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**The interrelationship of carpet weaving technologies and design in the work of James Templeton and Company, Glasgow, carpet manufacturer, 1890 – 1939.**

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Submitted April 2021.

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## **Abstract.**

This thesis asks how technical and cultural influences interacted to shape carpet design and manufacture. Primary evidence is drawn from the archives of James Templeton and Company, Glasgow, formerly Scotland's largest carpet manufacturer, focussing on fifty years of the company's growth in the early-twentieth century. Factory-woven carpets are underrepresented in current scholarship despite their familiarity. Dominant interests in craft-production and progressive design movements have found little value in styles that Kjetil Fallan has termed "traditionalesque." The primary aim of the thesis is to reframe carpet research by foregrounding weave structure and design process over pattern style to redress the historiographic bias towards elite forms.

Detailed investigation of a broader range of Templeton archive records than used in previous studies has enabled drawings, lithographs, and price lists to be cross-referenced for the purpose of analysing the technical opportunities and constraints that shaped carpet design. These were contextualised by close readings of contemporary trade literature, design instruction manuals, furnishing advice texts, object studies, and original research using the Board of Trade Register of Designs, held by The National Archives (TNA). The concept of technological affordance is adopted from studies of the Social Construction of Technology to analyse how James Templeton and Company used the Chenille Axminster weaving process to make carpets in the early-twentieth century.

This thesis' sociotechnical reading of carpet manufacture intervenes with established methodologies about authorship and style. It proposes a more appropriate approach for studying mechanised carpet weaving. A historically situated reassessment of Templeton's Chenille Axminster production reveals pattern-storage to be a valued affordance that has been previously overlooked. Examining past training opportunities for carpet designers in Glasgow makes evident the mediation of technological and artistic knowledge in design practice. The first design history of plain-coloured carpets and fresh archival research on the cultural significance of Templeton's "oriental" designs integrate a more inclusive range of objects into the developing field of carpet history.

Keywords: Design History, Carpet Weaving, Technology, Affordance.

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## Abbreviations.

GSAAC Glasgow School of Art Archives and Collections

TNA The National Archives

UGSTC University of Glasgow Archives and Special Collections, Stoddard Templeton Collection

USASC University of Strathclyde Library, Archives and Special Collections

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## **Author's Declaration.**

I declare that this thesis is the result of my own work except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others. It has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature:

Printed name: Jonathan Cleaver

# 1 Introduction.

## 1.1 Introducing Templeton carpets.

In 1935, the first issue of a new trade journal for the British carpet industry, *Carpet Annual*, concisely stated the significance of their trade:

Machine-woven carpets are not only typical of our period, but they in turn are influencing the age. They affect most materially the home and thus the life of the people.<sup>1</sup>

For the journal's editors, the manufacture of carpets was shaped by the growing consumer culture of the early-twentieth century and, reciprocally, manufacturing technology was shaping people's daily lives. Their confidence was inflected by the belief, promoted by government commissions and reforming organisations, that the design of industrially produced domestic goods was a potent social and cultural force.<sup>2</sup> The Glasgow-based carpet manufacturer, James Templeton and Company, this suggests, held great responsibility, as the vast scale of its production meant that its products reached out from its factories into interiors across the globe.<sup>3</sup> Despite the pervasiveness of industrially woven carpets in early-twentieth-century material culture, their

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<sup>1</sup> R. J. Arnott and H. F. Tysser, eds., *Carpet Annual*. (London: British Continental Press Ltd., 1935), 7.

<sup>2</sup> Cheryl Buckley, *Designing Modern Britain*. (London: Reaktion Books, 2007), 83–123.

<sup>3</sup> The firm referred to as "Templeton" throughout this thesis originated as James Templeton and Company, Glasgow, in 1839. A subsidiary company managed by two of the founder's sons was formed in 1855, trading as J. and J. S. Templeton. The original company made Chenille Axminster and Spool Axminster carpets while the subsidiary made Brussels and Wilton carpets and, until 1886, Jacquard-woven curtains and portieres. The two businesses were recombined as James Templeton and Company in 1906. The company was an unlimited partnership until 1938, when it was incorporated as a private limited company. James Templeton and Company Ltd. acquired Gray's Carpets and Textiles Ltd. in 1968. In the following year it was itself acquired by the Guthrie Corporation Ltd., London. James Templeton and Company Ltd. was renamed British Carpets Ltd. in 1974, and became a subsidiary of Stoddard Holdings Ltd., Elderslie, in 1980. British Carpets Ltd. was dissolved in 2006 as part of the liquidation of the parent company, Stoddard International Plc. in 2006.

For an introductory history of the firm, see: Fred Henry Young, *A Century of Carpet Making, 1839-1939*. (Glasgow: J. Templeton & Co., 1944); University of Glasgow Archives and Special Collections, "Records of James Templeton & Co Ltd, Carpet Manufacturers, Glasgow, Scotland, 1802-1998. GB 248 STOD/201," Archives Hub, accessed December 10, 2019, <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb248-stod/201>.

production has been given little scholarly attention.<sup>4</sup>

The literature on early-twentieth-century British carpets emphasises those made in progressive artistic styles, often by named designers. For instance, Susan Day's study of Art Deco and Modernist carpet design is concerned with those, "designed by artists and designers" to the exclusion of manufacturers' in-house design staff.<sup>5</sup> Sarah Sherrill's examination of hand-knotted carpets is more extensive than that of those woven using mechanised looms. The compelling influence of Arts and Crafts and Modernist design ideologies has disproportionately represented a select minority of carpets.<sup>6</sup> The formation of a canon of artistic carpets has been exacerbated by the valorisation of craft in the production of hand-knotted carpets.<sup>7</sup> This historiographic bias leaves a significant opportunity to expand knowledge about the cultural and technical influences at work in the manufacture of carpets on mechanised-ooms.<sup>8</sup>

By emphasising carpets with elevated cultural or social status, for instance Templeton's carpets for the ocean liner R.M.S. *Queen Mary*, the majority of Templeton's production has been left beyond comment.<sup>9</sup> This risks distorting the historical record towards elite forms. The Templeton archive holds nearly six thousand design drawings, but only a small minority of these are attributable to a named designer. Therefore, authorial attribution is an unproductive starting

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<sup>4</sup> A notable precursor to this study, discussed further below, is: Helena Britt, *Interwoven Connections: The Stoddard Templeton Design Studio & Design Library, 1843-2005* (Glasgow: Glasgow School of Art, 2013).

<sup>5</sup> Susan Day, *Art Deco and Modernist Carpets* (San Francisco, Calif: Chronicle Books, 2002), 17.

<sup>6</sup> Malcolm Haslam, *Arts & Crafts Carpets* (London: David Black, 1991).

<sup>7</sup> Adamson argues that the cultural promotion of craft-production, as a counterpart of industrialisation, responded to anxious reconfigurations of progress, skill, and authenticity. Glenn Adamson, *The Invention of Craft* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 6–30, 141–57.

<sup>8</sup> The difference between the terms "carpet" and "rug" is not clearly defined in the literature on floorcoverings, except for a common-sense distinction that one could fit a rug on a carpet but not vice versa. In this thesis, "rug" is used occasionally for objects referred to as such in primary sources. "Carpet" denotes any textile floorcovering and includes all of Templeton's flooring products.

Templeton wove curtains and portieres between the 1850s and 1886 when the Jacquard looms for these textiles were destroyed by fire. These products are beyond the remit of this thesis, see: J. & J. S. Templeton, *Curtains & Portieres* (Glasgow: J. & J. S. Templeton, 1880).

<sup>9</sup> Carpet samples from the Stoddard Templeton Heritage Carpet Collection, held by Glasgow Museums, were exhibited in the exhibition 'Ocean Liners: Speed and Style,' Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 2018. Daniel Finamore and Ghislaine Wood, *Ocean Liners: Glamour, Speed and Style* (London: V&A Publishing in association with the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, 2017).

point for research. Notably, the prior research that has best captured the range of work by Scottish carpet manufacturers, by Dr Helena Britt, shares a focus on the design process with this thesis.<sup>10</sup> I build on this approach by examining the interrelationship between weave structure and carpet design, arguing that this is a more inclusive approach to Templeton's products. Uniquely, this research replaces the historiographic preoccupation with elite objects and named designers with an examination of the role of carpet designers as an integrated part of the weaving process of these everyday objects.

The current research project builds on the work by Sarah Sherrill and other scholars who founded the study of European carpets as a legitimate field of design research. However, it was also vitalised by the discrepancy I found between their narratives of stylistic progress in objects for culturally and socially elite consumers, and the wider diversity of styles and products that I found in my initial encounters with the Templeton archives. A different evaluative framework was required to bring a broader, more egalitarian, range of objects into discussion. The work of Judy Attfield on the growth of the Needle-tufted carpet industry after World War II strengthened my resolve.<sup>11</sup> Her project contrasted with more orthodox accounts in both the humble status of its subject matter and her methodological focus on the friction between the capabilities of new production technology and cultural values held by the members of the traditional carpet trade. My conviction that an analytical framework was needed that critiqued the hierarchical judgements of artistic or social value that are present in earlier carpet studies has led me to argue in this thesis for the application of "technological affordance," as formalised by the scholar of the sociology of technology Jenny L. Davis.<sup>12</sup> This concept provides a vocabulary for discussing how the capabilities of weaving technology interacted with the

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<sup>10</sup> Britt, *Interwoven Connections: The Stoddard Templeton Design Studio & Design Library, 1843-2005*.

<sup>11</sup> Judy Attfield, "The Tufted Carpet in Britain: It's Rise from the Bottom of the Pile 1952-1970.," *Journal of Design History* 7, no. 3 (1994): 205–16; Judy Attfield, "The Real Thing: Tufted Carpet's Entry into the Vernacular," in *Disentangling Textiles: Techniques for the Study of Designed Objects*, ed. Mary Schoeser and Christine Boydell (London: Middlesex University Press, 2002), 95–108.

<sup>12</sup> The concept of affordance is introduced in section 2.2 and discussed in greater detail in section 3.1. Jenny L Davis and James B Chouinard, "Theorizing Affordances: From Request to Refuse," *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society* 36, no. 4 (December 1, 2016): 241–48, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0270467617714944>; Jenny L Davis, *How Artifacts Afford the Power and Politics of Everyday Things* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2020).



manufacturer's needs to shape how technology was used and what was produced. For this study of manufacture, the technological artefact is understood to be the Chenille Axminster weave structure, and the users are the Templeton staff who determined the design of carpets. Design, in this sense, is the process of specifying the qualities of the manufactured object, which includes, but is by no means limited to, pattern design.

This research is positioned at the intersection of the histories of design and technology, drawing on current methods to provide alternative approaches to the history of carpet manufacture. In doing so, I aim to extend discussion to a broader range of carpets by critiquing the qualitative hierarchies that have kept them, to borrow design historian Judy Attfield's phrase, "at the bottom of the pile."<sup>13</sup> The approach is supported by several disciplinary positions. Cultural hierarchies in design have been challenged by design historians' sociological concern for objects beyond a Modernist-influenced interest in "good design."<sup>14</sup> The pervasiveness of textiles in people's lived experience has made "everyday" woven products an established area of the history of dress and textiles.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the Social Construction of Technology has traced sociocultural influences in the development and deployment of manufacturing technologies.<sup>16</sup>

This thesis advances understanding of carpets woven on mechanised looms through detailed archival research that traces the interactions between the work of Templeton carpet designers and technologies of weave structure. The company was significant because of the scale, and often the high quality, of its output. The variety and detail of the archive records make them a uniquely rich source for examining carpet production. By framing the investigation of these archives in terms of the interaction of technology and design, I ask: What

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<sup>13</sup> Attfield, "The Tufted Carpet in Britain: It's Rise from the Bottom of the Pile 1952-1970."

<sup>14</sup> Judy Attfield, *Wild Things: The Material Culture of Everyday Life* (Oxford: Berg, 2000); Judy Attfield, "Redefining Kitsch: The Politics of Design," *Home Cultures* 3, no. 3 (2006): 201–12, <https://doi.org/10.2752/174063106779090758>; Kjetil Fallan, "'One Must Offer 'Something for Everyone': Designing Crockery for Consumer Consent in 1950s' Norway," *Journal of Design History* 22, no. 2 (2009): 133–49, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jdh/epp010>.

<sup>15</sup> Cheryl Buckley and Hazel Clark, *Fashion and Everyday Life: London and New York*, First (London;New York; Bloomsbury Academic, 2018); John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

<sup>16</sup> Wiebe E. Bijker, Thomas Parke Hughes, and T. J. Pinch, "The Social Construction of Technological Systems: New Directions in the Sociology and History of Technology" (Cambridge, MA;London; MIT Press, 2012).

opportunities and constraints did weave structures afford for Templeton? How did carpet designers negotiate these technical capabilities? How did Templeton's use of weaving technology engage with the cultural appreciation of carpets?

## 1.2 The Chenille Axminster weaving process.

A prime example of the challenges addressed by this thesis is the poor current understanding of the Chenille Axminster process of carpet weaving. Templeton's 1839 patent for this process was the basis for his company and remained closely identified with his name.<sup>17</sup> Unlike other carpet-making techniques, the Chenille Axminster process involves two separate stages of weaving.<sup>18</sup> In the first, a striped cloth is woven, the pattern of stripes corresponding to the sequence of colours in a row of the carpet pattern. This cloth is cut into several identical strips along its length to make what is called chenille "fur." The term "chenille" was adopted from the French word for "caterpillar" to describe the appearance of the thin furry strip. Figure 1.1 shows a detail of a Templeton Chenille Axminster carpet from the reverse.<sup>19</sup> A strand of chenille fur has worked loose from the cut edge of the carpet and the sequence of colours that has been woven into it to make the pattern of the pile is clearly visible. Chenille fur is therefore specific to an individual pattern. In the second weaving process, known as "setting," the fur is used as a supplementary weft to form the surface pile of the carpet while other sets of structural warp and weft are interwoven to make the carpet's foundation.

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<sup>17</sup> Sarah B Sherrill, *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and America* (New York; London; Abbeville Press, 1996), 228–29.

<sup>18</sup> For full technical description of the weaving technique and equipment, see: Roberts Beaumont and Frank Beaumont, *Carpets and Rugs* (Scott, Greenwood & Son, 1924), 307–36; Fred Bradbury, *Carpet Manufacture* (Belfast; London; J. Heywood, 1904), 247–79.

For other uses of "chenille" in domestic textiles, see: Judith Ann Greason and Tina Skinner, *Chenille: A Collector's Guide* (Atglen, Pennsylvania: Schiffer, 2002); Clive Edwards, *Encyclopedia of Furnishing Textiles, Floorcoverings, and Home Furnishing Practices, 1200-1950* (Aldershot, UK: Lund Humphries, 2007), 49.

<sup>19</sup> This Templeton Chenille Axminster Carpet (Accession Number T.199-1978, Victoria and Albert Museum, London) is labelled with the pattern number 2548 and has been given an approximate production date of the "late nineteenth century." Templeton pattern numbers were issued to designs according to range rather than in strict chronological order. However, the adjacent pattern numbers, 2547 and 2549 were issued between March and April 1912; see UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/5/1 "Design Studio Record Book." This suggests a later approximate date for the design of this carpet than the estimate in the Victoria and Albert Museum object record.



**Figure 1.1 Detail of a Templeton Chenille Axminster carpet from the reverse, showing a strand of patterned chenille fur weft which has become loose at the cut edge of the carpet: James Templeton and Company, 'Carpet,' Accession Number T.199-1978, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.**

The benefits and constraints offered by this complex method of manufacture changed over time. When James Templeton developed the process from techniques used for shawl-weaving in the 1830s, Chenille Axminster was faster to weave and more suited to batch production than hand-knotting techniques. It offered the same flexibility of design as hand-knotting and avoided the limitations that Brussels and Wilton Jacquard looms placed on the number of shades that could be used in a pattern and their placement in the design. Chenille Axminster weaving also made more efficient use of materials, needing as little as a fifth of the costly pile yarn as a Wilton carpet with the same density of pile. However, Brussels and Wilton looms were faster in operation than those for Chenille Axminster and, in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, proved more easily adaptable to powered mechanisation (discussed in greater depth in sections 3.23.5). Spool Axminster weaving, which was introduced to Britain from the United States at the end of the 1870s, used an entirely different weave structure and machinery but matched Chenille Axminster for its flexibility of colouring and exceeded it in speed of production.

Chenille Axminster setting looms usually required two weavers which made them more labour intensive than highly mechanised Spool or Gripper Axminster looms. As labour became a greater cost of production after World War II the relative advantages of the Chenille process were reduced.<sup>20</sup> The flexibility of pile depth and density allowed by the Chenille Axminster process, the greater widths of seamless carpet that could be woven, and the capacity to weave relatively short runs of a design, became more prominent benefits.

The current literature often associates this weave structure with ornate multicoloured design, leaving other uses of the technique unexamined. It is surprising, therefore, to find that in 1923 a consumers' guide to flooring stated:

Most Chenille [carpets] are made in solid colours, although it is possible to use an unlimited number of colours, and thus imitate almost perfectly genuine hand-made Oriental rugs.<sup>21</sup>

These types of carpet - plain-coloured and reproduction oriental - are well represented in the archives of Templeton and retailers. (Figure 1.2) As suggested in the flooring catalogue, they were popular and commercially significant products in the interwar period. Strikingly, however, these categories of carpet design are almost entirely absent from the scholarship on British carpets. The earlier focus on the authorship of pattern design, and elite cultural forms in the decorative arts, have placed plain-coloured carpets beyond comment. Compared to their hand-knotted counterparts, the low cultural status of reproduction oriental carpets has meant that they have only recently become subjects of study, benefitting from the postcolonial interest in transcultural material culture.

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<sup>20</sup> Manufacturers, including Templeton, sought to control labour costs by employing women chenille weavers, who were paid lower rates than male power loom weavers. A. Crossland, *Modern Carpet Manufacture* (London: Columbine, 1958), 118, 124.

<sup>21</sup> Otis Allen Kenyon, *Carpets and Rugs* (North Canton, Ohio: The Hoover company, 1923), 105.

**CHOICE CARPETS AT BARGAIN PRICES**  
(PRODUCTS OF THE BEST BRITISH MANUFACTURERS ONLY)  
Examples of a large number of SEAMLESS AXMINSTERS IN SUPER GRADE AND STANDARD QUALITY DEEP PILE

The advertisement displays three carpet samples: A (Persian-style), B (modern abstract), and C (plain-coloured). Below the samples is a table of price reductions for 'SUPER GRADE' carpets.

Illustrations A and B are in				SUPER GRADE				and available in the sizes specified at the following great reductions:-			
Reduced from		To		Reduced from		To		Reduced from		To	
ft. in.	ft. in.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	ft. in.	ft. in.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	ft. in.	ft. in.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
7 6	6 0	4 10 6	3 3 6	10 6	9 0	9 9 6	6 13 6	13 6	10 6	11 3 6	9 19 6
7 6	7 6	5 12 6	3 19 6	10 6	10 6	11 2 6	7 16 6	13 6	12 0	16 4 6	11 10 6
9 0	7 6	6 15 6	4 15 6	12 0	7 6	8 19 6	6 7 6	15 0	12 0	17 19 6	12 15 6
9 0	9 0	8 2 6	5 14 6	12 0	6 0	10 18 6	7 12 6	16 6	12 0	19 16 6	13 19 6
10 6	7 6	7 17 6	5 11 6	12 0	10 6	12 12 6	8 18 6	18 0	12 0	21 12 6	15 7 6

Illustration A is available in all sizes quoted with the exception of those marked \*  
Illustration B is available in all sizes quoted with the exception of those marked †

**Figure 1.2 Carpets with plain-coloured, modern abstract, and Persian-style designs advertised by Hampton and Sons department store, 1939. Image: Hampton and Sons Ltd., "Under Seven Reigns, 1939," 334/2011, Museum of the Home, London.**

It became clear during the research that fresh explanations were needed for the continued use of the Chenille Axminster process by James Templeton and Company that went beyond the references to colouring that were familiar from secondary sources. Therefore, the period examined in this thesis does not examine the features of the Chenille Axminster process that prompted its development by James Templeton, but rather the ways that it was used by the company in response to changing needs. The process's features and benefits are reassessed in Chapter 3. Chapter 5 addresses how these interacted with the cultural connotations that were ascribed in Britain to Persian-style carpet design. In Chapter 6, the benefits and constraints of the weaving process are further reassessed in relation to the challenge posed to traditional pattern design by the trend for plain coloured carpets in the 1920s and 1930s.

### 1.3 Chronological parameters of the thesis.

The fifty-year period of Templeton's production investigated by this thesis is bounded by the construction of the company's landmark factory building on Glasgow Green in 1889-90 and the rapid scaling down of weaving in 1939 as the

company started wartime production. The significance of this period is explained here by reference to a summary of the company history.

James Templeton's patent for the Chenille Axminster weaving in 1839 was a novel technique that balanced pattern flexibility with the reproducibility associated with factory production methods.<sup>22</sup> Batches of Chenille Axminster carpets could be woven more quickly and cheaply than by using traditional hand-knotting techniques and without the constraints the weave structures of Brussels, Wilton, and Ingrain carpets imposed on patterning.<sup>23</sup> In the mid-nineteenth century, Templeton was known for high-quality, often bespoke, Chenille Axminster carpets. At the Great Exhibition of 1851, the *Art Journal* commented, "We have never seen any fabric of this description richer and more elegant than this."<sup>24</sup> Templeton diversified their products in the 1850s by installing looms for weaving Brussels and Wilton carpets, becoming a significant producer of Jacquard-woven Brussels and Wilton carpets.<sup>25</sup>

The development of the Spool Axminster weaving process in the late-nineteenth century marked a significant point in terms of Templeton's physical infrastructure. The Spool Axminster weaving process had been developed and patented in the United States by Halcyon Skinner during the 1860s and 1870s.<sup>26</sup> It enabled cheaper cut-pile carpets with multi-coloured designs to be woven faster than by the Chenille Axminster process and made more efficient use of materials

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<sup>22</sup> The original Chenille Axminster patent was granted to James Templeton and William Quiglay, a weaver. Chenille weaving was an established part of shawl making, but Templeton's invention relates specifically to weaving fabrics with a pile on one side only, such as carpets. University of Glasgow Archives and Special Collections, Stoddard Templeton Collection (hereafter UGSTC) GB 248 STOD/201/2/8/1 "Templeton Quiglay Patent.;" "Specification of the Patent Granted to James Templeton, Manufacturer, in Paisley, and William Quiglay, Weaver, in Paisley, for an Improved Mode of Manufacturing Silk, Cotton, Woollen, and Linen Fabrics - Sealed July 25, 1839.," *The Repertory of Patent Inventions: And Other Discoveries and Improvements in Arts, Manufactures, and Agriculture; Being a Continuation, on an Enlarged Plan, of the Repertory of Arts & Manufactures* 17 (1842): 295–300.

<sup>23</sup> For an overview of developments in carpet weaving technique, see: Wendy Hefford, "Patents for Strip-Carpeting 1741-1851," *Furniture History* 23 (1987): 1–10; A. B. Roth, *A Brief Survey of Carpet Manufacture with Special Reference to the Major Inventions and Notes on Changes in Design*. (Manchester, 1934).

<sup>24</sup> *The Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue : The Industry of All Nations 1851.*, 1851, 135.

<sup>25</sup> J. Neville Bartlett, *Carpeting the Millions: The Growth of Britain's Carpet Industry* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1978), 71.

<sup>26</sup> Roth, *A Brief Survey of Carpet Manufacture with Special Reference to the Major Inventions and Notes on Changes in Design.*, 139.

than Brussels and Wilton weaving.<sup>27</sup> In 1887, Templeton obtained the rights for an improved Spool Axminster loom which wove wider carpets with a finer and denser pile.<sup>28</sup> To capitalise on the patent, Templeton undertook its most significant infrastructure project, commissioning a polychrome brick building on Glasgow Green, designed by William Leiper. Known locally as the “Doge’s Palace,” the new building accommodated the large Spool Axminster looms’ increased space requirements.<sup>29</sup>

The construction of the factory in 1890 forms a boundary point for this thesis, accelerating Templeton’s growth and ushering a period of relative stability in the types of weaving processes used by the company. Templeton developed mass-market products such as ‘Jorian’ Spool Axminster carpets and Chenille Axminster Parquet Carpets which were woven in large batches for sale from stock (these are examined in Chapter 3). Intensification of production became a priority and, by 1900, Templeton employed over two thousand workers.<sup>30</sup> Intensification was further enabled by the vertical integration of yarn spinning in 1905, which was extended during World War I to meet the demand for weaving army blankets.<sup>31</sup> By 1932, it was estimated that Templeton mills made more carpet yarn than any other British spinner.<sup>32</sup>

Between 1919 and 1939, company partner Fred H. Young notes that the company experienced “greater growth than ever before.”<sup>33</sup> The company made capital investments in new looms, warehouses, and factories.<sup>34</sup> The trade press reported

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<sup>27</sup> For a full technical description of the Spool Axminster process, see: Beaumont and Beaumont, *Carpets and Rugs*, 336–58; Bradbury, *Carpet Manufacture*, 209–46.

<sup>28</sup> Bartlett, *Carpeting the Millions: The Growth of Britain’s Carpet Industry*, 41; Bertram Jacobs, *The Story of British Carpets*. (London: Carpet Review, 1968), 71.

<sup>29</sup> The first stage of building in 1889 resulted in the tragic deaths of twenty-nine workers when the ornamental façade collapsed during high winds. Construction recommenced in 1890. Young, *A Century of Carpet Making, 1839-1939.*, 51.

<sup>30</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/11/1/2 “Summary record of employees.”

<sup>31</sup> Templeton ran the Rockvale spinning mills in Stirling from 1905, the Brookside Street factory in Glasgow from 1916, and in Tillicoultry, Clackmannanshire, from 1917 to 1931. *The Templetonian*, July 1933, 3. Young, *A Century of Carpet Making, 1839-1939.*, 58.

<sup>32</sup> “Where Carpets Are Made,” *The National Floorcoverings Review*, 1932, 2.

<sup>33</sup> Young, *A Century of Carpet Making, 1839-1939.*, 61.

<sup>34</sup> Templeton operated factories at: Templeton Street (formerly called William Street), Bernard Street, Brookside Street, Crownpoint Road, Fordneuk Street, Kerr Street and Tullis Place in the East End of Glasgow; spinning mills in Stirling and Tillicoultry; and, from 1938, a factory in Navan, County Meath, Ireland. See Figure 1.4.

Templeton's up-to-date equipment and rationalised workflow; new buildings were:

constructed with regard to securing the best light and ventilation, and the machinery has been laid out so that there may be the maximum efficiency in handling materials from start to finish.<sup>35</sup>

By the 1930s, Templeton employed nearly half the workers in the Scottish carpet industry,<sup>36</sup> and more than one in ten of all carpet workers in Britain.<sup>37</sup> This reached a peak in 1939 when four thousand workers were employed in the company's seven factories and two spinning mills in the United Kingdom and Ireland, with warehouses and agencies around the world.<sup>38</sup> The company was rivalled by only John Crossley and Sons Ltd., Halifax, and Brintons Ltd., Kidderminster, in terms of the scale of their operation and the quantity of carpet the company produced.<sup>39</sup>

Templeton's weaving processes in the early-twentieth century included Chenille Axminster, Spool Axminster, Brussels, and Wilton weaving.<sup>40</sup> Product lists and catalogues offered a diverse and growing range of products, from high-end carpet squares to doormats. Figure 1.3, showing products from the late-1920s, gives a sense of this variety, including oval deep pile rugs in contemporary floral

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<sup>35</sup> "Where Carpets Are Made," 7.

<sup>36</sup> The Scottish Committee of the Council for Art and Industry estimated 6,775 Scottish carpet workers in 1932, see: GSAAC GB 1694 GSAA/DIR/9/90, "Scottish Committee of the Council for Art and Industry."

In 1932, Templeton employed 3,156 workers: UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/11/1/2 "Summary record of employees."

Note that Census Scotland figure for carpet, rug and felt workers in 1931 is higher, at 8,438 workers, but this is due to the inclusion of "out-of-work" workers over a wider range of floorcovering industries. See: "Census of Scotland, 1931. Vol. III Occupations and Industries BPP 1934 [n/a] 422," 1934.

<sup>37</sup> In 1939, the British carpet industry employed an estimated 30,000 workers. Reginald Seymour Brinton and John F. C. Brinton, *Carpets*, 3rd ed. (London, 1947), 121.

<sup>38</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/11/1/2 "Summary record of employees."

<sup>39</sup> Creassey Edward Cecil Tattersall, *A History of British Carpets: From the Introduction of the Craft until the Present Day* (Benfleet, Essex: F. Lewis Ltd., 1934).

<sup>40</sup> Templeton also produced a small quantity of hand-knotted carpets between 1906 and 1915 when the firm became involved in the Sutherland and Caithness Handmade Carpet Association, a Scottish Home Industry begun by the Duchess of Sutherland. This short-lived venture provides an opportunity for future research: "Carpet Factory in Helmsden, Sutherlandshire," *Journal of the Society of Arts* 53 (November 18, 1904): 971.



patterns and a popular Persian-style pattern, adapted for carpet squares, body, borders, corridor, and stair carpets.<sup>41</sup>



**Figure 1.3 UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/9/3 “Rugs and Mats,” c.1929.**

Wider, broadloom carpeting became increasingly important additions to the company’s traditional bordered carpet squares as improvements to looms allowed wider, seamless carpets to be woven.<sup>42</sup> Templeton made products in more diverse sizes and formats, with an ever expanding array of fashionable and traditional pattern styles, to suit a broad range of budgets, but the company’s

<sup>41</sup> No publication date for the catalogue is given, but the earliest production dates of designs in the catalogue can be found by cross-reference to the Design Studio Reference Books. For example, Jorian Square pattern number 3/532 was first recorded on 18th March 1929. See: UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/5/2 “Design Studio Record Books.”

<sup>42</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/20 “Price Lists.”

use weaving techniques and materials changed less rapidly.<sup>43</sup> Except for short-lived experimentation with rayon pile rugs in the late 1920s, Templeton consolidated its strengths in woollen and worsted pile carpets.<sup>44</sup>

In the early years of World War II, Templeton made a small number of carpets from rationed raw materials but, by 1942, carpet looms were almost entirely replaced by the machinery necessary for the new products needed for warfare.<sup>45</sup> The temporary cessation of carpet weaving during World War II thus forms the endpoint of the period examined in this thesis. The buoyant market for carpets during post-war reconstruction was followed by challenging trading conditions in later decades. British carpet manufacturers faced fiercer competition from imports, and the market for woven, patterned carpets was reduced by the growing popularity of cheaper Needle-tufted carpets and wood-laminate flooring.<sup>46</sup> Organisational change in the British industry resulted in acquisitions and consolidations of major firms, and the successor company to Templeton went into receivership in 2006.<sup>47</sup>

There are four key points to highlight in this brief account of the company. Templeton was significant in the British industry in terms of its scale of production. The company used a range of weave technologies but was particularly associated with the Chenille Axminster technique patented by its founder. The years from 1890 to 1939 were preceded and followed by significant

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<sup>43</sup> For comparable diversification in printed textiles, see: Emily Anne Baharini Baines, "Design and the Formation of Taste in the British Printed Calico Industry 1919 to 1940" (PhD thesis, De Montfort University, 2002).

<sup>44</sup> For examples of Templeton's rayon rugs from the late 1920s, see: UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/2011/1/12/4 "Asiatic and Rayon Rugs."

Regenerated and synthetic pile fibres were frequently used in the industry from the late 1940s, most commonly Evlan (a stiff rayon fibre developed by Courtauld for carpet weaving) and later nylon and the acrylic fibre Acrilan, often blended with wool. Templeton produced its first all nylon pile commercial carpet in 1957, but maintained its commitment to traditional, wool pile carpet construction. These deserve separate study and are outwith period covered by this thesis. See: Crossland, *Modern Carpet Manufacture*, 8–14; George Robinson, *Carpets*, 2nd ed. (London: Pitman, 1972), 21–31.

<sup>45</sup> *Templeton Newsletter*, December 1942, 1.

<sup>46</sup> Attfield, "The Tufted Carpet in Britain: It's Rise from the Bottom of the Pile 1952-1970.," Melvyn Thompson, *Woven in Kidderminster: An Illustrated History of the Carpet Industry in the Kidderminster Area Including Stourport, Bridgnorth and Bewdley: 1735-2000* (Kidderminster: David Voice Associates, 2002), 113–35.

<sup>47</sup> University of Glasgow Archives and Special Collections, "Records of Stoddard International Plc.," Jisc Archiveshub, accessed January 16, 2016, <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb248-stod>.

changes to the industry but were a period of growth for the company. During this period, there was continuity in the types of carpet weave structures used by Templeton and the materials used to make them, but the range of products it produced diversified.

The period from 1890 to 1939 was one in which Templeton incrementally improved carpet weaving technologies but did not introduce revolutionary change. At the same time, the expansion in the consumption of carpets contributed to Templeton's growth, which was augmented by rationalised production and alertness to stylistic changes in pattern design. The period represents the consolidation of the firm's strengths: making traditional woven products with high-quality pattern design aimed at the middle to the upper end of the domestic and contract markets, both in Britain and in former British territories overseas. Therefore, this study examines weaving technology *in use* by Templeton carpet designers rather than mapping atypical moments of invention or innovation. This position avoids the tendency towards Whiggish histories of technological progress, which are found in earlier accounts of the carpet industry,<sup>48</sup> or what Sigfried Giedion termed the "creed of progress."<sup>49</sup> It also meets the long-standing call from historians of technology that, "we should not conflate the history of invention and innovation with the history of technology,"<sup>50</sup> instead, being attentive to the diverse ways that technologies and their users interact over time, including strategies such as re-purposing and adaptation.<sup>51</sup> The users of the weaving technology are, in this case, the designers and manufacturing staff rather than the householders and other end consumers of carpets. By studying at technology-in-use, I have revealed instances in which the manufacturer, James Templeton and Company, adapted the way that it used the Chenille Axminster process. This approach improves the

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<sup>48</sup> For example: Tattersall, *A History of British Carpets: From the Introduction of the Craft until the Present Day*, 1934, 105–6.

<sup>49</sup> Sigfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 30–31.

<sup>50</sup> David Edgerton, "From Innovation to Use: Ten Eclectic Theses on the Historiography of Technology," *History and Technology* 16, no. 2 (1999): 129, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07341519908581961>.

<sup>51</sup> For example: Ruth Schwartz Cowan, *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave*. (New York: Basic Books, 1983); David Edgerton, "Innovation, Technology, or History: What Is the Historiography of Technology About?," *Technology and Culture* 51, no. 3 (2010): 680–97.

current understanding of the interaction of designers and weaving technology in the production of these ubiquitous consumer goods.

### 1.3.1 Geographical parameters of the thesis.

Templeton was prominent in the national carpet industry, but the firm's international reach means that the geographic parameters of this study extend beyond the Scottish context. In Glasgow, the scale of Templeton's production outpaced competitors in its immediate vicinity, including John Lyle and Company Ltd. and Alexander Murdoch and Company Ltd. Figure 1.4 shows the district in the east end of Glasgow, spanning the Calton and Bridgeton areas of the city, in which Templeton's main factories were sited. The principal activities carried out at each factory location are summarised in Table 1. The combined footprint of Templeton's factories exceeded that of any of the surrounding textile manufacturing companies and light industries, underlining their prominence in the local area. Templeton competed with other major Scottish manufacturers of high-quality carpets, such as Grays of Ayr, but specialisation by weaving-technique restricted competition to some degree. A. F. Stoddards and Co., Elderslie, for example, specialised in Printed Tapestry carpet weaving but did not make the Chenille Axminster carpets for which Templeton was renowned.

Currently, research is being conducted into Templeton's local impact in terms of the social history of production.<sup>52</sup> The local context is also relevant to the examination of Templeton's contribution to design education in Glasgow (Chapter 4). This builds on research by Helena Britt into design pedagogy and practice in the carpet trade.<sup>53</sup>

Templeton's primary market was the United Kingdom, but its impact was global, both in terms of the distribution of its products (discussed in Chapter 3), and the cultural sources of pattern design (examined in Chapter 5). Rather than

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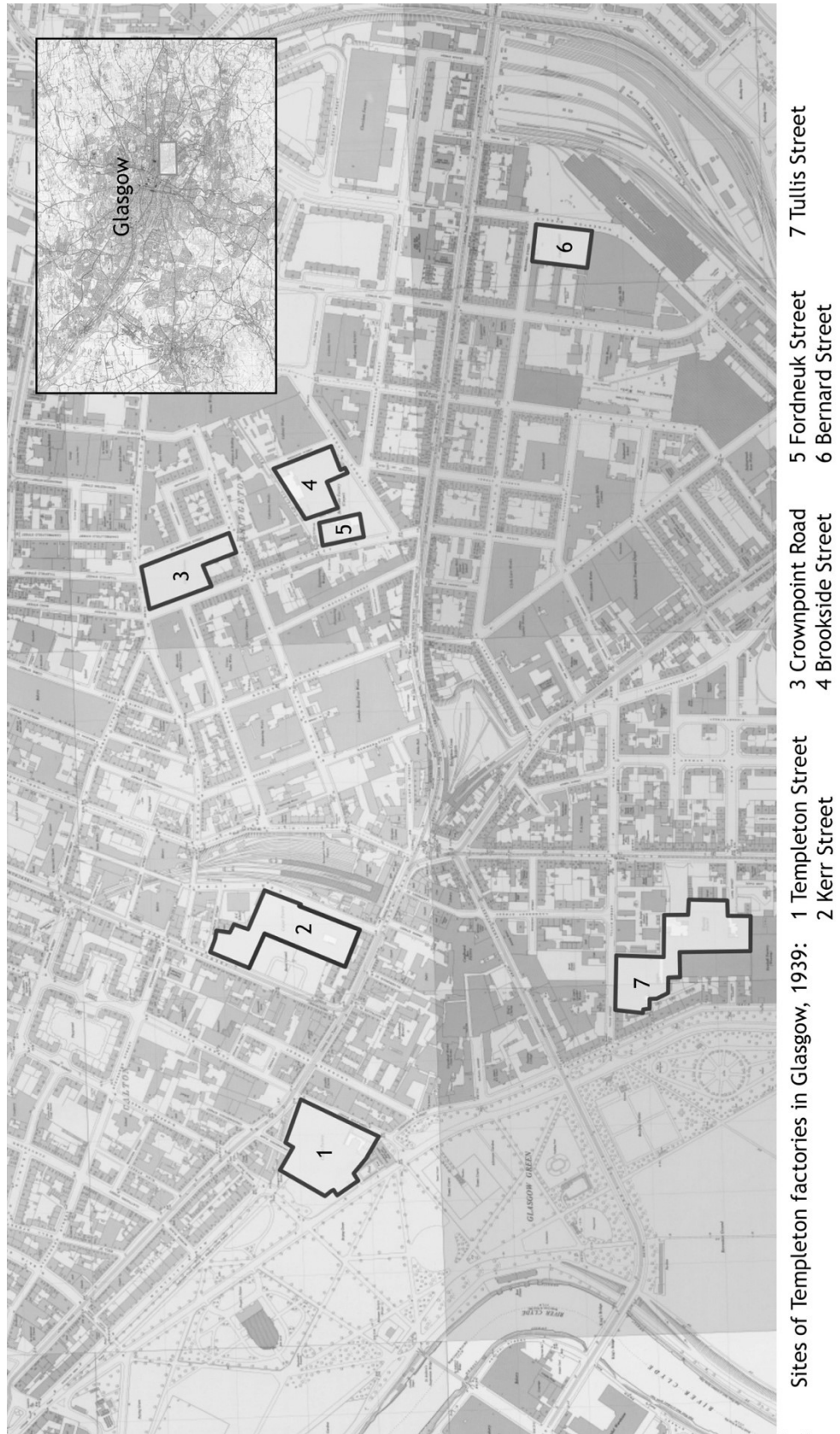
<sup>52</sup> Rory Stride, "Gender, Loss and Memory: The Impact of Deindustrialisation on Women Workers in Scotland since 1970." (University of Strathclyde. Current PhD project, begun 2018., n.d.).

<sup>53</sup> Britt, *Interwoven Connections: The Stoddard Templeton Design Studio & Design Library, 1843-2005*; Helena Britt, "Utilizing Archives and Collections: Textile Education, Industry and Practice II," *Journal of Textile Design Research and Practice* 8, no. 1 (January 2, 2020): 1–3, <https://doi.org/10.1080/20511787.2020.1700028>.

exclusively pursuing Templeton's context in Glasgow, this study contributes to a growing body of recent research from diverse disciplinary positions that consider Scottish textile production with an awareness of global cultural interactions.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Dorothy Armstrong, "What Is an 'Oriental' Carpet? Reimagining, Remaking, Repossessing the Patterned Pile Carpets of South, Central and West Asia since 1840" (Royal College of Art, 2019); Stana Nenadic, "Selling Printed Cottons in Mid-Nineteenth-Century India: John Matheson of Glasgow and Scottish Turkey Red," *Enterprise and Society* 20, no. 2 (2019): 328–65; Sally Tuckett and Stana Nenadic, *Colouring the Nation: A New in-Depth Study of the Turkey Red Pattern Books in the National Museums Scotland* (Maney Publishing, 2012); Julie Hodges Wertz, "Turkey Red Dyeing in Late-19th Century Glasgow: Interpreting the Historical Process through Re-Creation and Chemical Analysis for Heritage Research and Conservation" (University of Glasgow, 2017).



**Figure 1.4 Map of the Calton and Bridgeton areas in the east end of Glasgow showing the locations of Templeton’s main factories in 1939. The inset indicating the location of the mapped area in Glasgow. Adapted from Ordnance Survey National Grid maps, 1:1,250, 1944-1970, NS6064 – A, NS6164 - A. Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland (CC BY 4.0).**

Table 1 The primary uses of Templeton factory locations, 1839 – 1939.

Templeton factory location	Date	Primary use
Redan Street (formerly named King Street), Glasgow.	1839 - 1857	Chenille Axminster carpet weaving and other production and administrative departments.
Templeton Street (formerly named William Street), Glasgow.	From 1857	Chenille Axminster carpet weaving and other production (including design, dyeing, and engineering) and administrative departments.
	From 1879	Also Spool Axminster weaving.
Kerr Street (formerly named West Street), Glasgow.	From 1900	Chenille Axminster carpet weaving.
	From 1930	Seamless Wilton carpet weaving.
Crownpoint Road, Glasgow.	1855 - 1886	Jacquard-woven curtain weaving.
	From 1855	Wilton and Brussels carpet weaving and other production including dyeing.
Brookside Street, Glasgow.	From 1907	Spool Axminster carpet finishing and warehousing.
	From 1916	Spinning.
Fordneuk Street, Glasgow.	From 1850s	Wilton and Brussels carpet weaving, warehousing.
Bernard Street, Glasgow.	From 1919	Chenille Axminster setting/finishing.
	From 1935	Also warehouse for finished stock.
Tullis Street, Glasgow.	1920 - 1923	Chenille Axminster fur weaving.
	From 1923	Dyeing and Chenille Axminster fur weaving.
Rockvale, Stirling.	From 1905	Worsted and woollen spinning
Tillicoultry, Clackmannanshire.	1917 - 1932	Worsted and woollen spinning.
Navan, County Meath, Ireland.	From 1938	Chenille Axminster carpet weaving.

## 1.4 Social context of Templeton's production, 1890-1939.

Between 1890 and 1939, Templeton increased production, sales, and employment. The context for this growth was an expansion in demand in Britain as production efficiencies made carpets more attainable for the growing demographic of suburban homeowners.<sup>55</sup> Corresponding expansion occurred in Templeton's contract market for the interiors of hotels, public buildings, transport, and leisure facilities. Challenges to growth included increased competition from overseas manufacturers and periods of labour shortage, and economic recession following the traumas of World War I.<sup>56</sup> The firm benefitted from waves of expansion in house building in Britain. The rapid increase in house building between 1920 and 1938 added between nine million to twelve million new homes to the national stock of housing, each of which consumed an estimated sixteen square yards of carpet.<sup>57</sup> Continued urbanisation in its main export markets - Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa - also contributed to a growing consumer base.<sup>58</sup>

Carpet ownership was still an aspirational feature of middle-class homes. The majority of British homes had carpets in only one or two rooms or on a staircase, and in 1946, fifty per cent of working-class homes had no carpets at all.<sup>59</sup> However, it was still a substantial increase on levels of carpet ownership at the

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<sup>55</sup> For the domestic culture of the expanding demographic of consumers, see: Sarah Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs* (Yale University Press, 2019); Peter Scott, "Equipping the Suburban Home," in *The Making of the Modern British Home* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Deborah Sugg Ryan, *Ideal Homes, 1918-39: Domestic Design and Suburban Modernism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018).

The longer history of the emergence of the British middle class, in relation to their domestic material culture, has a substantial historiography. Of particular relevance are: Deborah Cohen, "Household Gods: The British and Their Possessions" (London;New Haven, Conn; Yale University Press, 2006); Clive Edwards, "Furnishing a Home at the Turn of the Century: The Use of Furnishing Estimates from 1875 to 1910.," *Journal of Design History* 4, no. 4 (1991): 233-39; Katherine C Grier, *Culture & Comfort: Parlor Making and Middle-Class Identity, 1850-1930* (London;Washington, DC; Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997); Helen C Long, *The Edwardian House: The Middle-Class Home in Britain 1880-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993); Margaret Ponsonby, *Stories from Home: English Domestic Interiors, 1750-1850* (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2007).

<sup>56</sup> Carpet Industry Working Party, *Carpets* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1947), 25-38; Bartlett, *Carpeting the Millions: The Growth of Britain's Carpet Industry*, 189-202.

<sup>57</sup> Bartlett, *Carpeting the Millions: The Growth of Britain's Carpet Industry*, 191.

<sup>58</sup> Linda Young, *Middle Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia, and Britain* (Basingstoke;New York; Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

<sup>59</sup> Carpet Industry Working Party, *Carpets*, 63.



turn of the century. Furthermore, carpeted public buildings and quasi-domestic interiors were part of the lives of those with few carpets in their homes. Ownership was aided by the expansion of hire purchase schemes by retailers and the de-stigmatisation of buying on credit in the interwar years.<sup>60</sup> Templeton partner, Fred H. Young, reported that the nation-wide programme of house building, and improved standard of living, had buffered the impact on the company of the 1926 General Strike and the 1931 financial crisis.<sup>61</sup> Templeton met a generally keen market for carpet and rug ownership with increasingly affordable ranges of carpet squares (such as the Parquet Carpets examined in Chapter 3), and, later, broadloom carpeting for wall-to-wall fitting (discussed in Chapter 6).

Equally important to the company was the accompanying growth in the construction of leisure, retail, hospitality, and public buildings, the interiors of which required carpets with the scale, regularity and repeatability that was afforded by mechanised weaving.<sup>62</sup> The boom in the construction of public buildings with carpeted interiors in the 1930s was such that the trade journal, *The Furnishing World*, advertised the contracts for carpeting more than sixty new cinemas in a single month in 1935.<sup>63</sup> Templeton's high profile contract work included carpeting luxury ocean liners and royal coronations in Westminster Abbey.<sup>64</sup> It is important to note that a focus on the production of carpets, rather than their consumption, helps to underline the permeability between private and public interiors. Templeton's work for both domestic and contract interiors drew on the same capabilities of technology and design. The glamour of ocean liner design and what Sugg-Ryan terms the "suburban modernism" of the new, smaller, semi-detached home epitomise diverse typologies of interwar interiors

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<sup>60</sup> "Twenty-five years in the trade's history," *The Furnishing World*, Vol. 7 No. 89, 2 May 1935, 551-3. For discussion of consumers' acquisition strategies, including hire purchase schemes, see: Scott, "Equipping the Suburban Home."

<sup>61</sup> F. H. Young, 'The Making of Carpets,' *The Scotsman*, 29 April 1938, 47. Prosperity in the mid-1930s was felt across the British carpet industry, which trade journals attributed to the demographic effect of workers' increasing wages. 'Survey of the World Carpet Trade,' *Carpet Annual 1937*, 5.

<sup>62</sup> Arnott and Tysser, *Carpet Annual*, 13.

<sup>63</sup> *The Furnishing World*, Vol. 7 No. 88, 16 April 1935, 503; *The Furnishing World*, Vol. 7 No. 89, 2 May 1935, 614.

<sup>64</sup> James Templeton & Co Ltd., *Carpets of Distinction*. (Glasgow: Templeton, 1951), 9-15.

with complicated relationships to Modernist ideals.<sup>65</sup> Carpet ownership indicated domesticity, comfort, and prosperity and studying their production provides a basis for future research of their consumption and use. Many of the carpets examined in this thesis were made for the home consumer, but Templeton's growth over this period in both domestic and contract work relied on the work of skilled designers who had a deep understanding of the technology of weave structure. The evidence of this skill and knowledge is evident throughout the company archives.

## 1.5 Primary sources.

The increased accessibility of primary sources in the decades since the major publications by Sherrill, Haslam and Day underline the timeliness of this research. The most significant is the acquisition of the Stoddard Templeton archives by a consortium of Glasgow institutions, following the liquidation of British Carpets Ltd. in 2006.<sup>66</sup> Vitaly, the visual records have not been detached from their technical and commercial context. This has been essential to the method of integrating information visual, documentary, and material sources in the thesis.

The completion of the archive catalogue in 2011 has enabled this study to cross-reference a wider range of materials than were available to earlier scholars. The Stoddard Templeton archives are complemented by The Museum of Carpet, Kidderminster, opened in 2012 to house materials from former local manufacturers. The formation of the museum collection was followed by publications by Melvyn Thomson charting the history of the English industry.<sup>67</sup> Design records of John Crossley and Sons Ltd., Halifax, were acquired by Calderdale Museums between 2002 and 2014, but as they are predominantly

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<sup>65</sup> Sugg Ryan, *Ideal Homes, 1918-39: Domestic Design and Suburban Modernism*, 19.

<sup>66</sup> The acquisition of the archives was supported by awards from the National Heritage Memorial Fund, the National Fund for Acquisitions, the Friends of the National Library, and the Friends of Glasgow Museums. The University of Glasgow Archives and Special Collections hold the Corporate and Design archives; Glasgow School of Art holds the Design Library and a study textile collection; Glasgow Museums hold the Stoddard Templeton Heritage Carpet Collection.

<sup>67</sup> Frederick W Head and Melvyn Thompson, *Weaving in Bridgnorth* (Kidderminster: David Voice Associates, 2004).

post-World War II, they are beyond the remit of the current study.<sup>68</sup> Research into the Stoddard Templeton collection is necessary to balance an existing focus on Kidderminster with the context of Scottish manufacturing. While these rich archival sources have become available for research, others are less accessible than they were at the time of Sherrill's research on British carpets. For example, the design archives of companies including Woodward Grosvenor and Company Ltd., Kidderminster, have been acquired as the commercial property of Brintons Carpets Ltd. and are currently inaccessible to researchers.<sup>69</sup>

### **1.5.1 The Corporate and Design archives of James Templeton and Company.**

The main primary sources used for this research are Templeton's Corporate and Design archives held at the University of Glasgow.<sup>70</sup> The Templeton archives are the most complete and extensive of the twenty-one carpet manufacturers that had been incorporated into the Stoddard International Group plc.<sup>71</sup> The vast design archive includes nearly six thousand drawings that had been retained as an inspirational resource for designers, although these are only a minor proportion of the companies' total output.

The Templeton design archives were primarily a collection of past design work and visual sources for the use by the company's designers. Few records from before 1880 have survive and it is probable that the greater preservation of records dating from around 1900 to 1940 was influenced by company partner Fred H. Young's work to publish a historical account for the firm's centennial

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<sup>68</sup> E-mail correspondence between the author and Elinor Camille-Wood, Curator, Calderdale Museum Service, October 2018.

<sup>69</sup> "Carpet Giant Buys Out Rival," *Worcester News*, May 22, 2003. After Woodward Grosvenor Ltd. ceased trading in 2016 a related company, Grosvenor Wilton Ltd., was established in Kidderminster, to continue manufacture.

<sup>70</sup> The Design Library, of over a thousand titles, has been catalogued by Glasgow School of Art and was the focus of: Britt, *Interwoven Connections: The Stoddard Templeton Design Studio & Design Library, 1843-2005*. A preliminary level of cataloguing is available for the Stoddard Templeton Heritage Carpet Collection, held by Glasgow Museums.

<sup>71</sup> James Templeton and Company did not participate in mergers or acquisitions of other firms until 1967 when Gray's Carpets Ltd., Ayr, was acquired. The effects of mergers are outside the period covered by this thesis, except to acknowledge that they may have encouraged the retention of records related to the prior history and achievements of James Templeton and Company.

anniversary (this is discussed in section 3.4).<sup>72</sup> The archives were further organised and refined following the firm's acquisition by the Stoddard Holdings Ltd. in 1980, and prior to acquisition by the current holders, to highlight the quality of the artwork and collections.<sup>73</sup> This project benefits from the richness of the design records but, importantly, has applied different evaluative criteria to them than those that shaped the archives. I have neither reiterated a celebratory emphasis on the company's highest profile achievements, nor constructed a history of stylistic progress in pattern design from the archives. Instead, I have sought to retrieve the processes of design and weaving that brought everyday products into existence.

The archive catalogue preserves their arrangement as a working collection - in one hundred and forty-two plan chest drawers with thematic titles. Challenges to research include their non-chronological arrangement, inconsistent contextual information, only a minority indicate dates and pattern references, and the small number of records that have been digitised. The lack of detailed sales data, compounded by the fact that Templeton supplied wholesale and trade customers, not end consumers, supported the decision to approach the archives through analysis of design and production rather than attempting to extrapolate historical consumer behaviour. Solutions to these challenges were found by detailed cross-referencing of annotations between archive records. The strength of the Templeton archive as a primary source is the breadth and diversity of its records. As this thesis demonstrates, they give the opportunity to build novel accounts of design and technology by connecting diverse visual, textual, and material data. In addition to design drawings (discussed further below), extensive use has been made of volumes of photographs of designs,<sup>74</sup> lithographs

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<sup>72</sup> This was later published posthumously. Young, *A Century of Carpet Making, 1839-1939*.

<sup>73</sup> For an account of the organisation of the design library and archive, see: UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/9/1 "Report on the Library."

Prior to acquisition by the consortium of Glasgow institutions, a number of drawings and carpets were acquired by the art dealer Paul Reeves, see: Sotheby's and Paul Reeves, *The Best of British: Design from the 19th and 20th Centuries. The Selling Exhibition, London 14-20 March 2008* (London: Sotheby's, 2008), 34–36.

<sup>74</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/7 "Design Photographs."

of patterns,<sup>75</sup> and records of designs bought from external sources.<sup>76</sup> Two groups of records are worthy of particular mention for their importance in establishing the chronology and properties of Templeton products: Design Studio Record Books and Price Lists.

The two volumes of Design Studio Record Books, titled “Letter Books,” list the design department’s daily production of Chenille Axminster and Spool Axminster carpet patterns from 1902 to 1969.<sup>77</sup> Each design was given a three-letter code and a single line of descriptive text. Other annotations might include details of design source, ground colour, warping information, design staff, and a pattern number if the design was put into production. The ability to cross-reference these dated resources with design drawings, pattern lithographs, designer names, and other records is used throughout the thesis to make the archives legible. I am grateful to the University of Glasgow Archives and Special Collections for photographing the Letter Books, making them available for this research and future study.

The series of price lists spans 1879 to 1981 with few interruptions.<sup>78</sup> Because Templeton dealt with wholesale and contract customers rather than directly to the public, it produced illustrated catalogues only intermittently. Lithographs of individual patterns were also gathered into pamphlets for retailers. As these were rarely dated, it is essential to cross-reference product names with the price lists to establish dates for product ranges. Price lists also record types of carpet that were not photographed or illustrated. This study has made innovative use of the price lists by reading them to indicate the capabilities of weaving technology rather than primarily for pricing data. This method has made it possible, for instance, to trace the importance of wider looms alongside the growing market for plain-coloured carpeting in the 1920s and 1930s (as examined in Chapter 6).

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<sup>75</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/3 “Design Lithographs.”

<sup>76</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/1 “Templeton Register of Designs Bought – Sketches 1897-1915.”

<sup>77</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/5 “Design Studio Record Books.”

<sup>78</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/20 “Price Lists.”

### 1.5.2 Additional primary sources.

The Templeton business and design archives are contextualised by reference to a selection of other primary sources. A broader understanding of the British carpet industry was gained from the trade periodicals which flourished during the 1930s, including *Carpet Annual* (1935-1970), *The Furnishing World* (1932-1942), and *The Scottish Furnishing Trade Journal* (1932-1940). The archives of the Incorporated Weaving, Dyeing and Printing College of Glasgow,<sup>79</sup> and the Glasgow School of Art,<sup>80</sup> were consulted for evidence of design education for carpet designers (Chapter 4.)

Primary evidence of the dissemination of carpets was gained from the House of Fraser archives,<sup>81</sup> and trade catalogue collections at the National Art Library, London, and the Museum of Home, London.<sup>82</sup> Due to extensive renovation, the Museum of the Home collections were closed to researchers during this project. I am therefore very grateful to the Museum for granting special access during a three-month internship with the curatorial department in 2018. Domestic advice texts and consumer magazines, for example, *Woman and Home* (from 1926), were consulted for evidence of the cultural and social values associated with carpet use in these genres.

Object analyses of Templeton carpets were conducted at Glasgow Museums Resource Centre;<sup>83</sup> the National Trust for Scotland property, Pollok House, Glasgow;<sup>84</sup> and during two research sessions at the Victoria and Albert Museum Clothworker's Centre - once in collaboration with the design historian Dr Dorothy Armstrong. Carpets and design records from other firms were examined at the Museum of Carpet, Kidderminster. For the duration of this research project,

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<sup>79</sup> Incorporated Weaving, Dyeing and Printing College of Glasgow Records, 1871-1911, GB 249 OG, USASC.

<sup>80</sup> GSAAC, GB 1694 GSAA.

<sup>81</sup> University of Glasgow Archives and Special Collections, "House of Fraser Archive," accessed May 25, 2018, <https://www.housefraserarchive.ac.uk/>.

<sup>82</sup> The Museum of the Home, London, formerly named The Geffrye Museum. The curatorial internship ran August-October 2018.

<sup>83</sup> Access facilitated by Assistant Curator, Edward Johnson, 2019.

<sup>84</sup> Three carpets displayed at Pollok House, Glasgow, were identified as being by Templeton during this research. Examination was facilitated by Curator, Emma Inglis, and Regional Conservator, Suzanne Reid, 2017.

access to the Stoddard Templeton Heritage Carpet Collection at Glasgow Museums was limited logistically by the rehousing of the Burrell Collection during building renovations. The impact of this was mitigated by examining Templeton carpets in a broader range of collections, as detailed above. The direct examination of these carpets allowed a theoretical understanding of carpet design and weave structure, specifically Templeton's Chenille Axminster method, to be married with the tactile experience of the carpets' physicality. This knowledge underlies the thesis and is particularly relevant to the discussion of weave affordances in Chapter 4 and the transferal of pattern between weave structures in Chapter 5.

### 1.5.3 Design archive terminology.

The diverse definitions of design and weaving terminology complicated the interpretation of textual sources the use of text searches in this research. The term "Axminster," for example, may refer to Hand-knotted, Chenille, Spool, Gripper, Printed Tapestry, or other types of carpet-making - each of which has distinct technologies and affordances.<sup>85</sup> This was navigated by gaining a technical understanding of weaving technique from contemporary sources to better interpret the context in which terms were used. The extensive visual searches of archive documents became an important research tool to identify probable carpet construction from the features of design drawings and photographic records.

The process of carpet design involved several graphical steps to refine a visual concept and translate it between media. The Templeton design archive preserves examples of each of these steps, and this study follows the archive catalogue terminology to differentiate them.<sup>86</sup> The term "drawing" refers to works on paper, including pencil, ink, pastel, water-colour, gouache, and other media. "Design sketches," were the first stages of design, recording the concept, motif, or pattern repeat, often on cartridge paper or translucent paper

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<sup>85</sup> Brief definitions are included in the glossary to this thesis (Section 9). For full technical description, see: Beaumont and Beaumont, *Carpets and Rugs*; Bradbury, *Carpet Manufacture*.

<sup>86</sup> University of Glasgow Archives and Special Collections, "Description of 'Stoddard International Plc (Carpet Manufacturers: 1871-2006: Elderslie, Scotland), Records of Stoddard International Plc Design Archive, c.1840s-1990s. GB 248 STOD/DES' on the Archives Hub Website," accessed December 10, 2019, <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb248-stod/des>.

(Figure 1.5, Figure 1.6). Sketches were then developed into functional patterns and transferred onto gridded paper (known as “point paper”) in preparation for weaving; these are referred to as “design papers.” Figure 1.7 and Figure 1.8 compare the point papers typically used for Chenille Axminster and Spool Axminster weaving. The number of rows and columns on the point paper relates directly to the weave structure of the carpet, which makes certain qualities distinctive. Collectively, these may be called “design drawings” or “design materials.”<sup>87</sup>

An immediate outcome of learning about carpet weave structure has been to identify a folder of nineteenth-century design papers for Chenille Axminster carpets (including Figure 1.7), all of which had previously been thought to have been destroyed during the merger of Templeton and Stoddard International plc.<sup>88</sup>

Many design sketches, either made in-house or purchased, were not made into carpet patterns directly but were kept as future sources of inspiration. When a design was put into production, it was assigned a pattern number. Figure 1.8, for example, shows pattern “3/3441” for Spool Axminster body carpet. The digit before the slash specifies the dominant “ground” shade, in this case, camel, and the number after the slash gives the range and individual pattern. Designs were numbered according to range and type of weaving and so did not form a chronological sequence.

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<sup>87</sup> In contrast, the Board of Trade Registers of Design, and their catalogue, refers to all materials submitted by manufacturers as “representations.” See Section 1.7.1.

<sup>88</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/81 “Old carpet squares.”

Sam Maddra, “Records of Stoddard International Plc Design Archive,” University of Glasgow Archives and Special Collections, 2011, <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb248-stod/des>.





Figure 1.5 Examples of "design sketches" in ink on translucent paper. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/131/3/1 "Untitled design," 1921.



Figure 1.6 Example of a "design sketch" in body colour on cartridge paper. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/130/7/2 "Camel Persian No. 143-1884 South Kensington Museum," 1905.



Figure 1.7 Example of a "design paper" in body colour on point paper for Chenille Axminster weaving, with detail (right) showing the distinctive 6 x 12 grid. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/81/22 "Untitled design," late-nineteenth century.



Figure 1.8 Example of a "design paper" in body colour on point paper for Spool Axminster weaving, with detail (right) showing the distinctive 7 x 7 grid and colour gamut. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/55/34 "3/3441," 1925.

## 1.6 Methodology.

This thesis examines the interrelationships of design and technology in the manufacture of carpets using mechanised looms to address a bias in the existing literature towards a minority of hand-knotted and artist-designed carpets. The far larger category of carpets made on mechanised looms, often created by unnamed designers, for mass consumption in Britain and abroad are less well understood. By examining the industrial production of carpets, this study aims to broaden the discussion to include types of objects that are excluded from existing accounts. This section outlines the basis for evidence in the use of the Templeton archives, before discussing the methods adopted, and the research that was undertaken.

This study is not concerned with the production of objects for social or cultural elites and is in a broad tradition of “history from below.”<sup>89</sup> However, as the objects under consideration were intended for mainly middle-class groups of consumers, it is less aligned with the political focus of people’s history on the disenfranchised and oppressed. Instead, it is concerned with what the design historian Kjetil Fallan has called the masses of “non-conformist design” which has previously been excluded from consideration by dominant interests in progressive and modernist design.<sup>90</sup>

The selection of carpets as a subject is motivated by the assertion that everyday objects are not bystanders to history but are made potent by their pervasiveness in daily life.<sup>91</sup> In the words of Ben Highmore, “it is the ordinary, the ubiquitous and the established rather than the brand new that demonstrate this social orchestration most complexly and most vividly.”<sup>92</sup> In common with material culture studies, this thesis considers everyday objects to be co-constitutive of

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<sup>89</sup> E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, New (London: Penguin Books, 2013).

<sup>90</sup> Fallan, “One Must Offer “Something for Everyone””: Designing Crockery for Consumer Consent in 1950s’ Norway,” 133.

<sup>91</sup> Paul Betts, *The Authority of Everyday Objects: A Cultural History of West German Industrial Design*, vol. 34 (London; Berkeley; University of California Press, 2004); Henri Lefebvre, *Everyday Life in the Modern World: Second Revised Edition* (London: The Athlone Press, 2010).

<sup>92</sup> Ben Highmore, “A Sideboard Manifesto: Design Culture in an Artificial World,” in *The Design Culture Reader* (London: Routledge, 2009), 19.

the societies in which they are made and used by people.<sup>93</sup> Therefore, the physical characteristics of everyday objects are taken as evidence of social and cultural phenomena on an equal footing to textual and documentary sources.<sup>94</sup> This extends to the technological processes used to manufacture carpets. These are also understood to be shaped by social influences.<sup>95</sup> Histories of textiles have placed considerable importance on the continuity between materiality and social context as sources of evidence for understanding designed objects.<sup>96</sup> This understanding informs the approach taken in this study to foreground the physicality of carpets as woven objects rather than primarily as signifiers of social and cultural identity. All Templeton carpet designs had to be capable of being woven, whatever the style of their surface pattern, and so a focus on the woven object facilitates my intention of shifting away from a historical narrative shaped by aesthetic evaluations. Because the survival rate for carpets from this period is low, the records of production in the Templeton archives are a vital resource for constructing histories of these objects.

This study differs from social histories of the consumption of mass-market material goods, which examine the social and cultural values that users inscribe onto objects. These are the “wild things,” to use Judy Attfield’s term, which emerge when objects are incorporated into users’ lives and accrue symbolic meanings.<sup>97</sup> The wider field to which this thesis contributes is the study of the interactions of social, cultural, and technological factors in shaping the manufacture of consumer goods. The specific line of enquiry pursued here is the

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<sup>93</sup> Giorgio Riello, “Things That Shape History: Material Culture and Historical Perspectives,” in *History and Material Culture: A Student’s Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources.*, ed. Karen Harvey (Abingdon: Taylor and Francis, 2013), 24–46.

<sup>94</sup> Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, *Writing Material Culture History* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015); W D Kingery, *Learning from Things: Method and Theory of Material Culture Studies* (Washington, D.C.; London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996); Sara Pennell, “Mundane Materiality, or, Should Small Things Still Be Forgotten?: Material Culture, Micro-Histories and the Problem of Scale,” in *History and Material Culture: A Student’s Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, ed. Karen Harvey (Abingdon: Taylor and Francis, 2013), 173–92.

<sup>95</sup> Bijker, Hughes, and Pinch, “The Social Construction of Technological Systems: New Directions in the Sociology and History of Technology.”

<sup>96</sup> Amy De La Haye and Elizabeth Wilson, *Defining Dress: Dress as Object, Meaning and Identity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); Charlotte Nicklas and Anabella Pollen, *Dress History: New Directions in Theory and Practice* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015); Lou Taylor, *The Study of Dress History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

<sup>97</sup> Attfield, *Wild Things Mater. Cult. Everyday Life*, 6–7.

influence of the technology of weave structure on the design of Templeton's carpets. This study hypothesises that the sociocultural inscription of consumer goods occurs throughout their design and manufacture rather than starting at the point of acquisition. Recursively, the design of the technology used to make consumer goods is also shaped by social factors. Therefore, the study examines the material evidence of the technology of carpet production that has been preserved in Templeton's design and corporate records. Particular attention has been paid to archival evidence that complicates the narrative of artistic progress found in current scholarship on British carpet-making. In addition to patterns that belong to the expected movements in design, other styles are revealed that have a more complex relationship to notions of authorship and chronology. Of these, reproduction oriental carpets are examined in Chapter 5 and plain-coloured carpets in Chapter 6.

## 1.7 Methods.

Archival sources have been approached as material evidence of production processes and examined for evidence of cultural and technological influences on design. Notably, design papers have been understood primarily as technical drawings intimately linked to weaving techniques. This visual method foregrounds features such as the dimensions of the pattern repeat, the count of rows and columns of the gridded paper, referred to as the "pitch," and the "gamut" or painted key of shades of pile yarn used in the pattern. A working understanding of carpet design and weaving techniques was learned from early-twentieth-century instruction manuals intended for trainee designers. I also gained knowledge of more recent techniques from former carpet industry professionals at The Museum of Carpet, Kidderminster, during a research visit in 2018.

Instructional texts were published from the mid-nineteenth century to formalise textile industry knowledge. They accompanied the growth of formal design education in Schools of Art and Technical Institutions and the decline of practical training by apprenticeship.<sup>98</sup> As the industry grew in the early-

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<sup>98</sup> Instructional texts used in Glasgow training institutions include: C Stephenson and F Suddards, *A Text Book Dealing with Ornamental Design for Woven Fabrics* (London: Methuen, 1897); William Watson, *Advanced Textile Design: With Diagrams* (Longmans, Green and Co., 1913);

twentieth century, manuals for aspiring designers were aimed at the market for external commercial design and to give retailers and managers a basic knowledge of manufacturing.<sup>99</sup> A self-education using these texts has approximated, to a necessarily limited extent, a “period eye” for how these technical documents functioned for carpet designers and makers.<sup>100</sup> It also informs the proposition in Chapter 4 that designers mediate cultural and technical knowledge.

Direct records of consumer’s lived experience of carpets are scarce in the company archives. This lack is compensated by analysis of consumer-facing media, such as trade catalogues and furnishing advice texts. The idealised representations of the interior and its contents which these texts contain, are read within the discursive conventions of their genre to mitigate the risk of misrepresenting them as actual examples of use.<sup>101</sup> This reading is particularly relevant in the discussion of domestic advice that reveals anxieties about plain-coloured carpets in relation to space and cleanliness in the home in Chapter 6.

### 1.7.1 Dating Templeton carpet designs using the Board of Trade Register of Designs.

An early objective of the research was to produce a dataset of securely dated Templeton designs with the intention that stylistic change could be referenced to changes in weaving technology. Exploration of the Templeton archives had

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Thomas Woodhouse and Thomas Milne, *Textile Design: Pure and Applied* (London: Macmillan, 1912).

<sup>99</sup> Texts specifically related to carpet design and manufacture: Beaumont and Beaumont, *Carpets and Rugs*; Bradbury, *Carpet Manufacture*; R. S. Brinton, *Carpets* (London; New York: Pitman, 1919); Lewis F Day, *Pattern Design* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1903); Frederick J. Mayers, *Carpet Designs and Designing* (Benfleet: F. Lewis, 1934); William S Murphy, *The Textile Industries, Volume 4*. (London: Gresham, 1910); Gleeson White et al., *Practical Designing: A Handbook on the Preparation of Working Drawings* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1894).

<sup>100</sup> The term “period eye” was coined by the art historian Michael Baxandall to describe culturally specific shared perceptions of visual art. I do not suggest that designers’ subjective experiences can be reconstructed, or that their depth of knowledge can be attained. But Baxandall’s term is apt because of his interest in materiality and skill. For critiques of the concept, see: Allan Langdale, “Aspects of the Critical Reception and Intellectual History of Baxandall’s Concept of the Period Eye,” *Art History* 21, no. 4 (December 1, 1998): 479–97, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8365.00126>.

<sup>101</sup> Jeremy Aynsley and Charlotte Grant, *Imagined Interiors: Representing the Domestic Interior since the Renaissance* (London;New York: V&A Pub, 2006); Grace Lees-Maffei, “Studying Advice: Historiography, Methodology, Commentary, Bibliography,” *Journal of Design History* 16, no. 1 (2003): 1–14, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jdh/16.1.1>.

confirmed that most of the design papers and sketches were undated. A convenient method at this point would have been to rely on approximate dating by comparing pattern styles to canons of pattern design in carpets and related textiles.<sup>102</sup> It was true that a progression of pattern design could be assembled from the archive, conforming to what Lesley Jackson has called “the unfolding of a series of innovative styles,” from densely patterned Victorian florals to modernist abstraction.<sup>103</sup> However, counter-currents were also evident in historical revival styles and traditional patterns, such as variations on “Turkey” carpets and historicist French period styles.<sup>104</sup> Approximate dating by pattern style was less useful for designs outside narratives of stylistic progress. An alternative method was developed to avoid replicating the canonical bias towards progressive design and underrepresenting more conservative design work.

Dates were established for designs by cross-referencing Templeton archive materials with the Board of Trade Registers and Representations of Designs, held by The National Archives (TNA). This forerunner of modern copyright was used by manufacturers, including Templeton, from 1839 to protect designs from piracy by competitors.<sup>105</sup> The design representations have been highlighted as an underused resource for textile history since 1960,<sup>106</sup> and have since been

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<sup>102</sup> It cannot be assumed that commercial carpet design exclusively followed fashionable change in design style. For canonical versions of British textile design history, see: Frank Lewis, *British Textiles* (Leigh-on-Sea: F. Lewis, 1951); John Hanson Mellor, Frank Lewis, and E. A. Entwisle, *A Century of British Fabrics, 1850-1950*. (Leigh-on-Sea, England: F. Lewis, 1955); Linda Parry, *British Textiles: 1700 to the Present* (London: V & A Publishing, 2010).

<sup>103</sup> Lesley Jackson, *20th Century Pattern Design: Textile & Wallpaper Pioneers* (London: Mitchell Beazley, 2002), 7.

<sup>104</sup> In the volumes of Templeton design lithographs these occur regularly among more progressive design styles. See for example: UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1 “Templeton Designs.”

<sup>105</sup> For the history of the Register of Designs, and their application in design history, see: Dinah Eastop, “History by Design: The UK Board of Trade Design Register,” in *Writing Material Culture History*, ed. Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 273–79; Julie Halls, “Questions of Attribution: Registered Designs at The National Archives,” *Journal of Design History* 26, no. 4 (November 1, 2013): 416–32, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jdh/ept007>; David Greysmith, “Patterns, Piracy and Protection in the Textile Printing Industry 1787 – 1850,” *Textile History* 14, no. 2 (1983): 165–94; Lara Kriegel, “Culture and the Copy: Calico, Capitalism, and Design Copyright in Early Victorian Britain,” *Journal of British Studies* 43, no. 2 (2004): 233–65, <https://doi.org/10.1086/380951>; Philip A Sykas, “Calico Catalogues: Nineteenth-Century Printed Dress Fabrics from Pattern Books,” *Costume* 33, no. 1 (January 1, 1999): 57–67, <https://doi.org/10.1179/cos.1999.33.1.57>.

<sup>106</sup> Peter Floud, *English Printed Textiles: 1720-1836* (London: H.M.S.O, 1960), 2.

productively used to provide contextual data for researching printed textiles.<sup>107</sup> Despite this, they were not cited in recent work on British carpets by Sarah Sherrill, Malcolm Haslam, or Susan Day, making their use in this thesis an original contribution to the field.

For this study, registration numbers were identified by visually searching volumes of Templeton lithographs,<sup>108</sup> and then cross-referred by text searches of the dated design registers at The National Archives (TNA). The volumes of registrations for this period are not digitally catalogued at the item level, making time-consuming manual searches essential. From 1884, the Register did not categorise designs by material as it had in the mid-nineteenth century, meaning that carpet registrations are included among all “non-sculpture” ornamental designs. Furthermore, it was found during research that, from 1907, carpets were classified as “non-textiles” to distinguish them from printed calico and dress fabrics.<sup>109</sup> Despite these impediments, more registrations were found from manual searches of the registers and, when possible, referenced to Templeton pattern numbers. During four research periods at The National Archives (TNA), visual records were compiled for over 220 Templeton carpet patterns, registered between 1889 and 1932 when Templeton stopped registering designs.<sup>110</sup> The essential data are presented in Appendix A. It is worth emphasising that the dates refer to when the carpet designs were created and are, therefore, instructive about the history of Templeton’s design work within the company. Not all designs were put into production and so I do not use them to draw direct conclusions about consumer preferences.

Reliably dated designs from this dataset are used as examples in this thesis to avoid assumptions based on stylistic dating. However, the intention to map them

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<sup>107</sup> Baines, “Design and the Formation of Taste in the British Printed Calico Industry 1919 to 1940”; Julie Halls and Allison Martino, “Cloth, Copyright, and Cultural Exchange: Textile Designs for Export to Africa at The National Archives of the UK,” *Journal of Design History* 31, no. 3 (2018): 236–54, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jdh/epy007>.

<sup>108</sup> Primarily, UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1-3, but design registration numbers were also found in UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/2 “Design Patents.”

<sup>109</sup> For details of Acts relating to copyright and patent, see: The National Archives Website: Discovery, “Intellectual Property: Registered Designs 1939-1991,” accessed January 6, 2021, <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/registered-designs-1839-1991/>.

