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Tweed

A design and cultural history 1828–2014

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This review and the associated published work submitted (Anderson, Fiona. *Tweed*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016) have been composed by me, are my own work and have not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Fiona Anderson
20 February 2019

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Abstract

Anderson, Fiona. *Tweed*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016.

Tweed undertakes an in-depth analysis of the design and cultural history of these fabrics from their initial development in Scotland in the 1820s to 2014. This sole-authored book investigates the origins, design, production and consumption of British tweeds and their international export. It diverges from the existing literature by focusing on all types of tweeds, including Harris Tweed and *fantaisie* tweeds.

The book explores the history of these textiles from the raw fibre to the finished garment worn by both men and women. The core methods employed were from Material Culture Studies. In order to investigate the complex processes and shifting social, cultural and economic contexts involved, inter-disciplinary methods and sources were used. *Tweed* is, however, predominantly based on primary sources, most of which have not previously been published. Original research included analysing artefacts in museums and archives in mainland Scotland, the Outer Hebrides, the West of England, County Donegal and Paris. It also involved fieldwork trips to mills and interviews with individuals who work, or who previously worked, for leading designers and manufacturers of tweeds. That research was pivotal to the investigation of the hidden history of the design dialogue and commercial interactions between British tweed producers and their export customers. The case studies of three contemporary manufacturers also informed the conclusion that despite the considerable decline in the UK-based industry, tweeds retain their cultural significance as a core aspect of the British fashion identity.

Tweed undertakes a detailed investigation of the shifting relationships between these cloths, fashion and gender identities. In particular, it makes a major contribution to advancing knowledge about men's fashion textiles after 1830, which have received scant academic attention. Tweeds are commonly described in contemporary media as 'heritage' fabrics, which was a starting point for the enquiry into the relationships between these textiles and modernity, heritage, tradition, nostalgia, authenticity and innovation. The book concludes that tweeds developed in the early nineteenth century as an element of the cultural response to industrialisation and urbanisation known as Romanticism. *Tweed* also contests the

mythical idea that these cloths may simply be linked to the past and traditional, rural, upper class lifestyles, by revealing their intrinsic and complex relationships to modernity and both rural and urban landscapes.

Lay Summary

Anderson, Fiona. *Tweed*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016.

Tweed is the first academic book for over forty years to explore the history of these important fashion textiles. It examines the manufacturing, design, selling and wearing of these cloths from their origins in Scotland of the 1820s to 2014. The book takes international perspectives by focusing on the export and significant global design influence of British tweeds. In contrast to earlier publications, it investigates all types of tweeds, from Hebridean homespuns to the variety famously used by Chanel. Furthermore, it is the first in-depth study to investigate the history of British mill-woven tweeds in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

The volume considers the dynamics of fashion within both the textile and clothing industries, through the example of tweed. It is based on extensive new research, including studying numerous artefacts in museum and archival collections. Research was undertaken in a range of pertinent locations, including the Western Isles, mainland Scotland, County Donegal, Paris and the West of England. Mill visits and interviews yielded important new insights into the business and creative relationships between British tweed manufacturers and leading fashion companies in France, North America and Japan, between the 1950s and 2014.

Tweed has produced a new understanding of the history of these textiles, by exploring their design, social and cultural significance. It reveals the important and changing relationships between tweed and gender identities, including showing that these cloths had powerful associations with ideals of masculinity in the nineteenth century. The book also challenges popular perceptions that historically tweeds were exclusively worn by the British upper classes in the country. It presents new evidence, which shows that these textiles have been worn by a diverse range of individuals in both rural and urban environments since the mid-nineteenth century. Contrary to the contemporary media characterisation of tweeds simply as 'heritage' cloths, *Tweed* reveals the complex relationships between these fabrics and shifting notions of tradition *and* innovation.

1. Project Background, Aims and Objectives

Tweed draws on research and knowledge about the history of tweeds and tailoring developed over more than twenty years. This choice of topic is connected to my early career biography, including studying at the Scottish College of Textiles in Galashiels in the 1980s. At that time, the Scottish Borders tweed industry was still in existence, but had declined from its former scale. During these studies, I gained an understanding through practice of the intrinsic relationships between hand tailoring skills and wool textiles. My approach to investigating the history of tweeds also linked strongly to my experience of, and professional interest in, the history of the Scottish landscape, which has developed since childhood. I initially began researching tweed in 2001, when I worked as a Lecturer at Edinburgh College of Art. This new topic evolved from my existing research interests in tailoring and masculinities, which I had pursued between 1996 and 2000 in London, as detailed below. The decision to begin researching the history of tweed in the late nineteenth century was also linked to my re-location to Edinburgh in 2000. At that time, it made sense to pursue a topic that involved using locally available archive sources, which I knew to be greatly under-researched. In 2003, I took up the post of Senior Curator of Fashion and Textiles at National Museums Scotland (NMS). Research undertaken in that job had to relate to the Museum's collecting policy. This fact, along with my awareness of the scant published research on the history of tweeds and the considerable potential to undertake original research on that subject, prompted the subsequent development of the *Tweed* book proposal.

Previous Research and Research Outputs

Tweeds have primarily been used to make tailored clothing, therefore my knowledge of that topic significantly informed the arguments in the book. In 1996–7, I looked after the ‘Tailoring’ section of the major exhibition *The Cutting Edge: Fifty Years of British Fashion 1947-1997* at the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A), a role that included research for the display and related publication.¹ Whilst at the V&A, I learned of the existence of the Henry Poole and Co. company archive, a firm that played a leading role in creating the phenomenon of Savile Row tailoring. This discovery led me to research that company for my MA dissertation for the History of Design programme run jointly by the V&A and the Royal College of Art (RCA). A peer-reviewed article developed from this study was published in *Fashion Theory: the journal of dress, body and culture* in 2000.²

Some of the research questions addressed and methods employed in *Tweed* evolved from previous research on these textiles, which resulted in three conference and seminar papers, two peer-reviewed journal articles, and two exhibitions at NMS. These outputs were completed more than ten years ago, so they have not been submitted as part of the portfolio. They are, however, discussed in this review because they are relevant to the explanation of how the ideas in *Tweed* evolved and why the book represents a logical and significant extension of these earlier, smaller-scale outputs. In 2003, I presented a paper ‘Modernity and Landscape in Men’s Fashion Textiles 1860-1900’ at the Design History Society annual conference. I was subsequently invited to deliver an extended version of this paper as part of the V&A/RCA research seminar series. These papers later developed into a journal article of 2005 ‘Spinning the Ephemeral with the Sublime: Modernity and Landscape

in Men's Fashion Textiles 1860-1900'. This essay on late nineteenth century tweeds for menswear problematized the predominant paradigm within fashion history since the late 1980s, that is the fundamental interconnections between the urban and fashion within modernity.³ That research into the relationships between men's fashion and rural and urban landscapes within the era of modernity, has been significantly expanded within *Tweed*, to include an analysis of these themes related to tweeds worn by both men and women between the 1820s and 2014, as encapsulated within the third research question on page 13.

In 2004, I delivered a paper 'Crossing the Gender Divide: Tweed, Femininity and Fashion' at the Scottish Women's History Network Conference. This presentation at the University of Glasgow was a twin keynote paper with Professor Lou Taylor. That paper subsequently evolved into a sole-authored article of 2006 in *Textile History* titled 'This Sporting Cloth: Tweed, Gender and Fashion 1860-1900'. This essay explored the cultural and social meanings associated with the adoption of tweeds by both men and women in the age of the new imperialism.⁴ The ideas expressed in this article were substantially extended in *Tweed* to form an investigation of the shifting relationships between gender identities and tweeds between the 1820s and 2014, as detailed in the second research question on page 13. Composing these articles for *Fashion Theory* and *Textile History* underlined the pivotal significance of gender to the history of tweed. This fact influenced my decision to structure the majority of the book chapters according to gender, as well as chronology. That approach related to the important impact of gender on how the design, production and consumption of tweeds have been structured within the textile and fashion industries, as well as its relationship to the social and cultural meanings of tweeds

worn on the body. Chapters 3 to 7 deal consecutively with masculinity and tweed and femininity and tweed. In contrast, chapters 8 and 9 address tweeds worn by both genders because of the increasing prevalence of unisex, or androgynous, fashion from the mid-1960s.

During 2004, I curated an exhibition *Made in Scotland: Cloth for the Catwalk* held at Shambellie House Museum of Costume in Dumfriesshire, then part of NMS. The following year, I curated an expanded and adapted version of this exhibition *Fabric to Fashion: Scottish Textiles and International Style*, at the main NMS site in Edinburgh. The concept for these displays involved exploring how the design and manufacturing expertise of Scottish textile firms contributes to international, contemporary fashion. The objects exhibited, which were mostly new permanent acquisitions, included cashmere knitwear and garments made from tweeds and tartans designed and produced in Scotland for firms such as Vivienne Westwood, Louis Vuitton and Dries van Noten. The methods of collecting used were innovative and research-led, because they involved contacting Scottish manufacturers and asking for their help with sourcing garments made from their fabric by their international customers. These client relationships are most often considered confidential for business reasons, so the collecting methods used were not guaranteed to be successful. However, the project achieved good results, including the acquisition of a Louis Vuitton suit in a tweed by Johnstons of Elgin and a coat by Bernhard Willhelm in cloth by the Lovat Mill of Hawick, which were both subsequently discussed in *Tweed*.⁵ Through negotiating these acquisitions, I began to develop a greater awareness of the business to business relationships and

international creative dialogues involved, which informed the early development of the book.

In *Tweed*, the ideas addressed within the NMS exhibitions were re-focused and substantially expanded to explore in depth the international impact and design influence of Scottish and English tweeds from the mid-nineteenth century to 2014. In particular, the book ‘investigates the fact that the British export trade in tweeds has involved significant, but hidden, design interactions between fashion houses from leading, international centers and textile producers from locations considered to be peripheral to the world of fashion.’⁶ This aspect of the *Tweed* project is encapsulated within the first research question on page 13, although on reflection, it might have been expressed more explicitly within this set of questions, given its importance to the study.

Aims and Objectives

A key aim of *Tweed* was to make a substantial new contribution to knowledge about the design and cultural history of British tweeds from the 1820s to 2014. This study included research on Donegal tweeds, because although these cloths were initially woven in that Irish county, the term is now used generically. Furthermore, the investigation of the export of British tweeds to France, involved comparative analysis of French-made cloths. *Tweed* aimed to close the significant gaps in the existing research about these textiles identified in the Literature Review. The last major academic study on the history of tweed was Clifford Gulvin’s *The Tweedmakers: A History of the Scottish Fancy Woollen Industry 1600-1914*, published in 1973.⁷ *Tweed* pursued the objective of re-interpreting these textiles using more up-to-date

methods and sources, including placing a major emphasis on design and consumption, as well as production. Prior to the completion of *Tweed*, the only scholarly publications on these textiles in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries dealt either with Harris Tweed, or the work of Bernat Klein.⁸ *Tweed* is therefore the first academic book to investigate the history of British mill-produced tweeds in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. It is also the first research project to explore in-depth the inter-connected development of different types of tweeds, including those woven in domestic settings in the Outer Hebrides and in factory contexts on the British mainland. Research for *Tweed* also aimed to extend the extremely limited published scholarship on fashion textiles for menswear after 1830, noted in the Literature Review. That aim was pursued as part of a wider investigation into the important and shifting relationships between tweeds, fashion and gender identities.

An important starting point for the study was the fact that tweeds are most often described in contemporary fashion media as 'heritage' textiles. That nomenclature was intriguing given that the 'heritage' of these textiles was greatly under-researched. This scenario prompted the detailed investigation of when and why these cloths acquired strong associations of heritage and tradition, as encapsulated within the fourth research question below. A closely related aim, as stated in *Tweed*, was to 'challenge the notion that tweeds may simply be related to nostalgic visions of past, traditional, country lifestyles' by exploring the intrinsic relationship of these textiles to modernity.⁹ Tweeds are an important category of woollen textile and a further objective of the project was to make a significant contribution to developing new interdisciplinary approaches to researching British wool textiles from 1830 to 2014. That aspect of the study involved the use of design and consumption

perspectives as a means of exploring different questions to the established literature, which mainly focuses on English manufacturing before 1830, as discussed in the Literature Review. The aims and proposed content of *Tweed* were briefly set out within the proposal submitted to Bloomsbury Academic. Developing the application for the AHRC Fellowship project, *Tweed: History, Culture and Design*, provided an opportunity to refine and deepen the intellectual focus of the study. The research questions listed below were written for this application and they closely informed the work subsequently undertaken on *Tweed*.

1. Explore the history and socio-cultural contexts of British tweeds including looking at their technical characteristics, manufacture, design and consumption in the UK and to international export markets.
2. Investigate the inter-relationships of the history of tweed with major social and cultural changes. This will involve a particular focus on shifting notions of gender and class within Britain in the eras of modernity and post-modernity.
3. Examine the physical and conceptual links of tweed with place or landscape and with shifting ideas about Scottish, English and British identities. In particular, the aim is to expand the consideration of the relationships between fashion in modernity and rural and urban landscapes, through the example of tweed.
4. Interrogate the important but under-researched concept of tradition and its significance within modern, western societies through the example of tweed. For example, the interpretation of this textile by prominent fashion designers from the

1960s onwards, such as Mary Quant and Vivienne Westwood, has focused around a fascination with its supposedly 'traditional' character. Perceptions of tweed as a fabric with strong connotations of tradition are also very evident within recent media.

5. Explore a particular aspect of the British woollen industry through interdisciplinary methods with the aims of raising alternative sets of questions, pursuing more up-to-date approaches and dealing with the neglected time period of 1830 onwards.¹⁰

Conclusion

Tweed aimed to uncover the rich cultural and design history behind the contemporary heritage marketing of these textiles, thus closing significant gaps in the published research. The intellectual aims of this project significantly developed and extended the findings of previous smaller-scale outputs. This review now explores in-depth the contexts, methods, conduct, findings and impact of the research that resulted in *Tweed*, thus analysing how, and to what extent, the aims of this project were realised.

Notes

1. Amy de la Haye, *The Cutting Edge: 50 Years of British Fashion 1947–1997* (London: V&A Publishing, 1997).
2. Fiona Anderson, 'Henry Poole and Co. Savile Row Tailors, 1861-1900' (MA Dissertation, Royal College of Art/V&A Museum, 1998); Fiona Anderson, "Fashioning the Gentleman: A Study of Henry Poole and Co., Savile Row Tailors 1861-1900," *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture*, 4, no. 4 (2000).
3. Fiona Anderson, "Spinning the Ephemeral with the Sublime," *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture*, 9, no. 3 (2005).
4. Fiona Anderson, "This Sporting Cloth: Tweed, Gender and Fashion 1860-1900," *Textile History*, 37, no. 2 (2006).
5. Fiona Anderson, *Tweed* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 166–172.
6. Anderson, *Tweed*, 5.

