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Kynoch Tartan : A Cultural Analysis of Small Mill Production
Based on Technological, Market and Social Frameworks

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“The picture of the industrial worker is not the portrait of the whole man-
this can be painted, if at all, only after tracing his other social involvements
and incorporating them.”¹ .

A cultural analysis of any large entity such as a Mill is a difficult procedure. The focus of the following research is the development of a proto-industrial woollen Mill in rural Northern Scotland from the mid 18th century to the latter 20th century. It is sometimes difficult to separate linen, jute and woollen textile experiences as workers share so much in skill and social circumstance. Indeed, part of the curiosity of the success of the Kynoch Mill, in Keith Scotland is that many textile workers did not choose to migrate to areas like Dundee, and southern Scotland in search of employment.

A few factors can be attributed to the allegiance of textile workers in Keith, not the least of which was an empathic and socially conscious mill owner. An understanding of the physical and economic growth of the town of Keith is integral to understanding the relationship between the supporting industries and roles of the citizens of Keith as textile labourers.

What began as a four by four mile, 3 street town in 1750 grew to just over 19 miles square by 1891.² Within the first one hundred years of Keith's history many changes in agricultural reform marked changes in the daily lives of the Keith population. This paper will examine the effects of agricultural, and industrial change in Keith and illustrate how local relationships affected the direction of the mill. Because the town of Keith was well situated in the north east on the River Isla, it was a natural choice for weekly markets.

By the mid nineteenth century, the *Fair*, which likely began as a local produce, horse and cattle market, grew to include coarse woollen cloths as well as other non-perishable goods. The need for coarse woollen cloth in the north east of Scotland goes with saying. At the outset of development, changes in agricultural methods were dependent on the land granting arrangements made by the landowner. The Aberdeen Poll Books define a society in which most all land was held in tenancy and subtenancy. This is to say that there were a few wealthy landlords who leased to tenants for cash rents..³

The land around Keith was poor which meant the northeastern farmer had to carry out a variety of tasks to earn enough for rents.⁴ Although the social organisation of the ‘fermtoun’ could be thought of as a harmonious relationship between landowner and tenant, many levels of farm life emerged. Rents were often outrageous and farm labourers toiled many hours just to keep rents paid. This often meant that the family economy depended on sources other than agriculture for it's daily wage.

Cottage industries like weaving abounded. A number of problems are associated with studying statistics for this cottage industry, not the least of which is tax evasion by

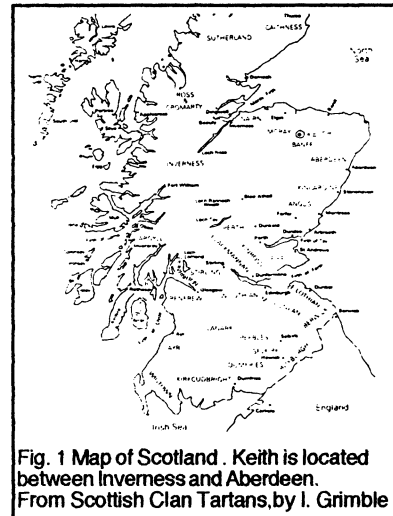


Fig. 1 Map of Scotland . Keith is located between Inverness and Aberdeen.
From Scottish Clan Tartans, by I. Grimble

home weavers. Additionally, no distinctions were made between linen and wool weaving; nor were any dissimilarities made between weavers specialising in fingsams and plaidings for exported cloth made for domestic use.⁵

After the political and religious strife which culminated in 1745 a great deal of Scottish property was given to the English landlord class. When Lord Deskford, Third Earl of Seafield established the New Town of Keith in 1750 the tenements were allotted in sections of 15 by 60 yards with a duty of 10 s. annually.⁶ This reduction of financial obligation and manageable size of 'farming property' is important to note, as it helped to establish a way of life for the developing capitalistic farmer. Increased production of cloth for their own use and surplus fabrics going to market for money helped farmers feel independent. By increasing the wealth of the 'crofter' the inhabitants of a once poorly managed and farmed area, began to develop a social structure based on a state of existence which superseded subsistence living. The people of Keith are recorded as '...sensible, shrewd, and intelligent...regular in their attendance of the ordinances of religion.' 'As well the Artizans and Manufactures appear more cheerful, and seem happier than the farmers...' ⁷ Cloth production was destined for the Northeast.