<sup>110</sup> The suspension of registration was noted in minutes of a Partners’ meeting, 6th April 1932, UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/1/3 “Partnership papers.”



onto technological changes in weaving was challenged by interim findings of the study. As a greater understanding of carpet designers' training and practice was gained from instructional texts of the period, it became clear that potential correspondences between loom technology and design style were complicated by skilled designer's practice. Carpet designers were adept at exploiting the capabilities of weave structures to produce any required design style, working creatively within and against technical limitations. The discussion of the affordances of the Chenille Axminster technique in Chapter 3, therefore, reveals a more dynamic relationship between pattern design and technology than was conceived in the original research plan. A limitation of the Register of Designs as a source is demonstrated by Chapter 6; despite their prevalence in Templeton's production, plain-coloured carpets were necessarily absent from this record of ornamental design. As this thesis is a study of carpet manufacture, rather than the chronology of pattern design, the Register of Designs data have been used to corroborate other records rather than as a discrete subject. The dataset is included in Appendix A for its value as a resource for future research into the chronology of style of industrially woven carpets.

### **1.7.2 Mitigating the impact of COVID-19 restrictions.**

The final phases of writing and editing this thesis were completed during the restrictions imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic. Part of my experience of the first year of the pandemic was a sense of an assault on any certainties of everyday life. Normal experiences of personal contact, surfaces, homes, and the things they contain, gained new dispositions of risk and comfort. Although fundamentally unsettling, I found that this gave fresh importance to the study of the unassuming things of daily life, including carpets.

Physical copies of literature in university and national libraries were inaccessible. The archive and museum buildings, whose collections are the basis of the thesis, were closed, and any access relied on pre-existing digitised content. I am grateful for the perseverance of archivists, librarians, and curators, who helped under extraordinary conditions. However, only a small number of the Templeton archive records have been digitised, and the Stoddard Templeton Heritage Carpet Collection has yet to be photographed by Glasgow Museums. Mitigating the impact of these restrictions has meant that objects and

records have been excluded from the thesis discussion and sections of chapters rewritten to reflect the current availability of images and data. For example, pandemic restrictions precluded further photography or object analyses of carpet samples in Glasgow Museums which were pertinent to Templeton's use of Chenille Axminster weft. Therefore, I adjusted the argument of Chapter 3 to introduce the example of a Templeton exhibition-piece, which beneficially broadened the historical context of the chapter. In Chapter 4, I tightened the focus on the local educational opportunities for carpet designers, presenting fresh information about design pedagogy at the Glasgow Technical College (Weaving Branch), rather than making comparisons to equivalent institutions in Kidderminster and Halifax as these were inaccessible.

## 1.8 Thesis structure.

Following this introduction and review of relevant literature, the substantive chapters of the thesis are organised into two parts. Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, examine carpet production technology. The term technology, as discussed in the literature review, is inclusive of the techniques, skills, and methods used to produce carpets. Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 examine the influence of cultural and technical factors on specific types of carpet design previously excluded from histories of British carpets. The concept of technological affordance, which is applied throughout the thesis, is an established theoretical framework within studies of technology, but an innovative, interdisciplinary approach to this design history. I use it to relate the technical capabilities of weave-structure to the changing social and cultural context in which the company worked..

Weave structure is understood in this thesis to be a technology of prime importance to the study of carpets and is thus the subject of **Chapter 3**. The development of the Chenille Axminster process by James Templeton was the basis for his company's success. The weave structure had the capability to allow unconstrained use of colour in carpet design, and this feature has dominated the current understanding of how the company implemented the weaving technology. I apply the concept of technological affordance to analyse a greater range of capabilities and constraints provided by the weave-structure and demonstrate how these influenced the production of Chenille Axminster carpets by James Templeton and Company in the early-twentieth century. A comparison

between batch-produced 'Parquet Squares' and a pictorial exhibition carpet is used to underline the influence of social and cultural context on Templeton's utilisation of weaving technology. Discussion of these examples expands current knowledge by introducing types of carpet that fall outside the historiographical bias towards progressive design.

**Chapter 4** continues the broader definition of carpet making as a technological system that includes the processes of pattern design. This section challenges the convention of using named designers, working in artistically progressive styles, as a framework for carpet history. Instead, original archival research using the Templeton archives and the Board of Trade Register of Designs produces an alternative reading of carpet patterns related to the style of the designer C. F. A. Voysey. Following the critique of authorship as an organising framework for research, this section reassesses the role of the designer in the technological system of carpet making. It proposes that carpet designers on their knowledge of the affordances of weave-structure to mediate between the aesthetic culture of pattern-making and the technical requirements of the loom. The chapter traces how these knowledges were acquired through training and used in drawing practice, presenting new archival research into design pedagogy at the Glasgow Weaving College.

The second half of the thesis turns attention to categories of carpet design that fit poorly with models of authorship and progressive design and are thus seldom present in the current literature. The alternative focus on the relationship of weave structure and design practice in this study produces fresh insights into Templeton's reproduction oriental carpets and plain-coloured carpets.

In **Chapter 5**, Templeton's reproduction oriental carpets are examined through a case study of a pattern that was woven in the 1930s but originated in sixteenth-century Persia. By tracing the carpet pattern through diverse archival records I examine its transformation via: the cultural and political context of the exhibition of the sixteenth-century carpet in London; the techniques of drawing and mechanised-weaving that enabled a Templeton designer to adapt the pattern for reproduction; and Templeton's mediation of the new version through print advertising and trade exhibitions. This process of reproduction crosses cultural contexts and is interpreted from a postcolonial viewpoint. I argue that

the affordances of mechanised weaving, as a technology of reproduction, removed the pattern's cultural context and recontextualised it as a part of British culture. This analysis complements recent scholarship on the biography of the Ardabil carpet and is the first substantial study of this specific carpet design. Furthermore, it extends knowledge of design practice related to the technical adaptation of pattern for carpet weaving.

The concluding part of the thesis, **Chapter 6**, examines the adoption of plain-coloured carpet in Britain in the 1920s and 1930s. Building on the arguments in Chapter 4, the absence of pattern challenges the focus on the authorship of ornamental design that has been a feature of conventional scholarship on British carpets. Analysis of design mediation illuminates the social and technological shaping of these popular products. Examination of furnishing advice and domestic advice texts connects plain-coloured carpets to contemporary concerns about space, tradition, and cleanliness in the domestic interior. A key original finding of this research is that furnishing with plain carpets placed a new value on seamlessness and breadth as desirable properties. This is connected back to the affordance of Chenille Axminster weaving that was assessed in Chapter 3, demonstrating that changing design context and technical capabilities interact to shape the affordances that are perceived of the weave structure.

Overall, the thesis progresses from Templeton's production techniques to its products, paying consistent attention to carpets' physicality. Challenges are made to methodologies of existing scholarship, which have reaffirmed cultural and social hierarchies. Instead, current approaches, drawn from the study of the histories of design and technology, are employed to make visible a more inclusive range of the carpets woven by Templeton. Throughout the following chapters, the breadth and richness of the Templeton archives enable new, detailed analyses of the interrelationships of design and technology in the manufacture of carpets.

## 2 Review of relevant literature.

The history of carpet design and manufacture spans multiple areas of knowledge and, in common with many textile histories, this study is interdisciplinary in approach.<sup>111</sup> Literatures on specific fields are introduced at the points in the text with which they engage. For example, the exhibition of Islamic carpets in Europe (Chapter 5.1) and furnishing advice texts (Chapter 6.1). This focussed review of literature examines important work on the history of British carpets in the context of disciplinary developments in design history, followed by positioning the thesis in relation to studies of the history of technology.

### 2.1 A design history of mechanised carpet weaving.

C. E. C. Tattersall's *A History of British Carpets*, 1934, broke ground by elevating little known industries to the status of a national tradition.<sup>112</sup> Emanating from his experience as textile curator of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Tattersall makes the history of hand-knotting in Britain the focus of his research.<sup>113</sup> Although Tattersall consolidated and expanded knowledge of early British carpets, there is a noticeable change in his historical account's method and tone when discussing large-scale production using mechanised looms. In contrast to his empirical approach to the history of hand-knotting enterprises, he assembles an account of contemporary manufacturers and their products from information supplied by the firms without further examination.<sup>114</sup> Tattersall's descriptions of the main types of weave construction are a valuably

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<sup>111</sup> Jonathan Faiers suggests that studies of dress and textiles "achieve an enviable 'indisciplinary' in their diverse approaches. Jonathan Faiers, "Dress Thinking: Disciplines and Indisciplinary.," in *Dress History: New Directions in Theory and Practice*, ed. Charlotte Nicklas and Annabella Pollen (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 15–32. For the disciplinary development of dress history methodologies, see: De La Haye and Wilson, *Defining Dress: Dress as Object, Meaning and Identity*; Taylor, *The Study of Dress History*.

<sup>112</sup> Tattersall, *A History of British Carpets: From the Introduction of the Craft until the Present Day*, 1934.

<sup>113</sup> Tattersall's illustrated guide to carpet-knotting has been continuously reprinted since 1920: Creassey Edward Cecil Tattersall, *Notes on Carpet-Knotting and Weaving* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1920).

<sup>114</sup> Tattersall's entry about Templeton was almost certainly prepared with the aid of Fred Young, the company partner who was simultaneously preparing his history of the firm, see: UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/15/5/8 "Folder of papers related to the writings of Fred H Young."

accessible introduction to mechanised weaving but are cursory compared to his attention to craft production.

The hiatus between the editions of Tattersall's volume,<sup>115</sup> and Sarah Sherrill's *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and America*, 1996, indicates the secondary position that European carpets have been given in the histories of art and design.<sup>116</sup> The remit, geographical reach and scholarship of Sherrill's work greatly extend Tattersall's contribution.<sup>117</sup> Sherrill's authoritative account of hand-knotting in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is grounded by comparison to the extensive history of carpets in South and West Asia and their reception in Western Europe. Also, the organisation of her material by geographical region presents greater continuity between hand-knotting and industrial production in the mid-nineteenth century than in Tattersall. However, the scale and variety of industrialised production allow relatively limited discussion of factory-made carpets beyond the chronology of key inventions.<sup>118</sup> In the section on Great Britain up until the mid-nineteenth century, eighty of the hundred pages deal with hand-knotting.<sup>119</sup> A change in methodology for the period from the mid-nineteenth to the late-twentieth century means that only carpets of progressive design are discussed, periodised by movements in art and design.<sup>120</sup> Almost all the commercial design that propelled the British industry's rapid growth in the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries is obscured by twin interests in craft production and progressive design. Sherrill comments on Templeton concerning the invention of the Chenille Axminster process and carpets designed by Walter Crane and Frank Brangwyn.<sup>121</sup> The vast resources that Sherrill draws on for the ambitious scope of her project include company archives but seldom cite those

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<sup>115</sup> Creassey Edward Cecil Tattersall and Stanley Reed, *A History of British Carpets: From the Introduction of the Craft until the Present Day* (Leigh-on-Sea: F. Lewis, 1966).

<sup>116</sup> Sherrill, *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and America*.

<sup>117</sup> Sherrill discusses the volume's broad geographical and chronological scope in: Sarah B Sherrill, "Reviewed Work: Author's Response to the Review by Angela Volker," ed. Angela Volker, *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 5, no. 2 (1998): 123–25.

<sup>118</sup> For earlier chronologies of carpet weaving inventions: Hefford, "Patents for Strip-Carpeting 1741-1851"; Roth, *A Brief Survey of Carpet Manufacture with Special Reference to the Major Inventions and Notes on Changes in Design*.

<sup>119</sup> For British carpet-making using mechanised looms: Sherrill, *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and America*, 213–34. For the United States carpet industry: Sherrill, 245–52.

<sup>120</sup> Sherrill, *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and America*, 291–395.

<sup>121</sup> Sherrill, 228–29, 297, 303, 374.

of Scottish manufacturers.<sup>122</sup> This thesis responds to the opportunity to provide original research in areas not covered by other scholarship by examining non-progressive design woven on mechanised looms, using evidence from the archives of Scottish manufacturers, which have recently been made available for study.

The quantity and variety of carpet products made from the late-nineteenth century challenges methods concerned with individually significant objects.<sup>123</sup> The aggregate data compiled by the economic historian J. Neville Bartlett examines the scale of production but is a narrow lens through which to examine the richness or diversity of design.<sup>124</sup> Other approaches have produced information that has been a valuable secondary resource in terms of industrial history,<sup>125</sup> and technological accounts of carpet manufacture.<sup>126</sup> The main sources for the stylistic history of commercial carpet design are trade literature from the mid-twentieth century. This was a period of high activity for the industry as it raced to cater to demand during reconstruction after World War II, which meant that reflection on the diversity of pattern design was commercially exploitable knowledge.<sup>127</sup>

I suggest that the metrics used in art historical literature for gauging the significance of pre-nineteenth century carpets - scarcity, craft-production, association with high social status users and locations - are less helpful in defining the parameters for studying the more recent past. Therefore, the elite

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<sup>122</sup> It is probable that Scottish company mergers and dissolutions in the 1980s and 1990s account for this omission. See note 338: Sherrill, 418.

<sup>123</sup> For discussion of the methodological challenges presented by individual and aggregate objects, see: Pennell, "Mundane Materiality, or, Should Small Things Still Be Forgotten?: Material Culture, Micro-Histories and the Problem of Scale."

<sup>124</sup> The brief discussion of design in Bartlett is necessarily limited to the costs of producing large numbers of patterns to attract a larger share of consumers or finding a rare, long-selling design. Bartlett, *Carpeting the Millions: The Growth of Britain's Carpet Industry*, 94–96.

<sup>125</sup> Head and Thompson, *Weaving in Bridgnorth*; Thompson, *Woven in Kidderminster: An Illustrated History of the Carpet Industry in the Kidderminster Area Including Stourport, Bridgnorth and Bewdley: 1735-2000*; Jacobs, *The Story of British Carpets*.

<sup>126</sup> Robinson, *Carpets*.

<sup>127</sup> Retrospective summaries of carpet pattern design were primarily intended for readers within the industry, see: Thomas Marchetti, *About Carpet Design*. (International Wool Secretariat (Dept. of Education), 1954); Mellor, Lewis, and Entwisle, *A Century of British Fabrics, 1850-1950*; John Hanson Mellor, "Design in Retrospect," in *Carpet Annual*, ed. H. F. Tysser (London: British Continental Press Ltd., 1956), 31–84; F. G. Paterson, *Lecture on Carpet Design: The Pendulum of Fashion* (London: Department of Education of the International Wool Secretariat, 1959).

cultural status conferred by artistically progressive design has been used extensively to evaluate the significance of carpets from the period since the industrialisation of carpet weaving. Discussion of non-elite carpets is often confined to those made by hand within “folk” traditions, due in part to anthropological recognition of the importance of these objects within their societies.<sup>128</sup> This thesis turns away from these qualitative evaluations, guided by Glen Adamson’s argument that the “invention of craft” as a valorised form of production occurred symbiotically with cultural anxieties about widespread industrialisation.<sup>129</sup>

Progressive, artistic, and avant-garde design movements are the organising principle of the two other significant publications about European carpets. Haslam deals with the engagement with carpet design by Arts and Crafts artists and designers in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century, including the ideological frictions between craft-production ideals and the commercial imperatives of design for industrial manufacture.<sup>130</sup> Susan Day extends this project by exploring carpets designed by artists, architects, and interior designers in progressive styles from Jugendstil to “Swedish Modern.”<sup>131</sup> These studies map innovation in artistic pattern design, focussing primarily on designers who were external to the carpet industry. Although the publication of these substantial studies points to the timeliness of the current project, two inherent methodological problems emerge for the study of Templeton’s work. Firstly, it is assumed that developments at design’s avant-garde permeated down to the flooring of the wider population. Sherrill states that a Veblenian process of social emulation encouraged carpet ownership:

The newly prosperous bourgeoisie coveted luxury goods available only to the aristocracy in earlier centuries and sought to imitate princely modes of living from the time of the Renaissance through the late eighteenth century. In the second half of the nineteenth century,

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<sup>128</sup> For the example of North American stitched or plaited rugs: Sheila Betterton, *Rugs from The American Museum in Britain* (Bath: Dawson and Goodall Ltd., 1981); Sherrill, *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and America*, 253–61; Jeanne G Weeks and Donald Treganowan, *Rugs and Carpets of Europe and the Western World* (Philadelphia: Chilton Book Co., 1969), 173–84.

<sup>129</sup> Adamson, *The Invention of Craft*.

<sup>130</sup> Haslam, *Arts & Crafts Carpets*.

<sup>131</sup> Day, *Art Deco and Modernist Carpets*.



motifs from Renaissance, baroque and rococo styles were randomly combined in an eclectic mix, often in a single carpet.<sup>132</sup>

In this account, it is notable that social emulation does not widen the adoption of reformed design but, instead, conservative and historicist styles. Haslam undercuts the relevance of progressive design for examining the wider industry when he notes, “Few machine-woven carpets were produced in a recognizably arts and crafts style, even at the height of the vogue for the arts and crafts movement.”<sup>133</sup> As Deborah Sugg-Ryan explains, “most manufacturers and retailers were not fully paid-up modernists.”<sup>134</sup> Instead, they produced a heterogenous array of revival and current styles, pragmatically targeting the diverse tastes of consumers for whom decoration of the home was increasingly a forum for self-fashioning.<sup>135</sup> Therefore, the relationship between progressive design-style and carpets for wider consumption is too equivocal to justify using chronologies of art movements as an organisational framework for studying Templeton’s production.

Secondly, a focus on the avant-garde excludes from discussion the wide range of what Kjetil Fallen has called “traditionalesque” or non-progressive design.<sup>136</sup> This partial view undervalues industry design staff and, as I argue in Chapter 4, misrepresents the role of the designer in the carpet making process. In doing so, this thesis responds to Judy Attfield’s complaint that design history has neglected trade designers, “who catered for a clientele with traditional tastes.”<sup>137</sup> Attfield’s commitment to, “more diverse and compromised variety of interpretations”<sup>138</sup> of modern design includes an analysis of the production of

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<sup>132</sup> Sherrill, *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and America*, 291.

<sup>133</sup> Haslam, *Arts & Crafts Carpets*, 148.

<sup>134</sup> Deborah Sugg Ryan, “Living in a ‘Half-Baked Pageant’: The Tudorbethan Semi and Suburban Modernity in Britain, 1918-39,” *Home Cultures* (LONDON: Routledge, 2011), 234, <https://doi.org/10.2752/175174211X13099693358717>.

<sup>135</sup> Penny Sparke, “The Modern Interior: A Space, a Place or a Matter of Taste?,” *Interiors* 1, no. 1 (2010): 12–13, <https://doi.org/10.2752/204191210791602276>.

<sup>136</sup> Fallan, “‘One Must Offer ‘Something for Everyone’’: Designing Crockery for Consumer Consent in 1950s’ Norway,” 134.

<sup>137</sup> Judy Attfield, *Bringing Modernity Home: Writings on Popular Design and Material Culture* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2007), 5.

<sup>138</sup> Judy Attfield, “Design as a Practice of Modernity: A Case for the Study of the Coffee Table in the Mid-Century Domestic Interior,” *Journal of Material Culture* 2, no. 3 (1997): 268–69, <https://doi.org/10.1177/135918359700200301>.

Needle-tufted carpet in post-World War II Britain.<sup>139</sup> In contrast to the previous literature on British carpet manufacture, Attfield examines how cultural values about pattern design and weaving were embedded technologically and ideologically in the British industry, highlighted by a challenge from the adoption of a new production process.<sup>140</sup> Attfield's ability to reveal the discursive eloquence of a product "from the bottom of the pile" provided crucial methodological impetus to the current project. Likewise, an aim this thesis shares with Fallan's work on commercial ceramics is to, "acknowledge and appreciate the diversity and richness represented by the multitude of intermediary positions and middle grounds that dominate everyday industrial design practice."<sup>141</sup> Manufacturers' archives are recognised as a critical historical resource, particularly for understanding the technological shaping of textile production.<sup>142</sup> Helena Britt's exploration of the Stoddard Templeton library of design materials held by Glasgow School of Art is reflective of both Attfield's attention to commercial design process and Fallan's interest in the diversity of democratic design, an approach that has been formative of the current project.<sup>143</sup>

The current gap in knowledge about British carpet manufacture is connected to a historiographic tradition that has emphasised modernist design and narratives of stylistic progress. A counter-tradition of critique in design historiography has called for diversified methodology and subject matter and for interdisciplinary research. Since the 1980s, design history's parameters have expanded to

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<sup>139</sup> Needle-tufting is a mechanised carpet making process in which pile yarns are stitched into a backing textile. Its low-cost lead to rapid adoption by consumers despite limited capability for pattern design. From the late 1950s, Templeton invested in needle-tufting cautiously via the intermediary "Kosset" brand of carpets. Robinson, *Carpets*, 165–88; Thomas William Keillor Scott, "Diffusion of New Technology in the British and West German Carpet Industries: The Case of the Tufting Process." (University of Sussex, 1976).

<sup>140</sup> Attfield, "The Tufted Carpet in Britain: It's Rise from the Bottom of the Pile 1952-1970."

<sup>141</sup> Fallan, "One Must Offer "Something for Everyone"": Designing Crockery for Consumer Consent in 1950s' Norway," 134.

<sup>142</sup> Greysmith, "Patterns, Piracy and Protection in the Textile Printing Industry 1787 – 1850"; Philip A Sykas, *The Secret Life of Textiles: Six Pattern Book Archives in North West England* (Bolton: Bolton Museums, Art Gallery and Aquarium, 2005).

<sup>143</sup> Britt, *Interwoven Connections: The Stoddard Templeton Design Studio & Design Library, 1843-2005*.

incorporate anthropological and sociological subject matter and methods.<sup>144</sup>

Jonathan Woodham summarises the change as being from:

the cultural high ground, where individual designers, style and aesthetic significance were dominant considerations, onto the texture of everyday life in which a greater emphasis is placed on the role and behaviour of the consumer and user.<sup>145</sup>

Scholars including Penny Sparke and Adrian Forty shifted the epistemological focus towards the social and cultural significance of the object, stating, “the history of design is also the history of society.”<sup>146</sup> John Walker and Judy Attfield called for greater attention to mass-production and vernacular design, resisting a historic, “qualitative distinction often made between distinguished and undistinguished structures.”<sup>147</sup> This democratisation requires abandoning what Hazel Conway named the “heroic approach” to design history, which elevated individual genius, repudiating the Pevsnerian tradition of identifying “pioneers” of modern design.<sup>148</sup> Instead, the association of originality, individuality and authenticity in design have been shown to be historically specific to late-nineteenth and twentieth-century capitalism.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> The formative concept of the “social life of things” has generated an extensive interdisciplinary field of material culture and design history studies. Arjun Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Daniel Miller, *Home Possessions: Material Culture Behind Closed Doors* (Oxford: Berg, 2001); Jules David Prown, “Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 1 (1982): 1–19; Riello, “Things That Shape History: Material Culture and Historical Perspectives.” For a recent overview in relation to textile histories, see: Beverly Lemire, “Material Culture,” *Textile History* 50, no. 1 (January 2, 2019): 87–92, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00404969.2019.1599240>.

<sup>145</sup> Jonathan M Woodham, *Twentieth-Century Design* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 7.

<sup>146</sup> Adrian Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society since 1750* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 8; Victor Margolin, “Design History or Design Studies: Subject Matter and Methods,” *Design Studies* 13, no. 2 (1992): 104–16, [https://doi.org/10.1016/0142-694X\(92\)90250-E](https://doi.org/10.1016/0142-694X(92)90250-E); Jeffrey L Meikle, “Design History for What?: Reflections on an Elusive Goal,” *Design Issues* 11, no. 1 (1995): 71–75, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1511617>; Penny Sparke, *An Introduction to Design and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (London ; Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1986).

<sup>147</sup> John Walker and Judy Attfield, *Design History and the History of Design* (London: Pluto Press, 1989), 26.

<sup>148</sup> Hazel Conway, *Design History: A Students' Handbook* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987); Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of the Modern Movement from William Morris to Walter Gropius*. (London: London, 1936).

<sup>149</sup> Judy Attfield, “Continuity: Authenticity and the Paradoxical Nature of Reproduction,” in *Wild Things: The Material Culture of Everyday Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 99–120; Stefan Muthesius, “‘We Do Not Understand What Is Meant by a “Company” Designing’: Design versus Commerce in Late Nineteenth-Century English Furnishing,” *Journal of Design History* 5,

Judy Attfield's central concern was to recognise mundane practices of manufacturing and using designed objects as attempts to domesticate the changing, seldom benign, social conditions of twentieth-century life. Her phrase for this, "bringing modernity home,"<sup>150</sup> takes literally Marshall Berman's description of modernism as "any attempt by modern men and women to become subjects as well as objects of modernization, to get a grip on the modern world and make themselves at home in it."<sup>151</sup>

The burgeoning remit of design history in the intervening decades has meant that, "the mundane, the cheap, the amateurish, the flawed and the garish elements of material culture feature alongside the usual suspects of good design."<sup>152</sup> Despite this, Kjetil Fallan argues that the field is still constrained by a problematic inheritance of methodology from art history and the decorative arts, leading to an attitude to attribution that is, "highly elitist, disturbingly mythopoeic and contributing to panegyric personality cult."<sup>153</sup> More specifically related to the history of textile design, Philip Sykas's review of the field finds, "Writing about designers of the recent past tends toward the heroic mode, portraying the designer in isolation as visionary and pioneer."<sup>154</sup> The current study responds to this risk of canon formation with a processual approach to carpet design.

Most recently, Alexandra Midal has called for an alternative history of "design in its own terms" to distance it from a disciplinary heritage in the promotion of modernist functionalism:

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no. 2 (1992): 113–19; Michael Snodin and John Styles, *Design & the Decorative Arts: Victorian Britain 1837-1901* (London: V&A Publications, 2004), 55; Penny Sparke, "Consultant Design: The History and Practice of the Designer in Industry" (London: Pembridge, 1983).

<sup>150</sup> Attfield, *Bringing Modernity Home: Writings on Popular Design and Material Culture*.

<sup>151</sup> Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (London: Verso, 1982), 5.

<sup>152</sup> Kjetil Fallan, "Design History: Understanding Theory and Method" (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), x.

<sup>153</sup> Fallan, 17.

<sup>154</sup> Philip A Sykas, "Design," *Textile History* 50, no. 1 (January 2, 2019): 77, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00404969.2019.1605672>.

a design that proclaims its independence while absorbing other disciplines, and for a design that decisively articulates its own history, from Morris through to the present day.<sup>155</sup>

However, it is difficult to reconcile Midal's preference for an expansionist concept of design that encompasses other disciplines with her dissatisfaction with sociological and anthropological approaches to designed objects, in which, "design seemed destined to remain a prism through which social change could be explored, rather than an independent field of study in itself."<sup>156</sup> Other scholars have seen interdisciplinarity as an inherent strength of design histories rather than a territorial compromise.<sup>157</sup> Adamson finds these methodological disputes a valuable register of how, "different forms of hierarchy have been erected, and how different types of interaction, hybridization, and mobility have developed in response."<sup>158</sup> Fallan reiterates encouragement for design histories to incorporate, "mundane, affordable, commonplace objects - that is democratic design."<sup>159</sup> Notable work in this area has superseded the comparison of "commonplace" design to "good design," revealing the historically situated conditions which influence object's manufacture and dissemination.<sup>160</sup> This thesis applies these current perspectives from design history to British carpet production to broaden the range of objects under examination and the methodologies used to examine them. This has led to an emphasis on design process, the interaction of production technique with cultural signification, and what Fallan has called "traditionalesque" design, which differentiates it from existing literature on British carpets.

The term "anonymous design" is often used to discuss the creation of everyday objects, but it is avoided in this thesis. Studies of anonymous design using company archives as primary sources have become more prominent since

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<sup>155</sup> Alexandra Midal, *Design by Accident: For a New History of Design* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2019), 34.

<sup>156</sup> Midal, 21.

<sup>157</sup> Dennis Doordan, "On History," *Design Issues* 11, no. 1 (1995): 76–81, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1511618>.

<sup>158</sup> Glenn Adamson, "When Art History Meets Design History," *RIHA Journal* March, no. 0083 (2014): 4.

<sup>159</sup> Fallan, "Design History: Understanding Theory and Method," 19.

<sup>160</sup> Atfield, "Redefining Kitsch: The Politics of Design"; Betts, *The Authority of Everyday Objects: A Cultural History of West German Industrial Design*; Fallan, "'One Must Offer 'Something for Everyone': Designing Crockery for Consumer Consent in 1950s' Norway."

Sigfried Giedion decried the loss of “historical documents, of models, manufacturer’s records, catalogues, advertising leaflets,” in his “contribution to anonymous history.”<sup>161</sup> The work of unnamed industrial designers forms a counterpart to what Peter Dormer called “high design,” where a designer’s name confers cultural and aesthetic esteem, accompanied by a high price.<sup>162</sup> Design theorist Guy Julier defines anonymous design in opposition to “high design:”

Objects, spaces and images are conceived and shaped by professional designers or people from other backgrounds taking on a designer’s role, but, crucially, the etiquette of designer is not formally recognized.<sup>163</sup>

This distinction is helpful, but Julier compounds two distinct types of unnamed designers: unnamed professional designers and “people from other backgrounds taking on a designer’s role.” T’ai Smith has explored the gendered history of “anonymised” textile design using examples of inconsistent attribution among Bauhaus designers.<sup>164</sup> This political interpretation of anonymisation is valuable for highlighting that attribution is implicated in social regulation.

In carpet design and manufacture, the groups of anonymised people “taking on a designer’s role” include the weavers of hand-made carpets. The elevation of individual creative agency in the European tradition of design has undervalued practices in which traditional patterns are repeated and adapted within or across communities, dismissing weavers’ knowledge and agency. As Brian Spooner has argued, the idea of immemorial, traditional design embodied in the weavers’ craft, especially in “tribal” and “village” production, has been used by European collectors and traders to deny the possibility of individuality.<sup>165</sup> This masks interactions and dependencies between carpet producers and consumers

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<sup>161</sup> Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History*, v.

<sup>162</sup> Peter Dormer, *The Meanings of Modern Design: Towards the Twenty-First Century* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 10–11.

<sup>163</sup> Guy Julier, *The Culture of Design* (London: SAGE Publications, 2000).

<sup>164</sup> T’ai Smith, “Anonymous Textiles, Patented Domains: The Invention (and Death) of an Author,” *Art Journal* 67, no. 2 (2008): 54–73.

<sup>165</sup> Brian Spooner, “Weavers and Dealers: The Authenticity of an Oriental Carpet,” in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

to create mythic value around the product. Anonymity is, therefore, created discursively with the effect of erasing the agency of those involved in making the product. Instead, an approach is required that neither demands the centrality of a designer nor elides their existence. I suggest that a better model is to recognise how design process is distributed across many participants,<sup>166</sup> and the designer's role in negotiating between visual culture and the constraints provided by weaving technology. This approach is innovative in British carpet studies and mirrors an interest in industrial design process that is already established in other areas of design history.<sup>167</sup>

This thesis foregrounds mechanised weaving techniques and their cultural signification, in contrast to the secondary place that mechanised weaving technique takes to craft production in the current literature. Haslam, Sherrill and Caroline Arscott provide a thorough understanding of how Arts and Crafts ideology intersected with carpet weaving methods in hand-knotting craft workshops and, on occasion, industrial factories.<sup>168</sup> Networks of hand-weaving workshops, gallerists and retailers are examined by Day and Sherrill.<sup>169</sup> Hand-knotting is involved in production logistics and the cultural identities that these products accrue.<sup>170</sup> In contrast, weaving on mechanised looms is generally presented through recapitulations of past debates about design in the age of

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<sup>166</sup> Zoë Hendon, "Behind the Scenes at the Silver Studio: Rex Silver and the Hidden Mechanisms of Interwar Textile Design," *Architecture and Culture* 6, no. 1 (2018): 61–80, <https://doi.org/10.1080/20507828.2017.1397963>.

<sup>167</sup> John Heskett, "Industrial Design," in *Design History: A Students' Handbook*, ed. Hazel Conway (London: Allen and Unwin, 1987), 85–101; Tim Putnam, "The Theory of Machine Design in the Second Industrial Age," *Journal of Design History* 1, no. 1 (1988): 25–34, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jdh/1.1.25>.

<sup>168</sup> Caroline Arscott, "Morris Carpets," *RIHA JOURNAL* 89 (2014); Haslam, *Arts & Crafts Carpets*; Sherrill, *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and America*, 293–353.

<sup>169</sup> Day, *Art Deco and Modernist Carpets*; Sherrill, *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and America*.

<sup>170</sup> Hand-knotted carpets made by rural industries and philanthropic enterprises in the United Kingdom and Ireland have been investigated in terms of social and national identities: Cynthia Fowler, "Transatlantic Textiles: Ireland's Dun Emer Textiles in America During the First Decade of the Twentieth Century," *Textile History* 50, no. 2 (July 3, 2019): 163–86, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00404969.2019.1646622>; Janice Helland, "Working Bodies, Celtic Textiles, and the Donegal Industrial Fund 1883–1890," *TEXTILE* 2, no. 2 (January 1, 2004): 134–55, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17518350.2004.11428639>; Mairead Johnston, *Hidden in the Pile: The Abbeyleix Carpet Factory, 1904-1912* (Abbeyleix: Abbeyleix Heritage Company and Leinster Express, 1997); Elaine Paterson Cheasley, "Handcrafting a National Industry: The Production and Patronage of Alexander Morton & Company's Donegal Carpets" (Concordia University, Montreal, 1999); Sherrill, *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and America*, 303–15. For broader context of rural industries: Stana Nenadic and Sally Tuckett, "Artisans and Aristocrats in Nineteenth-Century Scotland," *Scottish Historical Review* 95, no. 2 (2016): 203–29, <https://doi.org/10.3366/shr.2016.0296>.

“the machine.” By placing mechanised weaving in a “black box” and studying only the products, industrial carpet weaving processes are seldom understood as a site of cultural production.<sup>171</sup> However, in the words of the historian of technology, Robert C. Post, these are “no mere technicalities,” as they directly shape the interactions between people and designed artefacts.<sup>172</sup> Laura Kriegel states that, “distinct cultures, with their own anxieties, dangers, and representational practices, accrued around modes of production [...] the very enterprise of production shapes the cultural terrain.”<sup>173</sup> Furthermore, Sykas suggests that technique is a particularly important concern for textile histories:

Design historians are interested in the constraints of technology, and in the technical flaws whereby technologies of production are revealed. Woven design, in common with other ‘matrix arts’, involves combination and variation at a high level of constraint, making some level of technical understanding essential.<sup>174</sup>

Clive Edwards work on furnishings textiles and furniture exemplifies the point raised by Sykas and demonstrates the integration of technology and design.<sup>175</sup> This thesis therefore answers the call for technical understanding by constructing a history of Templeton’s carpet production that draws on the framework of the history of technology.

## 2.2 Towards the social construction of carpet technology.

The literature on British carpet weaving technology includes training manuals from the early-twentieth century aimed at the needs of those entering the

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<sup>171</sup> The term “black box” originated in Nathaniel Rosenburg examination of how technological processes shaped economics. Nathan Rosenberg, *Inside the Black Box: Technology and Economics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), <https://doi.org/DOI:10.1017/CBO9780511611940>.

<sup>172</sup> Robert C Post, “No Mere Technicalities: How Things Work and Why It Matters.,” *Technology and Culture* 40, no. 3 (1999): 607–22.

<sup>173</sup> Kriegel, “Culture and the Copy: Calico, Capitalism, and Design Copyright in Early Victorian Britain.”

<sup>174</sup> Sykas, “Design,” 78.

<sup>175</sup> Clive Edwards, *Victorian Furniture: Technology and Design* (New York;Manchester; Manchester University Press, 1993); Clive D Edwards, “Floorcloth and Linoleum: Aspects of the History of Oil-Coated Materials for Floors,” *Textile History* 27, no. 2 (January 1, 1996): 148–71, <https://doi.org/10.1179/004049696793711220>; Clive Edwards, “Improving’ the Decoration of Furniture: Imitation and Mechanization in the Marquetry Process in Britain and America , 1850-1900,” *Technology and Culture* 53, no. 2 (2012): 401–34.



industry.<sup>176</sup> They have been essential to developing an understanding of carpet weave structure and technique for this study, continuing to fulfil the purpose for which they were written. Their descriptive content has influenced later summaries of the industry's development,<sup>177</sup> including those framed by social history.<sup>178</sup> However, this study primarily investigates the use of weaving technologies rather than their invention or description of their mechanisms.

Historians of technology have criticised an “internalist” focus that does not address the impact of technologies on society.<sup>179</sup> By contrast, contextualist histories, “understand technologies from the point of view of those who encountered them in a particular time and place,” sited in a historical and cultural moment.<sup>180</sup> Contextual histories counter earlier accounts' assertion of technological determinism, the belief that an internal logic operates within technologies, shaping societies in ways that are beyond control.<sup>181</sup> Despite my primary interest in the work of Templeton's carpet designers and their interaction with the technology of weave structure, I have not made an internalist account of production as this would fail to site the use of technology in its social and cultural moment. Instead, using a contextualist approach allows me to examine how continuities and changes to the use of weaving technology relate to their historical situation.

A common antecedent to the studies of the interaction of technology and culture which have influenced this thesis is Sigfried Giedion's *Mechanization Takes Command*, first published in 1948.<sup>182</sup> Giedion's approach contrasted with other contemporary authors on industrial design, for example John Gloag's hopeful vision that design for manufacturing would become, “a characteristic achievement of our civilisation.”<sup>183</sup> Where Gloag encouraged designers and

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<sup>176</sup> Beaumont and Beaumont, *Carpets and Rugs*; Bradbury, *Carpet Manufacture*; Brinton, *Carpets*; William S Murphy, *The Textile Industries, Volume 6* (London: Gresham, 1910).

<sup>177</sup> Jacobs, *The Story of British Carpets.*; Robinson, *Carpets*.

<sup>178</sup> Thompson

<sup>179</sup> David E Nye, *Technology Matters: Questions to Live With* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2006).

<sup>180</sup> Nye, 61.

<sup>181</sup> Jacques Ellul, *The Technological Society* (New York: Vintage Books, 1964).

<sup>182</sup> Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History*.

<sup>183</sup> John Gloag, *Industrial Art Explained* (London: G. Allen and Unwin Limited, 1946), 15.

companies to apply new design methodologies for commercial and social benefit, Giedion gave greater agency to the technologies to exert influence on the decisions of those who use them. He suggested there is an autonomous force that works against social interests which can be revealed by studying, “modest things of daily life [that] accumulate into forces acting upon whoever moves within the orbit of our civilization.”<sup>184</sup> Later scholars have criticised the technological determinism inherent in Giedion’s account of how mechanization controls human actions.<sup>185</sup> Nevertheless, Giedion’s commitment to, “humble things, things not usually granted earnest consideration, or at least not valued for their historical import,” has influenced the importance placed on industrially produced artefacts of anonymous design in this thesis.

To counter the problems of deterministic arguments when thinking about how carpet weave structures were used at Templeton, I turned to perspectives from the Social History of Technology (SHOT).<sup>186</sup> These stress the need for a contextual approach to place technology within its social setting. Framing technology as a sociotechnical system refutes the notion of its autonomy from its social situation. Instead, analysis is encouraged about how technologies are embedded in what Thomas Hughes has called a “seamless web” of social, political, economic and cultural environments.<sup>187</sup> Despite a shift towards examining the co-formation of society and technology, the discipline of the history of technology was criticised for retaining a focus on innovation, invention

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<sup>184</sup> Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History*, 3.

<sup>185</sup> In design history, a greater attention to sociological context is seen in, for example: Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society since 1750*. On the social inscription of artefacts: Madeleine Akrich, “The De-Description of Technical Objects,” in *Shaping Technology/Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change*, ed. Wiebe E Bijker (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1992).

<sup>186</sup> Melvin Kranzberg and Carroll W Pursell, *Technology in Western Civilization* (New York;London: Ox, 1967); Melvin Kranzberg, “Technology and History: ‘Kranzberg’s Laws,’” *Technology and Culture* 27, no. 3 (1986): 544–60, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3105385>. For an overview of the development of the discipline of the Social History of Technology, the society SHOT, and its journal, *Technology and Culture*, since its formation in 1958 see: John M Staudenmaier, *Technology’s Storytellers: Reweaving the Human Fabric* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Society for the History of Technology and the MIT Press, 1985).

<sup>187</sup> Thomas Parke Hughes, “Networks of Power: Electrification in Western Society, 1880-1930” (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983); Thomas P Hughes, “The Seamless Web: Technology, Science, Etcetera, Etcetera,” *Social Studies of Science* (London: SAGE Publications, 1986), <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306312786016002004>.

and the adoption of new technologies.<sup>188</sup> This thesis responds to the call for technologies to be studied “in use” by highlighting changes to Templeton’s use of weaving technologies after they had become widely adopted by the carpet industry.

A more politically engaged strand of research, the Social Construction of Technology (SCOT), analyses the development of technologies as the result of human actions, rejecting determinism and demonstrating that technology and society are, at least, “mutually constitutive.”<sup>189</sup> Critics of the field dispute the relativism of its analyses and the limits to which it can represent the interests of social groups.<sup>190</sup> A valuable insight from social constructionist approaches is that the uses to which technologies are put are contingent and are not fully explained by assumptions of rational efficacy.<sup>191</sup> The benefit of these perspectives to my research has been to question how the technology of carpet design and production was shaped by social context. For example, Chapter 3 argues that Templeton’s carpet designers exhibited both technical and aesthetic knowledge in their work, but that the acquisition of these skills was shaped by the pedagogic division of knowledge between educational institutions in Glasgow.

Parallel to SCOT, Actor-Network-Theory (ANT) proposes a critique of the constructed hierarchical division between society and technology by analysing technological systems in which capabilities are distributed between human and

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<sup>188</sup> Edgerton, “Innovation, Technology, or History: What Is the Historiography of Technology About?”; David Edgerton, *The Shock of the Old: Technology and Global History since 1900*, Oxford Uni (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>189</sup> Donald Mackenzie and Judy Wajcman, “Introductory Essay: The Social Shaping of Technology,” in *The Social Shaping of Technology*, ed. Donald Mackenzie and Judy Wajcman, 2nd ed. (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1999), 3–28; Wiebe E. Bijker and John Law, *Shaping Technology/Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1992); Bijker, Hughes, and Pinch, “The Social Construction of Technological Systems: New Directions in the Sociology and History of Technology.”

<sup>190</sup> Stewart Russell, “The Social Construction of Artefacts: A Response to Pinch and Bijker,” *Social Studies of Science* 16, no. 2 (March 25, 1986): 331–46; Langdon Winner, “Upon Opening the Black Box and Finding It Empty: Social Constructivism and the Philosophy of Technology,” *Science, Technology and Human Values* 18, no. 3 (1993): 362–78, <https://doi.org/10.1177/016224399301800306>.

<sup>191</sup> Ronald Kline and Trevor Pinch, “Users as Agents of Technological Change: The Social Construction of the Automobile in the Rural United States,” *Technology and Culture* 37, no. 4 (March 25, 1996): 763–95, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3107097>.

non-human actors, including people, artefacts, and institutions.<sup>192</sup> The concept of negotiations between actors offers an appealing framework for discussing the interrelationships between carpet designers, weavers, materials and processes, in which each influences the actions of others. As Bruno Latour notes:

Students of technology are never faced with people on the one hand and things on the other, they are faced with programs of action, sections of which are endowed to *parts* of humans, while the other sections are entrusted to parts of non-humans.<sup>193</sup>

Equally, the suggestion of distributed capabilities presents a way of imagining the role of the designer in relation to the range of actions enabled by the loom's mechanisms. As my research progressed, the idea that the factors that shaped how Templeton's designers worked with weaving technologies were distributed between human and non-human actors, and that capabilities and constraints were delegated from one to another, seemed to capture the complexity of interactions between designers, design processes, and the physical features of carpet weaving. However, ANT's assertion of the symmetry between humans and non-humans has provoked the accusation that it risks reasserting technological determinism, devalues the importance of human agency,<sup>194</sup> or distracts from our responsibility to identify how technologies embed and reproduce patterns of social marginalization.<sup>195</sup> I did not want to apply a vocabulary for discussing the close relationship of designer's work with weaving technology which inadvertently denied their agency and reiterated their exclusion from design history.

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<sup>192</sup> Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); John Law and John Hassard, *Actor Network Theory and After* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999). For further discussion of ANT in the context of design, see: Fallan, "Design History: Understanding Theory and Method," 45–57.

<sup>193</sup> Bruno Latour, "Where Are the Missing Masses? The Sociology of a Few Mundane Artifacts," in *The Object Reader*, ed. Fiona Candlin and Raiford Guins (London: Routledge, 2009), 250.

<sup>194</sup> David Bloor, "Anti-Latour," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 30, no. 1 (1999): 81–112, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0039-3681\(98\)00038-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0039-3681(98)00038-7). For a review of this debate: Edwin Sayes, "Actor-Network Theory and Methodology: Just What Does It Mean to Say That Nonhumans Have Agency?," *Social Studies of Science* 44, no. 1 (August 6, 2014): 134–49.

<sup>195</sup> Jenny L. Davis finds that ANT avoids determinism but argues, "ANT's apolitical foundation precludes the framework from accounting for systems of marginalization and oppression around which social life takes shape." Davis, *How Artifacts Afford the Power and Politics of Everyday Things*, 69.

These criticisms are answered in part by Bruno Latour's explanation of technological artefacts as "society made durable," in which social needs and desires are embedded as delegated capabilities.<sup>196</sup> Art historian Katie Scott, in her reading of technical drawings of Rococo ornament, takes a pragmatic middle position in the debate about whether agency can be ascribed to objects and processes. She regards it as, "nonsense to suggest that drawing creates or causes designs through acts of will," but agrees with Latour that drawings can "render possible" the social by their affordances, which "authorise, allow, afford, encourage, permit" social phenomena.<sup>197</sup> I consider this to be a useful position from which to assess the way that James Templeton and Company used the Chenille Axminster process because it asserts that both technical and social factors interacted to shape what carpets were made. The ANT concepts of delegation and mediation of capabilities within a technological system have influenced this study's conception of designer's interactions with weaving technology. For architectural theorist Albena Yaneva, design is a process in which the agency of human and non-human actors is negotiated within a network of relations, and "shapes, conditions, facilitates and makes possible everyday sociality."<sup>198</sup> As Yaneva suggests, interactions that shape socially acquired meaning are equally present during the process of design and manufacture as in the world of the consumer.<sup>199</sup> That is to say, that factories and design studios are also places where people and designed objects negotiate with each other. This study primarily concerns how Templeton's designers negotiated the opportunities and constraints of the Chenille Axminster weave structure. When my archival research revealed more diverse Chenille Axminster products than expected, including plain coloured carpets, I sought a theoretical framework that provided a vocabulary for analysing these negotiations. The

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<sup>196</sup> Bruno Latour, "On Actor-Network Theory: A Few Clarifications," *Soziale Welt* 47, no. 4 (1996): 369–81; Latour, "Where Are the Missing Masses? The Sociology of a Few Mundane Artifacts." The concept of delegation is given greater theoretical sophistication in the field of script analysis: Akrich, "The De-Description of Technical Objects."

<sup>197</sup> Katie Scott, "Persuasion: Nicolas Pineau's Designs on the Social," *RIHA Journal*, no. March (2014): 10.

<sup>198</sup> Albena Yaneva, "Making the Social Hold: Towards an Actor-Network Theory of Design," *Design and Culture* 1, no. 3 (2009): 280, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17547075.2009.11643291>.

<sup>199</sup> Yaneva, 284.

social constructionist theory of technological affordance, reviewed below, provided this.

James J. Gibson, the ecological psychologist, used the term “affordance” in the 1970s to describe what an animal perceives as being provided by its environment.<sup>200</sup> It has been applied in diverse disciplinary contexts to examine how the opportunities and constraints which users perceive in artefacts contribute to potential courses of action. Most recently, Jenny L. Davis has conceptually refined the general principle of affordance to explain the mechanisms by which any user’s actions are enabled or restricted during their interactions with a technology, with particular emphasis on how this is shaped by social context.<sup>201</sup> The literature on affordance theory is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.1. In this study, this relates to the carpet manufacturer’s design staff and their interactions with the technology of carpet weave structure. A history of design informed by the technological studies should take into account both the technological factors that influenced the manufacture of an artifact (physical processes, the capabilities and limitations of materials) and the social and cultural influences which shaped how these technical opportunities were utilised. An original contribution that this thesis makes to the field is the use of Davis’s model of affordance theory to connect the technical features of carpet making processes and the sociocultural influences on carpet design.

Regarding the definition of “technology” used in this thesis, I have taken the description by the sociologist Read Bain in 1937 as a helpful starting point for setting the parameters of the term. He writes:

Technology includes all tools, machines, utensils, weapons, instruments, housing, clothing, communicating and transporting devices and the skills by which we produce and use them.<sup>202</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> James J Gibson, *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (London; New York: Routledge, 2014), 119.

<sup>201</sup> Davis and Chouinard, “Theorizing Affordances: From Request to Refuse”; Davis, *How Artifacts Afford the Power and Politics of Everyday Things*.

<sup>202</sup> Read Bain, “Technology and State Government,” *American Sociological Review* 2, no. 6 (January 21, 1937): 860, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2084365>.

In this thesis, technology includes, but is not limited to, the mechanisms and equipment used to weave carpets. Scholars of the social shaping of technology have demonstrated that the design and use of such equipment is influenced by socially constructed values and beliefs.<sup>203</sup> This insight precludes a narrow definition of technology as engineered machinery. In the case of carpet manufacture, Bain's mention of "the skills by which we produce and use them," brings skills such as pattern design into consideration, drawing on aesthetic knowledge and an understanding of the cultural setting for which the product was intended. I therefore include carpet design techniques, and the knowledge which enables their use, in the term "technology." On the other hand, all-encompassing definitions of technology, to mean "a means to fulfil a human purpose,"<sup>204</sup> or to include the structures of social organisation, risks losing the focus on manufacturing as the main activity under examination.

A practical middle path is provided from the field of craft theory, in which Glenn Adamson's definition of "tooling" is comparable to "technology":

[...] not the supply of actual physical tools, lying ready to hand, but rather the whole system by which an infrastructure of making is brought into being and subsequently transformed to suit various tasks.<sup>205</sup>

This "infrastructure of making" is similar to how design historian Dorothy Armstrong mentions technology in the context of adaptations of oriental carpets.<sup>206</sup> Her phrase "the technology of versioning" implies the mechanical infrastructure used in industrialised weaving, but also the practical, cultural, and intellectual conditions that aided the flow of objects, images, and ideas, resulting in British carpets being woven in the style of those from Southern, Central, and Western Asia. This thesis extends beyond Armstrong's example, revealing how such an assemblage of technologies, centred on weave structure,

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<sup>203</sup> Bijker and Law, *Shaping Technology/Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change*; Mackenzie and Wajcman, "Introductory Essay: The Social Shaping of Technology"; Post, "No Mere Technicalities: How Things Work and Why It Matters."

<sup>204</sup> W Brian Arthur, *The Nature of Technology: What It Is and How It Evolves* (New York: Free Press, 2011), 29.

<sup>205</sup> Adamson, *The Invention of Craft*, 31.

<sup>206</sup> Armstrong, "What Is an 'Oriental' Carpet? Reimagining, Remaking, Repossessing the Patterned Pile Carpets of South, Central and West Asia since 1840," 120.

were used in the design and creation of products that have been excluded from existing histories of British carpets.

In summary, the current literature on the history of British carpets revealed a gap in knowledge about Templeton's machine-woven products, and methodological alternatives are needed to the valorisation of designer's creative individuality within progressive design movements. Approaches to the design process and everyday design using company archives have shaped an interdisciplinary methodology to examine how technological and social influences shaped Templeton's carpets. From a moderate social constructionist perspective, this has generated a contextualised history that is sensitive to distributed capabilities within the manufacturing system, analysed using a framework of technological affordance.



### 3 “Designs held in preparation.” Reassessing the affordances of the Chenille Axminster weaving process to James Templeton and Company.

#### 3.1 Introduction.

James Templeton was granted the patent for the Chenille Axminster process of carpet weaving in 1839, and it has been habitual to discuss his company and the weaving process in relation to each other. This weaving method became so widespread in the British carpet industry in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries that it accounted for a quarter of all British carpet production in 1913.<sup>207</sup> However, it retained a close association with Templeton and was frequently referred to using its trade names “Patent Axminster” and “Victorian Axminster.”<sup>208</sup> The strength of the link between the company and this part of its heritage was such that Templeton was the last manufacturer to weave Chenille Axminster carpets, maintaining production until it became a subsidiary of Stoddard Holdings Ltd., Elderslie, in 1980.<sup>209</sup>

Given the significance of this technology for Templeton and the wider industry, the available information about how it was used in carpet production is surprisingly superficial. Recent publications on the history of British carpets describe the two stages of the weaving process (summarised below) and note that its main feature was the ability for it to be used to weave highly multicoloured designs, in comparison to the more limited colour range imposed by contemporaneous Wilton looms.<sup>210</sup> For example, the textile historian and curator, C. E. C. Tattersall’s influential *A History of British Carpets*, informs:

The main advantages of the process are that there is practically no restriction on the number of colours that can be used; and that wide

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<sup>207</sup> Brinton, *Carpets*, 104.

<sup>208</sup> For related terms, see: Edwards, *Encyclopedia of Furnishing Textiles, Floorcoverings, and Home Furnishing Practices, 1200-1950*, 49–50.

<sup>209</sup> University of Glasgow Archives and Special Collections, “Records of James Templeton & Co Ltd, Carpet Manufacturers, Glasgow, Scotland, 1802-1998. University of Glasgow Archives and Special Collections. GB 248 STOD/201.”

<sup>210</sup> Day, *Art Deco and Modernist Carpets*, 210; Sherrill, *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and America*, 228–29.

carpets may be made without adding complication to the final operation of weaving.<sup>211</sup>

This feature of the Chenille Axminster process was undoubtedly considered a benefit by manufacturers and was a starting point for the current research. However, it only accounts for some of the ways that Templeton used the weave structure. Although multicoloured patterns are apparent on the surface of the carpet, other material impacts of this type of weaving have not been considered.

An immediate challenge to the research was the fact that almost all Templeton design papers for Chenille Axminster weaving were destroyed after Templeton had ceased using the technology (with the exceptions noted below).<sup>212</sup> A deeper understanding of the process was gained by reference to a broader group of archival records, including volumes of lithographs of carpet designs,<sup>213</sup> Templeton's price lists,<sup>214</sup> and by contextualising them with technical explanations of the weaving process found in contemporary instructional texts.<sup>215</sup> From that knowledge, this chapter argues that reducing the Chenille Axminster process to its capability for multicoloured patterning is a misleading basis for understanding the technical opportunities and constraints which it offered to Templeton.

Specifically, this chapter proposes an alternative benefit of the weave-structure by calling attention to the practice of storing carpet material "in preparation" or half-way through the weaving process. The reasons why this technique was used are elaborated in section 3.2. In two case studies, I argue that the company used this feature to facilitate the development of a new product, Parquet Carpets, at the end of the nineteenth century and to bring the company's heritage into material form in the 1930s by reweaving a nineteenth-century exhibition piece. The concept of technological affordance, adopted from the

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<sup>211</sup> Tattersall, *A History of British Carpets: From the Introduction of the Craft until the Present Day*, 1934, 111.

<sup>212</sup> Maddra, "Records of Stoddard International Plc Design Archive."

<sup>213</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD 201/1/3/1 "Lithograph volumes."

<sup>214</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/20 "Price Lists."

<sup>215</sup> Beaumont and Beaumont, *Carpets and Rugs*, 305–58; Bradbury, *Carpet Manufacture*, 247–79; Murphy, *The Textile Industries, Volume 6*, 151–66.

field of Science and Technology Studies, is used as an analytical framework to provide original insight into Templeton's use of the weaving process. In doing so, the chapter reassesses the affordances that emerged from Templeton's designers' interaction with the opportunities and constraints provided by the Chenille Axminster process. This extends and introduces nuance to existing knowledge of carpet manufacture.

As noted in section 1.1, I understand the Chenille Axminster weave structure to be a technological artefact which was interacted with by the Templeton staff to determine the design of carpets. I include within the term "design" the process of specifying the physical qualities of the carpet, going beyond a narrow definition of pattern design.

The term "affordance" originates from the psychologist James J. Gibson's 1979 study of visual perception to describe what the environment, "provides or furnishes, either for good or ill," to an animal.<sup>216</sup> Donald A. Norman's adaptation of this idea to the field of design and engineering, first published in 1988, introduced the valuable insight that there is a relational dynamic between the artefact and the person who uses it.<sup>217</sup> Although many of Norman's explanatory examples are drawn from people's experiences of designed products as end consumers, the categories of "artefact" and "user" are not exclusive to this field. I propose that the Chenille Axminster weaving process should be understood as a designed technological artefact. Like all artefacts, it has features which provide opportunities and constraints for its users, in this case Templeton's designer staff, and which shape how they interact with it. Norman demonstrated that what a user perceives to be an opportunity or constraint in an artefact depends on their social situation, their needs, and desires.<sup>218</sup> This highlights, I argue, that what the Chenille Axminster process afforded to Templeton and its designers - that is, what they perceived to be a benefit or

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<sup>216</sup> Gibson, *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception*, 119.

<sup>217</sup> Donald A Norman, *The Psychology of Everyday Things* (New York: Basic Books, 1988).

<sup>218</sup> Donald A. Norman, *The Design of Everyday Things* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2013), 10–13.

cost of the technique - varied in response to changing technological, social, and economic circumstances.

As the term spread through disciplines adjacent to design studies, it attracted criticism for being inexactly defined or implying that technological artefacts determined users' actions.<sup>219</sup> The concept has gained attention from design historians but has not previously been applied to the current field of study.<sup>220</sup> Refinements to Gibson's original position have tended to diminish the suggestion that artefacts and environments determine their interactions with subjects. Instead, they have emphasised that a subject's perception of what an artefact affords is socially constructed. Therefore, rather than an affordance being a static opportunity or constraint offered by an artefact, affordances are the multifaceted interactions between artefact and subject that shape behaviour in ways that are dynamic, situated and material. In the field of communication studies, Sandra K. Evans et al. apply rigour to the terminology relating to affordances, defining them as the relational link between what artefacts present to the subject and what the subject does with them. They explain, "it can be difficult to distinguish between a feature and an affordance; however, we argue that the distinction is important in order to avoid a stance that sees affordances as embodied in technologies."<sup>221</sup> In doing so, they avoid the tendency toward determinism that critics have found in earlier uses of the term. Evans' criteria identify broad affordances but do not describe how users interact with them.

A practical vocabulary for this more nuanced task is provided by the recent work of Jenny Davis and James Chouinard in the field of technology studies.<sup>222</sup> Previous attempts to apply affordance concepts to design have often emphasised the indirect communication between designer and user via the "script" that designates the, "vision of the world incorporated in the object and the program

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<sup>219</sup> Martin Oliver, "The Problem with Affordance," *E-Learning and Digital Media* 2, no. 4 (2005): 402–13, <https://doi.org/10.2304/elea.2005.2.4.402>.

<sup>220</sup> Kjetil Fallan, "De-Scribing Design: Appropriating Script Analysis to Design History," *Design Issues* 24, no. 4 (2008): 61–75.

<sup>221</sup> Sandra K Evans et al., "Explicating Affordances: A Conceptual Framework for Understanding Affordances in Communication Research," *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 22, no. 1 (2017): 45, <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12180>.

<sup>222</sup> Davis and Chouinard, "Theorizing Affordances: From Request to Refuse."

of action it is supposed to accomplish.”<sup>223</sup> In contrast, Davis emphasises how the socially situated subject, or user, perceives affordances in the technology and how these affordances shape action. As Davis explains:

... affordances mediate between a technology’s features and its outcomes. Technologies don’t make people do things but instead, push, pull, enable, and constrain. Affordances are how objects shape action for socially situated subjects.<sup>224</sup>

Davis and Chouinard propose a framework of mechanisms by which affordances shape the course of actions as people form dynamic relationships with technological artefacts. In relation to the design of Templeton carpets, this means that the features of the weave structure could not fully determine what carpets were made, but offered opportunities and constraints which shaped the decisions made by designers. Furthermore, what was perceived to be an opportunity or constraint was not fixed, but changed over time in response to different social and cultural contexts.

The mechanisms they propose offer graduations in how artefacts compel or constrain potential courses of action. The relevant terms here are that the artefact may request, demand, encourage, discourage, or refuse actions.<sup>225</sup> In these terms, *requests*, “recommend one line of action, but workarounds remain possible and plausible.”<sup>226</sup> *Demands*, are more emphatic, making use conditional on circumstances that are “architecturally inbuilt” to the artefact. The authors explain further: “Artifacts *encourage* when they foster, breed, and nourish some line of action, while stifling, suppressing, and dissuading others [...] Artifacts *discourage* when one line of action, though available should subjects wish to pursue it, is only accessible through concerted effort.”<sup>227</sup> Finally, a discouragement can harden into a *refusal* when a course of action is made unavailable to the user. For instance, the perpendicular arrangement of warp

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<sup>223</sup> Yaneva, “Making the Social Hold: Towards an Actor-Network Theory of Design,” 284.

Madeleine Akrich is the key theorist of this concept, see also: Akrich, “The De-Description of Technical Objects”; Fallan, “De-Scribing Design: Appropriating Script Analysis to Design History.”

<sup>224</sup> Davis, *How Artifacts Afford the Power and Politics of Everyday Things*, 25.

<sup>225</sup> Davis and Chouinard, “Theorizing Affordances: From Request to Refuse,” 242–44.

<sup>226</sup> Davis and Chouinard, 243.

<sup>227</sup> Davis and Chouinard, 243.

and weft in all pile carpets requests that patterns are made of shapes with straight sides. However, this is a weaker influence than a demand would be. Designers can efficiently work around the constraint by manipulating the scale of the line in proportion to the density of the pile to give the impression of softly curved lines.

By using the concept of affordance in this thesis, I foreground the connection between the technical capabilities of weave structures and the carpet designer's skill and knowledge. Although there may appear to be a distinction between weave technology and the sociocultural activity of carpet design, an understanding of technical affordances argues that they are co-constituted. More specifically, that the way that Templeton used the Chenille Axminster process to manufacture carpets was shaped by the mutually formative influences of the weave structure's capabilities and the needs of the company. This approach improves on earlier writing about the industrial history of carpet making by bridging the divide between accounts that stress either technological determinism or social influence. George Robinson, for instance, emphasises that changes to the use of weaving technologies stem from, "fibre developments, new processing methods and machinery"<sup>228</sup> while Melvyn Thompson stresses that the social history of the Kidderminster area shaped the operations of carpet manufacturers.<sup>229</sup> Affordance allows the relational interactions between these positions to be considered by providing a vocabulary with which to evaluate how Templeton used the technology of the Chenille Axminster weave structure.

The following sections of this chapter examine examples of how Templeton exploited the ability to hold the chenille fur for individual designs in store for later completion, referred to in their catalogues as being "held in preparation," or "kept in work." First, a summary of the Chenille Axminster process is provided to help understand how it was used by Templeton. Second, a discussion of Templeton's successful range of Parquet Carpets demonstrates the use of the technique to create a product for batch production and widescale consumption. Third, an examination of Templeton's exhibition carpet *Christ Blessing the Little*

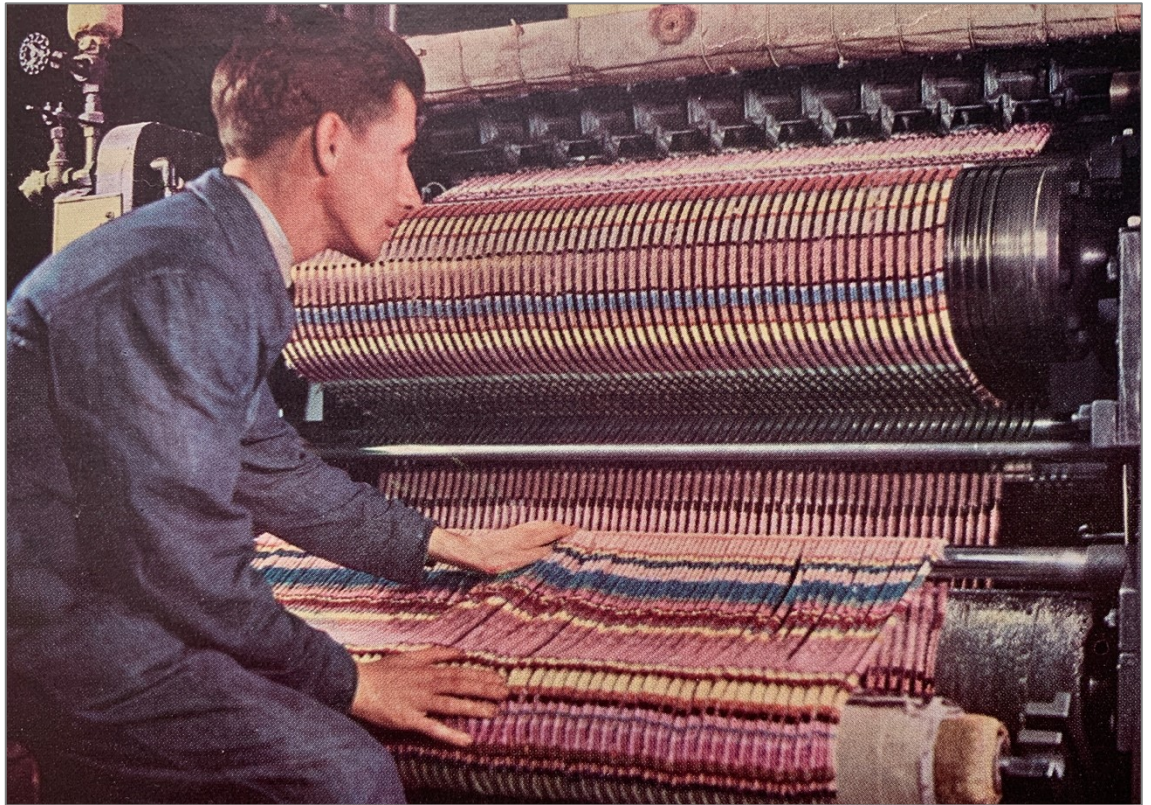
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<sup>228</sup> Robinson, *Carpets*, 14.

<sup>229</sup> Thompson, *Woven in Kidderminster: An Illustrated History of the Carpet Industry in the Kidderminster Area Including Stourport, Bridgnorth and Bewdley: 1735-2000*.

*Children* develops the idea that chenille fur could store pattern information. The production of this carpet is discussed in the context of the company's manufacture of its own heritage. Together, these case studies allow a reconsideration of Templeton's use of the Chenille Axminster process, using the framework of technological affordance mechanisms proposed by Davis and Chouinard. Throughout the chapter, the argument shifts attention away from the pattern towards the broader design of the carpet, that is, the influence that the process of Chenille Axminster weaving had on products. This focus on technique does not mean that cultural and social influences on design are diminished but instead reveals that the weaving process itself was situated in a changing sociocultural context.

### 3.2 The Chenille Axminster process and Templeton's practice of keeping carpets "in preparation."



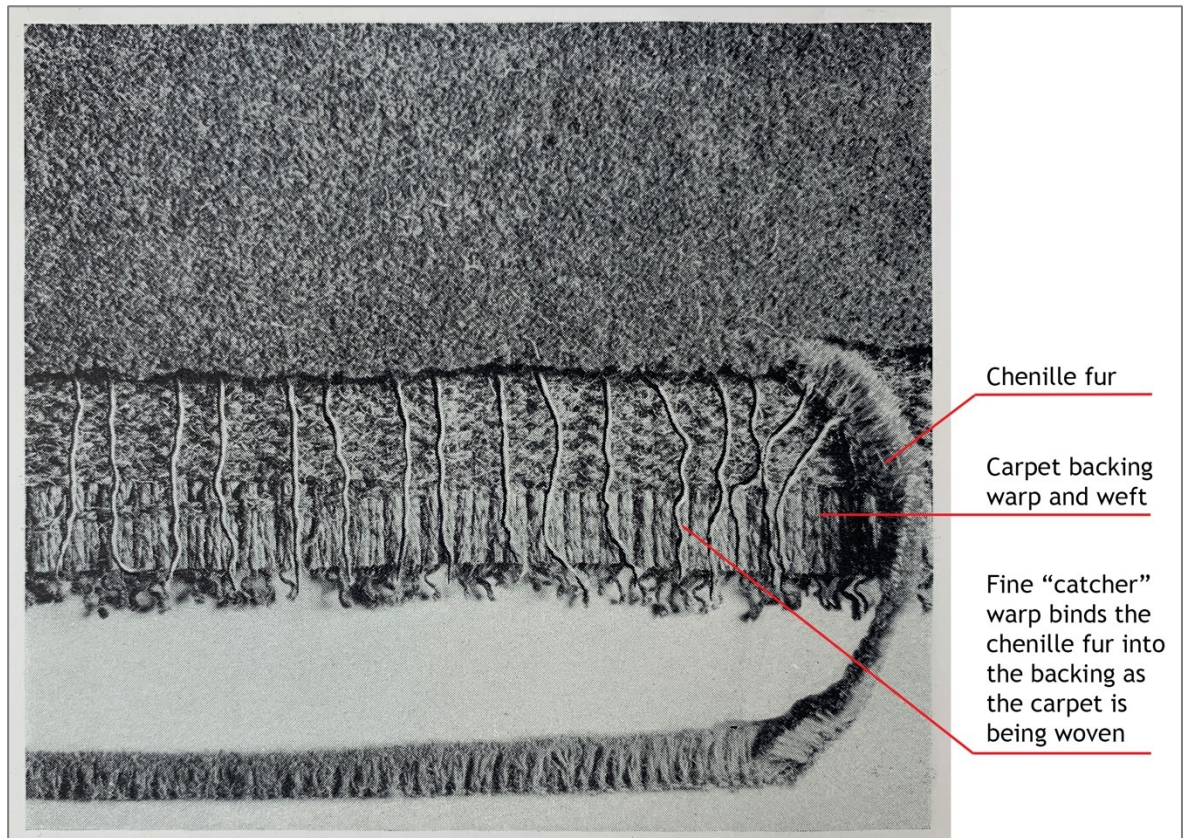
**Figure 3.1** Chenille Axminster cloth being cut into narrow strips of "fur." James Templeton & Co Ltd., *Carpets of Distinction*. (Glasgow: Templeton, 1951), 57.

The Chenille Axminster process consisted of two stages of weaving. In the first, a striped wool cloth called the "blanket" is woven, the coloured stripes of which correspond with one or more rows of the carpet pattern. (Figure 3.1) The warp for this cloth comprises small groups of cotton threads, which are woven with a leno or gauze structure to secure the woollen or worsted weft. The cloth is cut into several identical thin strips called "fur." Then the cut edges are folded together to form a V-shaped tuft of yarn when seen in cross-section. In the second stage of weaving, known as "setting," the fur is used as a weft yarn and woven into the foundational weave-structure of a carpet, becoming the surface pile.

The structural elements of a Chenille Axminster carpet are labelled in Figure 3.2. The chenille fur is bound into the backing warp and weft by a set of fine "catcher" warp ends. In this step, the pattern that was woven into the fur is carefully matched-up from row to row to reassemble the carpet design. Multiple



copies of the same section of patterned fur were produced simultaneously and used to make a batch of identical carpets or several iterations of a repeating pattern. In the terminology of affordance mechanisms, this meant that the Chenille Axminster process strongly encouraged batch production.



**Figure 3.2** The chenille fur, carpet backing structure, and catcher warp ends. Otis Allen Kenyon, *Carpets and Rugs* (North Canton, Ohio: The Hoover company, 1923), 99.

Features of the chenille weave structure also produced affordances that affected the properties of the carpet pile and were irrespective of pattern design. For instance, different weave structures offer designers varying degrees of flexibility of pile height, allowing them to design carpets with specific textural characteristics. In Brussels and Wilton weaves, the pile height is limited by the physical constraints of the wires around which the pile is formed. In Spool Axminster and Gripper Axminster, pile height is even more limited by the mechanisms built into the loom.<sup>230</sup> In Chenille Axminster weaving, however, the height of the pile is controlled by the spacing of the groups of warp ends when

<sup>230</sup> Brinton, *Carpets*.

the fur is woven and can be altered at will. This offers greater versatility for manipulating the properties of the pile.

In practice, this allowed Templeton to produce Chenille carpets with a particularly deep, dense pile to deaden sound transmission on cruise ships.<sup>231</sup> The opposite quality was required of the carpets that Templeton made for the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II, in which, “the pile was short in order not to impede the passage of the robes and trains of the peers and peeresses in the Coronation procession.”<sup>232</sup> The flexibility of the Chenille Axminster process also allowed the pitch and width to be varied. This encouraged the manufacture of Chenille Axminster products with diverse material design, from more coarsely woven deep-pile oval rugs,<sup>233</sup> to the dense, detailed pile of Templeton’s ‘Fine Carpets.’<sup>234</sup> These features all relate to the design of the carpet’s material qualities rather than the surface pattern or the capacity for colouration.

Templeton exploited the colouring capability of the Chenille Axminster process, but this feature alone did not control the designs that were made using it. The firm’s best-known products in the nineteenth century were indeed highly elaborate, multi-coloured designs that made extravagant use of this feature. Moreover, this study has identified a small number of surviving design papers in the company archive as having been made for chenille manufacture in the nineteenth century, which illustrate the use of dozens of graduated colours.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> ‘Carpets for R.M.S. Queen Mary,’ *The Templetonian*, Vol. 2, No. 31, June 1936, 4-6. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/15/1 “Staff Magazines.” See also: Fiona Walmsley, “Pragmatism and Pluralism: The Interior Decoration of the Queen Mary,” in *Interior Design and Identity*, ed. Susie McKellar and Penny Sparke (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 155–73.

<sup>232</sup> ‘The Coronation Carpets,’ *The Templetonian*, Vol. 4, No. 55, June 1953, 14. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/15/1 “Staff Magazines.”

<sup>233</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/9/1-3 “Rugs and Mats.”

<sup>234</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD 201/1/1/10/1-3 “Fine Carpets.”

<sup>235</sup> The identification of design papers for chenille production is based on the distinctive 12 x 6 grid of the point paper. The records in the folder UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/81 “Old Carpet Squares,” are all Chenille Axminster design papers except for GB 248 STOD/DES/81/1 “Iranian 13/2526,” which is a later Spool Axminster design in a similar floral style.



**Figure 3.3 Nineteenth-century design paper for Chenille Axminster carpet. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/81/71 “Untitled Carpet Design.”**

The pattern in Figure 3.3 uses over forty shades in a section of a substantial carpet pattern to achieve naturalistically shaded motifs. This type of design attracted criticism from advocates of design reform in the nineteenth century, including the architect and designer Owen Jones. In a lecture on the true and false principles in decorative art, Jones gave moral weight to the number of shades that different carpet weave structures allowed, stating:

The more perfect the manufacturing process in carpets becomes, the more do they (the carpets) appear to lend themselves to evil. The modest Kidderminster carpet rarely goes wrong, because it cannot; it has to deal with but two colours, and consequently much mischief is beyond its reach. The Brussels carpet, which deals with five colours, is more mischievous. The tapestry carpets, where the colours are still more numerous, are vicious in the extreme.<sup>236</sup>

In this commentary, the Chenille Axminster process, which allowed unlimited use of colour, is considered a corrupting influence on the designer, encouraging “mischievous” and “vicious” decisions. Jones’ reputation ensured that this opinion was repeated in educational texts about carpet production into the twentieth century.<sup>237</sup> However, focussing only on the colouring capability of the chenille process is a problem because it implies not just that this was a feature of the weave structure but that it alone determined how the process was used. The mistake in this view is to grant excessive agency to the features of the weave structure in determining how it was used. The implication is that the capability for unlimited colouring led, through a path of immoral temptation, to its overuse. As an affordance, this asserts that a strong encouragement to produce multicoloured patterns hardened into a demand. Whilst the pattern in Figure 3.3 could support this idea, counterexamples are also found in the Templeton archives.

The Chenille Axminster process was not only used for elaborate naturalistic patterns. Nor do we have to look to progressive design to find examples of chenille products with tightly constrained palettes. These are evident in the Templeton archives and are illustrated by a Templeton Chenille Axminster carpet sample held by Glasgow Museums.<sup>238</sup> (Figure 3.4)

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<sup>236</sup> Owen Jones, *On the True and False in the Decorative Arts: Lectures Delivered at Marlborough House, June 1852* (London: Strangeways and Walden, 1863). Quoted in: Matthew Digby Wyatt, *On the Arts of Decoration at the International Exhibition at Paris, A.D. 1867: Class XVIII Carpets, Tapestries &c.* (London: [publisher not identified], 1868), 20.

<sup>237</sup> Brinton and Brinton, *Carpets*, 102.

<sup>238</sup> Carpet Sample, 1270 mm x 1400 mm, ID Number: E.2009.3.70, Stoddard-Templeton Heritage Carpet Collection, Glasgow Museums.