7. Clifford Gulvin, *The Tweedmakers: A History of the Scottish Fancy Woollen Industry 1600-1914* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973).
8. Janet Hunter, *The Islanders and the Orb: The History of the Harris Tweed Industry 1835-1995* (Stornoway, Lewis: Acair Ltd., 2001); Bernat Klein and Lesley Jackson, *Bernat Klein: Textile Designer, Artist, Colourist* (Gattonside, Roxburghshire: Bernat Klein Trust, 2005); Jacqueline Field, "Bernat Klein's Couture Tweeds: Color and Fabric Innovation, 1960-1980," *Dress*, 33 (2006); Helen Taylor, "Bernat Klein: An Eye for Colour," *Textile History*, 41, no. 1 (2010); Louise Crewe, "Tailoring and Tweed: Mapping the Spaces of Slow Fashion," in *Fashion Cultures Revisited*, ed. Stella Bruzzi and Pamela Church Gibson (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013).
9. Anderson, *Tweed*, 3.
10. Fiona Anderson, Arts and Humanities Research Council Fellowship Application, 2011.

2. Literature Review

An exploration of recent secondary literature on the UK wool textiles industry after 1820 was necessary to help set the design and manufacturing of tweeds within its wider industrial contexts. This review also critically evaluates texts on the history of tweed and contextual literature that was of particular importance to the development of the book.

The British Wool Textile Industry After 1820

The published research on British wool textiles predominantly uses economic history methods to examine English production before 1830.¹ A few academic texts consider the design, consumption, or cultural meanings of wool cloths produced in England in that period, including work by Miles Lambert, Beverly Lemire, John Styles and John Smal.² Significantly, Lemire and Lambert in their respective essays have argued that English woollens in that era held strong associations of tradition, Englishness, Britishness, and masculinity between 1660 and 1830. *Tweed* has considerably extended this research by exploring the design, cultural and social significance of an important 'family' of woollen textiles that emerged in Scotland of the late 1820s.

Tweed references and builds on previous economic histories of the British wool textiles industry, which cover the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. On that topic, there are only a limited number of relevant academic studies published within the last thirty years. The survey of literature focused on that recent period, because initial investigation of some earlier wool textiles sources indicated that it was difficult to extrapolate information that related specifically to tweeds. Regarding the

nineteenth and early twentieth century, recent texts include David Jenkins and Kenneth Ponting's book of 1987, *The British Wool Textile Industry 1770-1914* and an essay of 2003 by David Jenkins, 'The Western Wool Textile Industry in the Nineteenth Century'.³ In the former book, the authors confirm that they were aiming to fill a major gap in the literature by preparing a detailed economic history survey that covers the nineteenth century.⁴ This publication was pertinent to researching *Tweed*, because it provided important information about the overall structure and location of the wool textile industry, key changes in production, and raw materials used. The design and cultural significance of British wool textiles, including their relationship to fashion, are only briefly mentioned in this volume, which is a significant gap in the literature. However, Jenkins and Ponting do provide useful detail regarding what cloths were the speciality of different areas, which helped with broadly pinpointing where tweeds of particular types were produced in the UK for different levels of the market.⁵ This publication primarily focuses on Yorkshire, because it was the largest branch of the industry in the period studied. In contrast, the smaller sector of Scottish manufacturing only receives very limited attention. In particular, Harris Tweed is barely mentioned, meriting only a few sentences in the entire book.⁶ Jenkins and Ponting reach the important conclusion, however, that the 'quality of Scottish design' was the principal reason why Scotland had replaced the West of England as the leading British centre for the production of high class woollens by the late nineteenth century.⁷ Tweeds were the main category of woollen cloth produced in Scotland in that era, so these comments confirmed that Scottish manufacturing was of pivotal importance to the design history of British tweeds.

The essay by the economic historian David Jenkins, 'The Western Wool Textile Industry in the Nineteenth Century' provides a useful overview of the important role that branch of manufacturing played in industrialisation, particularly within Britain, France and Germany. The main strength of this publication is the nuanced discussion of changes in raw materials use, European competition and specialisation and the gradual move towards mechanisation in weaving and other production processes, developments that were relevant to *Tweed*. Overall, design and fashion are given limited consideration by Jenkins, although he makes important comments about the different types of cloth woven in particular countries and regions.⁸ *Tweed* concludes that an important design dialogue existed between Scottish and French woollen cloths in the late nineteenth century, which is mainly based on primary research. The essay by Jenkins confirmed the French wool textile specialisms of that era.⁹

Recent scholarly texts that incorporate material on the British wool textiles industry in the twentieth century are also very limited in number. They include another essay of 2003 by David Jenkins 'Wool Textiles In The Twentieth Century' and Irene Hardill's book of 1987, *The Regional Implications of Restructuring in the Wool Textile Industry*.¹⁰ The former text takes a similar approach to the other essay by Jenkins discussed, although it gives more consideration to global contexts between 1914 and 1992. Reading this brief but authoritative survey, prompted the subsequent investigation through primary sources of how relevant the broad production trends identified by Jenkins were to the specific history of tweeds. The most valuable section of this essay is the discussion of the post-war decline of wool textile manufacturing in many European countries, including Britain, and the rise of

Italy to be the leading world producer.¹¹ Secondary literature on this topic is extremely limited. Apart from the essay by Jenkins, Hardill's book, which primarily focuses on West Yorkshire, was the only recent publication available. Along with G.F. Rainnie's *The Woollen and Worsted Industry: An Economic Analysis* of 1965 and Alan Brearley and John A. Iredale's *The Woollen Industry* of 1977, Hardill's book provided detailed information about the post-war location and contraction of the British and Yorkshire wool textiles industries.¹² Owing to the limited secondary literature and the lack of scholarly publications that address the post-1992 period, industry reports, newspaper articles, trade journal articles, interviews and the websites of current manufacturers were used in *Tweed* to address decline and change in the British woollen industry within its international contexts.¹³

Tweed: Production, Design and Consumption

Tweed is chiefly based on original research because academic publications that explore the history of these textiles are very limited in number. Gulvin's *The Tweedmakers: A History of the Scottish Fancy Woollen Industry 1600-1914* remains the only book-length study on the history of woven woollen textile manufacturing in Scotland. The title of this publication is only partially accurate, because before the 1830s there were no 'Tweedmakers', as Gulvin himself makes clear. This book is informed by economic history methods, it focuses almost exclusively on production and scant consideration is given to the spheres of design and consumption. Gulvin's study chiefly explores tweed manufacturing in Scottish Borders mills and it ends in 1914.¹⁴

A small number of sources, in addition to Gulvin, include material on the early history of tweed and the etymology of the term. Reviewing these texts revealed a tendency towards repetition of the same account and in some cases, an over-reliance on Gulvin. It was concluded in *Tweed*, for example, that the 'basic elements' of the popular story regarding the origins of the name 'have been repeated by all the published authors on the subject', including Gulvin, T.A. Stillie, Kenneth Ponting, Janet Hunter, Edward P. Harrison and Edward S. Harrison.¹⁵ This mythologized account was challenged in *Tweed* through the analysis of the nineteenth century writings of the cloth merchant James Locke and entries in the *Dictionary of the Scots Language*.¹⁶ The secondary sources surveyed argued that the word *tweel* was of pivotal importance to the development of the name tweed. However, none of these publications indicated what *tweels* actually looked like. *Tweed* addressed that gap in knowledge through the analysis of 1830s textile samples and primary texts.¹⁷ Furthermore, Gulvin, Ponting and John Allan give Sir Walter Scott a significant role in encouraging the early fashion for shepherd's check trousers. The interrogation of primary evidence in *Tweed*, revealed that this account was another mythologized story related to the early history of these cloths.¹⁸

Since the early 1970s, a few publications have addressed either particular types of tweed, or the history of tweed within a narrow time period. Significantly, most of this research focuses on homespun tweeds woven in domestic contexts, rather than mill-woven cloths, which constituted the majority of British tweeds within the period studied. These publications include *The Islanders and the Orb: the History of the Harris Tweed Industry 1835–1995* by Janet Hunter (2001) and the non-academic book *This is Donegal Tweed* by Judith Hoad (1987).¹⁹ In the latter publication, which

includes much useful primary detail, Hoad explores the history of tweed-making in County Donegal up to the mid-1980s. Her discussion of the extensive mechanisation of Donegal tweed production from the mid-1970s, helped to clarify the distinctive character of recent developments in the Harris Tweed industry.²⁰ In Hunter's book, social and economic history approaches have been used to produce a detailed study of the Harris Tweed industry. This publication primarily explores the legal and organisational aspects of that history and very little consideration is given to the design, consumption and cultural significance of these textiles. Hunter's text only deals with the period up to 1995, which provided scope for *Tweed* to address pivotal developments in the Harris Tweed industry between that date and 2014, through original research.²¹ In *Tweed*, only very limited use was made of Francis Thompson's *Harris Tweed: The Story of a Hebridean Industry* of 1968, because Hunter's research was more reliable and up-to-date.²²

The art historian, Janice Helland's research has also focused exclusively on tweeds woven by hand in the home in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland and Ireland. Sections of her book of 2007, *British and Irish Home Arts and Industries 1880-1914: Marketing Craft, Making Fashion* and related essays explore the input of aristocratic women philanthropists to encouraging the production, distribution and promotion of this type of tweed. The findings of this research are valuable, because they highlight the pivotal, but short-lived, importance of this patronage in the period studied and they also indicate the significance of consumption to the history of domestically produced tweeds.²³ The narrow focus of Helland's research and the limited scope of the existing literature, particularly on the early history of these textiles and on mill-woven tweeds has, however, limited the depth of her conclusions. Helland's writing

is underpinned by the assumption that tweeds only became fashion textiles when they featured in women's magazines and when they were more widely adopted by metropolitan upper class females towards the close of the nineteenth century.²⁴ Furthermore, her article of 2004 'Highland Home Industries and the Fashion for Tweed' implies that domestically-produced, hand-woven tweeds were the only type of tweeds available in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.²⁵ In her book of 2007, Helland does acknowledge the existence of those mill-woven tweeds, which imitated 'genuine' homespuns.²⁶

In contrast, *Tweed* concludes about the early history of these textiles that 'through their consumption by fashionable, metropolitan consumers from the 1820s, the coarse, Scottish woolens that were soon to be called tweeds were transformed into modern fashion textiles.'²⁷ Critically, these fashionable consumers were predominantly male and the tweeds consumed were cloths woven in mills on the Scottish mainland, primarily in the Scottish Borders.²⁸ *Tweed* also shows that by the 1880-1914 period studied by Helland, a range of different kinds of tweeds, not just the homespun type, were being machine-woven within mills in a wide range of locations in Britain and Europe.²⁹

Edward P. Harrison's *Scottish Estate Tweeds* of 1995 focuses on a specific type of mill-woven tweed. This non-academic book demonstrates the considerable expertise of the author, a former Chairman of the leading manufacturer Johnstons of Elgin. It contains much useful, detailed information about the history of estate tweeds and it also comprises a company history of Johnstons of Elgin up to 1994.³⁰ A key strength of this text is that it draws on important historical material from that

firm's archive. This book largely supersedes Edward. S. Harrison's *Our Scottish District Checks* of 1968.³¹

To date, published literature on the design and consumption of British woollen textiles after 1830, including tweed, has been extremely limited. The dress and textile historian, Lou Taylor, has published important research on this subject in her essay 'Wool Cloth and Gender: the Use of Woollen Cloth in Women's Dress in Britain 1865-1885'. Taylor concludes that from the late 1860s onwards, females began to wear new tailored garment styles, a shift that developed in tandem with the emergence of a newly expanded range of wool textiles, including tweeds, designed especially for women.³² These findings were extended in *Tweed*, by using new primary research related to those specific cloths. In 2007, *Textile History* published another short article by Taylor, which comprises a material culture analysis of three women's tweed outfits for rural wear of 1883–1908. The article concludes that these clothes can be linked to the highly specific social and sartorial etiquette codes that upper- and upper-middle class women had to negotiate regarding a range of country pursuits.³³

A *Textile History* article of 1970 by T.A. Stillie 'The Evolution of Pattern Design in the Scottish Woollen Textile Industry in the Nineteenth Century' was pertinent to the early stages of the research, principally because it made me aware of a few valuable primary sources.³⁴ However, only limited use was made of this text when writing *Tweed*, because it is poorly referenced. An essay of 1987, by Kenneth Ponting 'The Scottish Contribution to Wool Textile Design in the Nineteenth Century' was more useful and reliable. This text includes an illuminating critical examination

of the reasons for the 'acknowledged supremacy' of Scottish design, compared to other branches of the British wool textile industry.³⁵

Prior to the publication of *Tweed*, the two essays, 'Bernat Klein's Couture Tweeds' by Jacqueline Field in *Dress* (2006) and 'Bernat Klein: An Eye for Colour' by Helen Taylor in *Textile History* (2010), were the only scholarly articles that addressed mill-woven tweeds dated after 1914. In addition to these texts, the exhibition catalogue of 2005, *Bernat Klein: Textile Designer, Artist, Colourist* edited by Lesley Jackson and Bernat Klein, contains further brief information about that designer.

Furthermore, Klein's self-authored book of 1965, *Eye for Colour* gives insights into his design process related to tweeds. These texts solely focus on the work of a designer and manufacturer based in the Scottish Borders, who became internationally renowned in the 1960s for creating *fantaisie* tweeds.³⁶ The only other secondary source located during the research, which contains a very small amount of information about twentieth century mill-woven tweeds is *Ascher: Fabric, Art, Fashion* of 1987 by Valerie Mendes and Frances Hinchcliffe.³⁷ The history of the vast majority of tweeds designed and woven in Britain in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries had therefore not been studied. Given the scale of the industries concerned, particularly up until the 1970s, and the considerable international popularity of these textiles, this omission constituted a substantial gap in the literature.

An essay by Louise Crewe of 2013, 'Tailoring and Tweed: Mapping the Spaces of Slow Fashion' focuses on Savile Row tailoring and Harris Tweed as alternative models of production and consumption, which she argues have the potential to

counter the negative impacts of fast fashion. Her analysis of contemporary Harris Tweed production is, however, hampered by a tendency towards a romantic view of this cloth and insufficient primary research related to the realities and contexts of its manufacture.³⁸ Reading this essay was useful, however, because it confirmed the importance of the three field trips to the Outer Hebrides, which generated a nuanced understanding of the specific people, design and production methods and cultural and geographical contexts involved, as discussed in Section 3.

Contextual Literature

The original analysis in *Tweed* was informed by secondary publications related to modernity, landscape, sport, gender, heritage, tradition, British national identities and imperialism, as well as texts on the history of men's and women's fashion.

There is a vast and expansive literature on these topics and it was not feasible to engage with all of it. This subsection reviews the literature from these broad subject areas that was of particular significance to the development of the book.

