including the Slovaks, Ruthenians, Croations of Hungary</p> <p>1868 Paris Exhibition</p>	<p>1873 Vienna Exhibition-included first open air peasant buildings</p>	<p>1882 Musee des Arts Decoratifs Exhibition includes Industrie domestique du midi de la Hongrie (Home Industry of Central Hungary)</p> <p>1885 National Exhibition Budapest-Gyarmathy organized Kalotszeg room</p>
Other				<p>1888 Ministry of State Domains in charge of <i>kustar</i> industry Russia</p>

TABLE 7

	1890	1900
Design	<p>1893 <i>The Studio</i> launched in London</p> <p>1896 Gyarmathy publishes <i>A Koltaszegi l'arottásról 'egy roman Urnak</i></p> <p>1897 Wiener Secession founded</p> <p>1897 Nagybánya artists colony</p> <p>1897 <i>Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration und Dekorative Kunst</i> launched in Germany</p>	<p>1902 Gödöllő workshops founded</p> <p>1903 Weiner Werkstätten founded</p> <p>1908 Dezsó Malonyay publishes Art of the Hungarian people <i>A Magyar nép művészete</i></p>
Embroidery/ Education	<p>1890 Gyarmathy's workshops begin large scale sales</p> <p>1890 Kunstgewerbeschules founded</p> <p>1891 Talashinko Solomanka <i>kustar</i> workshop Tamboff (Tambov) province, Russia founded by Princess Maria Tenisheva</p> <p>1891 School of machine embroidery, Dornbirn, Vorarlberg, Austria</p> <p>1892 Slovakian embroidery school founded at Cifer by Maria Hollosy</p> <p>1894 Glasgow School of Art embroidery department founded by Jessie Newbery</p> <p>1895 Womens Association Slovakia founded-</p> <p>1896 renamed Isabella Association</p>	<p>1902 Imperial School of Arts Vienna 'wandercourse' expeditions begin</p> <p>1904 Central Spitzen-Curs, Vienna established</p> <p>1904 Verein zur Hebung der Spitzen-Industrie (Society for the Encouragement of Lace Industry), Vienna</p> <p>1906 Verein zur Hebung der Spitzen-Industrie (Society for the Encouragement of Lace Industry) Budapest</p> <p>1906 Gödöllő workshops at Royal School of Applied Art</p>
Exhibitions	<p>1892 Budapest Art Gallery-Women's Applied Art Exhibition</p> <p>1896 Millenary Exhibition</p> <p>1897 English Society of Arts Vienna</p>	<p>1900 Paris International, including Applied Art from 1892 Exhibition</p> <p>1900 Walter Crane, Budapest</p> <p>1901 Great International Glasgow</p> <p>1900 Eighth Secession</p> <p>1902 British Arts and Crafts Budapest</p> <p>1902 Pressburg (Bratislava)</p> <p>1904 St Louis</p> <p>1906 Zemstvo organized Volga province embroideries Dore Gallery London</p>
Other	<p>1891 Coats takeover two mills in Russia-Nevsky T.M.</p> <p>and Salcher family mill in Spain</p> <p>1894 Coats Harland Vienna mill established</p> <p>1895 Coats sales agency in Vienna</p> <p>1897 Coats took over Lodz TM Poland</p> <p>1896 Gyarmathy publishes book on Kalotaszeg embroidery</p> <p>1899 Coats amalgamate F.F.R. Belgium</p>	<p>1903 Coats Spain amalgamate Fabra</p> <p>1903/4 Coats MEZ Germany</p> <p>1904 Coats took over Cucirini Cantoni Milan, Aquacaldo Italy</p> <p>1905 Portugal-Oporto</p> <p>1910 Princess Marie of Roumania endorses Liberty, London sales of Home Industry embroideries</p>

TABLE 7

	1910	1920
Design		1919 Bauhaus formed, Weiner, Germany
Embroidery/ Education	1908 Ann Macbeth succeeds Jessie Newbery as Head of Embroidery at Glasgow School of Art	1911 Ann Macbeth's embroidery lending scheme begins at the Glasgow School of Art 1914 Glasgow School of Art's Museum lending scheme begins
Exhibitions		1912 Kashau & Klausenberg 1916 Ancient and Modern Glasgow School of Art
Other		1917 Scottish Women's Rural Institute founded