**Figure 3.4 “Carpet Sample,” 1270mm x 1400mm, ID Number: E.2009.3.70, Stoddard-Templeton Heritage Carpet Collection, Glasgow Museums.**

The carpet sample has a grey field with a streaked ground and a repeating pattern of rosette motifs in shades of grey-green, known as a “damask” design.<sup>239</sup> There is an inner border with a laurel branch pattern in shades of sage green on a darker blue background, a dark gold-coloured frame, and an outer border with a twined vine pattern. Reference to the Board of Trade Register of Designs confirms that the carpet was designed in 1897 and was an early example of the Parquet Carpets discussed below.<sup>240</sup> The pattern uses approximately

<sup>239</sup> Note that the terms “damask” and “chintz” indicate styles of colouring rather than separate textile types. The design of the carpet fits the description in the 1894 price list for, “Carpets woven in one piece, rectangular in shape. Class C – Fine yarns. Damask or Simple Chintz Patterns.” UGSTC, GB 0248 STOD/201/1/1/20/9 “Price List 1894.”

<sup>240</sup> Registered Design Number 298061, 29 April 1897, The National Archives (TNA), BT 50/277, ‘Designs 297633-298079.’

twelve shades of pile yarn arranged in such a way that it could not be woven using a Wilton weave structure. Therefore, the colour capabilities of the Chenille Axminster process permitted this particular pattern, but it hardly represents the extravagant use of colour that critics of the process feared would be encouraged by its use. Templeton used chenille not only for these tonal patterns but also for entirely plain-coloured carpets, the reasons for which are explored in detail in Chapter 6.5.

The manufacturer's point of view also challenges the usual understanding of Chenille Axminster weaving. A Working Party report of the carpet industry notes:

The chenille process has the great quality of versatility, and it is possible to make and store the chenille fur to any given design and to manufacture carpets to the design so made as and when required.<sup>241</sup>

The Managing Director of Templeton, John Anderson, was one of three representatives of Chenille Axminster manufacturers sitting on the committee. For this description of the chenille process to have been included in the report suggests that storing fur for later completion was an accepted practice at Templeton. The report continues:

The chenille process will survive, not only for its versatility but on account of the great width of loom which can be employed and for its suitability where very high grade qualities are required, either of exceptionally fine pitch or of heavy deep pile weave.<sup>242</sup>

The manufacturers' assessment of the features of Chenille Axminster weaving takes the capability for colouring as a given. It differs from Tattersall's statement that, "The main advantages of the process are that there is practically no restriction on the number of colours that can be used."<sup>243</sup> Instead, the manufacturers mention the features which distinguished Chenille Axminster from Spool Axminster, an alternative process that also allowed unlimited colouring. Chenille Axminster, unlike Spool Axminster, could accommodate wider seamless width, a greater range of pitch, pile depth, and yarn types

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<sup>241</sup> Carpet Industry Working Party, *Carpets*, 3.

<sup>242</sup> Carpet Industry Working Party, 3.

<sup>243</sup> Tattersall, *A History of British Carpets: From the Introduction of the Craft until the Present Day*, 1934, 111.

because these properties were not constrained by loom construction. The versatility of the chenille process is therefore as much about texture and materiality of the cloth as it is about pattern design. Taking the manufacturer's view into consideration takes us into the body of the carpet rather than resting on its patterned surface.

The use of pattern design as the primary basis for assessing carpets is part of what Fallan has called design history's problematic inheritance from art history in the early-twentieth century, meaning, "an excessive attention to aesthetics overshadows the many other aspects of design."<sup>244</sup> Although visual appeal and visual function were significant, an approach guided by material culture recognises that people formed meaning in relation to things at all stages of the objects' life cycle; surface design is only one factor amongst many others. A history of design informed by the philosophy of technology should consider both the technological factors that influenced the manufacture of an artefact (physical processes, the capabilities, and limitations of materials) and the social and cultural influences which shaped how people used these technical opportunities. Furthermore, the social construction of technology asserts that the properties of materials and processes cannot be thought of as neutral, static facts, but are formed in relation to the desires and needs of the people that develop and use them. Acknowledgement of an alternative view, expressed in the industry sources quoted above, challenges the current assessment of the beneficial features of the chenille process that has been formed by prioritising surface pattern. This re-examination of the chenille process reasserts the physicality of the carpet object and connects technical, social, and cultural influences in line with current approaches in design history.

Seeing beyond Chenille Axminster's capability for coloured patterning allows an alternative view to be formed of its affordances for Templeton. A 1924 report on the chenille carpet industry confirms that the practice of keeping fur "in preparation" was specifically associated with Templeton's economy of scale:

The larger scale of his operations permits the British manufacturer to standardize, at least to a measure. Particularly striking is the case of James Templeton and Company, the Scotch manufacturers, who

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<sup>244</sup> Fallan, "Design History: Understanding Theory and Method," 9.

prepare and keep on hand substantial quantities of “fur” for types and qualities suitable for the production of carpeting of given grades and designs. These varieties can then be sold by description or otherwise, and all that remains to be done at the factory is the setting and finishing.<sup>245</sup>

Holding chenille fur “in preparation” allowed the weaving process of an individual design to be suspended when half complete, with the pattern stored in the strands of fur. As outlined in the quotation above, the benefit of this was to strike a balance between being able to fulfil orders promptly and the labour costs of fully finishing carpets to be held in stock. Storing fur rather than finished stock allowed Templeton to begin the production process and anticipate demand while reducing the financial and logistical risk of overstocking carpets.

The success of this practice relied on effective storage and handling of the fur. A standard strand of chenille fur, forty-eight-yards long, held the pattern for only a few inches of a carpet, meaning that up to thirty carefully ordered strands may be needed for a medium-size carpet. The manufacturer, George Robinson, noted, “great care must be taken to ensure that each strip is marked with the correct design and series number before they are sorted and assembled into the appropriate sets.”<sup>246</sup> If a hank of fur became separated from the information about the dimensions of carpet for which it was designed, it would become impossible for the weaver to assemble it correctly and form the completed pattern. The stored pattern information would become unreadable by the loom. This risk is not recorded directly in the company archives but is shown indirectly in photographs of the weaving process that show workers handling and preparing chenille fur. In Figure 3.5, two workers sit beside one of the large rectangular baskets that were used to move hanks of fur around the weaving sheds.<sup>247</sup> The workers are attending to a seemingly disordered tangle of chenille fur, one end of which hangs from the left side of the basket with unravelling warp ends.

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<sup>245</sup> Arthur H Cole, “The Chenille Axminster Carpet Manufacture,” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 39, no. 1 (1924): 141, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1883958>.

<sup>246</sup> Robinson, *Carpets*.

<sup>247</sup> The photograph is marked on the reverse by George Outram & Co Ltd., the publisher and printer of *The Glasgow Herald*, *The Bulletin*, *The Evening Times*. It was probably taken in connection with a major commission for a plain-coloured carpet such as Templeton made for the coronations in 1937 and 1953. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/16/2/4/16 “Carpet Making Processes.”

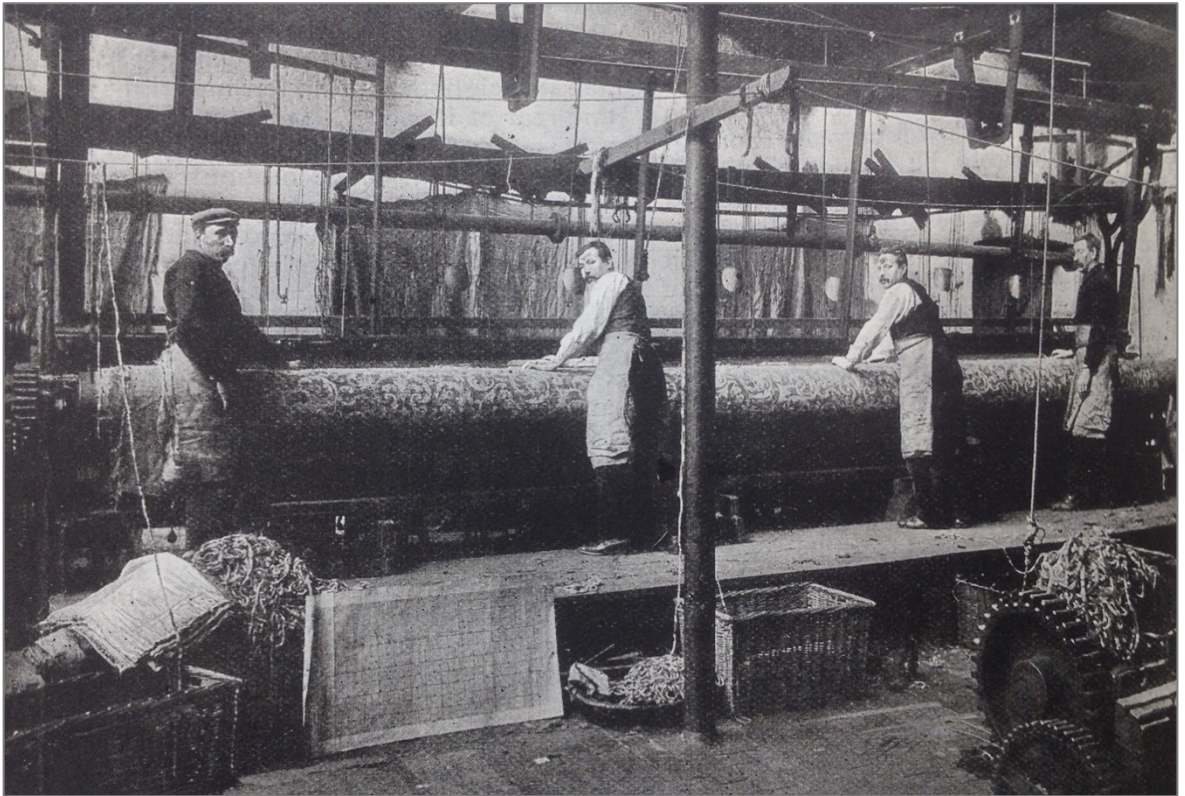




**Figure 3.5** Templeton workers with a basket of chenille fur. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/16/2/4/16 “Carpet Making Processes.”

Heaps of fur, and the baskets in which they were held, are visible in most photographs of chenille setting from the 1890s to 1950s, showing continuity in the weaving process. An image from the Kidderminster firm of Tomkinson and Adam in 1897 shows that what looks like a confusion of chenille fur could still be returned to order in the loom.<sup>248</sup> (Figure 3.6)

<sup>248</sup> W. J. Gordon, “Midland Sketches: Kidderminster,” *The Leisure Hour*, no. Apr (1897): 390.



**Figure 3.6** Chenille Axminster carpet being woven at Tomkinson and Adam, showing piles of chenille fur. W. J. Gordon, "Midland Sketches: Kidderminster," *The Leisure Hour*, April (1897): 390.

Piles of patterned chenille fur are heaped in baskets and beside the loom, alongside a gridded drawing of the plan of a shaped carpet. A reporter's description of the scene gives a sense of incredulity that the carpet was:

... being made to plan, to fit into all the ins and outs of a double room, which evidently contained two bow-windows, two fireplaces, folding doors and recesses. All this was to be in one piece without a seam, and was altogether so complicated a thing that one would never have believed it could be done without cutting and sewing.<sup>249</sup>

Irregularly shaped carpets were expensive to produce because patterns had to be extensively redesigned and required more labour to weave. Tomkinson and Adam kept a thirty-foot-wide setting loom for this type of work, which was only exceeded by Templeton's thirty-three-foot-wide loom. The chenille weave structure made this type of bespoke work possible because skilled weavers positioned the fur pile by hand, which meant that its position could be varied from row to row. In the Jacquard weave structures, this would require an

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<sup>249</sup> Gordon, 392.

inordinate number of Jacquard cards to be designed and cut, even if the loom could be made wide enough to encompass the pattern. It is worth emphasising that in the elaborate carpets like the one illustrated in this photograph, and the Templeton pattern in Figure 3.3, the precise repeat of the pattern which accommodates the eccentricities of the room plan are already set in the fur before it is made into finished carpet.<sup>250</sup> Not only can the colour changes that are seen in the striped fur be resolved into the ornate Rococo pattern on the loom but, in this example, they can only form the pattern legibly when woven to the complex shape of one specific room.



**Figure 3.7 A Templeton worker winding chenille fur into hanks for storage. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/16/2/4/27 “Carpet Making Processes.”**

<sup>250</sup> Irregular layouts for Chenille Axminster carpets are shown in UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/21/1 “Carpets: Axminster, Wilton & Brussels, Curtains, etc.”

If these images suggest the precarity of the pattern held in the fur, a later Templeton photograph gives a reassuring return to order. (Figure 3.7) Here a worker is winding chenille fur into hanks and is surrounded by other labelled hanks hanging from racks. We cannot tell if the colour changes in the strand of fur will be resolved on the loom into a traditional Turkey carpet or a modern pattern. The small white mark on the fur above her left hand may be a detail of the pattern or one of the essential marker threads woven into the fur to help the weaver correctly align the pattern on the loom.<sup>251</sup> The photograph is part of a sequence taken for Templeton which illustrates steps in the weaving process. As a promotional image, it projects the care and order with which the company approached its work. Keeping the chenille fur for a particular design “in preparation” was a form of information storage, in which the fur encoded data about patterning which could be later reassembled by completing the weaving process. Its reliability as a store of information, however, was dependant on careful handling.

The value Templeton found in holding the materials for carpets “in preparation” is suggested by the consistency with which the practice was employed. Templeton held stock rugs and carpet squares in popular ranges and sizes, allowing delivery of core products such as their ‘Victorian Axminster Parquet Carpets,’ “in a few days and frequently by return.”<sup>252</sup> While this popular Chenille Axminster quality was held “in preparation,” the equivalent Spool Axminster products relied on stockholding for rapid order fulfilment or longer lead times for reweaving. The price lists note that for Spool Axminster qualities:

There is always in stock a large and varied range of Albert and Imperial Carpeting. Special demands for large or small quantities can be provided at once, or substitutes supplied when the urgency of an order will not permit the delay of remaking.<sup>253</sup>

High levels of stockholding came with financial risks. This is evident in records of sales of job lots of rugs at reduced prices to department stores as seasonal sale stock.<sup>254</sup> From 1928, Templeton also held stock of their ‘Plain Saxony Wilton

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<sup>251</sup> Beaumont and Beaumont, *Carpets and Rugs*, 315.

<sup>252</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/20/11 “Price List 1898.”

<sup>253</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/20/14 “Price List 1902.”

<sup>254</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/10/4 “Sales Journal.”

Broadloom' quality in a range of standard colours for quicker delivery.<sup>255</sup> However, when Carpet Trades Ltd. launched their 'Wessex' range of Wilton carpeting in 1952, Bertram Jacobs still considered it innovative to deliver it directly to consumers, from stock, by return of post.<sup>256</sup> Therefore, the lead time for orders was an area in which manufacturers could gain a competitive advantage but with associated financial risks of speculative production and stockholding. The ability provided by the Chenille Axminster process for the manufacturer to hold carpets "in preparation" allowed Templeton to mitigate risk while offering prompt fulfilment of client's orders. The move made by James Templeton and Company at the end of the nineteenth century towards batch-produced ranges, including Parquet carpets, met demand from a growing consumer base. However, by looking at how the company used the Chenille Axminster process we can see that batch production was also strongly encouraged by the weave structure's affordances.

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<sup>255</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/20/47 "Price List 1928."

<sup>256</sup> Jacobs, *The Story of British Carpets.*, 151.

### 3.3 Holding chenille fur “in preparation” as a feature of the production of Templeton’s Parquet Carpets.

The Templeton archives show that the product range most associated with the practise of keeping chenille fur “in preparation” was the Parquet Carpet. This Chenille Axminster range had no relationship to the inlaid wooden flooring of the same name. They were a range of carpet squares - room-sized rugs with designs usually consisting of a patterned field (or “filling”) and co-ordinating borders. Templeton made them in many patterns, and qualities that differed in the density of pile or the type of woven backing. Templeton first offered the range in 1884, and the term parquet was used with various modifications until 1936 when the same qualities were called simply ‘Seamless Squares.’<sup>257</sup> What distinguished this range from Templeton’s existing woven-to-order and bespoke Chenille Axminster carpet ranges was not what they looked like but their prompt delivery.

Woven-to-order ranges took several weeks to manufacture, even from existing designs, because of the labour required first to weave the chenille fur and then weave the fur into the finished carpet. By storing the fur, Templeton offered Parquet Carpets in standard sizes either from stock or within days of the order being placed. Templeton Senior Partner, Fred H. Young, recalled:

For long the [Chenille Axminster] method was used chiefly for rugs and carpets for special orders; gradually the making of carpets and carpeting in quantity for stock was developed. Towards the end of the last century the sale of mass-production Chenille Parquet carpets began to be pushed actively and today the quantity turned out by the many makers who have adopted the process is one of the greatest features of the carpet industry.<sup>258</sup>

As such, Parquet Carpets are a key product in the period of Templeton’s history covered in this study. They marked a change in the firm’s use of the Chenille Axminster process to meet the needs of a more mass-market group of consumers than was typical of their earlier production.

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<sup>257</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/20/3 “Price List 1884,” UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/20/53 “Price List 1936.”

<sup>258</sup> Fred Harry Young, ‘James Templeton & Co. Glasgow, February 1933,’ 4. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/15/5/8 “Folder of papers related to the writings of Fred H Young.”

Templeton's decision to produce Parquet Squares as a mass-market, batch-produced product in the 1880s was consistent with other innovations in the carpet industry that took advantage of the popularity of bordered carpet squares. William C. Gray and Sons, Ayr, began weaving what became known as 'Art Squares' in the early-1880s. These popular double- or triple-cloth carpets did not have a pile but were woven in one piece, without seams, like Chenille Axminster carpets.<sup>259</sup> The 'Chlidema' square, launched in 1887, was a Wilton product that reduced the problems associated with seamed carpets by integrating the border and filling design, meaning that they could be woven as one.<sup>260</sup> Tomkinson and Adam, Kidderminster, gained an advantage in the Spool Axminster market in the early-1900s when they made 'Kleitos' wide seamless squares on their own adapted looms.<sup>261</sup> These carpet square products were typically used in the centre of a dayroom floor, surrounded by a margin of other floorcoverings. The margin could be oilcloth, floorcloth, felt, felt paper, linoleum, or polished, stained, or painted boards, depending on the householder's taste and resources.<sup>262</sup> The diversity of products in this format produced a competitive market in which manufacturers sought to differentiate themselves by pattern design, quality, and price.

Chenille Axminster Parquet Carpets were very competitively priced compared to similar Templeton products. The most striking comparison is to the price of Templeton's equivalent woven-to-order Chenille Axminster ranges.<sup>263</sup> At the turn

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<sup>259</sup> Tattersall and Reed, *A History of British Carpets: From the Introduction of the Craft until the Present Day*, 103.

<sup>260</sup> Brinton, *Carpets*, 40–42; Bradbury, *Carpet Manufacture*, 40, 45; Tattersall and Reed, *A History of British Carpets: From the Introduction of the Craft until the Present Day*, 94.

<sup>261</sup> The introduction of 'Kleitos' squares is dated to 1897 by Jacobs, 1902 by Thomson, and 1906 by Bartlett. Of these dates, the earliest refers to when Tomkinson acquired the exclusive rights to the loom in Britain from Halcyon Skinner, Yonkers, (Patent GB189822604A). Tomkinson's improvements to the loom for weaving "carpets of great width" were patented in 1902 (Patent GB190228782A). Bartlett, *Carpeting the Millions: The Growth of Britain's Carpet Industry*, 86; Jacobs, *The Story of British Carpets.*, 110; Thompson, *Woven in Kidderminster: An Illustrated History of the Carpet Industry in the Kidderminster Area Including Stourport, Bridgnorth and Bewdley: 1735-2000*, 80.

<sup>262</sup> Edwards, *Encyclopedia of Furnishing Textiles, Floorcoverings, and Home Furnishing Practices, 1200-1950*.

<sup>263</sup> The standard sizes of Parquet Carpets show that their patterns were typically structured using an eighteen-inch repeat. Equivalent ranges of woven-to-order Chenille carpets were the 'Y-Range,' described as, "Small trellis or damask designs with narrow figured borders," and the more expensive 'S-Range,' "Elaborate chintz or ornamental borders with either figured or plain centres." UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/2011/1/20/17 "Price List 1905."

of the century, the cheapest quality of Parquet Square cost 6s 9d per square yard, thirty-seven per cent of the price of an equivalent woven-to-order Chenille Axminster carpet, which cost 18s 0d per square yard.<sup>264</sup> The disparity in price grew as Templeton added more qualities. By 1940, the cheapest Parquet Carpet cost 7s 3d per square yard, only twenty-three per cent of the price of a comparable woven-to-order carpet at £1 11s 0d per square yard.<sup>265</sup> The wholesale price for a room-sized carpet, nine feet by twelve feet, at this date was between £4 7s 0d and £10 13s 0d.<sup>266</sup> Retailers customarily added a margin of between a third and a half to the wholesale price of carpets.<sup>267</sup> The hire purchase agreements offered by furnishers typically meant that the final cost of a carpet to consumers was more than double the wholesale price, but the popularity of these schemes aided the growth of carpet ownership among middle-class consumers.<sup>268</sup>

As an example of retail prices, Maule's, the Edinburgh department store, advertised "Beautiful Seamless Axminster Carpets made by Templeton" of this size for £8 10s 0d (subsequently discounted to £6 15s 0d).<sup>269</sup> The relative value of this carpet would now be £600, estimated using the Retail Price Index.<sup>270</sup> Although a carpet square was still a substantial purchase, this price put them within reach of many homeowners. A 1946 consumer survey found that almost seventy per cent of housewives who intended to buy a carpet were willing to pay between £4 0s 0d and £11 0s 0d, comfortably encompassing the price range of Templeton's Parquet Carpets.<sup>271</sup> Of these consumers, at least a quarter intended

<sup>264</sup> 'Quality A' Parquet Carpet, £0 6s 9d per sq. yd. 'No.4' Victorian Axminster, £0 18s 0d per sq. yd. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/20/14 "Price List 1902."

<sup>265</sup> 'Vincent' Seamless Axminster Square, £0 7s 3d per sq. yd. 'Y-Range' Special Seamless Axminster, £1 11s 0d per sq. yd. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/20/61 "Price List 1940."

<sup>266</sup> The prices are given for the 'Vincent' and 'Hx' qualities of Seamless Axminster Squares. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/20/61 "Price List 1940."

<sup>267</sup> Carpet Industry Working Party, *Carpets*, 26.

<sup>268</sup> For attitudes to hire purchase schemes in the acquisition of consumer durables, see: Scott, "Equipping the Suburban Home."

<sup>269</sup> "Other 76 - No Title," *The Scotsman (1921-1950)*, June 4, 1934.

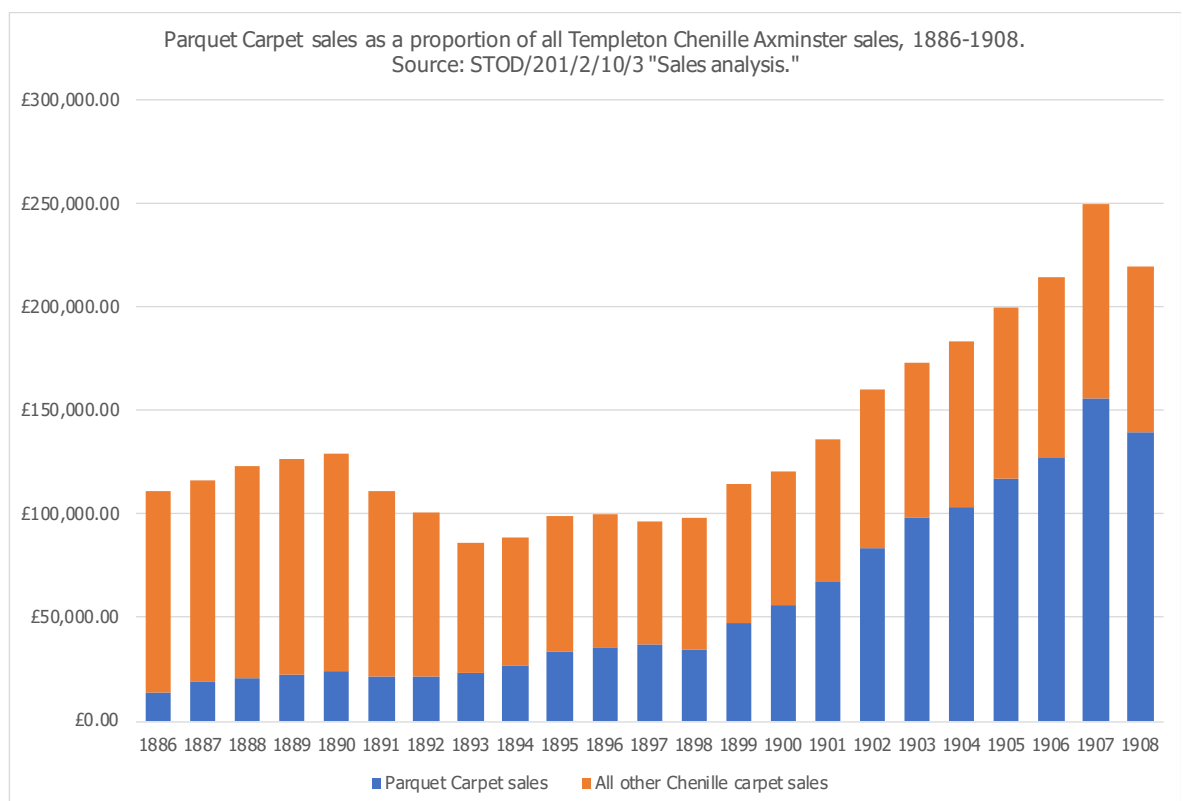
<sup>270</sup> This is an estimate of the "real price" using the retail price index. Estimates of the "income value," relative to GDP per capita are higher. "Relative Value of UK Pound Amount," Measuringworth.com, accessed January 9, 2021, <https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/>.

<sup>271</sup> Carpet Industry Working Party, *Carpets*, 63.



to buy using hire purchase schemes, widening the potential consumer base for this product.<sup>272</sup>

The available sales figures for Templeton's Parquet Carpets show that they rapidly became a popular product with customers. In 1886, shortly after their introduction, sales of Parquet Carpets amounted to 13% of the total sales of Chenille Axminster products. By 1908, the proportion of Parquet Carpet sales had grown to 64% of all Chenille Axminster products. Over the same period, the value of their sales had increased tenfold to almost £140,000.<sup>273</sup> (Figure 3.8) When we consider that the category of "other" products included a wide range of mats and rugs, contract carpets, and strip carpeting, it is evident that Parquet Carpets became a central product to Templeton in the early-twentieth century.



**Figure 3.8 The value of Parquet Carpet sales as a proportion of all Templeton Chenille Axminster sales, 1886-1908. Data source: UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/10/3 "Sales Analysis."**

<sup>272</sup> Carpet Industry Working Party, 82.

<sup>273</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/10/3 "Sales Analysis."

Developing Parquet Carpets as a mass-market Chenille Axminster product capitalised on the increased speed of weaving made possible by powered looms. The carpet industry had found it more challenging to apply steam-power to Chenille Axminster looms than to those for other types of carpet, meaning that it had remained a hand-woven product for most of the nineteenth century. Steam power had been used for Ingrain carpet weaving as early as 1840, and Brussels and Wilton power looms were developed in the 1850s.<sup>274</sup> The main obstacle for applying power to chenille looms was in the “setting” stage of weaving, during which the prepared chenille fur was woven into the finished carpet. To align the fur correctly, the weavers needed to comb each row of chenille fur weft into position by hand. This required stopping the loom mechanism after the insertion of each shot of weft.<sup>275</sup> The Kidderminster carpet manufacturers, Tomkinson and Adam, solved this engineering problem and licenced wide, powered chenille setting looms to chenille manufacturers in the late-1870s.<sup>276</sup> Bertram Jacobs, in his history of the carpet trade, suggests that Templeton adopted these improved looms later than some of their competitors because of James Templeton’s original vision for the Chenille Axminster process:

His one objective was to give consumers a reasonable substitute for the luxurious hand-knotted cloths. This attitude to some extent dictated policy for some time, and certainly delayed the installation of Chenille power looms.<sup>277</sup>

This is a plausible suggestion, but we should also consider the logistics of retrofitting existing factory buildings to supply steam power. Templeton’s Brussels and Wilton weaving sheds had been using power looms since 1860. They originally operated from a separate site in Fordneuk Street, but from 1872 a modernised factory in Crownpoint Road was constructed for Wilton power

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<sup>274</sup> On mechanisation of the carpet trade in the mid-nineteenth century, see: J. Neville Bartlett, “The Mechanisation of the Kidderminster Carpet Industry,” *Business History* 9, no. 1 (1967): 49–69, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00076796700000003>; Bartlett, *Carpeting the Millions: The Growth of Britain’s Carpet Industry*, 19–29; Jacobs, *The Story of British Carpets.*, 38–44; John S Ewing and Nancy P Norton, *Broadlooms and Businessmen : A History of the Bigelow-Sanford Carpet Company* (Bridgewater, N.J.: Replica Books, 2000).

<sup>275</sup> Robinson, *Carpets*.

<sup>276</sup> The task of selecting the required coloured weft yarn when weaving chenille fur was still performed by hand. It was only automated after World War II, when a loom using punched pattern cards was developed by Fielding & Son, Ltd., Oldham. *Carpet Annual* (Teddington: Haymarket Publishing Limited, 1949), 71.

<sup>277</sup> Jacobs, *The Story of British Carpets.*, 48.

looms.<sup>278</sup> The major modernisation and rebuilding of the company's main premises on Templeton Street, which housed the Chenille Axminster setting looms, was not underway at this point.<sup>279</sup> Even though Templeton was slower to adopt the new machinery than some firms, by 1882, all stages of the chenille weaving process benefitted from powered looms.<sup>280</sup> The introduction of Parquet Carpets in 1884, soon after the new power looms were operational, suggests that the company saw the potential for using the technology to expand its production of batch-produced goods. The substantial quantities of Parquet Carpets that Templeton wove, and the lower prices charged for them, owe much to the speed of weaving on power looms. Bartlett calculates that powered weft and setting looms reduced labour costs by half for chenille weaving and overall production costs by ten per cent.<sup>281</sup> Power looms for "setting" chenille fur worked at three times the speed of handlooms.<sup>282</sup> However, the speed of power looms alone cannot account for Templeton's promise to make Parquet Carpets in a matter of days. Power looms were also available for use on their woven-to-order ranges, which were more costly and had longer delivery times. The difference between the two products was the practice of holding fur in preparation.

As the sales of Parquet Carpets grew, Templeton increased both the number of standard sizes in which they were woven and the diversity of their design. The 1886 price list illustrated an initial range of seven Parquet Carpets, all "of Indian and Persian designs." The company advertised that standard sizes could be "supplied at once" and cost as little as 11d per square yard, but custom sizes incurred "considerably higher rates" and took a month to be woven.<sup>283</sup> Delivery was expediated by keeping the material required for a limited number of patterns and sizes at the half-woven stage.

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<sup>278</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/1/2 "Private Memorandum Book."

<sup>279</sup> Indeed, the construction of the ornate factory building in 1889 was motivated by the need to house new, steam powered Spool Axminster looms and associated plant machinery. Young, *A Century of Carpet Making, 1839-1939.*, 51.

<sup>280</sup> Bartlett, *Carpeting the Millions: The Growth of Britain's Carpet Industry*, 38–39.

<sup>281</sup> Bartlett, 38. Note that not all aspects of the process were mechanised; weavers still had to comb the fur into alignment by hand. As previously noted, a loom that automated colour selection for making chenille fur was only developed after World War II.

<sup>282</sup> Bradbury, *Carpet Manufacture*, 270.

<sup>283</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/20/5 "Price List 1886."

Chenille Axminster squares were close in appearance to hand-knotted oriental rugs, as they were woven without seams, unlike rugs made of Wilton body carpet, and fringing could be sewn on to imitate the knotted warp ends of hand-knotted rugs. Templeton's introduction of them coincided with the Aesthetic fashion for decorating the floors of day-rooms with smaller oriental rugs to achieve a richly coloured and sensually textured interior.<sup>284</sup> Scholarship on Aesthetic and Arts and Crafts interiors has shown the use of textiles to be semiotically rich, mobilising ideologies connected to concepts of morality,<sup>285</sup> comfort and hygiene,<sup>286</sup> orientalism,<sup>287</sup> and the relationship of historicism and modernity.<sup>288</sup> The relative affordability of Templeton's Parquet Carpets made them a viable choice for consumers who were engaging in these diverse aspects of self-presentation through the use of oriental-style rugs.

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<sup>284</sup> Anne Anderson, "Harmony in the Home: Fashioning the 'Model' Artistic Home or Aesthetic House Beautiful through Color and Form," *Interiors* 5, no. 3 (November 1, 2014): 341–60, <https://doi.org/10.2752/204191114X14126916211265>; Doreen Bolger Burke, *In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art: Rizzoli, 1986); Charlotte Gere and Lesley Hoskins, *The House Beautiful: Oscar Wilde and the Aesthetic Interior* (Aldershot, Hants: Lund Humphries, 2000); Charlotte Gere, *Artistic Circles: Design and Decoration in the Aesthetic Movement* (London: V&A Publishing, 2010).

<sup>285</sup> Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart, *Rethinking the Interior, c.1867-1896: Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2010). *The House Beautiful: Oscar Wilde and the Aesthetic Interior* (Aldershot, Hants: Lund Humphries in association with the Geffrye Museum, 2000); Charlotte Gere

<sup>286</sup> Richard W Hayes, "The Aesthetic Interior as Incubator of Health and Well-Being," *Architectural History* 60 (2017): 277, <https://doi.org/10.1017/arh.2017.9>; Bianca Scoti, "Between 'Poetry and Pathos': Oriental Rugs in America during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era" (University of Glasgow, 2019).

<sup>287</sup> Christopher Morley, "Reform and Eastern Art: The Origins and Progress of the New English Art, or Aesthetic, Movement, 1851 to 1878.," *Journal of the Decorative Arts Society 1850 to the Present*, no. 34 (2010): 112–36; John Potvin, *Oriental Interiors: Design, Identity, Space*, 1st ed. (London: Bloomsbury UK, 2015); Rodris Roth, "Oriental Carpet Furniture: A Furnishing Fashion in the West in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 11, no. 2 (2004): 25–58.

<sup>288</sup> Anne Anderson, "The 'New Old School': Furnishing with Antiques in the Modern Interior—Frederic, Lord Leighton's Studio-House and Its Collections," *Journal of Design History* 24, no. 4 (2011): 315–38, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jdh/epq033>; Frances Collard, "Historical Revivals, Commercial Enterprise and Public Confusion: Negotiating Taste, 1860-1890.," *Design History* 16, no. 1 (2003): 35–48; Juliet Kinchin, "Designer as Critic: E. W. Godwin and the Aesthetic Home," *Journal of Design History* 18, no. 1 (2005): 21–34, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jdh/epi003>; Penny Sparke, "The Modern Interior Revisited," *Journal of Interior Design* 34, no. 1 (September 2008): v–xii, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1939-1668.2008.00002.x>.



**Figure 3.9 “Sitting Room: Four-storey detached houses, New Brighton, Wirral, Cheshire,” designed by Reginald Wynn Owen, 1895. Ref No. RIBA3369-53, © RIBApix.**

The sitting room interior in Figure 3.9 includes a bordered carpet square in an oriental style covering a large area of the floor. The house, designed in 1895 by the architect Reginald Wynn Owen, included fashionable Arts and Crafts features such as the inglenook fireplace and fitted seating. However, the occupant has furnished with a more eclectic assemblage of items familiar to earlier Victorian day rooms, including the heavily draped lamp and potted palms. Consumers could adaptively incorporate Templeton’s early Parquet Carpet patterns, such as the illustration from the 1888 price list into personal styles of interior decoration. (Figure 3.10) This adaptability meant that designs using pattern motifs from Indian, Turkish and Persian carpets were continuously reworked as part of a widening range of styles.

If the initial offering of Parquet Carpets seemed limited in scale, the amount of stock that would have to be held to fulfil the promise that standard sizes could

be “supplied at once” was still considerable. Each design was listed in up to forty-five sizes, and offered a choice of red, blue, or camel “Indian” colouring.<sup>289</sup>

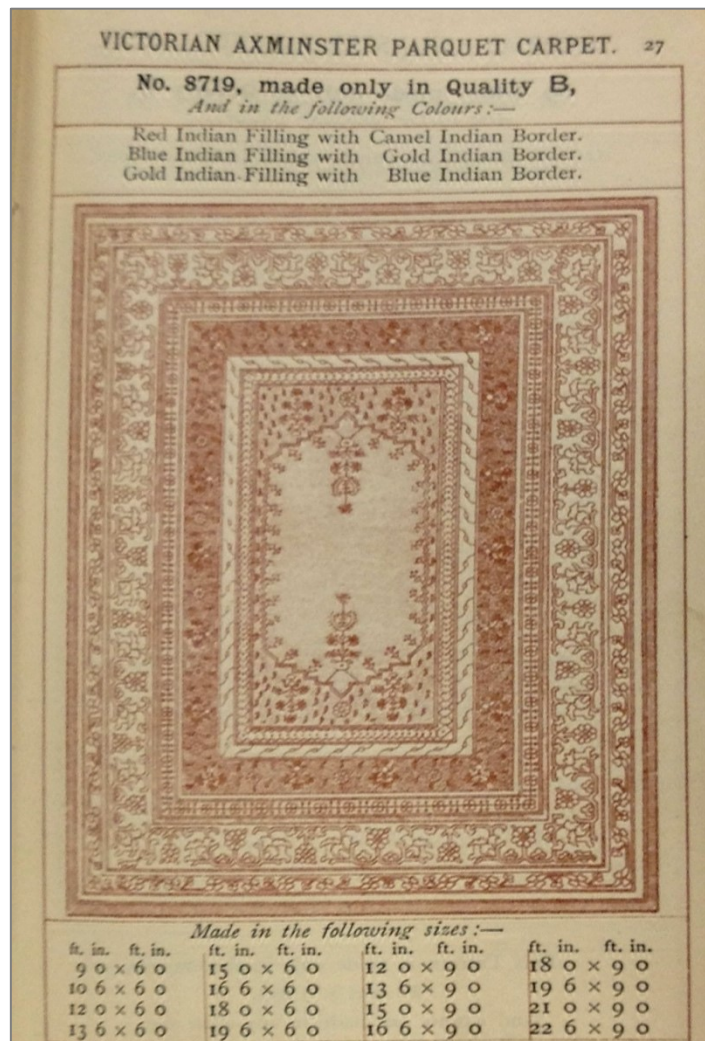


Figure 3.10 UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/20/7 “Price List 1888.”

For Templeton to hold in stock a single carpet of each size and colouring would have meant warehousing five hundred carpets. By 1894, the last year that the range was small enough to be listed in full in the price lists, the patterns included chintz designs in various colourings, more qualities had been added, and even more standard sizes were offered. If these were to be supplied from stock, the total number of permutations that would need to be warehoused for this one

<sup>289</sup> In Templeton archive documents, the term “Indian” did not always mean a style of carpet pattern using conventionalized floral motifs loosely derived from the carpets of the Mughal empire or modern India. Templeton also used the term for a type of colouring using warm reds, greens, and golds, which could be applied to patterns of any style. For example, the lithograph of Parquet Carpet No.939, from 1907, shows both “Indian” and “Turkey” colourings of the same pattern: UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/2 “Loose Lithographs.”

range exceeded three thousand carpets.<sup>290</sup> Keeping fur in store to weave carpets to the sizes that customers requested would make the logistics of this more reasonable.

From the start of the twentieth century the variety of patterns continued to expand rapidly; oriental motifs were joined by patterns in contemporary and historicist European styles. The number of qualities of weave used in the range also proliferated. The 1915 price list offered eight different qualities of Parquet Carpet and more than fifty other qualities of Chenille Axminster carpets.<sup>291</sup> The volumes of lithographs of Parquet Carpet patterns register the history of stylistic change, with Arts and Crafts influences (Figure 3.11) giving way to Modernist abstraction.



**Figure 3.11 Templeton Victorian Axminster Parquet Square No.1463, 1911. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1 “Templeton Designs.”**



**Figure 3.12 Templeton Victorian Axminster Parquet Square No.801, 1907. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1 “Templeton Designs.”**

If this suggests a linear narrative of stylistic progression, that expectation is confounded by the presence of what the design historian, Kjetil Fallan, has termed “traditionalesque” design. The, “multitude of intermediary positions and

<sup>290</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/20/9 “Price List 1894.”

<sup>291</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/20/31 “Price List 1915.”

middle grounds that dominate everyday industrial design practice.”<sup>292</sup> There is, for example, a continuous reiteration of motifs in Baroque and Rococo styles, popularly referred to simply as “French,” which maintained their association with luxury and the cultural capital of the social elite. (Figure 3.12) These designs go some way to supporting the often stated view that the consumption of carpets was driven by class emulation, drawing on the theory of Thorstein Veblen.<sup>293</sup> Sherrill, for example, writes about these styles of patterns, “the newly prosperous bourgeoisie coveted luxury goods available only to the aristocracy in earlier centuries and sought to imitate princely modes of living from the time of the Renaissance through the late eighteenth century.”<sup>294</sup> However, the homogeneity of this influence is questioned by evidence of non-elite fashion in pattern design and the complexities of actual examples of use.

A carpet square is shown in a 1935 photograph of a domestic interior at 5 Devonshire Terrace, Glasgow, which illustrates just such a compromised example of use. (Figure 3.13) Its pattern is very similar to a Templeton design of Parquet Square. (Figure 3.14) Both patterns feature groups of foxgloves, hollyhocks, and other cottage-garden flowers, bordering a plainer central field. Templeton’s design was registered with the Board of Trade Register of Designs in 1928 and is characteristic of a strand of whimsical and nostalgic imagery that was used in some Parquet Squares around this date.<sup>295</sup>

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<sup>292</sup> Fallan, “One Must Offer “Something for Everyone””: Designing Crockery for Consumer Consent in 1950s’ Norway,” 134.

<sup>293</sup> Thorstein Veblen, “The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions” (London: Allen & Unwin, 1912).

<sup>294</sup> Sherrill, *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and America*, 291.

<sup>295</sup> See items 200 (Pattern Number 1152, 8 September 1928) and 210 (Pattern Number 1157, 6 May 1929) in the list of dated designs, Appendix A.





Figure 3.13 Glasgow City Archives, "5 Devonshire Terrace, 1935," Ref C587.



Figure 3.14 Templeton Seamless Square No.1152, 1928.  
UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1 "Templeton  
Designs."

Devonshire Terrace had been part of the 1880s boom in speculative building that had drawn the merchant and professional classes to the prestigious West End of Glasgow.<sup>296</sup> By the 1930s, several of the owners of single-family homes in the terrace, including number five, had subdivided properties into eight or more separate suites of rooms to be let as unfurnished serviced apartments.<sup>297</sup> This photograph may relate to a legal test case in 1935, which ruled against property owners' appeals over increases to their rates after they had subdivided houses for multiple occupancy. The average annual rental rate was around £90 per apartment and an estimated four hundred houses in Glasgow had been similarly converted.<sup>298</sup> This flat was rented without furnishings. As carpets were a significant investment, a traditional carpet square had the benefit that it could be moved between rented properties with the temporary occupiers. The portability of carpets was made more difficult by the growing trend in the 1920s and 1930s for wall-to-wall carpet fitting (discussed in Chapter 6), making fitted carpets more suitable for owner-occupied properties.

The interior depicted in the 1935 photograph displays the gentle eclecticism of accumulated belongings in rented rooms: a drop-leaf table with barley twist legs in an early-eighteenth-century style; an Arts and Crafts style plant stand; the late-1920s carpet; and personal touches such as the basket of flowers. The furnishings suggest tenants who were not without means but in more precarious housing than the established families in neighbouring homes. The changing fortunes of this house indicate the appropriateness of the Parquet Carpet for the times. Whereas the original occupants may have had carpets woven to the shape of their rooms, the Parquet Square plays a part in the scene of the rented, subdivided home. It is easily moved from room to room, it is not inexpensive but affordable, and adds a relatively up-to-date decorative element to the room. The relevant features of Parquet Carpets' production are that chenille fur

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<sup>296</sup> The first occupant of 5 Devonshire Terrace (originally named Marlborough Terrace) was a chartered accountant named William Mackinnon. *The Post Office Annual Directory, 1889-1890*, 62nd ed. (Glasgow: William Mackenzie, 1889), 411.

<sup>297</sup> The owner of 5 Devonshire Terrace, Annie S. Thomson, and the owners of numbers 2, 4, and 9 Devonshire Terrace each made, unsuccessful, appeals against increases in the rate assessment of their properties after they had subdivided. "Income-Tax Decision: Glasgow West End Apartments Divided Houses," *The Scotsman (1921-1950)*, June 27, 1935.

<sup>298</sup> "Service Flats: Glasgow Valuation Appeals Hearing of Test Cases," *The Scotsman (1921-1950)*, September 26, 1935.

weaving encouraged batch production by inherently producing multiple copies of a pattern, and that storing fur in preparation increased the efficiency of weaving and supply. These enabled the distribution of Parquet Carpets in the mass market.

James Templeton and Company's production of Parquet Carpets was encouraged by the affordances that the company's designers and managers had perceived in the Chenille Axminster process. The extraordinary choice in pattern and quality that Templeton offered in the Parquet Carpet range was possible because the process allowed the physical attributes of pile to be varied to a greater extent than when using other weave structures. Producing the range for a broad consumer base depended on the way that weaving the patterned fur encouraged batch production. Furthermore, to fulfil the promise of delivering orders within days, Templeton relied on the ability to hold chenille fur "in preparation" and finish carpets to order. Without this feature, the breadth of the range would have required an impossible level of stockholding, with consequent financial risks of overstock. The logistical problems of promptly supplying such a vast range were not only an issue in the domestic market but were compounded by the popularity of the product in Templeton's global market.

### **3.3.1 Templeton Parquet Carpets in Australia.**

The success of Templeton's Parquet Carpet range made an impact on homes in its overseas markets as well as in Britain. International delivery compounded order lead times, making the ability to complete manufacture quickly a valuable feature of the weaving process. In the 1920s, the New York carpet importer and dealer, The Kent-Costikyan Trading Company, sold "Seamless Chenille Rugs Made to Order in Scotland," which can be identified as Templeton goods by the distinctive offer of being made up to thirty-three feet wide. Flexibility of size and custom colouring were advertised as benefits of the range, but this was offset by an extended delivery time of ten to fourteen weeks.<sup>299</sup> The logistics of warehousing and distribution to Templeton's export markets, can, therefore, be

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<sup>299</sup> Kent-Costikyan Trading Company, "Price List of Seamless Chenilles and Plain Carpets, Handwoven-to-Order Rugs, Imported from Scotland, France, Germany and Spain, Oriental Rugs from Persia, India, China and Bulgaria" (New York: Kent-Costikyan Trading Co. Inc., n.d.).

regarded as additional factors that affected the perceived affordances of the manufacturing technologies.

Australia was Templeton's most profitable export market throughout the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries and provides an example of the wider distribution of Parquet Carpets.<sup>300</sup> In the late-nineteenth century, British manufacturers benefitted from policies that encouraged the extraction of raw materials, including wool, from southern Australia while suppressing local manufacturing in areas that would compete with imported British goods.<sup>301</sup> Templeton had opened its first overseas warehouse in Melbourne in the 1880s, during a period of boom and bust in population and housebuilding in the city. The historian Graeme Davison has argued that the low-level, suburban, growth that characterised the expansion of Australian cities at this time, "was not only an instrument of moral, aesthetic and sanitary improvement, it was also - at least in the beginning - a mechanism for class segregation."<sup>302</sup> Gary Magee characterises the use of British commodities in Australia, including imported floorcoverings, as being emblematic of a bourgeois culture of display, driven by the tastes and economic power of middle-class women.<sup>303</sup> This broad view of what Linda Young has called a "Greater British middle-class gentility" is given greater complexity by studies that reveal dynamic meanings that objects accrue as they move between nations.<sup>304</sup> Parquet Carpets, being both economical and a

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<sup>300</sup> For the broad social context of domestic design in Australia, see: Michael Bogle, *Design in Australia, 1880-1970* (Sydney: Craftsman House, 1998); Tony Fry, *Design History Australia: A Source Text in Methods and Resources* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger: Power Institute of Fine Arts, 1988). For the relationship between the British production and Australian consumption of consumer goods, see: Tracey Avery, "Furniture Design and Colonialism: Negotiating Relationships between Britain and Australia, 1880-1901," *Home Cultures* 4, no. 1 (2007): 69–92, <https://doi.org/10.2752/174063107780129680>; Tony Fry, "A Geography of Power: Design History and Marginality," *Design Issues* 5, no. 1 (1989): 15–30; D J Huppertz, "Introduction: Reframing Australian Design History," *Journal Of Design History* 27, no. 2 (2014): 205–23, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jdh/ept044>; Gary Bryan Magee and Andrew S Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c. 1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2011), 158–66.

<sup>301</sup> Pamela Ricardi, *An Archaeology of Nineteenth-Century Consumer Behavior in Melbourne, Australia, and Buenos Aires, Argentina* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2020), 168.

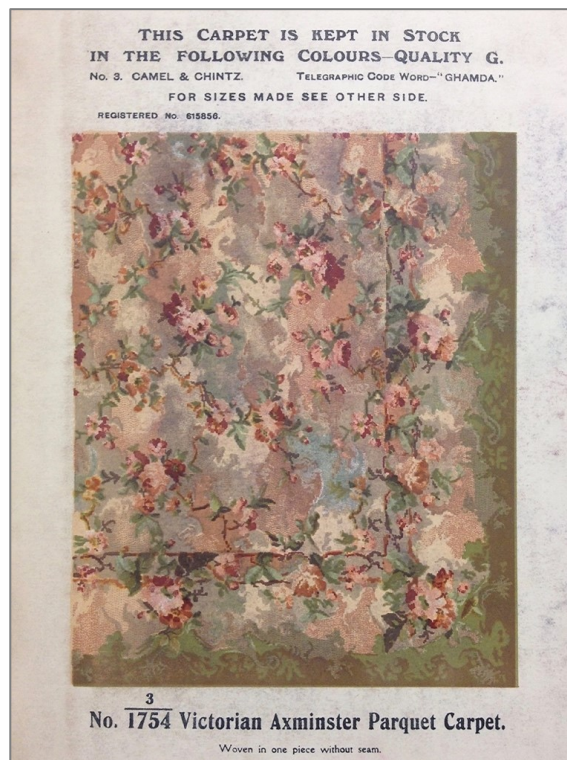
<sup>302</sup> Graeme Davison, "The Suburban Idea and Its Enemies," *Journal of Urban History* 39, no. 5 (March 1, 2013): 835, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144213479307>.

<sup>303</sup> Magee and Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c. 1850-1914*, 166.

<sup>304</sup> Avery, "Furniture Design and Colonialism: Negotiating Relationships between Britain and Australia, 1880-1901"; Young, *Middle Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia, and Britain*, 9–38.

visual marker of a comfortable middle-class home, were well suited to a class-conscious culture of suburban furnishing.<sup>305</sup>

Templeton's relationship to its Australian customers was not only one of exporting the designs favoured in Britain; it also responded to local tastes by designing specifically for the Australian market. Templeton Managing Director, John Anderson, looking back over the period, noted the Australian market preferred "floral designs, leaf designs, a few modern effects, and some Persian styles."<sup>306</sup> Annotations in a collection of Templeton lithographs of patterns confirm a taste for floral patterns, mentioning "Australian Chintz" carpet squares. Although lithographs of these designs have not been preserved, descriptions suggest that they were similar to Figure 3.15.<sup>307</sup>



**Figure 3.15 Templeton Victorian Axminster Parquet Square No.1754, 1913. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1 "Templeton Designs."**

<sup>305</sup> For an overview of flooring practices in Australia, see: Scott Carlin, *Floorcoverings in Australia, 1800-1950* (Glebe: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 1997).

<sup>306</sup> John Anderson, "British Carpet Trade: Looking to the Future," *Overseas Daily Mail*, January 13, 1945.

Templeton paid even more to Australian customer's taste in carpets directly after World War II, when the Board of Trade pressured carpet makers to export up to forty per cent of their production. Carpet Industry Working Party, *Carpets*, 27.

<sup>307</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/4 "Jorian Square Lithos."

Australian retailers made the most of their customer's recognition of both the product range and its manufacturer. As in Britain, furnishers and department stores fuelled consumer interest by using increasingly sophisticated techniques of display and promotion, including model rooms, furnished show homes in new housing developments, printed catalogues, and hire purchase agreements. For the growing middle-classes connected to the major cities, bordered carpet squares remained a popular floor covering for dayrooms from the 1900s until the late-1930s. A Sydney retailer announced at the start of the century that in comparison to fitted carpets:

The modern fashion of a bordered central carpet, with a "surround" for a margin, has many advantages. The carpet can be more readily taken up and more easily adapted to another apartment. And the border is a great improvement - in fact, many think this addition as necessary to a carpet as a frame to a picture.<sup>308</sup>

The furnishing store Morley Johnson and Company in Bendigo, Victoria, advertised, "We are now showing in our windows a full range of seamless Axminster Squares and Parquet Carpets, in all the newest colorings, imported direct from James Templeton and Co., Glasgow."<sup>309</sup> Not only was the bordered square a fashionable style, but the international reputation of Templeton and the Parquet Carpet was also seen as a recommendation to consumers.

A Templeton Chenille Axminster square is preserved at Rouse Hill House and Farm, New South Wales, a heritage property that preserves the belongings accumulated by a family over a period of a hundred years. (Figure 3.16) This carpet can be matched to a lithograph from c.1935 in the Templeton archive. (Figure 3.17 Figure 3.18) In contrast to Australian chintz designs, the Templeton carpet in Rouse Hill Estate has a pattern that is typical of the style known in the trade as "block modern." Carpet designers produced innumerable variations on this theme in the 1930s with colour schemes of graduated browns and cream, highlighted with orange and apple green. As with the "damask" design discussed above, what may initially appear to be a highly restricted colour palette

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<sup>308</sup> Sydney Living Museums, Caroline Simpson Library and Research Collection, "Anthony Horden and Sons' catalogue,' 1900, TC 658.871 HOR/00. Cited in Carlin, *Floorcoverings in Australia, 1800-1950*, 38.

<sup>309</sup> "Advertising," *The Bendigo Independent (Vic.: 1891-1918)*, April 4, 1907.

contains at least fifteen closely graded shades in an arrangement that would not have been possible to weave in a Wilton quality.



**Figure 3.16** The School Room in the main house at Rouse Hill House and Farm, New South Wales. 2004. © Sydney Living Museums.



**Figure 3.17** Templeton Axminster Seamless Square from the Rouse Hill estate, 322cm x 273cm, (detail) Museum No. R84/1180, Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, Rouse Hill Estate Collection, © Sydney Living Museums.



**Figure 3.18** Templeton Axminster Seamless Square No.1511, c.1935. UGSTC GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/3 "Templeton Designs: Seamless Axminster Squares."

A distinctive feature of the Rouse Hill House interior is the layering of objects and histories that have been created during decades of continuous occupation. Sydney Living Museums, who manage the collections, pursue a preservation philosophy committed to maintaining objects and properties in the condition in which they were acquired.<sup>310</sup> The accumulation of nineteenth-century furniture, a 1930s carpet, and a 1970s television set produce an assemblage that is deeply personal to the lives lived in the house. Its individuality makes it atypical of the modernist stylistic context that might otherwise be extrapolated from the carpet pattern. As with the interiors of the houses in New Brighton and Glasgow, pictured above, the eclecticism of material culture in the lived interior, and the durability of carpets in use, challenges the usefulness of stylistic periodicity as a lens through which to view the history of carpets. What they do demonstrate is the wide dissemination of popular products like Templeton's Parquet Carpets.

Studies of the consumption of domestic design in Australia have introduced complexity to the earlier stereotype of homeowners at the periphery of the empire simply copying the tastes of British consumers. As noted above, Templeton's long involvement in the Australian market included designing specifically for local tastes. However, the characteristics that made Parquet Carpets appealing to British middle-class consumers were equally applicable to their Australian counterparts: they had the fashionable format of cut-pile, seamless, bordered squares; they were highly versatile in terms of pattern and size, and they were economical in price. Templeton's Parquet Carpets were well-matched to the desires of these growing groups of middle-class consumers at home and abroad. They marked a shift in the scale of production in comparison to the firm's traditional, woven-to order, Chenille ranges. To manufacture Chenille Axminster goods for the mass market, a balance needed to be found between two features of the process: its versatility of design, and the relatively slow speed of production. Templeton achieved this by keeping material for Parquet Carpets "in preparation," meaning that it was able to supply its markets in Australia and other territories in an effective and prompt manner.

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<sup>310</sup> Sydney Living Museums, "About Us," 2020, <https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/about-us>.



### 3.4 Holding chenille fur “in preparation” as a feature of the production of Templeton’s carpet, *Christ Blessing the Little Children*, from the 1870s to the 1930s.

An important aspect of the affordances of a technological artefact, as set out in the introduction to this chapter, is that they are perceived in relation to a localised context and are not simply a static feature of the artefact. The purpose of a technological artefact, in this case the Chenille Axminster weaving process, can change over time, depending on conditions beyond its actual features. An example of this in relation to the ability to store chenille fur for weaving later is given by Templeton’s carpet depicting *Christ Blessing the Little Children*. This pictorial Chenille Axminster carpet is an unusual example of the durability of chenille fur as a store of pattern. (Figure 3.19)



Figure 3.19 *Christ Blessing the Little Children*, Chenille Axminster carpet 1878/1932. Source: Carpet Industry Working Party, *Carpets*. London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1947, 18.

The primary purpose of the *Christ Blessing the Little Children* carpet was as a bravura display of the pictorial capabilities of Chenille Axminster weaving for presentation at international exhibitions. At least one iteration of the carpet acquired a second life as a devotional object befitting its scriptural subject.

Fred H. Young's history of Templeton refers to two copies of the carpet having been made,<sup>311</sup> but closer examination reveals that the company made at least three copies from the same batch of woven fur spaced over a period of seven decades.

The carpet was first exhibited by a London-based draper and carpet warehouseman, Thomas Tapling, at the Paris Universal Exposition in 1878.<sup>312</sup> As Tapling was also known as a manufacturer, it may be questioned whether his company wove the carpet, especially as Templeton also exhibited under its own name at the Paris exhibition.<sup>313</sup> However, there was a precedent for exhibition carpets woven by Templeton to be exhibited under the retailers' name. The London-based Tapling had had an agency in Glasgow since the 1850s, putting the two firms in close contact.<sup>314</sup> Tapling had exhibited *The Twelve Apostles*, another pictorial Chenille Axminster carpet woven by Templeton, at the Paris International Exhibition, 1867, and the Philadelphia Great Centennial Exhibition, 1876.<sup>315</sup> Both of these religious subjects were displayed by Tapling at the Melbourne Exhibition, 1880.<sup>316</sup> Following this international career, the carpet was gifted to the church of St. Mary the Virgin in Wrawby, Lincolnshire, in 1882, where it is locally known as the "Tapling Tapestry."<sup>317</sup>

This discussion is concerned with the use of weaving techniques rather than the aesthetics of design. It will not add to the qualitative judgements made of the

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<sup>311</sup> Young, *A Century of Carpet Making, 1839-1939.*, 42.

<sup>312</sup> Although referred to as a "cartoon" in the official catalogue, the description of its "Axminster manufacture" confirms that Tapling exhibited the woven carpet rather than a preparatory drawing. Commission to the Paris Exposition, *Paris Universal International Exhibition, 1878: Official Catalogue of the British Section* (London: Printed by G.E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, for H.M.S.O., 1878), 91.

<sup>313</sup> A design from the Prince of Wales' Pavilion at the 1878 Paris Exposition: UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/21/1 "Carpets: Axminster, Wilton & Brussels, Curtains, etc."

For an illustration of a contemporary floral carpet see: "Obituary of the Past Year," *British Architect* 10, no. 25 (December 20, 1878): 242–43; Lewis F Day, "Notes on English Decorative Art in Paris.-XV.," *British Architect* 10, no. 25 (December 20, 1878): 239.

<sup>314</sup> *Post-Office Annual Glasgow Directory* (Glasgow: Printed by J. Graham for the letter carriers of the Post Office, 1857), 298.

<sup>315</sup> Phillip T Sandhurst, *The Great Centennial Exhibition Critically Described and Illustrated* (Philadelphia: P.W. Zeigler, 1876., 1876), 183–86.

<sup>316</sup> "Intercolonial Victoria: Melbourne Exhibition," *Adelaide Observer (SA : 1843 - 1904)*, January 8, 1880.

<sup>317</sup> "Treasure Tapestry Restored at Wrawby," *Market Rasen Mail*, October 25, 2016; Anne Astling, *Tapestry: The Story of a Victorian Businessman* (Heighington: Tucann Books, 2010), 54.

artistic quality of pictorial carpets, but briefly recount their past influence. In the nineteenth century, picture carpets were censured by advocates of design reform. Their imitation of paintings violated the principles of ornamental design that Augustus Pugin and Owen Jones had expounded.<sup>318</sup> In the 1860s, the architect Matthew Digby Wyatt strongly criticised the carpets that Templeton had made for Tapling. Wyatt disapproved of them for being made to be seen on a vertical plane, for ignoring the practical function of carpets, for the use of naturalistic shading, and for aspiring to the cultural status of paintings:

These pictures have been executed with extraordinary skill by Messrs. Templeton, and they are, to all intents and purposes, carpets. Whether they are intended for covering walls or floors, they are alike open to the very grave objection that the process of chenille weaving is inapplicable to the reproduction of high art [...] To have attempted to depict the 12 apostles, the Queen, and the Emperor of the French, &c., by such a process, on a grand colossal scale, is a climax of audacity which it would have been better never to have aimed at.<sup>319</sup>

What is important to note is that the suggested aesthetic deficiencies of the Chenille Axminster process, what Digby Wyatt calls a “superabundance of pictorial facility,” result from the same affordance of flexible design which was exploited by carpet manufacturers including Templeton.<sup>320</sup> The creation of pictorial carpets was encouraged by the ability to use unlimited colouring, in a pattern that did not need to repeat, across a surface that was woven in one piece without seams. Another aspect of superabundance can be added to this list of features. Although the carpets were presented as unique objects the process of weaving the chenille fur inherently produced multiple copies of the pattern.

The first carpet of *Christ Blessing the Little Children* has hung in the church at Wrawby continuously for a hundred and forty years. Therefore, it was a different iteration of the carpet which was present at Templeton in 1932 during the visit of H.R.H. Prince George to the factory. (Figure 3.20)

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<sup>318</sup> Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (London: Day & Son, 1856); Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (London: Weale, 1841).

<sup>319</sup> Wyatt, *On the Arts of Decoration at the International Exhibition at Paris, A.D. 1867: Class XVIII Carpets, Tapestries &c.*, 26.

<sup>320</sup> Wyatt, 12.



Figure 3.20 H.R.H. Prince George viewing *Christ Blessing the Little Children* during a visit to the Templeton factory, 1932. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/16/2/9 "Visitors."

It is very probable that it was this second version of the carpet that reprised its original role at the 1935 Canadian National Exhibition, Toronto, when the flooring retailer John Kay Company exhibited "Empire-made rugs" including, "the historic, Biblical carpet depicting 'Christ Blessing the Little Children.'"<sup>321</sup> It is also likely that this carpet was imported by the retailer Steel and Company Ltd., Melbourne, in 1951, for display in their flagship store. Described as, "so beautiful, and of such a nature, that it would be profane to walk on it," the carpet was sold to a private buyer and remained in Australia.<sup>322</sup> The existence of a third *Christ Blessing the Little Children* carpet is confirmed by its presence in

<sup>321</sup> "Canadian National Exhibition, Toronto, Friday, August 23rd to Saturday, September 7th, Exclusive of Sundays, 1879-1935." (Toronto: Dept. of Publicity, Canadian National Exhibition, 1935), 80.

<sup>322</sup> "What Goes On?," *Argus (Melbourne, Vic.: 1848 - 1957)*, August 31, 1951.

images of the Templeton showrooms from the late-1940s and 1950s,<sup>323</sup> and during the visit by Queen Elizabeth II in 1955.<sup>324</sup>

There are two notable points about the varied biography of this carpet design. First, the consistency with which its owners used it to connote prestige. It represented the company to international audiences, was presented to royalty, and was given as a charitable endowment to a church. Secondly, although no design papers for the carpet survive, the various iterations of the carpet were manufactured at an interval of almost seventy years. The carpet was illustrated in the 1947 Working Party Report for the Board of Trade (Figure 3.19) as a specimen of historic carpet design but also as an example of recent weaving. The report notes that the carpet was, “recently made from chenille fur which was woven over 70 years ago,”<sup>325</sup> confirming that the later iterations were made from the same batch of chenille fur that was woven in the 1870s.

Templeton wove the second carpet of *Christ Blessing the Little Children* when the company was approaching its 1939 centenary year, a decision that is contextualised by efforts to consolidate the company’s heritage during years of rapid growth and change. In the period between the manufacture of the three carpets the firm grew in scale and profit, modernised its factories, and rationalised its production. Despite these changes, the Chenille Axminster weaving technology which had been used to weave the first carpet had been retained. The technology that had made James Templeton’s fortune showed not only great longevity but also acquired a new meaning as a symbol of the company’s own heritage at a time of rapid social and cultural change.

The archives that survive from this period of growth and change show the company consolidating records of its past work and communicating that heritage to the current workforce. Fred H. Young played a key role in establishing the narrative of Templeton’s history. In the years leading up to the 1939 centenary,

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<sup>323</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/16/1/2 “Display of Carpets at Templeton Street.”

<sup>324</sup> Templar Film Studios Glasgow, *Royal Occasion* (National Library of Scotland Moving Image Archive, Ref.5043, 1955).

<sup>325</sup> The inclusion of the carpet is likely to have been the suggestion of the Templeton Managing Director, John Anderson, who was a member of the Working Party. Carpet Industry Working Party, *Carpets*, 18.

Young compiled facts and anecdotes relating to the early history of the firm. He sourced nineteenth-century documents, corresponded with other industry leaders who had worked with Templeton, and collated data from the company records.<sup>326</sup> His research was published posthumously as *A Century of Carpet Making 1839-1939*, and remains a key source for the company's history.<sup>327</sup> Young contributed abridged accounts of the Templeton story to newspapers and trade publications, and wrote detailed reminiscences for the staff magazine.<sup>328</sup>

In the magazine, company lore was passed on to younger generations of employees by character sketches of long serving "Prominent Templetonians."<sup>329</sup> For example the "devoted and loyal service" of William Goslan, who joined the company in 1864 as a trainee chenille weft weaver before working as a clerk for over sixty years.<sup>330</sup> These reminiscences reiterated that the company's origin was inseparable from Chenille Axminster weaving. Young's public writing emphasised this lineage of workers, although many young employees only worked with the company for brief periods.<sup>331</sup> His newspaper article on "an old Scottish industry," written on the opening of the Glasgow Empire Exhibition, 1938, promoted how modern carpet manufacturers were, "Their extensive buildings are well suited for the needs of the trade; their machinery is modern and efficient." But he balanced modernisation with familial continuity, "We have in Scotland weavers who are descendants of long lines of weavers. They have shrewdness, technical ability and a love of real quality."<sup>332</sup> The familial line of long serving workers served as a metonym of the company's own endurance. It gave the impression that the company's modern form was a natural inheritance from the past and

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<sup>326</sup> These papers are now historical documents themselves and are preserved in the company archive: UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/15/5/8 "Folder of papers related to the writings of Fred H Young."

<sup>327</sup> Young, *A Century of Carpet Making, 1839-1939*.

<sup>328</sup> For example, the company history excerpt in *The National Floorcovering Review*, 1933, UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/2/1/1 "James Templeton and Company, Carpet Manufacturers, Glasgow."

<sup>329</sup> The staff magazine was successively titled: *J. T. & Co's Magazine* (1920-1924), *Templeton's Magazine* (1924-1935) and *The Templetonian* (1935-1969). UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/15/1 "Staff Magazines."

<sup>330</sup> "Our Portrait Gallery," *J. T. & Co.'s Magazine*, No.1, (February, 1920), 10. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/15/1 "Staff Magazines."

<sup>331</sup> UGSTC, GB 0248 STOD 201/2/11/1/2 "Summary Record of Employees."

<sup>332</sup> Fred H Young, "The Making of Carpets: An Old Scottish Industry," *The Scotsman* (1921-1950), April 29, 1938, 47.

sited it in relation to its heritage. In this context, the re-weaving of the *Christ Blessing the Little Children* carpet was a reassertion of the company's prestigious past as a justification of its present status. It gave the company heritage physical form at a time when it was also being set down in text and given form in archival collections.

In addition to writing down the company story, in the 1920s and 1930s, more organised record-keeping of designs preserved evidence of the company's history. The design department assembled collections of lithographs that served a dual purpose as working design documents and an archive of the company's products.<sup>333</sup> Prestigious carpets were retained for the company's collection, either as samples or duplicate weavings, and used for displays to communicate the firm's heritage and status to the trade and the public.<sup>334</sup> These major commissions were recorded separately from the collection of historic carpets and textiles bought for the inspiration of the design department. While they may have served as a working design source, their distinct function was to record the company's past achievements. This meant that at the British Industries Fair, 1939, Templeton was able to represent its centenary by displaying a carpet square typical of their mid-nineteenth-century productions (with an elaborate, French-style chintz medallion design), flanked by their most up-to-date product - the 'Elmwood Embossed Wilton' range of plain-coloured carpeting featuring bold patterns in varying pile heights.<sup>335</sup> (Figure 3.21)

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<sup>333</sup> These are now a valuable part of the Templeton associated design archive: UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1-6 "Design Lithographs."

<sup>334</sup> A list of significant carpets from 1869 to 1939 was compiled in UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/3/1 "Design Number and Reference Book 1." The design studio's working collection was recorded in: UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/6 "Carpets Bought."

<sup>335</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/16/2/3/4 "Exhibitions and Displays."

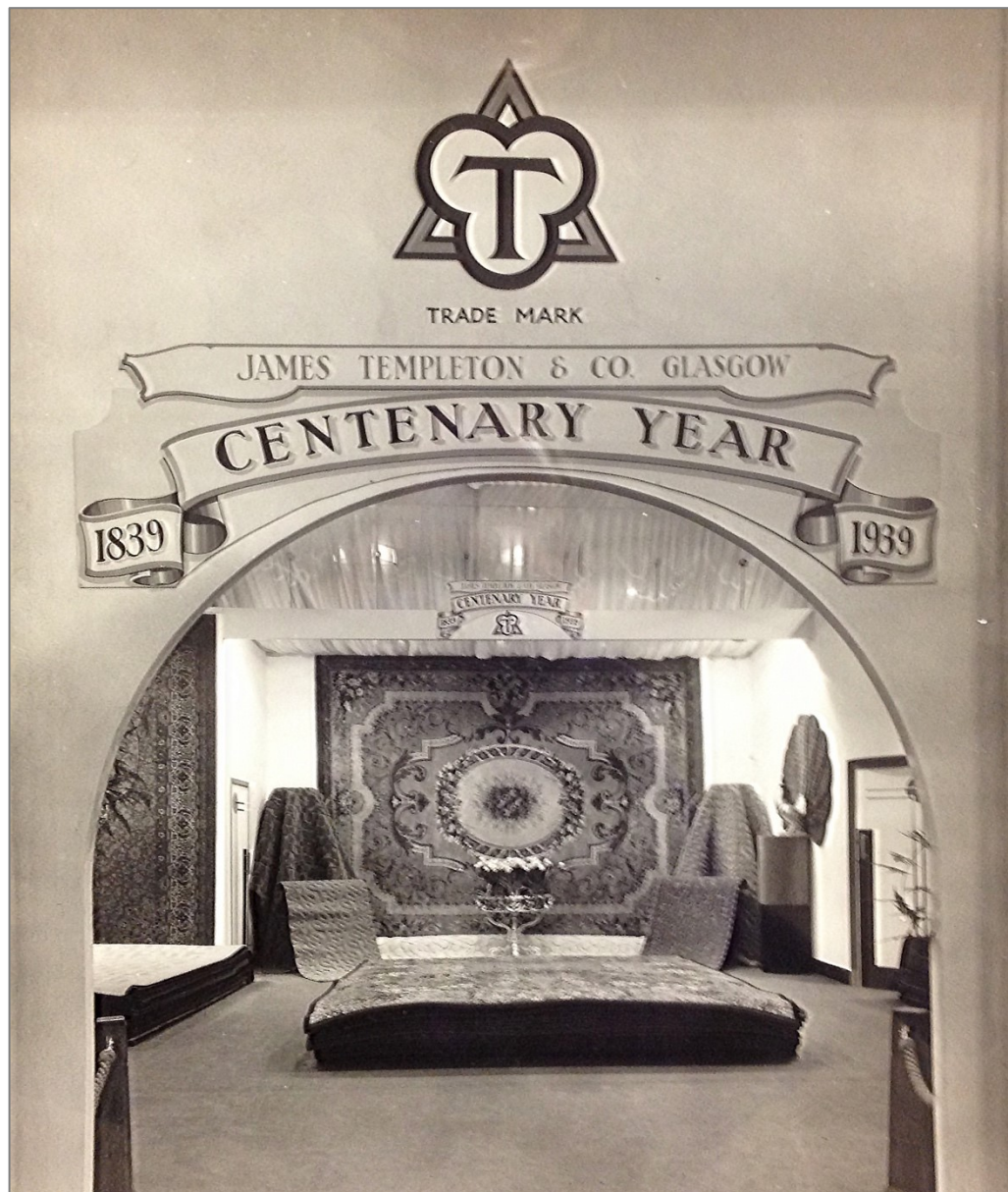


Figure 3.21 Templeton centenary year stand at the British Industries Fair, Olympia, London, 1939. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/16/2/3/4 “Exhibitions and Displays.”

Young and his colleagues reasserted Templeton’s heritage by creating textual narrative and artefacts. In this context, the weaving of the *Christ Blessing the Little Children* carpet in the early-1930s can be understood as an attempt to make the memory of the company into a durable object in the present-day. With the passing decades, the role of the fur as a store of pattern information had been extended to become a memory of the company’s own former achievements. It became representative of the company’s own persistence and allowed past prestige to be remembered in material form. Because of the way the fur is made, it was inevitable that more than one set of fur strands would



have been made in the 1870s. That is to say, replicability was an inherent affordance of the technology of Chenille Axminster's weave structure. Producing many sets of identical fur was a desirable characteristic of the technique for designs which had repeating patterns or were made in large quantities like Parquet Carpets. However, replicability was a disadvantageous affordance for the *Christ Blessing the Little Children* carpet, which had a non-repeating pattern and was made as a unique exhibition piece. By the 1930s, Templeton's changed cultural and institutional context meant that the fur that had been held "in preparation" presented a new affordance of memory that had not existed in the 1870s. This carpet is unusual, but it demonstrates how an affordance of the weave structure emerged in a way that was not static but shaped by the sociocultural situation in which it was used. The company partners' new social and cultural need for memorialising Templeton's history produced an affordance of the Chenille Axminster process that had not been previously perceived. An affordance emerged that was not previously perceived when a feature of the technology interacted with the company's new social and cultural needs.

### 3.5 Feature or Affordance?

Having examined these examples of Templeton's use of the practice of holding chenille fur "in preparation," we can move on to assess whether it should be considered as an affordance of the Chenille Axminster weave structure.

Referring to the definition proposed by Evans et al., their threshold criteria for identifying an affordance are that: it is not a feature of the artefact; it is not an outcome of a subject's engagement with the artefact; and it can be varied in degree.<sup>336</sup>

Considering the Chenille Axminster process as a technological artefact, the capabilities that are mentioned in the current literature are for unlimited colouring in design, and for being woven in wide, seamless pieces. This chapter has added two more characteristics from attentive reading of Templeton price lists: the variability of the pile, and the ability to be held in preparation.

Applying the criteria from Evans et al. clarifies our understanding of the Chenille Axminster process, revealing what is being afforded by these capabilities. Using Evans' model, the variability of colour is recognised as a feature of the weave structure rather than an affordance. The affordance that this provides is versatility, and the outcome is a carpet designer's freedom of choice about how a carpet pattern can be arranged. The criteria of variability require that an affordance must be able to exist to a greater or lesser extent. Versatility of colouring fits this criterion because different weave structures enable colouring to different degrees. Brussels/Wilton weaves, for example, allow an amount of variability but less so than Chenille and Spool Axminster.

Applying Evans' criteria takes us beyond listing the features of the weave structure. Unlike the common understanding of the Chenille Axminster process's features it does not assume that the outcome will be highly multicoloured carpets. Instead, it finds that freedom of choice for the designer was itself an outcome. This is a better match to Templeton's actual use of the process, as seen in design lithographs and surviving carpet samples, in which we find not

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<sup>336</sup> Evans et al., "Explicating Affordances: A Conceptual Framework for Understanding Affordances in Communication Research," 39–40.

only densely coloured designs but also tone-on-tone, damask and other more restrained patterns. (Figure 3.4)

To summarise, the ability for chenille designs to be held “in preparation” was a feature of the weaving process. The affordance that was produced when Templeton employed this feature was the durability of pattern information.<sup>337</sup> To respect the dynamic, relational nature of the interaction between the weave structure and a carpet designer, we must clarify that the affordance is not just how it *could* be used, but rather how its features shaped what was used in a particular context. The affordance emerges through a feature being perceived under certain conditions and then shapes subsequent courses of action. This means that the benefits or constraints pertaining to the weaving process varied depending on the type of product being made and the reasons for its’ manufacture. In the case of popular ranges of Chenille Axminster carpet squares, being able to store pattern information in the form of fur for a period enabled a shorter lead time to fulfil orders. In the case of the *Christ Blessing the Little Children* carpet, the durability of the information held in the fur was extended to the point that it became a form of memory not only of the pattern but also of the firm’s past achievements which could be recalled by being woven again.