Pertinent secondary literature on late nineteenth century women's fashion and femininity, included the sociologist Diana Crane's essay 'Women's Clothing Behavior As Nonverbal Resistance: Symbolic Boundaries, Alternative Dress and Public Space'.³⁹ The analysis in *Tweed* of the shifting relationships between these textiles, femininity and debates on women's health and sport between the 1850s and 1918, was largely based on primary research and texts by historians Neil Tranter and Mike Higgins, and sociologists John Hargreaves and Jennifer Hargreaves.⁴⁰ The work of Clare Midgeley, John Tosh, Antoinette Burton and Philippa Levine also confirmed that the interconnections between imperialism,

femininity and feminism within Britain in that era were complex and historically significant.⁴¹ Furthermore, research by historians Fiona Skillen and Catherine Horwood showed that the relationships between women's independence, sport and sportswear were increasingly important, but still socially controversial, in the inter-war period.⁴² Critical texts by the fashion historian Rebecca Arnold and sociologist Fred Davis were also used to analyse the relationships between Second Wave feminism and women's fashions in tweed of the late 1960s and 1970s.⁴³

In the last three decades, major advances have taken place in research on men's fashion through publications by key individuals such as Christopher Breward, Laura Ugolini, Paul Jobling and Frank Mort.⁴⁴ The now substantial body of literature on men's fashion after 1830, has mainly dealt with male consumption of clothing and associated representations. In contrast, scholarly research on fashion textiles for menswear in that period, has only resulted in a few publications to date, including *Tartan* by Jonathan Faiers, Laurie Anne Brewer's short essay 'The Material Education of the Dandy' and a small section of Paul Jobling's book *Advertising Menswear: Masculinity and Fashion in the British Media Since 1945*.⁴⁵ Research for *Tweed* sought to address this major gap in the literature. It also aimed to make connections between the existing studies on menswear and masculinity, and the earlier stages of the fashion cycle related to textiles, by undertaking new research on tweed.

Tweed was also closely informed by the arguments of historians writing about masculinity and the related themes of British national identity, imperialism and sport. Since the 1980s, the work of James A. Mangan has had an important influence on

this field of enquiry.⁴⁶ John Tosh's writing has also had a considerable impact on debates about nineteenth century masculinities, the family, domesticity and imperialism. Key aspects of his arguments were brought together in the book *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* of 2005.⁴⁷ In addition, sections of John Mackenzie's *The Empire of Nature* of 1988, were especially pertinent to researching the relationships between nineteenth century masculinities and the British imperialist fascination with hunting. Texts by Alistair Durie and Tom Devine also comprised useful historical accounts of nineteenth century sporting culture and sporting tourism to Scotland.⁴⁸ Furthermore, studying influential books by David Cannadine and Leonore Davidoff, placed the fashion for Scottish field sports within the wider contexts of key changes in elite social life in Britain between the 1830s and the 1930s.⁴⁹

Cannadine's *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* of 2002 and Stuart Ward's *British Culture and the End of Empire* of 2001 showed that the profound cultural and social impact of the post-war decline of the British Empire was also pertinent to the arguments developed in *Tweed*. Cannadine's book provoked controversy because it gives pre-eminence to class, rather than race, in its examination of the history of the Empire as it relates to the history of Britain. This underplaying of race undoubtedly weakens the book's arguments. However, Cannadine's findings about the impact of post-war imperial decline on class relationships in Britain do provide a useful addition to the arguments expressed by Frank Mort, whereby the greater fluidity of class categories is attributed to growing affluence and an interlinked 'upsurge of consumerism'.⁵⁰

At the time I was researching *Tweed*, there were no publications by other authors that explored the relationships between fashion, modernity and rural landscapes. This necessitated the development of new arguments, which built on the previous article in *Fashion Theory*, but covered a much longer period.⁵¹ The insightful ideas of the cultural geographer David Matless in *Landscape and Englishness* were a key influence on my analysis of tweed, fashion in modernity and rural and urban landscapes. Research by other cultural geographers, including W. J. T. Mitchell, Kay Anderson, Mona Domosh, Steve Pile and Nigel Thrift, along with extensive primary research, also informed these arguments.⁵² My interpretation of the ideas of Matless suggested that 'because of the intrinsic relationships between modernity, industrialization and urbanization, notions of the rural are often understood in opposition to this, in other words as being traditional and anti-modern'.⁵³ These important conclusions interlinked with the investigation of the relationship between the early fashion for tweed and romanticism, an enquiry that had not previously been undertaken. Publications by literary historians John Glendening and Ian Duncan, social theorist Elizabeth Wilson, and art historian Anne Hollander, along with a range of primary sources, were used to identify and analyse the pivotal interconnections between late romanticism, modernity and the early fashion for tweed.⁵⁴ Glendening's argument that 'Although the romantic sensibility asserts itself in opposition to the modern world, it is the direct outgrowth of that world' was especially pertinent to that analysis.⁵⁵

The enquiry into when and why tweeds became closely associated with heritage and tradition also led to the conclusion that a 'significant shift of the post-war era was that tweeds began to have strong associations with notions of the past, while

simultaneously being connected to the present and fashion innovation'.⁵⁶ This key finding remained pertinent between 1981 and 2014. In the last chapter of *Tweed*, it was supported by the insightful analysis of 1990s women's fashion by Caroline Evans in *Fashion at the Edge: Spectacle, Modernity and Deathliness*. Her text confirmed that oscillating through time has been a key characteristic of recent global fashion.⁵⁷

Conclusion

Reviewing the secondary literature relevant to the history of tweeds between the 1820s and 2014, revealed substantial gaps in a number of areas. In particular, there are few publications that address the design, consumption, cultural and social significance of British woollens after 1830 and these textiles in general after 1914. Overall, the scholarly literature on the history of tweed is limited in quantity, focus and in some cases, rigour. There is a substantial gap in the literature regarding twentieth and twenty-first century mill-woven tweeds. Furthermore, the interconnected histories of different types of tweed had not yet been examined. The existing literature on tweed ignores, or deals only partially with, the relationships between the history of these textiles and modernity, including related notions of fashion, tradition, innovation, heritage, gender, landscape, sport and national identities. However, the substantial primary evidence and contextual literature available, provided considerable scope to undertake a new in-depth analysis of the rich cultural and design history of tweed.

Notes

1. I refer the reader to the extensive list of sources on the English wool textiles industry cited in the following essay: Beverly Lemire, "Fashion and tradition: wearing wool in England during the Consumer Revolution, c.1660-1820," in *Wool Products and Markets (13th-20th Century)*, eds Giovanni Luigi Fontana and Gerard Gayot (Padova: CLEUP, 2004), 574-575.
2. John Smail, *Merchants, Markets and Manufacture: The English Wool Textile Industry in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 1999); Miles Lambert, "Drapers, tailors, salesmen and brokers: the retailing of woollen clothing in northern England, c.1660 – c.1830," and Lemire, "Fashion and tradition," both in Fontana and Gayot, *Wool Products and Markets*; John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 135–151 .
3. David Jenkins and Kenneth Ponting, *The British Wool Textile Industry 1770-1914* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1987); David Jenkins, "The Western Wool Textile Industry in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles, II*, ed. David Jenkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
4. Jenkins and Ponting, *The British Wool*, ix.
5. Jenkins and Ponting, *The British Wool*, 81–6, 170–74, 239.
6. Jenkins and Ponting, *The British Wool*, 81, 174, 292.
7. Jenkins and Ponting, *The British Wool*, 174.
8. Jenkins, "The Western Wool Textile Industry".
9. Jenkins, "The Western Wool Textile Industry," 769.
10. Irene Hardill, *The Regional Implications of Restructuring in the Wool Textile Industry* (Aldershot: Gower, 1987); David Jenkins, "Wool Textiles in the Twentieth Century" in *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles, II*, ed. Jenkins.
11. Jenkins, "Wool Textiles in the Twentieth Century," 997–1022.
12. G.F. Rainnie, *The Woollen and Worsted Industry: An Economic Analysis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 29-50; Alan Brearley and John A. Iredale, *The Woollen Industry* (Leeds: WIRA, 1977, 2nd Edition), 12-14; Hardill, *The Regional Implications*, 193–9.
13. Anderson, *Tweed*, 155–162.
14. Gulvin, *The Tweedmakers*.
15. Edward S. Harrison, *Scottish Woollens* (Edinburgh: The National Association of Scottish Woollen Manufacturers, 1956), 4; T.A. Stillie, "The Evolution of Pattern Design in the Scottish Woollen Textile Industry in the Nineteenth Century," *Textile History*, 3 (1970): 311; Gulvin, *The Tweedmakers*, 72-73; Kenneth Ponting, "The Scottish Contribution to Wool Textile Design in the Nineteenth Century," in *Scottish Textile History*, ed. John Butt (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), 83; Edward. P Harrison, *Scottish Estate Tweeds* (Elgin: Johnstons of Elgin, 1995), 49; Hunter, *The Islanders*, 22; Anderson, *Tweed*, 8.
16. James Locke, *Tweed and Don; or, Recollections and reflections of an angler for the last fifty years* (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1860), 37; James Locke, "A Few Facts on the Tweed Trade," *The Border Advertiser*, September 18, 1863, 3; "DSL-SND1, entry for Tweed," *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, accessed June 7, 2010, <http://www.dsl.ac.uk>
17. Anderson, *Tweed*, 28.

18. John Allan, *Crombies of Grandholm and Cothal 1805-1960* (Aberdeen: The Central Press, 1960), 52; Gulvin, *The Tweedmakers*, 71; Ponting, "The Scottish Contribution," 80; Anderson, *Tweed*, 32.
19. Stillie, "The Evolution"; Ponting, "The Scottish Contribution"; Judith Hoad, *This is Donegal Tweed* (Inver, County Donegal: Shoestring publications, 1987); Edward. P Harrison, *Scottish Estate Tweeds*; Hunter, *The Islanders*; Lou Taylor, "Wool Cloth and Gender: the use of woollen cloth in women's dress in Britain, 1865-85," in *Defining Dress: Dress as Object, Meaning and Identity*, eds Amy de la Haye and Elizabeth Wilson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); Lou Taylor, "To attract the attention of fish as little as possible": An Object-Led Discussion of Three Garments, for Country Wear for Women, Made of Scottish Woollen Cloth Dating from 1883-1908," *Textile History*, 38, no. 1 (2007); Janice Helland, *British and Irish Home Arts and Industries 1880-1914: Marketing Craft, Making Fashion* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007); Platman, Lara, *Harris Tweed: From Land to Street* (London: Frances Lincoln Limited Publishers) 2011; Crewe, "Tailoring and Tweed," 219–212.
20. Hoad, *This is Donegal Tweed*, 107.
21. Hunter, *The Islanders*.
22. Francis Thompson, *Harris Tweed: The Story of a Hebridean Industry* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, 1968).
23. Janice Helland, "Highland Home Industries and the Fashion for Tweed," *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History*, 9 (2004); Helland, *British and Irish Home Arts*, 143–194; Janice Helland, "Translating textiles: 'private palaces' and the Celtic fringe, 1890–1910" in *Fashion, Interior Design and the Contours of Modern Identity*, eds A. Myzelev and J. Potvin (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2010); Janice Helland, "A Delightful Change of Fashion": Fair Trade, Cottage Craft, and Tweed in Late Nineteenth Century Ireland," *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 36, no. 2 (2010).
24. Helland, *British and Irish Home Arts*, 168–182.
25. Helland, "Highland Home Industries," 27 and note 3.
26. Helland, *British and Irish Home Arts*, 168–184.
27. Anderson, *Tweed*, 3.
28. Anderson, *Tweed*, 24–29.
29. Anderson, *Tweed*, 42–67.
30. Edward. P Harrison, *Scottish Estate Tweeds*.
31. Edward. S. Harrison, *Our Scottish District Checks* (Edinburgh: The National Association of Scottish Woollen Manufacturers, 1968).
32. Taylor, "Wool Cloth and Gender".
33. Taylor, "To attract the attention".
34. Stillie, "The Evolution".
35. Ponting, "The Scottish Contribution," 81–88.
36. Bernat Klein, *Eye for Colour* (London, Bernat Klein, 1965); Klein and Jackson, *Bernat Klein*; Field, "Bernat Klein's Couture Tweeds"; Taylor, "Bernat Klein: An Eye for Colour".
37. Valerie Mendes and Frances Hinchcliffe, *Ascher: Fabric, Art, Fashion* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1987), 119–124.
38. Crewe, "Tailoring and Tweed," 219–212.
39. Diana Crane, *Fashion and Its Social Agendas: Class, Gender and Identity in Clothing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 99–147.
40. John Hargreaves, "The Body, Sport and Power Relations," *Sociological Review*, 33 (1985); Jennifer Hargreaves, *Sporting females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports* (London: Routledge, 1993); Neil Tranter, *Sport*,

Economy and Society in Britain 1750-1914 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Mike Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004).

41. Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women and Imperial Culture 1865-1915* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Clare Midgley, *Gender and Imperialism* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1998); John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd, 2005), 192-214; Philippa Levine, *The British Empire: Sunrise to Sunset*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), 155-179.

42. Catherine Horwood, *Keeping Up Appearances: Fashion and Class Between the Wars* (Stroud: Sutton, 2005), 75–95; Fiona Skillen, “It’s possible to play the game marvellously and at the same time look pretty and be perfectly fit’: Sport, Women and Fashion in Inter-war Britain,” *Costume*, 46, no. 2 (2012).

43. Fred Davis, *Fashion, Culture and Identity* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 42-44; Rebecca Arnold, *Fashion, Desire and Anxiety: Image and Morality in the 20th Century* (London: I.B.Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2001), 122–124.

44. Some key studies include: Christopher Breward, *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion and City Life 1860-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); Laura Ugolini, *Men and Menswear: Sartorial Consumption in Britain 1880-1939* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Frank Mort, *Cultures of Consumption: Masculinities and Social Space in Late Twentieth-Century Britain*, (London: Routledge, 1996); Paul Jobling, *Man Appeal: Advertising, Modernism and Menswear* (Oxford: Berg, 2005).

45. Jonathan Faiers, *Tartan* (Oxford: Berg, 2008); Laurie Anne Brewer “The Material Education of the Dandy,” in *Artist, Rebel, Dandy*, eds Kate Irvin and Laurie Anne Brewer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 105-129; Paul Jobling, *Advertising Menswear: Masculinity and Fashion in the British Media Since 1945* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 120-138.

46. Mangan’s publications include: *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The emergence and consolidation of an ideal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) and “Duty Unto Death: English Masculinity and Militarism in the Age of the New Imperialism,” in *Tribal Identities: Nationalism, Europe, Sport*, ed. James A. Mangan (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1996).

47. Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*.