Home Industry / State Organisation Development			
	Hungary		Northern Hungary (Slovakia)
1880s	Etelka Gyarmathy's <i>Iparművészeti Társulat</i> Hungarian Association of Applied Arts	1892	Cífer School
		1893	Orders for Hóllósy designs Embroideries exhibited in Vienna and Budapest
1894	The Society for the Encouragement of Hungarian Industries	1894	Designs by Mária Hóllósy Mária Hóllósy designs <i>Izabella</i> dress
1906	Society of Applied Arts, Budapest	1895	<i>Izabella</i> (The Women's Group for Supporting the Domestic Embroidery Industry in Pressburg and its Surroundings) Mária Hóllósy designing
1918	Isabella, Budapest	1919	Detva
1920s	<i>Házipari Hangya Szövetkezet</i>		Other state organisations
1933	Hungarian Women's National Association		Slavonic Handcrafts, London
1934	Mária Undi commissioned designs by the state for publication Mezőkövesd Tourist Industry		

Key J & P Coats, NDS, & Influential Arts People

NAME	ROLE	QUALIFICATIONS ¹
	J & P COATS	
Colin Martin	Coats Board member NDS Manager	Languages, Oxford Management, J & P Coats
CH Mackenzie	TCA Director, Glasgow and Italy	
JOM Clark	Chairman, Coats	Cambridge
E Goode	Sales Manager, Coats	
Jean Kinmond	Anchor Studio. NDS Plain Sewing Programme 1948-61.	
	NDSS PERMANENT COMMITTEE 1934-9	
William Hutchison	Principal, GSA	
David Sutherland	Principal, Gray's School of Art, Aberdeen.	
Hubert Wellington	Principal, Edinburgh College of Art.	
Francis Cooper	Principal, Dundee College of Art.	
	NDSS SUB-COMMITTEE 1934-9	
Kathleen Mann	Embroidery Lecturer, GSA.	ARCA, GSA
Dorothy Angus	Embroidery Lecturer, Gray's.	ECA
Belle Barnet	Embroidery Lecturer, Dundee College of Art.	
Louisa Chart	Embroidery Lecturer, ECA.	RSN
James Hamilton	Head of Design, Gray's School of Art,	
Alex Russell	Head of Design, Dundee College of Art.	
Campbell Mackie	Head of Design, GSA.	
Agnes McCredie	Embroidery Lecturer, GSA.	
	NDS 'EXPERT-IN-CHARGE' 1946-61	
Kay Köhler	NDS 1946-8	FRSA, ATD, STDC Vienna

¹ Qualifications are listed where appropriate

TABLE 9

Ulla Kockum	NDS 1948-50	Stockholm School of Art, Designer: Hemslojdsforeing
Dorothy Allsopp	NDS 1950-5	ARCA Illustration, West Hartlepool College of Design. FRSA
Iris Hills	NDS 1955-60	ARCA Illustration, Bromley College of Art
NDS STAFF		
Margaret Miller	Secretary NDS 1945-1961	GSA
Jessie Dunn	Embroiderer NDS 1950-5	
Margaret Wilson	Embroiderer NDS 1950s	GSA Embroidery
Elisabeth Geddes	Embroiderer NDS 1955-1960	Bromley College of Art
NDS ADVISORY COMMITTEE 1946-61		
JD MacGregor	HMI SED. 1946-51	
Grace Thomson	MoE, HMI. 1946-61	ARCA, Bromley College of Art
George Wingfield- Digby	Assistant Keeper of Textiles V&A Museum. 1946-61	
FW Michie	HMI SED	
EM Dickie	HMI MoE 1946-61	
K Miller	HMI SED 1951-1961	
Miss Smale	HMI MoE 1957-61	
ARTS CONTACTS		
Leigh Ashton	Director, V&A Museum	
Kenneth Clark	Director, National Gallery. Director, Cotton Board	
Peter Floud	Keeper of Textiles, V&A Museum	
Phillip James	Director, Arts Council of Great Britain	

much attention. They just went on working. Artists don't care much about the government so long as they have freedom in which to work."

Miss Genauer: "Yet isn't it Germany where all artists in order to pursue their vocation and exhibit their work, must become members of the Chamber of Art department of the general Reich Chamber of Culture attached to the Propaganda Ministry? Would you say that there is freedom for modern artists in Germany?"

Professor Zweybrück: "I don't know. As a matter of fact, what I say really refers to the applied arts rather than to the painters and sculptors, about whom I know little. I only know that before the Anschluss there was such poverty in Austria that the renowned Wienerwerkstaette had to close shop because there were not enough moneyed people in Austria to buy their products. The Wienerwerkstaette was a co-operative venture, under the famous designer Joseph Hoffman, whereby Austria's foremost industrial designers worked together to make available the finest modern china, glass, linen and decor."