Using Davis’ terminology of affordance mechanisms, the work of Templeton’s carpet designers is recast as being to negotiate the requests, encouragements, discouragements, and refusals that are made by the carpet weaving technology. Holding fur “in preparation” allowed the relatively slow process of Chenille Axminster weaving to be separated into its two stages, with the fur storing the pattern information in a usable format. It requested the production of multiple iterations of a pattern, but, at the same time, firmly discouraged bespoke changes to existing patterns. In Parquet Carpets, Templeton’s desire to produce Chenille Axminster squares that were better suited to batch production for a growing consumer base created a specific array of interactions with these mechanisms. The durability of pattern information afforded by holding fur in preparation encouraged the reproduction of patterns, either as multiple repeats of a short pattern, or as multiple iterations of a larger, non-repeating pattern.

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<sup>337</sup> Evans et al identify persistence as an affordance of technology in relation to the durability of information. Evans et al., 41–42.

However, the versatility offered by the Chenille Axminster process to make bespoke designs was discouraged in this case, because alterations, including changes to the width of the pattern, involved redrawing designs and weaving fur from scratch with higher production costs and lead times. This discouragement became a refusal in the case of Parquet Carpets to enable the distinctive lower cost and larger quantities of their manufacture. The process's refusal of versatility in these specific circumstances was communicated in the price list by the warning, "Each Pattern is made in **one quality only, and no change whatsoever** can be made in design or colour [emphasis in original]."<sup>338</sup>

In the case of the *Christ Blessing the Little Children* carpet, a different affordance (memory) emerged from the interplay between the Chenille Axminster process's feature (the ability to store woven fur) and the new cultural context produced by the company's centenary. As before, during the manufacture of the chenille fur, the process requested that multiple repeats of the pattern should be woven. However, the request being made by the technology did not become an unavoidable *demand* because workarounds remained possible. In the 1870s, at least three sets of chenille fur with the non-repeating pattern of the *Christ* carpet were made, but multiple carpets were not made until changed external conditions made it desirable to do so.

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<sup>338</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/20/17 "Price List 1905."

### 3.6 Conclusion.

Templeton's use of the Chenille Axminster process was vitally important to both its commercial success and to the company's presentation of its heritage. In this chapter, two situations have been examined in which Templeton used the ability to store chenille fur "in preparation" to advantage. This feature of the weave structure has not been referred to in recent scholarship on carpet manufacture, which instead focusses on the process's capability for unlimited pattern colouration. Original knowledge about the practice of keeping carpet material "in preparation" has been excavated from historic trade literature and from a close reading of primary sources including price lists and design lithographs.

The examples that have been examined are deliberately diverse in character. Templeton's produced Parquet Carpets in quantities that yielded sales of over £100,000 annually from the start of the twentieth century. By keeping chenille fur "in preparation," Templeton was able to finish carpets as required to fulfil orders within days rather than weeks and better manage production risks. The versatility that this afforded encouraged batch production and discouraged bespoke variation, moving the company towards mass market products.

In the case of the pictorial carpet intended for international exhibition, by contrast, the same features of the weave process were perceived differently. The feature of chenille fur weaving that meant it inherently produced multiples was no advantage initially. It only gained relevance after the passage of seventy years when the extended period of being "in preparation" meant that Templeton was able to give material form to its company heritage.

The purpose of discussing these varied situations has been to demonstrate that different affordances were created by the context in which Templeton used this feature of the weave structure. Using a framework of technological affordances, a more relational understanding of the Chenille Axminster process, and Templeton's work, has emerged. The technology of weave structure has been shown not to be a collection of static features which determine what it is made, but rather a dynamic interrelationship between capabilities and the needs of the socially situated user.

In contrast to recent writing on the history of British carpets, this chapter has approached carpetmaking through technique rather than pattern design. This approach does not purport to encompass the diverse influences on the physical and aesthetic use of carpets in interiors over this period, but to bridge between certain technical and sociocultural factors that shaped how Templeton used the technology of Chenille Axminster weaving. In doing so, products and processes have been highlighted that have previously been unacknowledged, and the importance of social context to both has been emphasised. However, the focus on technique and process does not necessitate disregarding either pattern design or the work of the carpet designer. Designers were required to have knowledge of both the technical and cultural influences on their work. Therefore, the next chapter examines the role of the carpet designer, how they acquired knowledge through training and interacted with weave technique in their practice.

## 4 Designing between technology and culture: reconsidering the role of the carpet designer.

### 4.1 Introduction.

This chapter counters a principal focus in the literature on European carpet production on named designers as the active force that determines the style of carpets. Criticism of this approach has its own historiography. In 1987, Hazel Conway criticised what she termed the “heroic approach” to design history’s tendency to diminish the value of everyday objects.<sup>339</sup> Similarly, John A. Walker has highlighted the inadequacies of authorship and canon as the primary subject of design history.<sup>340</sup> In contrast to the shift in design history in the intervening decades towards greater interest in the production, mediation and consumption of industrial design,<sup>341</sup> scholarship on twentieth-century carpet design has continued to be interested in named designers. Susan Day explicitly states her focus on artist-designed carpets and those “reproduced from their works with their permission.”<sup>342</sup> The approach is shared by work on artistically progressive design by Sarah Sherrill and Malcolm Haslam.<sup>343</sup>

Instead of reiterating a framework of authorship and attribution, this chapter draws attention back to the idea of carpet manufacture as a sociotechnical system. That is, a set of conditions in which the social and technical influences on artefacts are not opposed, or even separable, but mutually contingent.<sup>344</sup> In asking what the role of Templeton’s designers was in this system, it is useful to

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<sup>339</sup> Conway, *Design History: A Students’ Handbook*, 8.

<sup>340</sup> Walker and Attfield, *Design History and the History of Design*, 45–64.

<sup>341</sup> Reflections on the state of the field include: John Heskett, “Past, Present, and Future in Design for Industry,” *Design Issues* 17, no. 1 (2001): 18–26; Victor Margolin, “Design History or Design Studies: Subject Matter and Methods,” *Design Issues* 11, no. 1 (1995): 4–15, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1511610>; Fallan, “Design History: Understanding Theory and Method,” 15–24.

<sup>342</sup> Day, *Art Deco and Modernist Carpets*, 17.

<sup>343</sup> Haslam, *Arts & Crafts Carpets*; Sherrill, *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and America*.

<sup>344</sup> Bijker, Hughes, and Pinch, “The Social Construction of Technological Systems: New Directions in the Sociology and History of Technology”; Bijker and Law, *Shaping Technology/Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change*.

note the historian of design and technology, Jeffrey Meikle's, definition of the field:

Design occurs at the intersection of technology and culture, where the presumed certainties of engineering meet a confusion of human needs and desires.<sup>345</sup>

Meikle's reference to the separation of technology from culture echoes historical usage and is challenged by the concept of the sociotechnical system. Indeed, a constructionist interpretation of technology argues that divisions between culture and technique disappear on examination, replaced by what the historian of technology, Thomas Hughes, refers to as a "seamless web."<sup>346</sup> In this view, in Wiebe Bijker and John Law's words, constituent elements are, "broken up under different kinds of circumstances to create different *kinds* of objects."<sup>347</sup> The social and technological are not stable and discreet but are "constituted and distinguished in one movement."<sup>348</sup> When distinctions are made in this chapter between cultural knowledge of pattern design and the technical knowledge of weave structure, that does not affirm them as separate and opposed fields. Instead, it reflects past usage to examine the historical division of knowledge in design training and discourse.

This chapter reframes the designer in terms of their role in the sociotechnical system of carpet production instead of their individual creative intentions. Certainly, they generated pattern in response to changing social, cultural, and economic influences. More specifically, they made patterns that *could be woven* using the available technology of weave structures and looms. The proposition here is that the designer's role in the production process was to mediate between cultural ideas about pattern and the technicalities of carpet weaving. Their work points to the seamlessness of these fields rather than their separation.

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<sup>345</sup> Jeffrey L Meikle, "Ghosts in the Machine: Why It's Hard to Write about Design," *Technology and Culture* 46, no. 2 (2005): 385–92.

<sup>346</sup> Hughes, "The Seamless Web: Technology, Science, Etcetera, Etcetera."

<sup>347</sup> Bijker and Law, *Shaping Technology/Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change*.

<sup>348</sup> Bijker and Law.



The term “designer” should be treated with historical specificity to avoid projecting a current concept of a creatively autonomous individual onto earlier institutions in which reformers and critics contested ideas of originality and individuality. The historian Stefan Muthesius has demonstrated that late-nineteenth-century Arts and Crafts discourses were formative of the role of “designers” as individuals of taste and quality who worked at a distance from manufacturers.<sup>349</sup> Renowned architects such as Adam and Sheraton were historical precursors to the idea of the named designer, and Muthesius writes of their twentieth-century descendants:

Ultimately it was the designer as the individualist artist who won out in modernism, whether as the “industrial designer” personality, and also, later, as the individual “artist-craftsman”.<sup>350</sup>

Muthesius gives a more linear genealogy for the independent designer than is suggested by the design historian Penny Sparke, who identifies a significant change in the professionalisation of the industrial designer in the 1920s, led by firms in the United States.<sup>351</sup> Sparke describes this development as parallel to conventional histories of design reform and Muthesius suggests causation between the development of “good design” discourse and the role of the industrial designer. The designer’s role has become increasingly implicated with concepts of originality and individuality. As the textile historian Philip Sykas notes:

The term designer implies that the activity of design can be separated from that of making, and that designs are a product in their own right. But within individual biographies, design and execution are often entangled. Differences between design origination, adaptation and translation for production are often blurred.”<sup>352</sup>

In terms of the carpet designer’s role at Templeton, there is a danger that the designer’s skilled work is elided when processes of adaptation and variation complicate a pattern’s authorship. Design historian Zoë Hendon’s analysis of

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<sup>349</sup> Muthesius, “We Do Not Understand What Is Meant by a “Company” Designing’: Design versus Commerce in Late Nineteenth-Century English Furnishing,” 115.

<sup>350</sup> Muthesius, 117.

<sup>351</sup> Sparke, “Consultant Design: The History and Practice of the Designer in Industry.”

<sup>352</sup> Sykas, “Design,” 74.

working practices at the Silver Studio in the interwar period questions the notion that a design has a single author. Textile designs were, “never the work of one individual but rather were the product of complex negotiations between clients and designers.”<sup>353</sup> This study builds on Hendon’s example by questioning the heroic model of design, not intending to diminish the importance of the designer in the process but, conversely, to highlight their skilled work.

A focus on the designer’s identity leaves most of Templeton’s production unexamined and reveals little about the interrelationships of design and manufacturing technologies. Using the archive to rediscover forgotten designers is also an unsatisfactory method for tackling this issue. Recovering the identity of unnamed designers can be a valuable technique for redressing gaps in the historical record, especially those that have reproduced social inequalities, but leads to an endless task of canon expansion. It does not address the many products whose authorship cannot be assigned to an individual or group. Rather than focussing on Templeton carpet designers as individuals, this chapter’s alternative method explores their role as mediators between the technical affordances of weave structures and the visual content of pattern design. In doing so, the designer’s vital work can be recovered without reproducing the historical bias towards elite cultural forms.

The chapter focusses on the carpet designer’s role rather than design styles or drawings and does not attempt to illustrate these comprehensively. It is worth reiterating that design papers are technical documents in which design staff must accommodate the affordances of weave structure and the demands of loom mechanisms. Nonetheless, throughout the chapter, examples are drawn from Templeton’s work at the turn of the twentieth century. Discussions of pattern for weaving are in the context of technologies of reproduction. The period from the 1890s to the 1910s is of particular interest as designers had to work flexibly across traditional and emerging design styles, making issues of adaptation and originality in design significant.<sup>354</sup>

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<sup>353</sup> Hendon, “Behind the Scenes at the Silver Studio: Rex Silver and the Hidden Mechanisms of Interwar Textile Design,” 61.

<sup>354</sup> For introduction to carpet designs in the styles which later became known as Art Nouveau and Art Deco, see: Day, *Art Deco and Modernist Carpets*; Sherrill, *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and*

The first section of the chapter uses patterns in the style of C. F. A. Voysey, whom Niklaus Pevsner crowned a “pioneer” of twentieth-century design, to question the utility of an author-centred approach to the history of carpet design. The second section investigates how trainee designers acquired knowledge of pattern design and weaving technology in Glasgow’s educational institutions. In the late nineteenth century, Technical Institutes and the government Schools of Art had taken steps to formalise textile design pedagogy. A generation of designers who had attended these institutions entered the profession in the first decade of the twentieth century, making that period significant for the discussion in this chapter. The last section of the chapter illustrates Templeton designer’s mediation between cultural and technical knowledge using the example of a designer’s notebook.

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*America*, 298–332; Richard Mills, “Axes of Construction: An Analysis of Dutch Art Nouveau Carpet Designs by T. A. C. Colenbrander,” *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 10, no. 2 (2003): 69–135.

## 4.2 Complicating the authorship of Templeton’s “Voysey-style” designs.

Summaries of Templeton’s achievements are commonly augmented by a list of the celebrated designers with whom they worked. These use the heroic model of design to associate the firm with canonical points in the history of design. Fred H. Young’s history of Templeton, for example, notes:

At various times distinguished artists have been invited to supply designs. In the period covered by this chapter, names such as Owen Jones, Lewis Day and Digby Wyatt occur and towards the end of the century C. E. Voysey [sic] and Walter Crane, just as within recent years we have commissioned Frank Brangwyn, R.A. and Ernest Proctor, A.R.A. and others to design for us. From the commercial side some of the "artists' designs" were found saleable, others were not!<sup>355</sup>

Templeton’s work with Crane and Brangwyn are well documented and have entered national collections.<sup>356</sup> Drawings given to the company by Digby Wyatt are preserved in the archives.<sup>357</sup> However, the existence of Templeton carpets designed by Voysey is a claim that has been repeated but not substantiated. This section addresses this knowledge gap, presenting new evidence of Templeton producing work from Voysey designs in the 1890s, using evidence from the company archives; the Board of Trade Register of Designs held by The National Archives (TNA); and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. In the context of this chapter’s interest in the designer’s role in the process of carpet-making, the aim is not to expand the catalogue of Voysey’s work but to show that a network of people contributed to a commercially understood idea of Voysey-style. The pattern’s attribution is less important than the evidence they give for the existence of “Voysey-style” as a commercial asset dispersed throughout the

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<sup>355</sup> Young, *A Century of Carpet Making, 1839-1939.*, 39.

<sup>356</sup> For Walter Crane’s carpets see: Sherrill, *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and America*, 297. Walter Crane, “Carpet Sample,” wool and jute, c.1896, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Museum number: T.99:1, 2-1953; Walter Crane, “Carpet Sample,” wool and jute, c.1896, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Museum number: T.98-1953.

For Frank Brangwyn’s carpets, see: UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/6 “Two Modern Carpets”; Frank Brangwyn, “Carpet,” wool and jute, 1930, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Museum number: T.117-1975.

<sup>357</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/98/5/7 “Untitled Design.”

industry. In this way, it diverges significantly from existing literature which reinforces the singularity of the named designer.

The extensive literature on Voysey emphasises the individuality of his creative project.<sup>358</sup> For David Cole, “it is Voysey’s individuality and career-long consistency of style that give justification to the claim that Voysey is one of Britain’s most original architects.”<sup>359</sup> This reputation was embedded in his own writings and significantly promoted by Niklaus Pevsner’s influential argument that Voysey was a pioneer who linked the Arts and Crafts movement to Modernist design.<sup>360</sup> His singularity is frequently stated alongside recognition of his influence on other designers; Lesley Jackson considers him “the single most influential figure at the turn of the 19th century,” and Wendy Hitchmough echoes this opinion.<sup>361</sup> The commitment to his individuality, however, risks artificially separating his designs from the commercial environment in which he worked. Linda Parry has examined this aspect of his wallpaper designs, including his tendency to resell designs to several manufacturers.<sup>362</sup> Likewise, Malcolm Haslam acknowledges overlap between Voysey’s designs for Alexander Morton and Company Ltd. and the company’s own design work.<sup>363</sup> Despite this, this chapter argues that interest in authorial authenticity deprecates the commercial practice of producing “Voysey-style” products and obscures the value that the industry placed on adaptation and imitation as well as on originality.

The earliest known pattern for a commercial carpet manufacturer by Voysey was published in 1892, attributed to “Anderson, Lawson and Company, Glasgow.”<sup>364</sup>

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<sup>358</sup> Anne Stewart O’Donnell, *C.F.A. Voysey: Architect, Designer, Individualist* (San Francisco, California: Pomegranate Communications, Inc, 2011); David Cole, *The Art and Architecture of C. F. A. Voysey: English Pioneer Modernist Architect and Designer* (Mulgrave, Victoria: Images Publishing, 2015); Duncan Simpson, *C.F.A. Voysey: An Architect of Individuality* (London: Lund Humphries, 1979).

<sup>359</sup> Cole, *The Art and Architecture of C. F. A. Voysey: English Pioneer Modernist Architect and Designer*, 3.

<sup>360</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design*. (London, England: Penguin Books, 1991); Charles F A Voysey, *Individuality* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1915).

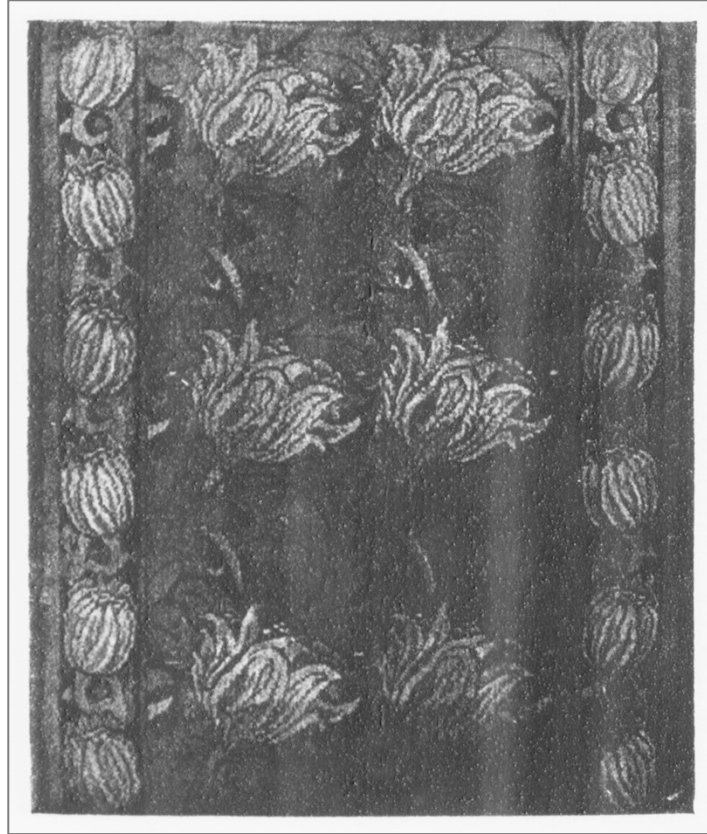
<sup>361</sup> Wendy Hitchmough, *C. F. A. Voysey* (London: Phaidon Press, 1995), 7; Jackson, *20th Century Pattern Design: Textile & Wallpaper Pioneers*, 13.

<sup>362</sup> Karen Livingstone, Linda Parry, and Max Donnelly, *C.F.A. Voysey, Arts and Crafts Designer* (London: V&A Publishing, 2016).

<sup>363</sup> Haslam, *Arts & Crafts Carpets*, 298.

<sup>364</sup> Haslam, 149; Aymer Vallance, “The Furnishing and Decoration of the House,” *Art Journal*, October 1892, 308.

Correctly titled Barbour, Anderson and Lawson, this firm was one of a series operating out of the East End of Glasgow between 1881 and 1891 involving John Lawson, a former Head Designer at Templeton.<sup>365</sup> (Figure 4.1)



**Figure 4.1** Chenille Axminster stair carpet designed by C. F. A. Voysey, made by Barbour, Anderson and Lawson Ltd., Glasgow, 1892. Aymer Vallance, “The Furnishing and Decoration of the House,” *Art Journal*, October 1892, 308.

Apart from this single design, Voysey’s work for machine-woven carpets is associated with Tomkinson & Adam, Kidderminster, for whom he supplied 103 designs for Spool Axminster carpets between 1896 and 1907.<sup>366</sup> Voysey designs were also woven by Alexander Morton & Sons of Darvel and Carlisle for their

<sup>365</sup> An inexact mention of Anderson and Lawson operating from “some years after” 1860 is found in: Young, *A Century of Carpet Making, 1839-1939.*, 37. Barbour, Anderson and Lawson are first listed as “patent Axminster carpet, rug, and oriental curtain manufacturers” in: Glasgow Post Office Annual Directory, (Glasgow: Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1881), 329. <https://digital.nls.uk/directories/browse/archive/84492939>

<sup>366</sup> Haslam, *Arts & Crafts Carpets*, 151; Linda Parry, *Textiles of the Arts and Crafts Movement*, vol. New editio (London: Thames & Hudson, 2005); Sherrill, *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and America*, 298.

Photographs of these designs are preserved in: Royal Institute of British Architects Library, RIBA Drawings Collection, “Album of photographs of carpet designs (1896-1900) by C. F. A. Voysey,” P012023.

‘Caledon’ range of Ingrain Art Squares. However, the most prestigious work was for Morton’s hand-knotted Donegal carpets woven in Ireland from 1897 for supply to Liberty and Company and other retailers of progressive taste.<sup>367</sup> After 1900, a smaller number of hand-knotted carpets were made to Voysey designs by the Austrian firm J. Ginzkey, Maffersdorf, and one by Yates and Company, Wilton.<sup>368</sup>

Outside of this established canon of designs, uncertainty can emerge between Voysey’s work and that of manufacturer’s design staff. Recently, a group of drawings in Voysey’s style, formerly owned by Tomkinson and Adam, were offered for private sale, including forty-six designs which were securely attributed “from the hand of the master.”<sup>369</sup> However, the multiple drawings produced during the design process led the sellers to offer thirteen unsigned “anonymous works,” which could have been made by draftsmen at the manufacturer. Uncertainty about the attribution of Voysey-style drawings from the Stead McAlpin company archive has also been pursued through technical art history methodology in a recent postgraduate study, although a small sample size precluded definite attribution.<sup>370</sup>

Using the Board of Trade Design Registers, two photographs of designs have been found by this study, registered by Templeton in 1896 and related to drawings by Voysey. These go some way to substantiating Young’s claim that the company commissioned work from the designer. However, as the carpet designs are adaptations of Voysey’s drawings, there is room for doubt about whether they could be considered part of the Voysey canon or as evidence of commercial imitation. A conventional aim would be to secure the attribution of the designs to bolster Templeton’s reputation further. The alternative approach being taken here asks what the uncertainty about the origins of the designs reveals about the work of other designers in the British carpet industry.

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<sup>367</sup> Sherrill, *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and America*, 298–301.

<sup>368</sup> Haslam, *Arts & Crafts Carpets*, 164–67.

<sup>369</sup> Stuart Durant, *C.F.A. Voysey: Designs for Tompkinson & Adam Carpets* (London: The Fine Art Society: Haslam & Whiteway: H. Blairman & Sons, 2013).

<sup>370</sup> Becky May, “Unpublished MA Dissertation: Point Paper Patterns: An Overview of a Design Archive with Particular Reference to a Collection of Designs for Weave Believed to Be the Work of C.F.A. Voysey” (Northumbria University, 2014).

Templeton submitted thirty-nine representations to the Register of Designs during the 1890s.<sup>371</sup> The majority of these are monochrome photographs of drawings of carpet designs or woven carpet samples. The stylistic range of the patterns indicates the company's diverse productions, including eighteenth-century style floral and chintz designs and patterns showing the influence of Arts and Crafts design. Two photographs depict particularly sparse patterns using motifs resembling Voysey designs.<sup>372</sup> These are identifiable with drawings by Voysey of secure provenance held by the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>373</sup> (Figure 4.2 - Figure 4.5)

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<sup>371</sup> Searches were made of Board of Trade Design Registers BT 51/72 – BT 51/103. See Appendix A.

<sup>372</sup> The National Archives (TNA), BT 50/260/288440 and BT 50/263/290487

<sup>373</sup> C. F.A. Voysey, "Design for a textile or a wallpaper," pencil and watercolour on paper, c.1893-96, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Museum number: E.146-1974.

C. F. A. Voysey, "Design for a wallpaper or textile showing yellow birds and red poppies," pencil and watercolour on paper, c.1900, Victoria and Albert Museum, London: Museum number E.260-1913.



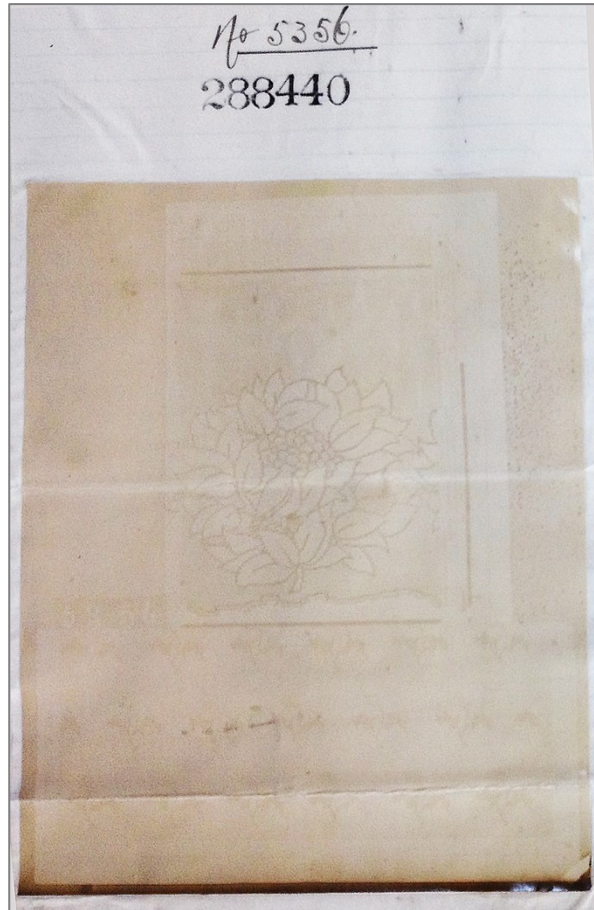


Figure 4.2 J. and J. S. Templeton design representation, 17th November 1896, BT 50/260/288440, The National Archives (TNA).



Figure 4.3 C. F.A. Voysey, "Design for a textile or a wallpaper," pencil and watercolour on paper, c.1893-96, Museum number: E.146-1974, Image © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

The design representation, BT 50/260/288440, is a photograph of a mounted design sketch showing the outline of a bird sitting among leaves and flowers. (Figure 4.2) It was registered on 17th November 1896 by J. and J. S. Templeton, and, as this part of the company made Brussel and Wilton carpets, was probably intended for one of these qualities. Comparison with the Voysey drawing, V&A E.146-1974, reveals a repeating pattern using the same motifs that would also be suitable for a textile design or wallpaper frieze. (Figure 4.3) The simplified detail in the carpet sketch, with no markings on the bird's wings and fewer leaves, would have been suited to the coarser resolution of the carpet weave in comparison to print technologies.

The photograph BT 50/263/290487 is the design representation for a woven sample of Brussels carpet, showing a repeating pattern of motifs of a stylised bird and tulip in a diamond arrangement interspersed with small sprig motifs. (Figure 4.4) The carpet filling is accompanied by a narrow border with a small geometric repeat. J. and J. S. Templeton registered it on 18th December 1896. The drawing V&A E.260-1913 shows a similar motif closely spaced to form a continuous flowing pattern. (Figure 4.5) While the design sketch in the previous example does not confirm that Templeton put it into production, the carpet sample in this photograph proves that it was woven in at least a trial quantity.



Figure 4.4 J. and J. S. Templeton design representation, 18th December 1896, BT 50/263/290487, The National Archives (TNA).

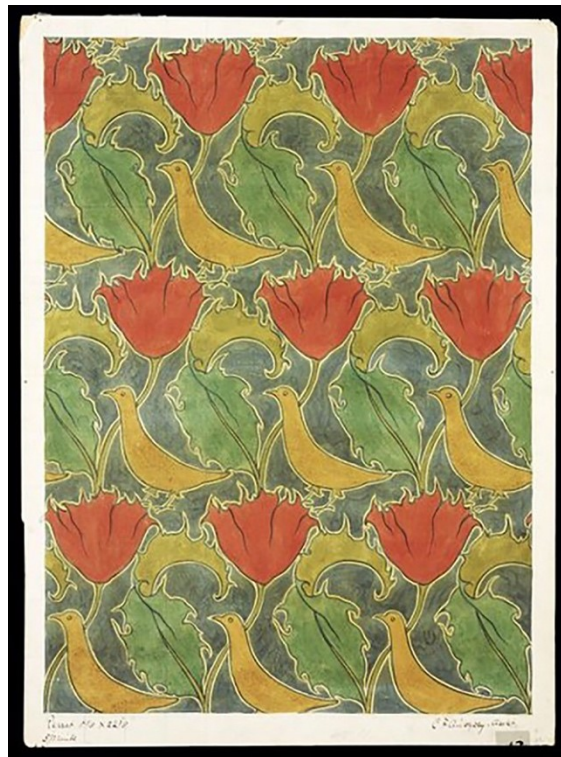


Figure 4.5 C. F. A. Voysey, "Design for a wallpaper or textile showing yellow birds and red poppies," pencil and watercolour on paper, c.1900, Museum number: E.260-1913, Image © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

The photographs submitted to the Board of Trade by Templeton are of Voysey-style designs for carpets that are now lost. Both design representations have annotated pattern numbers, but no other record of these has been found in the company archives.<sup>374</sup> While this leaves the question of their status unanswered, it increases the significance of the photographs, as they are currently the only surviving record of these carpet designs.



**Figure 4.6 'Fotografie eines "Wilton-Teppichs" von C. J. A. Voysey,' photograph, Inventory Number: KI 9786, Photo © MAK.**

As previously noted, Voysey frequently repurposed design materials for multiple clients. For example, The MAK, Vienna, holds an unprovenanced photograph of a related Wilton carpet designed by Voysey showing a more vertically extended bird and flower group on a plain-coloured ground, paired with a wider border of scrolling leaves.<sup>375</sup> (Figure 4.6) Therefore, the drawings and the carpet sample

<sup>374</sup> Visual searches were made of design photographs, for example: UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/2011/7/10 "Design Photographs."

<sup>375</sup> "Fotografie eines "Wilton-Teppichs" von C. J. A. Voysey," Inventory Number KI 9786, MAK – Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna.

possibly had another, as yet unknown, common ancestor. A further suggestion is that these are evidence of unauthorised copying by Templeton designers. The technology of adaptation in carpet design enabled practices that ranged from inspiration to piracy.<sup>376</sup>

The newly discovered evidence of these two designs could be claimed to confirm the connection between the company and the renowned designer. However, evidence that confounds, or at least complicates, attribution exists in Templeton's record of the carpet designs it bought from external sources. The "Register of Designs Bought" from 1896 to 1930 notes the date, origin, price, and weaving notes for designs, with a line describing each pattern.<sup>377</sup> Templeton purchased designs through the company's Glasgow and London offices from individual freelance designers and commercial studios in Britain, France, and Germany. There are no records of purchases from Voysey directly, although this does not rule out the possibility of the designs arriving via the studio of Arthur Silver or another associate. In the 1890s, the register records forty-seven designs bought from the Silver Studio in stylised floral and historicist styles. Twenty-six designs were also bought from the designer Frederick Mayers, for whom Voysey designed a house in Kidderminster.<sup>378</sup> The descriptions of unattributed designs in the register do not correspond with the Voysey-style designs registered by Templeton, but Voysey's name does occur in connection with a total of six other designs.

On 9th March 1898, Mr D. Campbell supplied a drawing described as "Voysey Style, Taken from *Flachornamente*." This folio of motifs for textiles in Art Nouveau styles was published in Berlin for use as source material for commercial designers and was acquired by Templeton as part of their design library.<sup>379</sup>

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For other examples of Voysey bird and flower motifs, see: Charles Francis Annesley Voysey, "Design for a wallpaper showing stylized birds and poppies," watercolour on paper, 1885, Reference Number: RIBA13111, RIBA Collections; C. F. A. Voysey, "Minto," Wallpaper, 1901, Museum Number: E.311-1974, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

<sup>376</sup> For the comparable case of copying in printed calico manufacture, see: Greysmith, "Patterns, Piracy and Protection in the Textile Printing Industry 1787 – 1850"; Kriegel, "Culture and the Copy: Calico, Capitalism, and Design Copyright in Early Victorian Britain"; Sykas, *The Secret Life of Textiles: Six Pattern Book Archives in North West England*.

<sup>377</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/1 'Register of Designs Bought.'

<sup>378</sup> O'Donnell, *C.F.A. Voysey: Architect, Designer, Individualist*.

<sup>379</sup> Hermann Friling, *Moderne Flachornamente Entwickelt Aus Dem Pflanzen- Und Thierreich; Ideen Fur Textiles Musterzeichnen Und Decorative Malereien Aller Art, in Sonderheit*

Although Campbell's background is unknown, he appears to have been a reliable adapter of other visual materials. He supplied twenty-three designs between 1896 and 1904, often in Indian, Turkey and Persian carpet styles. In May 1898, he adapted an illustration from the "Vienna Book" - the catalogue of the influential exhibition of oriental carpets at the Imperial and Royal Austrian Commercial Museum in 1891.<sup>380</sup> As Templeton owned both source publications, and the latter elephant-folio volume was massive, scarce, and costly, the company probably supplied Campbell with the visual material to be adapted.

Four more designs described as "Voysey style" were purchased from the Silver Studio on the 28th August 1899, depicting a "conventional peony," tulips and scrolling foliage.<sup>381</sup> Voysey's name is used here as a style term for a pattern produced by a designer working to a commercial demand. The register notes that these designs were developed further or transferred to design papers by Miss Russell and Miss Craig of the Templeton design staff. Although no other record of these women has been found, they document the many hands through which a design would pass before becoming a woven fabric. They also remind us that design activity was stratified by gender at Templeton. At this date, the senior designers who originated new pattern work were exclusively male. However, the staff who copied point papers for production were predominantly female, reinscribing the cultural association between men's work and creative originality and the lower value of women's work.<sup>382</sup>

A photograph of a set of comparable design papers in the archive suggests how these Voysey-style designs may have appeared. (Figure 4.7) The border pattern has a conventionalised treatment showing tulips and scrolling foliage edged with narrow borders of twigs. The filling pattern consists of a conventionalised tulip motif in a diamond grid arrangement.

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*Ornamente Fur Gewebe, Druckstoffe, Stickereien, Tapeten, Decken- Und Wandmalereien, Glasmalereien Und F* (Berlin: Bruno Hessling, n.d.).

<sup>380</sup> Caspar Purdon Clarke et al., *Oriental Carpets* (Vienna: Imp. and Roy. Austrian Commercial Museum, 1892).

<sup>381</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/1 "Register of Designs Bought."

<sup>382</sup> Judy Attfield and Pat Kirkham, *A View from the Interior: Women and Design*, 2nd ed. (London: Women's Press, 1995).



**Figure 4.7** Photograph of point-paper drawing. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD 201/1/7/10 “Design Photographs.”

A design bought from Frederick Mayers on 15th November 1898 was also described as, “Voysey-type, Tulips and blossoms, Sage and Ch[intz] flat treatment.”<sup>383</sup> Mayers was a prolific designer who worked in Paris and Kidderminster before joining Templeton from 1915 to 1937.<sup>384</sup> Based mainly in the firm’s London office, Mayers maintained links with independent designers and wrote a standard text on practical carpet design.<sup>385</sup> His freelance work before joining Templeton is notable for the collaborative relationship he

<sup>383</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/1 ‘Register of Designs Bought.’

<sup>384</sup> “Prominent Templetonians,” *The Templetonian*, Vol.2, No.31, (June, 1936), 7-8. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/15/1, “Staff Magazines.”

<sup>385</sup> Mayers, *Carpet Designs and Designing*.

established with the designer G. H. Woodhouse in Kidderminster. A review of their work commented:

Sometimes one will be struck by the main idea for a carpet, while the other will be responsible for the detail; sometimes one will suggest a colour scheme and the other will embody it into a pattern; sometimes one will suggest an entirely different treatment of a certain form, and so on until both partners generally work more or less upon each design.<sup>386</sup>

Because this article was published in the same year as Templeton's purchase of a "Voysey-type" design from Mayers and Woodhouse, the description of their working practice raises the possibility that both designers worked on the pattern. Their collaboration illustrates a more egalitarian version of company design studio practice, in which several workers shared the authorship of a design. The Head Designer could assign a purchased sketch to one staff member to be developed into a full-scale pattern, which was then reviewed for layout, detail, and colouring, transferred to point-paper, and replicated by other workers. Furthermore, the ability to imitate and adapt any commercially viable style was a highly respected skill within the trade; we are told of Mayers, "with his versatile mind he can turn to any style of design and bring originality to its treatment."<sup>387</sup>

Each reference to a Voysey-style design leads away from the notion of a single author towards other contributors who originated, adapted, or interpreted patterns. In carpet design, adaptation was as important as originality. The Mayers example reinforces the idea that many designers, working in commercial environments, contributed to the "Voysey" style. The evidence from the Register of Designs Bought shows that the people involved in producing these drawings had a shared understanding of the stylistic character implied by the term "Voysey." *The Studio* journal recognised this in the 1890s, commenting, "a 'Voysey wall paper' sounds almost as familiar as a 'Morris Chintz' or a 'Liberty Silk.'"<sup>388</sup> As well as being an influential individual, "Voysey" had an existence as

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<sup>386</sup> "The Carpet Designs of F.J. Mayers," *Artist: An Illustrated Monthly Record of Arts, Crafts and Industries*, no. 22 (1898): 97.

<sup>387</sup> "Prominent Templetonians," *The Templetonian*, Vol.2, No.31, (June, 1936), 7-8. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/15/1, "Staff Magazines."

<sup>388</sup> Quoted in: Jackson, *20th Century Pattern Design: Textile & Wallpaper Pioneers*, 13.



a cultural property with commercial value. His style was dispersed across the industry through processes of adaptation, imitation and copying.

Templeton's use of the Register of Designs, and the later work by art-dealers to authenticate the artist's touch, are both attempts to regulate the ownership of the designs. These efforts protected commercial and cultural value by asserting the designer's individuality in defiance of the more complex picture of authorship suggested by the evidence above. Interestingly, the uncertainty over ownership highlights the existence of versions, imitations, and copies. The creative expression of a progressive style, conventionally imagined as emanating from the individual, was instead dispersed through a network of design staff trained to adapt, translate, and imitate the visual characteristics of diverse sources.

This interpretation of Templeton's Voysey-style patterns is more sensitive to the structures of commercial design production than the biographical focus provided by the heroic model of design. It is significantly different from earlier studies of Voysey and carpet design. It uses uncertainties and absences in the archival records not as a source of anxiety over authenticity but as an opportunity to enrich our understanding of the participants and interactions engaged in commercial design.

It is important to stress that this analysis does not discredit the powerful influence that an innovative, creative individual can have on cultural expression. These designs are still understood in connection with Voysey's other creative and intellectual achievements. Nevertheless, this analysis emphasises a network of designers who contributed to the cultural phenomenon of a supposedly individual style, giving evidence of the commercial interactions between them. The design staff mentioned in this section, who produced Voysey-style designs - Mr Campbell, Miss Russell and Miss Craig, Frederick Mayers and G. H. Woodhouse - are not well known, but the traces that they have left in the archives point to their professional skill at adapting visual content into practical carpet designs. The next section of this chapter examines how carpet designers gained these skills through training and practice.

### 4.3 Training institutions for carpet designers in Glasgow, 1890-1939.

At the start of the twentieth century, carpet designers received training through formal tuition at the Schools of Art, at Technical Colleges, and by practical experience in the design departments of major firms. However, the different fields of knowledge and skill that these training environments provided was a source of contention between manufacturers, educators, and the authors of instructional texts.<sup>389</sup> The standard textbook on textile design by Stephenson and Suddards, for instance, aimed to bring, “the artistic side of textile work into practical touch and closer relationship with the technical requirements of manufacture in that particular trade.”<sup>390</sup> The authors noted that what they called “the artistic side” had to be fully integrated into the designer’s technical understanding of cloth, stating, “the designer must think, as it were, not in pencil and paper, but in warp and weft.”<sup>391</sup> The current historiographical interest in design style and designer’s identity has underemphasised this integration of technical knowledge into pattern design. Using the terminology of the histories of technology and design, this means that the designer’s role in the sociotechnical system of carpet production was to mediate between the affordances of the weaving technology and the visual and material cultures in which carpet consumers took part. This section evaluates the provision of artistic and technical knowledge in three training environments for carpet designers in Glasgow in the early-twentieth century.

In Glasgow, the main locations for formal textile design education were the Glasgow School of Art and the institution known locally as the Weaving College.<sup>392</sup> To different extents, these provided training in both the artistic and

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<sup>389</sup> The relationship between instructional texts and the development of textile design education is introduced in the section on primary sources in Chapter 1.5

<sup>390</sup> Stephenson and Suddards, *A Text Book Dealing with Ornamental Design for Woven Fabrics*, v. Stephenson and Suddards’ book was a standard text at the Glasgow Weaving College in 1904: ‘The Incorporated Weaving, Dyeing, and Printing College of Glasgow, Well Street, Calton. ‘Syllabus for Session 1906-1907,’ in University of Strathclyde Archives, GB 249 OG/2/2 “Minute books of the Trustees.”

<sup>391</sup> Stephenson and Suddards, 273.

<sup>392</sup> The Weaving College had several titles and phases of affiliation outlined below. See: University of Strathclyde Archives and Special Collections, “Description of ‘Incorporated Weaving, Dyeing and Printing College of Glasgow,’ Incorporated Weaving, Dyeing and Printing College of

historic practice of pattern design, and in its technical execution on the loom. There has been substantial research into the pedagogical approaches of the national Schools of Art in general, and more specifically the Glasgow School of Art, with particular focus on the emergence of the “Glasgow Style,” and the directorship of Francis Newbery from 1885 to 1917.<sup>393</sup> This section extends this by using new archival research into design pedagogy at the Weaving College to compare the provisions for trainee carpet designers there with the School of Art and Templeton’s design department.<sup>394</sup> Specifically, attention is drawn to the combination of aesthetic and technical knowledge that carpet designers needed to make effective designs that were compliant with the constraints of carpet weaving.

The formalisation of textile design training in the nineteenth century aimed to improve design standards and defend British textile manufacturing from foreign competition. During the late-nineteenth century, advances in mechanisation in the carpet industries of America, Germany, and Belgium placed increasing pressure on British carpet firms.<sup>395</sup> From the 1910s to the 1930s, the reorganisation and intensification of hand-knotted carpet industries in Persia and China also increased market competition.<sup>396</sup> Carpet imports to Britain reached a

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Glasgow Records, 1871-1911. GB 249 OG,” Archives Hub, accessed November 6, 2020, <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb249-og>.

<sup>393</sup> George Mansell Rawson, “Francis Henry Newbery and the Glasgow School of Art” (Glasgow School of Art, 1996); Clare McGread, “Glasgow School of Art Archives,” *Journal of Design History* 11, no. 2 (1998): 173–74, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jdh/11.2.173>; Stuart Macdonald, “The History and Philosophy of Art Education” (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2004); Adrian Rifkin, “Success Disavowed: The Schools of Design in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Britain,” *Journal of Design History* 1, no. 2 (January 1988): 89–102, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jdh/1.2.89>; James A Schmiechen, “Reconsidering the Factory, Art-Labor, and the Schools of Design in Nineteenth-Century Britain,” *Design Issues* 6, no. 2 (1990): 58–69, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1511438>; George Rawson, “The Arts and Crafts Movement and British Schools of Art,” *The Journal of the Decorative Arts Society 1850 - the Present*, no. 28 (2004): 28–55.

<sup>394</sup> On textile designer training beyond the Schools of Art, see: Stana Nenadic, “Designers in the Nineteenth-Century Scottish Fancy Textile Industry: Education, Employment and Exhibition,” *Journal of Design History* 27, no. 2 (May 1, 2014): 115–31, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jdh/epu002>; Sykas, *The Secret Life of Textiles: Six Pattern Book Archives in North West England*, 52–57.

<sup>395</sup> R. Arnott and H. Tysser, eds., “Survey of the World’s Carpet Industry and Trade,” in *Carpet Annual* (London: British Continental Press Ltd., 1935), 8–16.

<sup>396</sup> The relationship between the British and Persian carpet industries is discussed in Chapter 5. For the growth of the Chinese export industry in hand-knotted carpets, see: “The Chinese Carpet and Rug Industry,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 74, no. 3849 (1926): 944–45; Elizabeth LaCouture, “Inventing the ‘Foreignized’ Chinese Carpet in Treaty-Port Tianjin, China,” *Journal of Design History* 30, no. 3 (2017): 300–314, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jdh/epw042>; Yujie Li, “From Craftsmen to Laborers: A History of Carpet Making in Republican China,” *Artefact*, no. 8 (2018): 49–67, <https://doi.org/10.4000/artefact.1923>.

peak of nine million square yards in 1931 before being substantially curbed by the introduction of import duties and the effects of economic depression.<sup>397</sup> British carpet manufacturers who found it difficult to compete with the price of imports stressed the benefits of their pattern design and good-quality woven structures. These were seen as strengths of the British industry that needed to be reinforced by designers' training. Designers had to be able to reinterpret traditional and historic patterns and be sensitive to the current desires of consumers at home and abroad. Therefore, the role of the designer was important not just to individual manufacturers but also to regional and national economies.

#### **4.3.1 The provision of design training at Glasgow School of Art, 1845-1901.**

The Board of Trade established the first Government School of Design in London in 1837. As mandated by the 1835 House of Commons Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures, its purpose was to, "extend a knowledge of the Fine Arts, and the principles of Design among the people - especially the manufacturing population of the country."<sup>398</sup> This direct government intervention aimed to strengthen British industries against competition from French and German manufacturers by improving a perceived weakness in design.<sup>399</sup> An intended cultural effect of widespread design education was the improvement of the general population's taste in consumer goods. The committee heard evidence that supported the establishment of a school to serve textile manufactures in Glasgow and Paisley because the burgeoning carpet industry was heavily reliant on imported French designs.<sup>400</sup>

The Glasgow Government School of Design opened in 1845, one of twenty regional institutions that taught the principles of design to trainee designers for

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<sup>397</sup> Arnott and Tysser, "Survey of the World's Carpet Industry and Trade," 13.

<sup>398</sup> Great Britain, "Report from the Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures; with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index." (London, 1836), iii.

<sup>399</sup> Quoted in: Paul A C Sproll, "Matters of Taste and Matters of Commerce: British Government Intervention in Art Education in 1835," *Studies in Art Education* 35, no. 2 (March 16, 1994): 106, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1320824>.

<sup>400</sup> Great Britain, "Report from the Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures; with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index.," 86, 91–93.

local manufacturing industries. Renamed the Glasgow School of Art in 1853, the School taught design principles through drawing classes, from elementary drawing, to shading, colouring, geometric drawing, perspective, and modelling.<sup>401</sup> The curriculum was known as the South Kensington system and was supported by national competitions for students' drawings. James Templeton called for the improvement of technical education in Scotland in correspondence with the architect and educationalist Sir Digby Wyatt, calling attention to the need for better technical education in Scotland. Templeton noted "the superior art of education of foreign manufacturers and their workmen or designers," and expressed his concern that, "we may be left in the background with regard to many of our textile fabrics" if the training was not improved.<sup>402</sup>

The early success of the South Kensington system was followed by growing criticism from educators and manufacturers in the 1880s and 1890s. Critics accused the rigid drawing syllabus of training artists rather than designers and being distant from manufacturers' design practice.<sup>403</sup> Under the directorship of Francis Newbery, from 1885 to 1917, Glasgow School of Art developed teaching methods that emphasised craft skill and individual creative expression. These changes took advantage of funding released by the Technical Instruction Acts 1887-1892 and the gradual loosening of ties between the School and restrictive curricula of the South Kensington system.<sup>404</sup> In 1899, the Scottish Education Board took financial control of the School from the Department of Science and Art at South Kensington, giving the School greater autonomy to define its curricula. The move was consolidated by the School's reorganisation into four departments in 1901: Drawing and Painting, Modelling and Sculpture, Design and Decorative Art, and Architecture.

Recent research into the training of lace designers at Nottingham School of Design can be usefully compared to the relationship between Glasgow School of

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<sup>401</sup> George Rawson, "The Glasgow Government School of Design," *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History* 4 (1999): 19–25.

<sup>402</sup> Angus McLean, *Local Industries of Glasgow and the West of Scotland* (Glasgow: Published by the Local Committee for the Meeting of the British Association, 1901), 157.

<sup>403</sup> Harry Butterworth, "The Science and Art Department, 1853-1900." (University of Sheffield, 1968), 280–81.

<sup>404</sup> Rawson, "The Arts and Crafts Movement and British Schools of Art," 36–49.

Art and Templeton’s design department.<sup>405</sup> Both carpet and lace industries had unique, specialised forms of weaving and weave notation, which required technical and aesthetic knowledge. Coles et al. propose that rather than finding friction between the aesthetic aims of the Schools and the commercial ends of the industry, the two were aligned through a methodological focus on copying and adaptation. The authors acknowledge the distinct aims of the school and industry - the first seeking improved designs, the second “happy to continue to reproduce variations on historic styles of hand-made lace.”<sup>406</sup> Although both aims were pursued through types of copying, that similarity should not overshadow the ideologically different approaches to originality:

While the Government Schools of Design rewarded the reproduction of a canon of design, the lace industry was seeking to employ technically competent designers who could produce refreshed versions of common laces as they came in and out of fashion. The industry also required them to be flexible enough to reproduce another company’s design, retaining the style of the original, but with sufficient adaptations to make it appear to be a fresh new design.<sup>407</sup>

From their founding, the Schools of Design followed a national curriculum based on copying classical designs.<sup>408</sup> By copying set examples, students were expected to hone the accuracy of their drawing, understand the periodicity of style, and absorb authorised principals of proportion, line, and colour. Glasgow School of Art students had access to large stores of historical ornament for copying and design inspiration. The School Museum of Applied and Decorative Art contained donations from private collectors and manufacturers and was augmented by a changing display of objects from the Victoria and Albert Museum’s Circulating

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<sup>405</sup> Rebecca Coles, Amanda Briggs-Goode, and Gail Baxter, “Principles and Pilfering: Nottingham Lace Design Pedagogy,” *TEXTILE* 18, no. 1 (January 2, 2020): 12–23, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14759756.2019.1646496>.

<sup>406</sup> Coles, Briggs-Goode, and Baxter, 22.

<sup>407</sup> Coles, Briggs-Goode, and Baxter, 22.

<sup>408</sup> Coles, Briggs-Goode, and Baxter, 16–17.

Collection.<sup>409</sup> At the turn of the twentieth century, the library contained over 1,400 volumes on architecture and decorative arts.<sup>410</sup>

Coles et al. are correct to point out that designer's training and industry practice shared methodological elements of copying, but distinct attitudes to originality should also be emphasised. Carpet manufacturers valued the adroit adaptation of traditional motifs to contemporary tastes and technical understanding of the medium rather than the ability to assert creative individuality. The design historian Judy Attfield has identified a similar discrepancy between concepts of originality and creativity in the production of "period-style" furniture. Attfield shows that in the early-twentieth century, copying historical forms in furniture was first thought to indicate high-quality manufacture before becoming associated with derivative, stagnant creativity:

The concept of originality is closely associated with modernism, and the recent idea that it is possible for a designer to produce an entirely new design without reference to a traditional model.<sup>411</sup>

Attfield suggests that commercial manufacturers developed an alternative understanding of "originality" defined by the closeness of a copy to its original rather than innovative design. Although this discourse would not apply to all fields of design, the close association of the furniture and flooring trades in the early-twentieth century created shared attitudes around authenticity and creative originality. Arguing the general case, Attfield links the elevation of artistic originality in design to twentieth-century Modernist discourse, characterised in Pevsner's designation of "pioneer" designers.<sup>412</sup> Other scholars take the constructionist view that expectations of individual creativity are a European post-Romantic phenomena that emerged from the reimagining of the self in modern societies.<sup>413</sup> For instance, an emphasis on the touch of the

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<sup>409</sup> For the international trade context of the Victoria and Albert Museum Circulation Department, see: Felix Driver and Sonia Ashmore, "The Mobile Museum: Collecting and Circulating Indian Textiles in Victorian Britain.," *Victorian Studies* 52, no. 3 (2010): 353–85.

<sup>410</sup> Duncan Chappell, "The Early History and Collections of Glasgow School of Art Library 1845-1945," *Library & Information History* 32, no. 3 (2016): 161–78, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17583489.2016.1186479>.

<sup>411</sup> Attfield, *Wild Things Mater. Cult. Everyday Life*, 102.

<sup>412</sup> Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design*.

<sup>413</sup> Megan Brewster Aldrich, Jos Hackforth-Jones, and David Bellingham, *Art and Authenticity* (Farnham, Surrey: Lund Humphries, 2012), 18–19; David Lowenthal, "Authenticity? The Dogma

individual artist is contrasted to Renaissance traditions in which, “replication and copying of an established model is not perceived as an inferior process but has validity in its own right.”<sup>414</sup> Further complications arise from culturally situated ideas of tradition, frequently a feature of heritage crafts, in which the value of personal originality is superseded by the individual’s part in a larger continuing tradition.<sup>415</sup>

Adaptation as a practice of commercial textile design has been problematised by what the textile historian Philip Sykas has called, “the contemporary promotion of originality and disparagement of imitation.”<sup>416</sup> By valuing innovation over other modes of design, Sykas argues, histories of design have failed to engage with the conditions of the textile industries, “past designers learned their trade by copying, and through translating the designs of others; repurposing and recombination of design motifs was accepted practice.”<sup>417</sup> As the example of Templeton’s Voysey-style designs has demonstrated, the result of this historically situated interest in creative originality has been to mask actual design practise.

At Templeton, designers added visual styles into their repertoire as they became of interest to consumers. More importantly, new styles were incorporated into a continual, evolutionary development of historic styles through recapitulation and adaptation. Francis Newbery’s changes to design curricula moved from the “accurate laboured copying” that had come to characterise the earlier pedagogy of the Schools of Art towards more creative applications of design.<sup>418</sup> However, carpet designers’ practice was not aimed towards the innovative originality of the artist, but the complete mastery of what Kjetil Fallan has termed

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of Self-Delusion,” in *Why Fakes Matter: Essays on Problems of Authenticity* (London: British Museum Press, 2012), 184–92.

<sup>414</sup> Aldrich, Hackforth-Jones, and Bellingham, *Art and Authenticity*, 19.

<sup>415</sup> Noël Riley, “The Authenticity of Traditional Crafts: The Case of Ernest Beckwith,” in *Art and Authenticity* (Farnham, Surrey: Lund Humphries, 2012), 62–71; Spooner, “Weavers and Dealers: The Authenticity of an Oriental Carpet.”

<sup>416</sup> Sykas, “Design,” 76.

<sup>417</sup> Sykas, 76.

<sup>418</sup> Rawson, “The Arts and Crafts Movement and British Schools of Art,” 33.



“traditionalesque” design.<sup>419</sup> The concepts of creativity and originality fostered at the School of Art further stress the division between its teaching and technical training in the industry. Technical tuition aimed to produce designers whose ability allowed them to make practical designs, but originality in weave construction was not an aspiration.

### **4.3.2 Templeton’s involvement with Glasgow School of Art branch school classes.**

The argument that the government schools neglected the needs of industry should be balanced by noting the classes in drawing that Glasgow School of Art had established in branch schools around the city in the late-nineteenth century. Historian George Rawson argues that these enterprises aimed to make the School more relevant to industry but were also responsive to the danger of the School losing pedagogic territory, and financial support, to evening classes provided by technical institutions.<sup>420</sup>

In 1877, Glasgow School of Art opened an East End Branch at the Buchanan Institute in Greenhead Street, which was particularly relevant for Templeton. This offered evening classes in the principals of ornamental design as codified by the Department of Science and Art.<sup>421</sup> The East End Branch was located just streets away from large textile manufacturers, including all of Templeton’s factories and their competitor John Lyle and Company Ltd. on Fordneuk Street.<sup>422</sup> Despite early support, manufacturers’ financial contributions dwindled over the next decade. John Stewart Templeton, the son of the company’s founder, was sufficiently convinced of the need for the classes that when the School of Art closed the East End Branch in 1888, he reopened it for Templeton designers.<sup>423</sup> The School of Art supplied a teacher named Ebenezer T. Hoeck to

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<sup>419</sup> Fallan, ““One Must Offer “Something for Everyone””: Designing Crochery for Consumer Consent in 1950s’ Norway.”

<sup>420</sup> Rawson, “Francis Henry Newbery and the Glasgow School of Art,” 101–2.

<sup>421</sup> Rawson, 53.

<sup>422</sup> John Lyle had been one of the earliest staff-members at Templeton in 1839. He left to start his own business in 1853, which continued to trade in the Bridgeton area of the East End of Glasgow until it was acquired by Stoddard International plc. in 1991. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/205 “Records of John Lyle & Co Ltd, carpet manufacturers, Glasgow, Scotland, 1883-1998.”

<sup>423</sup> Rawson, “Francis Henry Newbery and the Glasgow School of Art,” 95.

this initiative which Rawson describes as, “effectively a school for Templeton’s carpet designers, between 1888 and 1892.”<sup>424</sup> No other references to the East End Branch school have been found in the company archives, except those cited by Rawson, with the possible exception of the obituary notice for the designer William McFadyen, which notes:

At a later period he was the moving spirit in starting another drawing class on a much broader basis and a wider outlook. The Firm took a great interest in this class, and a professional artist was appointed to supervise and give instruction in drawing and shading from the cast, both in chalk and colour. The class was a great success and proved very helpful to the younger workers in the Designing Department.<sup>425</sup>

The records surrounding this short-lived enterprise are not extensive and do not state why Templeton ended the classes. However, it demonstrates that at the end of the nineteenth century, there was a demand from Templeton, particularly from John Stewart Templeton, for design training tailored more specifically to the needs of carpet designers than was being provided by the existing institutions.

Throughout these pedagogical changes, Templeton had remained connected to the School of Art through financial donations and committee membership. Annual Reports show that the company made small annual subscriptions to general finances and a prize fund.<sup>426</sup> John Stewart Templeton sat on the Committee of Management throughout this period and was later elected Governor of the School. Between 1905 and 1908, Templeton partner D. H. L. Young judged the scholarships in Design and Decorative Art alongside Charles Rennie Mackintosh.<sup>427</sup> The company’s largest financial contributions were to funds for the new school buildings; donations of £250 in 1897, and £500 in 1907, for the completion of the Mackintosh Building.<sup>428</sup> Connections between

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<sup>424</sup> Rawson, 119.

<sup>425</sup> “The late Mr William McFadyen,” J.T. & Co.’s Magazine, Vol.1 No.2, April 1920, 8-9. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/15/1 “Staff Magazines.”

<sup>426</sup> I am grateful to Dr Helena Britt and Duncan Chappell, Glasgow School of Art Librarian, for sharing information about Templeton’s financial contributions to the School. See: GSAAC, GB 1694 GSAA/GOV/1 “Annual Reports 1848-2016.”

<sup>427</sup> Glasgow School of Art Prospectus 1905-1906, GSAAC, GB 1694 GSAA/REG/1/1 “Glasgow School of Art prospectuses, 1893-1914.”

<sup>428</sup> Glasgow School of Art Prospectus 1907-1908, GSAAC, GB 1694 GSAA/REG/1/1 “Glasgow School of Art prospectuses, 1893-1914.”

Templeton and the school of Art did not extend to the involvement of carpet designers in teaching, except for James Kincaid, who, in 1899-1900, was employed as a Design Master at a branch school class in Kent Road.<sup>429</sup> These points of civic contact were appropriate to Templeton's status in Glasgow society. They are also evidence of John Stewart Templeton's concern about the training of the designers on which his company relied.

### **4.3.3 Templeton's involvement with the Glasgow Technical College (Weaving Branch).**

Templeton's support for a school exclusively for its designers suggests dissatisfaction with existing design training in Glasgow. The missing part of this story concerns The Glasgow Technical College (Weaving Branch), known locally as the Weaving College. The college was founded in 1877, the same year as the East End branch school, following the recommendations of the 1871 Committee for Promoting Technical Education.<sup>430</sup> The college's constitution made explicit reference to the unfavourable comparison of British to foreign goods at International Exhibitions since 1851 and investigations into the provision of technical training in France, Germany, Austria, Belgium, and Switzerland.<sup>431</sup> In common with the broader technical institute movement, its mission was to improve the products and profits of the local textile industries and thus the nation's commercial interests. Improvements would be achieved by training textile workers about efficient production and current developments in textile science and engineering.

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<sup>429</sup> Glasgow School of Art Prospectus 1899-1900, GSAAC, GB 1694 GSAA/REG/1/1 "Glasgow School of Art prospectuses, 1893-1914."

<sup>430</sup> Matthew Blair and John Ingram, *A Short History of the Glasgow Technical College (Weaving Branch), Afterwards the Incorporated Weaving Dyeing & Printing College of Glasgow: 1877 to 1908* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1908); R. A. Peel, "Dyeing Education in Glasgow From Anderson's University (1796) to the Royal College of Science and Technology (1958)," *Journal of the Society of Dyers and Colourists* 76, no. 8 (August 1, 1960): 492.

<sup>431</sup> "Technical College of Glasgow," USASC, GB 249 OG/10 "Papers on establishment of the weaving school."



**Figure 4.8** Map of the Calton area of Glasgow showing the location of:

**1** Glasgow Technical College (Weaving Branch), Well Street.

**2** Templeton factory, William Street.

Adapted from Ordnance Survey Maps, 25 inch, Lanarkshire VI.15, 1895. Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland (CC BY 4.0).

The college was based at Well Street, in the Calton area of the East End of Glasgow, near textile manufacturers premises including Templeton's main factory. (Figure 4.8) The college amalgamated with other technical colleges in 1887 and became a limited liability company in 1896, changing its title to the Incorporated Weaving, Dyeing and Printing College of Glasgow. Changes to the remit of the college accompanied its amalgamation into the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College in 1908, with reciprocal courses arranged with The Glasgow School of Art. The parent institution was renamed Glasgow Royal Technical College in 1912 and became the University of Strathclyde in 1964.

Templeton's partners participated in the organisation of the college from its establishment in 1877. John Stuart Templeton and James Cunningham were both Trustees of the College, and James Templeton was Convenor of the college from 1896. The carpet manufacturer John Lyle was also involved in college

governance.<sup>432</sup> A Templeton partner, D. H. L. Young, attended the Weaving College to understand weaving processes better. His colleagues recalled that Young once asked a tenter in the chenille-weft department to put a loom out of action as a test, and his studies at the Weaving College meant that he was able to identify the fault and repair it.<sup>433</sup> Although the college did not house looms specifically for carpet weaving, much technical knowledge was transferrable to Templeton's work.

The Weaving College initially offered, "drawing designs upon lined paper, preparatory to their production on the loom" in contrast to the School of Art's focus on artistic drawing for pattern design.<sup>434</sup> The technical weaving course included analysing weave structure and colour theory for weaving. In 1900, the curriculum was broadened by introducing a dedicated design course. The college employed Joseph M. Sadler, a local calico designer who had been a student of Newbery.<sup>435</sup> Sadler taught ornamental design, botanical drawing, the adaptation of natural forms to textiles and, "the transference of design from the sketch to point paper in preparation for the card cutter or other mechanism."<sup>436</sup> This last subject emphasises that pattern was considered within the technical affordances of specific weave structures.

Sadler had studied at Glasgow School of Art in the 1890s, during which time he was awarded a bronze medal for a design for an Axminster carpet in the national competition run by the Department of Science of Art.<sup>437</sup> (Figure 4.9) His sketch is a repeating pattern for a carpet filling and coordinating border. It has an evident Persian influence, with palmettes and Herati-style leaf motifs arranged in a branching, ogival trellis. In the upper-left corner, a small section of the design

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<sup>432</sup> USASC, GB 249 OG/23, "Syllabuses of the college."

<sup>433</sup> A "tenter" oversaw the operation of weaving machinery. 'In Memoriam – D. H. L. Young,' *J.T. & Co.'s Magazine*, Vol.1 No.6, October 1921, 4. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/15/1 "Staff Magazines."

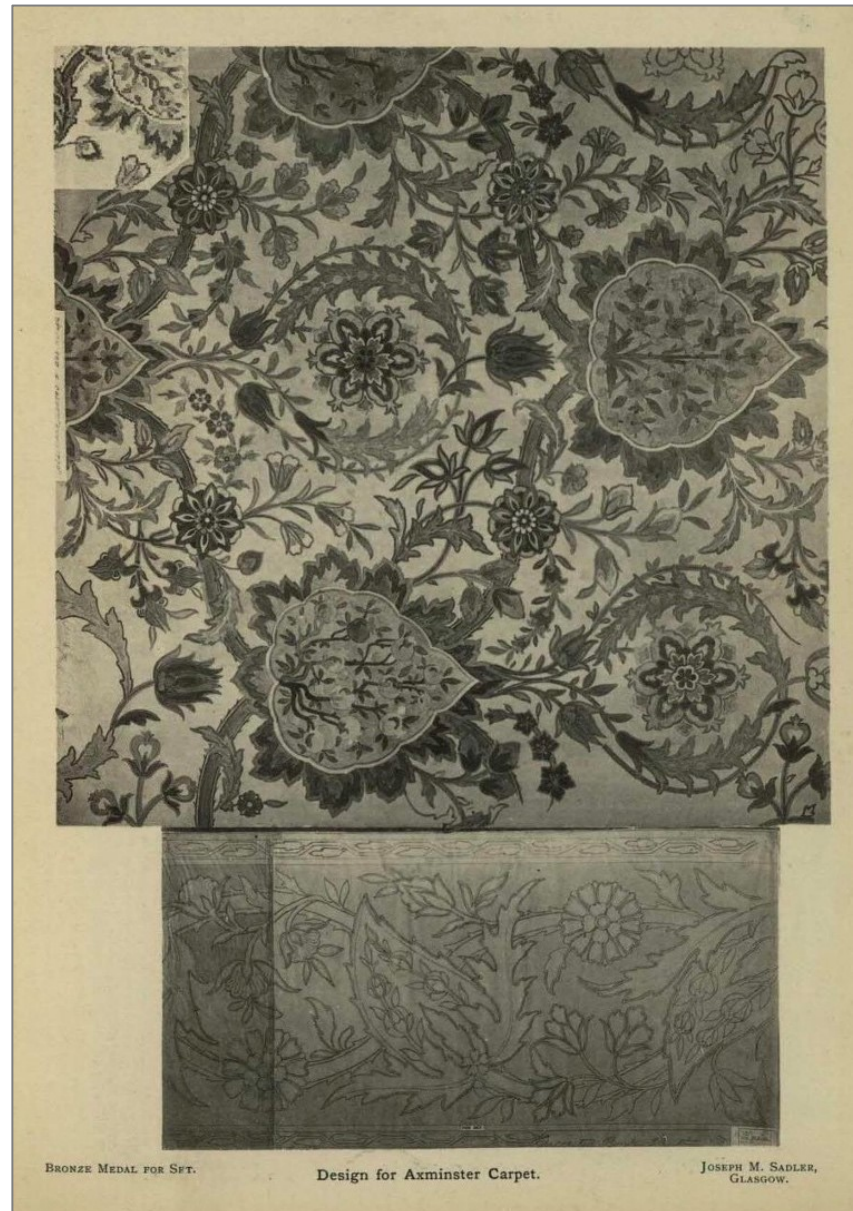
<sup>434</sup> USASC, GB 249 OG/23, "Syllabuses of the college."

<sup>435</sup> George Rawson, "Newbery, Francis Henry [Fra] (1855–1946), Art Educationist and Painter," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), 104, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/49479>.

<sup>436</sup> "Incorporated Weaving, Dyeing and Printing College of Glasgow. Syllabus for Session 1903-4," USASC, GB 249 OG/2/2 "Minute books of the Trustees."

<sup>437</sup> John Fisher, *National Competitions, 1896-97: An Illustrated Record of National Gold, Silver and Bronze Medal Designs, Models, Drawings Etc.* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1899), 9.

has been arranged on squared paper to demonstrate that it could be adapted for weaving. The directly imitative style of Sadler's design shows familiarity with the versions of historical Persian and Indian carpet designs produced by Templeton and other British manufacturers.<sup>438</sup>



**Figure 4.9** Design for Axminster Carpet by Joseph M. Sadler. John Fisher, *National Competitions, 1896-97: An Illustrated Record of National Gold, Silver and Bronze Medal Designs, Models, Drawings Etc.* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1899), 9.

Sadler's teaching at the Weaving College stressed the practical application of design for woven textiles, rather than the principals of ornament taught in the centralised syllabus of the national Schools of Art. The class attracted students

<sup>438</sup> Templeton's versions of Persian carpet designs are examined in Chapter 4.

from, “warehouses and factories dealing with industrial productions such as dress material, curtains, carpets &c.”<sup>439</sup> By 1902, half of the students were designers, with an average age of twenty-five, and the class admitted its first female students.<sup>440</sup> Carpet design was not taught as a discrete subject but was one of the four categories for which design prizes were awarded. The design course integrated expressive aspects of drawing, such as “rapidity and freedom of touch” in botanical studies, alongside technical knowledge “with the view of adapting the studies to practical saleable designs.”<sup>441</sup> Sadler argued with the college governors in defence of his practice of tailoring tuition to the needs of the industries in which individual students were employed, writing:

From my experience I consider that each student knows his own business best and only wants to know the means whereby he may put that knowledge to the best practical use, and as a teacher I say that it is our duty to give these men what they want not to thrust on them the passing fads of an hour and to give them anything beyond what they can make use of in their various professions would, I consider, be the first thing to ruin the class.<sup>442</sup>

Sadler’s stress on “the means” of applying artistic training in practice shows his close alignment with commercial industry. However, his approach was criticised by Francis Newbery, director of the Glasgow School of Art, for neglecting the government schools’ more systematic tuition. Newbery and the judges of the college design competition found fault with Sadler’s focus on student’s “hurried needs” and “trade exigencies,” instead of recommending teaching the principles of colour and drawing.<sup>443</sup>

Despite criticism, early reports found benefits from combining technical and expressive drawing with practical training on looms. Students from various

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<sup>439</sup> “Design Class Teacher’s Report, 1900-1901,” USASC, GB 249 OG/7/1 “Other Reports.”

<sup>440</sup> Letter from Joseph M. Sadler to James MacDonald, 7 April 1902, USASC, GB 249 OG/7/1 “Other Reports.”

<sup>441</sup> “Incorporated Weaving, Dyeing and Printing College of Glasgow. Syllabus for Session 1903-4,” USASC, GB 249 OG/2/2 “Minute books of the Trustees.”

<sup>442</sup> Letter from Joseph M. Sadler to Matthew Blair, 16th April 1902, USASC, GB 249 OG/7/1 “Other Reports.”

<sup>443</sup> “Glasgow Weaving College, Design Class, Report of the Judges,” USASC, GB 249 OG/7/1 “Other Reports.”

textile industries gained experience outside of their jobs' remit, allowing them to understand their firm's work or achieve advancement. Sadler reported:

[...] power-loom tenters, clerks and warehousemen, designers, sons of millowners and manufacturers, mill managers, mechanics, [...] come to have their knowledge of textiles expanded, and go eagerly in for a certain amount of practice in hand-loom weaving and mounting. [...] Of pattern designers we generally have a few; they come to learn how the design is embodied in cloth, and from the knowledge which they acquire of the construction of the harness and jacquard machine, they greatly enhance their individual work.<sup>444</sup>

It is likely that Sadler emphasised the positive outcomes of his teaching. However, it is also evident that trainee designers, engineers, and managers gained broader insights into the manufacturing process than their professional experience provided. Sadler also conveys the belief that technical knowledge of weaving is needed to enhance pattern designers' work.

Like Glasgow School of Art, the Weaving College gave its students access to historical textile design in lectures and exhibitions. Templeton designers and Partners ensured that carpet history and design were prominent in the college's public lectures: D. H. L. Young spoke on carpet manufacture in 1898, Alexander Millar on carpet design in 1900, and James Cunningham on "Eastern Rugs" in 1903. Walter B. Brown, a designer formerly employed by the Bigelow Carpet Company, New York, gave a talk in 1901, and the history of carpet-making was also the subject of a lecture in 1910.<sup>445</sup> The frequency of these topics in lectures at the Weaving College indicates the interest created by the local industry and the perceived need for students to be introduced to the history and practice of carpet design.

The college trustees built up a small museum collection so students could study the technical construction and pattern design of modern and antique textiles. The manufacturer Alastair Morton and Sons Ltd. donated a collection of French silks intended as a pedagogic tool, "suggestive for designing and colouring

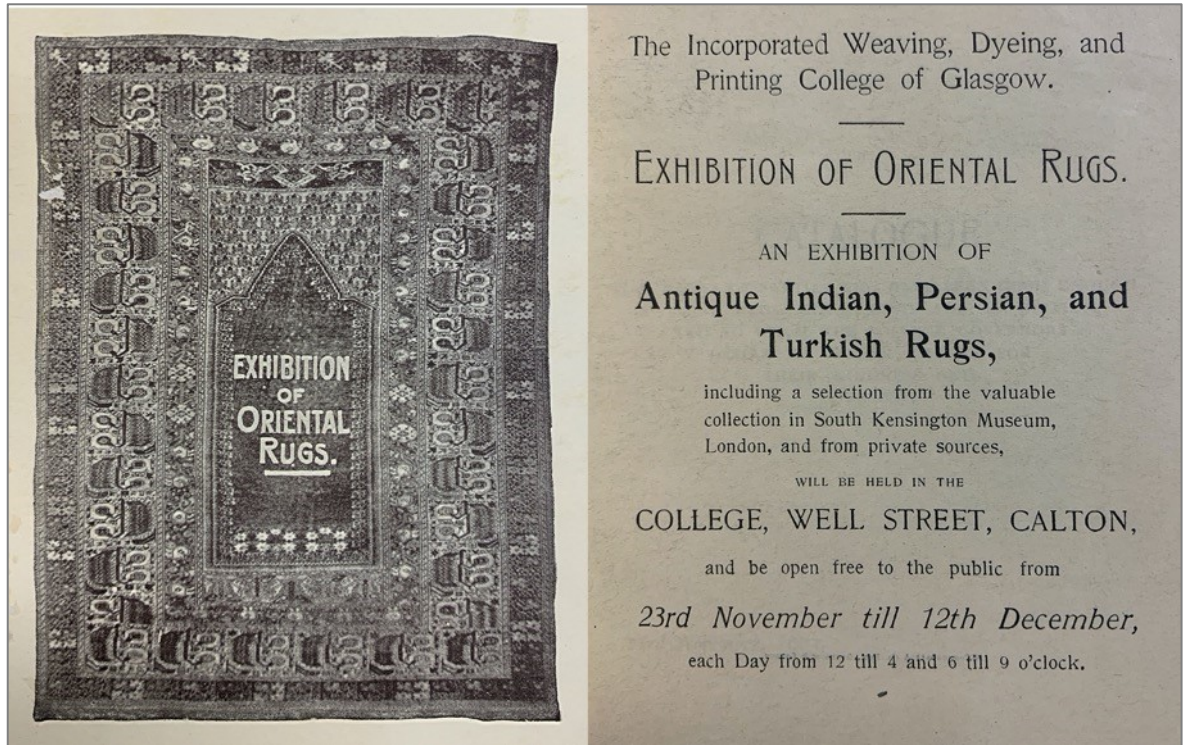
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<sup>444</sup> David Sandeman, "On the Progress of Technical Education, with Special Reference to the Glasgow Weaving College," *Proceedings of the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow* 18, no. 73–86 (1887): 84.

<sup>445</sup> "Attempt to Defraud an Edinburgh Charity," *The Scotsman (1860-1920)*, December 10, 1910.



purposes.”<sup>446</sup> A series of temporary loan exhibitions performed a double task of exposing trainee designers to examples for copying and building a network of prestigious donors. An exhibition of Paisley shawls in 1901, for instance, included the loan of two Indian shawls from the Royal household.<sup>447</sup>



**Figure 4.10** Front cover and title page of Oriental Rug exhibition catalogue, 1903. “Exhibition of Oriental Rugs,” USASC, GB 249 OG/2/2 “Minute books of the Trustees.”