48. John Mackenzie, *The Empire of Nature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 50; Alistair J. Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays: Tourism in Scotland c1780-1939*, (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003), 109-128; Tom Devine, *Clearance and Improvement: Land, Power and People in Scotland 1700-1900* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2006), 201–209.

49. Leonore Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Society, Etiquette and the Season* (London: Croom Helm, 1973), 14-31; David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (London: Papermac, 1996), 2–21 and 341–393.

50. Frank Mort, *Cultures of Consumption: Masculinities and Social Space in Late Twentieth-Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 1996), 131-133; Stuart Ward, *British culture and the end of Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001); David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How The British Saw Their Empire* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 2002), 172-173.

51. Anderson, ‘Spinning the Ephemeral’.

52. W. J. T. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); David Matless, *Landscape and Englishness* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd,

1998); Kay Anderson, Mona Domosh, Steve Pile and Nigel Thrift, "A Rough Guide" in *Handbook of Cultural Geography* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2003).

53. Anderson, *Tweed*, 4.

54. Anne Hollander, *Sex and Suits*, (New York: Kodansha America Ltd, 1995), 81-93; John Glendening, *The High Road: Romantic Tourism, Scotland and Literature, 1720-1820* (London: MacMillan, 1997); Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2nd Edition, 2003), 61; Ian Duncan, *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), Preface, xi.

55. Glendening, *The High Road*, 7.

56. Anderson, *Tweed*, 153.

57. Caroline Evans, *Fashion at the Edge: Spectacle, Modernity and Deathliness* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 299-307.

3. Methods and Sources

Tweed investigates the history of these cloths from the raw fibre to the garment stage, as worn by both men and women. That holistic approach means that the book addresses fashion change and innovation as it has developed in practice within industry, through processes linked to the textiles *and* fashion industries, as well as wider social, cultural, political and economic contexts. This methodology contrasts with the vast majority of books on fashion, which focus solely on the garment stage of the fashion cycle, thus ignoring the important creative decisions that occur at the textiles stage. That holistic approach to studying fashion textiles and clothing has also been pursued by a small number of other scholars.¹ In order to investigate the complex processes and changing contexts involved with researching the history of tweed over a period of nearly two hundred years, interdisciplinary methods and sources were used. The core methods employed were from Material Culture Studies. The fields of Fashion History, Textile History, Gender History, Sociology, Business History, Literary History, Social and Economic History, Cultural Geography, Cultural History and Design History were also relevant to the research. Secondary literature from these subject areas, as discussed in the previous section, helped in the development of an innovative study, which successfully interrogated the research questions posed.

As already noted, texts related to gender from a range of disciplines were consulted when writing *Tweed*. Overall, the book broadly followed an approach that historian Billie Melman describes as ‘a history of gender which studies women in relation to men and the ways in which femininity and masculinity are constructed.’² In *Tweed*, gender has been viewed as a dynamic category, rather than as related to fixed,

binary relationships and identities. That approach was appropriate, because the project investigated the changing relationships between gender and how the design, production and sale of tweeds were structured in the UK, as well as its impact on the social and cultural meanings of tweeds worn on the body. This methodology facilitated the investigation of areas of cross-over, negotiation, or shifting instability in gender relationships and identities.

Tweed is predominantly based on primary sources, most of which have not previously been researched. Library-based study yielded a wide range of primary texts, as indicated in the notes and bibliography of the book. For the nineteenth century, these sources included women's magazines, tailoring trade journals such as *The Tailor and Cutter*, textile trade journals, sporting handbooks, government reports and first-hand accounts of the early tweed industry by Adam Cochrane and James Locke.³ Twentieth and twenty-first century primary published sources included fashion magazines, tailoring trade journals and the export trade publication *The Ambassador*. Government-funded reports were also an important resource on tweed manufacturing in that period, including Jean S. Pattison's 'The Tweed Section of the Scottish Woollen Industry' of 1946 and the *Report of The Committee on the Crofter Woollen Industry* of the same year.⁴ In addition, company histories such as *Henry Ballantyne and Sons Ltd.* of 1929, yielded rich insights into tweed design and production.⁵ The project research also included an extensive programme of fieldwork, which involved a range of methods that will now be discussed in depth.

Research in Museum Collections, Public and University Archives

The study of an extensive range of artefacts in UK and international museum collections using object analysis methods from Material Culture Studies formed an important element of the project. That analysis involved a similar approach to that put forward by Raimonda Riccini, who argues that ‘the history of industrial design represents an opportunity for an integration of . . . two approaches, an integration in which artifacts would be treated as both *subjects* and as *documents* of research.’⁶ In other words, the visual and technical characteristics of objects were analysed, because the design evolution of tweeds was important to the project, as articulated in the first research question. Furthermore, all tweed objects were considered in relation to their cultural and social meanings and contexts, which meant that other project research questions, as relevant, always informed the analysis carried out.

The fashion and textile collections of NMS were highly relevant to the project and they were easily accessible to me as the Senior Curator responsible for them. In addition, during the course of the study, I acquired the Bernat Klein and Otterburn Mill Collections, which had a pivotal impact on the twentieth century womenswear tweeds research. At an early stage in the project, a survey of museum collections relevant to Harris Tweed, including NMS, indicated that overall holdings of objects were limited in quantity and scope. Studying historical Harris Tweed material held by *Museum nan Eilean* in Stornoway, Isle of Lewis in 2011, including letters exchanged between producers and international export customers, was therefore particularly valuable. It was also enlightening to study inter-war tweed garments worn by the Duke of Windsor in the Royal Ceremonial Dress Collection.⁷

Artefacts held by the V&A were also a rich resource, pertinent to the project. Over two visits in 2010, Ascher mohair and wool fabrics, as well as nineteenth and twentieth century men's and women's garments in a diverse range of tweeds were studied. Some of this research turned out to be developmental, although several V&A objects were discussed in depth within *Tweed*, including a Frederick Bosworth tailor-made costume of 1908 in homespun tweed and a Chanel suit of 1964 in a Scottish-made, Ascher *fantaisie* tweed.⁸ In addition, expertise developed through the extensive study of Scottish tweeds was applied when analysing French textile samples in the collections of *Musee des Arts Decoratifs*, Paris in 2013.⁹ These artefact-based comparative methods made accessible important evidence about the influence of Scottish tweeds on French woollen textiles for womenswear in the early twentieth century, which was not available by any other means.¹⁰ Furthermore, analysing women's garments in the *Musee Galliera*, Paris, revealed specific information that it was not possible to discern through photographs, about the design characteristics of the highly varied range of tweeds used by French couture houses, particularly in the 1950s.

Studying documentary sources and textile artefacts held in public and university archives was also a vital component of the research for *Tweed*. The Textile Archive at Heriot-Watt University, Scottish Borders was of particular importance to the book, because it is a leading repository of material related to the Scottish woollen industry. Several visits were undertaken to study particular nineteenth and twentieth century collections and objects. Surviving examples of tweeds produced in Scotland before the 1850s are extremely rare, which underlined the importance of a pattern book of 1836–7 from the designers and drapers J. & A. Ogilvie that had not previously been

studied. Analysing this artefact, along with published letters by James Locke, Alexander Craig and Mr Irvine in local nineteenth century newspapers held by the Scottish Borders Archive, greatly enhanced the originality and significance of the research on the early tweed trade.¹¹

As indicated in the literature review, there is scant published evidence about the West of England woollen industry in the twentieth century, particularly regarding design.¹² In 2013, this fact prompted the study of several range books from Samuel Salter & Co. of Trowbridge dating from 1909 to the early 1960s, held at the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre. That research, along with an informal interview with Royston Berrett who worked in the West of England woollen industry from 1945 to 2000, and a visit to the permanent displays at Trowbridge Museum, significantly deepened my understanding about the tweeds and other woollens produced in that region in the twentieth century.¹³ Jenkins and Ponting have argued that the greater success of the Scottish woollen industry compared to the West of England trade in the nineteenth century, was due to a superior standard of design and a greater response to fashion.¹⁴ The primary research undertaken confirmed that these arguments continued to be relevant in the twentieth century. Although only a limited amount of this research was directly used in *Tweed*, it had an important developmental impact on the project. Following the initial field trip to the West of England, I decided not to undertake further in-depth studies on that topic. However, the research conducted informed the decision that investigating the design history of tweeds and their changing relationship to fashion and gender was best met in the time available, by predominantly focusing on firms from Scotland and English mills from around Carlisle, as discussed in depth within section 4.

Case Studies, Interviews, Site Visits/Observation and Research in Private Company Archives

These methods were critical to the exploration of the specific contexts and relationships linked to the design, production, promotion and sale of British tweeds between the 1950s and 2014. The significant new evidence gathered using these methods strongly endorsed the value of the raw fibre to the finished garment methodology, by showing the pivotal interconnections between fashion innovation and textile design and manufacturing. In particular, interview methods facilitated the documentation of the substantial expertise of individuals who have spent many years working for firms who create tweeds. All of the interviews carried out were semi-structured, because the aim was to achieve a good balance between directing the discussion so that the outcomes were relevant to the research questions and allowing space and flexibility for the expertise of the interviewee to fully inform the research.¹⁵ Each set of interview questions was individually tailored to the particular interviewee and informed by relevant prior research.

Case Study: Export and Design Impact of Post-war British Womenswear Tweeds

The design influence and export of British tweeds for womenswear aimed at the elite level of the international market in the 1950s and 1960s are explored as a case study in Chapter 8. That study incorporates a related case study of Linton Tweeds of Carlisle. The broader case study was largely based on a research visit to Paris undertaken during the AHRC Fellowship. As discussed in depth within the next section, that field trip involved studying rare artefacts and documents in the Chanel, Dior and Balenciaga company archives, which significantly increased my understanding of the relationships between these French couture houses and British

tweed manufacturers since the 1950s. I was particularly fortunate to be able to undertake that research, because I understand from peers that it is very difficult to secure access to these archives.

The post-war case study of Linton Tweeds involved a formal, audio recorded interview of 2013 with Leslie Walker, then Chairman of the company, which was transcribed and analysed. This interview introduced the voice and international professional experiences of Walker, who joined Linton Tweeds as a designer and manager in 1963, rising to the position of Managing Director by 1969. In addition to his knowledge of Linton Tweeds, Walker also had an excellent understanding of the design and business practices of the firm's competitors such as the Otterburn Mill and Heather Mills. This interview was a pivotal element of the investigation into the hidden history of the design dialogues and commercial interactions between British tweed manufacturers, Paris couture houses and North American ready-to-wear manufacturers between the 1950s and the 1960s.¹⁶ The historical importance and timeliness of talking to Walker was underlined by the fact that sadly he died a few months after the interview. Order books in the Linton Tweeds' company archive were also analysed, which provided further revealing evidence about the design of fabrics and orders received from the firm's North American customers.¹⁷

Creating Contemporary British Tweeds: Three Case Studies

Case study methods formed an important element of the investigation of the contemporary design, manufacturing and selling of tweeds in Chapter 9. These studies focused on Linton Tweeds, the Lovat Mill of Hawick and Harris Tweed Hebrides of Lewis. These firms were chosen because they all either exclusively, or

predominantly, make textiles within the ‘family’ of tweed and they each make a different type of tweed. The fact that these firms are based in a range of British locations, also met the core aims of the project. These case studies involved using a range of complementary research methods, including interviews, observation during mill visits and analysing objects in company archives. The Managing Director of Linton Tweeds, Keith Walker agreed to a formal, recorded interview.¹⁸ At Harris Tweed Hebrides, formal, recorded interviews were carried out with the Chief Executive, Ian A. Mackenzie and the Brand Development Director, Margaret MacLeod and, at his preference, an informal interview with Head Designer Ken Kennedy.¹⁹ Stephen Rendle, Managing Director and Alan Cumming, Design Director of the Lovat Mill also asked that I take notes, rather than record our conversation.²⁰ In *Tweed*, it was concluded that these case studies had revealed the ‘importance of creative dialogue between designers from British mills and their counterparts in the global fashion industry, a sector renowned for constant design innovation. These findings provide a revealing counterpoint to the focus within some fashion history books on the exclusive role of the individual fashion designer in design development’.²¹

Harris Tweed Industry

In addition to researching what became the case study of Harris Tweed Hebrides, other primary research was conducted in the Western Isles in 2013, including studying Harris Tweed Authority (HTA) archive material held at Stornoway, Lewis. Furthermore, recorded interviews were conducted with Lorna Macaulay, Chief Executive of the HTA and Kathy Macaskill of the Carloway Mill, Lewis, where I was also given a tour of the mill.²² The subsequent crystallization of the plan to include

three case studies of tweed producers from different locations in Chapter 9, meant that these interviews were not directly used in *Tweed*, although they did broaden my understanding of the contemporary industry. Field trips to the Outer Hebrides were also undertaken in 2010 and 2011. The former visit to Harris and Lewis involved an informal interview with Joan Cumming, then of Harris Development Limited. She introduced me to the weaver Terry Bloomfield, who showed me his home weaving set-up and explained his work for the mills.²³ On that trip, informal interviews were also conducted with Lorna Macaulay, Ian A. Mackenzie of Harris Tweed Hebrides and Ann MacCallum, General Manager of the Carloway Mill.²⁴ To gain insights into the work of independent producers, an informal interview was also conducted with Donald John Mackay in the small weaving shed at his croft in Luskentyre, Harris.²⁵ These early interviews helped to establish what developed into ongoing relationships that were important to realising the project research and knowledge exchange. In 2011, I also studied an important private collection of Harris Tweed artefacts held at the Lewis Loom Centre in Stornoway.²⁶

Researching Tweeds in County Donegal

As previously noted, the book was informed by research on Donegal tweeds. These cloths originated from County Donegal, Ireland, although the name is now widely used generically to describe tweeds featuring knop yarns.²⁷ In 2012, I undertook a field trip to County Donegal, which involved visiting Baird McNutt, Magee of Donegal, Molloy & Sons Weaving Ltd, Studio Donegal and the spinning company Donegal Yarns. These visits involved conducting interviews with individuals from each of these firms and observing their production facilities.²⁸ The day at Magee of Donegal also included a tour of their design studio, viewing textiles from their recent

collections and studying range books in their archive. Textile samples from the archive of the manufacturer Convoy, were also studied and referenced in *Tweed*.²⁹ The use of these methods significantly developed my historical, design and technical knowledge about the wide range of tweeds made in County Donegal, which has extended considerably beyond producing 'classic' Donegal tweeds. That up-to-date, nuanced understanding was only accessible through the methods used, because the last publication on tweeds from County Donegal dates from 1987.³⁰ The research undertaken also significantly underlined the distinctive character of Harris Tweed, which unlike Donegal tweeds, is still exclusively hand-woven and legally protected regarding its place of origin.³¹

Conclusion

In *Tweed*, the particular research methods and sources used were pivotal to the rigorous investigation of the complex history of British tweeds and their international export over a period of nearly two hundred years. The substantial new findings developed clearly endorsed the decision to explore these textiles from the raw fibre to the finished garment stage. Furthermore, the methods used within the case studies successfully revealed the highly specific complexities of the industrial-based design processes involved, including the direct dialogue between British mills and international fashion companies on design development. In particular, the use of interviews substantially increased the originality and significance of the research, because the history of the British wool textiles industry since the 1960s is largely unrecorded, especially in relation to design and fashion.