Miss Genauer: "Would you consider that failure more calamitous than the official closing by the German government of the Bauhaus, which was not a commercial venture at all but a school and educational laboratory known throughout the world for its advanced work in applied arts?"

Professor Zweybrück: "I don't know much about the Bauhaus. I do know however, that Germany today is producing superb examples of the crafts."

Miss Genauer: "Why then did Germany, in its pavilion at the International Exposition in Paris last Summer . . . like Russia, have no display of this sort of thing at all and instead devote its entire pavilion to government propaganda?"

Professor Zweybrück: "I suppose they did what their program called for."

Miss Genauer: "You say that Mussolini's emphasis on the past glories of the Roman Empire is influencing Italy's modern art. How?"

Professor Zweybrück: "I do not know about modern fine art in Italy. Again I am speaking only of the applied arts. Italy's production of china, glass and other objects of decor has improved marvelously in the years since Mussolini came into power."

Miss Genauer: "So they have, as they have in the last ten years or so in most countries. Is Mussolini's government sponsorship of the arts similar to the workings of the Federal Art Project here?"

Professor Zweybrück: "I didn't know that there was such a thing as government sponsorship of artists in this country. I do know that industrial design is achieving tremendous development in Italy. That is all the proof needed of a country's prosperity. Under bad conditions artists do not produce such products."

Miss Genauer: "And yet, Professor, thinking of the 18th century in France, in the period preceding the Revolution, where the populace was utterly desolate, and the finest Sevres china, tapestries, carpets and carved and gilded furniture were produced. Would you say there was prosperity then?"

Professor Zweybrück: "What do I understand about all these things. I am only an artist."

By this time the morning was no longer "comparatively cool."

Boston Buys Meltsner Prints

The Boston Museum recently acquired eight lithographs by Paul Meltsner. Several of the artist's oils on the industrial scene were acquired by the Museum of Modern Western Art, Moscow, U. S. S. R.

Italy a Leader?

MUSSOLINI's attempt to revive the spirit of ancient Rome has made Italy a leader in modern art, according to Professor Emmy Zweybrück of Vienna, who is directing an "art in industry" studio at the Columbia University Summer Session.

"Those countries," added Professor Zweybrück, "in which the belief in the old traditions is strongest, and in which that belief is being fostered by the State, exert the most powerful influence in modern art." Besides Italy, other leaders in modern art are Germany, Finland, Sweden and Hungary, she said.

"While we must keep the past alive to develop modern art, whatever we go through is good for us," explained Professor Zweybrück, who was in Vienna during the German occupation. "The annexation of Austria by the German Reich meant little to Austrian artists. Artists just went on with their work, but certainly it was the most powerful event I have ever lived through."

Professor Zweybrück is a strong believer in co-educational art teaching: "The women have the imagination and the fire, and the men have the necessary critical attitude, are most serious. These tendencies supplement each other, and are most satisfactory when one is trying to work out the connection between primitive and modern art.

"Modern design uses nature as a symbol. It is easy enough to copy nature, but we must have a knowledge of it to create it in design. Peasant art is basic because it makes you feel freer and stronger. It is all right to try

to create something distinctive for the period, but it must have 'soil'—it must have a root somewhere.

"While in former centuries art used to serve the Church, the sovereigns, the nobility and the education of the people, it is now more and more adapting itself to the powerful rhythm of our age of machinery and has, in many cases, become a herald of industry. Industry is giving our period its characteristic stamp."

Emily Genauer, art critic of the New York *World Telegram*, felt that she could not let such pro-fascist statements, bearing the imprint of Columbia University's department of public information, go unchallenged. Not "when Hitler's words at the opening of the House of German Art at Munich last Summer, announcing that 'the new and pure Aryan Germanic art must be uncontaminated by modernism' and 'modernistic painters and sculptors are dangerous lunatics who should be handed over to the State for sterilization to prevent them from passing on their unfortunate heritage,' still ring in American ears. Nor when the whole world knows that Germany's foremost painters, men like Karl Hofer, Kokoschka and George Grosz, to mention only a few, are at present living and working in exile."

So in "the comparative cool of the morning because this is bad weather to get excited in," Miss Genauer trekked up to Morningside Heights to confirm what she had read.

Miss Genauer: "What was the reaction of the modern artists of Austria, aware of the position of their colleagues in Germany, to the Anschluss?"

Professor Zweybrück: "Oh, they didn't pay