The college’s exhibition of oriental carpets in 1903 was of particular interest to trainee carpet designers.<sup>448</sup> (Figure 4.10) Objects were loaned from Templeton, from private collections, and the South Kensington Museum as a part of the Board of Education. While the history of the South Kensington Museum’s circulating collection in the regional Schools of Art is well known,<sup>449</sup> it has not

<sup>446</sup> “Incorporated Weaving, Dyeing and Printing College of Glasgow. Syllabus for Session 1903-4,” USASC, GB 249 OG/2/2 “Minute books of the Trustees.”

<sup>447</sup> USASC, GB 249 OG/2/2 “Minute books of the Trustees.”

For the cultural and social status of Paisley shawls as imitation goods, see: Suchitra Choudhury, “Textile Orientalisms : Cashmere and Paisley Shawls in British Literature” (University of Glasgow, 2013); Suchitra Choudhury, “‘It Was an Imitation to Be Sure’: The Imitation Indian Shawl in Design Reform and Imaginative Fiction,” *Textile History* 46, no. 2 (2015): 189–212, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00404969.2015.1121666>.

<sup>448</sup> “Exhibition of Oriental Rugs,” USASC, GB 249 OG/2/2 “Minute books of the Trustees.”

<sup>449</sup> Driver and Ashmore, “The Mobile Museum: Collecting and Circulating Indian Textiles in Victorian Britain.”

previously been noted that the Weaving College's informal relationship with the Museum also provided access to its collections for students in Scotland.<sup>450</sup> This exhibition is discussed further in Chapter 5.2. Notably, Templeton and the South Kensington Museum played an equivalent role in providing objects for trainee designers to study in this exhibition, underlining their contribution to training. The syllabus of the early drawing course and the collection of historic textiles, taken in combination with technical tuition on looms, demonstrate an integrated approach to textile design training.

#### **4.3.4 Joint tuition between the Weaving College and Glasgow School of Art 1904 - 1939.**

From 1904, a more formal relationship between the Weaving College and Glasgow School of Art challenged the integrated teaching of weaving technique and pattern design within one institution. The School of Art offered a new course in drawing and design for textiles attended by students of both institutions. The Weaving College reciprocated with a course in technical textile studies for students from the School of Art.<sup>451</sup> A new evening class of "Art Instruction for Commercial Men Engaged in the Textile and Allied Trades" was also held at Glasgow School of Art. It offered, "some knowledge of artistic principles and methods" for warehouse workers, salespeople, and buyers who did not attend the more comprehensive courses. Templeton employees would probably have attended this course as it included lectures with, "special reference to the requirements of the carpet and the furnishing trades and to the foreign markets for calico printing."<sup>452</sup> Significantly, in-depth tuition in ornamental design was removed from the Weaving College and replaced by a course about technical aspects of colour in textile production. This encompassed, for example, the

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<sup>450</sup> From the 1850s to the 1920s, industrial art objects from the collections of the South Kensington Museum were also loaned to the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, (the precursor of National Museums Scotland). These displays were informative about manufacturing processes and products, although the Weaving College exhibition of oriental rugs was more specifically aimed at educating student textile designers. Geoffrey Nigel Swinney, "Towards an Historical Geography of a 'National' Museum: The Industrial Museum of Scotland, the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art and the Royal Scottish Museum, 1854-1939" (University of Edinburgh, 2013), 183–86.

<sup>451</sup> "Report of Committee on Design-Class," USASC, GB 249 OG/2/2 "Minute books of the Trustees."

<sup>452</sup> Glasgow School of Art Prospectus 1910-1911, GSAAC, GB 1694 GSAA/REG/1/1 "Glasgow School of Art prospectuses, 1893-1914."

effects of interlacing coloured warp and weft, but delegated the more cultural understanding of ornamental pattern history to the School of Art syllabus. The result was to fortify an institutional divide between these types of knowledge.

The shift was endorsed by Roberts Beaumont, the Professor of Textile Industries at Leeds University and Inspector of Textile Schools for the City and Guilds of London Institute, who later wrote an authoritative text on carpet manufacture.<sup>453</sup> In 1905, Beaumont recommended that the Weaving College consolidated its technical syllabus. In a public lecture on “Ideals in Textile Studies.” He argued:

textile technology was a combination of processes, mechanism and fabric design and structure. These comprised distinctive groups of subjects, in each of which specialised courses of study were necessary.<sup>454</sup>

Beaumont called for technical education underpinned by the latest developments in textile construction, testing and analysis. His technological approach was informed by observations of state-organised technical education in Germany, which aimed to, “secure the development of their industries on the most scientific lines.”<sup>455</sup> Rawson suggests that the joint course with the Weaving College is evidence of Francis Newbery’s Arts and Crafts belief that design must reflect the properties of materials and manufacture processes.<sup>456</sup> Newbery instigated a local competition for fully developed textile designs on point paper rather than preparatory sketches. Visits to art-workshops and mills were encouraged, and the programme of study included briefs for realistic scenarios, such as a design for a “Carpet, Filling and Border - 2 colours.”<sup>457</sup> As the Design and Decorative Art curriculum developed in the 1910s, the course prospectus made more mention of technical affordances, noting the, “limitations and

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<sup>453</sup> Beaumont and Beaumont, *Carpets and Rugs*.

<sup>454</sup> “Ideals in Textile Study,” USASC, GB 249 OG/2/2 “Minute books of the Trustees.”

<sup>455</sup> Roberts Beaumont, “A Royal Commission On German Competition,” *The Times*, October 16, 1896.

<sup>456</sup> Rawson, “Francis Henry Newbery and the Glasgow School of Art,” 120.

<sup>457</sup> Glasgow School of Art Prospectus 1906-1907, GSAAC, GB 1694 GSAA/REG/1/1 “Glasgow School of Art prospectuses, 1893-1914.”

possibilities in the adaptation of design to the various applied Arts.”<sup>458</sup> However, pattern design was separated from technical weaving tuition to a greater degree than before. On the one hand, this coordinated textile training across Glasgow and provided consistent tuition to students working in the local calico, carpet, and fancy goods trades. On the other hand, it reinforced institutional domains that divided the cultural and technical knowledge that carpet designers needed for successful pattern design. This arrangement remained in place until the 1930s when the School of Art curricula moved to reflect a greater interest in industrial design.

Under the leadership of Robert Anning Bell, from 1918 to 1933, the School of Design at Glasgow School of Art took a further move to increase its relevance for local industry. Woven and printed textile design was added to needlework in the Diploma course in Design and Decorative Art. This ran concurrently with the more detailed course at the Weaving College (by then called the Royal Technical College). The pedagogic methods demonstrated a greater interest in production technique than previously, combining:

the study of plants, woven and printed fabrics, historic styles, etc. The preparing of colours, brushwork, the use of implements and papers, and everything pertaining to the practical training of the student.<sup>459</sup>

The course was for students, “intending to specialise in designing for calico printing, wallpapers, and also for muslins, damasks, silks, tapestries, carpets etc.”<sup>460</sup> These specialisms each required an understanding of the geometric construction of pattern repeats and the stylisation of natural forms. The course did not encroach on the details of loom operation and weave construction supplied by the Weaving College but did contribute to integrating technical matters appropriate to the textile printing and weaving industries in Glasgow.

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<sup>458</sup> Glasgow School of Art Prospectus 1910-1911, GSAAC, GB 1694 GSAA/REG/1/1 “Glasgow School of Art prospectuses, 1893-1914.”

<sup>459</sup> Glasgow School of Art Prospectus 1919-1920, GSAAC, GB 1694 GSAA/REG/1/2 “Glasgow School of Art prospectuses, 1914-1934.” I am grateful to Dr Helena Britt for giving access to images of these records while the archives were closed by COVID-19 restrictions.

<sup>460</sup> Glasgow School of Art Prospectus 1925-1926, GSAAC, GB 1694 GSAA/REG/1/2 “Glasgow School of Art prospectuses, 1914-1934.”

The shift in Glasgow School of Art's syllabus was contrasted to the continuity of the course for technical design at the Weaving College. The college calendars show that from 1910, day classes were more comprehensive and equipped with more looms and machinery, but that the pedagogic approach and course content were stable, reflecting continuity in weaving technologies. Design tuition encompassed weave construction, jacquard figuring, and patterning with supplementary threads. The preparation of design sketches for production using point paper was taught for a range of specific woven structures, including compound cloths and gauze weaves.<sup>461</sup>

Knowledge of textile design tuition at the Weaving College expands on Glasgow School of Art's deserved reputation as a leader in the decorative arts at the start of the twentieth century. Many of the pedagogical techniques at the School of Art's Design and Decorative Art course were also available to trainee textile designers at the Weaving College. The School of Art widened and deepened this tuition, not least by aligning it with techniques associated with the fine arts such as drawing from the life model. Concerning carpet design, the assurance that the "limitations and possibilities" of media were taught did not negate the institutional division of technical and artistic knowledge. Although Newbery made commitments to technical training, separating the knowledge of decorative design from the specific affordances of carpet weaving technologies was an artificial division that did not reflect professional carpet designers' practice.

#### **4.3.5 Manufacturer's complaints about the provision of technical knowledge of carpet weaving.**

Drawing for industrial production was a source of dispute between manufacturers and educators. When John Stewart Templeton arranged that the firm should take on the School of Art's short-lived East End branch in 1888, it was because he thought it did not teach drawing, "in a way conducive to the purposes of manufacture." Carpet design required more of a "broad firm touch," he stated, than was associated with formal drawing tuition in the South

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<sup>461</sup> USASC, GB 249 E/10/1/37 "Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College/Royal Technical College Calendar, 1925-1926."

Kensington system.<sup>462</sup> As early as the 1890s, Templeton designer Frederick Mayers had formed the opinion that designers had to solve challenging problems when making patterns for carpets and that, “art training alone is of very little help in this. The designers need to be brought into very much closer touch with the manufacturer.”<sup>463</sup> His views agree with those of his senior colleague Alexander Millar. Both before and after the reorganisation of the School’s departments, Millar argued that the lack of contact between manufacturers and schools meant that students were ill-equipped for the technicality of designing for carpet weaving.

Millar’s contributions to the debate about designer training and the Schools of Art were outspoken and, on one occasion, denounced by Lewis F. Day as “the bitter cry of the manufacturer.”<sup>464</sup> In 1893, Millar rebuked Sir Philip Cunliffe-Owen, the Director of the South Kensington Museum, for suggesting the quality of carpet design would be improved by giving greater freedom to young graduates, writing:

First, experience tells me that it is utter waste of time for anyone who has not had a thorough technical training to do work which shall be practically useful, [...] as a matter of fact, commissions are not unfrequently given to promising young designers, the results of which are paid for and then put in the fire.<sup>465</sup>

Millar found fault with students’ designs concerning how they would appear on the floor (for example, arrangements of motifs which resolved into unsightly stripes when repeated and foreshortened) and how the patterns accommodated weave construction. Specifically, he complained that their designs had too much fine detail for the density of tufting in standard carpet products and that they had an overreliance on line rather than mass.<sup>466</sup> Despite changes to School of Art curricula, Millar denied that the turn toward decorative arts had increased the supply of trained designers to manufacturers, citing, “the lack of co-operation

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<sup>462</sup> Rawson, “Francis Henry Newbery and the Glasgow School of Art,” 95, 119.

<sup>463</sup> “The Carpet Designs of F.J. Mayers,” 97.

<sup>464</sup> Alexander Millar, “Design in Modern Carpets,” *Journal of the Society of Arts* 42 (November 17, 1893): 447.

<sup>465</sup> Millar, 440.

<sup>466</sup> White et al., *Practical Designing: A Handbook on the Preparation of Working Drawings*, 23–30.

with practical men in the work of the students' designing," and, "the tendency towards training of craftsmen, with a corresponding discouragement of mere designers."<sup>467</sup> Millar's use of the term "craftsmen" explicitly attacked the Arts and Crafts ethos supported by Lewis F. Day and Francis Newbery. Although artisans' training encouraged intimate knowledge of technique, Millar argued that the valorisation of direct hand-production by the designer-maker devalued the work of "mere designers." The knowledge of technique required by "practical men," he believed, was overlooked in the disconnection between art training and factory production.

Points of contact have already been mentioned. The reciprocal courses between the School of Art and Weaving College, and Templeton's involvement with management committees are evidence of interaction between the manufacturer and the School. Although Templeton was involved at a civic level, there is less evidence of the contact of the sort which would have satisfied Millar's complaint. The institutional division of the history of ornament from the technique of industrial weaving exacerbated this, even as the School entered a heyday of design and applied art.

The turn towards industrial design at Glasgow School of Art in the 1920s and 1930s did not silence the manufacturer's complaints about student's work. In the annual competitions run by the Royal Society of Arts, it was not unusual for the judges of the carpet categories to withhold the full amount of the available prizes based on the entrants' poor technical knowledge of weaving. In 1929, judges from major English carpet firms commented that the small number of entries were unsatisfactory:

[...] presumably because some acquaintance with the technique of carpet-weaving by machinery was involved. The designs submitted were disappointing as a whole. Even among so few there were several which would not be easily adaptable to the requirements of the loom.<sup>468</sup>

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<sup>467</sup> Alexander Millar, "Schools of Art Teaching," *British Architect*, 1874-1919, August 8, 1913, 91.

<sup>468</sup> "Report on the Competition of Industrial Designs, 1929," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 77, no. 4015 (August 5, 1929): 1168.

The organising committee acknowledged that “more attention should be paid in the Schools of Art to the technical side of design...” but hoped, “to effect a gradual improvement in this direction.”<sup>469</sup> The manufacturer’s comments were irascible and defensive of their position in the contemporary debate on the improvement of national design. However, they do reveal a producer’s point of view. For carpet manufacturer’s, including James Templeton and Company, pattern designs were always made in relationship to the affordances of loom technology, rather than being a discreet aesthetic creation with which to ornament a surface. This is particularly true of woven textiles, in which the pattern and structure of the cloth are woven simultaneously.

Mayers’ dissatisfaction with art tuition was equalled by his conviction that the best training for carpet designers was practical experience in a manufacturer’s design department. He continued this advocacy when he published his authoritative text, *Carpet Designs and Designing*, in 1935. His views became increasingly coloured by grievances about the tone of the debates around “Art in Industry” and Modernist design more generally, in which he felt critics assumed the superiority of the Schools of Art and disparaged manufacturers.<sup>470</sup>

Mayers introduced his defence of factory training as a reply to a discussion with architect Serge Chermayeff and the artist and designer Paul Nash. Both Chermayeff and Nash strongly encouraged manufacturers to engage with Modernist architects and artists to reinvigorate design. The discourses of Art in Industry and “good design” which developed in Britain over the 1920s and 1930s combined concern about the competitiveness of British exports of decorative arts with a modernist interest in reforming social values through people’s everyday interaction with industrial design. The connection that was made between aesthetic and social improvements is characterised by the question asked by designer and critic Gordon Russell in 1935, “Is it too much to hope that in learning to design our cups and gas fires, our chairs and lamp posts we may in the end learn to design our lives?”<sup>471</sup> Nash taught at the Design School of the

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<sup>469</sup> “Report on the Competition of Industrial Designs, 1929,” 1153.

<sup>470</sup> Mayers, *Carpet Designs and Designing*, 132–33.

<sup>471</sup> Gordon Russell, “Hand or Machine? The Craftsman in Modern Industry,” in *The Conquest of Ugliness*, ed. Jean de la Valette (London: Methuen, 1935), 51. Quoted in: Stephen Hayward,



Royal College of Art, and his influence extended when he became president of the Society of Industrial Artists and a member of the Council for Art and Industry.<sup>472</sup> Although Chermayeff and Nash promoted the integration of progressive Modernist aesthetics with British industrial production, there was a disjuncture between principle and practice. Notably, their own carpet designs were made not for mechanised weaving but the hand-knotting workshops of the Wilton Royal Carpet Factory Ltd. and Edinburgh Weavers, respectively.<sup>473</sup>

Designers and critics such as Nash sought to improve manufacturing through the influence of painterly abstraction and Modernist architectural principles. Mayers' anti-Modernist view, by contrast, rejected these for not respecting the commercial need to supply popular taste. He stated:

The inside man has the greater advantages and is generally more advanced, not only technically, but artistically also, in all that concerns his own industry, at any rate, than the outside man can be.<sup>474</sup>

For him, the strength of factory training was its balance of technical and artistic experience, including familiarity with historicist styles. The distinction between in-house or external design training fed into the debate about instrumental and populist approaches to design. Whether manufacturers had a responsibility to lead consumers towards choices that complied with the “good design” ethos of functionalism or respond to public tastes, no matter how unreformed. Mayers' preference for in-house training positioned the manufacturer as a defender of design tradition and technical expertise. It is emblematic of the broader carpet industry's suspicion of Modernist design reform. By insisting on the unity of these fields of knowledge in the design department, Mayers and his colleagues

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“‘Good Design Is Largely a Matter of Common Sense’: Questioning the Meaning and Ownership of a Twentieth-Century Orthodoxy,” *Journal of Design History* 11, no. 3 (1998): 223.

<sup>472</sup> Buckley, *Designing Modern Britain.*, 92–95.

<sup>473</sup> Examples of both are held by the Victorian and Albert Museum, London. For Paul Nash carpet design, see: Lesley Jackson, *Alastair Morton and Edinburgh Weavers: Visionary Textiles and Modern Art* (London: VA Publ., 2012), 58.

For Serge Chermayeff carpet design, see: Day, *Art Deco and Modernist Carpets*, 157.

<sup>474</sup> Mayers, *Carpet Designs and Designing*, 134.

countered the institutional distinctions that shaped design training in formal education.

The relationship between the School of Art and the Weaving College involved both collaboration and competition, affecting the access that student textile designers had to technical and artistic training. Rawson suggests the reasons that Glasgow School of Art provided a theoretical rather than technical education for woven textile design were the division of territory with the Technical College and limited money and space for studios at the School of Art. “In any case,” he writes, “textile design students would have been encouraged to learn about processes in their daily work.”<sup>475</sup> If trainee designers were gaining knowledge of textile technicality during their employment, it underlines how vital that was for their work. It would make it more, rather than less, important that the knowledge of weave structure was integrated with their artistic training. In the face of the changing pedagogic priorities, the manufacturer’s design department kept its position as a provider of practical training for designers. As Rawson implies, it was where trainee designers were most exposed to the technical requirements of their work.

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<sup>475</sup> Rawson, “Francis Henry Newbery and the Glasgow School of Art,” 119.

#### 4.3.6 Practical learning in Templeton's design department.



**Figure 4.11** Photograph of Templeton design department c.1900. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/16/2/4/31 “Carpet Making Processes.”

The industrial historian Melvyn Thompson describes carpet design studios as having been, “quiet, creative areas generally situated on the top floor where good natural light was plentiful.”<sup>476</sup> Images of Templeton’s design department uphold this description. Figure 4.11 shows the main design room in the early 1900s. At least thirty design staff are shown working on sketches and design papers with brushes and paint held in small ceramic dishes. Their desks are arranged towards ample natural light and below gas jet lighting. Rather than a formal apprenticeship system, trainee carpet designers received “on the job” training in the company’s design department by working through design activities of increasing complexity.<sup>477</sup> The hierarchical arrangement of the

<sup>476</sup> Thompson, *Woven in Kidderminster: An Illustrated History of the Carpet Industry in the Kidderminster Area Including Stourport, Bridgnorth and Bewdley: 1735-2000*, 85.

<sup>477</sup> In contrast, a period of formal apprenticeship was completed by Templeton’s electricians, mechanics, engineers, builders, joiners and other trades that were subject to trade union organisation. Some details are preserved in University of Glasgow Archives and Special Collections, Stoddard Templeton Collection, GB 248 STOD/201/2/11/4/5 “Tradesmen.”

department structured a trainee's progression through levels of skill and responsibility, from preparing drawing materials, making copies of existing patterns, draughting and colouring on point paper, to originating new designs.

The Templeton design department gave trainees access to examples of carpet pattern to an even greater extent than the local educational institutions. Frederick Mayers praised the training opportunities provided by manufacturers' design departments, writing:<sup>478</sup>

No school of art in the world provides for its students anything approaching the facilities for specialised study of design that are obtainable in the studios of the more progressive manufacturing firms.<sup>479</sup>

He stated that their up-to-date libraries, collections of antique rugs and textiles, and stores of original design work purchased from leading designers exceeded those that could be supplied by schools or museums, concluding, "These stores of materials for study, are not for merely occasional reference, but are in such constant use that they become 'absorbed.'"<sup>480</sup> The photograph of Templeton's design room in the 1900s (Figure 4.11), shows an example of the department's reference materials in the rug that is shown hanging over the edge of the desk. The rug's design includes wide borders of conventional motifs and a rounded niche. As the 1903 exhibition at the Weaving College demonstrates, Templeton owned scores of prayer rugs and carpets of Islamic design at this time.<sup>481</sup> They were occasionally reproduced as direct replicas but were often used as sources for motifs for adaptation into new designs in European layouts.<sup>482</sup> A point paper drawing to the right of the rug, possibly including motifs from its pattern, is for a narrow width bordered carpet like those made for staircases and landings.

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<sup>478</sup> Mayers, *Carpet Designs and Designing*, 132–37.

<sup>479</sup> Mayers, 134.

<sup>480</sup> Mayers, 134.

<sup>481</sup> See UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/6/1 "Carpets and Rugs Bought."

<sup>482</sup> A rare example of direct replication of a Ghiordes prayer rug is illustrated in: Jonathan Cleaver, "Carpets Loaned: The Role of Borrowed Oriental Carpets in the Design Processes of Templeton & Co., Carpet Manufacturer, 1902-1915." (Unpublished MLitt dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2015), 62–63.

Learning about carpet patterning primarily in the form of point-paper drawings ensured that the designer's training was as thoroughly embedded in the technical features of the weave-construction as it was in the aesthetic content of the carpet's decorative surface. The point paper's grid was a technology that encoded the opportunities and constraints of loom mechanism and weave structures and extended them from the factory floor into the design room. Working on point paper meant graphically negotiating weave affordances to make pattern design compliant with the demands of the loom. The photographs from 1929 in Figure 4.12 show members of Templeton's design staff who made copies of design papers. Multiple copies were needed to be shared with the weaving departments and replace those that became worn in use. Technical knowledge was not only required by those originating designs but also those who had to reproduce patterns accurately and efficiently. Their work was another aspect of copying inherent to carpet production, ensuring that pattern was communicated between works on paper and the arrangement of yarn on the loom. It required great accuracy and skill to avoid errors in reproduction. The process of making point paper drawings reinforces the fact that design processes were distributed across a group of participants rather than centralized in a single author.



**Figure 4.12** “In a Famous Glasgow Carpet Factory,” *Daily Sketch*, 28 February, 1929. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD /201/2/15/5/3 “Carpet Manufacture – the process, the industry and Templetons.”

Mayers' description of the substantial resources which became "absorbed" into designers' knowledge of historic and contemporary pattern is a fair representation of Templeton's huge collection of carpets, textiles, books, and sketches. Templeton amassed significant quantities of each of these as a working resource for its designers. A Templeton employee, Jenny Muir, recalled the collection as "intimidating in sheer volume," and indicated that the books, sketches, carpets, and textile samples which are now part of the company archives are a fraction of those that were held at the highpoint of the firm's prosperity. As it was a working collection rather than an archive or museum collection, Templeton sold, destroyed, or disposed of hundreds of items for practical reasons. Muir recalled the vital role that the company design library had in giving designers access to current developments in style, explaining, "In the 30's and 40's only the Chief Designer was able to travel; and the designers used these books as their only contact with outside influence."<sup>483</sup> Learning from examples in the form of drawings, publications, and textiles was a feature of the designers work which continued throughout the history of the company.

The continuity in Templeton's design practice, despite changes to the visual styles of patterns produced, is conveyed by comparison of photographs of the Templeton design department in the 1900s (Figure 4.11) and the 1950s (Figure 4.13). At the left side of the photograph of the Templeton design room in the 1900s (Figure 4.11), an older designer and boy look down at the design paper for an ornate, French-style pattern, which they have placed on the floor between them. This technique is mentioned in instructional texts as a necessary step to assess how a pattern will look at the angle and distance from which it will be seen in use.<sup>484</sup> It allowed the designer to assess the appropriate level of detail in the pattern, test qualities of colour, such as simultaneous contrast, and predict the effect of seeing the pattern repeated and foreshortened. Although we cannot be sure of either the older or younger man's roles in the image, we can surmise an environment in which younger staff members observed and learnt from the techniques of experienced colleagues.

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<sup>483</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/9/1 "Report on the Library."

<sup>484</sup> White et al., *Practical Designing: A Handbook on the Preparation of Working Drawings*, 3–4.



Figure 4.13 UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/16/2/4/68 “Carpet Making Processes.”

The image of the design room in the 1950s shows John Eadie, a senior designer, in discussion with his younger colleague, Gavin Hamilton. (Figure 4.13) Both of these designers had significant careers at Templeton. Eadie joined Templeton in 1882 and designed carpets for over seventy years. Eadie attended Sadler’s drawing classes at the Weaving College and won a college prize for a carpet design in 1903. This caused controversy among the trustees as he was already working as a professional designer for Templeton.<sup>485</sup> The knowledge and experience he amassed over his extraordinary career were noted as being invaluable to the department’s continuity.<sup>486</sup> Hamilton worked for Templeton from 1940 to 1980 in both their Glasgow and London offices and achieved the title of Head Designer.<sup>487</sup> Remarkably, only six people held the role of Head Designer during Templeton’s 140 years as an independent company. Just two of these occupied the post during the period covered by this study: William

<sup>485</sup> Minute dated 24th April 1903. USASC, GB 249 OG/2/1 “Minute books of the Trustees.”

<sup>486</sup> “Seventy Years’ Service,” *The Templetonian*, Vol. IV No. 53, July 1952, 4-5.

<sup>487</sup> After World War II, he attended Glasgow School of Art and was awarded a travel bursary to study, “current art and design trends in other countries at first hand.” “Industrial Art Bursaries,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 115, no. 5129 (October 22, 1967): 320–31.

McFadyen until 1918 and James Kincaid from 1918 to 1939.<sup>488</sup> As well as holding knowledge of design and the history of the company the Head Designer was a point of communication between design staff, departmental managers, marketing, and production staff. As such, they embodied the combination of aesthetic and technical knowledge needed for effective carpet design.

Eadie and Hamilton are shown discussing a sketch for a carpet, using a set of angled mirrors to gauge the effect of reflected symmetry. The ceramic paint dishes, brush jars, and design papers seen in the background are a direct link to the image of the design studio at the turn of the century, showing that the methods and materials of carpet design remained consistent in the intervening decades. Although this exchange between the designers was posed for the camera, it communicates a continuity of skill in the design department between long-serving staff members. Training in the company design department involved learning from practical experience, by copying and adapting examples of pattern, and from the experience of senior colleagues. In each of these processes, pattern design was embedded in the technical affordances of production.

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<sup>488</sup> Templeton's Head Designers were: John Lawson followed by Victor Gueritte in the late 1850s and 1860s; William McFadyen, until 1918; James Kincaid, 1918-1939; Hugh McKenna, 1939-1972; and Gavin Hamilton, 1972-1980.

Young, *A Century of Carpet Making, 1839-1939.*, 41. "Retirals, Mr James Kincaid," *The Templetonian*, Vol.3 No.38 (Dec 1939), 3. "Prominent Templetonians, Hugh McKenna," *The Templetonian*, Vol.4 No.56 (Dec 1953), 4. Kenny Smith, "Tributes Paid to Carpet Designer Gavin," *The Daily Record*, August 7, 2014.



## 4.4 The integration of aesthetic and technical knowledge in a carpet designer's notebook.

The combination of aesthetic and medium-specific technical knowledge required by carpet designs is illustrated in a notebook, dated 1910, preserved in the Templeton archives.<sup>489</sup> The notebook provides a rare insight into the working process of an unnamed Templeton designer. Figure 4.14 shows typical pages in which the designer has annotated small photographs of carpet patterns from a Canadian manufacturer: the Toronto Carpet Mfg. Co. Ltd. Notes about design style are augmented by details of the pitch and gauge of standard qualities. As the patterns are from rival firms, the notebook highlights the overlapping activities of design inspiration, adaptation, interpretation, copying, and intellectual property theft that were habitual practices in the carpet industry.



Figure 4.14 UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/4 “Designer's Job Book.”

<sup>489</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/4 “Designer's Job Book.”

An annotated photograph on one page of the notebook shows the designer's technical analysis of a Chenille Axminster seamless square by the Kidderminster firm, Jelleyman and Sons Ltd. (Figure 4.15) The page shows a photograph of a design for a medallion carpet square in a Rococo style. A Templeton designer has annotated the photograph to delineate sections of the design, marking them with a dotted line in green ink, and labelling them A to F. Figure 4.16 is a transcription of this part of the image to clarify the way the Templeton designer has divided up the design into sections.

The Templeton designer has written further notes, on the left side of the page, to link different combinations of lettered sections to different lengths of carpet square. These vary from 10 ft 6 in to 15 ft. To visualise what these combinations would look like, digital composite images have been made of the design and are presented in Figure 4.17. What is surprising is that the pattern of scrolls and roses is still coherent and unbroken when combined in these different arrangements. This would be easy to do with a repeating pattern but it is remarkable that this has been achieved in a pattern that has no regular repeat.

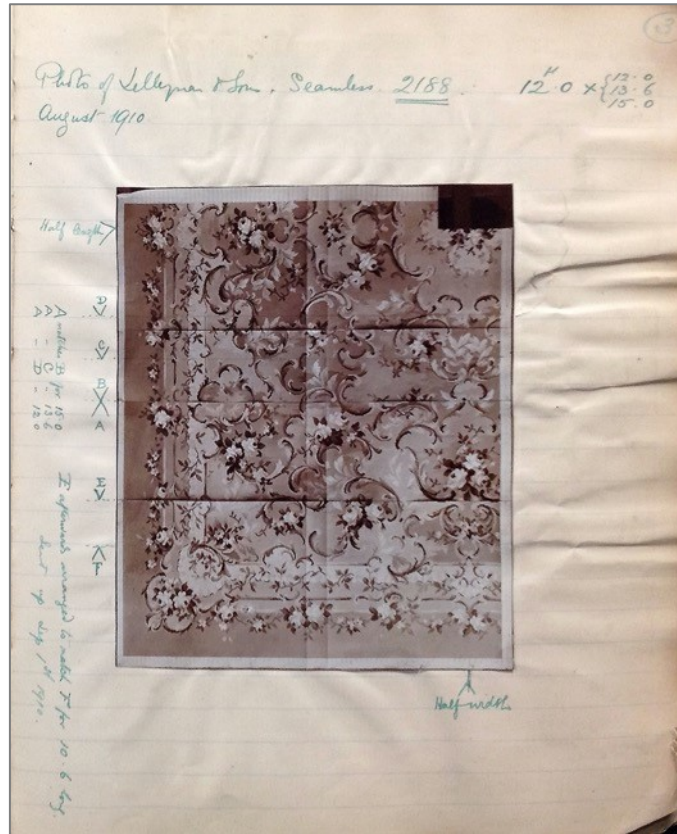


Figure 4.15 A page of a Templeton designer's notebook in which the designer has annotated an photograph of a carpet design, dated August 1910. UGSTC, GB248 STOD/201/1/8/4 "Designer's Job Book."

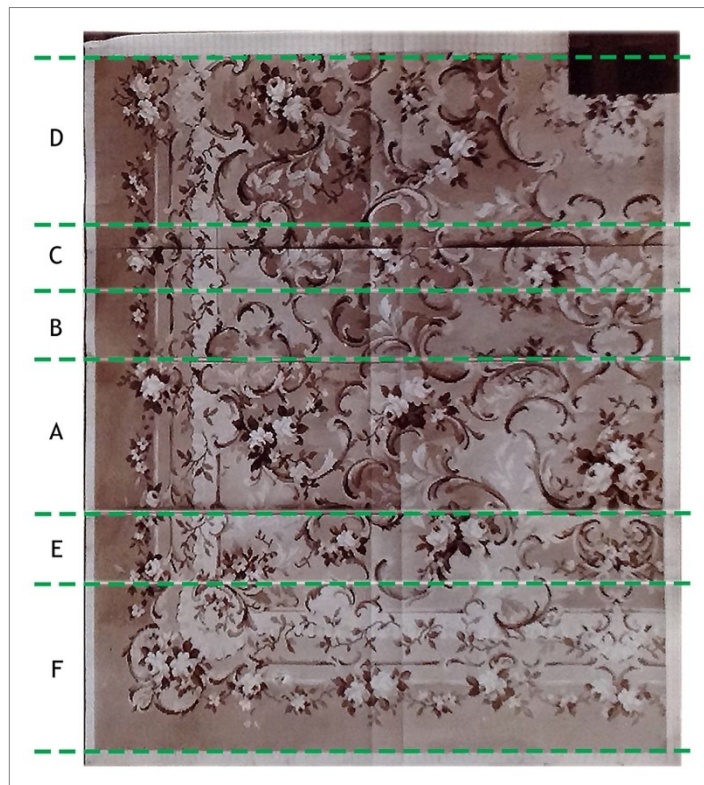


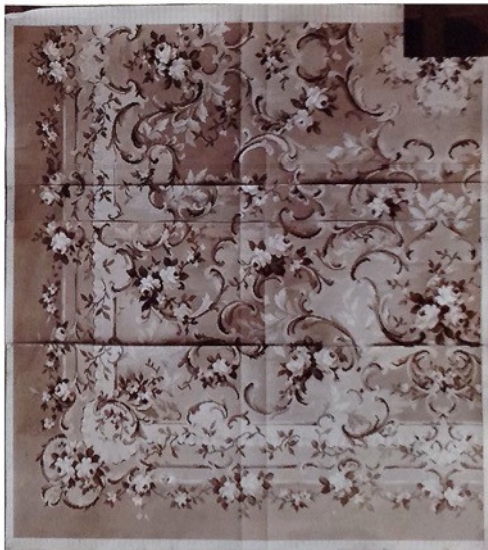
Figure 4.16 A detail of the carpet design from Figure 4.16 showing how a Templeton designer has marked sections of the design and labelled them A to F.



Sections F, A, and D of the pattern make a design 10ft 6in long.



Sections F, E, A, and D of the pattern make a design 12ft long.



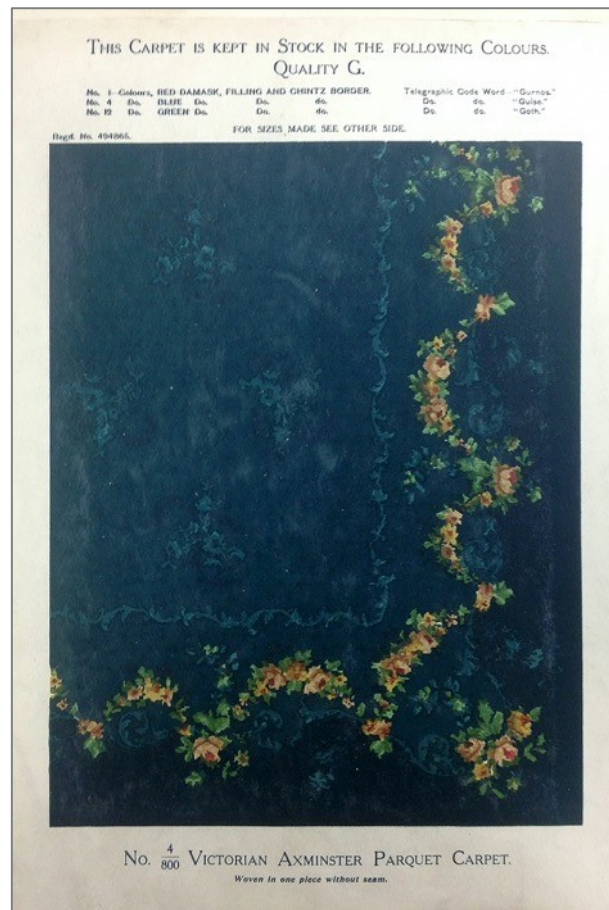
Sections F, E, A, C, and D of the pattern make a design 13ft 6in long.



Sections F, E, A, B, C, and D of the pattern make a design 15ft long.

**Figure 4.17** Digital composite images of the sections of the carpet design shown in Figure 4.16, which have been rearranged following the annotated instructions in the Templeton designer's notebook to produce carpet designs of four different lengths from one pattern.

Medallion layouts had an additional production constraint compared to regularly repeating patterns because their only lines of symmetry were where the design was mirrored at the centre axes. This meant that the pattern could not be extended easily to create a range of sizes. The pattern had to be redrawn to weave other sizes, making it less efficient to produce. However, the designer's annotations on the medallion pattern in the notebook show that it has a more ingenious construction that has required both aesthetic and technical knowledge. Historicist French styles were frequently reworked in the 1910s, for example the Rococo design in Figure 4.18, and a knowledge of period motif and arrangement was an essential part of carpet designer's knowledge.<sup>490</sup>



**Figure 4.18 Lithograph of Templeton Victorian Axminster Parquet Carpet No. 4/800, UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1 "Templeton Designs."**

Despite none of the subsections of the design in the notebook having a conventional repeat, they combine without noticeable disruption to the pattern

<sup>490</sup> Mayers, *Carpet Designs and Designing*, 91–97.

For further examples of Templeton carpets in French styles from the 1910s, see Appendix A.

of Rococo scrollwork. The different pattern sections could be made as separate pieces of chenille fur and inserted during the weaving process in the combinations indicated above. This allowed four lengths of medallion square to be woven without the added costs of extra design work and fur-weaving. To achieve this complex technique, the designers' skilful work was matched by the skill of the weavers, who had to correctly align the lengths of patterned chenille fur. When used in combination with the practice of storing chenille fur "in preparation," as described in Chapter 3.2 this design technique allowed more flexible and efficient weaving. Therefore, the designer's knowledge of the technological affordances of Chenille Axminster weaving - that is, how the features of the weave structure combined with the need for flexible, efficient production to shape the carpet designer's practice - was essential to using the design technique that is shown in the notebook.

Similar techniques for combining pattern sections are described in instructional texts by Lewis F. Day in 1903 and Frederick Mayers in 1934.<sup>491</sup> However, the only reference to related techniques in the secondary literature is art historian Richard Mills' analysis of the Dutch designer, T. A. C. Colenbrander's *Art Nouveau carpet designs*.<sup>492</sup> Colenbrander's highly unusual method used subsidiary axes of symmetry to generate designs in variable dimensions. Mills presents the technique as evidence of the designer's exceptional invention. In contrast, the unnamed Templeton designer's notebook suggests that the closely related design technique was common practice. Closer examination of the Templeton Rococo design in Figure 4.18 shows that it has sections of pattern which could be removed or repeated, recombining the floral swags to change the length of the design. The complexity of constructing these Chenille Axminster patterns should not be underestimated. It needed a thorough understanding of French historical styles and the capability to marry design technique to the features of weave-construction. This technical knowledge was specific to particular carpet weave structures and went beyond the training supplied outside of the factory environment. In the example of the Rococo medallion pattern analysis, the

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<sup>491</sup> Day, *Pattern Design*; Mayers, *Carpet Designs and Designing*.

<sup>492</sup> Mills, "Axes of Construction: An Analysis of Dutch Art Nouveau Carpet Designs by T. A. C. Colenbrander."

designer synthesised their understanding of the history of ornament with technical knowledge of carpet weaving.

In 1919, the manufacturer R. S. Brinton wrote that the recent production of “pure and true” interpretations of French period styles was a credit to designers’ skill:

This involved knowledge and study, and tended to restore the designer and colourist to his proper position as a creative artist from that of a mere copyist, to which he had been in some danger of sinking.<sup>493</sup>

The manufacturer’s attitude towards creative originality that Judy Attfield identified in her 2000 study of the reproduction furniture industry in the early-twentieth century is also recognisable in Brinton’s comment.<sup>494</sup> That is, the originality of a design was conceived of as its fidelity to traditional forms rather than its innovativeness. Brinton imagines artistic creativity to be the ability to synthesise and interpret period styles practically and sensitively, rather than making new forms. His thoughts about the other aspect of imitation suggested by the notebook - copying competitor’s designs - are less clear.

This type of pattern illustrates a complex authorship which has become familiar throughout this chapter: a historical model adapted by one set of company designers and then potentially readapted by another. Dispersed authorship was representative of the carpet industry but has been poorly reflected in scholarship that focusses on authorial identity. In contrast, the interest in design technique and process foregrounded by this study has returned the carpet designer’s work to discussion.

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<sup>493</sup> Brinton, *Carpets*, 102.

<sup>494</sup> Attfield, “Continuity: Authenticity and the Paradoxical Nature of Reproduction.”

## 4.5 Conclusion.

Carpet designers mediated between the technical requirements of weaving and the aesthetic content of carpet patterns. Their design practice points to the seamlessness of these influences rather than supporting the idea that they are separable or opposed. The first section of this chapter examined problems with the continued use of a designer's identity as a framework for researching mass-produced domestic goods. Tracing Templeton's Voysey-style designs using the company archives and the Board of Trade Registers of Design gave an alternative reading of what would usually be seen as an addition to the canon of Voysey's work. Instead, it highlighted the work of little-known design staff and their professional skill, flexibly absorbing and adapting visual culture for industrial production. The specific conditions of the carpet industry produced a culture of pattern design in which adaptation, revival, and copying were expected, and respected, modes of work.

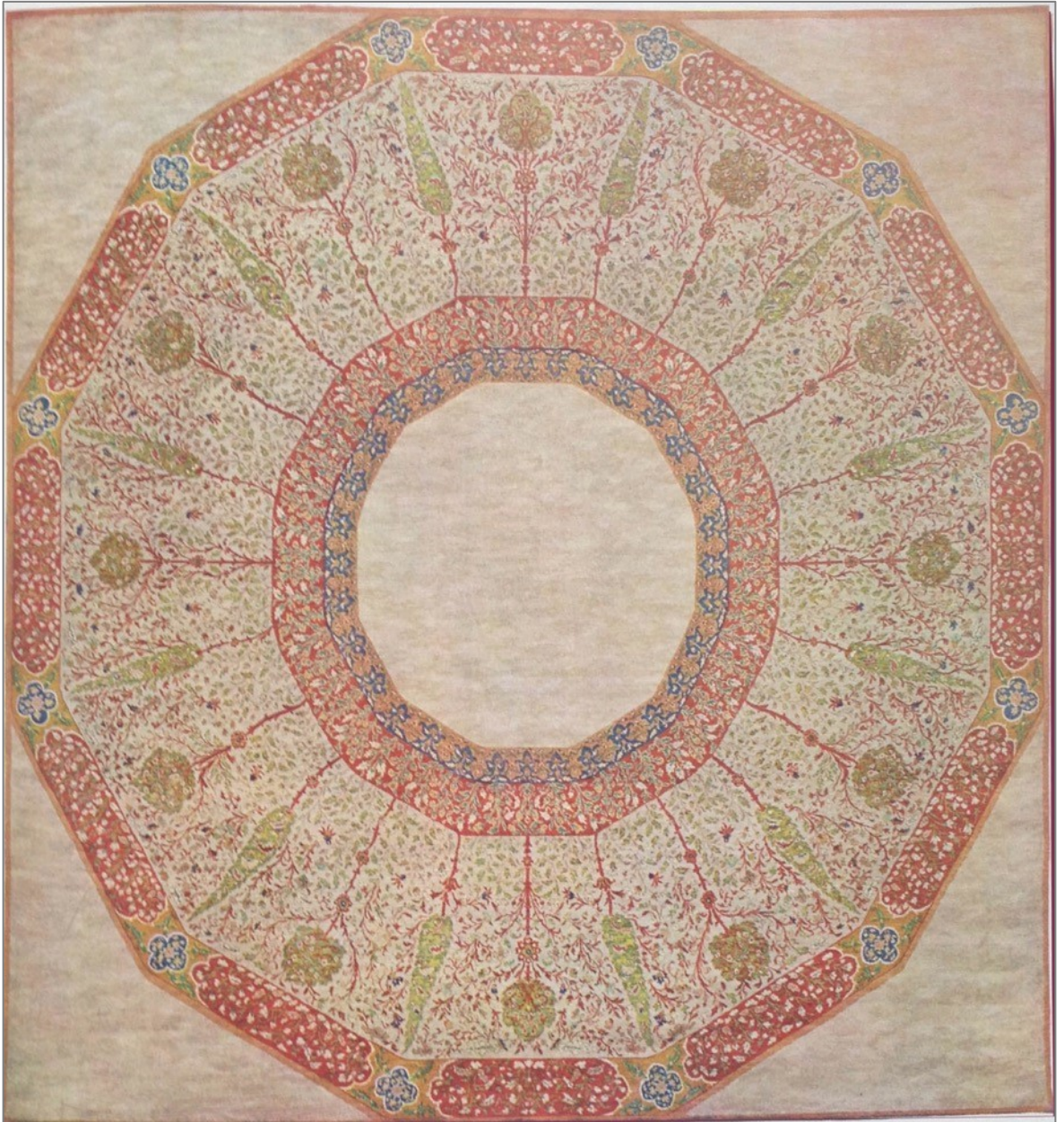
The second part of the chapter proposed a better approach to the work done by carpet designers at Templeton by focussing on the part their work played in the sociotechnical system of carpet production. This positions Templeton's carpet designers as people who worked between the technical affordances of weave-structure and pattern design. How designers acquired these skills was pursued by examining artistic and technical training for carpet designers in Glasgow School of Art, the Weaving College, and Templeton's design department. This section extended existing scholarship on design pedagogy in the Schools of Art, by presenting fresh archival research into designer training at the Weaving College, and Templeton's involvement with both institutions. To differing degrees, these educational institutions recognised the need for both aesthetic and technical training, in line with their remit to instrumentally improve the standard of British design. Theoretical and practical teaching was augmented by direct access to examples of historical and contemporary ornament. However, this chapter has argued that institutional divisions perpetuated the separation of technical and artistic knowledge into the interwar period in a way that did not satisfy manufacturers' demands. The discussion of design pedagogy at the Weaving College, and Templeton's involvement in the institution, has given context to the current understanding of Glasgow School of Art as a training environment for textile designers.



Carpet designers integrated cultural knowledge of pattern and ornament, and technical understanding of weave construction, to a greater degree in their experience in Templeton's design department. The seamlessness of these fields of knowledge was illustrated by an examination of a designers' notebook. Carpet designers used their knowledge of period styles to develop patterns that accommodated the conditions of batch production and the affordances of weave structure.

Recognising carpet design as a point in which cultural and technical knowledges are woven into the seamless web of the sociotechnical system avoids the hierarchical cultural bias present in earlier writing about carpets. Instead, it acknowledges the skilled work of designers, even in situations in which authorship is disputed or dispersed. It applies equally well to a pattern in the style of a named designer as it does to products that are not attributable to a single author. This approach provides the basis for the following chapters, which examine two such examples: Templeton's reproduction oriental carpets and plain-coloured carpets.

**5 “A Triumph for British Weavers:” Templeton’s reproduction oriental carpets and the technical recontextualisation of pattern.**



**Figure 5.1** Templeton version of the Qom carpet design, reproduced in Creassey Edward Cecil Tattersall, *A History of British Carpets: From the Introduction of the Craft until the Present Day*. (Benfleet, Essex: F. Lewis Ltd., 1934), fig. xciii.

## 5.1 Introduction.

Templeton's carpet designs in "oriental" styles occupy all points of the gamut of imitation, from those taking inspiration for motif and colouring to replicas of specific patterns. The products that the company called "faithful reproductions" of oriental carpets belonged to a prestigious subset of these, promoted by Templeton for their apparent verisimilitude to specific antique carpets.<sup>495</sup> The title of this chapter quotes an advertisement for one such reproduction oriental carpet made by Templeton.<sup>496</sup> It prompts a culturally specific analysis of the reproductive capacity provided by industrial carpet manufacture and the mechanisms by which the design was recontextualised as a British product. This chapter takes as a case study a carpet made by Templeton, the design of which was adapted from that of a hand-woven, seventeenth-century carpet from the mausoleum of Shah 'Abbas II in the city of Qom, Iran. (Figure 5.1) Research for this study has identified a set of design sketches made by a Templeton designer when he saw the carpet on display at the 1931 International Exhibition of Persian Art at Burlington House, London. Examples of the finished carpet are held by Glasgow Museums and Pollok House, the National Trust for Scotland property in the south of Glasgow. The carpet pattern underwent a complex cultural transformation through technologies of reproduction. I suggest that the original carpets' design and manufacturing process made them specific to the mausoleum of Shah 'Abbas II in both form and socio-religious connotations. The way that they were displayed in the 1931 exhibition, I argue, repositioned them as objects for aesthetic appreciation within European art-historical discourse. This began a process of recontextualisation that enabled Templeton to reinterpret the design as a part of British culture.

The Templeton version of the Qom mausoleum carpet is a concrete example of the interaction of design and manufacturing technique. By focussing on the interrelationship of design content and weaving process, I aim to question the relationship between the source carpet and its machine-made counterpart.

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<sup>495</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/10/1 "Fine Carpets." For examples of reproduction Persian carpets from other manufactures, including a design by the Chlidema Carpet Company Ltd. based on an exhibit from the 1931 International Exhibition of Persian Art, see: Tattersall, *A History of British Carpets: From the Introduction of the Craft until the Present Day*, 1934, figs. xxx–cxii.

<sup>496</sup> "A Triumph for British Weavers," *Country Life (Archive: 1901-2005)* 71, no. 1842 (May 7, 1932).

Although this could be asked of other Templeton reproductions of prestigious antique carpets (most notably of the Ardabil and Trinitarias carpets)<sup>497</sup> what is unusual in the example of the Qom mausoleum carpet is that records have survived, in the form of design sketches, of the initial moment that a Templeton designer began to adapt the hand-knotted carpet into an industrially woven product. This study reassembles a set of objects and events with a focus on materiality and production process to introduce nuance to the existing research by asking: how the hand-made carpet became source material for a factory-made product; how the design was adapted for industrial production; and how the process changed the connotations of the design?

To answer these questions, the first part of the chapter establishes Templeton's involvement with exhibitions of oriental carpets, followed by a discussion of the original carpet's contextual relationship to the sites in which it appeared: the mausoleum of Shah ʿAbbas II in Qom and the 1931 International Exhibition of Persian Art in London. An analysis based on recent critiques of the epistemology of Iranian art, as embodied in cultures of display, identifies how the carpet was culturally recontextualised, making it physically and conceptually accessible for reproduction. The second part of the chapter gathers archival evidence concerning drawing and weaving to understand better the processes by which Templeton produced their version of the carpet. A reading of marketing materials reveals how these processes reinscribed the design's values to reposition it within British culture. These two main sections are preceded by a consideration of literature relevant to this type of carpet.

As discussed in the previous chapters, the existing scholarship on European carpets has tended to reproduce hierarchical bias. Hand-knotting is valued over mechanised weaving and progressive design over what Kjetil Fallan terms

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<sup>497</sup> The Ardabil carpet has provoked a sizable literature, although its life as a source for mechanised reproduction has only recently been addressed, see: Dorothy Armstrong, "Inventing the Ardabil Carpet: A Case Study in the Appropriation and Transformation of a Persian Artifact," *Iran* 58, no. 1 (2018): 110–30, <https://doi.org/10.1080/05786967.2018.1547984>. The Trinitarias carpet was owned by Templeton and gifted to the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne. See: James Templeton & Company and National Gallery of Victoria, *The Trinitarias Carpet: A Sixteenth Century Persian Masterpiece* (Glasgow: James Templeton & Co. Ltd., 1959); Walter B Denny, "The Trinitarias Carpet: Early Masterpiece or Modern Reproduction?," *Art Journal*, 2013, <https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/essay/the-trinitarias-carpet-early-masterpiece-or-modern-reproduction/>.

“traditionalesque” design.<sup>498</sup> Furthermore, interest in artistic originality has left British-made reproductions of oriental carpets under-researched, as the authorship of their design is less attributable. Sherrill discusses the influence of oriental styles on European production, noting they were “never out of favour as symbols of status or statements of taste,”<sup>499</sup> but does not consider the replication of designs as a discreet cultural activity. For the textile historian Angela Volker, even this pays reproductions too much attention, stating in a review of Sherrill’s work, “In my opinion, European replicas of Oriental carpets actually do not fit into the topic of European carpets.”<sup>500</sup> Such strict policing of what is to be considered part of European production refuses to acknowledge that these objects had cultural significance to their makers and users, risking censoring an aspect of cross-cultural influence. Haslam’s study of Art and Crafts carpets includes a detailed discussion of nineteenth-century design reformers advocacy of oriental carpets as models for British design but similarly does not question the practice of producing machine-made versions of hand-knotted designs.<sup>501</sup> In these accounts, mass-produced historicist and reproduction designs form a conformist background against which more progressive designers could react.

Because reproduction designs have had a low status within the literature, little consideration has been given to the specifics of their manufacture. However, the Templeton archives contain volumes of photographs and drawings of oriental carpets that demonstrate that making versions of oriental carpets was an essential strand of design studio practice.<sup>502</sup> Helena Britt has detailed design studio techniques for producing new designs from printed sources, but the method by which reproductions of carpets were made has attracted less

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<sup>498</sup> Fallan, ““One Must Offer “Something for Everyone””: Designing Crockery for Consumer Consent in 1950s’ Norway,” figs. 141–2.

<sup>499</sup> Sherrill, *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and America*, 18.

<sup>500</sup> Angela Volker and Leslie Topp, “Book Review: *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and America*,” *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 5, no. 2 (1998): 121.

<sup>501</sup> Haslam, *Arts & Crafts Carpets*, 10–20.

<sup>502</sup> Jonathan Cleaver, “‘Carpets Loaned:’ The Role of Borrowed Oriental Carpets in the Design Processes of Templeton & Co., Carpet Manufacturer, 1902-1915.” Unpublished MLitt dissertation (University of Glasgow, 2015).

research.<sup>503</sup> Given the prevalence of these designs in company archives, it is surprising that the changes to cultural connotation introduced by a change in manufacturing technique have only recently been investigated. By focussing on the techniques of display and design that enabled the industrial replication of a unique object, this study advances Dorothy Armstrong's examination of how a reproduction Persian carpet, "offers through its proliferation of copies and versions an alternative to western hierarchies of Islamic material culture, through a subversive reality of domestication, intimacy and touch."<sup>504</sup> The hierarchy in question is the ideological valorisation of seventeenth-century Persian court carpets, developed by cultures of collection in Europe and North America in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Both the current chapter and Armstrong's work offer critiques of this orthodox opinion by paying renewed attention to the afterlives of Persian carpets as sources for commercial reproductions. However, this chapter differs from Armstrong in the assessment made of design and production techniques. Whereas Armstrong seeks to deconstruct qualitative difference between hand-knotted carpets and those made on mechanised looms by charting similarities between them, this study pursues how those differences were mediated by design practice and weaving technology when the carpet pattern was adapted between media.<sup>505</sup>

For this study, it is necessary to engage with the technical history of British carpet manufacture and critical literature on the historiography and display of Islamic art in Europe. In addition to the literature on British carpets previously mentioned, technical texts on carpet designing have been consulted.<sup>506</sup> These texts were written for aspiring carpet designers during the period in which the Templeton versions of the Qom carpet were made. They provide an understanding of the weaving process's technical specifications and suggest how a designer approached the task of creating a design and are referred to in the

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<sup>503</sup> Britt, *Interwoven Connections: The Stoddard Templeton Design Studio & Design Library, 1843-2005*.

<sup>504</sup> Armstrong, "Inventing the Ardabil Carpet: A Case Study in the Appropriation and Transformation of a Persian Artifact."

<sup>505</sup> Armstrong, "What Is an 'Oriental' Carpet? Reimagining, Remaking, Repossessing the Patterned Pile Carpets of South, Central and West Asia since 1840," 386–407.

<sup>506</sup> Beaumont and Beaumont, *Carpets and Rugs*; Mayers, *Carpets Designs and Designing*; Alexander Millar, "The Making of Carpets - IV," *Art Journal* (London: Virtue & Co., October 1908).

second half of this study, which concerns design and manufacturing processes at Templeton.

The reproduction of oriental designs is given heightened cultural sensitivity by post-colonial critiques of appropriation and cultural influence. The use of “oriental carpet” in this study refers to the common use of the term among collectors, manufacturers, and consumers in the early-twentieth century. It is used as a historical designation that expediently refers to diverse carpets whose designs originated in Southern, Central and Western Asia, and North Africa.<sup>507</sup> The historical specificity of oriental carpet appreciation in Europe means that the prestigious carpet designs discussed in this chapter are invariably Persian. Moya Carey makes the useful distinction, followed here, between the way that connoisseurs used the terms “Oriental carpet” and “Persian carpet” in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. The first being a “modern commercial category [...] discussed chiefly by those with contemporary concerns about industrial design standards and imbalance in global trade.” The second, “a narrower, more expensive and rarer category, with a higher art value.”<sup>508</sup> The terms “Persia” and “Persian” are used for the country and its cultural products in this chapter to align with the historical accounts of events that occurred before Reza Shah Pahlavi’s formal request in 1935 that established “Iran” as the correct, contemporary designation.

In the decades since Edward Said identified the elision of individual historical and cultural contexts as a colonial discourse that embeds an imbalance of power in constructions of “East” and “West,” scholars have applied post-colonial insight to the production, circulation and study of oriental carpets.<sup>509</sup> Brian Spooner and Patricia Baker have unravelled myths that have structured the European reception of “tribal” rugs, revealing how, “‘traditional’ societies are perceived as intrinsically static, so usefully functioning as bench-marks against

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<sup>507</sup> In this study I follow the designations outlined in: Yuka Kadoi, “Arthur Upham Pope and His ‘Research Methods in Muhammadan Art’: Persian Carpets,” *Journal of Art Historiography* 6, no. 6 (2012): 1–2.

<sup>508</sup> Moya Carey, *Persian Art: Collecting the Arts of Iran for the V&A* (London: V&A Publishing, 2017), 218–19.

<sup>509</sup> Edward W Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

which the progress of the West can be fully appreciated.”<sup>510</sup> Leonard Helfgott has argued the detrimental social and economic effects of the trade of carpets between Iran and Europe.<sup>511</sup> These analyses reveal that the “authenticity” of oriental carpets is an evaluative and taxonomic function of their appreciation in the West, not a quality inherent to the objects. They also productively question the ideological basis of the categories of original and copy, raising concerns that are further complicated by the specific conditions of British-made reproductions of oriental carpets.

Mary Louise Pratt’s notion of the contact zone, “where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power...”<sup>512</sup> presents the idea of an object’s transcultural status being subject to ongoing redefinition. Pratt’s original use of the term described individuals within subordinated groups repurposing and inhabiting imposed cultural forms in ways that subverted power imbalances. Design historians have extended the idea into a broader category of cultural hybridity to encompass what John Potvin has termed, “thinking through the co-minglings, imbrications, overlappings and combinations.”<sup>513</sup> In attempting to go beyond what he calls a “univocal” model of colonial discourse, in which the colonizer is left untouched by the experience, Potvin risks overestimating the reciprocity of influence between cultures in positions of imbalanced power. However, his idea that oriental-style interiors and their constituent objects are “the result of an ongoing, endless series of hybrid becomings,”<sup>514</sup> is useful to this study as it defers concerns over authenticity in favour of what he calls “acts of cultural translation.”<sup>515</sup>

Identifying the 1931 International Exhibition of Persian Art as a “contact zone” draws on a body of critique which has connected exhibitionary techniques in the

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<sup>510</sup> Patricia L Baker, “Twentieth-Century Myth-Making: Persian Tribal Rugs,” *Design History* 19, no. 4 (1997): 372; Spooner, “Weavers and Dealers: The Authenticity of an Oriental Carpet.” The implications of Roland Barthes’ work on an understanding of carpet myth is extended in: Pennina Barnett, “Rugs R Us (and Them): The Oriental Carpet as Sign and Text,” *Third Text* 30, no. Spring (1995), <https://doi.org/10.1080/09528829508576525>.

<sup>511</sup> Leonard Michael Helfgott, *Ties That Bind: A Social History of the Iranian Carpet* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994).

<sup>512</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, “Arts of the Contact Zone,” *Profession*, 1991, 34.

<sup>513</sup> Potvin, *Oriental Interiors: Design, Identity, Space*, 29.

<sup>514</sup> Potvin, 23.

<sup>515</sup> Potvin, 28.



late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries to the epistemological development of Islamic art as an academic discipline and a field of connoisseurship.<sup>516</sup> Barry Wood's analysis of the 1931 exhibition effectively demonstrates the influence of formalist art historical discourse on the display of Persian art in Britain at a formative moment for the discipline. He broadly supports David Roxburgh's argument that a shift occurred from the commercialised "bazaar" like displays of Orientalist's collections to a focus on the presentation of individual objects for aesthetic appreciation. However, Wood's assessment of the exoticism of the exhibition counters the linearity of Roxburgh's account. Eva-Maria Troelenberg develops these arguments by aligning modes of display with the disciplinary boundaries of art history in Western Europe and the contested position of Islamic objects within these negotiations. While these concerns indirectly impact Templeton's design practices, they establish the conceptual framework in which oriental carpets were made available to British manufacturers.

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<sup>516</sup> Linda Komaroff, "Exhibiting the Middle East: Collections and Perceptions of Islamic Art," *Ars Orientalis* 30 (2000): 1–8; David J. Roxburgh, "Au Bonheur Des Amateurs: Collecting and Exhibiting Islamic Art, ca. 1880-1910," *Ars Orientalis* 30 (2000): 9–38, <https://doi.org/10.2307/4434260>; Eva-Maria Troelenberg, "Regarding the Exhibition: The Munich Exhibition 'Masterpieces of Muhammadan Art' (1910) and Its Scholarly Position," *Journal of Art Historiography*, no. 6 (2012): 1–34; Barry D Wood, "'A Great Symphony of Pure Form': The 1931 International Exhibition of Persian Art and Its Influence," *Ars Orientalis* 30 (2000): 113–30.

## 5.2 Templeton's involvement with exhibitions of oriental-style carpets.

In the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, Templeton's work as a commercial manufacturer overlapped with an exhibitionary culture that grew around the collection and trade in carpets from Southern, Central and Western Asia. Displays of carpets, both historic and contemporary, from these areas had become a common attraction in International Exhibitions in Europe and North America, benefitting from a confluence of academic and economic interests. A growing field of scholarship in the 1880s and 1890s developed new analytical taxonomies for antique carpets, led by Wilhelm von Bode, Alois Riegl, and Friedrich Sarre in Germany and Austria, and F.R. Martin and Caspar Purdon Clarke in Britain.<sup>517</sup> A monumental exhibition in Vienna in 1891 was a quintessential expression of this new discipline, connecting a network of elite collectors and objects across Europe.<sup>518</sup> At the same time, the control that British interests in India imposed on carpet production, particularly production in jails, was promoted through culturally prestigious exhibitions and collections in Britain.<sup>519</sup> In Scotland, the orientalist appeal of these displays attracted a mass audience in what Stena Nenadic has called, "a popular preoccupation with imperial triumphalism, exoticism, fantasy and romance."<sup>520</sup> Displays of carpets thus established new fields of knowledge about these objects that contributed to carpets' function as a marker of cultural capital and justified European colonial power over their originating cultures.

Glaswegians cultural encounters with the material culture of India, Persia and other areas of carpet production was deeply enmeshed with the commercial

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<sup>517</sup> Carey, *Persian Art: Collecting the Arts of Iran for the V&A*; Cailah Jackson, "Persian Carpets and the South Kensington Museum: Design, Scholarship and Collecting in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Journal of Design History* 30, no. 3 (September 30, 2016): 265–81, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jdh/epw029>.

<sup>518</sup> Clarke et al., *Oriental Carpets*.

<sup>519</sup> On the colonial context of British design and its impact in Southern Asia, see: Arindam Dutta, "The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of Its Global Reproducibility" (New York: Routledge, 2007); Lara Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture* (Durham, N.C.; London: Duke University Press, 2007); Abigail McGowan, "Convict Carpets: Jails and the Revival of Historic Carpet Design in Colonial India," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 72, no. 02 (2013): 391–416, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021911813000028>.

<sup>520</sup> Stana Nenadic, "Exhibiting India in Nineteenth-Century Scotland and the Impact on Commerce, Industry and Popular Culture," *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 34, no. 1 (2014): 68, <https://doi.org/10.3366/jshs.2014.0098>.

interests of British manufacturers, including Templeton. Glasgow's first major International Exhibition in 1888 included three courts of Indian products, including carpets made by prison labour.<sup>521</sup> Visitors could experience these in a display of immersive scale and take a short walk to Templeton's equally extravagantly proportioned show of their goods. In a display that was reputed to be, "frequently objected to on account of its overgrown proportions," Templeton advertised reproductions of antique carpets alongside goods of contemporary design.<sup>522</sup> As Scotland's largest carpet firm, the scale and confidence of their display intertwined orientalist sensationalism with the commercial benefits that an association with elite antique carpets could bestow on their wares.

Similar display strategies were employed at the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901. Among the stylistic eclecticism of the exhibition ground buildings, Templeton's pavilion was constructed "on the model of an Eastern Mosque," with towers in the style of minarets surrounding a dome with interlaced fretwork.<sup>523</sup> (Figure 5.2) Templeton displayed carpets in a range of contemporary and historicist styles inside this theatrical pavilion, but the centrepiece was their reproduction of the renowned carpet from the mosque at Ardabil.<sup>524</sup> It was reported, "The chief feature about this piece of work is its exceedingly fine texture. It contains 288 tufts of wool to the square inch, and the preliminary process its production [sic] required some three miles of cloth."<sup>525</sup> Note that the promotional information about the carpet adopted a metric that was more usually used in the qualitative evaluation of antique carpets, namely the fineness of the knot-count. Knot-count, or equivalent metrics of pile density, are seldom mentioned for Templeton's standard ranges. The high specification of this early Chenille Axminster version of the Ardabil

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<sup>521</sup> Trailokyanatha Mukhopadhyaya Mukharji, *Art-Manufactures of India, Specially Compiled for the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1888* (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1888), 392, 397.

<sup>522</sup> Thomas Raffles Davison and Robert Walker, *Pen-and-Ink Notes at the Glasgow Exhibition*: (London: J.S. Virtue & Company, 1888), 32.

<sup>523</sup> "Glasgow International Exhibition," *The Scotsman (1860-1920)*, August 30, 1901.

<sup>524</sup> For critical discussion of the historiography of the Ardabil carpet, see: Armstrong, "What Is an 'Oriental' Carpet? Reimagining, Remaking, Repossessing the Patterned Pile Carpets of South, Central and West Asia since 1840," 255–77.

<sup>525</sup> "Glasgow International Exhibition."

carpet, made for the exhibition, contrasts with Templeton's more domestic versions of the same pattern in the late-1930s. These aspired less to verisimilitude, using a coarser pitch and the more limited palette that Wilton weaving afforded.<sup>526</sup>



**Figure 5.2 Templeton's pavilion at the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901. Unknown photographer, glass lantern slide from the author's collection.**

There is slippage here between the roles of the manufacturer and the museum. For the manufacturer, the industrial exhibition allowed permeability between the scholarly classification of carpet properties and the commercial promotion of products for mass consumption. Both were aided by versions of the Ardabil carpet that were disseminated either in print or as woven reproductions.

<sup>526</sup> Templeton made versions of the Ardabil pattern in the 'Arran' quality of seamless Wilton from 1938 in two pattern arrangements and four ground colours (pattern numbers 42 and 46 of this range). See production notes in: UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/2 "Templeton - Wilton Squares."

This information amends Armstrong's statement that, "buyers could choose any field colour from the firm's entire colour range," although this may have been feasible for a bespoke order. Armstrong, "What Is an 'Oriental' Carpet? Reimagining, Remaking, Repossessing the Patterned Pile Carpets of South, Central and West Asia since 1840," 334.

Connoisseurship and collection gave intellectual and cultural legitimacy to both enterprises and, in doing so, also enhanced the economic and social value ascribed to reproduction designs.<sup>527</sup> Oriental carpets engaged in what Tony Bennet terms the “exhibitionary complex” in which power relations of national identities are negotiated through the politics of display.<sup>528</sup> In turn-of-the-century Glasgow, this network of activity is exemplified in an exhibition of oriental carpets at the Weaving College in 1903.

As mentioned in Chapter 4.3.3, Templeton was a pivotal contributor to the exhibition of oriental carpets at the Weaving College. Templeton lent thirty-three of the one hundred and ninety exhibits. Private loans were also made by individuals connected to the company, such as partners John Stewart Templeton and D. H. L. Young and the designer James Cowan. The South Kensington Museum, under the auspices of the Board of Education, made loans of fifty carpets, sixty drawings and lithographs, and a working model of an Indian carpet loom.<sup>529</sup>

Templeton’s contribution included the carpet illustrated on the front cover of the exhibition catalogue. (Figure 5.4) A photograph of the same carpet is found in Templeton’s volume of carpets bought for design inspiration.<sup>530</sup> (Figure 5.3) The prayer rug has a pointed, shouldered niche and wide borders in the style known as “Ghiordes,” after the town in West Anatolia, in present-day Turkey. Ghiordes rugs were prized by European collectors at the turn of the century.<sup>531</sup> For instance, William Burrell’s collection of Islamic carpets includes a similarly sized seventeenth-century prayer rug that shares both the pointed niche and the distinctive wide border pattern of alternating stylised flowering branches.<sup>532</sup>

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<sup>527</sup> A related argument is made in connection to the circulation of Indian objects to regional Schools of Art for design inspiration or copying: Driver and Ashmore, “The Mobile Museum: Collecting and Circulating Indian Textiles in Victorian Britain.”

<sup>528</sup> Tony Bennett, *The Exhibitionary Complex, New Formations*, 1988.

<sup>529</sup> “Exhibition of Oriental Rugs,” USASC, GB 249 OG/2/2 “Minute books of the Trustees.”

<sup>530</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/6/1 “Carpets and Rugs Bought Book 1.”

<sup>531</sup> Ian Bennett, *Rugs & Carpets of the World* (London: New Burlington Books, 1977), 197–201.

<sup>532</sup> “Prayer Rug,” 17th Century, wool warp, weft and pile, 1676mm x 1321mm, Burrell Collection, Gifted by Sir William and Lady Burrell to the City of Glasgow, 1944, Glasgow Museums, ID Number 9.44.

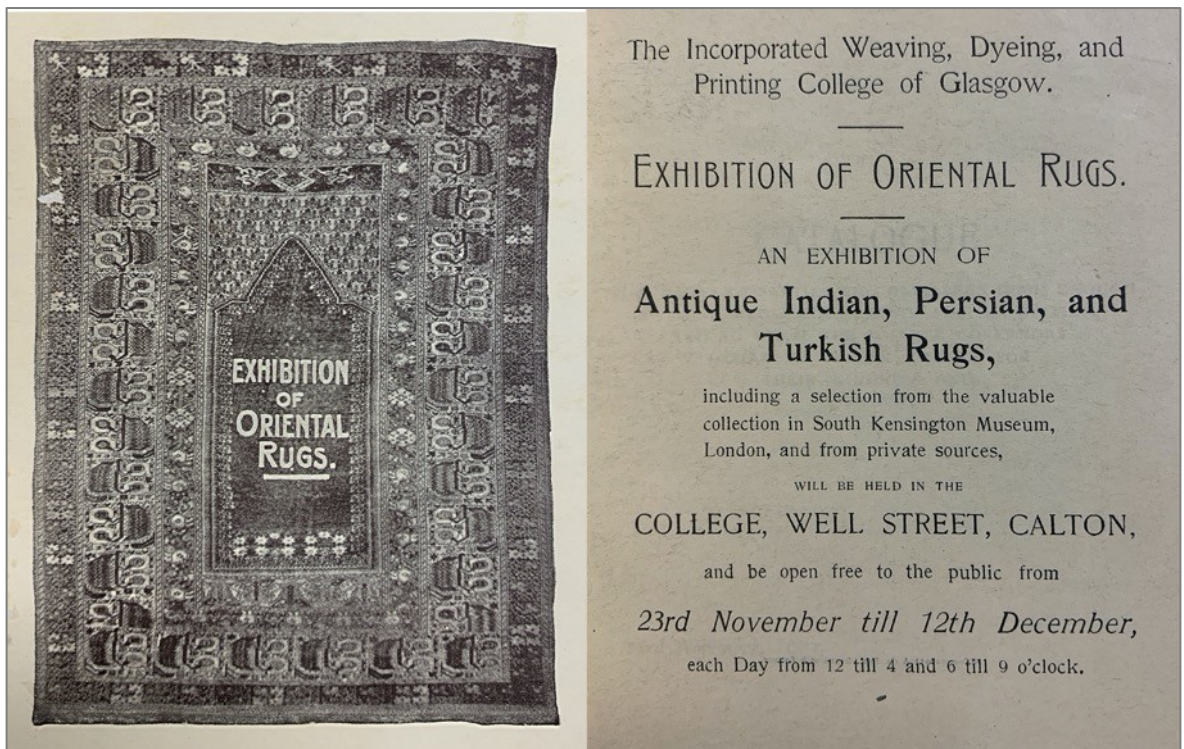


Figure 5.4 Front cover and title page of Oriental Rug exhibition catalogue, 1903. "Exhibition of Oriental Rugs," USASC, GB 249 OG/2/2 "Minute books of the Trustees."



Figure 5.3 UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/6/1 "Carpets and Rugs Bought Book 1."

See also: Noorah Al-Gailani, "Prayer Rug," Discover Islamic Art, Museum With No Frontiers, 2020, [http://islamicart.museumwnf.org/database\\_item.php?id=object;ISL;uk;Mus04;48;en](http://islamicart.museumwnf.org/database_item.php?id=object;ISL;uk;Mus04;48;en) Date accessed: 28/10/2020.

The College syllabus for the year confirms that the use of the exhibition as a training resource for designers, noting, “Students will have an opportunity of copying or making other use of a most valuable collection of antique and interesting examples of Indian, Persian and Turkish manufacture.”<sup>533</sup> The use of oriental carpets as sources of European design is discussed below. It is relevant here to note that trainee designers were advised that the first-hand study of Persian carpets was essential to appreciate the unique nature of their colouring and design. While this is practical advice, it also reinforced an orientalist mystique around Persian carpets in which they were imagined to have especially affective qualities.

The educator, Fred Bradbury, described the intimate encounter between the trainee and the historical object as an essential part of a carpet designer’s training. In the same year as the Weaving College exhibition, he wrote:

A study of oriental carpets on these lines will afford many a silent and valuable lesson in proportionate adjustment of figure and ground, in groupings of borders and of the general effect when produced. One frequently experiences very considerable personal pleasure besides many suggestive thoughts from an examination of historical woven tapestries or carpets of recognised merit.<sup>534</sup>

The opportunity to study carpets in person was simultaneously practical and affective, heightening the student’s understanding of technical pattern construction and their sensitivity to the artistic effects of colour and form. It was a necessary part of carpet designers’ training to adapt the style of hand-knotted carpets to the capabilities of mechanised looms.

The ambition of the Weaving College exhibition to stimulate the design of reproductions was achieved, as Templeton advertised a commercial version of the Ghiordes carpet at the end of the 1920s.<sup>535</sup> (Figure 5.5) It makes use of the

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<sup>533</sup> “Incorporated Weaving, Dyeing and Printing College of Glasgow. Syllabus for Session 1903-4,” USASC, GB 249 OG/2/2 “Minute books of the Trustees.”

<sup>534</sup> Bradbury, *Carpet Manufacture*, 21–22.

<sup>535</sup> The catalogue featuring this carpet is not dated, but other patterns in it have been dated to c.1929 by reference to the Design Studio Record Books. For example, the ‘Jorian Square, pattern number 3/532, is recorded as being designed on 18th March 1929. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/5/1 “Design Studio Record Books.”

colouring capability of Chenille Axminster weaving to introduce simulated “abrash” variation in the blue shades of the plain middle area.<sup>536</sup> Comparison with the 1903 photograph shows that the carpet designer has retained the character of the pattern but introduced small changes to the layout of borders to fit them to an elongated format. This rug was a commercial asset for the company for nearly three decades, first as an artefact for public display and then as a design source for reproduction. The sociotechnical system of carpet making turned the unique carpet into a batch-produced object, multiplying and disseminating it in response to the taste for Persian-style design. Reproduction of the design was enabled by technologies of collection, photography, and mechanised weaving technique.



**Figure 5.5 Comparison of photograph of Ghiordes rug, 1903 (left), and Chenille Axminster rug 4/9645, c.1929 (right). UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/9/3 “Rugs and Mats.”**

Displays of carpets allowed overlaps between the roles of manufacturer, collector, and connoisseur, as shown by Templeton’s International Exhibition displays of reproduction Persian carpets; their loan of hand-knotted Persian carpets to an exhibition intended to facilitate copying for mechanised reproduction; and their subsequent promotion of a version of one of these carpets for mass consumption. Templeton gained commercial benefit and

<sup>536</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/9/3 “Rugs and Mats.”



prestige by taking part in this exhibitionary culture. The authenticity ascribed to hand-knotted Persian carpets within the European culture of connoisseurship, and the social prestige associated with ownership of them, were transferred to Templeton's commercial products via its involvement in exhibitions and displays.<sup>537</sup> This process of transferring values from the hand-knotted object to a version made on mechanised looms was even more evident in Templeton's reproduction of a carpet displayed at the 1931 London exhibition of Persian Art.