Notes

1. A non-exhaustive list of studies that have investigated the inter-relationships between fashion textiles and garments includes: Taylor, "Wool Cloth and Gender,"; Beverly Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite: the cotton trade and the consumer in Britain 1660-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Lesley Ellis Miller, "Perfect Harmony: Textile Manufacturers and Haute Couture 1947-1957" in *The Golden Age of Couture: Paris and London 1947-57*, ed. Claire Wilcox (London: V&A Publications, 2007); John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth Century England*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007); Faiers, *Tartan*; Christine Boydell, *Horrockses Fashions: Off-the-Peg Style in the 40s and 50s* (London: V & A Publications, 2010); Beverly Lemire, *Cotton*, (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2011).
2. Billie Melman, "Changing the Subject: Women's History and Historiography 1900–2000," in *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain*, ed. Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska (Harlow: Longman, 2001), 17.
3. Locke, *Tweed and Don*, 37; Adam Cochrane, "Notes on the Scotch Tweed Trade," *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science*, (London: Longman, Roberts and Green, 1864).
4. Jean S. Pattison, "The Tweed Section of the Scottish Woollen Industry," in *Studies In Industrial Organisation*, ed. H.A. Silverman (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1946); *Report of The Committee on the Crofter Woollen Industry* (Edinburgh: Scottish Council on Industry, 1946).
5. *Henry Ballantyne and Sons Ltd.* (London: Biographical Publishing Company, 1929).
6. Raimonda Riccini, "History from Things: Notes on the History of Industrial Design," *Design Issues*, 14, no.3 (Autumn 1998): 56.
7. Historic Royal Palaces, 1998.831/01–06 and 1998.832.01–02.
8. Victoria and Albert Museum, Frederick Bosworth tailor-made, T.20 to D-1960 and Chanel suit, T.90&A – 1974.
9. *Musee des Arts Decoratifs*, Dumas Maury pattern book, Hiver 1934–35, Inv.999.4.1; J. Claude Freres et Cie pattern books, 1919 Manteaux, 1919 Robes Printemps, 1919, Robes Automne, 1921 Manteaux.
10. E. McClung Fleming, "Artifact Study: A Proposed Model," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 9 (1974): 157; Valerie Steele, "A Museum of Fashion is More Than a Clothes-Bag," *Fashion Theory: the journal of dress, body and culture*, 2, no.4: 330–331. Steele and Fleming both stress the importance of comparison to artefact-based research methods.
11. Heriot-Watt University Textile Archive, J.& A.Ogilvie pattern book 1836–7, GH.1.1.4; Mr Irvine, "Origin of the Term "Tweed," *Hawick Advertiser*, October 27, 1855, front page; Locke, "A Few Facts," 3; Alexander Craig, "Reminiscences of the Tweed Trade (1829-1836) By a Pioneer," *The Border Advertiser*, December 9, 1874, 2; Alexander Craig, "The Early Stages of the Tweed Trade," *The Border Advertiser*, October 20, 1875, 2.
12. Jenkins and Ponting, *The British Wool Textile Industry*, 238–239; Ponting, "The Scottish Contribution," 81–83 and note 16. Ponting's essay includes a brief comparison of Scottish and West of England woollen textile design up to 1914.
13. Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Samuel Salter & Co Range books, 1387/1531, 1387/1532, 1387/1533, 1387/1550, 1387/1557; Royston Berrett, notes from conversation with the author, Trowbridge, July 5, 2013.

14. Jenkins and Ponting, *The British Wool Textile Industry*, 290–291.
15. Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 470–491; David Silverman, *Doing Qualitative Research* (London: Sage, 2013), 204–205.
16. Leslie Walker, interview with the author, Linton Tweeds, Carlisle, November 22, 2013.
17. Linton Tweeds archive, Order Book, early 1950s; Order Book, 1956-1957, no catalogue numbers available.
18. Keith Walker, interview with the author, Linton Tweeds, Carlisle, November 22 2013.
19. Ian Angus Mackenzie, interview with the author, Margaret MacLeod, interview with the author, Ken Kennedy, interview with the author, Harris Tweed Hebrides, Shawbost, October 31, 2013.
20. Stephen Rendle, interview with the author; Alan Cumming, interview with the author, Lovat Mill, Hawick , November 14, 2013
21. Anderson, *Tweed*, 174.
22. Lorna Macaulay, interview with the author, HTA, Stornoway, Lewis, October 31, 2013; Kathy Macaskill, interview with the author, Carloway Mill, Carloway, Lewis, October 30, 2013. An extensive range of uncatalogued HTA promotional material and UK and international media coverage of Harris Tweed was studied.
23. Joan Cumming, interview with the author, Tarbert, Harris, September 23, 2010;
24. Lorna Macaulay, interview with the author, HTA, Stornoway, Lewis, September 27, 2010; Ian Angus Mackenzie, interview with the author, Harris Tweed Hebrides, Shawbost, September 28, 2010; Ann MacCallum, interview with the author, Carloway Mill, Carloway, Lewis, September 30, 2010.
25. Donald John Mackay, interview with the author, Luskentyre, Harris, September 24, 2010.
26. This uncatalogued private collection included Harris Tweed pattern books, bunches and pattern blankets.
27. Anderson, *Tweed*, 17-18.
28. Peter McNutt, interview with the author, Baird McNutt, County Donegal, July 12, 2012; Gill Mudie, interview with the author, Magee of Donegal, County Donegal, July 9, 2012; Shaun Molloy and Kieran Molloy, interview with the author, Molloy & Sons Weaving Ltd, County Donegal, July 10, 2012; Tristan Donaghy, interview with the author, Studio Donegal, County Donegal, July 11, 2012; Chris Weiniger, interview with the author, Donegal Yarns, County Donegal, July 11, 2012.
29. Anderson, *Tweed*, 18.
30. Hoad, *This is Donegal Tweed*.
31. Anderson, *Tweed*, 16.

4. Conduct of the Research: Application, Interpretation and Analysis

This section explores how the conduct of the research informed both the evolution of the project and its results and conclusions. It predominantly focuses on twentieth century womenswear tweeds for the elite level of the market, because this area of investigation was more speculative than the research on other types of tweeds. As explained in-depth below, this research entailed first of all trying to find pertinent artefacts made from British tweeds in museums and archives. That enquiry also involved finding, creating and acquiring for NMS, important collections of twentieth century womenswear tweeds. This section therefore examines the important two-way process of interaction between the collecting and display aspects of my job as Senior Curator of Fashion and Textiles at NMS and research for *Tweed*. Aspects of that discussion specifically related to impact are discussed within section 6.

The Design Influence and Export of British Womenswear Tweeds

The AHRC Fellowship involved two research trips to Paris, which aimed to answer aspects of the first research question, through studying artefacts in private couture archives and the collections of *Musée Galliera* and *Musée des Arts Decoratifs*. A key aim of these trips of 2013, as stated in the funding application, was to ‘research the origins of the group of highly textured tweeds that became closely associated with Chanel and Bernat Klein from the 1950s onwards.’¹ The wording of this statement reflects the influence of studying the Bernat Klein Collection on the early stages of the research on *fantaisie* tweeds. The other key aim of the Paris trips was to research ‘the international export and design impact of British tweeds’, principally by identifying surviving garments made from these fabrics and using them ‘as material evidence of the influence of exported British tweeds on Paris couture.’² The

reason given for pursuing this particular approach was that, although there were scant French couture garments identified as being made from British tweeds in French and British museum and archival collections, 'fabrics by Bernat Klein, E.Y. Johnson and Ceemo Tweeds were extensively sold to Paris couture houses in the 1960s, including Chanel, YSL and Dior'. It was therefore concluded in the AHRC application that 'It is extremely likely that some of these garments survive in the Chanel, YSL and Dior archives and also in the two major museum collections in Paris.'³ These speculative statements were based on the artefact-based evidence in the Bernat Klein Collection and Ceemo Tweeds Collection held by NMS and the E.Y. Johnson archive held by Heriot Watt University, which indicated that many couture garments in fabrics by these firms existed in the 1960s. Investigating whether or not these garments had survived was particularly inspired by the absence of couture clothing in the Bernat Klein Collection.

In 2013, I established contact with the individuals responsible for the Chanel, Christian Dior and Yves Saint Laurent archives. It was not possible to view material in the latter archive, because it was temporarily closed to visitors. This development prompted contact with the Balenciaga archive, which also potentially held relevant material. Correspondence with Odile Premel at the Chanel archive revealed that they own a haute couture suit of spring 1963 made from a Bernat Klein wool and mohair fabric. These initial discussions involved useful knowledge exchange, because Premel did not know that this tweed was made by Klein and I sent her photographs of a swatch of that fabric held by the Heriot Watt University Archive. This email correspondence revealed that the main artefacts in the Chanel archive related to tweed were garments, rather than swatches, or information about fabric

orders.⁴ The visit to that collection involved studying and photographing several suits, coats and skirts dated between the late 1920s and the mid-1960s. These garments included an extremely rare haute couture ensemble of 1927–9 and the spring 1963 suit in Bernat Klein fabric, which are both analysed and illustrated in *Tweed*.⁵ The Klein suit was the only outfit that it was possible to identify as definitely made from a British tweed. However, an unpublished document compiled by the Chanel archive staff confirmed that Linton Tweeds were the main supplier of these textiles to that fashion house between the 1920s and 2013.⁶ It is therefore highly probable that some of the garments studied were made from tweeds by that firm. The fact that it was difficult to conclusively identify these fabrics based on evidence in the Chanel archive, encouraged my interest in researching Linton Tweeds, which subsequently resulted in the post-war and contemporary case studies of that firm. Significantly, discussion with Premel confirmed that tweed is one of the Chanel brand codes and it is therefore of major contemporary significance to the firm.⁷

Prior to the Dior visit, I sent Soizic Pfaff, *Directrice Dior Heritage*, evidence from the NMS and Heriot-Watt University collections about specific Dior garments made from British tweeds, with the aim of finding matches to clothing in their archive. This information included photographs from a Bernat Klein press book of several outfits from autumn 1964 and images of fabric orders and other artefacts linked to Dior garments from the Ceemo Tweed Collection and the E.Y. Johnston archive. In addition, I sent links to images of Dior outfits in fabrics by Ascher and Bernat Klein from the online Woolmark Collection. In reply, Pfaff indicated that they had only three garments in their archive made from tweed, one of which was on loan.⁸ The only outfit in British tweed studied whilst visiting this archive was a haute couture

suit, 'Chantecler' of autumn/winter 1954–55 in a Linton Tweeds fabric. However, this visit also entailed studying charts related to eight of the Dior London Collections dating between Winter 1961 and autumn 1964, which revealed that the British firms who supplied tweeds were Bernat Klein, Heather Mills, Otterburn Mill and Ascher.⁹ Studying the folder 'Les Codes Dior Les Tissus Masculins' also confirmed that dogtooth checks and Prince of Wales checks were part of the codes of the Dior brand.¹⁰ Significantly, the book research revealed the important relationship of these seminal woollen textile designs to the 'family' of tweed.

Initial correspondence with the Balenciaga archive revealed that they did not have any garments that could be identified as being made from British tweeds. Before the visit, I sent the Archivist, Gael Mamine a photograph of a Klein velvet ribbon tweed in the Heriot-Watt Archive, which was used in Balenciaga's autumn 1964 collection. In addition, I emailed him images of documents held by NMS, which indicated that the Paris agent for Ceemo Tweeds, Robert Perrier, sent samples to Balenciaga for winter 1963. Two of these tweeds were subsequently used to make specific *modeles*.¹¹ Mamine confirmed that although these garments were not in the archive, they had photographs and sketches of the Klein velvet ribbon tweed and Ceemo Tweed outfits, which he showed me during the visit.¹² Other research included studying a list of suppliers to Balenciaga compiled by the archive, which indicated that Otterburn Mill, Ascher and Ceemo Tweeds were the only British firms that supplied tweeds. Significantly, the vast majority of companies on this list were French agents, or textile manufacturers. During the visit, I also analysed six books dating between 1964 and 1968, which contained fabric swatches linked to the Balenciaga collections, including samples from Bernat Klein and Ascher.¹³ This

research, along with the Chanel and Dior archive material studied, led to the findings in *Tweed* that only a very small number of British manufacturers sold tweeds to French couture houses in the 1950s and 1960s.¹⁴

The visit to *Musée Galliera* entailed studying a wide range of French women's garments in different types of tweed, dated between the 1890s and the 1950s. Analysing these artefacts revealed that although tweeds were primarily used to make *tailleurs* and coats, they were also fashioned into other garments, such as dresses created for early evening wear by Christian Dior and Jacques Heim in the 1950s. Studying the *Musée Galliera* garments informed new findings about the design diversity of tweeds used within French post-war couture.¹⁵ Research in this collection was therefore of value, although it did not produce answers to the specific questions posed in the AHRC application.

The visit to *Musée des Arts Decoratifs* involved examining 1930s pattern books from the French agent Dumas Maury, which contained tweeds and other woollens for womenswear from a number of French manufacturers. Also analysed were several swatch books dating between 1919 and 1921 from J. Claude Freres et Cie of Paris, a firm that assembled sample books of fabric trends to sell to textile manufacturers.¹⁶ These artefacts provided material evidence of the important design influence of Scottish tweeds on high quality French womenswear woollens between 1919 and 1935. Regarding the aim of researching the origins of *fantaisie* tweeds, some of the samples studied featured *fantaisie* yarns, thus confirming that fabrics containing these components were a French speciality in the inter-war era. Given the scant literature on the origins of this type of tweed, this research had an

important influence on the development of my knowledge and findings. I later studied a French swatch book of fabric trends of 1886 in the Heriot Watt University archive. This artefact was used in *Tweed* to show the early development of the important design conversations between woollens from Scotland and France, which informed the subsequent evolution of *fantaisie* tweeds.¹⁷

On reflection, the aim of researching ‘the international export and design impact of British tweeds’ by identifying surviving garments involved exploring an overly narrow field of potential evidence.¹⁸ This approach did, however, lead to the identification and analysis of some pertinent garments and other forms of research evidence, which generated a new level of knowledge about the significance of UK-made tweeds to French fashion houses. Research in the Dior and Balenciaga archives involved examining British *fantaisie* tweeds and other types of tweed, alongside French examples sourced by these firms. That comparative research significantly informed my understanding of how the design and colouring of the British samples compared with the French swatches. The original research carried out showed that although Paris fashion houses predominantly bought tweeds from French producers and agents, Scottish tweeds had a significant design influence on the French versions of these textiles.