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<sup>537</sup> On the construction of authenticity as a commercial asset of carpets, see: Spooner, "Weavers and Dealers: The Authenticity of an Oriental Carpet."

### 5.3 The Qom mausoleum carpets at the International Exhibition of Persian Art, London, 1931.

From January to March 1931, the “International Exhibition of Persian Art” at Burlington House gave an unprecedented level of exposure to Persian art, dazzling its London audience. The exhibition had been instigated by the American scholar Arthur Upham Pope and followed the success of a smaller display in 1926 at the Pennsylvania Museum of Art for which he had acted as Special Commissioner to Persia.<sup>538</sup> Pope brought together over two thousand objects from museums and private collections in Europe, North America, Central and Western Asia. The range of media on display was comprehensive, including miniature paintings, ceramics, metalwork, woven textiles, manuscripts, and architectural casts. The carpets that were exhibited were so significant that the textile curator C. E. C. Tattersall commented, “It would probably be not far short of the mark to say that at the present moment the collection of the finest kind of carpets in London is equal to that in the rest of the world.”<sup>539</sup> (Figure 5.6)

The exceptional nature of the collection allowed public access to objects, including the carpets from the mausoleum of Shah ‘Abbas II at Qom, which were previously inaccessible. The patronage of Reza Shah Pahlavi and the involvement of the Persian Government in the exhibition’s organisation set the exhibition apart from earlier ground-breaking displays of carpets in Europe, such as the 1873 Vienna World Exposition and the 1910 Munich exhibition “Masterpieces of Muhammadan Art,” for which no loans were made directly from Iran.<sup>540</sup> The Islamic art expert Rudolf M. Riefstahl commented in his review of the London exhibition; “Knowing the difficulties encountered by the Western visitor to

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<sup>538</sup> Kadoi, “Arthur Upham Pope and His ‘Research Methods in Muhammadan Art’: Persian Carpets,” 8.

<sup>539</sup> Creassey Edward Cecil Tattersall, “Carpets and Textiles at the Persian Exhibition 2,” *Apollo* 13, no. 74 (1931): 93.

<sup>540</sup> Kadoi, “Arthur Upham Pope and His ‘Research Methods in Muhammadan Art’: Persian Carpets,” 8.

Persian sanctuaries, one hardly believes one's eyes seeing these holy carpets occupying the places of honour in the London exhibition."<sup>541</sup>



**Figure 5.6** “The Central Hall, The International Exhibition of Persian Art, at the Royal Academy of Arts, 1931.” Object Number: 10/4757, © Photo: Royal Academy of Arts, London.

Reza Shah Pahlavi, whose government had facilitated these loans, had completed his ascent to power by deposing the final shah of the Qajar dynasty following a coup d'état of 1921, assisted by British officers.<sup>542</sup> Riefstahl explains that the new Persian government had replaced earlier restrictions on archaeological excavations with a more permissive policy of licenses available to researchers from all countries, noting, “The exhibition took place at a most

<sup>541</sup> Rudolf M Riefstahl, “Persian Art at Burlington House,” *The American Magazine of Art* 22, no. 6 (1931): 462.

<sup>542</sup> Michael P Zirinsky, “Imperial Power and Dictatorship: Britain and the Rise of Reza Shah, 1921–1926,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 24, no. 4 (1992): 639–63, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020743800022388>.

opportune moment, just at the moment when Persia is making a new start in her life as an ‘archaeological country.’”<sup>543</sup>

Removing objects from Shi'ite shrines for exhibition abroad was seen by Riefstahl as the government being “conscious of its duties” to represent the importance of Persian art.<sup>544</sup> Later historians including Kishwar Rizvi, however, take a more critical stance to the government’s involvement in events such as the 1931 exhibition, and ascribe them to an ideological “rediscovery” of the country’s artistic heritage, which was used to legitimize nationalist modernisation.<sup>545</sup> Framed in this way, the exhibition in Europe of elite carpets from the Safavid era bolstered the cultural legitimacy of the Pahlavi dynasty.<sup>546</sup> As Rizvi argues, the elevation of Safavid carpets as artistic treasures on the world stage constructed a nationalist image of cultural homogeneity and continuity with the past by negating the recent Qajar dynasty and suppressing the actual diversity of ethnic and religious populations. The historian Talinn Grigor further contends that the Pahlavi political elite instigated “a cultural regime of modernity” by “defining and disseminating concepts such as heritage, monument, preservation, history, and taste mainly along western lines.”<sup>547</sup> These critiques position the carpet as an antique object performing ideological support for a modernising regime through inclusion in the exhibition. As an object of both historic and contemporary significance, its temporal character was thus complex, even before the carpet’s introduction into industrial technologies of reproduction through illustration and mechanised weaving.

As a result of Pahlavi support, the 1931 London exhibition was the first time that the carpets from the mausoleum had been exhibited in Europe and, according to

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<sup>543</sup> Riefstahl, “Persian Art at Burlington House,” 461.

<sup>544</sup> Riefstahl, 462.

<sup>545</sup> Kishwar Rizvi, “Art History and the Nation: Arthur Upham Pope and the Discourse on ‘Persian Art’ in the Early Twentieth Century,” *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 45–46.

<sup>546</sup> The Safavid dynasty ruled Persia from 1501 to 1736 and is regarded as the critical period for creating a unified Persian nation-state under central political control. Scholarship of the period’s artistic achievements highlights the rule of Shah ‘Abbas I, 1588-1629. Sheila R Canby, *The Remaking of Iran* (London: British Museum Press, 2009).

<sup>547</sup> Talinn Grigor, “Recultivating ‘Good Taste’: The Early Pahlavi Modernists and Their Society for National Heritage,” *Iranian Studies* 37, no. 1 (2004): 44, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0021086042000232929>.

Tattersall, the first time that they had left Qom.<sup>548</sup> The opportunity that the exhibition provided to the visiting Templeton designer to make a record of the carpets' designs was therefore unique. Their public exposure was also unprecedented. In contrast to the exclusive audience of worshippers and attendants who experienced them in the shrine, the *Times* reported that two hundred and fifty-nine thousand visitors saw them in London.<sup>549</sup>

The exhibition was a unique resource for Persian art experts, but its primary audience was the general public, who were reportedly sensationalised by the rich array of colour, texture, and exoticism on display.<sup>550</sup> One effusive review from a column titled "From a Woman in London" called Burlington House, "the kingdom of colour and glamorous suggestion" which was "like stepping in a moment of time into a world so fantastically different from our own that the first effect is almost bewildering."<sup>551</sup> This aesthetic and emotional impact was achieved in part by the dramatic use of colour, scale and sightlines in the exhibition layout. The largest sixteenth-century carpets were hung in the central Octagon and impressed visitors as the first exhibits they viewed. Turning left the viewer saw the famous Milan hunting carpet hung on the end wall of Gallery III.

The twelve-sided Qom carpet was laid in front of the Milan hunting carpet and functioned as a focal point in the room (Figure 5.7). It was the only carpet to be laid on the floor and was surrounded by a small hedge of box and cypress trees.<sup>552</sup> It's "lustrous" and "shimmering" impact was noted by many reviewers and it was described as "one of the outstanding pieces in the exhibition."<sup>553</sup> For

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<sup>548</sup> Creassey Edward Cecil Tattersall, "Carpets and Textiles at the Persian Exhibition 1," *Apollo*, 1931, 1–2. Arthur Upham Pope had published a description of the carpets for the first time in 1925 for the journal *Kunstchronik*, cited in S Martin Briggs et al., "The Persian Exhibition," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 58, no. 334 (1931): 3–45.

<sup>549</sup> *Times* (London), 9 March 1931, 9. Quoted in Wood, "'A Great Symphony of Pure Form': The 1931 International Exhibition of Persian Art and Its Influence," 119.

<sup>550</sup> The exhibition was accompanied by a Persian Art Congress in London, and its themes were disseminated more widely by over two hundred public lectures, and talks on the BBC: Arnold Talbot Wilson and Royal Academy of Arts, *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art; Patrons: His Majesty the King, His Majesty Riza Shah Pahlavi. 7th January to 28th February, 1931*, Royal Academy of Arts, London (London: Office of the Exhibition, 1931), xiv.

<sup>551</sup> "Woman To Date," *The Scotsman* (1921-1950), January 12, 1931, 12.

<sup>552</sup> J. V. S. Wilkinson, "The Exhibition of Persian Art," *The Observer* (1901- 2003) 1772 (January 11, 1931): 9.

<sup>553</sup> Douglas Percy Bliss, "Persian Art : Wonderful Exhibition Gorgeous Carpets First Notice," *The Scotsman* (1921-1950), January 7, 1931; Riefstahl, "Persian Art at Burlington House."

another commentator it was “a revelation of the power and loveliness of colour.”<sup>554</sup> Tattersall’s opinion was more restrained, but he remarked that the carpets “woven in silk will give the most brilliant and striking display [...] They have a fineness of knotting and almost more than the usual brilliance of colour,”<sup>555</sup> He also noted that the original plans for the exhibition had placed the Qom carpets in the central Octagon room indicating that they were considered a highlight among the many treasures on display. These contemporary comments confirm that the Qom carpet was a focal point and, furthermore, that the mode in which it was displayed guided viewers towards an appreciation of carpets as objects of aesthetic power. Viewers reported that the arrangement and staging of the exhibits produced experiences of visual pleasure that could approach rapture.<sup>556</sup>



**Figure 5.7** The Qom carpet is shown in the foreground, laid on the floor. “Gallery III, the International Exhibition of Persian Art, at the Royal Academy of Arts, 1931.” Object Number: 10/4759, © Photo: Royal Academy of Arts, London.

<sup>554</sup> “Woman To Date.”

<sup>555</sup> Tattersall, “Carpets and Textiles at the Persian Exhibition 1.”

<sup>556</sup> M S Villard, “The International Exhibition of Persian Art in London,” *Parnassus* 3, no. 2 (1931): 30, <https://doi.org/10.2307/770500>.

## 5.4 The carpet in the context of the mausoleum of Shah ʿAbbas II at Qom.

The presentation of the carpet for aesthetic appreciation in the exhibition contrasted with its situation in the mausoleum of Shah ʿAbbas II at Qom. By considering the material relationship of the carpets to that building, it is possible to discern the specificity of the carpets to their original location. This specificity was lost in the way they were presented in London. The tomb chamber of Shah ʿAbbas II (d.1666) was built alongside the Shiʿah shrine of Fatimeh Maʿsumeh and is considered by the Islamic art historian, Sheila Canby, to be “one of the most magnificent examples of late Safavid architecture.”<sup>557</sup> It consists of a twelve-sided room, opulently decorated with marble, mosaics, wall paintings and Qurʿanic calligraphy. The tomb itself is central to the room and is surrounded by twelve niches set into the walls (Figure 5.8).

A description by the European traveller John Chardin in 1686, less than thirty years after the Shah ʿAbbas II’s death, details the chamber’s lustrous surfaces, with gold and silver furnishings and carpets covering the floor.<sup>558</sup> Chardin’s account is inflected by an orientalist exoticism that would have appealed to his European readers, but his description clarifies that the mausoleum’s high social and religious status was reflected by the quality and luxury of its furnishings. The accompanying illustration shows a different floor-covering or, as it is sketched in with less detail than the other ornamented surfaces, an imaginary carpet. Nonetheless, it shows the relationship that the actual set of carpets had to the geometry of the interior.

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<sup>557</sup> Canby, *The Remaking of Iran*, 111.

<sup>558</sup> John Chardin, *Travels of Sr. John Chardin into Persia and Ye East Indies through the Black-Sea and the Country of Colchis*. (London, 1686), 408. Quoted in Canby, *The Remaking of Iran*, 115.



**Figure 5.8** “The Tomb of Shah Abbas the Second.” from John Chardin, *Travels of Sr. John Chardin into Persia and Ye East Indies through the Black-Sea and the Country of Colchis*. (London, 1686), 408.

The set of thirteen carpets in the mausoleum consisted of a large, twelve-sided carpet and twelve smaller, rectangular pieces. All the carpets were exceptionally finely woven with silk warp, weft, and pile.<sup>559</sup> The larger carpet is woven in two halves and has an overall diameter of 823 cm.<sup>560</sup> It is this carpet that later became the model for the version made by Templeton. The privacy that the carpet was afforded at the shrine has meant that it has been illustrated only partially and in black and white, hampering comparison between it and the

<sup>559</sup> Structural analysis of a carpet from this set, held by the Victoria and Albert Museum, was conducted in the 1970s, recording 176 warp threads per decimetre and 160 shots of weft per decimetre, with three shots of weft between each row of knots. <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O152549/carpet-unknown/> (accessed 14 February 2017).

<sup>560</sup> Wilson and Royal Academy of Arts, *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art; Patrons: His Majesty the King, His Majesty Riza Shah Pahlavi. 7th January to 28th February, 1931*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 95.



Templeton reproductions (Figure 5.9).<sup>561</sup> It was, however, described in detail by Arthur Upham Pope in *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, the monumental publication that followed his work on the 1931 London exhibition. Its design features a field with repeating cypress trees surrounded by small motifs of flowers and foliage and stylised cloud bands. The trees radiate out from two inner borders containing plant designs, which surround a plain-coloured central area. The broad outer border contains more plant forms in repeated cartouches.



**Figure 5.9** One half of the carpet from the mausoleum of Shah ʿAbbas II at Qom. Reproduced in Ian Bennett, *Rugs and Carpets of the World*, (London: New Burlington Books, 1977), 64.

The twelve smaller carpets were designed to fit around the sides of the large one and fit into the mausoleum’s twelve niches. At least two of the set were woven in irregular shapes, with notches made in their corners to fit neatly around the architecture of the room (Figure 5.10). The remaining fringe of warp threads, and the manipulation of the repeating border design, show that the carpets were shaped on the loom during weaving rather than cut down to fit the space later. The techniques of hand-knotting allow skilled and experienced

<sup>561</sup> The large carpet is currently held by the National Museum of Iran, Tehran. Bennett refers to it only compared to the suggested origin of other silk carpets, Bennett, *Rugs & Carpets of the World*, 65. Kurt Erdmann notes, “In 1958 I saw it in the shrine of the mosque of Qum where it lay on a cupboard bundled together and full of dust.” Kurt Erdmann and Hanna Erdmann, *Seven Hundred Years of Oriental Carpets* (London: Faber, 1970), 201.

artisans the potential to create carpets that are bespoke in shape and the arrangement of the pattern. The unusual shaping of this smaller carpet shows that the resolution of the way the border pattern negotiates the corner was meticulously planned.<sup>562</sup> It is thus clear that the set of carpets was made expressly for this room, and their shape and dimensions were defined by it.



**Figure 5.10 Shaped carpet from the mausoleum of Shah ʿAbbas II.** Sheila R. Canby, *The Remaking of Iran* (London: British Museum Press, 2009), 224.

The smaller carpets have individual designs that do not repeat but share a style of decoration. They feature cypress trees, birds, and flowers in asymmetrical groupings, surrounded by a narrow border with floral cartouches. One of the carpets is signed “the work of Ustad Nimatulah Jawshaqani in the year 1082H” (1671 A.D.), which has been used to date the complete set to just five years after the death of Shah ʿAbbas II. It was a considerable achievement given the

<sup>562</sup> Walter B Denny, *How to Read Islamic Carpets* (New Haven, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014), 35.

fineness of the weave structure. Six of them were illustrated in Pope's *A Survey of Persian Art*, while more recent colour photographs of two of them show that the silk surface still retains a high lustre.<sup>563</sup>

The brief catalogue entry for the set of carpets in the 1931 exhibition mentions their source but does not consider their relationship to the mausoleum.<sup>564</sup> However, with information that was unavailable to the exhibition visitors, we can identify five ways in which the carpets' design was appropriate to that building. Firstly, the carpets were woven to suit the specific shape and dimensions of the Shah's mausoleum, with at least two smaller carpets being shaped to fit around its architectural features. Secondly, the layout of the design around a plain central field is unusual among Safavid carpets but accommodates the position of the tomb in the chamber.<sup>565</sup> The dodecagonal shape of both the mausoleum and carpet is a symbolic reference to the Twelve Imams of Shi'ia Islam, reinforcing the connection between the Safavid dynasty and the dissemination of the faith.<sup>566</sup> Fourth, the silk carpets' lustrous surface is consistent with other reflective surface textures of the mausoleum, which, Chardin records, was lit by flambeaus through the night accompanying continuous recitations of the Qur'an.<sup>567</sup> The central tomb itself was covered in another silk carpet whose lustre was further enhanced by brocaded metal threads.<sup>568</sup> Lastly, the cypress tree has traditional funereal associations, and the

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<sup>563</sup> Canby, *The Remaking of Iran*, 224; "Carpet, Museum Number: T.438-1976," Victoria & Albert Museum, accessed February 14, 2017, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O152549/carpet-unknown/>;

<sup>564</sup> The full entry reads: "140. CARPET (in two halves), twelve sided, knotted in silk pile on silk warp. Chiefly in light blue, white, crimson and yellow. Floral design with cypresses. Joshuaqān, mid -XVII cent. From Shāh 'Abbās II's tomb at QUM. 823 x 408 cm. Lent by PERSIAN GOVERNMENT from the Qum shrine." Wilson and Royal Academy of Arts, *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art; Patrons: His Majesty the King, His Majesty Riza Shah Pahlavi. 7th January to 28th February, 1931, Royal Academy of Arts, London*, 95.

<sup>565</sup> The use of naturalistic vegetal motifs reflects a trend observed in carpets produced by court workshops in the seventeenth century, although they were less common than the arrangements of conventionalised motifs in layouts known as "vase" and "medallion" carpets. Bennett, *Rugs & Carpets of the World*, 44–66.

<sup>566</sup> Canby, *The Remaking of Iran*, 224.

<sup>567</sup> Chardin, *Travels of Sr. John Chardin into Persia and Ye East Indies through the Black-Sea and the Country of Colchis.*, 408. Quoted in Canby, *The Remaking of Iran*, 115.

<sup>568</sup> Described in Arthur Upham Pope, Phyllis Ackerman, and Theodore Besterman, *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), 2397–98. This carpet was also exhibited in the 1931 exhibition and sketched by the Templeton designer: UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/131/1/6 "Untitled Design." No record has been found of it having been used to make a new carpet design.

design of the carpet in the mausoleum may thus evoke a divine afterlife. Pope elaborated upon this interpretation in his commentary on the carpets, stating that the cloud band motifs and turquoise blue background also referred to a heavenly sky:

Despite its brilliance and unmistakable note of exultation, the elegiac character of the design is plain. Here is the affirmation of abundant and permanent life. Here, displayed for those to whom Paradise and verdure are synonymous, is a wealth of bloom beyond earthly hope, a forecast of bliss eternal.<sup>569</sup>

Although Pope's reading of the design now seems too strongly asserted and ornately expressed, the basic symbolism may be justified. The carpet scholar Walter Denny notes that cypress trees have been customarily planted near mosques and cemeteries in Islamic cultures and are frequently included in Persian depictions of gardens of Paradise.<sup>570</sup> A symbolic interpretation relates the carpet pattern to the death of the Shah and his afterlife in paradise.

If the carpets' format and design made them specific to the architecture of the mausoleum, their materiality and manufacture added to their suitability for the site. The carpets were hand-knotted, and their knot-count was regarded as remarkable by both Pope and by Tattersall.<sup>571</sup> Therefore, the carpet's exclusive status would have been secured both by the investment of time required to produce the carpets and the high level of skill demanded of the weavers. The use of silk for both the pile and the warp was only exceeded in expense by using gold and silver-wrapped threads, used, for example, in the mausoleum's tomb covering. In 1938, Pope considered that the Qom carpets demonstrated that pieces woven entirely in silk should be thought of as equally prestigious as those with metal threads.<sup>572</sup> More recently, the Islamic art historian Sheila Canby, although opposed to Pope's universalist conception of "Persian culture," makes a similar conclusion from the Qom carpet's materials: that they are evidence that the Safavid shahs considered Iranian-made silk textiles to be "appropriately

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<sup>569</sup> Pope, Ackerman, and Besterman, 2399.

<sup>570</sup> Denny, *How to Read Islamic Carpets*, 110.

<sup>571</sup> Tattersall, "Carpets and Textiles at the Persian Exhibition 1"; Pope, Ackerman, and Besterman, *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, 2400.

<sup>572</sup> Pope, Ackerman, and Besterman, *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, 2398.

precious” for Shi'ite shrines.<sup>573</sup> Therefore, the carpets' material qualities in the mausoleum were intimately connected to the shah's authority and the status of the site within Shi'ism.

A dramatic shift occurred in the carpets' cultural connotation between the assemblage of objects and social relations in Qom and the 1931 exhibition in Burlington House. The method of their weaving and their relationship to the mausoleum interior had given them a specificity, which the Templeton designer at the exhibition could not experience. To characterise what connotations of the objects visitors did experience, we can turn to critical discussion of exhibitions of Islamic art of the period.

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<sup>573</sup> Canby, *The Remaking of Iran*, 224.

## 5.5 Visual strategies of display in exhibitions of oriental carpets, 1880 – 1939.

The historian of Persian art, David Roxburgh, relates the modes of displaying Islamic and “oriental” objects in temporary exhibitions to the emerging epistemological concerns of Islamic art collecting at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>574</sup> Roxburgh translates the phrase “savant désordre” (drawn from an 1888 description of the collection made by the dealer Adolphe Goupil) as “expert disorder.” It describes informal connoisseurship, in which the collector displays his refined taste by grouping objects to produce subtle visual comparisons and contrasts in a seemingly cluttered assemblage. He argues that these dense groupings of heterogeneous objects, assembled by collectors in their homes, were adopted by department stores to produce affective and seductive displays.<sup>575</sup> Commercial environments, however, bypassed the assurance of aesthetic merit and authenticity given by the connoisseur.<sup>576</sup> In reaction to these atmospheric, romanticised displays of “oriental” opulence, he contends that a sparser, more “neutral” mode of display was developed as Islamic art history became established as an academic and curatorial discipline.

The development of these visual strategies of display was already evident in the significant 1891 Vienna exhibition of oriental carpets from royal and state collections.<sup>577</sup> The scholarly approach to the history of carpet patterns by Alois Riegl and Wilhelm von Bode in this landmark exhibition was a stark contrast to the tradition of displaying antique carpets for the inspiration of manufacturers at international expositions.<sup>578</sup> For Roxburgh and Eva-Maria Troelenberg, a

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<sup>574</sup> Roxburgh, “Au Bonheur Des Amateurs: Collecting and Exhibiting Islamic Art, ca. 1880-1910.”

<sup>575</sup> For comparison with displays of foreign cultures in universal expositions, see: Roxburgh, 19; Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

<sup>576</sup> Roxburgh uses the example of Zola's *Au Bonheur des Dames*, in which, “The fiction of authenticity established through the creation of an imaginary context... augmented the value of new rugs as they appeared alongside the old.” Roxburgh, “Au Bonheur Des Amateurs: Collecting and Exhibiting Islamic Art, ca. 1880-1910,” 11.

<sup>577</sup> Clarke et al., *Oriental Carpets*.

<sup>578</sup> Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*; Stephen Vernoit, *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections, 1850-1950* (London ; New York: I.B.Tauris, 2000); Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991).

subsequent turning point in displaying objects from Islamic cultures was made at the 1910 exhibition “Masterpieces of Muhammadan Art,” held in Munich’s Theresienhöhe. Troelenberg argues that the exhibition represented an epistemic revision in the scholarly study of objects from Islamic cultures, which established it within the discipline of formalist art history. The Munich exhibition’s director, the art historian Friedrich Sarre, expressed his ambition to formalise Islamic art research by supplanting Orientalist romanticising with a methodical analysis of aesthetic attributes.<sup>579</sup> In contrast to the evocative displays described by Roxburgh, the exhibits in the Munich exhibition were sparsely arranged as sequences of single artworks set against white walls presented for individual contemplation. The mode of display isolated the aesthetic qualities of the carpets and contextualised them as subjects of European art historical enquiry, rather than illustrations of a historical narrative or settings for exotic fantasy. Troelenberg connects Sarre’s approach with the work of Alois Riegl, setting up chronologies and stylistic parallels by the formal analysis of visual features. This approach was distinct from other, primarily epigraphic, methodologies applied to objects from Islamic cultures in this period.

Although Sarre’s attempt to avoid the allure of the bazaar received scathing criticism for sacrificing the cumulative splendour of massed displays for the “neutrality” of whitewashed walls, it was influential on later displays.<sup>580</sup> Roxburgh sees it as an early negotiation of a curatorial dilemma that persists today - “an opposition between the historicist recovery of context and the essentializing concept of the work as aesthetic emanation existing beyond time and contingency.”<sup>581</sup> Troelenberg’s analysis argues more strongly that the repositioning of Islamic material culture within art historical discourse, “subordinated these objects via the Western gaze in terms of their presentation and analysis.”<sup>582</sup> Both critiques, however, establish that orientalist and formalist display techniques gave precedence to the visual content of Islamic objects over

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<sup>579</sup>Troelenberg, “Regarding the Exhibition: The Munich Exhibition ‘Masterpieces of Muhammadan Art’ (1910) and Its Scholarly Position,” 8.

<sup>580</sup> Roxburgh, “Au Bonheur Des Amateurs: Collecting and Exhibiting Islamic Art, ca. 1880-1910,” 27–28.

<sup>581</sup> Roxburgh, 31.

<sup>582</sup> Troelenberg, “Regarding the Exhibition: The Munich Exhibition ‘Masterpieces of Muhammadan Art’ (1910) and Its Scholarly Position,” 33.

their socio-cultural contexts. This critical background for the mode of presentation employed in the 1931 London exhibition supports the argument that the Qom carpets were recontextualised as aesthetic source material.

In comparison to the 1910 Munich exhibition, the style of the London exhibition drew on popular visual references that associated the “orient” with luxury and excess. In the opinion of the historian of Islamic art, Barry D. Wood, the exhibits' historical context was stripped away to enhance their affective visual impact with a, “displacement of facts by glitter.”<sup>583</sup> Wood argues that Pope's 1931 exhibition asserted an essentialist, ahistorical Persian “soul” to validate Persian art. In his *Introduction to Persian Art*, published to coincide with the exhibition, Pope claimed that a “Persian aesthetic genius” pervaded the spirit of all the Persian people and guided their artistic creations.<sup>584</sup> By asserting a “timeless” unity of artistic vision, Persian decorative art could be elevated to a metaphysical level but at the cost of its historical context.<sup>585</sup> For Wood, this is a scholarly misconception of the value of the objects on display, constructing an essentialist idea of Persia and its peoples. The effect was to entrench reductive and “exotic” stereotypes by replacing social and historical context with purely aesthetic and formal modes of appreciation.

The 1931 exhibition guided the general visitor toward an aesthetic evaluation of Islamic material culture, rather than engagement with the object's historical, social, or religious significance. The objects were made conceptually, as well as physically, available for reinterpretation within European visual culture. In the case of the Qom carpets, the display emphasised the drama of their visual qualities but removed the specific connotations they had to the purpose of the mausoleum. By being recontextualised as models of colour and artisanship rather than as religious objects, the carpets became available for use by a Templeton designer as source material for a new carpet design.

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<sup>583</sup> Wood, “A Great Symphony of Pure Form’: The 1931 International Exhibition of Persian Art and Its Influence,” 117.

<sup>584</sup> Arthur Upham Pope, *An Introduction to Persian Art Since the Seventh Century A.D.* (London: Peter Davies, 1930), 2.

<sup>585</sup> Kadoi, “Arthur Upham Pope and His ‘Research Methods in Muhammadan Art’: Persian Carpets,” 9; Wood, “A Great Symphony of Pure Form’: The 1931 International Exhibition of Persian Art and Its Influence,” 118.



## 5.6 Evidence of Templeton's use of the Exhibition of Persian Art as a design source.

The catalogue to the exhibition described how useful the displays of textiles would be for visiting designers:

They give an idea of the Persian range of technique, inventiveness in pattern and freshness and soundness of colour schemes. Individual fragments are worthy of study, not only because of their charm but also because of their exceptional craftsmanship.<sup>586</sup>

The exhibition's organisers further encouraged manufacturers to use the exhibits as source material by providing discounted entry rates and extended visiting hours for craftsmen. Employers could buy reduced-price tickets for their staff and “season tickets for craftsmen at 5s. each.”<sup>587</sup> The exhibition had a tightly interwoven set of goals: strengthening academic knowledge, showcasing aesthetic connoisseurship, building international cultural diplomacy, and promoting the improvement of British industrial design. Templeton's use of the exhibition was in the spirit of the last of these, taking the opportunity to experience objects in person to make reproductions. The evidence of this that is preserved in the company archive counters Barry Woods' conclusion that the exhibition had only a short-lived impact on British enthusiasm for “Persianized” design styles.<sup>588</sup>

The archives contain several traces of Templeton using the exhibition as a design source. A Templeton designer was sent to the exhibition to draw the exhibits directly, and drawings were also made from photographic records. Sketches were made of a carpet lent by the Detroit Institute of Art,<sup>589</sup> and a sixteenth-century carpet lent by a Florence Museum.<sup>590</sup> A photograph of the latter in the archive shows the carpet fragment on display at the exhibition, hung above a

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<sup>586</sup> Wilson and Royal Academy of Arts, *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art; Patrons: His Majesty the King, His Majesty Riza Shah Pahlavi. 7th January to 28th February, 1931*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, xix.

<sup>587</sup> Reduced from 1s 6d to 1s. Wilson and Royal Academy of Arts, iii.

<sup>588</sup> Wood, “A Great Symphony of Pure Form’: The 1931 International Exhibition of Persian Art and Its Influence,” 125.

<sup>589</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/131/7/5 “Untitled Design.” Exhibit number 165 in the exhibition catalogue.

<sup>590</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/131/2/1-5. Exhibit number 173 in the exhibition catalogue.

cabinet of ceramic tiles. (Figure 5.11) When this photograph is viewed in raking light, it is possible to see the indentations of gridded lines drawn over the image, as shown in the detail in Figure 5.12. These were made when a designer made a tracing of the photograph to scale up the pattern for reproduction.<sup>591</sup> Templeton’s reproduction of the Florence museum carpet was an ‘Abbey’ Chenille Axminster, pattern number 1376, which remained in production until the 1950s.<sup>592</sup> (Figure 5.13)



**Figure 5.11 UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/7/63/3 “Loose Photographs of Templeton’s Carpets.”**

<sup>591</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/7/63/3 “Loose Photographs of Templeton’s Carpets.”

<sup>592</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/10/3 “Fine Carpets.”



Figure 5.12 Detail of Figure 1.11, showing indented lines.

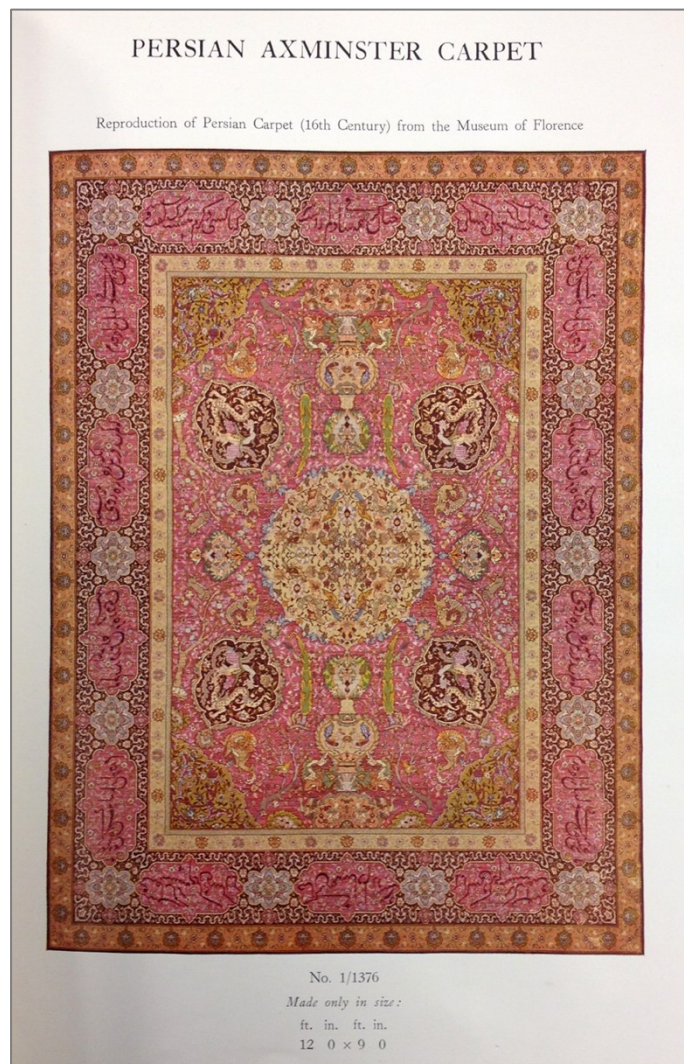


Figure 5.13 Chenille Axminster reproduction of the Florence Museum carpet. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/10/3 “Fine Carpets.”

A total of seven sketches were made at Burlington House from the set of Qom carpets.<sup>593</sup> Five sketches were made of the twelve-sided carpet (Figure 5.14 - Figure 5.19). Two sketches were also made of one of the smaller carpets (Figure 5.20, Figure 5.21). These record the two inner borders, two connected sections of the field, and the outer border. Remarkably, they record the very moment when these carpets, which were being displayed in Europe for the first time, were integrated into the technology of reproduction. The sketches are reproduced below at a large enough scale for the drawing technique to be seen.

The Templeton designer, James Cowan, can be identified by his initialled annotations on the sketches.<sup>594</sup> Cowan worked for Templeton between 1899 and 1941, holding several posts in the Wilton department and working in their London office.<sup>595</sup> The design studio record books credit Cowan with producing designs in various styles during the early 1930s, including several described as “Persian.”<sup>596</sup> Templeton designers periodically visited museums to draw exhibits,<sup>597</sup> and Cowan had previously sketched textiles in the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1910 and 1926.<sup>598</sup> He also sketched a Persian silk carpet in May 1931, which had been loaned from the Victoria and Albert Museum collection by the

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<sup>593</sup> Reference numbers: GB 248 STOD/DES/129/3/16, GB 248 STOD/DES/131/1/1-7. Annotations on each of the drawings, mentioning “Qom,” “Abbas,” or dated during the period the exhibition were searched in the digital archive catalogue. Searches were also conducted that cross referenced design pattern-codes and numbers from the design studio “Letter Books” which have eliminated other drawings from being connected to the Qom carpet design. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/5/1-2 “Design Studio Record Books.”

<sup>594</sup> Each of the drawings of the large carpet, UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/131/1/1-5, is annotated by Cowan, “No. 140. Silk c[ar]p[e]t. 17th cent[ury] lent by the Persian Government from Shāh ‘Abbas II’s tomb at Qum. J. C. Feb[ruary] 1931.”

The drawing of the smaller carpet, UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/129/3/16, is annotated by Cowan, “No. 334. Silk c[ar]p[e]t from the Qum shrine. J. C. March 1931. The ground is a very pale eggshell blue.”

<sup>595</sup> *Templetonian*, Vol.3, No.42, (1941), 4.

<sup>596</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/5/2 “Design Studio Record Books.” Design references of “Persian” designs credited to Cowan include LRD, LRV, LSC, LSK, LTK.

<sup>597</sup> Helena Britt, Jimmy Stephen-Cran, and Alan Shaw, “Past, Present and Future: Transformational Approaches to Utilizing Archives for Research, Learning and Teaching” (Textile and Design Lab and Colab at Auckland University of Technology, 2014), 13.

<sup>598</sup> Cowan’s 1910 sketches include: UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/130/2/1 “Border of Silk Carpet in Victoria & Albert Museum;” GB 248 STOD/DES/130/5/1 “George Salting’s Persian Carpet of 16th century Victoria & Albert Museum.” His sketches from 1926 include: GB 248 STOD/DES/140/2/66 “Embroidered Satin Coverlet, Chinese 18th Century, Victoria & Albert Museum.”

curator C. E. C. Tattersall.<sup>599</sup> Cowan was a senior figure within Templeton's design staff, known for his attention to detail and knowledge of historic pattern design.<sup>600</sup> The drawings show that he paid painstaking attention to the position, scale, and arrangement of motifs in the carpets' design.



**Figure 5.14 UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/131/1/1 "Untitled Design," 1931, paint on cartridge paper, 510mm x 380mm.**

<sup>599</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/130/7/52 "Silk Persian Rug Lent by Mr C. Tattersall Victoria & Albert Museum;" GB 248 STOD/DES/130/7/68 "Border of Silk Persian Rug Lent by Mr C. Tattersall Victoria & Albert Museum."

<sup>600</sup> *Templetonian*, Vol.3, No.42, (1941), 4.



Figure 5.15 UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/131/1/2 "Untitled Design," 1931, paint on cartridge paper, 570mm x 390mm.



Figure 5.16 UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/131/1/3 "Untitled Design," 1931, paint on cartridge paper, 750mm x 550mm.



Figure 5.17 UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/131/1/4 "Untitled Design," 1931, paint on cartridge paper, 670mm x 490mm.





Figure 5.18 Composite image of GB 248 STOD/DES/131/1/3-4 showing the complete drawing.



Figure 5.19 UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/131/1/5 "Untitled Design," 1931, paint on cartridge paper, 460mm x 750mm.



Figure 5.20 UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/131/1/7 "Untitled Design," 1931, paint on cartridge paper, 750mm x 540mm.



Figure 5.21 UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/129/3/16 "Silk Carpet from the Qum Shrine," 1931, paint on cartridge paper, 510mm x 720mm.



Figure 5.22 Composite image of GB 248 STOD/DES/131/1/7 and GB 248 STOD/DES/129/3/16.

Cowan has concentrated on the layout of motifs rather than the surface effect of the pile. His priorities contrast with the visitors' descriptions of the visual impact of the carpet's glowing surface. Lightly drawn pencil outlines were filled out with watercolours, with smaller areas of loosely washed paint. Cowan has followed a convention sometimes used by carpet designers of not filling in the ground colour. Instead, he has painted only small patches of the pale blue-grey ground, for example, alongside the large olive green palmette motif in the upper right corner of Figure 5.23. This technique ensured that the shapes of the motifs could be seen distinctly when the sketches were developed into more formal design drawings. It is also possible to read into this decision a sense of the pressure of time he was under in the exhibition hall to carefully record enough essential visual information about the carpet to make the reproduction possible.

One can also discern efficiency in his use of colour, suggesting a professional's awareness of the practical constraints on multicoloured weaving. In an ingenious use of the colour palette, a shade that has been used as a floral motif's main colour in one area was reused as an outline shade in another. This method produces the impression of a greater variety of colour through the control of simultaneous contrast.

Cowan removed paint in open areas of colour to create striations (Figure 5.23) or used multiple shades painted in irregular stripes (Figure 5.24). This approximates the striated effect that occurs in antique carpets through uneven dyeing or ageing. This subtle variation, called "abrash," is a characteristic that the former Templeton partner, Alexander Millar, claimed to have innovated in machine-made carpets, writing:

In [1878], in carpets made for the Paris Exhibition, I tried the experiment of intentionally imitating these graduations, and the practice has since been widely adopted with excellent results, though in some cases it has perhaps been overdone.<sup>601</sup>

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<sup>601</sup> Millar, "The Making of Carpets - IV," 309.

Despite Millar's equivocal opinion, Templeton designers continued to use abrash effects in Persian-style carpet designs to imitate the rich tonal variation that collectors of oriental carpets valued.

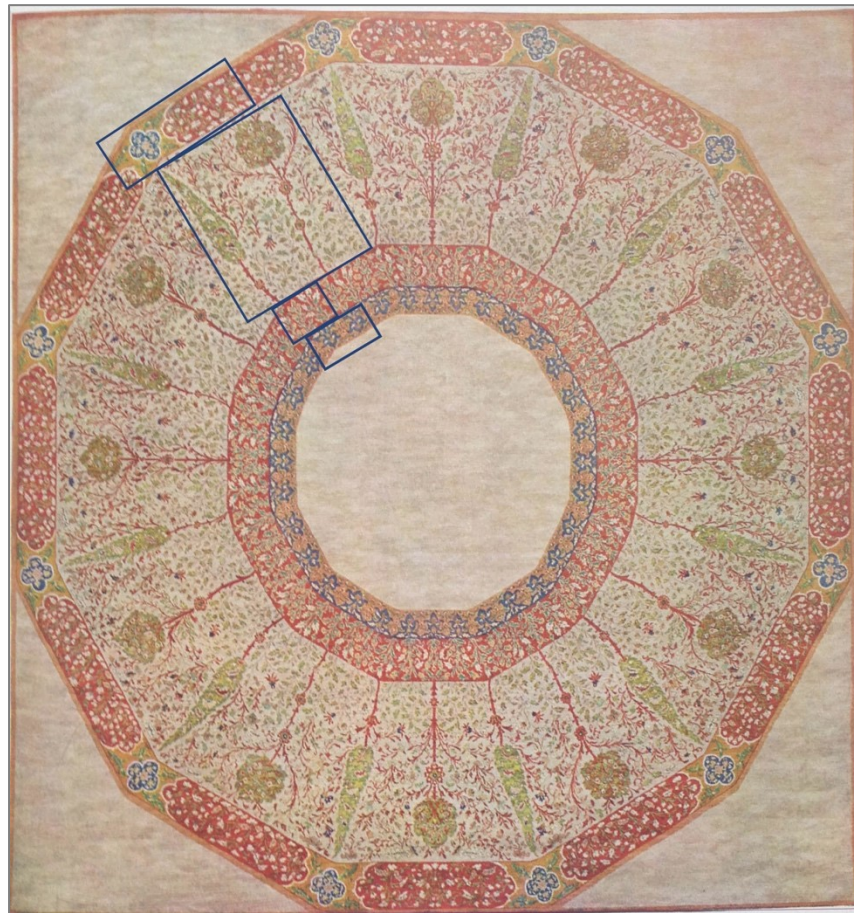


**Figure 5.23** Detail of GB 248 STOD/DES/131/1/3, "Untitled Design," 1931, showing striations where paint has been removed.



**Figure 5.24** Detail of GB 248 STOD/DES/131/1/5 "Untitled Design," 1931, showing striation of colours to indicate "abrash" effects.

The sketches of the field pattern of cypress trees appear to be separate fragments. However, they join together seamlessly to show all the necessary motifs to make the full pattern repeat. The drawing of the outer border, showing a yellow band with red and blue floral cartouches records the angle of one of the corners, allowing the designer to calculate how the border pattern negotiates the unusual geometric shape. When mapped onto the final design of the carpet, it is clear that Cowan has economically recorded just enough of the design to reconstruct the arrangement and repeat of the design. (Figure 5.25)



**Figure 5.25** The sections of the carpet drawn by Cowan (marked as blue rectangles) include enough information to construct the entire repeating pattern.

Paying close attention to how Cowan has chosen to sketch the design of the carpet demonstrates that the drawing process is not an objective activity. Instead, it is a pragmatic and skilful act of selection that begins to adapt it to a new medium. The emphasis placed on layout, the details of the colour range, and the representation of an abrash effect, all suggest that the designer was moving the design towards the technical requirements of mechanised weaving even at an early stage of development.



## 5.7 Competition between British and imported “oriental” carpets.

At this point, we have considered the Anglo-Persian context for the loan of the Qom carpets to the 1931 exhibition; the display as part of a technology of reproduction which decontextualised the carpets; and the archival records that show how drawing processes prepared the pattern for reproduction as a batch-produced commercial product. Before tracing the life of the Qom carpet pattern as a British product, it is worth emphasising the commercial and cultural purpose that reproduction of oriental carpets fulfilled. It is useful to recap the relevant weave structure’s affordances to progress to how the finished carpet was presented to consumers and how the hand-knotted carpet was adapted.

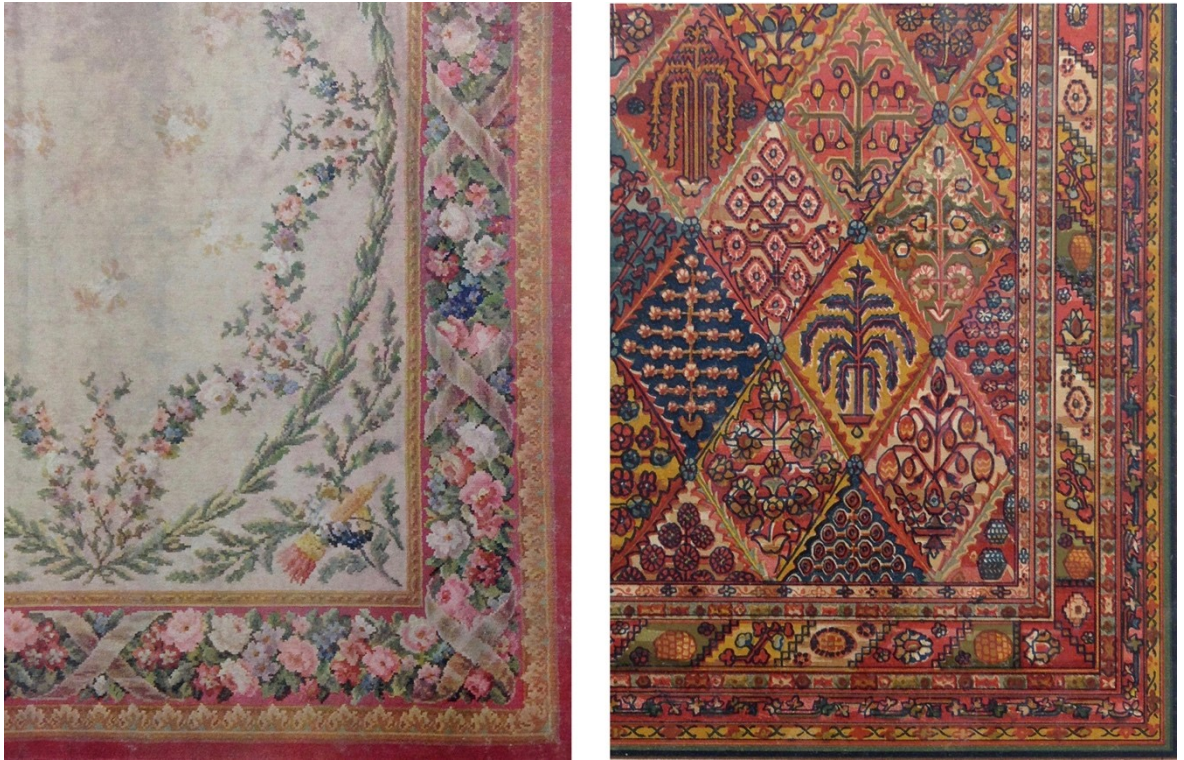
In contrast to the hand-woven silk threads used to make the source carpets, Templeton’s versions of the pattern were made with a fine worsted-yarn pile using the Chenille Axminster process. The process of reproduction prioritised replication of the surface pattern over the physicality of the original silk-pile, guided by the weave-structure’s affordances. As discussed in Chapter 3.2, the capability for unlimited colouring and seamless width were features of the weave structure. That earlier discussion also underlined that it was an inherently reproductive process; each weaving of chenille fur produced dozens of identical lengths of the same material, to be used either in repeating patterns or multiple numbers of a carpet square. The process effectively combined the design capabilities used in highly elite carpets with the economic benefits of factory production. Fred H. Young notes that in the early days of the company, single carpets were made by the Chenille Axminster process, but that the efficiency introduced by powered looms for weaving chenille from the 1870s and 1880s meant that, “Instead of making single carpets of a design, large numbers, fifty, one hundred or more of a design, were made at one time.”<sup>602</sup>

Both Templeton’s “French” and “Persian” styles benefitted from the capacity to use a larger number of shades, albeit for distinct reasons. “French” style designs, associated with descriptive terms such as Louis, Rococo, Beauvais, and Aubusson, often included floral and architectural motifs with naturalistic shading

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<sup>602</sup> Young, *A Century of Carpet Making, 1839-1939.*, 49.

achieved by using closely graded colours. “Persian” style designs were praised for the rich subtlety of their colouring by advocates of design reform, including Owen Jones and Henry Cole. This was often ascribed to the use of small areas of a wide variety of tones to produce what Christopher Dresser termed a “glowing neutral bloom.”<sup>603</sup>



**Figure 5.26** Templeton Chenille Axminster carpet designs: pattern number 1503, in a French style (left), and pattern number 1584, in a Persian style. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1 “Templeton Designs.”

The designs compared in Figure 5.26 are both Templeton Chenille Axminster carpets from 1911-1912.<sup>604</sup> Their different cultural references belie their technical similarity. Both patterns rely on the weave structure allowing many shades to be arranged without restriction over the design, producing richly tonal effects.

To assess the importance of Persian-style designs to Templeton in the 1930s, we can draw evidence from the two volumes of Design Studio Record Books, titled

<sup>603</sup> Christopher Dresser, *Principles of Decorative Design* (London: Cassell Petter and Galpin, 1875), 100.

<sup>604</sup> The designs were dated by reference to the Board of Trade Register of Designs, see Appendix A.

“Letter Books.” These volumes run from 1902 to 1969, recording a date, reference code, description, and weaving information for each pattern.<sup>605</sup> Frequently, the entries also include the source material used for the design and the name of an associated worker, meaning that they have the most comprehensive information about the design department’s output during this period. Although there are limitations to the range of products included in these records, their chronological arrangement suggests broad trends in design style.

In the “Letter Books” each design is given a single-line description that names its key design content and style. On the 13th April 1931, for example, a design was described as “Persian semi-bi-lateral sprays, central panel and birds.”<sup>606</sup> On the same day, another design was entered as “Modern triangles etc. in variegated colours - wood effect broken up.” Between 1925 and 1935, common style terms included: Chintz, Damask, Chinese, Persian, Indian, Modern, and Trellis. An estimate of the number of designs described as “Persian” shows that they accounted for approximately one-fifth of the total design output in this period. From 1931, “Persian” was overtaken by a rapid increase in the term “Modern.”<sup>607</sup> If two other associated terms, “Jazz” and “Dutch,” are also considered, the rapid increase in the production of “Modern” designs is pushed back to the late 1920s. By 1935, over half of the design department’s work was described as “Modern” in style, while “Persian” kept its more minor position. It should be remembered that this conclusion relates to the amount of new design work that was produced rather than the quantities of carpets woven, or sales achieved in each style, and no correlation is assumed.<sup>608</sup> Classic, Persian-style designs probably remained in production for longer periods than those that responded to current fashions. In the early 1930s, when Templeton made the reproduction of

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<sup>605</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/5/1-2 “Design Studio Record Books.”

<sup>606</sup> This description may initially seem to relate to Cowan’s drawings of the smaller Qom carpet (Figure 5.22), but the entry also records that the design was an adaptation of an existing carpet pattern. Neither of the design numbers is found in the archive of design drawings.

<sup>607</sup> Designs were described as “Modern” both as a single term (for example, “15th Oct 1931, KNO, Modern panels in various colours.”) and as a modifier of more traditional styles, as in, “12th Dec 1930, KPA, Modern Ch[in]tz with poppies, Oval Rug.”

<sup>608</sup> The available sales and production data are aggregated by the type of weave construction and range (‘Albert’ and ‘Jorian’ Spool Axminster, Wilton piece goods etc.), rather than relating to individual designs or styles. These wider categories reflect how the company organized production and are used in, Bartlett, *Carpeting the Millions: The Growth of Britain’s Carpet Industry*, 65.

the Qom carpet, Persian-style designs were still relevant to the design department's work, although less dominant than contemporary styles.

The impression given by the design studio record books is of a febrile turnover of novel styles contrasting with relative continuity in the production of Persian-style designs. Comments from carpet designers and manufacturers throughout the early decades of the century support this impression. In 1908, the designer and Templeton partner, Alexander Millar, complained that British manufacturers bore an added cost of design innovation which compounded the difficulty of competing with cheaper foreign carpets:

The importation of Oriental carpets continues, and British manufacturers suffer severely from competition with the cheap labour of the East. It is a strange anomaly that while there is a constant demand for novelty from home manufacturers, the public is content to accept from the East an unvarying supply of the old traditional designs.<sup>609</sup>

Orientalist attitudes meant that while contemporary pattern design was valued for being constantly new, Persian-style design was required to evoke timeless antiquity. The commercial designer Paul Mayer echoed this observation thirty years later:

Despite all the efforts of modern carpet designers to reach new heights of artistic achievement by the introduction of fresh forms and interesting colour combinations the Oriental carpet has maintained its supremacy for centuries.<sup>610</sup>

The commercial impact of these distinct sets of values could cut both ways; manufacturers invested in novel design work disproportionately to their competitors in the traditional centres of hand-knotted carpet production, but a high-quality oriental reproduction could also be expected to sell over a more extended period than a more modish pattern.

Weaving oriental-style patterns, including reproductions of acclaimed antiques, allowed European manufacturers to defend their market share from foreign

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<sup>609</sup> Millar, "The Making of Carpets - IV," 310.

<sup>610</sup> Paul Mayer, "Modern Carpet Designs," in *Carpet Annual*, ed. R. J. Arnott and H. F. Tysser (London: British Continental Press Ltd., 1935), 30.

competition. In the early-twentieth century, the intensification of hand-weaving in Persia, India, Turkey, and latterly Greece increased the pressure on the British trade from these regions. In Persia, European entrepreneurs, such as Edward Bonham and Phillipe Zeigler, had instigated new, centralised factories to weave carpets for export to Europe and America. They had reformed the organisational structure of the carpet industry by regulating quality, adjusting design to the taste of consumers in the West, and controlling the processing of raw materials.<sup>611</sup> By the outbreak of World War I, carpet exports from Persia were valued at over one million pounds, and the British Legation in Tehran noted yearly increases in demand from Europe.<sup>612</sup> The intensification of the industry continued after the ascension to power of Reza Shah Pahlavi, who sought to modernise equipment and centralise business structures.<sup>613</sup> Both Spool Axminster and Chenille Axminster processes were beneficial to British efforts to counter imported hand-knotted carpets as they retained the capability for intricate colouring for which antique Persian carpets were so highly praised. Furthermore, they did so while assuring consistent, repeatable results. Despite rising materials costs, Axminster qualities remained competitive with their hand-knotted carpet counterparts. A trade report informs:

While English Axminster manufacturers continue to produce some exquisite and costly fabrics, the tendency in recent years has been to produce cheaper qualities in deep-cut pile carpets, and in this way the trade in Oriental carpets has been checked.<sup>614</sup>

This can be seen in the price list of one of Templeton's key wholesale customers, the London department store Hamptons.<sup>615</sup> Although there was

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<sup>611</sup> William Floor, "CARPETS Xii. Pahlavi Period," *Encyclopædia Iranica* IV, no. Fasc. 8 (1990): 883–90; Annette Ittig, "Ziegler's Sultanabad Carpet Enterprise," *Iranian Studies* 25, no. 1–2 (1992): 103–35, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00210869208701772>. For economic background, see: A Seyf, "The Carpet Trade and the Economy of Iran, 1870-1906," *Iran* 30 (1992): 99–105, <https://doi.org/10.2307/4299873>.

<sup>612</sup> "British Trade With Persia: The Growth of Russian Competition," *The Manchester Guardian* (1901-1959), April 11, 1914.

<sup>613</sup> The interaction of the carpet industry with European taste is discussed further in Helfgott, *Ties That Bind: A Social History of the Iranian Carpet*, 88–109.

<sup>614</sup> "British Carpets: Kidderminster Spinning Dewsbury District," *The Manchester Guardian* (1901-1959), December 31, 1906.

<sup>615</sup> The close relationship between Hamptons and Templeton is communicated in the reminiscences of Frederick Campbell, and under buyer in the store's carpet department. Before joining Hamptons, Campbell worked at Templeton in the 1920s. He recalled, "I used to file the orders of the leading West End houses that merited a file to themselves. Only two firms also had a special book to themselves in which their orders were recorded and I can always

variation within each category, the price of British-made Axminster Seamless Squares, described as “Excellent carpets of fine Oriental design, the colouring and texture being very similar to real Oriental carpets,” were around one-third to one-half cheaper than equivalent new Persian carpets.<sup>616</sup> Trade reports concluded that British manufacturers had risen to the challenge of domestic demand for foreign carpets. They had:

... beaten the Orientals on their own ground. They have devoted themselves with commendable spirit to productions from the antique, and have placed on the market carpets possessing all the distinguishing characteristics of an Oriental make, and at a much reduced cost.<sup>617</sup>

Chenille Axminster and Spool Axminster weaving processes, as technologies of reproduction, were thus essential to the efforts made by British manufacturers to supplant imports from carpet-producing countries.

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remember that imposing red bound book with gold lettering – ‘Hamptons.’” Frederick Campbell, “Reminiscences of Frederick Leon Campbell, an under buyer in the carpet department,” HSL/2258/2, City of Westminster Archives.

<sup>616</sup> Donegal carpets, hand-made in Ireland, were priced higher than both new British and Persian carpets, while the costliest were “Antique Persian Carpets [...] very much worn, but the colours are exceedingly mellow and harmonious.” Hampton and Sons Ltd., “The Fascination of Supreme Value,” 1912, 232/2009, Museum of the Home, London. 14.

<sup>617</sup> “British Carpets: Kidderminster The Home Trade The Outlook,” *The Manchester Guardian* (1901-1959), December 31, 1907.

## 5.8 Templeton's adaptations of the Qom mausoleum carpet design.

The recreation of the Qom carpet design as a Chenille Axminster carpet made it available as a commercial product for the first time. As a joint product of Persian design and British manufacture, it can be placed in the complex contact zone shared by other European Orientalist decorative arts, in which cultural identity is negotiated using the imagined aesthetics of foreign cultures. Regarding oriental-style carpets, this negotiation is inflected by the social and aesthetic hierarchies embedded in the history of carpet collection by individuals and institutions in the west.<sup>618</sup> A Templeton marketing brochure from the 1930s makes the comparison between antique, hand-made carpets in museums and their machine-woven versions, suggesting that more widespread availability equates to democratisation:

It is a source of satisfaction to realise that although these magnificent carpets were originally woven for the pleasure of only a few, in this twentieth century of science and technical development, if we are denied the pleasure of an original, we can have a faithful reproduction of some of the best pieces made of the finest materials with scrupulous regard for the beauty of design.<sup>619</sup>

While the batch-produced carpet was undoubtedly more affordable than a unique hand-knotted carpet, Templeton's claim to democratisation is more rhetorical than political. The "faithful reproduction" was still costly; the £21 10s starting price in 1931 is converted to over £1,000 today.<sup>620</sup> A government Working Party survey of working-class households post-World War II found that only five percent were prepared to pay £20 or more for a carpet.<sup>621</sup> The price of Templeton's Qom carpet suggests, therefore, a wealthy middle or upper-class consumer for whom the practical quality of the carpet's construction was combined with the pattern's appealing connotations of historical exclusivity and

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<sup>618</sup> Jackson, "Persian Carpets and the South Kensington Museum: Design, Scholarship and Collecting in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain"; Donald King and David Sylvester, *The Eastern Carpet in the Western World from the 15th to the 17th Century: Hayward Gallery, London, 20 May - 10 July 1983* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1983).

<sup>619</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/10/1 "Fine Carpets."

<sup>620</sup> A calculation of the relative value in 2020 compared to 1931 using the retail price index produces an estimate of £1,472. If labour value is included, the estimate of relative value rises to £4,058. "Relative Value of UK Pound Amount."

<sup>621</sup> Carpet Industry Working Party, *Carpets*, 79.

connoisseurship. The social and cultural capital that pertained to designs such as this is indicated by carpet designer Frederick Mayers' comment that a preference for historical Persian design, "persists most markedly among people of inherited aristocratic tastes and long family intimacy with the best 'classic' work."<sup>622</sup> The technology of reproduction extended the availability of the practical benefits of such carpets, and also Persian design as a marker of prestige, to those with more newly acquired financial means.

The positive attitude to technological reproduction seen in Templeton's marketing is continued in an advertisement for the department store Waring and Gillow Ltd., which launched the carpet design in 1932. In common with the Templeton brochure, its text reinforces an association between the new Chenille Axminster carpet and the European history of collecting Persian art as high-status decorative objects. (Figure 5.27) Under the headline "Antiques of the Future," the article gives an exotic account of the design's origin, alluding to its exclusivity and the Burlington House exhibition of the previous year. There is then a transferral of values from the Persian carpet to its British counterpart: "This British-made Carpet of quality - a masterpiece of design, colouring and weaving - reflects great credit on Waring & Gillow and the manufacturer."<sup>623</sup>


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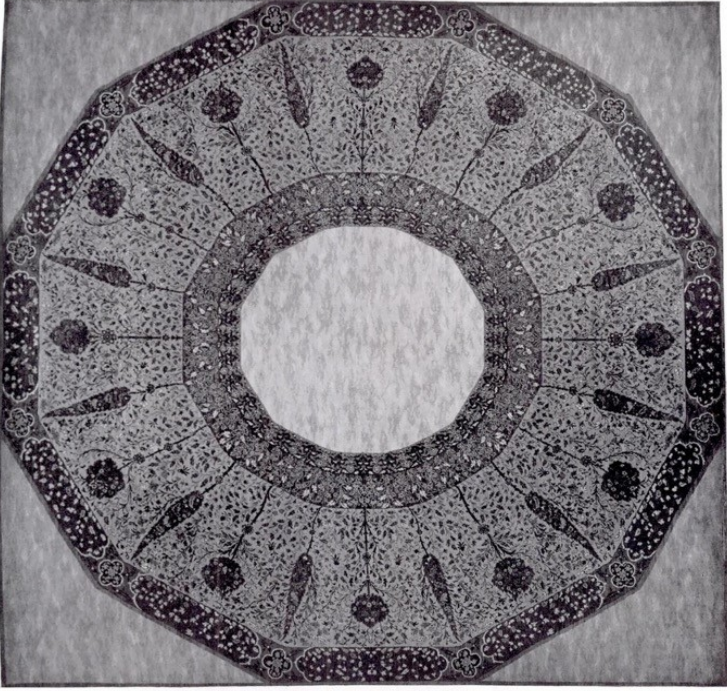
<sup>622</sup> Mayers, *Carpet Designs and Designing*, 90.

<sup>623</sup> "Waring & Gillow Ltd.," *Country Life (Archive: 1901-2005)* 71, no. 1575 (April 30, 1932).



April 30th, 1932. COUNTRY LIFE. XXXI.

BY  APPOINTMENT



## Antiques of the Future

Photograph of a masterly reproduction of the World-famous Carpet from the Fatimah Mosque at Qum—used to surround the Tomb of Shah Abbas II.

The original Carpet was on view at the Persian Art Exhibition, Royal Academy, January, 1931, prior to which, it was stated, few Europeans had been privileged to see it. Even to-day, access to the Tomb is rarely permitted, even to the faithful, and only the bare-footed Mullahs are permitted to tread on the Carpet, which has twelve sides, and bears an inscription that it was made by a master-weaver named Nah-amat-ullah from Joshagan, about 1661.

The texture of the Carpet illustrated is very fine. The colourings of the ground and surround are of a soft cream with foliage in rose colourings, soft greens and soft blues, etc.

This British-made Carpet of quality—a masterpiece of design, colouring and weaving—reflects great credit on Waring & Gillow and the manufacturer.

**WARING & GILLOW Ltd.**  
 OXFORD ST., LONDON, W.      Telegrams: "Warison, Rath, London."

Telephone: Museum 5000.

NOTE: There are 144 tufts to the square inch of this carpet—testimony to the very fine weaving.

SIZES and PRICES:  
 \*12ft. x 9ft. £21. 10s.  
 12ft. x 12ft. £30. 0s.  
 \*15ft. x 12ft. £38. 0s.  
 \* These sizes ready in June

Figure 5.27 "Waring & Gillow Ltd." *Country Life*, 71, no.1841 (April 30, 1932). © 2013 ProQuest LLC.

A promotional article in *Country Life* from the following week continued to ascribe the qualities valued by connoisseurs in the original carpet to the Chenille Axminster version. As with Templeton's version of the Ardabil carpet discussed above, fineness of knotting and colouring were used as metrics of prestige. The article, titled "A Triumph for British Weavers," recalls the exhibition of the mausoleum carpet in Burlington House and introduces a "masterly reproduction... for which the manufacturers deserve the greatest credit."<sup>624</sup> The replica carpet

<sup>624</sup> "A Triumph for British Weavers."

is praised for the fineness of the weaving, with one hundred and forty-four tufts per square inch, and for its exquisite colouring. The article also addresses the changes that Templeton made to the format of the carpet. It is no longer twelve-sided, having been squared-off with a pale, irregularly dappled background. Rather than suggesting that this reduces the authenticity of the design, the article presents it as a solution to the difficulty of fitting the original format into a British home. Finally, it promises that although it is only currently available as a 12 ft by 12 ft square, “larger and smaller sizes will be available in June.”<sup>625</sup> In fact, the examples given below show that the design was made to be even more flexible in dimension, whilst retaining the same dense, fine, gauge of worsted pile.

The text of the Waring and Gillow advertisement recalls the Qom carpet’s prestigious appearance at the Persian art exhibition but begins to recast it as a British product. The achievements of colour harmony and fineness are transferred from the original hand-woven production to the machine-made carpet via the pattern to make it a triumph of British weaving and design. Furthermore, the specificity of the Qom carpet’s format to the mausoleum architecture is thus removed, and it is made suitable for an aspirational, wealthy British home.

Once Templeton had integrated the Qom carpet design into mechanised weaving processes, it became increasingly flexible in format and dimension, as illustrated by diverse versions displayed in trade fairs and industrial exhibitions. The carpet’s prominence in these displays indicates its significance as a marker of prestige for the company. The Templeton stand of the British Industries Fair, 1934, shows a rectangular version with a wider decorative field. (Figure 5.28) The firm presented another version of the design to the Duke of York (later crowned George VI) when he visited the Templeton factory in October 1932. On that occasion, the carpet was specially adapted with a wide margin to fit it into an octagonal room in the Royal Lodge, Windsor.<sup>626</sup> The collection of Templeton

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<sup>625</sup> “A Triumph for British Weavers.”

<sup>626</sup> “Royal Appreciation,” *Templeton’s Magazine*, July 1933, 2.

carpets acquired by Glasgow Museums also includes three versions of the Qom carpet design in different sizes.<sup>627</sup>



**Figure 5.28 "British Industries Fair," *Templeton's Magazine*, July 1934, 4.**

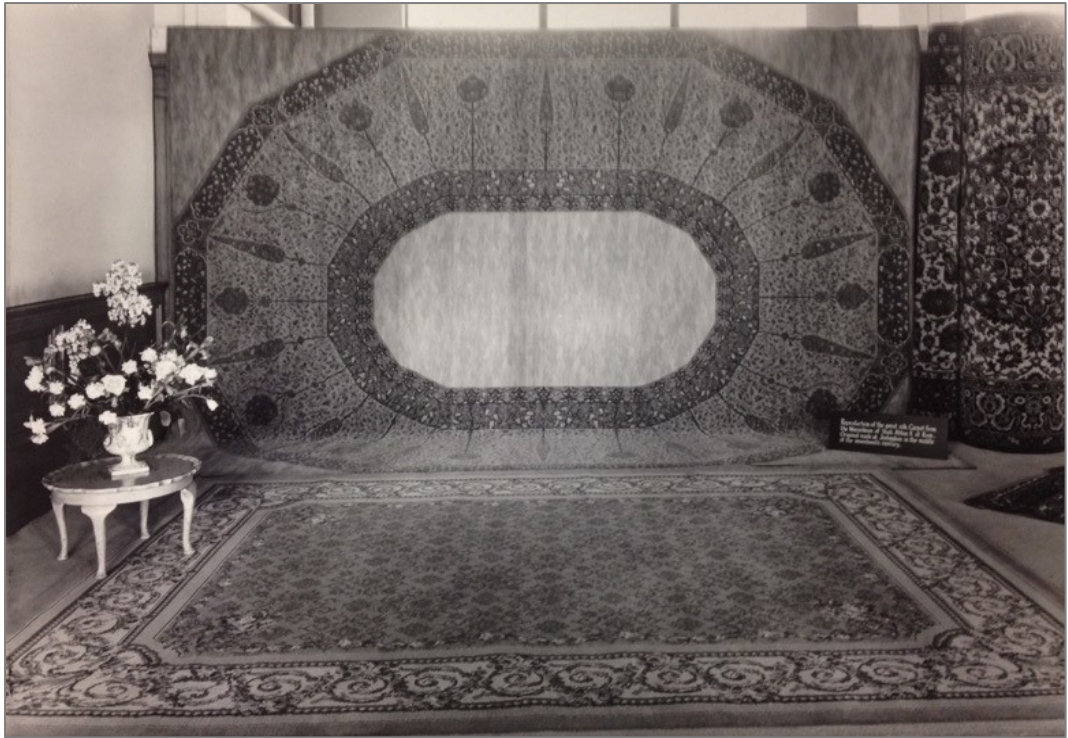
Templeton displayed a smaller, dodecagonal version of the carpet in the 1938 Glasgow Empire Exhibition on a plinth in front of a wall-mounted carpet. (Figure 5.29) Photographs of the company's showroom in their William Street building also include a rectangular version of the carpet. (Figure 5.30) Here, the carpet's plain central field has lost its relationship to the architecture of the mausoleum and instead suggests a suitable location for a table in a British home. These variations are in addition to the range of stock sizes advertised by Waring and Gillow. In each of these examples, the carpet pattern's formerly unique dimensions and proportions have been adapted to suit the varied locations and events in which it appeared. Templeton's prominent use of the Qom carpet in their promotional displays shows that it continued to be thought of as a prestigious product that represented the high quality of their manufacturing. It

<sup>627</sup> Museum references: E.2009.3.8, 3660mm x 4600mm (12ft x 15ft); E.2009.3.9, 2800mm x 3790mm (9ft 2in x 12ft 5in); E.2009.3.10, 2630mm x 3700mm (8ft 7½in x 12ft 1in). Correspondence with Rebecca Quinton, Curator of European Costume and Textiles, Glasgow Museums.

was connotative not only of the valorisation of seventeenth-century Persian textiles but also of the company's own heritage and reputation.



**Figure 5.29** “The Templeton Pavilion at the Empire Exhibition,”  
*Templeton’s Magazine*, June 1938, 7.



**Figure 5.30 Showroom display at Templeton's William Street building, featuring an elongated version of the Qom carpet design. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/16/1/5 "Carpet Displays."**

The varied iterations of the carpet pattern demonstrate that Templeton's "technology of versioning" introduced commercially valuable flexibility into the design.<sup>628</sup> How this was achieved technically can be revealed by a closer examination of another surviving example of the design. This carpet has been identified in Pollok House, Glasgow, where the National Trust for Scotland has used it to furnish the Morning Room since 2013.<sup>629</sup> (Figure 5.31) The Morning Room is part of the original eighteenth-century house and adjoins one of the two wings added by Sir John Stirling Maxwell between 1890 and 1904.<sup>630</sup> It is smaller than the main rooms on the visitor route through the house and is presented as it may have appeared in the early-twentieth century.<sup>631</sup>

<sup>628</sup> Armstrong, "What Is an 'Oriental' Carpet? Reimagining, Remaking, Repossessing the Patterned Pile Carpets of South, Central and West Asia since 1840," 120.

<sup>629</sup> The National Trust for Scotland brought the carpet to Pollok House in 2013 from Comrie House, Comrie, near Crieff, in Perth and Kinross. Correspondence with Emma Inglis, Curator, National Trust for Scotland, April 2017.

<sup>630</sup> Canmore, "Pollok House," <https://canmore.org.uk/site/44390/glasgow-pollokshaws-road-pollok-park-pollok-house>. Accessed 28 March 2017.

<sup>631</sup> When Pollok House was acquired by the National Trust for Scotland in 1998 a different carpet, with a large scale palmette design, was used in the room, but this was replaced in 2013 after it



**Figure 5.31 Morning Room, Pollok House, Glasgow, 2017. Courtesy of Suzanne Reid, Conservator, National Trust for Scotland.**

The colour palette of the Templeton carpet contributes to the Trust’s presentation of the room as a refined yet intimate domestic space occupied by the lady of the house.<sup>632</sup> The carpet’s colouring is softened by the inclusion of the abrash streaking effect in the background and open areas of the field. This effect has been achieved using closely matched shades of wool in irregular patches, as shown in Cowan’s initial design sketches.

The layout and pattern repeat of the design in this example reveals how Templeton adapted it to fit the traditional rectangular shape of carpet “squares” intended for European homes. The original dodecagonal shape was extended into an oblong shape by introducing a new section into the middle of the design, which lacks the thirty-degree angle at its corners. Repeating this section of the pattern during the production process would have enabled the length to be customised, as advised on Templeton’s label attached to the

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had become worn: Correspondence with Emma Inglis, Curator, National Trust for Scotland, April 2017.

<sup>632</sup> This is communicated to visitors by interpretation signage in the room that describes it as a place where Lady Stirling Maxwell “might have written letters, or organized meals with the cook;” it is a gendered counterpart to the Business Room on the opposite side of the house.

carpet, by any multiple of eighteen inches.<sup>633</sup> Whilst the length could be adjusted, any changes to the width of the carpet would have entailed redrawing the entire design with associated costs.



**Figure 5.32** Detail of Templeton Qom carpet design from Pollok House, showing the mirrored section of the design.

The pattern designer has achieved this flexibility by introducing a smaller cypress tree between two round-headed trees. (Figure 5.32) These tree motifs differ from the others in that they have straight stems rather than softly curving stems drawn by Cowan from the source carpet. The practical function of the straight stem is to allow the design to be mirrored down its centre. During the final stage of weaving, on the “setting” loom, identical sections of chenille fur could be used for both halves of the design. Once the carpet was woven to its mid-point, the weaver could reverse the direction of the chenille fur to produce the mirror image of the first half. The section of design that was inserted to extend the length of the carpet could be mirrored using the same method. By mirroring the design along this central axis, the designer effectively introduced a repeat into the design and thus increased the efficiency of weaving the chenille fur for the carpet. Writing in 1934, the carpet designer Frederick Mayers stated,

<sup>633</sup> Templeton’s label notes three set widths, but that “Any length can be woven starting from 6 feet, always increasing by 18 inches, but only in the widths given above.” Correspondence with Suzanne Reid, Conservator, National Trust for Scotland, December 2016.

“One of the first considerations in a chenille design is the repeat, and a lay out that will reduce the weft weaving to a minimum.”<sup>634</sup> The mirrored repeat meant that fewer different lengths of fur were needed to complete the pattern. As each weaving produced multiple identical lengths, the carpet could be made with greater efficiency and less financial outlay on the preparatory stages. Introducing a mirrored repeat into the new middle section of the design also enabled it to be easily extended to whatever length was required without additional design work.

The reproduction of the Qom mausoleum carpet pattern is remarkable because of the conditions of its display in Persia and Britain. However, the nature of its technical transformation - from a unique, historic part of Islamic material culture to being described as a triumph of modern British industrial production - indicates a broader culture of reproduction. Carpet retailer’s catalogues repeat the transferral of values from antique to contemporary, and from hand-knotting to industrialised weaving, via the reproduction of an apparently “timeless” design. The catalogue of Hampton and Sons Ltd. for 1928 is representative, advertising a Persian-style carpet with the claim: “These are guaranteed to be without any exception of the finest British manufacture only. The unusually close texture of these carpets permits of the facsimile reproduction of all the exceptionally fine details which are peculiar to rare Oriental specimens.”<sup>635</sup> Another example shows Templeton’s version of the so-called “Chelsea carpet,”<sup>636</sup> and informs, “Hamptons specialises in the various dependable grades in which these renowned hard-wearing Carpets are woven.”<sup>637</sup> (Figure 5.33)

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<sup>634</sup> Mayers, *Carpet Designs and Designing*, 62.

<sup>635</sup> Hampton and Sons Ltd., “Autumn 1928,” 76/2015, Museum of the Home, London. 23.

<sup>636</sup> Templeton designers had made drawings of this famous seventeenth-century carpet by 1905, used for an ‘Abbey’ Chenille Axminster reproduction, and an ‘Arran’ Wilton quality in 1937, see UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/132/4 “Mixed Exotic Persian [2].” The company also owned a copy of Thomas Hendley’s *Asian Carpets*, 1906, which included five full-scale details of the Chelsea carpet, ideally arranged for replication. Thomas Holbein Hendley, *Asian Carpets: XVI and XVII Century Designs from the Jaipur Palaces* (London: W. Griggs, 1905), figs. cxli–cxlv.

<sup>637</sup> Hampton and Sons Ltd., “Since the Reign of King George IV,” 1938, 194/2009, Museum of the Home, London. 5.





Hamptons specialize in the various dependable grades in which these renowned hard-wearing Carpets are woven. Their stocks, which are the products of the best British manufacturers only, afford an unusually large selection of the choicest designs and colourings produced. The Carpet illustrated, which is in a fine quality and of exceptional value, is available in the popular sizes quoted below. It is typical of the large selection of designs. Many of these are in a larger range of sizes and all are at proportionate cost.