Researching and Collecting British Twentieth Century Womenswear Tweeds

Research for *Tweed* informed and was significantly influenced by the acquisition of the Bernat Klein and Otterburn Mill Collections for NMS. My initial discussions with the Klein family about acquiring the Bernat Klein Collection were partly prompted by research for the book. That acquisition involved researching, surveying, valuing and

selecting the objects that became a specific named museum collection after entering NMS. These processes involved a substantial amount of work, which I carried out between autumn 2009 and the same period the following year. A tremendous benefit of acquiring this Collection at that particular time, was that it was possible to have numerous conversations with Klein himself about artefacts and their relationship to his professional practice. The objects acquired were stored at High Sunderland, the modernist house designed by Peter Womersley that Klein and his wife commissioned and lived in from 1957. Visiting Klein's Scottish Borders home was in itself a form of observational research, because this house, its interior and furnishings, were strongly linked to Klein's work and aesthetic ideas.

The Bernat Klein Collection comprises 4, 067 objects relating to his design, manufacturing and colour consultant activities between the 1960s and the early 1990s. It includes garments, swatches and lengths of fabric, mail order catalogues, photographs, pattern books, press cutting books, Dovecot tapestries, carpet lengths, rugs and paintings.¹⁹ Together these artefacts reveal much about the range of activities linked to Klein's work for fashion and interiors. Klein's manufacturing activities were primarily located in Galashiels, Scottish Borders. Objects in the Collection therefore document these industrial contexts, as well as the work of Klein. Significantly, his woven fashion textiles were primarily *fantaisie* tweeds and between 1963 and 1966, Klein had considerable success in selling these fabrics to leading fashion houses, including Yves St Laurent, Chanel, Christian Dior and Hardy Amies.²⁰ Researching the Bernat Klein Collection, both prior to and following its formal acquisition, substantially advanced my level of understanding about the work of an important post-war designer of tweeds. This expertise and material evidence in

the Collection about Klein's links with Paris couture, closely informed the aims, planning and execution of the AHRC Fellowship trips to Paris, discussed earlier in this section. My knowledge of Klein's innovative work also influenced the working description of tweed in Chapter 2.²¹ In Chapter 8, there is a short section on Klein, which draws together that knowledge and the comparative research on French tweed artefacts in Paris collections, to form conclusions about key international developments in the design of *fantaisie* tweeds from the late 1950s.²²

Acquiring the Otterburn Mill Collection for NMS involved a significant element of serendipity. In 2012, whilst on holiday, I visited the Otterburn Mill in the village of Otterburn, Northumberland, which by then only manufactured baby blankets, as well as having a retail outlet, coffee shop and small heritage displays linked to the mill's history. Through research for *Tweed*, I was aware that Otterburn Mill was previously a leading designer and manufacturer of high quality womenswear tweeds. I subsequently contacted the owner of the Mill who agreed to show me surviving artefacts related to the firm. This first visit revealed that there was an extensive company design archive, which had been stored in the mill attic since 1976, when the original firm went out of business. This archive had previously been held at the company's showroom in London, where it was used for design reference.²³ The Otterburn Mill Collection comprises around 1,000 artefacts, including bunches of fabric samples, range books, order books, pattern blankets, advertising material and *fantaisie* yarn samples, which date from 1928 to 1976.²⁴ It constitutes an extremely rare collection of twentieth century British woollen textiles designed for the elite level of the UK and international womenswear market. As already discussed, research for *Tweed* indicated that only a few British firms, including the Otterburn Mill, sold

tweeds to Paris couture houses in the 1950s and 1960s. Post-war objects in that Collection therefore provide an important complement to the Bernat Klein and Ceemo Tweeds Collections held by NMS, the Ascher wool and mohair objects held by the V&A and the few 1950s and 1960s Linton Tweeds artefacts in their archive. Objects in the Otterburn Mill Collection dated between the 1920s and the 1940s are a particularly rare survival. They comprise the only sizeable group of British tweed samples for elite womenswear from that era found to be in existence whilst researching *Tweed*.

After the owner had agreed to donate the collection to NMS, I began selecting which objects to acquire. This process mainly entailed weeding out artefacts in very poor condition, or that were duplicates, because the aim was to acquire a largely comprehensive representation of the firm's work between 1928 and 1976. The selection process involved visually assessing literally thousands of swatches over several trips, so it was like a hands-on masterclass in the design of twentieth century womenswear tweeds. The expertise developed through this work informed my subsequent comparative assessment of twentieth century French tweed samples in Paris collections, as already discussed. Studying inter-war objects from the Otterburn Mill Collection had a particularly important impact on the investigation of the development of *fantaisie* tweeds, because it rooted that analysis in the design characteristics of actual fabrics produced by a particular firm.

The formal acquisition of the Otterburn Mill Collection by NMS in March 2013, meant that it was possible to undertake focused research on it. Later that year, Keith Walker and Leslie Walker of Linton Tweeds agreed to be interviewed for *Tweed* and

they also granted permission to study their company archive. These developments meant that a substantial amount of important research material had become available on these two firms, which was particularly fortuitous, because the origins of Linton Tweeds are interlinked with the history of the Otterburn Mill, both firms had their main mills in Carlisle by the early twentieth century and the two companies sold to similar markets.²⁵ These English sources linked strongly with my existing plan to undertake research on Scottish-made womenswear tweeds by Bernat Klein, Ceemo and Ascher. Together this newly expanded range of sources formed an excellent body of material through which I could investigate the hitherto unpublished history of *fantaisie* tweeds. Research material on these companies also strongly related to the investigation of the shifting relationships between gender and how the design, production and sale of tweeds was structured in the UK. It also linked to the aim of examining the hidden history of the design dialogue between British tweed manufacturers and international fashion houses. As a result, the research opportunities that arose regarding Otterburn Mill and Linton Tweeds informed the development of my overall approach to researching English tweeds between the 1920s and 2014. At an early stage in the project, I intended studying historical samples of middle-to-lower market Yorkshire tweeds, to complement other primary research on these textiles. The substantial opportunities that the Otterburn Mill and Linton Tweeds material provided to generate original insights related to my core research aims, informed the decision that within the time available, it was best to concentrate on investigating these design-led womenswear tweed producers in-depth, rather than undertaking extensive artefact-based research on Yorkshire tweeds.

Researching *Tweed* and the 'Fashion and Style' Gallery at National Museums

Scotland

The concept and key themes, which I originally devised for the 'Fashion and Style' gallery and my work on the Bernat Klein display within that gallery, were strongly influenced by research for *Tweed*. The nature of these public research outputs means that they have not been submitted as part of the PhD, but because of their interconnections with the development and impact of *Tweed* they are discussed within this section and section 6. As the responsible Senior Curator, I was asked in January 2011 to develop a Gallery Brief for a permanent gallery related to the fashion and textile collections. In this initial document, I proposed the main concept for the gallery, four key themes, and a brief object list. The concept and themes were developed from the model of the fashion system, discussed by Joanne Entwistle, as follows:

Understanding fashion requires understanding the relationship between these different bodies operating within the fashion system: fashion colleges and students, designers and design houses, tailors and seamstresses, models and photographers, as well as fashion editors, distributors, retailers, fashion buyers, shops and consumers. In other words studying fashion involves moving from production to distribution and consumption: without the countless seamstresses and tailors there would be no clothes to consume; without the promotion of fashion by cultural intermediaries, such as fashion journalists, 'fashion' as the latest style would not be transmitted very far; and without the acceptance of consumers, fashionable dress would lie unworn in factories, shops and wardrobes.²⁶

Entwistle's interpretation of the fashion system takes no account of the pivotal role of textiles within the complex networks of ideas, individuals and institutions that interact to make global fashion. The notion of the fashion system, as expressed by Entwistle did, however, inspire the core idea of the gallery, which was about following an object through the broad cycle of stages within that system. In the

gallery concept, this model was simplified to form ideas that would be accessible to the wider public. It was also fundamentally altered through the inclusion of the theme 'Designing and Making Textiles' as the first section. In the initial Gallery Brief, the cycle of chronological stages involved with the fashion system, including textile design and manufacture, garment design and manufacture, promotion and selling and finally use by the wearer were encapsulated within four themes titled, 'Designing and Making Textiles', 'Designing and Making Fashion', 'Selling Fashion' and 'Making a Fashionable Appearance'. By March 2013, just before I went on sabbatical to undertake the AHRC Fellowship, the Gallery Brief had been further developed, although the concept and themes essentially remained the same. In that version of the document, the title of the third section had changed to Dreams and Desire: Selling and Promotion.

The idea of including the theme 'Designing and Making Textiles' as a whole section, was a significant departure from the usual approach to fashion galleries in museums. These displays generally include garments, along with accessories, fashion illustrations and other fashion images, but not fashion textiles in their own right. In 2014, the V&A opened a re-display of their permanent fashion gallery, which included a small number of fashion textile objects in each case alongside garments, although the latter continued to form the main focus of the display narrative. In contrast, the new NMS gallery incorporated textiles as a core element of its narrative. That approach was strongly linked to the 'holistic' methodology adopted when researching *Tweed*, already discussed in Section 3. The field trip to County Donegal of 2012, confirmed the pertinence of adopting this approach to the fashion cycle in the gallery and in *Tweed*. At Magee of Donegal, Gill Mudie, their Design and

Sales Director told me about the British Mill Colour Card, which is developed very early on each season, following consultation with the wool textile mills in Yorkshire and Scotland about their insights for that season regarding colour and design. Mudie informed me that this process feeds into a subsequent one involving an international meeting of textile manufacturers, which results in the *Premiere Vision* colour card. Significantly, that card relates to all of the different textile products covered by that important bi-annual global trade fair, not just to British woollens and worsteds.²⁷ This research was significant because it confirmed that within the international textiles industry, the processes of fashion innovation begin at a much earlier stage than is usually addressed within academic studies of fashion.

The 'Fashion and Style' gallery opened to the public in July 2016, following lengthy development processes, principally carried out by a curatorial team from the Art & Design Department, as well as other NMS specialists and the external designers, Metaphor. From inception to completion, this project was subject to the oversight and approval of the NMS senior management team and Trustees. Despite these complex development processes, the final concept and key themes were only slightly revised from my original ideas. The sub-theme of the 'changing shape of the ideal fashionable body' was extracted from 'Designing and Making Fashion', to make it a section in its own right and a section on contemporary fashion was added. Significantly, the 'holistic' approach to fashion and fashion textiles, which derived from the methodology used in *Tweed*, fundamentally shaped the final gallery narrative.

Conclusion

The conduct of the research had a significant impact on the development of the *Tweed* project and its results and conclusions. Dynamic interactions between acquiring collections of twentieth century womenswear tweeds and research for the book, greatly strengthened the original content of *Tweed* and influenced the conceptual development of the project. In particular, the research evaluated within this section contributed to the findings regarding the relationships between gender and the structuring of the design, production and selling of British tweeds. It also generated new insights into the history of *fantaisie* tweeds and the input of British mills to the design development of tweeds used by international fashion houses between the 1950s and 2014.

Notes

1. Anderson, AHRC Fellowship Application.
2. Anderson, AHRC Fellowship Application.
3. Anderson, AHRC Fellowship Application.
4. Odile Premel, email correspondence with the author, March 14, 25, 26, 2013.
5. Anderson, *Tweed*, 123 and 135, Plates 15 and 16.
6. 'Le Tweed Chez Chanel', unpublished document, Chanel archive, 6-7.
7. Odile Premel, conversation with the author, June 25, 2013.
8. Soizic Pfaff, email correspondence with the author, June 17, 2013.
9. Dior archive, suit, 'Chantecler', Linton Tweeds fabric, Christian Dior, Haute Couture, Autumn/Winter, 1954-55; Collections Charts of the Christian Dior London Collections, Winter, 1961, Spring, 1962, Summer, 1962, Autumn, 1962, Winter, 1962 Spring 1963, Summer, 1963, Autumn, 1964.
10. 'Les Tissus Masculins', unpublished folder, Dior archive.
11. Gael Mamine, email correspondence with the author, June 17, 2013.
12. Balenciaga archive, 1963H077(1-6), 1963H123(1-3), 1964H129 (2-4).
13. Balenciaga archive, list of *Fournisseurs*; Un Livre de Collection, Summer, 1964, Un Livre de Collection, Winter, 1964, Un Livre de Collection, Summer, 1966, Un Livre de Collection, Winter, 1967, Un Livre de Collection, c1967, Un Livre de Collection, Summer, 1968.
14. Anderson, *Tweed*, 134.
15. Anderson, *Tweed*, 147; Palais Galliera, Jacques Heim dress, GAL1979.135.3; Christian Dior dress, GAL1988.70.18.

16. *Musee des Arts Decoratifs*, Dumas Maury pattern book, Hiver 1934–35, Inv.999.4.1; J. Claude Freres et Cie pattern books, 1919 Manteaux, 1919 Robes Printemps, 1919, Robes Automne, 1921 Manteaux.
17. Anderson, *Tweed*, 66.
18. Anderson, AHRC Fellowship Application.
19. National Museums Scotland, Bernat Klein Collection, K.2010.94 and K.2010.95.
20. Klein, *Eye for Colour*, 45–51; Klein and Jackson, *Bernat Klein*, 10–20.
21. Anderson, *Tweed*, 14.
22. Anderson, *Tweed*, 137
23. Otterburn Mill Collection donor, conversation with the author, August 22, 2012. Donors to NMS are anonymous for Data Protection reasons.
24. National Museums Scotland, Otterburn Mill Collection, K.2013.7.
25. Leslie Walker, November 22, 2013; Anderson, *Tweed*, 109–38.
26. Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 1.
27. Gill Mudie, conversation with the author, Donegal Town, July 9, 2012.

5. Results and Conclusions

In this section, the results and findings of the *Tweed* project are critically evaluated in relation to its aims and objectives.

What is Tweed ?