10 ft. 6 in. × 9 ft. 0 in.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£11 6 6
12 ft. 0 in. × 9 ft. 0 in.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12 18 6
12 ft. 0 in. × 10 ft. 6 in.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14 19 6
13 ft. 6 in. × 10 ft. 6 in.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16 18 6

HAMPTON & SONS LD., PALL MALL EAST, LONDON, S.W.1 5

**Figure 5.33 Hampton and Sons Ltd., “Since the Reign of King George IV,” 1938, 194/2009, Museum of the Home, London. 5.**

The dependability of the British carpets is contrasted to the variability of imported goods. Adjacent pages advertise Hampton’s shipments of hand-made carpets and their exclusive supply of carpets hand-knotted in India. The company warns us that, “stocks change daily and that no two rugs are ever the same.”<sup>638</sup> Whereas the Indian carpets are illustrated with examples of an everchanging variety of sizes, colours and qualities, the British reproductions are promoted for their dependability. Domestic, mechanised production allowed consistency of supply, with recognisable designs made in a controlled range of sizes and colours. Industrial weaving enabled the exact reproducibility of pattern, rationalised desirable characteristics such as the fineness of the pitch

<sup>638</sup> Hampton and Sons Ltd., “Autumn 1932,” 37/1997-1, Museum of the Home, London. 8.

and stabilised the uncertainties of production inherent in complex foreign supply-chains. The London-based company, Oriental Carpet Manufacturers, noted that European buyers demanded “greater uniformity in Eastern carpets, and complained of:

individual buyers insisting on perfectly even ground shades and uniform colours throughout the carpet. How many times is the salesman brought up against the complaint about the streakiness of a rug!<sup>639</sup>

However, the techniques that were praised in industrial manufacture for providing consistency, such as mechanised spinning and synthetic dyes, were seen as antithetical to the authenticity of hand-knotted carpets woven in Persia. Despite the utility of synthetic dyes, in the 1930s contemporary commentators perceived them to be such a threat to the reputation of the Persian industry that Reza Shah Pahlavi’s government introduced heavy export duties on carpets incorporating any aniline-dyed yarn.<sup>640</sup> British reproduction carpets, woven in historical patterns on mechanised looms, inherited a hybrid profile of desirable qualities, embodying tradition and modernity. As an elite antique available to all through the affordances of up-to-date technology, its pattern and weave were temporally indeterminate, simultaneously alluding to sixteenth-century Persia, present-day Britain, and an ahistorical orientalist past.

Reproduction using the Chenille Axminster process multiplied the pattern of the carpet, making it repeatable and variable rather than unique and specific to its site. The geometry of the design was divorced from the specific relationship it previously had to the mausoleum, and the physical changes to materials and weaving technique produced a conceptual shift that realigned it with a European conception of Persian art, based on the aesthetic ensemble of the domestic interior. Even though Templeton mentioned the design’s origin when it displayed their versions of the carpet, the Chenille Axminster versions are most notable for the cultural distance that the changes to materials and technique create from the design source.

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<sup>639</sup> Wilfred G Seagar, “Oriental Carpets,” in *Carpet Annual*, ed. R. J. Arnott and H. F. Tysser (London: British Continental Press Ltd., 1935), 64.

<sup>640</sup> Arnott and Tysser, *Carpet Annual.*, 15.

## 5.9 Conclusion.

Templeton benefitted from participation in the exhibitionary culture that grew around the appreciation of Persian carpets in the early-twentieth century. The circulation and display of carpets meant it could access design sources for new, commercially valuable products. Simultaneously, the company derived cultural benefits from the overlap between the roles of collector and manufacturer, transferring the prestige ascribed to elite Persian carpets to their products. The sketches by James Cowan of the Qom carpet were made possible by its inclusion in the 1931 exhibition, and the changing relationship between Persia and Britain politically facilitated the physical availability of the carpet for copying. It was also made conceptually available as an aesthetic object by epistemological changes in the developing scholarly discipline of Islamic art history. By presenting the carpet primarily as an object for aesthetic appreciation, its specific relationship to the mausoleum was diminished, and it was recontextualised as an art object.

The unusual format of the carpet was adapted multiple times to suit the technological conventions of the British industry. Templeton rearranged the pattern to make stock sizes and offered it as a customisable design. The pattern was mirrored and elements were changed to make it efficient to weave as a Chenille carpet. The Chenille Axminster process inherently produced multiple copies of sections of the design, and the possibility to customise the length of the design relied on this affordance of reproducibility.

Tracing the objects, designs and displays of the Qom carpet pattern has revealed a design that has undergone a cultural transformation from a highly individual object to a commercial product, occurring in multiple formats and locations. It has been impelled along this trajectory by technologies of manufacture and display that have removed and re-inscribed culturally specific context. The conversion of a hand-knotted object into a multiple, woven on mechanised looms, was a significantly heightened example of the interaction of design and weaving technique. The changes to materials and processes created an object positioned in a contact zone between cultures.

This case study exemplifies how reproduction of oriental designs allowed British manufacturers to engage with connoisseurs' valorisation of elite historic carpets and, in doing so, combat competition from modern hand-knotted imports. The dependability and replicability of industrialised production were advertised as a democratising process with the effect of validating mechanised-weaving in comparison to hand-knotting. The effect was to decrease the relevance of imported hand-knotted carpets for consumers in domestic and overseas markets. By transferring designs between manufacturing techniques and weave structures, manufacturers enacted a cultural re-contextualisation that asserted the quality of British industrial manufacturing over the original context of production. In this sense, we must apply a caveat to Potvin's analysis of this type of object as part of an "endless series of hybrid becomings" to reassert the asymmetry of power present in these acts of overlapping cultural contact.<sup>641</sup>

In this chapter, the focus on weave structure, specifically the transfer of pattern between weaving methods, has revealed reproduction of Persian carpets to have a greater cultural significance than has previously been noted in the literature on carpet design. The affordances of mechanized carpet weaving have been shown to be active participants in forming cultural value around a group of products defined by pattern design. Leading from this, we can also ask the reciprocal question: can specific approaches to pattern design actively change the perceived affordances of weaving technology? In the next chapter, this question is explored by examining what happened when pattern design itself was challenged by the rising popularity of plain-coloured carpets.

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<sup>641</sup> Potvin, *Oriental Interiors: Design, Identity, Space*, 23.

## 6 “Simplicity of background to our highly coloured lives:” plain-coloured carpets in furnishing advice and manufacture, 1890-1939.



Figure 6.1 Templeton plain ‘Saxony’ Wilton carpets. James Templeton & Co Ltd. and Stanley Livingstone Russell, *Carpets of Distinction*. (Glasgow: Templeton, 1951).

### 6.1 Introduction.

In 1936, the interior designer Prudence Maufe described the appeal of plain beige carpets as offering “simplicity of background to our highly-coloured lives.”<sup>642</sup> Her positive opinion of these everyday textiles may be surprising to later readers, for whom plain-coloured carpets have achieved a ubiquity that has made them almost invisible. In the Templeton archives, plain-coloured carpets are found in catalogues and price lists, detailing a wide variety of qualities and products. (Figure 6.1) Despite their familiarity, recent scholarship on the design and production of carpets in Britain has barely acknowledged their existence.<sup>643</sup> In the context of the dominant interest in progressive pattern design, examined

<sup>642</sup> Prudence Maufe, “The Viewpoint of a Modern Carpet Buyer,” in *Carpet Annual*, ed. R. J. Arnott and H. F. Tysser (London: British Continental Press Ltd., 1936), 37–38.

<sup>643</sup> Day, *Art Deco and Modernist Carpets*; Haslam, *Arts & Crafts Carpets*; Sherrill, *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and America*.

in the preceding chapters, it is less surprising that products with no discernible designer have been given little attention. However, the discrepancy between the primary sources and the historiography means that few answers have been given to the question of what benefits and drawbacks plain-coloured carpets offered to domestic consumers and how these interacted with production techniques.

As a notable exception in the literature about carpets, Judy Attfield's critical interest in the hierarchical construction of value in twentieth-century design history made plain tufted carpets a suitably provocative subject for study.<sup>644</sup> Attfield revealed the institutional values relating to pattern-weaving that guided carpet manufacturers' responses to changing markets and technology after 1950. This chapter follows Attfield's aim of examining the historical discourse surrounding a popular but low-status type of carpet. However, this chapter differs from Attfield by focussing on plain designs made with traditional weave structures during an earlier period of production. By examining how plain-coloured carpets were mediated by decoration and furnishing advice texts published in Britain between 1890-1939, a new interpretation is formed of the significance of plain carpets in early-twentieth-century interior design. It is shown that Templeton's production of plain-coloured carpets was shaped by both sociocultural trends and technical affordances.

Particular attention is paid to the changing visual arrangement of pattern and plain surfaces in the ensemble of the domestic interior, as advocated by authors of decoration advice. Although Templeton produced carpets for contract work in public and commercial properties as well as the home, products for the domestic interior are widely represented in the company's catalogues from this period. The middle-class home is taken as the focus of this study as it provided a growing audience for authors of decoration advice and became a focus for debate about the improvement of industrial design in Britain.<sup>645</sup>

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<sup>644</sup> Attfield, "The Tufted Carpet in Britain: It's Rise from the Bottom of the Pile 1952-1970."

<sup>645</sup> Buckley, *Designing Modern Britain.*; James Peto and Donna Loveday, *Modern Britain, 1929-1939* (London: Design Museum, 1999); Sparke, "The Modern Interior: A Space, a Place or a Matter of Taste?"

Advice, as a genre, gives insight into the cultural and social values that plain-coloured carpet accrued. Returning to these sources is essential to excavate how plain-coloured carpets were imagined before their status was lowered in the more recent past. In her study of the material culture of home entertainment, Grace Lees-Maffei notes that the authors of furnishing and etiquette advice showed, “an acute concern for balancing tradition and modernity that makes advice literature such a sensitive barometer of the mediation of modernist design.”<sup>646</sup> For this study, the category of decorating and furnishing advice has been interpreted to mean not only texts in books and periodicals that give practical instructions to the householder. It also includes varieties of publications that mediated between arbiters of taste and the general public, and between manufactures and consumers. This interpretation is broader than Lees-Maffei’s, which distinguishes between practical advice texts and those, “intending to educate from a position of superiority (top down) and their mediators...”<sup>647</sup> While specificity allows close attention to the methodological challenges of that category of advice, it is important to recognise that advice also existed in a wider media system, with porous borders between commercial and institutional positions.<sup>648</sup> Lees-Maffei’s examination of the contentious relationship of advice to practice is extremely valuable for assessing these sources. Not only does instructional literature depict ideals rather than actual behaviour, but it may also explicitly describe what is *not* already widespread practice. An actual reader may have aspired to the class being described, making them distinct from the reader implied by the text. Readers also consumed advice for reasons other than to replicate its ideas, such as fantasy, humour, and entertainment.<sup>649</sup>

Texts written about interior decoration and furnishing were part of a broader culture in which design was disseminated through commercial and intellectual channels. The authors of advice often held other professional roles involved in the mediation of current design practice: as architects, publishers, and members

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<sup>646</sup> Grace Lees-Maffei, “From Service to Self-Service: Advice Literature as Design Discourse, 1920-1970,” *Journal of Design History* 14, no. 3 (2001): 187–206, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jdh/14.3.187>.

<sup>647</sup> Lees-Maffei, 190.

<sup>648</sup> Lees-Maffei, “Studying Advice: Historiography, Methodology, Commentary, Bibliography,” 8.

<sup>649</sup> Lees-Maffei, 6.

of official institutions such as the Design and Industries Association. For example, Dorothy Todd's *The New Interior Decoration*, 1929, followed her editorship at *Vogue* magazine, during which she had controversially engaged with progressive, modernist writers.<sup>650</sup> Simultaneously, the role of interior designer underwent professionalization, with prominent women setting-up practices in Britain and the United States, including Prudence Maufe at the London department store Heal's.<sup>651</sup>

Media relating to the domestic interior, as both an ideal and a site for consumption, multiplied in quantity and variety over the first decades of the twentieth century. As Jeremy Aynsley has examined, the rise in publications, magazines and advertising about domestic interiors was aligned to a greater social and ideological significance being given to the home.<sup>652</sup> The design historian Trevor Keeble has noted that women's magazines and advice pages in newspapers were important in the transmission of authorised taste by bridging the divide between design professionals and the needs of the female householder.<sup>653</sup> For this study, decorating and furnishing advice has been sourced from dedicated books published in Britain from 1900 to 1939, articles in the digitised archives of newspapers including *The Scotsman*, *The Manchester Guardian* and *The Observer*, and periodicals including *Woman and Home* and *Country Life*.<sup>654</sup> While the audiences addressed by these sources centre around

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<sup>650</sup> Anne Pender, "Modernist Madonnas': Dorothy Todd, Madge Garland and Virginia Woolf," *Women's History Review* 16, no. 4 (September 1, 2007): 519–33, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09612020701445867>; Christopher Reed, "A Vogue That Dare Not Speak Its Name: Sexual Subculture During the Editorship of Dorothy Todd, 1922–26," *Fashion Theory* 10, no. 1–2 (March 1, 2006): 39–72, <https://doi.org/10.2752/136270406778050996>; Dorothy Todd and Raymond Mortimer, *The New Interior Decoration: An Introduction to Its Principles, and International Survey of Its Methods* (London: Batsford, 1929).

<sup>651</sup> Bridget Elliott and Janice Helland, *Women Artists and the Decorative Arts, 1880-1935: The Gender of Ornament* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); John Potvin, "Colour Wars: Personality, Textiles and the Art of the Interior in 1930s Britain," *Visual Culture in Britain* 16, no. 1 (January 2, 2015): 25–41, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14714787.2015.983727>; Penny Sparke, "The 'ideal' and the 'Real' Interior in Elsie de Wolfe's *The House in Good Taste* of 1913," *Journal of Design History* 16, no. 1 (2003): 63–76, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jdh/16.1.63>.

<sup>652</sup> Aynsley and Grant, *Imagined Interiors: Representing the Domestic Interior since the Renaissance*, 190–215; Jeremy Aynsley, "Publishing the Modern Home: Magazines and the Domestic Interior 1870-1965," *Journal of Design History* 18, no. 1 (2005): 1–5, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jdh/epi001>.

<sup>653</sup> Trevor Keeble, "Woman Magazine and the Modern Home.," in *Design and the Modern Magazine*, ed. Jeremy Aynsley and Kate Forde (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 95–113.

<sup>654</sup> The selection of furnishing and decoration advice texts was initially guided by the corpus assembled by the Cornell University Home Economics Archive, H.E.A.R.T.H.,



an implied middle-class householder, there is a significant range of positions within that category: from advice articles that appealed to an aspirational, “new rich,” lower-middle-class,<sup>655</sup> to expressions of cultural capital aimed towards those with greater wealth.

In addition to decoration guides, other forms of mediation of the interior also contain elements of advice. Advertising, for example, used a collective understanding of what objects meant for consumers and attempted to shape the qualities associated with products, adding to the work of designers to create what Adrian Forty termed “objects of desire.”<sup>656</sup> This study uses monographs of decorating and furnishing advice and editorial content in periodicals, manufacturers’ marketing materials, retailers’ advertisements, and trade exhibitions. This collection of sources addresses disparate audiences of consumers, both implied and actual, with diverse and sometimes contradictory messages about interior design’s social and cultural value. The varied contexts frustrate attempts to ascribe actual practice confidently to groups of consumers but allow an overview of how authors conceived of plain-coloured carpets in the imagined interiors of texts and images.

The authors of the diverse texts that mediated the use of plain-coloured carpets in the early-twentieth century used the terms “modern,” “modernistic,” and “moderne” to refer to different, even contradictory, cultural forms, design styles and ideological positions. Progressive architectural critics used “modern” to communicate their understanding of Le Corbusier’s writings, the International Style, and the principle of functionalism in design. In contrast, retailers and manufacturers often used the term interchangeably with “up-to-date,” and “of to-day” to combine presentness with fashion and novelty. Furthermore, the issue is complicated by heterogeneous disciplinary definitions that, as Stanford Friedman has shown, are shaped by power relations that enable the contested

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<http://hearth.library.cornell.edu/> (accessed 30 Jan 2018). The British context was strengthened by the addition of often cited authors published in Britain and sourced through the catalogues of the British Library and National Library of Scotland.

<sup>655</sup> Sugg Ryan, *Ideal Homes, 1918-39: Domestic Design and Suburban Modernism*, 25–32.

<sup>656</sup> Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society since 1750*, 11.

periodization and intellectual terrain of Modernism in the humanities.<sup>657</sup>

Concerning the historiography of modernist architecture and design, Elliot explains that the distinction between “modernist” and “modernistic” was reinforced retrospectively by mid-century critics as a process of canon formation that “perpetuated their own professional, middle-class standards of value, deliberately excluding more eclectic and hybrid forms of popular culture.”<sup>658</sup>

This study uses the distinction between “modernist” and “modernistic” design in Britain, as proposed by Deborah Sugg Ryan. This distinction acknowledges the value-laden historic definitions focussed on the first term as a form of authorised design grounded in rationalism, functionalism, and the machine aesthetic. The second term refers to a decorative style embracing sensual interpretations of Cubism, “Jazz-modern,” and the glamour of Hollywood.<sup>659</sup> Sugg Ryan attempts to capture a more diverse popular understanding of what she terms “suburban modernism” that emerged in the interwar period through consumers individual choices in commercial environments. In these hybrid interiors, people engaged with central themes of modern life - such as efficiency, presentness, urbanisation, machine production, spatial and temporal disjuncture - but remained sceptical of didactic authorised design.<sup>660</sup>

Stephen Greenhalgh’s term the “English compromise” is another “impure” modernism used in this study to illuminate the stylistic hybridity of domestic objects and interiors.<sup>661</sup> It describes the division of a progressive formal style from its origins in radical social and political thought. Specifically, Greenhalgh identifies regressive, nationalistic and traditionalist content in English design using visual styles appropriated from the avant-garde.<sup>662</sup> Although Greenhalgh

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<sup>657</sup> Susan Stanford Friedman, “Definitional Excursions: The Meanings of Modern/Modernity/Modernism,” in *Disciplining Modernism*, ed. Pamela L. Caughie (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 11–33.

<sup>658</sup> Bridget Elliot, “Modern, Moderne, and Modernistic: Le Corbusier, Thomas Wallis and the Problem of Art Deco,” in *Disciplining Modernism*, ed. Pamela L. Caughie (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 144.

<sup>659</sup> Sugg Ryan, *Ideal Homes, 1918-39: Domestic Design and Suburban Modernism*, 54–60.

<sup>660</sup> Sugg Ryan, 19.

<sup>661</sup> Paul Greenhalgh, “The English Compromise: Modern Design and National Consciousness, 1870-1940,” in *Designing Modernity: The Arts of Reform and Persuasion 1885-1945* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995), 111–43.

<sup>662</sup> Fraser and Paul give the contrary opinion, claiming that “Tradition provided the human face of Modernism” and “transcended nationalism, drawing on the commonality of nationalist

believes this nostalgic visual content to be specifically English in connotation, his concept can be extended to the broader British response to modern design. As Elizabeth Cumming has argued, Scottish responses to Modernist design engaged with nationalistic discourse in distinct but parallel ways.<sup>663</sup> Regarding the interiors discussed in this chapter, the term usefully frames how modernistic aspects of decoration were combined with traditional objects and spatial arrangements in the rooms depicted in furnishing advice.

The chapter begins by examining of the role plain-coloured carpets played in the simplified interior designs recommended by authors of furnishing advice in the early-twentieth century. The association between plain surfaces and modernist interior design is then given greater complexity by investigating how constructed ideas of a British decorative tradition interacted with the use of plain-coloured carpet. The practicalities of living with plain carpets are explored, revealing intersecting concerns about cleanliness, labour, and class in the home. Finally, Templeton's technological responses to these trends are then investigated, making the argument that sociocultural influences shaped the company's use of weaving technology.

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preoccupations" but this neglects the particularity with which ideas of the national past are created to support ideological positions. Jane Fraser and Liz Paul, "A Living Tradition: Modernism and the Decorative Arts," in *Modern Britain, 1929-1939*, ed. James Peto and Donna Loveday (London: Design Museum, 1999), 52–68. Greenhalgh, however, argues for the specific national character of the reinterpretation of Arts and Crafts styles in the 1920s and 1930s. Greenhalgh, "The English Compromise: Modern Design and National Consciousness, 1870-1940."

<sup>663</sup> Elizabeth Cumming, "Scottish Everyday Art, or How Tradition Shaped Modernism.," in *Craft, Space and Interior Design, 1855-2005*, ed. Sandra Alföldy and Janice Helland (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 91–104.

## 6.2 Creating a plain background to the room.

Representations of plain-coloured carpets in early-twentieth-century advice texts proposed that simplified schemes of domestic decoration were a suitable response to the social and cultural conditions of the new century. In published advice, the ideal of decorative simplicity is often constructed in opposition to the assumed visual confusion of the recent past and connected to a lost, more distant, traditional order. The excessive decoration of the Victorian parlour was parodied in lists of ornate, patterned goods owned by earlier generations. As early as 1900, Joseph Crouch noted, “one remembers with a shudder the Sitting-Room of our grandfathers, the crude colouring of the carpet, the wool mats and antimacassars, the horsehair and mahogany” that had marred the densely furnished interior.<sup>664</sup> Similarly, in 1933 Noel Carrington recalls “our mothers” impulse to layer decorations until, “accretions to the home gradually hid entirely the walls and floors.”<sup>665</sup>

The roots of the stereotype are found in the books of furnishing advice published with increasing frequency between the 1850s and 1880s.<sup>666</sup> Authors with allegiances to different decorative traditions advocated styles of furnishing in which harmonious ensembles were comprised of layered patterned surfaces. Influential publications by Charles Eastlake, Robert Edis, and Mary Eliza Haweis, despite differing aesthetic principles, recommended the subdivision of walls into differently patterned fields, complemented by patterned carpets and often also ceilings.<sup>667</sup> Their advice instructed a keen audience of middle-class householders about the class-appropriate display of culture, wealth, and status. It also alerted

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<sup>664</sup> Joseph Crouch, *The Apartments of the House: Their Arrangement, Furnishing and Decoration* (London: At the Sign of the Unicorn, 1900), 4.

<sup>665</sup> Noel Carrington, *Design in the Home* (London: Country Life, 1933), 47.

<sup>666</sup> Recent scholarship on decorating advice emphasises the construction of gender and class identities, see: Anderson, “Harmony in the Home: Fashioning the ‘Model’ Artistic Home or Aesthetic House Beautiful through Color and Form”; Emma Ferry, “‘Any Lady Can Do This Without Much Trouble’: Class and Gender in The Dining Room (1878),” *Interiors* 5, no. 2 (2014): 141–59, <https://doi.org/10.2752/204191214X14038639021126>; Anca I Lasc, “Interior Decorating in the Age of Historicism: Popular Advice Manuals and the Pattern Books of Édouard Bajot,” *Journal of Design History* 26, no. 1 (February 1, 2013): 1–24, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jdh/eps053>.

<sup>667</sup> Charles L Eastlake, *Hints on Household Taste in Furniture, Upholstery, and Other Details* (London: Longmans, 1868); Robert Edis, *Decoration and Furniture of Town Houses* (London: Kegan Paul & Co., 1881); Mary Eliza Haweis, *The Art of Decoration* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1889).

them to the thin line between a tasteful harmony of pattern and colour and discordant commercial excess.

Contemporary criticism of excessively heavily patterned Victorian rooms often gendered their failings as feminine and related class-conscious cultural taste to the perceived social demerits of mass manufacturing. For example, Eastlake cites Fashion as a “counter influence” on taste in decoration that supposes a feminine weakness for superficiality, novelty and adornment that is pandered to by the “capricious tyranny” of manufacturers.<sup>668</sup> Recent scholarship has examined over-furnishing in the Victorian parlour, particularly as a protection against perceived external threats to feminine identity.<sup>669</sup> Frances Collard has argued that mediation generated a confused idea of the past by encouraging ornate historicist decoration.<sup>670</sup> The patterned Victorian interior became associated with excess rather than comfort, threatening the harmony of the home.

At the turn of the century, the harmony of a room’s ensemble continued to be important to authors of advice, but artistic styles of decoration stressed open and airy rooms that unified the spaces of the home.<sup>671</sup> In *The House Beautiful and Useful*, 1907, John Elder Duncan advocated the avoidance of densely patterned surfaces favouring plain areas of softer hues. He recalls the interior of a respectable Royal Academician’s home that was, “so bedizened with ornament that the eye vainly searched for a piece of plain surface.”<sup>672</sup> His call for a harmonious effect is comparable to authors from the 1880s and 1890s, but he places greater moral weight on an appearance of austerity:

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<sup>668</sup> Eastlake, *Hints on Household Taste in Furniture, Upholstery, and Other Details*, 9.

<sup>669</sup> Thad Logan, *The Victorian Parlour* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

<sup>670</sup> Collard, “Historical Revivals, Commercial Enterprise and Public Confusion: Negotiating Taste, 1860-1890.”

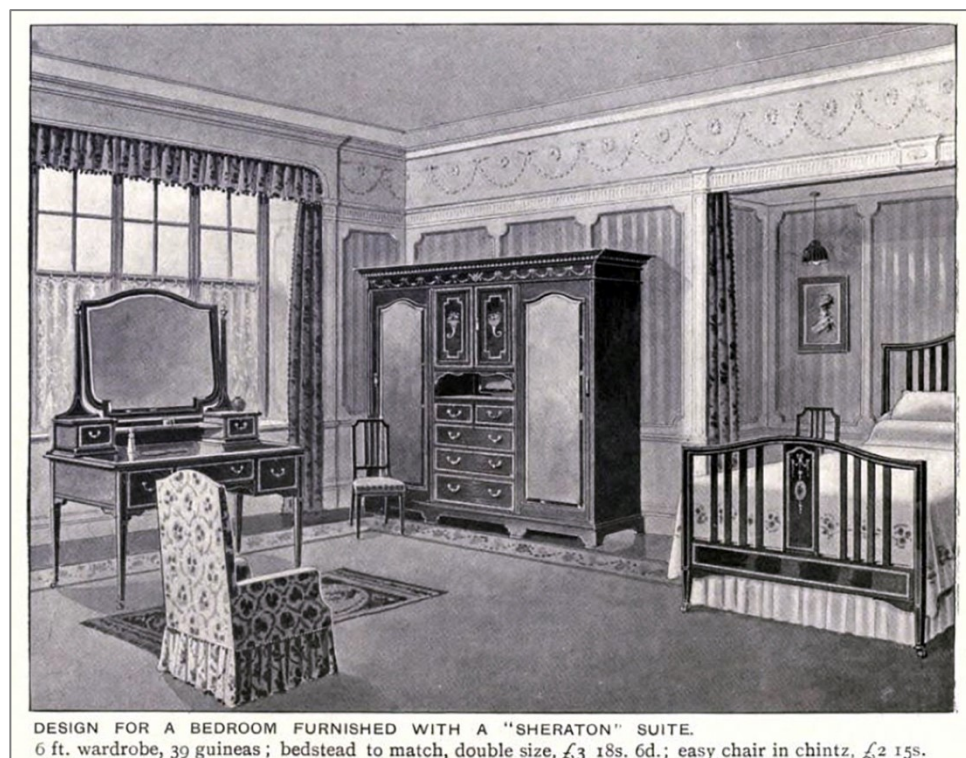
<sup>671</sup> Anderson, “Harmony in the Home: Fashioning the ‘Model’ Artistic Home or Aesthetic House Beautiful through Color and Form.”

The term “artistic” is used here not to refer directly to the effects of either Aesthetic or Arts and Crafts movements interiors but to recognise the definitional queries raised in Edwards and Hart, *Rethinking the Interior, c.1867-1896: Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts*.

<sup>672</sup> J. H. Elder-Duncan, *The House Beautiful and Useful: Being Practical Suggestions on Furnishing and Decoration*. (London, New York: Cassell, 1907), 21.

A man does not require a miniature Versailles in order to testify either to his financial position or the possession of an artistic instinct. The pursuit of the elaborate and the rococo ends in our goods possessing us, not in our owning our possessions.<sup>673</sup>

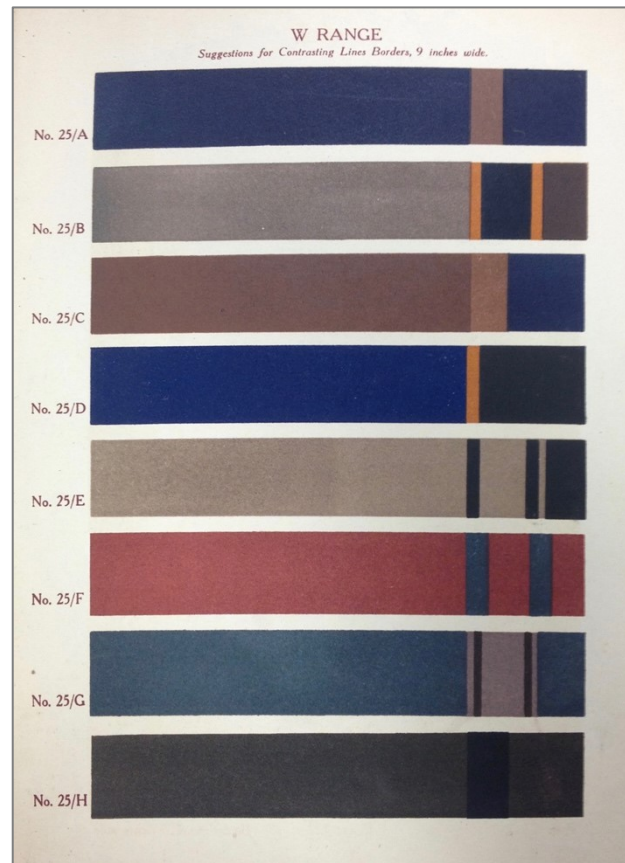
He connected simplified, airier rooms with a feeling of modest confidence, exhibiting culture rather than mercantilism. His preferences in carpets showed a conflict between respect for the authenticity of pattern and colour in oriental designs and a desire for “delicate and beautiful” newer shades in plainer styles. An illustration of a bedroom with a Sheraton suite is typical of the latter, with a carpet square made of a plain filling and lightly patterned border laid on polished floorboards, further decorated with a small rug on top of the carpet. (Figure 6.2) Rooms like this displayed the cultural distinction of the householder through increased restraint in the use of ornament and pattern. In doing so, they also proposed a revised relationship between decorated and plain surfaces in the interior. Highly patterned furnishings, such as the rug on the carpet, were visually contained by plain backgrounds rather than layered in ensembles of complementary patterns.



**Figure 6.2** “Design for a bedroom furnished with a ‘Sheraton’ suite.” J. H. Elder-Duncan, *The House Beautiful and Useful: Being Practical Suggestions on Furnishing and Decoration* (London, New York: Cassell, 1907), 204.

<sup>673</sup> Elder-Duncan, 26.

Templeton extended their established ranges of patterned rugs and carpet squares to include designs that were plainer but kept the traditional layout of a filling surrounded by a border. A catalogue from the early-1900s of “Seamless Axminster Carpets - W. X. & Y. Ranges” notes, “In artistic Furnishing there has been of recent years an extensive use of carpets of plain colours or simple coloured effects in small trellis or damask designs, with designed contrasting borders.”<sup>674</sup> (Figure 6.3) They are described as making an “effective background” for drawing rooms, boudoirs, parlours and bedrooms. These rooms exclude areas of heavy wear such as corridors and halls, in which plain-coloured carpets may have been too easily marked, and dining rooms, for which richer schemes of decoration were recommended.



**Figure 6.3 Templeton’s ‘W’ range of Chenille Axminster carpets. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/3/3 “Seamless Axminster Carpets- W. X. & Y. Ranges,” c.1903.**

<sup>674</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/3/1 “Seamless Axminster Carpets- W. X. & Y. Ranges.” This catalogue is undated, but its graphic design and typography stylistically suggest the early 1900s. These ranges were first launched in 1903, see: UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/20/15 “Price List, 1903.”

Advocates of artistic, simplified interiors often referred to a disjunction between the present day and the past, which, they recommended, should be acknowledged in styles of decoration. For successors to the Arts and Crafts movement such as John Elder Duncan and Joseph Crouch, the, “disruptions of the last century of intellectual thought” were being worked through in new practices of artistic decoration.<sup>675</sup> Writing in 1900, the architect and art historian Joseph Crouch followed John Ruskin’s teachings by finding that the mid-nineteenth century had been a point of cultural and temporal disjunction. He saw the reorganisation of labour for commercial purposes and mechanised factory production as having created a rift in an imagined heritage of artisanship. This disjuncture affected national identity through the loss of a unified religious ordering of society, “There has been a break in the continuity of artistic life, and the unseen but unerring stimulus of an unbroken Tradition has been lost.”<sup>676</sup> For Crouch, the new century provided the opportunity to create a revived tradition with a united social and decorative order developed from the ideals of the Arts and Crafts movement, proclaiming, “A new spirit is abroad, and one of its results is the demand of modern men and women for nobler and more beautiful surroundings in which to live their lives.”<sup>677</sup> For Crouch and Elder-Duncan, the techniques of improving the conditions of life in the twentieth century included visually arranging rooms on progressively simpler lines, stripping away layered pattern on walls and floors, and emphasising utility and space.

In the years preceding World War I, and increasingly afterwards, the ideals of continental Modernism were gradually promoted in Britain as a guide to improving the quality of design for decorative arts and the interior. The Design and Industries Association was established in 1915 to advocate “fitness for purpose” and efficiency in design. The break from the ornamental past was to be evidenced by, “clean, stimulating lines and the minimum of embellishment.”<sup>678</sup> Simplification, attention to the spatial qualities of plain

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<sup>675</sup> Elder-Duncan, *The House Beautiful and Useful: Being Practical Suggestions on Furnishing and Decoration.*, 9.

<sup>676</sup> Crouch, *The Apartments of the House: Their Arrangement, Furnishing and Decoration*, 4.

<sup>677</sup> Crouch, pxi.

<sup>678</sup> Design and Industries Association, *Design in Modern Industry; the Year-Book of the Design & Industries Association* (London: Benn Brothers, 1922), 11–12.



surfaces, and the removal of superfluous detail were understood to be necessary responses to the physical and psychological demands of the present day.<sup>679</sup>

Authors of books on progressive decoration in the 1920s and 1930s urgently expressed the sense that interior decoration had to respond to a perceived discontinuity between past and present. Conditions that marked a break from the past were also cited as reasons for a keener interest in how homes were arranged. The trauma of World War I, the speed with which scientific and technical knowledge advanced, and intensified and specialised working practices, were all stated to be contemporary conditions that both shaped new forms in the decorative arts. These twentieth-century experiences had supplanted nineteenth-century industrialisation as a source of disjunction that has focussed readers' attention on their homes. The former editor of *Vogue*, Dorothy Todd, believed:

The extraordinary recent increase in interest in interior decoration has largely resulted from a more acute need for self-expression. Life has become in most respects increasingly standardised; the individual in his working hours has tended to become a cog in a machine instead of a self-governing entity [...] a man's house becomes the last refuge of individuality.<sup>680</sup>

The functionalist aesthetic of the International Style was not incompatible with individuality, for Todd, because both were formed by the specific conditions of twentieth-century life. With ironic similarity to the Arts and Crafts reformers, she contrasts the idea of presentness in decoration to an imagined continuity of design in furnishing objects that has been lost. Before nineteenth-century industrialisation, "every object that the age produced bore the mark of one congruous civilisation."<sup>681</sup> For Todd, those past relations were unattainable, and one should not try to reconnect with a time before the disjunction through the appreciation of antique furnishings or by continuing the old-fashioned visual arrangement of the domestic interior.

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<sup>679</sup> For critique of the moral basis of anti-ornamental movements, see: David Brett, *Rethinking Decoration: Pleasure & Ideology in the Visual Arts* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>680</sup> Todd and Mortimer, *The New Interior Decoration: An Introduction to Its Principles, and International Survey of Its Methods*, 2.

<sup>681</sup> Todd and Mortimer, 2.

We may live in a period house, eat at a period table, and sleep in a period bed, but we cannot live period lives [...] everywhere else you are a person belonging to the age of Trade Unions and aeroplanes. Is it not saner, more spirited, more interested to face the fact?<sup>682</sup>

The designers of modern interiors that Todd promoted in *The New Interior Decoration* take as an assumption that plain surfaces for walls and floors were both functionally appropriate and expressive of the needs of contemporary life. Small hand-knotted rugs feature as discrete aesthetic objects in the interiors she illustrates as good current practice, but the floors are treated as architectural surfaces defining the unbroken space of the room. Interior decorators who followed Le Corbusier's ideas most closely prefer tiled or concrete floors. Using composition flooring of cork or linoleum struck a functional balance between comfort, cleanliness, and dust reduction. The interiors designed by architects such as Djo Bourgeois or William E. Lescaze use plain carpet fitted wall-to-wall as a less austere choice which does not disturb the spatial arrangement of the surface with pattern. (Figure 6.4)

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<sup>682</sup> Todd and Mortimer, 5.



**Figure 6.4** Sitting room designed by William Lescaze. Dorothy Todd and Raymond Mortimer, *The New Interior Decoration: An Introduction to Its Principles, and International Survey of Its Methods* (London: Batsford, 1929), fig. 64.

In *Design in the Home*, 1933, Noel Carrington also concludes that rational, progressive design was the correct response to the insecurity brought about by rapid social change. For him, plain surfaces in architecture and interiors are an expression of rationality after a crisis and are encouraged by necessary economic austerity. He contrasts austere building styles in Germany and Austria after World War I, in which he finds “common sense” growing from economic devastation, to the more compromised appearance of English architecture and furnishings. Britain, he states, “could still afford to let our architects hang costly facades of Portland stone on skeletons of steel, and we could still afford similar

sentimentalisms by our hearths.” The adversity experienced during the recent years of depression was, he suggests, a spur towards rationalisation in design.<sup>683</sup>

Carrington’s allusion to sentimentalism in hearth rugs is made in the context of the widespread use of pale, plain-coloured carpets fitted wall-to-wall in the interiors he illustrates. Frequently these are used as a neutral background for geometric furniture and smaller rugs with textured surfaces by designers such as Marion Dorn. However, the plain carpets do not draw his comment, except to note, “the all-over carpet in one colour is still very popular.”<sup>684</sup> In the 1930s, Templeton produced many rugs that Carrington would have regarded as nostalgic as well as those in more current styles, including a small number by Dorn.<sup>685</sup> The use of textured rugs on top of plain carpets is noted in a catalogue titled “20th Century Rugs,” which notes, “on a self-coloured carpet nothing could be more effective.”<sup>686</sup> (Figure 6.5) These rugs have simplified geometric designs in two or three colours, and their relatively coarse weave is reminiscent of the hand-knotted carpets designed by Marion Dorn. The catalogue advised:

They are admirably adapted for use in the most up-to-date furnishing schemes in the home, or business office, and are equally suited to the difficult task of linking the old with the new in cases where only a partial changeover to the new style has been attempted.<sup>687</sup>

By stressing the suitability of the rugs for modernising interiors that could not be refurnished entirely, Templeton widened the potential market for their new products and, in doing so, underlined the carpet’s ability to connect past and current styles of decoration.

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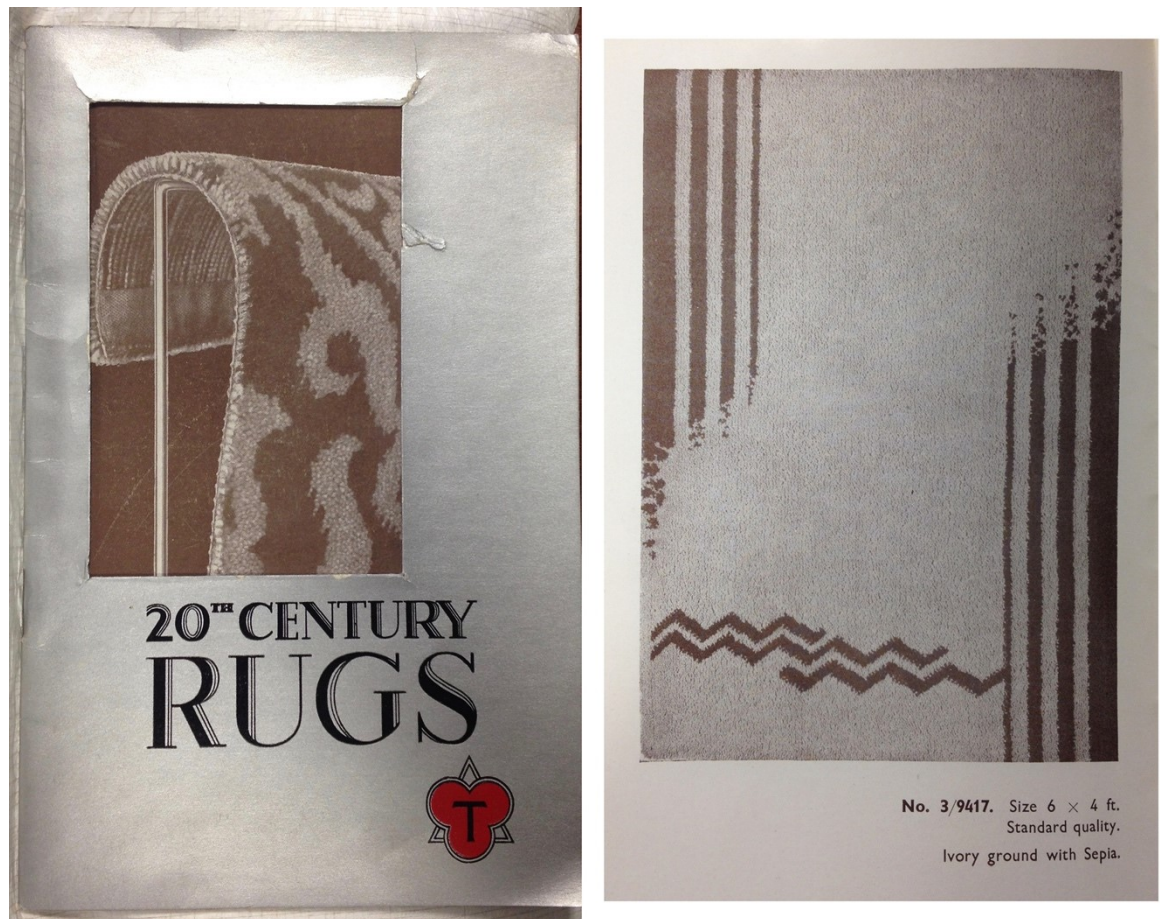
<sup>683</sup> Carrington, *Design in the Home*, 15.

<sup>684</sup> Carrington, 187.

<sup>685</sup> See design drawings: UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/DES/101/2/29-30 “Marion Dorn.”

<sup>686</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/12/5 “Miscellaneous Specific Ranges, 20th Century Rugs.”

<sup>687</sup> *Ibid.*



**Figure 6.5** Front cover and illustration from UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/12/5 “Miscellaneous Specific Ranges, 20th Century Rugs,” c.1934.

To understand how plain-coloured carpets could relate to the notion of social and temporal disjuncture in the interwar period, we can turn from comments of promoters of modern design to those of a retailer of furnishings in progressive but popular taste. Prudence Maufe joined the department store Heal’s in 1919 as an interior designer and became the manager of the fourth floor Mansard Gallery. Here she created stylish showrooms of furniture and decoration, including the “Modern Tendencies” series of exhibitions which ran from 1928.<sup>688</sup> Writing in the trade journal *Carpet Annual 1936* in her capacity as a carpet buyer, Maufe praises plain carpets as preferable to either traditional styles or the interpretations of Cubist designs that were being produced. The 1930s were, she maintains, a “time of transition:”

There undoubtedly is now such a desire for simplicity of background to our highly-coloured lives that for some years past and probably for a

<sup>688</sup> “The Mansard Gallery,” Heal’s Website, accessed March 10, 2018, <https://www.heals.com/blog/the-mansard-gallery/>.

decade or more to come, there will continue to be this desire for peace at any price. Thus a sweeping away of pattern, an aesthetic asepsis which goes for cleanliness of line and colour, must have its day. It follows, then, that among people of taste, whether we search in the most elegant rooms of the *mondaine* or the simplest rooms of the student, we are almost certain to find some form of the ubiquitous natural coloured beige carpet underneath our feet, the thickness of which is in almost exact ratio to the purse of its owner.<sup>689</sup>

Maufe was writing a decade later than Todd's *New Interior Design*, and she advocated a more commercial, glamorous style of decoration, but her comments echo the notion that the plain surfaces of interiors were the necessary result of the conditions of modern life. Traditional patterned surfaces, she believed, must be cleared away to allow for a sense of order to return. The language of cleanliness and "aesthetic asepsis" concerning plain carpet is particularly charged in the context of functionalist arguments for the hygienic benefits of modernist architecture. These examples of decorating advice from the 1920s and 1930s are aimed at culturally informed readers whose appreciation of progressive design has been developed by exposure to extensively illustrated publications and retail exhibitions. They associate the plain surfaces of walls and floors with cultural and social circumstances that were distinct from the past, at a time when the traditional layered arrangement of patterned furnishings in the home could no longer express the zeitgeist.

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<sup>689</sup> Maufe, "The Viewpoint of a Modern Carpet Buyer," 37.

### 6.3 Furnishing with plain-coloured carpets: modernised interiors and the reintegration of tradition.

The progressive designers of modern buildings specified the use of plain-coloured fitted carpets as they were considered a functional response to the need for comfort while supporting the new austerity of the interior's visual arrangement. One does not have to move far from austere Modern homes for the role of plain carpet in the room's ensemble to become more complicated. The following example of a carpet in "The King's House," Burhill, Surrey, introduces a situation in which aesthetic form conflicts with production method in a way that is symptomatic of Greenhalgh's idea of the "English compromise."

Completed in 1936, "The King's House" was the result of a competition arranged by the Royal Warrant Holders' Association to mark the Silver Jubilee of King George V. A selection of architects was nominated by Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, with the winning design by Charles Beresford Marshall F.R.I.B.A. chosen by the King.<sup>690</sup> The house is notable as an example of the dissemination of design as it was displayed as a full-scale replica at the Daily Mail Ideal Home Show, Olympia, in 1935 before its final construction on the site in Surrey. During the exhibition quarter of a million visitors were able to admire the bespoke interiors that were designed as an intrinsic feature of the building.<sup>691</sup>

The architectural critic Randal Phillips described it as, "a modern rendering of the Georgian tradition... a quiet, solid-looking house, with nothing freakish about it."<sup>692</sup> Although its brick and dressed-stone construction set it comfortably within British building tradition, its profile and massing made concession to more contemporary ideas. Throughout the interior, the materials were selected to present the continuity of British craftsmanship and promote Britain as the natural beneficiary of goods from the Empire. "Inside and out, everything is British, and in the structure and embellishments of the house are products from various parts of the Empire. It has thus an Imperial as well as a National

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<sup>690</sup> George V examined the replica house at the Ideal Homes Show in 1935 but died before the building was completed in Burhill. "The King's House, Burhill, Surrey: Designed by C. Beresford Marshall," *Architects' Journal* 84, no. 2178 (1936): 519–20.

<sup>691</sup> Deborah Sugg Ryan, *The Ideal Home Through the 20th Century* (London: Hazar, 1997), 80–81.

<sup>692</sup> Randal Phillips, "The King's House, Burhill, Surrey," *Country Life (Archive: 1901 - 2005)* 80, no. 2067 (1936): 234–36.

interest.”<sup>693</sup> The woods used for flooring and decorative finishes, for example, were sourced from Australia, Canada and Malta, with doors and furniture made from English oak, walnut and chestnut. The style of the furniture and textiles had the compact proportions and restrained profile of modern design but referred to Georgian forms.

In the drawing room, “a restful background” was created with ivory walls and a plain carpet of “beige-plum tone,” with subtle highlights of apple-green and amethyst textiles. The visual arrangement of the room was up to date - divided into planes of harmonious but contrasting plain colour, with patterned textiles framed by plain backgrounds. The scheme, however, also incorporated historicist elements that recalled monarchy and a tradition of British artistry. The fireplace was, “in the Georgian tradition, with a basket grate of wrought-iron and a surround and kerb of polished Hopton Wood stone.”<sup>694</sup> The low, compact settee was complemented, without contradiction, by two William and Mary fireside stools hand-embroidered in tent stitch.

Similarly, in the dining room, the materials and forms of the furnishing were used to show both modernistic style and continuity with British monarchic and imperial heritage (Figure 6.6):

The walls are lined with horizontal bands of Indian silver grey-wood, and the floor is of Queensland walnut overspread with a hand-tufted Axminster carpet of “Jubilee blue,” which colour is repeated in the window curtains and chair coverings, enlivened with stars. The furniture is of bur ash, bordered with Indian silver greywood, the graceful armchairs being Regency in character, while the table, which can be extended to eight feet, strikes a subdued modern note.<sup>695</sup>

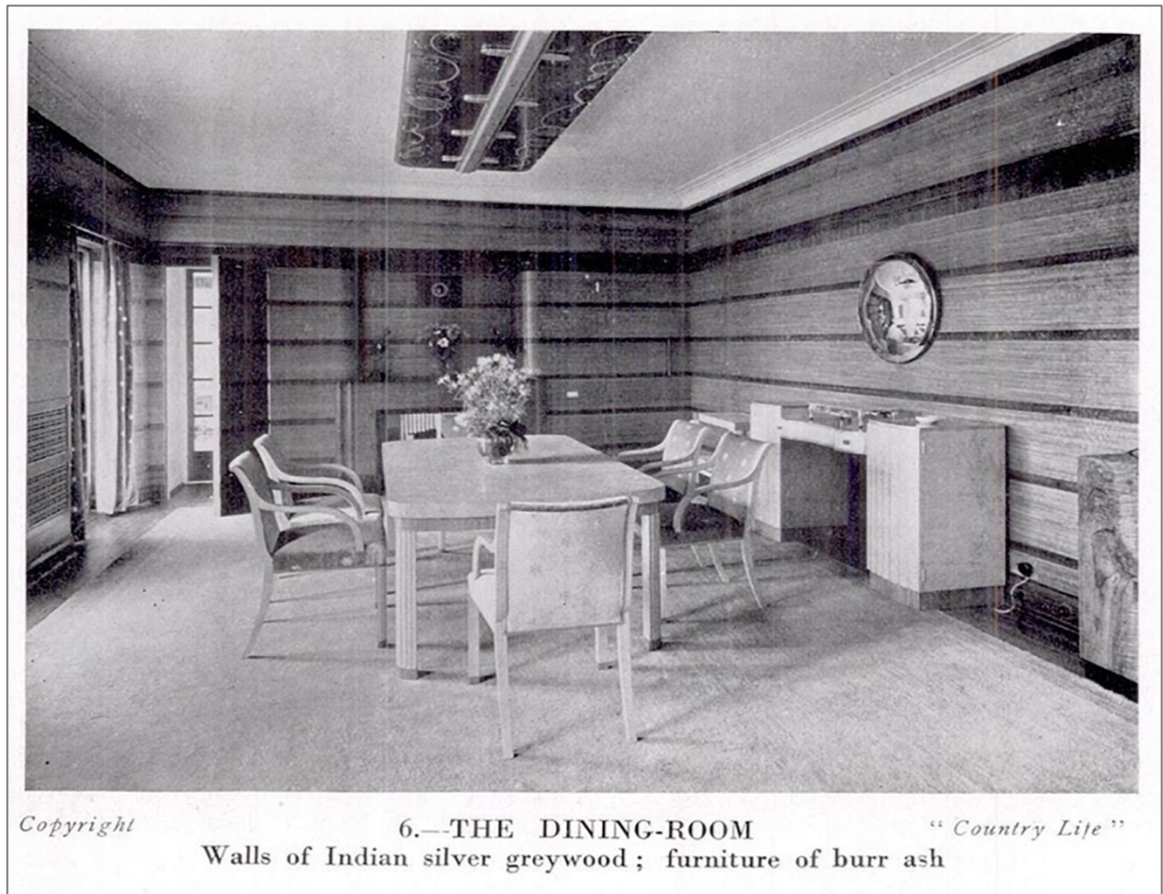
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<sup>693</sup> Ibid.

<sup>694</sup> Ibid. Hopton Wood stone from Derbyshire was renowned for use in high-quality decorative carving, being used for cathedrals, memorials and municipal buildings. Ian A Thomas, “Hopton Wood Stone - England’s Premier Decorative Stone,” in *English Stone Forum: England’s Heritage in Stone* (York, 2005).

<sup>695</sup> Phillips, “The King’s House, Burhill, Surrey.”





**Figure 6.6** Dining room, 'The King's House,' Burhill, *Country Life*, Vol. 80 Issue. 2067, August 29, 1936, 234-236.

Because the plain carpet used in the dining room was hand-knotted, it was almost certainly made at the Wilton Royal carpet manufactory in Wiltshire. The Royal Warrant was granted to the company by Edward VII in 1905 and renewed by George V, making them a suitable supplier for “The King’s House.” A report in *Country Life* confirms that in 1935 the Wilton Royal Carpet Company was making hand-knotted plain carpets as well as those of “classic design and the most modern cubist patterns.”<sup>696</sup> The town of Wilton has had a carpet-making workshop since the eighteenth century, and hand-knotted carpets had been made there since 1836 when the firm Blackmore & Son acquired looms and weavers from Thomas Whitty’s company in Axminster.<sup>697</sup> The successor firm to

<sup>696</sup> “A 300 Year Old Factory, the Home of Wilton Carpets,” *Country Life (Archive: 1901 - 2005)* 78, no. 2007 (1935): 18–19.

<sup>697</sup> For the history of hand-knotted Axminster carpets, see: Bertram Jacobs, *Axminster Carpets (Hand-Made), 1755-1957* (Leigh-On-Sea: F. Lewis, 1970); Sherrill, *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and America*, 187–212; Creassey Edward Cecil Tattersall, *A History of British Carpets: From the Introduction of the Craft until the Present Day* (Leigh-on-Sea: F. Lewis, 1934), 58–78.

Blackmore's was named the Wilton Royal Carpet Manufactory to distinguish its "real" hand-knotted carpets from those woven on mechanised looms.<sup>698</sup>

The plain surface of the carpet created a simplified visual arrangement of the room in keeping with its modernistic style and contrasted to the oriental styles traditionally used in dining rooms. However, the connection to the Wilton Royal company and the use of a weaving technique associated with a period considered to be the apogee of British carpet weaving gives it an imagined continuity with traditional craftsmanship. It neatly elides the more troubling memory of Victorian mechanised manufacturing.

Weaving a carpet by hand requires an intensive commitment of skilled labour. Hand-knotting was the primary way of making carpets with a dense, patterned pile before the Jacquard mechanism was applied to Wilton looms in the early-nineteenth century.<sup>699</sup> The labour involved in their production of Wilton Royal carpets meant they were used to signal luxury and status, as were the eighteenth-century Axminster manufactory products.<sup>700</sup> Mechanised carpet looms had reached a high level of sophistication for making complexly patterned, multi-coloured carpets by 1900, and values of artistic originality and prestige replaced the functional need for hand-knotting in Britain. There is no rationale based on weave construction for choosing to make a plain-coloured carpet by hand-knotting, only its ability to denote luxury. The prestige that is implied by using a plain hand-knotted carpet also references, in this case, a pre-industrial production practice that is in keeping with other historicist features of the room, such as the Regency revival profile of the dining chairs.

The plain hand-knotted carpet, along with other features of "The King's House," create friction between visual forms that announce their place in the present and materials and construction techniques that indicate continuity with a constructed idea of the traditional past. The materials, forms and construction

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<sup>698</sup> Sherrill, *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and America*, 230.

<sup>699</sup> Patterning mechanisms used in Brussels and Wilton carpet weaving in the late-eighteenth century included a revolving pin-drum which controlled the selection of pile-warp ends. The Jacquard mechanism began to supersede this from the 1820s. Bartlett, *Carpeting the Millions: The Growth of Britain's Carpet Industry*, 9–10.

<sup>700</sup> Sherrill, *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and America*, 187–212.

techniques reframe an idea of British tradition within an up-to-date aesthetic. Greenhalgh's term, the "English compromise," helps elucidate this separation of form and content. In England, Greenhalgh argues, "Modernism implied the future, and the future had to be characterized in a very particular way for a nation which believed its greatest successes to be behind it."<sup>701</sup> He finds that designers and critics responded by appropriating the formal qualities of politically and socially progressive design movements, but used them to connote conservative, imagined traditions of English life. Although Greenhalgh refers explicitly to England, similar trends have been revealed in the Scottish intersection of Modernist ideals and nationalist history.<sup>702</sup> As a reaction to the conditions of twentieth-century life, the English compromise in design, he states, "aimed to put a stable, better past into the future tense."<sup>703</sup> The interiors of "The King's House," even the plain blue dining room carpet, are evidence of this combination of progressive form and regressive content, disseminated to a middle-class audience through the Ideal Home exhibition and by reproduction in periodicals. The national, imperial, and monarchist narratives encoded in materials and construction make it a particularly heightened example of compromise. However, a similar mechanism is found more generally in furnishing advice that recommends plain surfaces as neutral backgrounds for period-style furniture.

Mixed styles of furnishing, including traditional furniture shapes alongside modernistic features, gained greater acceptance among authors of advice during the 1930s. Even in the idealised interiors depicted in advice, elements of historicism in furniture were incorporated into "modernised" schemes. For the upper-middle-class readers of *Country Life*, antique furniture in Georgian and Regency styles, which was redolent of British tradition, was rehabilitated into the present-day by being given a new relationship to the visual arrangement of the room:

It is now realised that the decorative value of old furniture is often

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<sup>701</sup> Greenhalgh, "The English Compromise: Modern Design and National Consciousness, 1870-1940," 113.

<sup>702</sup> Cumming, "Scottish Everyday Art, or How Tradition Shaped Modernism."

<sup>703</sup> Greenhalgh, "The English Compromise: Modern Design and National Consciousness, 1870-1940," 136.

very much greater in a modern setting than in a room of its own period where its form merges with surrounding details.<sup>704</sup>

The author marked the difference between past and present interiors by rejecting the unity of decorative style that would have harmonised the furniture with the carpet and wallcoverings in an imagined period room. In the current interior, by contrast, the same historical styles of furniture did not merge with other patterned surfaces but instead were isolated against the background of plain carpets and walls. The visual contrast between an antique and its plain background was described as necessary so that even an ornate piece of Rococo furniture could “perform the function of a picture.”<sup>705</sup> On the same theme, an interior with Regency-style seating is described as benefitting from being “placed in an essentially modern background with a plain carpet running to every wall and with the probable addition of a very charming modern hand-tufted rug.”<sup>706</sup> The plain background changes the aesthetic relationship between object and interior space. While “The King’s House” contained a very particular instance of the “English compromise,” these idealised interiors give a more general impression of plain carpet negotiating between a progressive aesthetic and a conservative revival of a constructed British tradition.

Few would have had the resources or desire for a complete refurbishment in a current style in real homes. Instead, householders kept furnishings through necessity or personal attachment and accreted into an organic form of eclecticism that is a constituent part of what Sugg Ryan has termed “suburban modernity.”<sup>707</sup> As plain carpets grew in popularity, Templeton introduced new ranges that combined their contemporary look with rapid supply for medium-income households. The catalogue of the ‘Romney Squares’ range of Chenille Axminster carpets observes, “In all classes of Furnishing and Decoration the increasing demand for simplicity is an outstanding feature.”<sup>708</sup> (Figure 6.7)

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<sup>704</sup> “Harmonious Conflict - The Case for Mingling New and Old,” *Country Life* (Archive: 1901 - 2005) 83, no. 2145 (1938): xx.

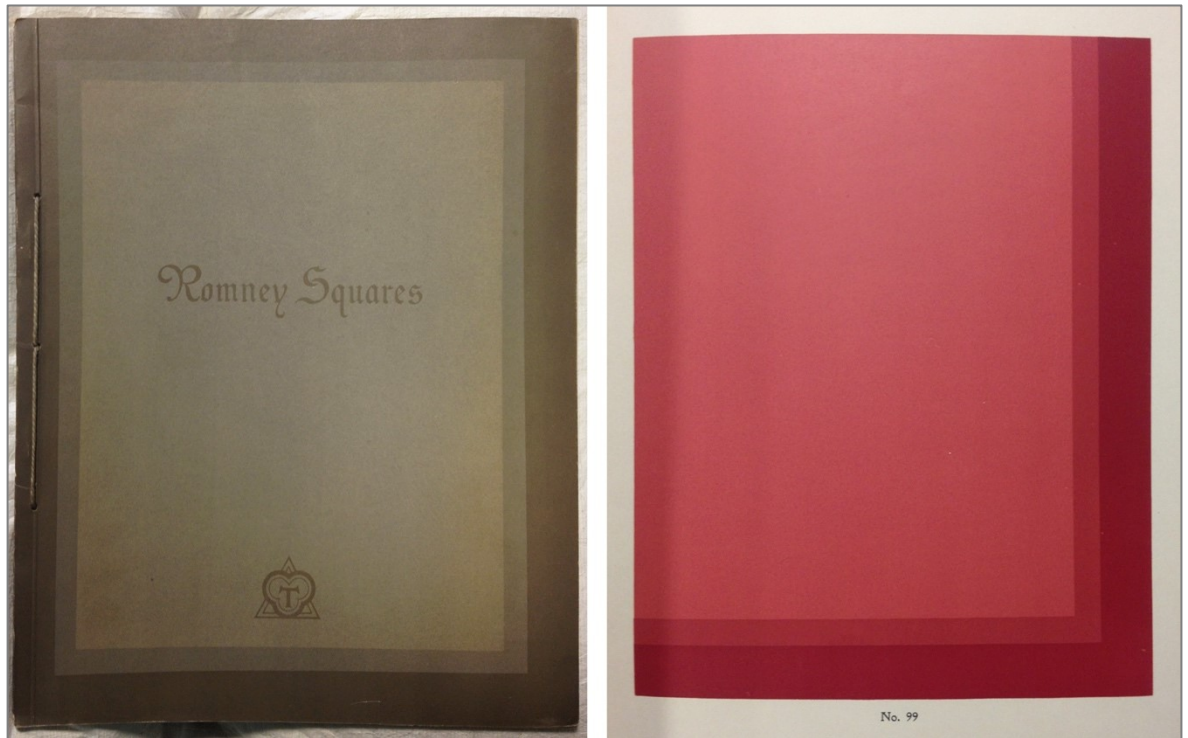
<sup>705</sup> Ibid.

<sup>706</sup> “What Do We Want? - Furnishing of the Moment Assessed,” *Country Life* (Archive: 1901 - 2005) 83, no. 2145 (1938): iii–v.

<sup>707</sup> Sugg Ryan, *Ideal Homes, 1918-39: Domestic Design and Suburban Modernism*, 19.

<sup>708</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/4/4 “Romney Squares.” The range was first listed in Templeton’s price list in April 1915, see: UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/20/31 “Price List,

Templeton met this widening market by producing large numbers of plain-coloured carpet squares in limited colours and sizes for immediate supply from stock. The format of these carpets was closely modelled on traditional carpet squares but without any pattern.<sup>709</sup>



**Figure 6.7** Front cover and illustration from UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/4/4 “Romney Squares,” c.1915.

They were rectangular with a plain-coloured filling and a narrow border of a darker shade. In use, the carpets would have been laid with a margin of stained and polished floorboards, linoleum or felt surrounding the margin of the room. A striking feature of this catalogue is that the front cover, which is a grey page with a darker margin, is revealed by a pattern number to illustrate one of the carpet designs. To current viewers, for whom plain-coloured carpets often fall below their conscious level of perception, the catalogue seems unusually lavish by illustrating plainness with large, coloured lithographs.

1915.” The range was later expanded to include patterned designs, see: UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/5 “Romney Seamless Axminster.”

<sup>709</sup> Romney Squares joined Templeton’s existing ‘W’ range of plain Chenille Axminster squares. The company also made plain strip carpeting in a range of widths for rugs and fitted carpets.

Similarly aimed at mass consumption and bulk production, Templeton launched the ‘Abbey’ and ‘Temple’ Chenille Axminster ranges in 1939.<sup>710</sup> These were explicitly labelled “modern” and were either plain or included subtle designs in two tones of a single colour. These so-called “damask” designs were suited to rationalised versions of conventional interior styles, as depicted on the cover of the catalogue for the range. (Figure 6.8)



Figure 6.8 UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/12/2 “Miscellaneous Specific Ranges, Abbey and Temple,” c.1939.

Whilst not an entirely plain carpet, the illustration of an idealised suburban dayroom carpeted with a Templeton ‘Abbey’ carpet depicts the impact of simplified, “plainer,” styles in the middle-class interior. Subtle concessions to modernistic style are discernible despite more traditional features such as the

<sup>710</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/12/2 “Miscellaneous Specific Ranges, Abbey and Temple.”

matching chintz-patterned curtains and seating, the damask pattern of the Abbey carpet (named the “Adams” pattern), the moulded cornice, and the period mahogany furniture. As with the “King’s House” discussed above, the plainer surfaces strike a Neo-Georgian compromise between tradition and modernist design. The trend towards the simplification of the room ensemble is suggested by: the unified colour palette of peach and green; the plain-coloured walls; the carpet close-fitted to cover the entire floor; the low, compact profile of the comfortable seating; the geometric profile of the curtain pelmet; and the inclusion of small pieces of furniture in eighteenth-century styles. By the 1930s, the restrained lines of Sheraton-style furniture had been rehabilitated by defenders of British decorative tradition, such as John Gloag, who found them more suited to the present day than ornate Victorian styles.<sup>711</sup> Templeton’s catalogue declares:

Gone are the days of heavy, ornate furnishings. To-day the discerning decorator creates an artistic background by the subtle blending of self-colour textures.<sup>712</sup>

The promotional material for these ranges suggests an engagement with the simplified aspect of modernistic design which found a comfortable middle way between modern style and a sense of continuity with the British past.

Before-and-after contrasts were a technique used in furnishing advice to illustrate how the use of plain carpet could introduce a modernistic aesthetic to an existing property. It was common in periodicals aimed at the middle-class reader, for whom refurbishing an older property or rearranging existing furniture would be an achievable aim. In the 1930s, *Woman and Home* magazine published regular illustrated features with titles such as “Can you spot the defects?” that advised creating a sense of uncluttered space using plain carpet.<sup>713</sup> (Figure 6.9) The “defects” in the first picture of a suburban lounge are seen to be the floral patterned curtains, the division of the wall by a picture rail, and using floral cushions on a patterned settee. The carpet resembles Templeton’s ‘X’ range of Chenille Axminster squares with a plain filling and contrasting patterned

<sup>711</sup> John Gloag, “Time, Taste and Furniture” (London, 1925).

<sup>712</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/12/2 “Miscellaneous Specific Ranges, Abbey and Temple.”

<sup>713</sup> “Can You Spot the Defects?,” *Woman and Home* (London, April 1936), 64.

border.<sup>714</sup> While this style represented austerity to Eastlake in 1907, by the publication of this illustration thirty years later, it is considered too ornate to be in good taste. Instead, the magazine recommends completely plain carpet, curtains, and cushions. The chintz fabric of the settee is thereby isolated against its plain background, avoiding what the writer calls a “busy” and “confused” style. The result is a nostalgic impression of cottage decoration, which uses plain surfaces to restrain the traditional patterned elements.

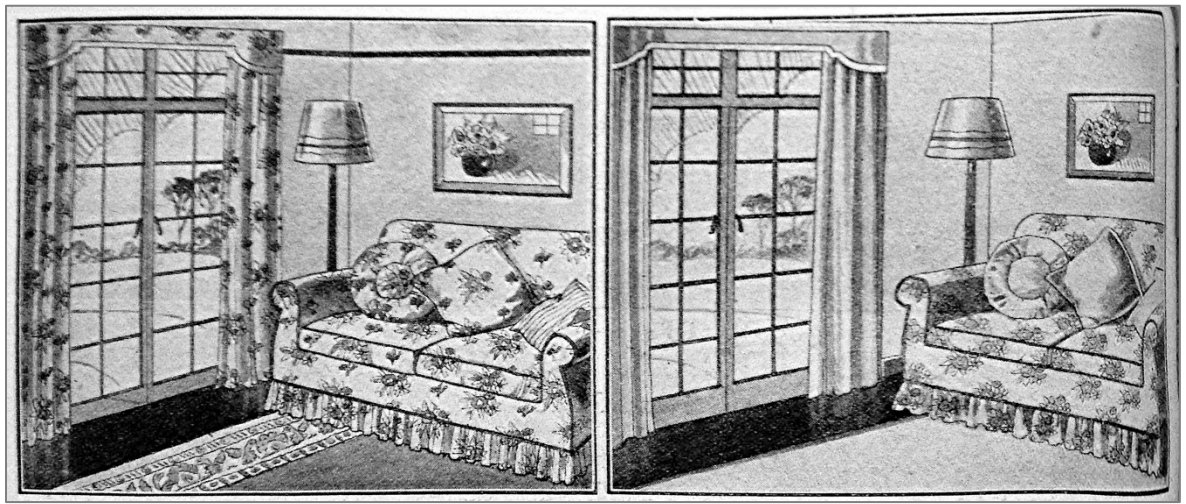


Figure 6.9 “Can You Spot the Defects?” *Woman and Home* (London, April 1936), 64.

Comparisons of past and present design have a pedigree in the mediation of authorised taste. In 1920, the Design and Industries Association displayed didactic pairs of domestic objects which compared old-fashioned “bad” design to rational “good” design at the Daily Mail Ideal Home Exhibition.<sup>715</sup> Titled a “Chamber of Horrors,” it referenced the 1852-3 display of “false principles” at the Museum of Oriental Art (precursor of the Victoria and Albert Museum).<sup>716</sup> The comparisons have their textual equivalent in authors’ descriptions of the Victorian parlour, enumerating all of the superfluous clutter that was to be cleared away in the coming pages.

<sup>714</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/3/1 “Seamless Axminster Carpets- W. X. & Y. Ranges.”

<sup>715</sup> Sugg Ryan, *Ideal Homes, 1918-39: Domestic Design and Suburban Modernism*, 79.

<sup>716</sup> Yasuko Suga, “Designing the Morality of Consumption: ‘Chamber of Horrors’ at the Museum of Ornamental Art, 1852-53,” *Design Issues* 20, no. 4 (2004): 43–56, <https://doi.org/10.1162/0747936042312048>. This itself referred to Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, *Contrasts* (London, 1836). and Pugin, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*.





**Figure 6.10** Dining room redesigned by Wells Coates. Noel Carrington, *Design in the Home* (London: Country Life, 1933), 13.

Visual comparisons between older, ornate tastes and contemporary, more rational interiors also had currency in texts devoted to more avant-garde tastes. Dorothy Todd's *The New Interior Decoration*, 1929, for example, pairs a Victorian parlour with, "the simplicity and clear defined lines" of an interior designed by Djo Bourgeois, commenting that the latter is, "as characteristic of the twentieth century as the over-decorated and over-furnished muddle below is of the late nineteenth century."<sup>717</sup> One of the before-and-after illustrations in *Design in the Home* contrasts the ornate Victorian arrangement of a room to the same space redesigned by the architect Wells Coates using impeccable simplified forms (Figure 6.10). For the author, the first ensemble of period furniture and Turkey rugs shows that, "craftsmanship has been prostituted to the fabrication of bric-à-brac," while the Japanese-inspired windows and plain, fitted carpet define a space in which, "the form of beauty derives directly from purpose."<sup>718</sup> The value-laden terms used in the descriptions of before-and-after transformations confirm that decoration advice is a strand of moral

<sup>717</sup> Todd and Mortimer, *The New Interior Decoration: An Introduction to Its Principles, and International Survey of Its Methods*, fig. 4.

<sup>718</sup> Carrington, *Design in the Home*, 13.

improvement.<sup>719</sup> It aims to improve present-day conduct using the lessons of the past.

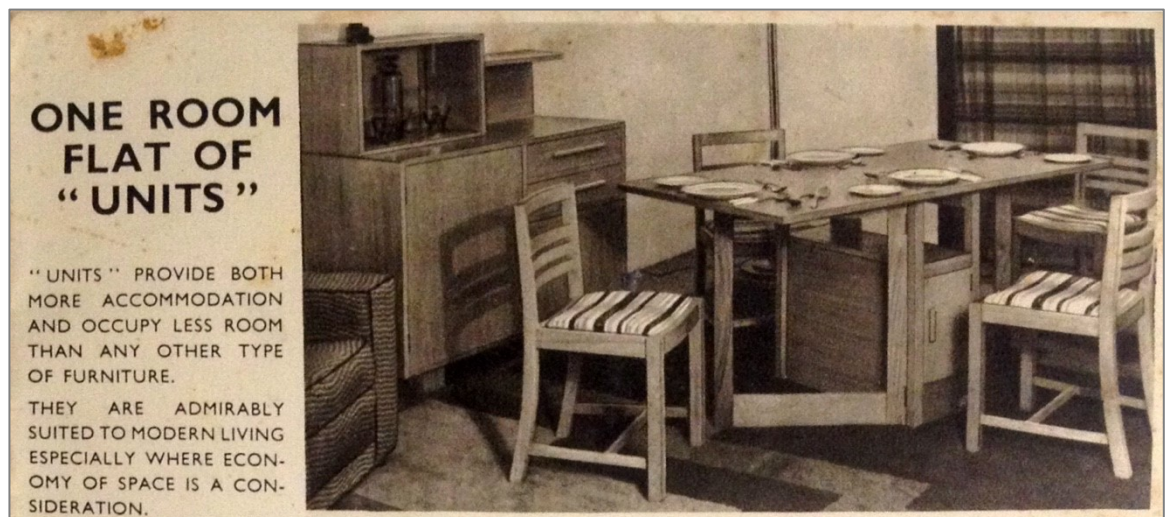
The disjunction between past and present as an experience of interwar life is also blithely present in these images. Their transformations occur instantaneously, pulling the illustrated interior through time to achieve the spaciousness, lightness and ease of living aspired to in the modernised home. The use of plain carpets had implications for each of these desired qualities, and the integration of plain surfaces into existing interiors produced both the promise of modernisation and anxieties about their practicality.

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<sup>719</sup> See also the modernisation scheme in a catalogue by the furnishing firm, Catesby's: Sugg Ryan, *Ideal Homes, 1918-39: Domestic Design and Suburban Modernism*, 86–87.

## 6.4 Living with plain-coloured carpets: space and cleanliness.

The provision of space in the interwar home was a recurrent concern for urban planners and, more informally, for authors of furnishing advice. The 1918 Tudor Walters report on housing responded to concerns about ill health in overcrowded urban areas and was given impetus by the World War I “homes fit for heroes” campaign.<sup>720</sup> The report’s socially progressive recommendations for council house design set standards for the size and arrangement of rooms, allowing for a living room of seventeen square metres. Although the report influenced social housing policy, speculative builders of interwar suburban homes often ignored its recommendations.<sup>721</sup>



**Figure 6.11** William Whiteley Ltd. “Modern Living by Whiteleys,” c.1935, 31/2001, Museum of the Home, London.

Smaller rooms in new buildings and the subdivision of older properties (for example, the house at 5 Devonshire Gardens, Glasgow, discussed in Chapter 3.3) prompted manufacturers to devise ingenious space-saving furniture.<sup>722</sup> (Figure 6.11) The up-to-date furniture advertised by the London store Whiteley’s included “units” for one-room flats, shown on a plain-coloured carpet and

<sup>720</sup> Mark Swenarton, *Homes Fit for Heroes: The Politics and Architecture of Early State Housing in Britain* (London: Heinemann Educational, 1981).

<sup>721</sup> J.W. R. Whitehand and Christine M. H. Carr, “Morphological Periods, Planning and Reality: The Case of England’s Inter-War Suburbs,” *Urban History* 26, no. 2 (March 11, 1999): 230–48.

<sup>722</sup> Stuart Evans, “Furniture for Small Houses,” *Furniture History* 42 (March 11, 2006): 193–205.

geometric patterned rug, described as, “admirably suited to modern living especially where economy of space is a consideration.”<sup>723</sup> Decorating advice texts also gave tips for overcoming cramped conditions.

Articles in newspapers such as *The Scotsman* and *The Manchester Guardian* are abundant sources of advice that relates carpet use to concerns about the space and maintenance of the middle-class home. *The Manchester Guardian* “women’s pages” often gave advice about thrift, for example renovating outdated clothes or preparing simple meals, which would be relevant to their readers’ budget. Although readers may have viewed the more ambitious decorating schemes as aspirational entertainment, references to furnishing practice must have been common enough to be recognisable. Notably, plain-coloured carpets were featured in aspirational descriptions of rooms and advice about more usual decorating practices. They are associated with both progressive styles of design, signalled by terms such as new, modern, austere, and severe, and with more conventional schemes which used furniture in oak or mahogany and floral-patterned fabrics.

For those who lived in neither a house built in a Modernist style, nor one of the new suburban bungalows or semi-detached homes, the layout of Victorian and Edwardian houses presented a challenge for the authors of furnishing advice. Advice writers recommended installing a plain carpet to adjust the proportions of an older property’s interior visually. A “moderniser” correspondent in the *Manchester Guardian* in 1932 found that the “tiled passages and gloomy middle rooms” in his old house could be improved by introducing plain painted walls that, “make the room appear twice as large, and fitted brown hair carpet adds to the apparent floor space.”<sup>724</sup> Plain carpets are recommended in this type of advice to retrofit the aesthetic of modern design into spaces that were built for other ways of living in earlier times.<sup>725</sup> Plain surfaces performed a negotiation between the material remains of the past and consumers’ desire to engage with

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<sup>723</sup> William Whiteley Ltd. “Modern Living by Whiteleys,” c.1935, 31/2001, Museum of the Home, London.