The critical approach taken within the book included carrying out a new, extended analysis of the changing meanings and implications of the name tweed from the 1830s onwards. *Tweed* has successfully challenged the previous mythologized explanations regarding the origins of the term, discussed in the Literature Review. Based on primary sources, it concludes that the name derived from the Scottish words of either *tweelds* or *tweel* and that it was established as a collective term describing a particular family of Scottish woollen textiles in the 1830s.¹ The 'What is Tweed' section of Chapter 2 was pivotal to clarifying the focus of the book, because it explains why a very wide range of woollen textiles, from Harris Tweeds to *fantaisie* tweeds, were all known by the same group name, despite sometimes very marked differences in their appearance. These findings were informed by an extensive amount of research relating to the book as a whole, which indicated that it was only possible to describe tweeds, rather than to strictly define them. Chapter 2 concludes that the most apt description of tweeds was written by Edward S. Harrison in 1944. It has been updated within *Tweed*, to incorporate key shifts in the characteristics of these fabrics, which developed after that date. This new description forms part of an extended, examination of important changes in the characteristics of textiles within the 'family' of tweed between the 1820s and 2014. These shifts include the development of the new category of *fantaisie* tweeds by the inter-war era.²

An important finding, based on analysing letters by James Locke and Alexander Craig, *The New Statistical Account of Scotland* and a rare J & A Ogilvie pattern book of 1836-7, is that tweeds evolved from *tweels*, shepherd's plaids and Highland homespuns.³ Gulvin does not attempt a description, or definition of tweed and his discussion of the early fashion for these cloths focuses solely on their evolution from shepherd's plaids.⁴ The conclusion in *Tweed* is significant, because it shows that from the very beginning of the tweed trade onwards, the term was applied to a group of textiles, rather than to a single cloth of specific characteristics. Previous scholarly sources on the history of tweeds have all indicated that *tweels* were of pivotal importance to the development of the name tweed. However, none of these texts have identified the characteristics of these cloths. *Tweed* has, for the first time, confirmed what *tweels* looked like, based on material cultural analysis of the J & A Ogilvie pattern book of 1836-7 and studying the accounts of Craig, Locke and Cochrane.⁵

Tweed: Modernity, Post-modernity, Tradition, Landscape and British Identities

The extended enquiry into the relationships of tweeds to modernity, post-modernity and related themes of tradition, heritage, nostalgia, innovation and authenticity is sustained throughout the book. A key conclusion is that tweeds have always been modern fashion textiles. Crucially, the 'transformation of the traditional, Scottish textiles of the shepherd's plaid, *tweels* and Highland homespuns . . . into a group of constantly changing, fashionable commodities, which became known under the collective name of tweed' involved the adoption of these textiles by metropolitan male consumers from the late 1820s, which positioned them within the sphere of modern, fashionable consumption.⁶

A key finding that evolved from the research question on tradition is the pivotal importance of romanticism in helping to prompt and encourage the early fashion for tweed. These textiles became fashionable in the late Romantic period and *Tweed* concludes that they formed an element of that cultural response to the dramatic changes in British society associated with industrialization and urbanization. Significantly, the book argues that the early fashion for tweeds was integrally linked to the romantic fascination with nature and authenticity.⁷ These conclusions link with another core aim of the book, which was to explore the shifting relationships between fashion, modernity and rural and urban landscapes, through the example of tweed. Building on a previous article, *Tweed* has questioned further the predominant paradigm within fashion studies in recent decades, namely the fundamental interconnections between fashion in modernity and urban environments.⁸ It has presented considerable new evidence, which shows that between the late 1820s and 2014, influences from the country and the city have frequently intermingled in relation to the design, production, sale and wearing of tweeds. The book argues that these cloths have retained strong cultural associations of the rural, whilst simultaneously revealing that some tweeds have been widely worn 'in the town' since the early nineteenth century. It concludes that the continuing perceptions that tweeds are linked to notions of the rural and therefore the anti-modern, have encouraged their characterisation within contemporary fashion media as 'heritage', 'traditional' or 'classic' cloths.⁹

The book also investigates the shifting relationships between tweeds and gender, landscape, sport, Scottish, English and British identities within the age of modernity. A key conclusion is that from the 1830s, tweeds began to develop powerful

associations of manliness, because they were worn for newly fashionable Scottish field sports pursued in challenging rural environments.¹⁰ By the late nineteenth century, these 'manly' associations 'meant that sport provided a safe guise within which men could experiment more freely with colour and pattern than in their more formal attire.'¹¹ Mitchell argues that imperialism typically involved 'a renewed interest in the re-presentation of the home landscape, the "nature" of the imperial center'.¹² These ideas have informed the conclusion that the contexts of modernity and British imperialism produced new ideas about landscape, identity and sport, which were fundamental to encouraging the widespread male adoption of tweeds from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards.¹³ By the inter-war era, sport continued to be foregrounded as critically important to the maintenance of popular conceptions of imperial British identity and manliness. *Tweed* concludes that these political and cultural contexts interlinked with the substantial popularity of tweed cloths within male sporting and leisure wear of that period.¹⁴ The book also argues that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, female consumption of tweed garments involved complex processes of negotiation regarding the prevailing ideologies of imperialism and gender.¹⁵

In Chapter 8, the consumption of tweed is analysed within the context of the end of the British Empire as a key cultural theme of the post-war era. The book concludes that tweed remained a 'significant cultural symbol of Britishness' in the 1960s, when notions of British identity were undergoing significant change.¹⁶ In that decade, these textiles became intertwined with newly ambivalent notions of British national identity, as expressed through the medium of fashion. These findings interconnect with the exploration of when and why tweeds acquired the powerful connotations of

tradition and heritage that are evident within contemporary fashion media. The book argues that in the inter-war era, tweeds became strongly associated with the modern male and female fashionable image, which contrasts with their earlier romantic associations with tradition. It concludes that in the post-war period, particularly from the 1960s and 1970s, these textiles again developed powerful connections with ideas of the past, whilst also being strongly linked to fashionable innovation.¹⁷ That major shift continues to resonate within twenty-first century fashion.

Tweed: Changing Identities, Meanings and Contexts

The book has successfully contested the stereotypical image of tweeds being principally worn by the British upper classes in the country within previous historical eras. These ideas have been challenged by using primary research to demonstrate the diverse range of men and women that have worn tweeds in rural and urban contexts since the 1820s. In the 1840s, for example, tweed trousers were mainly worn in urban settings by men from a wide range of social levels from the royal family, to the lower-middle classes.¹⁸ In addition, *Tweed* argues that before the 1870s, these cloths were predominantly worn for rural sports by upper and upper-middle class men, prompting associations of wealth, landownership, glamour and leisure.¹⁹ The book has also revealed for the first time, the connections that emerged in the late romantic period between male bohemian identities and tweed garments.²⁰

Tweed has undertaken a sustained investigation of the shifting relationships between the history of these textiles and gender between the 1820s and 2014. In

addition to the findings already discussed, the book concludes that the increasing adoption of tweeds for womenswear from the 1920s, was linked to the fact that 'physical activity became an integral aspect of feminine modernity . . . whether or not women actually participated in sport'.²¹ *Tweed* also argues that the fashion for women wearing androgynous tweed garments in the late 1960s and 1970s, was linked to feminist-inspired political debates of that era. This clothing constituted the re-emergence of "mannish" tailoring in tweeds . . . as a symbol of female independence, nearly a century after the man's tweed suit first began to influence female dress.²² The book has also reached significant conclusions regarding gender and how the design, production and selling of tweeds have been structured. It argues, for example, that tweeds consumed by men constituted the vast majority of those produced in Scotland before the First World War. At that time, these high quality cloths were still primarily used by bespoke tailors.²³ This publication has also analysed the important relationships that developed between British manufacturers of design-led tweeds for womenswear and particular gendered branches of the fashion industry, namely Paris and London couture, from the 1920s onwards.

Designing, Producing and Selling Tweeds in the UK and for International Export

Regarding design, *Tweed* argues that the idea of creating mixture cloths in colours that visually harmonized with Scottish rural environments in order to provide sporting camouflage developed in the later 1830s. In addition, it posits that the 'use of vivid colours derived from nature in small amounts, so that they give subtle, variegated colour effects, rather than a stridently coloured cloth overall' also evolved at that time.²⁴ These early approaches to design have continued to inform the characteristics of many tweeds up until the present day. *Tweed* has also revealed

the pivotal role of a small number of London and Edinburgh-based cloth merchants in the development of early tweed design. It confirms that these merchants designed cloths themselves and they also played the part of design intermediaries, by transmitting ideas from tailors and consumers to Scottish woollen manufacturers.²⁵

The book concludes that the emergence and expansion of tweed production had a substantial social and economic impact in specific areas of Britain, particularly the Scottish Borders and the Outer Hebrides. It also presents new evidence about the significant international design influence of and changing export trade in British tweeds, since the middle of the nineteenth century. *Tweed* concludes, for example, that between the mid-nineteenth century and the post-war era, there was an important exchange of design influences between the Scottish and French woollen industries, involving men's and women's tweeds.²⁶ It has also shown, through original research on Linton Tweeds, how their business relationships with French couturiers helped to encourage trade with North American ready-to-wear firms. These findings have extended the existing scholarship by Alexandra Palmer on the licensing of Paris couture models to North American companies, by revealing how these practices interlinked with British woollen manufacturing.²⁷

A key argument expressed in Chapter 9 is that 'Tweeds currently retain their globally recognized cultural significance as a key element of Britain's fashion identity. That is despite the continued trend toward dramatic decline in tweed production in the UK from the 1980s onwards.'²⁸ That conclusion is important, because the contemporary cultural significance of tweeds had not previously been researched. In addition, apart from Janet Hunter's work on the Harris Tweed industry up to 1995, *Tweed* is

the only academic study to have explored the decline of tweed production in Britain within its UK and international contexts.²⁹ The book concludes that the export of UK-made tweeds has involved 'significant, but hidden, design interactions between fashion houses from leading, international centres and textile producers from locations considered to be peripheral to the world of fashion.' It has therefore contributed to the 're-assessment of the geographical mapping of the creative processes connected to global fashion.'³⁰

Limitations to the Study

Tweed was written for a series, *Textiles that Changed the World*, which meant that it had to address the origins of these textiles and their more recent history. The scant published research meant that it was not feasible to write a single volume covering a period of nearly two hundred years, which gives equal attention to tweeds produced by all branches of the British woollen industry. The aim of investigating the design evolution of tweeds through the time-consuming methods of material cultural analysis, also meant that taking a more focused approach to the study was essential. *Tweed* does address the history of cloths produced in the three main centres for woollen production in the UK, namely Scotland, Yorkshire and the West of England. However, the fact that these textiles originated in Scotland and that locale remained the leading British centre for excellence and innovation in tweed design within the period studied, encouraged a major emphasis on Scottish-produced tweeds. That prime focus was also encouraged by the fact that tweeds dominated the woollen industry in Scotland. It was markedly more difficult to extrapolate evidence specifically pertaining to tweeds from general information about wool textiles production in Yorkshire and the West of England. As discussed

in Section 4, the exciting opportunities that arose to undertake research on the Otterburn Mill and Linton Tweeds, prompted the decision to focus attention on these English manufacturers of design-led womenswear tweeds, rather than to carry out extensive object-based studies of historical Yorkshire tweeds.

Potential Avenues for Further Research.

The broad scope of the topic addressed in *Tweed* and the limited existing scholarship, means that there remains potential for myself or others, to undertake further research. In particular, there is considerable potential to carry out new studies within the broad fields of the history of menswear textiles and British wool textiles after 1830. Furthermore, there remains scope to undertake additional research on tweeds from Yorkshire and the West of England and on the design dialogue between French and British wool textiles in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. UK-based tweed manufacturing and tweeds in global fashion in the post-2014 period, are also worthy of ongoing investigation.

Conclusion

Through extensive research, *Tweed* has succeeded in the deceptively simple objective of explaining why such a wide range of woollens have been known by that term. It has also produced significant new findings regarding the design, consumption and cultural significance of British tweeds, their relationship to international fashion and the history of mill-produced tweeds in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In addition, *Tweed* concludes that changing gender relationships have significantly impacted on tweed design, production and selling, as well as the specific meanings of tweed garments in wear. Central to the analysis in

the book are the broad conclusions that tweeds have always been modern fashion textiles and the relationship of these cloths to tradition, heritage, nostalgia, authenticity and innovation has been complex and shifting between the 1820s and 2014. That enquiry was interwoven with researching the interconnections between modernity, the history of tweeds and country and city landscapes, which has further problematized the notion that modern fashion may simply be understood in relation to the urban.

Notes

1. Anderson, *Tweed*, 7–10.
2. Anderson, *Tweed*, 10–14.
3. Anderson, *Tweed*, 10.
4. Gulvin, *The Tweedmakers*, 71–72.
5. Gulvin, *The Tweedmakers*, 191–194; Stillie, “The Evolution”; Ponting, “The Scottish Contribution,”; Anderson, *Tweed*, 28.
6. Anderson, *Tweed*, 39.
7. Anderson, *Tweed*, 30–39.
8. Anderson, “Spinning the Ephemeral”.
9. Anderson, *Tweed*, 4.
10. Anderson, *Tweed*, 36.
11. Anderson, *Tweed*, 61.
12. W. J. T. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*, 17.
13. Anderson, *Tweed*, 60–61.
14. Anderson, *Tweed*, 88–95.
15. Anderson, *Tweed*, 63–79.
16. Anderson, *Tweed*, 144.
17. Anderson, *Tweed*, 153.
18. Anderson, *Tweed*, 34.
19. Anderson, *Tweed*, 57–61.
20. Anderson, *Tweed*, 36–39.
21. Anderson, *Tweed*, 126.
22. Anderson, *Tweed*, 153.
23. Anderson, *Tweed*, 44–65.
24. Anderson, *Tweed*, 27–28.
25. Anderson, *Tweed*, 26.
26. Anderson, *Tweed*, 42–66.
27. Alexandra Palmer, *Couture & Commerce: The Transatlantic Fashion Trade in the 1950s* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2001), 161–168.
28. Anderson, *Tweed*, 155.
29. Hunter, *The Islanders*.
30. Anderson, *Tweed*, 5.

6. Contribution to the Expansion of Knowledge

Tweed has made a significant contribution to advancing knowledge and understanding about the design and cultural history of these textiles from the 1820s to 2014, as shown in the following critical assessment.

Academic Impact

Tweed is the first academic book for over forty years to explore the history of these important cloths, which have been widely worn in the UK and internationally. Its scope extends substantially beyond that of previous publications, because it investigates the design, production and consumption of all types of tweeds. That approach means that it has examined for the first time, interconnections between the histories of tweeds woven in mills and in domestic environments. Furthermore, it is the first academic text to explore the history of British mill-woven tweeds and their international export in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The analytical approach taken in this study means that it has produced a new level of understanding about what the term tweed has implied in both historical and contemporary contexts. Primary research undertaken, including knowledge exchange with key figures in industry, has yielded new insights about cloths within this 'family' such as Harris Tweed and Donegal tweed. Through original research in the UK and France, *Tweed* has also created a new understanding of the history of *fantaisie* tweeds, a topic that has not previously been researched.

The approach of exploring the history of tweeds worn by *both* men and women, has contributed substantially to the depth, scope and quality of the research insights gained. In particular, the book has made a significant contribution to extending the

scant published scholarship on fashion textiles for menswear after 1830. *Tweed* has contributed to filling the large gap between the limited research on menswear textiles and the substantial literature on men's fashion consumption. This publication has also considerably advanced understanding regarding the complex and evolving relationships between tweeds, femininity, sport and fashion from the 1860s to 2014.

The investigation of the shifting relationships between tweed and modernity has yielded several important new insights. It is the first academic study to undertake an in-depth analysis of the integral relationships between Romanticism and the growing fashionability of tweeds in the early nineteenth century. Based on extensive primary evidence, this book has also substantially extended research on the relationships between tweeds, fashion in modernity and rural and urban landscapes. The volume acknowledges that tweeds are symbolic of Britishness, whilst revealing how the history of these cloths has related to changing and contested notions of identities within the UK. *Tweed* has also advanced knowledge and understanding about the changing relationships of these textiles with notions of tradition, heritage, nostalgia, authenticity and innovation. It has shown that a highly complex and evolving cultural history lies behind the contemporary characterisation of tweeds simply as 'traditional' or 'heritage' cloths.

Tweed has also made a significant contribution to the development of new, interdisciplinary approaches to the history of British wool textiles after 1830. As noted in the literature review, this field has been greatly under-researched and dominated by economic history studies of English manufacturing. *Tweed* has generated new perspectives by exploring the inter-relationships between design,

production and consumption, thus more fully addressing the complex history of these cloths. It has also significantly extended the limited literature on the history of the Scottish woollen industry and English producers of tweed. The book has also created a new level of knowledge about the decline of tweed production in Britain from the 1960s onwards, and shown the integral relationship of these textiles to the changing dynamics of international fashion.

Prior to publication, research for the book had academic impact through a paper 'Modern Menswear and the Fashion for Tweed 1918-1939', presented at the 'Developments in Dress History' conference at the University of Brighton in December 2011. In addition, project research was disseminated in May 2012 at the 'Spaces and Places: British Design 1948–2012' conference jointly organised by Kingston University and the V&A. The invited paper I delivered was subsequently developed into a chapter 'Bernat Klein: Colouring the Interior' in the book, *British Design: Tradition and Modernity after 1948*.¹

Following publication of *Tweed* in December 2016, the academic impact of the research was further boosted through a paper 'Designing Tweeds: Colour, Gender and Landscape' presented at the Pasold Research Fund conference at the University of Glasgow in April 2017. In October that year, I delivered another presentation titled 'Masculine' Chic, or 'Feminine' Sportswear: Tweed in Inter-war Women's Fashion' at the Association of Dress Historians conference in London. In addition, I was invited to present new research on 'Contemporary Men's Fashion and British Wool Textiles', which extended the findings of *Tweed*, at a Henley Business School workshop, University of Reading in February 2018. A paper that

evolved from work on *Tweed*, 'High Sunderland: Cultural Exchange and the Home of Transnational Designer, Bernat Klein' was also presented at the Design History Society conference in New York in September 2018. I plan to develop this paper into a peer-reviewed journal article.

The academic impact of *Tweed* has also been demonstrated through reviews. To date, these have included the following words from the Bloomsbury Academic peer reviewer, Mairi Mackenzie quoted on this publisher's website. She states: 'The scope and quality of the research within *Tweed* is excellent. The author provides a nuanced account of this universally recognized but often misunderstood and under-researched textile, and firmly situates it within the context of broader economic, social and cultural histories.'² Anthea Jarvis, in her review of *Tweed* in the peer-reviewed journal *Costume*, commented on its contribution to advancing understanding, by stating that 'This book provides a model of how to write a biography of a fabric, which through developing so many unexpected links and thought-provoking digressions leaves the reader with an entirely new perspective on the subject.'³ In addition, *Tweed* was described as an 'excellent addition to an area of textile history and design that is . . . overlooked and understudied' in *The Journal of Dress History* review. *Tweed* was also deemed 'excellent' in the *Journal of Design History*.⁴ I understand that reviews will also appear in forthcoming editions of *Textile, Luxury: History, Culture, Consumption, Textile History, Dress* and *The Scottish Historical Review*.

Subsequent to the publication of *Tweed*, a few academic texts have also explored aspects of the history of these textiles, including *Fashionability: Abraham Moon and*

the creation of British cloth for the global market of 2017 by the business historian Regina Lee Blaszczyk. This book comprises a case study of one Yorkshire woollen manufacturer, considered within its regional, British and international contexts. Between the 1860s and the 1970s, Abraham Moon and Sons mainly produced ladies tweeds for the middle to lower levels of the market, along with other woollen cloths for uniforms and childrenswear. Since the 1980s, this firm has also produced tweeds for menswear. *Tweed* is cited at several points in Blaszczyk's text.⁵ In some respects, *Fashionability* takes a similar approach to *Tweed*, in that it engages with most of the fashion cycle 'from fibre makers to fashion retailers'.⁶ It differs from *Tweed* in that it does not consider use by the end consumer. Overall, *Fashionability* complements, rather than duplicates, the research themes addressed in and findings of *Tweed*. Blaszczyk's text almost exclusively focuses on Yorkshire, only a few references are made to Scotland and the West of England trade is barely mentioned. In addition, the approach to design differs significantly between the two texts. Blaszczyk primarily explores the changing role of design within the overall business practices of Abraham Moon and Sons and related shifts in the Yorkshire woollen industry. Only minimal reference is made to the visual characteristics of the cloths produced. In contrast, *Tweed* focuses more broadly on the design history of British tweeds and their international design influence, principally by investigating the shifting visual and technical characteristics of these textiles, changes in design practice within mill and domestically-based tweed production and the relationships between design, fashion, and the cultural and social meanings of tweeds.

Tweed has also had international academic impact through being cited in the essay of 2018, 'The Carlaway Mill Harris Tweed: Tradition-based Innovation for a

Sustainable Future' by the business historian Thomai Serdari.⁷ In addition, the business historians Shiona Chillias, Melinda Grewar and Barbara Townley have contributed a chapter 'Rhythms of production in Scottish textiles and fashion' to the book of 2018, *European Fashion: The creation of a global industry* edited by Regina Lee Blaszczyk and Véronique Pouillard. This essay is largely based on original research regarding the contemporary design and manufacturing of tartans and tweeds in Scotland, including several interviews with producers and designers. The mills researched and the interviewees have been anonymized, which means that critically important distinctions between Harris Tweed, other types of tweeds and tartans are lost to the reader. In addition, the essay is underpinned by the assumption that 'In contrast to the traditional uses of Scottish textiles such as tartan in highland dress and tweed in country clothing, which change only incrementally and express relatively stable social meanings, the fashion industry treats garments as aesthetic forms to be experimented with for visual and immediate effect'.⁸ The arguments expressed in this chapter, thus exemplify the mythical cultural perceptions that have been contested in *Tweed*, whereby these cloths are seen to have timeless qualities related to tradition and past, elite, rural British lifestyles. This essay confirms the important contribution that *Tweed* has made to advancing knowledge and understanding, by revealing the integral and complex relationships between tweeds, fashion, modernity, tradition *and* innovation.

Knowledge Exchange and Impact: Social, Cultural and Economic

Research for *Tweed* had public impact during the course of the book's development. In 2011, I was invited to speak at two events that celebrated the centenary of the Harris Tweed trade mark. The first of these study days, held at the V&A, was

attended by the general public and students, who demonstrated their engagement with my talk by asking lots of questions afterwards. Other speakers included Lorna Macaulay of the HTA, menswear designer Patrick Grant and the academic Jonathan Faiers. The second study day was organised by the Islands Book Trust in conjunction with the HTA. It was held in the local community centre in the village of Shawbost, Lewis where the HTH mill is sited. The invitation to speak at this event was an endorsement by the Harris Tweed industry of the credibility of my research. Other speakers included Donald Martin, Chairman of the HTA and Brian Wilson, Non-Executive Chairman of HTH and formerly a British Minister for Trade. The close connections of this event with the local community were shown by a promotional flyer, which stated that the 'main language of the event will be English', rather than Gaelic. Subsequent feedback indicated that the audience 'greatly enjoyed' the event, which showed that it contributed to the local profile of Harris Tweed. Interviews for the book revealed that positive local perceptions of Harris Tweed manufacturing support its ongoing viability, by helping to attract new entrants to the industry.⁹

The AHRC Fellowship project involved a partnership with the Scottish Borders Council Museum and Gallery Service, which entailed working in collaboration with two of their Curators, Fiona Colton and Shona Sinclair on an exhibition and related education events. The exhibition *Border Tweed*, of 2013, was curated by Colton and Sinclair and held at the Textile Towerhouse in Hawick. I shared my Fellowship research by acting as a Consultant on this display. In addition, I contributed to the education programme by giving a public lecture 'Tweed: Fashioned in the Borders'

in December, 2013. In that month, another talk 'Tweed in Contemporary Fashion' was also delivered to local senior schoolchildren.

Research for *Tweed* also had social and cultural impact, by prompting the acquisition by NMS of the Bernat Klein and Otterburn Mill Collections, which are publicly available permanent research resources. Information from my original research on the Bernat Klein Collection, involving notes from discussions with Bernat about objects, is publicly accessible through the NMS website.¹⁰ In addition, research for *Tweed* informed the concept and content of the permanent NMS gallery, 'Fashion and Style', which since opening in 2016 has attracted a wide public audience.¹¹

Following publication, *Tweed* had impact through public talks at the Borders Book Festival, the Berwick Literary Festival, Edinburgh Central Library and at National Museums Scotland in 2017. The events in the Scottish Borders had targeted impact on local communities, because tweed is highly significant to the social, cultural and economic heritage of that region. I have also been invited to give three public lectures related to the book at the V&A, London in 2019, events that are part of the public programmes for the exhibitions, 'Fashioned from Nature' and 'Christian Dior: Designer of Dreams'. Research on tweed has also had impact through international media coverage, including an interview of November 2013 for *Het Financieele Dagblad*, the Netherlands equivalent of the *Financial Times*. Furthermore, an article in the Canadian newspaper, *The Globe and Mail* of December 2016, 'Made in good faith: The history of Harris tweed', refers heavily to *Tweed*. In 2014, I was interviewed for a promotional web article 'Fashion On the Fairways' for the

manufacturer, Harris Tweed Hebrides and about the Scottish tweed industry for the ITV programme 'Border Life'. I was also invited to talk about *Tweed* in a one-to-one interview on the BBC Radio Scotland arts programme 'The Janice Forsyth Show' in 2017.¹²

Conclusion

Tweed has transformed the level of knowledge and understanding about the history, design, cultural and social significance of British tweeds from the 1820s onwards. It has substantially updated and extended the published research, by addressing the history of all types of tweeds, including domestically-woven and mill-woven tweeds up to 2014. *Tweed* has also contributed to the greater understanding of how gender has related to the design, production, selling and wearing of these cloths. This book has also led to new perspectives about the relationships between tweeds, fashion in modernity, rural and urban landscapes and Scottish, English and British identities. *Tweed* addressed a greatly under-researched topic, which presented considerable scope to undertake original research and attract popular interest. This book has successfully realised its potential to have significant academic and societal impact, including through excellent journal reviews and numerous public talks and media appearances.

Notes

1. Fiona Anderson, "Bernat Klein: Colouring the Interior," in *British Design: Tradition and Modernity after 1948*, eds Christopher Breward, Fiona Fisher and Ghislaine Wood (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).
2. Mairi Mackenzie, "Review of *Tweed*," Bloomsbury Academic, accessed May 1 2017, <https://www.bloomsbury.com/uk/tweed-9781845206970>.
3. Anthea Jarvis, "Book Review, *Tweed*," *Costume*, 52, no. 1 (2018): 145–146.

4. Constance Karol Burks, "Book Review, *Tweed*," *The Journal of Dress History*, 2, no.2 (2018): 71–72, <https://www.dresshistorians.org/journal> ; Zoe Hendon, "Book Review, *Tweed*," *Journal of Design History*, 31, 3 (2018): 300.
5. Regina Lee Blaszczyk, *Fashionability: Abraham Moon and the creation of British cloth for the global market* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2017).
6. Blaszczyk, *Fashionability*, Preface.
7. Thomai Serdari, "The Carloway Mill Harris Tweed: Tradition-based Innovation for a Sustainable Future," in *Sustainable Luxury, Entrepreneurship and Innovation*, eds M.A. Gardetti and S.S. Muthu (Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd, 2018).
8. Shiona Chillas, Melinda Grewar and Barbara Townley, "Rhythms of production in Scottish textiles and fashion," in *European Fashion: The creation of a global industry*, eds Regina Lee Blaszczyk and Véronique Pouillard (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2018), 244
9. John Randall, email to the author, November 19, 2011; Ian Angus Mackenzie, interview with the author, Harris Tweed Hebrides, Shawbost, October 31, 2013.
10. "Search Our Collections," National Museums Scotland, accessed October 1, 2018, <https://www.nms.ac.uk/explore-our-collections/collection-search-results/>
11. *NMS Annual Review 2016*, National Museums Scotland, accessed January 4, 2019, https://www.nms.ac.uk/media/1152934/review2016_web.pdf . This Review indicates that in the three months following the opening of the new galleries 'there were over 600,000 visits . . . an increase of 30 per cent'.
12. Atkinson, Nathalie, "Made in good faith: The history of Harris tweed," *The Globe and Mail*, December 23, 2016, accessed December 30, 2016, [http://www.theglobeandmail.com/life/fashion-and-beauty/fashion/made-in-good-faith](http://www.theglobeandmail.com/life/fashion-and-beauty/fashion/made-in-good-faith;); "Fashion On the Fairways," Harris Tweed Hebrides, accessed May 19, 2014, <https://harristweedhebrides.myshopify.com/blogs/news/14017861-fashion-on-the-fairways>. URLs no longer available for the "Border Life" and "The Janice Forsyth Show" programmes.

7. Conclusion

Tweed presents a new in-depth analysis of the rich cultural and design history of these textiles. It has significantly extended knowledge and understanding about what the term tweed has implied between the 1830s and 2014. Furthermore, the book has succeeded in closing many of the gaps in the research identified in the Literature Review, particularly regarding the design, consumption, social and cultural significance of tweeds, and the history of mill-woven cloths after 1914. This project has shown that contrary to perceptions that tweeds are 'classic' and 'timeless', fashion is an integral element of the evolving story of these cloths. The methodology of researching tweeds from the raw fibre to the garment stage, over a long historical period, has supported the development of a deep level of knowledge and understanding. *Tweed* has formed significant new insights about the shifting relationships between gender, class, tradition, heritage, authenticity, innovation, national identities and the history of these textiles. By interrogating the complex and evolving cultural history of tweeds, it has shown their eloquence in resolving in material form the contradictions and tensions that are intrinsic to modern culture. Furthermore, *Tweed* has produced a new level of understanding regarding why these cloths remain a prominent cultural symbol of Britishness within global fashion.

The innovative aspects of the book mean that it has made a broader intellectual contribution beyond the history of tweed, particularly regarding the history of menswear textiles, the design and consumption of British woollens after 1830 and the relationships between fashion in modernity and landscape. On a personal level, this project drew together and substantially developed my knowledge regarding the history of tweed. It has allowed me to share my new perspectives about these

textiles with others and to become established as a leading international expert on the topic.

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