<sup>724</sup> “The Old House,” *The Manchester Guardian* (1901-1959), April 9, 1932.

<sup>725</sup> For other strategies for modernising domestic interiors, see: Sugg Ryan, *Ideal Homes, 1918-39: Domestic Design and Suburban Modernism*, 81–87.

modern style by visually adjusting the room's dimensions to suggest more open and airy living spaces and provide a neutral background to other furnishings.

In 1936, the author of an article for *The Scotsman* responded to the general impression that rooms in new houses were too small by recommending maximising plain surfaces:

‘Terribly cramped’ seems, indeed, the common lot of humanity these days of flatlets and maisonettes, bijou villas and converted stabling, built in furniture and plywood partition walls!<sup>726</sup>

Eliminating picture rails and dadoes was a method of correcting the impression of reduced space by reversing the nineteenth-century practice of layering pattern across a wall's subdivisions. The principle of plain, uninterrupted surfaces was to be continued in the carpet:

Like the ceiling, the floor should be as devoid of pattern as possible. A plain carpet is best, and this should cover the entire floor, being cut, if necessary, to fit the corners and recesses of the room.”<sup>727</sup>

In the 1920s and 1930s, fitting carpets wall-to-wall was increasingly advised to create an illusion of space. Although the desire for clean, spacious rooms was a functional modernist ideal, it was also connected to the lack of adequate legislation of living space in the home. The trade journal *Carpet Annual* noted in 1938, “There is a tendency nowadays to more comfortable homes, and this leads to the more general use of close cover carpets in the average home.”<sup>728</sup>

However, the fact that the practice was still new enough to merit further discussion of its practicalities shows that it had not been universally adopted. Fitted carpets were by no means the norm. Many householders still preferred a carpet square as the popularity of Templeton's Parquet Carpets discussed in Chapter 3.3 attests.

In 1929, *The Manchester Guardian* noted that trying to create a plain background to one's room produced new hazards:

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<sup>726</sup> “Scheming for Space Effects,” *The Scotsman* (1921-1950), March 6, 1936, 16.

<sup>727</sup> “Scheming for Space Effects.”

<sup>728</sup> *Carpet Annual* (Teddington: Haymarket Publishing Limited, 1938), 73.

[Plain carpets] form an excellent foundation for the decorative scheme of a room, showing both the furniture and the walls to advantage; but plain carpets are rather too much of a risk to appeal to the average householder, because every mark stands out with the distinction of a design and the eye instinctively travels to the spot one wishes to hide.<sup>729</sup>

In this extract, the newly desirable characteristic of carpets as a neutral surface framing the forms of other furnishings is thrown into disorder by the presence of uncleanable dirt. Marks “stand out” and draw the eye with “the distinction of a design.” They become a feature rather than a background and a distasteful feature at that.

If wall-to-wall fitted carpets approximated the spacious plain background that was desired in the modernised home, they also raised concerns about the visible maintenance of hygiene. As well as “showing the dirt” more readily than those with dense all-over patterns, seams and depressions in the pile were more visible in plain designs. Manufacturers and retailers regularly fielded customer complaints about carpet “shading” - the ostensible irregularities in colour that occur when the carpet pile catches the light at a different angle.<sup>730</sup> Shading can result from heavier wear, for example, near doors and seating, uneven floor substrates, or irregularities in the density or tension of weaving yarns. These factors affected patterned carpets equally, but the new monotone floors made every variation obtrusive. Templeton’s price lists carried a standard disclaimer about carpet shading, asserting, “No care on the part of the Manufacturer can altogether obviate these tendencies, which are inherent in all pile carpets.”<sup>731</sup> Shading appeared to the user as at best a manufacturing error, or worse, dirt. The effect of plain-coloured carpets, combined with wall-to-wall fitting, placed greater demands on expectations of cleanliness in the home.

The space-enhancing qualities of plain-coloured fitted carpets confounded conventional recommendations for carpet maintenance found in domestic advice. Since the late-nineteenth century, these had included daily sweeping

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<sup>729</sup> “Plain Carpets,” *Manchester Guardian*, August 3, 1929, 8.

<sup>730</sup> Brinton and Brinton, *Carpets*, 110–12.

<sup>731</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/20/39 “Price List, 1922.”

and lifting even large carpets to be beaten outdoors annually or more often.<sup>732</sup> Whether or not these instructions were practised, even in homes with ample staff, the growth in popularity of fitted carpet produced class-sensitive concerns about maintaining cleanliness. The journalist H. Pearl Adams gave the opinion in 1936 that increased interest in the home resulted from the changed social conditions following the economic depression. Not least the growing expectation that households could no longer employ domestic staff:

Nowadays we are all keen on our homes, because most of us have to do so much more in them. The number of people whose parents were born to what one may call Butlerdom, and who are now living quite contentedly in Chardom, is large indeed.<sup>733</sup>

For the progressive, middle-class reader addressed by Adams, plainer decoration schemes were desirable not only because, “an effect of space was sought for in every room and by every class and temperament of persons,” but because efficient cleaning had become a priority in the servant-less house. A conflict emerged between the desired visual impression of clean, open space in the modern home and the practicality of maintaining vulnerable plain surfaces without domestic staff. In this sense, recommendations about furnishing embed moral advice in the changing social structures and demography of the times.<sup>734</sup>

Although Adams associated the reduced conditions of the middle-classes with the early-1930s financial crises, concerns about the maintenance of plain carpet without staff had been the subject of advice since the start of the century. The domestic advice of Dorothy Constance Peel, published in 1903, addressed households of moderate-income for whom the “servant question” was an expected problem. In common with other writers of her time, she values

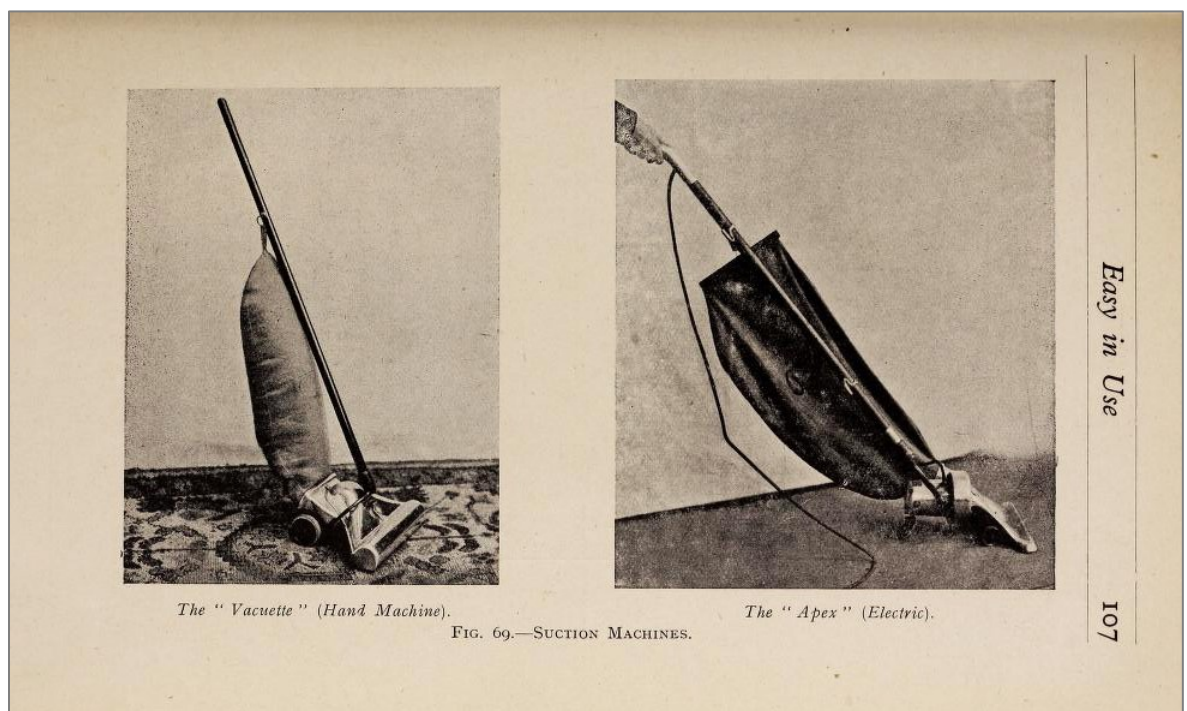
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<sup>732</sup> Isabella Beeton, *Beeton's Book of Household Management* (S.O. Beeton: London, 1861), 993.

<sup>733</sup> H. Pearl Adams, “At Home To-Day, Houses Old and New,” *The Observer* (1901- 2003), August 23, 1936, 19.

<sup>734</sup> A wider field of scholarship has emerged analysing domestic dirt and cleaning in terms of labour and the regulation of gender and class identities, much of which builds on anthropologist Mary Douglas' ground-breaking work on social taboo. See: Ben Campkin and Rosie Cox, *Dirt: New Geographies of Cleanliness and Contamination* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007); William A Cohen, “Locating Filth,” in *Filth*, ed. William A Cohen and Ryan Johnson (University of Minnesota Press, 2005), vii–xxxviii; Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Ark Paperbacks, 1984); Charles Rice, “On Historical versus Material Objects, or, What It Means to Care Rather Than Simply to Clean,” *Interiors* 1, no. 1 (2010): 19–28, <https://doi.org/10.2752/204191210791602258>.

unpatterned carpets and wallcoverings for their restful qualities but advises that floor-coverings should be chosen to be easy to lift for cleaning without assistance. Therefore, she recommends small carpet squares and sternly objects to fitted carpets.<sup>735</sup> Two decades later, Randal Phillips, in his advice for the servant-less house, approved of fitted carpets as the most desirable choice for the home of modest means, despite the difficulty of re-fitting when one moved to a new house. What had changed in the intervening years was that Phillips made his recommendation based on the householder owning a vacuum cleaner, without which, he thought, fitted carpets became a liability.<sup>736</sup> (Figure 6.12).



**Figure 6.12 Randal Phillips, *The Servantless House* (London: Country Life, 1920), 107.**

Phillips' advice should be read as aspirational rather than reflective of practice as, in 1920, less than twenty per cent of households owned a vacuum cleaner.<sup>737</sup> By the early-1930s, levels of vacuum cleaner use had increased to the point that

<sup>735</sup> Dorothy Constance Peel, *The New Home*, 2nd ed. (London: Constable & Co., 1903), 12. Similarly, Agatha Willoughby Wallace insisted on plain cord carpet and light rugs to assist cleaning when little domestic service could be afforded. Agatha Willoughby Wallace, *Woman's Kingdom: Containing Suggestions as to Furnishing, Decorating, and Economically Managing the Home for People of Limited Means* (London: Archibald Constable & Co., 1905), 171–72.

<sup>736</sup> Randal Phillips, *The Servantless House* (London: Country Life, 1920), 29.

<sup>737</sup> Sue Bowden and Avner Offer, "Household Appliances and the Use of Time: The United States and Britain Since the 1920s," *The Economic History Review* 47, no. 4 (1994): 729, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2597714>.



the trade journal *The Furnishing World* advised carpet retailers that, “with the general adoption of vacuum cleaners, fitted carpets are actually easier to keep clean than a square with linoleum surround.”<sup>738</sup> Using vacuum cleaners was certainly less laborious than lifting a carpet square to be manually beaten outside. However, the historian of technology, Ruth Schwartz Cowan, has shown that the adoption of vacuum cleaners did not necessarily lead to floor-cleaning being a more manageable task. Instead, their use was accompanied by rising expectations of the frequency and efficacy of cleaning, which held householders to often unattainable standards.<sup>739</sup> Images of clean interiors, furnished with fitted, plain-coloured carpet promised a spacious, modernised appearance but were labour-intensive to maintain in real life, especially without domestic staff. The “aesthetic asepsis” that Prudence Maufe believed would be an inevitable part of life after the trauma of World War I was also a form of cultural capital that reproduced social boundaries.

The attention that the Manchester Guardian paid to less wealthy, working households gives a different aspect to the hygienic and aesthetic concerns that are focussed on the plain carpet. The advice suggests that “all that is not light and plain in a house is sure to be dirty,” but the author of an article, “Good Taste and Cleanliness - Lightness in the Home,” speaks up for the housewife whose tastes for pattern and richer tones have become associated with poor hygiene as they show the dirt less.<sup>740</sup> It is suggested that the hygienic argument for plain-coloured surfaces has been too moralistic, and the author points out that the use of light, plain textiles has economic implications for the household:

By no means all housewives can afford the constant washing and cleaning of their household fabrics, nor can they stand the strain of worrying about their prevention... Cleanliness allied to plainness is often hard earned.<sup>741</sup>

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<sup>738</sup> H. Browning, “How I Would Change the Carpet Trade,” *The Furnishing World* 1, no. 12 (1932): 719.

<sup>739</sup> Cowan, *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave.*, 98–99.

<sup>740</sup> “Good Taste and Cleanliness - Lightness in the Home,” *The Manchester Guardian (1901-1959)*, November 30, 1937, 8.

<sup>741</sup> “Good Taste and Cleanliness - Lightness in the Home.”

Not only was the time and financial cost of upkeep a problem for less wealthy households, but the suggestion that plain surfaces were suitable for a “rarely used room” was also an unrealistic expectation of space in the home. Finally, the author points out that many people now work in hygienic and functional buildings, but this makes them long for houses that are cosy and feel enclosed. The benefit of authorised design in the home is, for the author, restricted by class distinctions:

It may be an improvement of taste and a higher appreciation of hygiene that have led the middle classes to transfer their preference from Turkey red to sunshine yellow; but poorer people will need also an improvement of conditions before they are prepared to see and accept the lighter side of domestic life.<sup>742</sup>

For one correspondent, the plain surfaces which professed to be part of the efficient rationalisation of the domestic interior caused anxieties over maintenance that made them untenable:

To all whom it may concern, I will here reveal that the new lounge carpet is a fitted Axminster of all-over pattern. Plain carpets, whose demerits in the way of showing spots I have heard so much about that I am tired of the subject, have had their day in our house.<sup>743</sup>

The author pairs the new carpet with plain cream walls to keep an up-to-date appearance. It is not a coincidence that the column also includes advice on the correct use of the vacuum-cleaner bag. In the idealised rooms described in advice, the use of plain fitted carpets was not only a choice of decorative style but intersected with class-inflected concerns about space and cleanliness.

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<sup>742</sup> “Good Taste and Cleanliness - Lightness in the Home.”

<sup>743</sup> “A Domestic Triumph,” *The Manchester Guardian (1901-1959)*, February 26, 1936.

## 6.5 Templeton's changing use of weaving technology for plain-coloured carpets.

This chapter has charted cultural influences on the use of plain-coloured carpets in domestic interiors and followed the practicalities of their maintenance through advice literature. However, these are not only issues that pertain to the consumers' lives, real and imagined, after the point of acquisition. It is important to follow these sociocultural trends back into the factory as well as the home. Therefore, this final part of the chapter examines how Templeton's use of weaving technology changed in response to the interwar trends for furnishing with plain-coloured carpets and wall-to-wall fitting.

### 6.5.1 Templeton's development of a crush-resistant pile that "defies the footmark fiend."

The practical issues of plain carpets were met by new production techniques as well as cleaning advice. Articles in the *Manchester Guardian* in 1936 reiterated the benefits of plain-coloured carpets, fitted wall-to-wall, for giving a more spacious, up-to-date appearance. They also alerted readers to a technical development in plain carpet production that, like vacuum cleaner ownership, promised to make the maintenance of plain fitted carpets a more achievable aspiration. Readers are advised to choose perfectly plain carpets with, "a slightly curled pile that does not easily show footmarks or the pressure of chair castors."<sup>744</sup>

Curled-pile carpets were a new development that responded to consumer concerns about shading when the pile was flattened underfoot. In the mid-1930s, the carpet dealer Frank Stockwell challenged several manufacturers to produce qualities that minimised this effect. Templeton won his final commission by reproducing a plain-coloured carpet that used a tightly twisted wool yarn in the pile.<sup>745</sup> Stockwell's crush resistant 'Curlsax' quality, woven under the direction of Templeton, was launched to great commercial success in 1938, narrowly preceded by Templeton's own 'Non-Crush Granite' quality of

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<sup>744</sup> "Fitted Carpets - Their Advantages," *The Manchester Guardian* (1901-1959), April 15, 1936, 6.

<sup>745</sup> Jacobs, *The Story of British Carpets.*, 126.

Chenille Axminster carpet in 1937.<sup>746</sup> The widespread demand for these products is suggested by advertising for non-crush products marketed by retailers J. & J. Shaw's in Manchester,<sup>747</sup> Gooch's in London,<sup>748</sup> and C. & J. Brown in Edinburgh.<sup>749</sup> (Figure 6.13) Brown's Special Seamless Non-crush carpets were advertised as a great improvement in beauty and durability, available in ten standard colour shades. It is identifiable as a Templeton product because it was described as woven in one piece at up to thirty-three-feet wide, and, at this date, Templeton was the only manufacturer with a loom capable of this width.

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<sup>746</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/20/56 "Price List, 1937."

<sup>747</sup> "J&J Shaw's Fitted Carpets at Reduced Prices," *The Manchester Guardian (1901-1959)*, April 17, 1937, 10.

<sup>748</sup> "Gooch's Crushless Plain Carpets," *The Observer (1901-2003)*, January 9, 1938, 17.

<sup>749</sup> "Furnish Your Lounge at C. & J. Brown of Newington," *The Scotsman (1921-1950)*, April 16, 1938, 9.

Over Thirty  
Lounge Suites  
to choose from!



**Furnish Your  
LOUNGE at C. & J. BROWN'S  
OF NEWINGTON**



**Magnificent Chesterfield  
Suite for £29 : 10 : 0**

WE ILLUSTRATE a new THREE PIECE CHESTERFIELD SUITE covered in beautiful Uncut Moquette which has a Fawn spot design on Rust ground. This is a Quilted style "Buoyant" Suite with magnificent springs, and is all Hair upholstered throughout. The Settee and Easy Chairs have high backs to give extra comfort, and the Three Pieces complete are priced at ..... £29 10 0

**ALSO WE SUGGEST FOR YOUR LOUNGE—  
Special Seamless Non-Crush Carpeting**

**14/11** THE SQ. YD. This beautiful Carpeting, woven with twisted yarn, has a thick non-crush pile and can be laid to the full width of the room without seams, thus providing the perfect carpeting from wall to wall. It is made seamless up to 33 ft. wide in a choice of ten standard colour shades, and is strongly recommended for its great durability. Besides being a great improvement upon the plain carpeting, it can be made to a customer's own colour shade. This involves a charge of 2/6d per square yard extra to the price of the standard colours. The Carpeting in ten standard colours is supplied, laid, and fitted free at the Square Yard ..... 14/11

*Laid & Fitted Free*  
within a 10 mile radius of Edinburgh. Outside of this, Fares and travelling time are the only extra charges made.

★ THOSE RE-FURNISHING will be interested to know that C. & J. Brown's maintain a large Used Furniture Department. This enables them to make a definite offer for your existing furniture, and you therefore know in advance exactly how much refurnishing and replacement will cost. Extended Credit can also be arranged to suit individual requirements. COUNTRY CUSTOMERS are advised that our Representative visits the Borders every week on Tuesdays, and will be glad to call and discuss furnishing problems with Border Customers on request. C. & J. Brown's Vans deliver and collect anywhere on the Borders every week on Thursdays.



**C. & J. BROWN  
OF NEWINGTON  
(HOUSE FURNISHERS) LTD.  
31-37 So. Clerk St., Edinburgh**

Figure 6.13 "Furnish Your Lounge at C. & J. Brown of Newington," *The Scotsman* (1921-1950), April 16, 1938, 9.

The 'Curlsax' display stand at the 1938 British Industries Fair (Figure 6.14) married Modernist design features, such as the tubular chrome metal supports and streamlined curved corner, with the practical assurance that the carpet "defies the footmark fiend."<sup>750</sup>

<sup>750</sup> Jacobs, *The Story of British Carpets.*, 127.



Figure 6.14 'Curlsax' display stand at the British Industries Fair, 1938. Bertram Jacobs, *The Story of British Carpets*. (London: Carpet Review, 1968), 127.

The product's suitability for visually simplified, co-ordinated, modern interiors was reinforced by a commercial agreement with Lister and Company, Bradford, which guaranteed a precise colour match between Lister curtain velvets and Curlsax carpets.<sup>751</sup> Templeton built on the success of this range by introducing tightly twisted and curled pile yarns into a growing number of products. Wilton qualities included 'Curled Saxony,' and 'Broadkinky' carpets, and the appeal of the Chenille Axminster qualities was enhanced by the ability to keep chenille fur "in preparation" for rapid fulfilment of orders.<sup>752</sup> Non-crush carpets offered a technical reassurance for one of the problems of the new style of flooring, promising the middle-class householder that they could achieve the spatial effects of modernised decorating styles with fewer of the anxieties associated with maintaining the appearance of cleanliness.

<sup>751</sup> "Items of the Moment," *Country Life (Archive: 1901 - 2005)* (London, March 1939), 39.

<sup>752</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/20/59 "Price List, 1939."

### 6.5.2 Templeton's seamless plain-coloured Chenille Axminster carpets.

Non-crush carpets were part of Templeton's greatly diversified plain product ranges in the 1920s and 1930s. However, it is surprising that 'Curlsax' and other qualities were woven using the Chenille Axminster process. In the early 1930s, Templeton responded to the growing demand for carpets that did not need the patterning capabilities of traditional weave structures by using Chenille looms and Jacquard looms to weave plain carpet, as well as buying more than twenty new looms for the task.<sup>753</sup> Complex pattern weaving was a foundation of the British carpet industry, but this left them vulnerable to competition from imported plain products from specialist manufacturers in Belgium and Germany.<sup>754</sup> The general understanding of the Chenille Axminster process describes its purpose as allowing the imitation of the complex colouration of hand-knotted carpets, but this raises the question of why Templeton used the process so extensively for plain-coloured weaving. Three suggestions are made below, relating to: Templeton's existing investment in Chenille Axminster production, the flexibility of design, and seamlessness.

Producing plain carpet with the Chenille Axminster process does not make use of the complexity of the weave structure. It is, therefore, a less efficient choice than other available weaving technologies. For instance, Templeton partners decided not to adopt the development of "face-to-face" Wilton looms for plain carpets in the 1930s, even though they made more economical use of materials and time.<sup>755</sup> Face-to-face weaving was an adaptation of a velvet-weaving technique in which two layers of carpet foundation are woven simultaneously with a shared pile and then sheared in half laterally to produce two identical carpets.<sup>756</sup> Simultaneously, the company's engineers pursued a new type of

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<sup>753</sup> "Minutes of Meeting of Senior Partners, 17th Sept 1931." UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/1/3 "Partners' Papers."

<sup>754</sup> Arnott and Tysser, *Carpet Annual.*, 9; Jacobs, *The Story of British Carpets.*, 122.

<sup>755</sup> Minutes of partners' meeting dated 17 September 1931. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/1/3 "Partners' Papers."

<sup>756</sup> For a technical description of face-to-face carpet weaving, see: Robinson, *Carpets*, 120–26.

chenille weaving, based on a knitted structure, which was not ultimately put into commercial use.<sup>757</sup>

Templeton's commitment to Chenille Axminster weaving is explained in part by Thomas Hughes' concept of technological momentum and inertia.<sup>758</sup>

Technologies develop momentum as they become embedded in social systems and because of the existing investment of resources. Inertia, or resistance to change, is a form of path dependency in the progress a technology takes over time. It is due to the extent of infrastructural change required to allow a shift in how a technology was used. By this mechanism, a technology may persist despite competition from more beneficial alternatives.

In the early-twentieth century, Templeton had both capital and cultural investments in the Chenille Axminster. Capital investments included two factories dedicated to the looms required for chenille fur weaving and setting, and their attendant workforce. Additionally, the company was closely identified with James Templeton's development of the Chenille Axminster process in the 1830s. As the company approached its centenary year in 1939, Fred H. Young led a growing focus on commemorating the firm, not least by writing an authorised company history.<sup>759</sup> In Chapter 3.4, it was shown that this included the reiteration of the company's past prestige by reweaving the historic chenille fur of the exhibition carpet *Christ Blessing the Little Children*, which had been kept in store since the 1870s. The Chenille Axminster process was deeply embedded in Templeton's cultural identity and physical infrastructure. The growing popularity of furnishing with plain-coloured carpets, described above, was a threat to the designed purpose of the Chenille Axminster process, whether it was impelled by modernist simplification of the interior or a more conservative reframing of tradition. When Templeton repurposed Chenille Axminster looms for plain-coloured weaving, it disregarded their capacity for flexible, multicoloured, pattern-weaving. This was a practical negotiation of the

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<sup>757</sup> Minutes of partners' meeting dated 6 September 1932. UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/2/1/3 "Partners' Papers."

<sup>758</sup> Hughes, "Networks of Power: Electrification in Western Society, 1880-1930," 15.

<sup>759</sup> Young, "The Making of Carpets: An Old Scottish Industry"; Young, *A Century of Carpet Making, 1839-1939*.



technological inertia deriving from the firm's capital and cultural investment in the process.

By converting pattern-ooms for plain-coloured weaving Templeton also retained flexibility in its production capabilities. In the Chenille Axminster process, the actions that determine the properties of the pile - colour selection, pile length, yarn-type - are performed during the first stage of weaving the fur. These elements of the carpet design can be varied independently, with little impact on the mechanisms of the loom on which the finished carpet is woven. The Chenille process thus retained a beneficial feature compared to Wilton or Spool Axminster plain looms, in that the pitch, yarn type and pile-depth of the carpet were more easily variable. Furthermore, the capability for weaving multicoloured, complex patterns could be brought back into use at a later point, storing technical ability against unpredictable future changes in consumer taste. Thus, the flexibility of design was an affordance that encouraged the use of the process even when its capability for multicolour weaving was not relevant.

Using the Chenille Axminster process allowed fine distinctions between plain-coloured carpets. The annotations on a price list for the 'W' range of "entirely plain" seamless carpets show variations in the pile's yarn, depth, and tuft density.<sup>760</sup> (Figure 6.15) Notes on the left of the table detail pile yarns varying from coarse hair to fine worsted yarns.<sup>761</sup> The pitch of the tufting stretched from a heavy "4 x 5 ½," or twenty-two tufts per square inch, to a luxurious "9 x 10," or ninety tufts per square inch. They produced a total of twenty qualities at a wide range of prices, costing from 16s to 58s per square yard. These variations were easily accommodated by the process of weaving Chenille Axminster fur.

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<sup>760</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/20/45 "Price List, 1925."

<sup>761</sup> Probably goat hair or a blend of coarser hair fibres, see: Edwards, *Encyclopedia of Furnishing Textiles, Floorcoverings, and Home Furnishing Practices, 1200-1950*, 107.

Special Chenille Axminster.							
CARPETS WOVEN WITHOUT SEAM.							
PRICE PER SQUARE YARD ON LIGHT BACK.							
QUALITY.	W. Range.		X. Range.	Y. Range.			
	Entirely Plain	Plain Centre with Lines Border.	Plain or trellis Centre and Border not exceeding 4 1/2" repeat or 12" wide Border.	Designed Filling and Border not exceeding 6" repeat or 12" wide Border.			
<i>2mph. simple with filled.</i>	39, 10	16/-	18/-	19/6	5 x 5	25/6	56.5
<i>Albert</i>	40, 11	17/6	19/6	21/-	4 x 5 1/2	27/-	38.4
<i>Albert</i>	41, 11	23/-	25/-	26/6	4 x 5 1/2	32/6	28.4
<i>Albert</i>	42, 11	37/-	39/-	40/6	4 x 5 1/2	48/6	19.4
<i>Hair.</i>	43, 14	17/-	19/-	21/-	5 x 7	27/-	56.5
<i>Hair</i>	44, 16	22/-	24/-	26/-	5 x 8	32/-	38.5
<i>Impl.</i>	46, 14	20/6	22/6	25/6	7 x 7	32/6	56.4
<i>10 1/2 2x2</i>	51, 20	33/-	35/-	38/-	9 x 10	48/-	38.9
<i>3/3/16s.</i>	54, 16	58/-	60/-	62/6	6 x 8	70/-	19.6
<i>Impl.</i>	58, 14	19/6	21/6	23/6	5 x 7	29/6	38.5
<i>Impl.</i>	59, 14	24/6	26/6	28/6	5 x 7	34/6	28.5
<i>3/160s.</i>	61, 14	24/-	26/-	28/6	6 x 7	35/-	38.6
<i>3/160s.</i>	62, 14	29/6	31/6	34/-	6 x 7	40/6	28.6
<i>3/160s.</i>	63, 14	52/6	54/6	57/-	6 x 7	63/6	19.6
<i>10 1/2 2x2</i>	65, 20	23/6	25/6	28/6	8 x 10	35/6	56.8
<i>3/3/16s.</i>	66, 16	27/6	29/6	31/-	6 x 8	38/-	38.6
<i>3/3/16s.</i>	67, 16	33/6	35/6	37/-	6 x 8	45/-	28.6
<i>10 1/2 2x2</i>	68, 20	27/-	29/-	32/-	7 x 10	39/-	38.7
<i>Impl.</i>	69, 14	16/6	18/6	20/6	5 x 7	26/6	56.5
<i>3/160s.</i>	70, 10	28/-	30/-	33/-	10 x 5	40/-	38.10

See Notes on page 15.

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For widths above 15ft 3/6 per yard extra.

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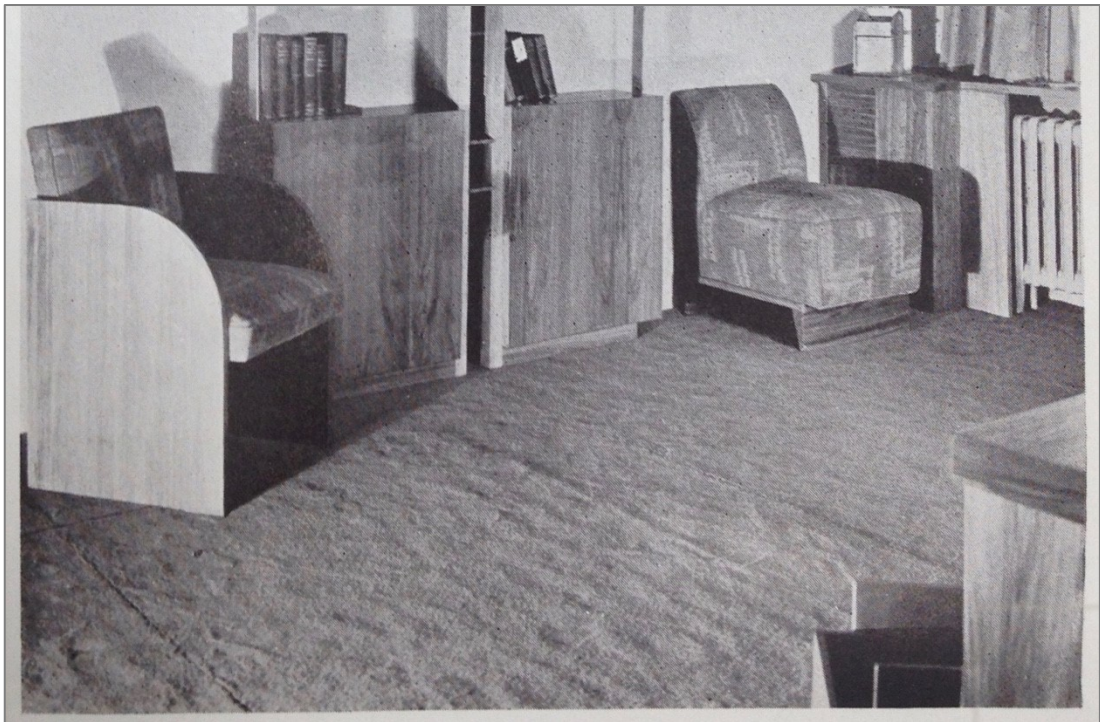
Figure 6.15 UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/1/20/45 "Price List, 1925."

Templeton adjusted the selection of qualities in this range from year to year, which indicates that the company was attentive to changes in the properties that customers wanted from carpets that otherwise looked identical. The fine distinctions between qualities recall Prudence Maufe's observation of, "the ubiquitous natural coloured beige carpet underneath our feet, the thickness of which is in almost exact ratio to the purse of its owner."<sup>762</sup> The lack of pattern placed greater scrutiny on other aspects of design as metrics of quality and, in the opinion expressed by Maufe, became a tool of social distinction.

Inertia and flexibility of design are partial explanations for the using Chenille Axminster process for plain-coloured weaving over the longer term, but the more immediate benefit was the ability to weave seamless carpets of great width. The growing use of plain, fitted carpets had increased scrutiny of the

<sup>762</sup> Maufe, "The Viewpoint of a Modern Carpet Buyer," 37.

seams between strips of carpets. Looking once more at the floor of the ultramodern sitting room designed by William Lescaze (Figure 6.16), it is clear that the plainness of the carpet does not provide the hermetically smooth surface that is promised in furnishing advice texts. Advice for carpet fitters noted that, for plain carpets, seams had to be positioned perpendicular to windows to avoid them being picked out by the raking light.<sup>763</sup> Not only were plain carpet seams more visible than those concealed by dense traditional patterns, but they became more prominent over time. The pile on seams wore down faster because the turned-back selvedge raised it above the plane of the floor. Tension and wear made seams vulnerable to coming unstitched, especially when subjected to the more frequent sweeping and cleaning required by plain-coloured carpets.<sup>764</sup>



**Figure 6.16** Detail of Sitting room designed by William Lescaze. Todd and Mortimer, *The New Interior Decoration: An Introduction to Its Principles, and International Survey of Its Methods*, fig. 64.

Successive technical innovations had overcome the constraints that loom mechanisms placed on the width of carpets. At the start of the twentieth

<sup>763</sup> G. J. Skellorn, "Carpet Planning," in *Carpet Annual*, ed. R. J. Arnott and H. F. Tysser (London: British Continental Press Ltd., 1938), 73–74.

<sup>764</sup> Brinton, *Carpets*, 119–20.

century, loom builders had extended the width of Wilton carpets from the industry-standard twenty-seven-inch-wide body carpet to a maximum of twelve-foot-wide.<sup>765</sup> However, impediments to their use remained. For example, when the metal “wire” around which the pile was formed was withdrawn from the loom, the increased friction along its length could cause scorching of the pile yarns.<sup>766</sup> Therefore, Wilton broadlooms operated slowly, limiting their use. This problem was solved by the development of Wilton looms in which the pile was formed over a series of hooks rather than the traditional wires. In the early 1920s, Templeton competed with the Kidderminster firm, Brintons Ltd., to bring these into commercial operation. The Sandeman Hook Loom, developed by Templeton’s head engineer, Ronald Sandeman, was patented in 1923,<sup>767</sup> and perfected in the early 1930s.<sup>768</sup> This innovation, and a similar loom used by Brinton’s Ltd., wove wide, seamless carpets at twice the speed of earlier models and occupied less space on the factory floor.<sup>769</sup>

While a series of technical developments were needed to make broadloom Wilton carpets commercially viable, the capability for wide, seamless weaving was inherent to the Chenille Axminster process without the need for further innovation.<sup>770</sup> Because of this, the first Templeton product specifically termed “broadloom” was a plain-coloured Chenille Axminster carpet in 1925. It was joined in Templeton’s price lists by a diverse range of products during the interwar period as the popularity of fitted, seamless carpets continued to grow.

The increasing use of Chenille Axminster weaving for broad, plain carpets marked a change in the affordances that were perceived in the process by Templeton’s designers and management. The ability to store chenille fur “in

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<sup>765</sup> Bartlett, *Carpeting the Millions: The Growth of Britain’s Carpet Industry*, 87; Robinson, *Carpets*, 115–18.

<sup>766</sup> Other technical challenges included: controlling the flexibility of the wires, the weft insertion mechanism, and the size of the Jacquard mechanism. Jacobs, *The Story of British Carpets.*, 111–13; Robinson, *Carpets*, 118.

<sup>767</sup> Ronald Leighton Sandeman, Improvements in connection with looms for pile fabrics, GB205130 (Great Britain, issued 1923).

<sup>768</sup> Roth, *A Brief Survey of Carpet Manufacture with Special Reference to the Major Inventions and Notes on Changes in Design.*, 138.

<sup>769</sup> Jacobs, *The Story of British Carpets.*, 114.

<sup>770</sup> The development of broadloom Spool Axminster looms followed a similar chronology, see: Robinson, *Carpets*, 142–51.

preparation,” discussed in Chapter 3, was still perceived as beneficial because it allowed quicker fulfilment of orders for plain-coloured carpets in specific widths and lengths. However, the established affordance of allowing, or encouraging, the reproduction of multicoloured pattern design was now reshaped with a renewed emphasis on flexibility and format. It is important to note that this was not the result of technological innovation but rather an adaptation to the use of existing technology, shaped by changes in how the company’s products were used.

Reflecting on the progress of the carpet industry, the textile technologist, George Robinson, wrote:

Every beautiful plain broadloom carpet produced not only indicates the efficiency of the technique employed in its creation, but also provides visible evidence of the diligence of many workers at all stages of manufacture, from the blending of the fibres to the finishing of the carpet.<sup>771</sup>

Examining carpets that have no pattern has turned attention to a broader range of design features. Width is an aspect of carpet design which, like yarn texture, pile depth, weave structure, and seamlessness, has been overshadowed in studies of carpets as decorative art objects by the fascination with surface pattern. As Robinson observes, looking beyond pattern does not mean disregarding the skilled labour that contributed to the production of carpets but instead makes visible a more comprehensive array of influences on a successful design.

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<sup>771</sup> Robinson, 126.

## 6.6 Conclusion.

Authors of furnishing advice increasingly prescribed plain floors in the domestic interior in the early-twentieth century. By the 1930s, plain-coloured carpets were normal enough that readers understood the practical issues arising from their use but novel enough that they provoked frequent comments. The sources used in this study have highlighted ways that attitudes about their use were formed and disseminated.

The interior's simplified visual arrangement was allied to several reforming aesthetic positions but was also part of a popular and commercial conception of looking "up-to-date." Plain surfaces were associated in furnishing texts with the present-day, putting them in dialogue with a sense of discontinuity between current design and a constructed idea of British decorative tradition. The use of plain-coloured carpets, as portrayed in forms of mediation, allowed negotiations between the appearance of modernist design and a nostalgic idea of the past. They were part of the hybrid forms of "suburban modernism" and the "English compromise" that interceded between present-day challenges and conservative drives towards comfort and tradition. They were used in advice texts to make new arrangements of the room's visual composition and "modernise" existing interiors. They could reframe tradition and integrate eclecticism by becoming a neutral background to older forms of furniture. However, the desirable visual qualities of plain-coloured carpets put a renewed emphasis on issues of space, labour, and cleanliness in the middle-class home. The visual impact of dirt, shading, and seaming threatened the desired appearance of simplified interior design.

Both cultural trends and technical affordances shaped the production of plain carpets. The variation of these carpets' pile and texture highlights the fact that their design extended beyond surface pattern. The relevance of seamlessness was intensified by the new trend for plainness and wall-to-wall fitting. This changed the affordances perceived of the Chenille Axminster process and provided an impetus to Templeton's production of plain, broadloom Chenille Axminster carpets. Crucially, as this is a study of technology-in-use rather than innovation, this examination has shown that the Chenille Axminster weave technology was adapted to new ends - monotone rather than multicolour

weaving - which were directly opposed to its ostensible function. This analysis has produced a more nuanced understanding of the weaving process by identifying both social and technical influences on plain carpet production. It has replaced a static description of the technique's properties by putting it in a dynamic relationship with its sociocultural context, underlining the co-formation of design, production technology and the social use of its products.

## 7 Conclusion.

### 7.1 Summary of research findings.

This thesis intervenes into a historiography of British carpets which has characteristically elevated the status of hand-knotted carpets over machine-woven, named artist-designers over unnamed industrial designers, elite over everyday, pattern-design over weave structure, product over process, and progressive design over other traditions. My critique of this involved developing a research methodology that turns from evaluative criteria towards what is shared between all the carpet designs - that they had to be capable of being woven.

Through detailed exploration of the uniquely rich resources provided by the archives of James Templeton and Company, I have developed an understanding of carpet weave structure for mechanised weaving that has enabled discussion of objects as diverse as a pictorial exhibition carpet (section 3.4), an adaptable Rococo revival pattern (section 4.4), a batch-produced reproduction of a Persian carpet (section 5.8), and plain coloured beige carpet (section 6.5). Each of these, for different reasons, were previously omitted from the history of British carpet design but have been reintroduced by a more egalitarian approach, fulfilling my stated aim of broadening the range of objects in the discussion. Throughout this thesis, I have consistently replaced heroic narratives of authorship and innovation with more nuanced discussions of social and technological negotiation between designers, patterns, and technologies to build a richer account of how carpets were made.

Recognising the risk that an investigation of design and weaving techniques could lead to a purely internalist account, I introduced perspectives from studies of the social construction of technology to produce a historically grounded account of the interactions of sociocultural and technical influences on Templeton's carpet making in the early-twentieth century. The close association of Chenille Axminster weaving with the company has meant that I have significantly improved on earlier accounts of the process. My focus on affordance improves previous static descriptions of the weave structure's capabilities by revealing a dynamic, historically situated relationship between Chenille



Axminster weaving technology and the design processes at James Templeton and Company. The following paragraphs highlight the important findings of the preceding chapters.

In **Chapter 3**, I argued that the common understanding of the Chenille Axminster process overrepresented its capability for unlimited colouring as a benefit of the weave structure. My reassessment of its features revealed the previously overlooked benefits afforded by the practice of keeping chenille fur “in preparation.” In doing so, my attentive reading of diverse sources, including design lithographs, price lists, marketing materials, and surviving carpets, demonstrated the previously unacknowledged significance of Templeton’s mass-market Parquet Carpets to the company. By using the concept of technological affordance, I was able to analyse how the features of the production process encouraged and discouraged how it was used in a specified context. Crucially, I demonstrated that the opportunities and constraints that Chenille Axminster weaving offered to James Templeton and Company were not static but dynamically related to its varying commercial needs over time. Affordance is an established concept in the history of technology that I have innovatively applied to a new field of research.

**Chapter 4** continued to examine the necessity of understanding the technical constraints and opportunities of weave structures for Templeton’s designers and, by extension, for current research. I argued that a conventional research methodology structured by authorial attribution derogated the processes of industrial carpet design. I presented previously undocumented Templeton designs associated with the designer C.F.A Voysey, which I discovered by detailed cross-referencing company archives with the Board of Trade Register of Designs. Upholding this thesis’ methodological focus on everyday design, I declined the opportunity to use these to expand the canon of authorised Voysey design. Instead, my more original reading revealed a broader, more complex distribution of “Voysey style” in a network of carpet design staff.

Guided by the technical skill apparent in the design archives, I then argued for a better framework for studying industrial carpet design that focussed not on who designers were but what they did and the knowledge they required to produce carpet designs. Through new research into design pedagogy using the Glasgow

Technical College (Weaving Branch) archives, I demonstrated the institutional division of technical and artistic training for carpet designers. Templeton designers' practical learning in the company's design department, I argued, embedded knowledge of the technical affordances of weave structures into the practice of carpet-pattern design. This knowledge allowed them to mediate between the aesthetic content of pattern design and the capabilities of the weaving technology. My framing of Templeton's designers and their knowledge as an integrated part of the technology of carpet production is a novel contribution to studies of British carpet history.

In **Chapter 5**, I investigated how the affordances of Chenille Axminster weaving allowed and encouraged Templeton's reproduction of a seventeenth-century carpet from the mausoleum of Shah cAbbas II. This chapter is the first study of this grouping of objects, extending the existing literature on European responses to seventeenth-century Persian carpets. My rigorous archival research has built meaningful connections between drawings by the designer James Cowan, photographic documentation of exhibitions, print advertising, and a surviving carpet to reconstruct the processes of design and manufacture that integrated this Persian carpet pattern into British industrial production. In this way, my interpretation of the archive has enabled me to supersede earlier dismissive attitudes about machine woven versions of hand-knotted carpets and show them to be complex and significant cross-cultural objects. Using insights from postcolonial studies, I demonstrated how a culture of European connoisseurship of Persian carpets combined with Templeton's use of the affordances of weaving technology to benefit the company by transferring value from the unique object to its batch-produced counterpart.

**Chapter 6** redressed a striking elision in the historiography of carpets by bringing plain coloured carpets into the foreground. Plainness also presented a challenge to my method of research using an archive that primarily preserved records of patternmaking. I overcame this through innovative readings of price lists and other records to reconstruct the importance of width, seamlessness, and pile texture as features benefitting Templeton's response to the growing popularity of plain carpets in the interwar period. I positioned these technical observations in a social and cultural context by carefully interpreting domestic advice texts to

reveal plain-coloured carpets' role in simplified schemes of modern interior decoration. Rather than claiming plain carpets as a forgotten icon of Modernism and reiterating reductive narratives of stylistic progress, I have maintained the project's methodological focus on everyday design and practice. I have argued that plain-coloured carpets were involved in nuanced compromises and negotiations with ideas of the past in Neo-Georgian design and the modernisation of traditional houses. Class-sensitive, gendered concerns about the home were highlighted as homeowners deployed plain carpets to appear up-to-date, to manipulate the visual impression of space, but with the cost of exacerbating anxieties over the appearance of cleanliness through the increased visibility of dirt and "shading" on the plain-coloured pile. By extending my previous analysis of the technological affordances of the Chenille Axminster process, I showed that this new cultural context caused James Templeton and Company to use the weave structure for purposes surprisingly different from those for which it was initially designed. By combining novel archival research with technical knowledge of weave structure, this chapter improves our understanding of plain-coloured carpets as a cultural phenomenon. Furthermore, it advances knowledge of the interaction technical and social influences on how James Templeton and Company used weaving technology.

## **7.2 Additional research outcomes.**

In addition to the contributions this thesis has made to methodology and knowledge for studies of carpets, there have also been more immediate outcomes benefitting archives and museum collections. My research has supported the National Trust for Scotland's decision to install a conservation intervention to the Templeton carpet in Pollok House, Glasgow, in the form of a digitally printed Eyemat® cover.<sup>772</sup> Furthermore, the methods I have used to trace patterns and objects in this thesis have been used to advise the Museum of the Home, London, and the Archives and Special Collections, Glasgow School of Art. This has led to both institutions acquiring a 1950s Templeton carpet that has not been preserved elsewhere, making it accessible to future researchers.

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<sup>772</sup> E-mail correspondence between the author and Suzanne Reid, Conservator, National Trust for Scotland, 9th-16th August 2017.

## **7.3 Recommendations for further research.**

### **7.3.1 Carpet making post-World War II.**

I intend this thesis to encourage future researchers to adopt more egalitarian approaches to the material culture of carpets by developing research methodologies that increase the visibility of everyday products and the technologies that produced them. Future research leading from this thesis should encompass a larger chronology to investigate how the changed social, cultural, and economic conditions of the post-World War II period interacted with technologies in the carpet industry. Following the example in this thesis, narratives of innovation and progress - new inventions, processes, fibres, and dyes - should not obscure histories of technology-in-use and old technologies used for different ends than their original designed purpose. The decline of the Chenille Axminster process would provide an indicative case study allied to the increasing challenges experienced by the British carpet industry in the late-twentieth century.

### **7.3.2 Histories of everyday carpet design.**

In this thesis, I have used innovative approaches to the archives to excavate production processes rather than to construct a chronology of pattern design. I suggest that understanding production is a necessary precursor for future studies of carpet consumption in order to evaluate why certain goods were presented to consumers and how patterns of consumption influenced production techniques. However, future research into the consumption of carpets will also need reliable histories of carpet pattern design to characterise the visual and material worlds in which carpets were used. To avoid reiterating the omissions made in earlier studies of British carpets, future research must pay close attention to traditional, historical revival, and inobtrusive patterns, in addition to new and fashionable styles, and connect them to the affordances of materials and production processes. Appendix A, which summarises carpet designs that James Templeton and Company submitted to the Board of Trade Register of Designs from 1890 to 1930, provides a chronology for over two hundred designs (which may or may not have been woven as finished products). I encourage future

researchers to use this dataset, in combination with the Stoddard Templeton design archive, to research the stylistic development of carpet pattern design.

### **7.3.3 Technological affordances of weaving and society.**

As set out in the initial chapters of this thesis, it has been necessary to focus on mechanised carpet weaving and design in order to rebalance the existing attention paid to hand knotted carpets. I have used the concept of affordance primarily to create a better, more nuanced, understanding of how Templeton and its design staff engaged with the technology of weave structure. Affordance as methodological tool, as described by Jenny L. Davis, can be extended to analyse how structures of power within society are reflected in the development and use of technological artefacts, and how artefacts shape social behaviour. I have given an example of this in discussion of how the different cultural values ascribed to mechanised weaving and hand weaving influenced the British production of carpets with Persian designs (section 5.7). I recommend that this strand of the ethics of technology is incorporated into future research into carpet making to examine the social embeddedness of carpet weaving technology.

### **7.3.4 Enhancing catalogues and collections.**

This research has confirmed the merit of the joint acquisition of the Stoddard Templeton archives by the University of Glasgow, Glasgow School of Art, and Glasgow Museums, which has kept the diverse collections in dialogue with each other. I believe that future research projects should include outputs that directly enhance the accessibility and interpretation of these archives. Curators and carpet owners need appropriate information about the objects in their care to guide decisions about acquisition, conservation, and significance. The need for knowledge will become more pressing as carpets from the post-World War II period continue to disappear from the material record. The passage of time also means that former industry workers' knowledge and lived experience is currently highly vulnerable. This has often been addressed by collecting oral history testimonies, but a dominant interest in social history has neglected the technical knowledge that is so important for interpreting production archives, making the preservation of this knowledge a priority.

Photographing the design drawings held by the University of Glasgow would remove challenges to the use of visual methodologies experienced during the current research. However, digitising archive records is not a simple solution to facilitating access and use, not least because it generates a new collection of records that need to be ordered, contextualised, preserved and interpreted. There is a considerable opportunity to enhance the visual and contextual data of the Stoddard Templeton Heritage Collection of carpets held by Glasgow Museums when changes are made to its storage. A more targeted, pragmatic approach would be to transcribe records that are particularly dense in textual data, particularly the Design Studio Record Books that have been used throughout this thesis.<sup>773</sup> Making these more easily searchable would significantly enhance the future study of the chronology of carpet design.

The emphasis I have placed on processes over products in the preceding chapters makes the argument that future research into carpet consumption should embrace the importance of production as a site of cultural inscription. These recommendations propose that sociological and cultural investigations of the material cultures in which carpets are embedded should integrate technical knowledge of production to be more comprehensively grounded in the artefacts' materiality. As this thesis has demonstrated, manufacture is manifold and can be productively examined through the opportunities and constraints offered by technologies of design and production. By understanding and vocalising the complex interactions of technique, skill, and visual design with which these ordinary objects were made, we gain unique perspective on the richness of the everyday.

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<sup>773</sup> UGSTC, GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/5 "Design Studio Record Books."

## 8 Appendix A: Templeton carpet designs submitted to the Board of Trade Register of Designs, 1890-1930.

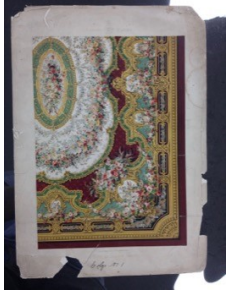





The following table summarises the findings from cross-referring Templeton design archive records to the Board of Trade Registers and Representations of Designs, to supply approximate dates of creation (see Chapter 1.7.1) It has been included to substantiate references made in the preceding text and as a resource for subsequent research.

Templeton submitted designs to the register intermittently from its introduction in 1839 until 1932. The designs registered from 1890-1930 are almost all carpet squares, and predominantly the Chenille Axminster products for which Templeton was renowned. These data improve significantly on the available information about the date of Templeton's designs, but caution should be taken before inferring stylistic change from these data. Templeton generally registered designs to discourage copying by other firms, but the motives for registering this small selection of their output, and not others, are unconfirmed and may have changed over time. It could have been considered worthwhile to protect designs that were predicted to be in production for a long time such as the "Turkey" design, e.g., item 70. Conversely, designs in highly fashionable styles were also registered, for instance the Chinese-inspired corner groups, e.g., item 219.

The table lists: the registration date; the registration number assigned by the Board of Trade; the pattern number used by Templeton; the archive item from which the image was sourced. Archive references are to: University of Glasgow Archives and Special Collections, Stoddard Templeton Collection, GB 248, (GB 248); and The National Archives (TNA). Registration numbers were found in the following ranges of volumes: TNA BT 51/58, Designs 139296-144366, 1889 Nov. 29 - 1890 Feb. 19, to TNA BT 51/138, Designs 517232-520894, 1907 Dec. 7-1908 Feb. 29; TNA BT 53/2, Designs 526037-530717, 1908 June 12-Sept. 26, to TNA BT 53/58, Designs 749696-753823, 1929 Oct 31-1930 Apr 9.<sup>774</sup>




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<sup>774</sup> Note that after the 1907 Patents and Designs Act, carpet designs were registered in the "non-textile" classification.







1		<i>Date:</i>	Feb-Mar 1890
		<i>Design Register No.:</i>	141953
		<i>Templeton Pattern No.:</i>	2650
		<i>Archive source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/DES/36/1/13
2		<i>Date:</i>	16 May 1893
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	211944
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/72
3		<i>Date:</i>	16 May 1893
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	212254
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/72
4		<i>Date:</i>	16 May 1893
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	212255
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/72
5		<i>Date:</i>	16 May 1893
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	212256
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/72
6		<i>Date:</i>	Oct 1893
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	219245
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	966
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1





7		<i>Date:</i>	17 Jan 1895
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	247914
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	5198
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/80
8		<i>Date:</i>	29 Oct 1896
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	287264
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/88
9		<i>Date:</i>	29 Oct 1896
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	287265
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/88
10		<i>Date:</i>	17 Nov 1896
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	288436
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/88
11		<i>Date:</i>	17 Nov 1896
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	288437
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/88
12		<i>Date:</i>	17 Nov 1896
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	288438
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/88

13		<i>Date:</i>	17 Nov 1896
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	288439
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/88
14		<i>Date:</i>	17 Nov 1896
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	288440
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/88
15	No image	<i>Date:</i>	15 Dec 1896
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	290288
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/89
16	No image	<i>Date:</i>	15 Dec 1896
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	290289
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/89
17		<i>Date:</i>	18 Dec 1896
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	290487
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/89
18	No image	<i>Date:</i>	11 Mar 1897
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	295517
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/90







19		<i>Date:</i>	14 Apr 1897
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	297353
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/90
20		<i>Date:</i>	14 Apr 1897
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	297354
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/90
21		<i>Date:</i>	14 Apr 1897
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	297355
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/90
22		<i>Date:</i>	27 Apr 1897
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	297912
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/91
23		<i>Date:</i>	27 Apr 1897
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	297913
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/91
24		<i>Date:</i>	27 Apr 1897
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	297914
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/91

25		<i>Date:</i>	27 Apr 1897
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	297915
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/91
26		<i>Date:</i>	29 Apr 1897
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	298060
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/91
27		<i>Date:</i>	29 Apr 1897
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	298061
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/91
28		<i>Date:</i>	20 May 1897
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	299206
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/91
29		<i>Date:</i>	20 May 1897
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	299207
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/91
30		<i>Date:</i>	14 Jun 1897
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	300312
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/91







31		<i>Date:</i>	14 Jun 1897
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	300313
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/91
32		<i>Date:</i>	14 Jun 1897
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	300314
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/91
33	No image	<i>Date:</i>	16 Jul 1897
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	301632
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/91
34	No image	<i>Date:</i>	26 Aug 1898
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	324450
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/96
35	No image	<i>Date:</i>	20 Nov 1899
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	349591
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/102
36	No image	<i>Date:</i>	9 Dec 1899
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	350455
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/102


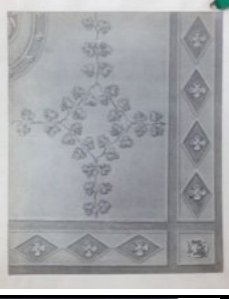




37		<i>Date:</i>	28 Dec 1899
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	351087
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/102
38		<i>Date:</i>	28 Dec 1899
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	351088
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 51/102
39		<i>Date:</i>	Jun-Jul 1900
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	360315
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1313
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
40		<i>Date:</i>	Apr-May 1901
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	373650
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	10144
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/DES/108/10
41		<i>Date:</i>	Apr-May 1901
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	373653
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	10143
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/DES/106/34
42		<i>Date:</i>	Apr-May 1901
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	373654
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	10141
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/DES/106/35




43		<i>Date:</i>	Sep 1902
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	396961
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	10300
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/DES/106/37
44		<i>Date:</i>	Jan 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	494863
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	772
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
45		<i>Date:</i>	Jan 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	494864
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	801
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
46		<i>Date:</i>	Jan 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	494865
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	800
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
47		<i>Date:</i>	Jan 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	494866
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	806
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
48		<i>Date:</i>	Jan 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	494867
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	803
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1







49		<i>Date:</i>	Feb 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	496416
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/2
50		<i>Date:</i>	Feb 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	496417
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/2
51		<i>Date:</i>	Feb 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	496418
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/2
52		<i>Date:</i>	Feb 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	496419
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/2
53		<i>Date:</i>	Feb 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	496420
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/2
54		<i>Date:</i>	Feb 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	496421
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/2









55		<i>Date:</i>	Feb 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	496425
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/2
56		<i>Date:</i>	Feb 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	496426
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/2
57		<i>Date:</i>	Feb 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	496427
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/2
58		<i>Date:</i>	Feb 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	496428
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/2
59		<i>Date:</i>	Feb 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	496429
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/2
60		<i>Date:</i>	Feb 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	496430
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	110
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/DES/108/9

61		<i>Date:</i>	Feb 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	496431
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/2
62		<i>Date:</i>	Feb 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	496432
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/2
63		<i>Date:</i>	Feb 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	496433
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/2
64		<i>Date:</i>	Feb 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	496434
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/2
65		<i>Date:</i>	Feb 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	496435
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/2
66		<i>Date:</i>	Feb 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	496437
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/8/2







67		<i>Date:</i>	Feb 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	496753
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	808
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
68		<i>Date:</i>	Oct-Nov 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	514986
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	991
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
69		<i>Date:</i>	Oct-Nov 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	514987
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	963
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
70		<i>Date:</i>	Dec 1907
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	517216
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	959
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/2
71		<i>Date:</i>	1908
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	520277
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	965
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
72		<i>Date:</i>	1908
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	520279
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1003
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1

73		<i>Date:</i>	1908
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	520556
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1060
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
74		<i>Date:</i>	1908
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	520557
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1061
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
75		<i>Date:</i>	1908
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	520558
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1062
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
76		<i>Date:</i>	Aug-Sep 1908
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	529329
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1120
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
77		<i>Date:</i>	Aug-Sep 1908
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	529330
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1063
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
78		<i>Date:</i>	Aug-Sep 1908
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	529331
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1103
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1

79		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Oct 1908
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	532237
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1123
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
80		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-Feb 1909
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	535977
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1163
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/2/1/1
81		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-Feb 1909
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	535978
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1165
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
82		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-Feb 1909
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	536078
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1128
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
83		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-Feb 1909
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	536079
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1110
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
84		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-Feb 1909
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	536107
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1197
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1

85		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-Feb 1909
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	536108
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1196
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
86		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-Feb 1909
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	536109
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1124
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
87		<i>Date:</i>	Feb 1909
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	536984
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1164
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
88		<i>Date:</i>	Feb 1909
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	536985
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1170
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
89		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Nov 1909
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	549227
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1209
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
90		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Nov 1909
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	549228
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1235
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1

91		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Nov 1909
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	549229
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1773
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
92		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Nov 1909
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	549230
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1128
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
93		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Nov 1909
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	549231
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1247
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
94		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Nov 1909
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	551442
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1270
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
95		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Nov 1909
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	551443
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1269
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
96		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Nov 1909
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	551444
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1226
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1




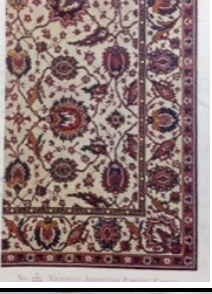

97		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Nov 1909
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	551445
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1243
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
98		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Nov 1909
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	551446
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1258
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
99		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-Feb 1910
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	554611
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1257
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
100		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-Feb 1910
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	554612
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1256
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
101		<i>Date:</i>	Feb-Apr 1910
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	557575
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1246
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
102		<i>Date:</i>	Feb-Apr 1910
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	557576
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1334
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1








103		<i>Date:</i>	Feb-Apr 1910
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	560314
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1238
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
104		<i>Date:</i>	Feb-Apr 1910
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	560984
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1315
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
105		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Dec 1910
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	573273 (possible printing error on lithograph)
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1399
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
106		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Dec 1910
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	573273 (possible printing error on lithograph)
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1453
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
107		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Dec 1910
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	573274
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1462
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
108		<i>Date:</i>	Dec 1910-Feb 1911
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	576256
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1454
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1



109		<i>Date:</i>	Dec 1910-Feb 1911
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	576257
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1395
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
110		<i>Date:</i>	Dec 1910-Feb 1911
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	576258
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1336
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
111		<i>Date:</i>	Dec 1910-Feb 1911
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	576259
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1335
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
112		<i>Date:</i>	Dec 1910-Feb 1911
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	576931
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1474
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
113		<i>Date:</i>	Dec 1910-Feb 1911
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	576932
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1401
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
114		<i>Date:</i>	Dec 1910-Feb 1911
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	576933
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1473
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1

115		<i>Date:</i>	Dec 1910-Feb 1911
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	576934
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1463
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
116		<i>Date:</i>	Dec 1910-Feb 1911
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	576936
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1492
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
117		<i>Date:</i>	Dec 1910-Feb 1911
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	576937
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1397
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
118		<i>Date:</i>	Dec 1910-Feb 1911
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	577383
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1421
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
119		<i>Date:</i>	Dec 1910-Feb 1911
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	578458
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1472
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
120		<i>Date:</i>	Dec 1910-Feb 1911
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	578459
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1501
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1

121		<i>Date:</i>	Dec 1910-Feb 1911
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	578460
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1515
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
122		<i>Date:</i>	Feb-May 1911
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	579598
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1420
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
123		<i>Date:</i>	Feb-May 1911
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	579600
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1396
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
124		<i>Date:</i>	Feb-May 1911
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	579676
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1516
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
125		<i>Date:</i>	Feb-May 1911
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	581309
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1424
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
126		<i>Date:</i>	May-Aug 1911
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	583330
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1452
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1

127		<i>Date:</i>	May-Aug 1911
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	583332
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1513
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
128		<i>Date:</i>	May-Aug 1911
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	585430
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1451
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
129		<i>Date:</i>	May-Aug 1911
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	585432
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1514
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
130		<i>Date:</i>	May-Aug 1911
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	585542
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1503
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
131		<i>Date:</i>	Nov 1911 - Feb 1912
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	593745
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1595
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
132		<i>Date:</i>	Nov 1911 - Feb 1912
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	593746
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1584
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1







133		<i>Date:</i>	Nov 1911 - Feb 1912
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	593750
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1521
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
134		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-Feb 1912
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	595284
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1567
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
135		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-Feb 1912
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	595285
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1575
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
136		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-Feb 1912
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	596076
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1582
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/3:
137		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-Feb 1912
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	596077
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1599
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
138		<i>Date:</i>	Feb-May 1912
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	598293
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1598
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1

139		<i>Date:</i>	Feb-May 1912
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	599554
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1619
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
140		<i>Date:</i>	Feb-May 1912
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	599555
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1597
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
141		<i>Date:</i>	Feb-May 1912
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	599859
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1571
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
142		<i>Date:</i>	Feb-May 1912
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	600166
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1592
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
143		<i>Date:</i>	Aug-Nov 1912
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	610388
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1751
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
144		<i>Date:</i>	Aug-Nov 1912
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	610389
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1743
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1

145		<i>Date:</i>	Aug-Nov 1912
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	610391
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1731
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
146		<i>Date:</i>	Aug-Nov 1912
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	610396
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1712
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
147		<i>Date:</i>	Nov 1912 - Mar 1913
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	612313
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1718
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
148		<i>Date:</i>	Nov 1912 - Mar 1913
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	612315
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1734
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
149		<i>Date:</i>	Nov 1912 - Mar 1913
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	612316
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1772
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
150		<i>Date:</i>	Nov 1912 - Mar 1913
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	613118
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1727
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1









151		<i>Date:</i>	Mar-Jun 1913
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	615856
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1754
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
152		<i>Date:</i>	Mar-Jun 1913
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	615857
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1774
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
153		<i>Date:</i>	Mar-Jun 1913
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	617469
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1782
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
154		<i>Date:</i>	Mar-Jun 1913
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	617470
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1781
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
155		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Dec 1913
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	625617
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1750
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
156		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Dec 1913
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	625618
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1845
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1

157		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Dec 1913
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	625622
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1742
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
158		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Dec 1913
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	626041
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1783
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
159		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Dec 1913
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	626042
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1825
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
160		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Dec 1913
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	626043
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1811
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
161		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Dec 1913
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	627923
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1820
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
162		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Dec 1913
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	629012
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1899
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1

163		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Dec 1913
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	629013
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1883
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
164		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Dec 1913
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	629014
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1830
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
165		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Dec 1913
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	629015
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1865
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
166		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Dec 1913
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	629818
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1872
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
167		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Dec 1913
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	629819
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1858
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
168		<i>Date:</i>	Sep-Dec 1913
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	629821
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1824
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1

169		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-Apr 1914
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	632389
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1884
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
170		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-Apr 1914
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	632390
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1805
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
171		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-Apr 1914
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	633309
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1942
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
172		<i>Date:</i>	Apr-Jul 1914
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	635284
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1943
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
173		<i>Date:</i>	Apr-Jul 1914
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	637004
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1860
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
174		<i>Date:</i>	Nov-Dec 1914
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	644905
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	2015
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1







175		<i>Date:</i>	Nov-Dec 1914
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	644908
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	2036
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
176		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-May 1915
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	645219
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	2037
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
177		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-May 1915
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	645220
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	2013
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
178		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-May 1915
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	646183
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	2003
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
179		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-May 1915
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	646184
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	2011
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
180		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-May 1915
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	646428
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	2127
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1







181		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-May 1915
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	646429
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	2039
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
182		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-May 1915
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	646864
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	2038
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
183		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-May 1915
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	646865
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	2101
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
184		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-May 1915
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	646866
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	2000
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
185		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-May 1915
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	647597
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	2073
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
186		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-May 1915
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	647598
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	2093
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1




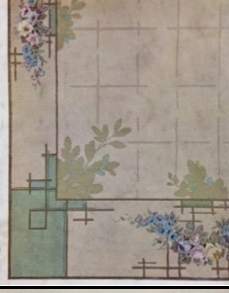


187		<i>Date:</i>	Jan-May 1915
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	647599
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	2129
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
188		<i>Date:</i>	May-Nov 1915
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	649417
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	2133
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
189		<i>Date:</i>	May-Nov 1915
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	649418
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	2079
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/1
190		<i>Date:</i>	10 Nov 1919
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	672582
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/39
191		<i>Date:</i>	10 Nov 1919
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	672583
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	2477
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/39
192		<i>Date:</i>	10 Nov 1919
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	672584
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/39

193		<i>Date:</i>	10 Nov 1919
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	672585
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/39
194		<i>Date:</i>	10 Nov 1919
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	672586
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/39
195		<i>Date:</i>	10 Nov 1919
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	672587
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	-
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/39
196		<i>Date:</i>	8 Sep 1928
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	740336
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1142
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/55
197		<i>Date:</i>	8 Sep 1928
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	740337
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1143
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/55
198		<i>Date:</i>	8 Sep 1928
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	740338
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1144
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/55



199		<i>Date:</i>	8 Sep 1928
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	740339
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1151
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/55
200		<i>Date:</i>	8 Sep 1928
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	740340
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1152
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/55
201		<i>Date:</i>	8 Sep 1928
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	740341
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1154
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/55
202		<i>Date:</i>	8 Sep 1928
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	740342
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1156
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/55
203		<i>Date:</i>	8 Sep 1928
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	740343
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1158
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/55
204		<i>Date:</i>	18 Feb 1929
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	743679
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	8599
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/56

205		<i>Date:</i>	18 Feb 1929
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	743680
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	8628
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/56
206		<i>Date:</i>	06 May 1929
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	745419
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1155
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/57
207		<i>Date:</i>	06 May 1929
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	745420
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1176
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/57
208		<i>Date:</i>	06 May 1929
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	745421
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1167
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/57
209		<i>Date:</i>	06 May 1929
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	745422
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1165
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/57
210		<i>Date:</i>	06 May 1929
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	745423
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1157
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/57

211		<i>Date:</i>	06 May 1929
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	745424
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1161
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/57
212		<i>Date:</i>	06 May 1929
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	745425
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1146
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/57
213		<i>Date:</i>	04 Oct 1929
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	749194
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1205
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/57
214		<i>Date:</i>	04 Oct 1929
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	749195
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1206
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/3
215		<i>Date:</i>	04 Oct 1929
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	749196
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1207
		<i>Source:</i>	TNA BT 53/57
216		<i>Date:</i>	04 Oct 1929
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	749197
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1213
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/3

217		<i>Date:</i>	04 Oct 1929
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	749198
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1214
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/3
218		<i>Date:</i>	04 Oct 1929
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	749199
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1215
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/3
219		<i>Date:</i>	Oct-Dec 1929
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	749969
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1204
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/3
220		<i>Date:</i>	Oct-Dec 1929
		<i>Reg. No.:</i>	749970
		<i>Pattern No.:</i>	1216
		<i>Source:</i>	GB 248 STOD/201/1/3/1/3

## 9 Glossary.

Abrash	Irregular streaked effect in the pile of a carpet.
Albert Axminster	Templeton brand of Spool Axminster carpets.
Axminster	Originally, hand-knotted carpets made in the Devon town of Axminster from 1755 to 1835 by Thomas Whitty and Company, now used generically for any woven cut pile carpet.
Brussels	A carpet with an uncut looped pile of supplemental warp, woven using a Jacquard mechanism. See also: Wilton.
Catcher warp	A fine cotton supplemental warp used to bind chenille fur weft onto the foundation weave structure of a Chenille Axminster carpet.
Chenille Axminster	A two-stage carpet weaving process patented by James Templeton and William Quigley in 1839. Firstly, a striped cloth is woven, the colours of which correspond to one or more rows of the carpet pattern. The cloth is cut into thin strips, called "chenille fur." In the second stage of weaving, known as "setting," the fur is used as a secondary weft to make the pile of the carpet. By the 1970s Templeton was the last manufacturer to use Chenille Axminster looms.
Chenille Fur	A thin strip of woven tufts used as a supplemental weft to form the pile of a Chenille Axminster carpet.
Chintz	A style of carpet pattern featuring naturalistically depicted flowers, derived from similarly patterned printed textiles. Templeton also used "chintz" to refer to a set of colours used in floral designs applied to any pattern.
Damask	A carpet pattern in which background and motifs are different shades of the same colour, referring to the visual effect of satin and plain weave in damask textiles. In Templeton design archive records, "damask" may indicate this type of colouring rather than a pattern style.
Design Paper	The final graphical stage of a pattern design, in which patterns are painted in body colour on gridded "point paper."
Design Sketch	The initial graphical stages of pattern design in which motifs, colours, and pattern repeat are developed.
Drop match	The repeat of a pattern is completed over two strips of carpet by "dropping" one strip, part of the length of the repeat.

Field	The central area of a carpet, surrounded by borders. The British carpet industry more commonly used the term "filling" for this area.
Filling	The central area of a carpet surrounded by borders. Also, a repeating pattern used in this area.
Fitting	In early- and mid-nineteenth-century Britain, some middle-class and elite homes had carpets which covered the entire floor, known as "close covered" or "planned to the room." Strips of Brussels or Wilton "body" carpet, usually 27 inches wide, were stitched together to size, but Chenille Axminster carpets could be made in one piece. Loose fitted Carpet Squares, surrounded by a margin of linoleum, felt, or floorboards, increased in popularity towards the end of the nineteenth century, and were common until a resurgence of "wall-to-wall" fitting in the 1930s, often using the new broadloom carpets.
Foundation	The backing to the surface pile of a carpet structure.
Frame	In Brussels and Wilton carpet weaving, a frame is layer of pile warp held on a "creel" or rack of bobbins behind the loom.
Indian	A pattern style loosely derived from the hand-knotted carpets of the Mughal empire, or from modern India, often including conventionalized floral motifs. Templeton also used the term for a type of colouring using warm reds, greens and golds applied to any pattern style.
Ingrain Carpet	A type of carpet woven without pile using a double-cloth or triple-cloth structure, produced in Britain from the early-eighteenth century. Varieties include Kidderminster carpet, Scotch carpet, Kilmarnock carpet, 2-ply, 3-ply, and Art Squares.
Medallion	A carpet pattern with a large central motif, often surrounded by other motifs and borders.
Needle-tufted Carpet	Needle-tufting is a mechanised carpet making process in which pile yarns are stitched into a backing textile. From the late 1950s, its low-cost lead to rapid adoption by consumers. Templeton invested in needle-tufting cautiously via the intermediary "Kosset" brand.
Parquet Carpet	A range of Chenille Axminster carpet squares introduced by Templeton in 1884, not related to the inlaid wooden flooring of the same name. Templeton stopped using the term in 1936 but continued to make similar products.
Patent Axminster	Templeton trade name for Chenille Axminster.

Pile	The raised surface of a carpet consisting of uncut loops or cut tufts of yarn.
Pile warp	The layer or layers of warp ends which form the raised pile of a Brussels, Wilton, or Printed Tapestry carpet.
Pile weft	The threads which form the raised pile of a Hand-Knotted carpet.
Pitch	The number of pile tufts across the width of a carpet.
Planting	A design technique used to extend the range of colours in a Brussels or Wilton carpet pattern. These types of carpet have up to five differently coloured layers, or “frames,” of pile yarns. A designer can “plant” one or more “frames” by changing the colour of individual warp yarns. See: Frame.
Point paper	Paper printed with a grid for planning weaving patterns.
Putting on/ putting on lines	Painting a pattern onto gridded point paper.
Saxony	A Wilton or Brussels carpet with a hardwearing pile made of a thick twisted-ply yarn.
Setting	See: Chenille Axminster.
Shading	The appearance of darker patches in a carpet caused by the position of the pile, or the direction of light on the pile.
Shot	A single insertion a weft thread through the warp.
Spool Axminster	A carpet weave structure developed by Halcyon Skinner in the United States in the 1870s. A long bobbin, or spool, is wound with the coloured pile yarns required by a single row of the carpet pattern. The spools are attached to the loom in sequence and mechanisms measure a short length of pile yarn from the spool, cut it, and insert it into the foundation warp and weft. A greater number of colours can be used in patterns for Spool Axminster weaving than for Brussels or Wilton weaving, with less material wastage. This matched the capability of the Chenille Axminster process, but was faster to weave. Also called: Axminster, Crompton Axminster, Imperial Axminster, Moquette, Royal Axminster, Tufted Axminster.
Square	A large rug or carpet. Carpet squares were almost always oblong, either woven in one piece, called a “Seamless Square,” or stitched together from separate strips of filling and border patterns.

Straight match	The repeat of a pattern is completed by placing two strips of carpet next to each other so that the same pattern motifs are level with each other.
Striping	Unintended stripes in a carpet pattern that are noticed when motifs are repeated and foreshortened.
Tenter	A member of the production staff who oversaw the operation of weaving machinery.
Turkey	A style of carpet pattern influenced by hand-woven carpets historically made in the Anatolian peninsula, characterised by boldly coloured conventionalized and geometric motifs. Templeton use the term for any pattern coloured with strong red, dark blue, green, and yellow.
Victorian Axminster	Templeton trade name for Chenille Axminster carpets. The term was used until the 1930s and does not imply a nineteenth-century date of manufacture.
Warp	The group of parallel threads arranged along the length of loom or textile. A single thread of the warp is a "warp end" or "end."
Warp Printed Tapestry	A carpet making process developed by Richard Whytock in 1832. Pile warp ends are printed with a pattern before being woven into a pile carpet.
Weft	The elements of a textile placed across its width, perpendicular to the warp. Machine-woven carpets may have both structural weft and supplemental pile weft.
Wilton	A cut pile carpet woven on a loom using a Jacquard mechanism. Named after the Wiltshire town where the weave structure was used from the 1740s, it is still in widespread use. In Wilton weaving, up to five layers of coloured supplemental pile warp, called "frames," are woven into the structure of the carpet. The pile yarns required by the pattern are lifted to the surface by the Jacquard mechanism, where they are looped over a thin metal strip called a "wire." As this wire is pulled out, a blade mounted on its end cuts the loops to make a plush, velvet pile. The layers of pile warp which are not seen on the surface become part of the carpet's bulk. This makes a very durable product but uses up to five times more pile yarn than Chenille or Spool Axminster. See: Planting.



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