Textile manufacturing in Keith in 1750 included dressing, spinning and weaving of flax. At the end of the 18th century many flax dressers were dismissed by employers and, with their families, left Keith in search for employment. The demand for cotton goods, reasonably priced Dutch Flax and the import of Irish linens from Ireland to Glasgow, not to mention the effects of the French Revolution on international trade, affected most of the North east of Scotland.⁸

The period between 1745 and 1782 was one of Proscription of all things 'clannish and Highland'. This did not include the making and wearing of plaids and local production of fingsam which were serviceable than decorative; however it did include tartan. The patterns for Highland tartan were of an unusual nature. They consisted of a long stick with the colour design marked out for the warp. Unfortunately most were destroyed during this period in an effort to squash the rebellious tone of the Highland people. Because the weavers of tartan had been segregated from each other by geography, little was done collectively to save these patterns. Nearly 40 years passed between the Battle of Culloden and the Repeal of the Proscriptive laws, and it is likely that many of the skills of tartan dyeing and weaving decreased because a couple of generations missed the handing down of traditional skills.

In Keith, many of the farmers were older and had set trading patterns with the south previous to 1745. As well, many of the 'improving' farmers were '...skilled Lothian capitalist farmers...' and most likely didn't have an interest in perpetuating 'clan' tartans. Their main purpose in farming was increased production of the soil and financial retribution for setting the agricultural example to the other Keithites. Any weaving done in those households was not likely highland patterning.⁹ Ultimately, Keith had no reason to produce tartan other than that the looms were available.

The Chronicles of Keith note that '...the Poor within the Parish, receiving alms, were [are] extremely numerous, occasioned principally by the great influx of highlanders...most of whom were [are] very indigent...'.¹⁰ It is unlikely that a Highlander under duress of poverty would insist on producing a cloth which wasn't socially common or marketable in Keith, or in the south. It should also be noted that the people of Keith were amongst the kindest and most charitable to the Poor and that they tolerated outsiders.¹¹ Tartan production was not only halted by proscription of dress, but also by forced migration of Highland people to areas where improvement had taken hold, most assuredly without the tools to reproduce it.¹²

Trade between centres improved as the roads improved. Goods produced in Keith were traded to Aberdeen but products and images were also coming into Keith. Industrialisation was looming but the town maintained a non industrial system of social

behaviour. Because the scope, extent and speed of economic transformation in Keith was slower and limited, than in the more southern textile mills, the compromise between the old and the new ways of life predisposed the changes in production at the mill. New work habits were absorbed into the traditional structures of Keith.

Because the town was built on agriculture and manual labour little in the way of the extras of life seemed to affect the social structure. 'As often as not men [were] content with coarse woollen garments, which were both homespun and home made, while women most of whom were unvexed as yet by the vagaries of fashion were not much more difficult to please.'¹³ One can surmise that their contentedness with hand woven cloth, basically *fingram* which was a coarse serge made from *combed* wool, helped to maintain the level of weaving skill that was quickly dying in the northern Highland areas. The production of woollen tweeds and *plaidings*, a coarse twilled cloth made from *carded* wool were not products which competed with the industrial cotton weaving industry.¹⁴ Though 'plain living, as well as plain apparel was the rule there were some daughters of Eve who went in for poplins and muslins and lawns and ribbons', and as the faithful chronicler sorrowfully added[s], when they got married and began the world, they had little but finery to bless themselves with'.¹⁵ Wearing homespun was a sign of responsibility and forward thinking, not only necessity.¹⁶

There were three flax mills and two bleach fields which operated in Keith in the mid 1790's. They eventually fell into decline were rented and subsequently sold to George Kynoch, an industrialist who's initial interests lay in a tannery and with fertilisers. Completion of the sale included '... take[ing] over all the hand looms at valuation.'¹⁷ When in full production, the Kellman bleach field operation also had 100 looms in operation. As Keith lost its linen trade to the south, it also lost one third of it's population.¹⁸ However, one Keithite stated, '...it is the place that I was born upon, and I had made things handy and I was very unwilling to leave.'¹⁹

Farmers had tried to improve the land by enclosure and crop rotation but the topography of Keith and the climatic conditions dictated that peat lifting and increased sheep tending was the way of the future. A harmonious relationship between Keithites and George Kynoch developed. He was known as one of the most enterprising men in Keith at the turn of the nineteenth century in 'manure works', and was respected as a perfectionist in his trades. By providing the best in 'artificial fertilisers' he gained the confidence of farmers over five counties. Eventually an exchange was worked out to help local farmers and keep his promise to keep the weavers working. He weighed out wool clippings from local sheep stocks and traded fertiliser as payment.²⁰ A very shrewd business man indeed!

Kynoch's acquisition of the lands around the River Isla were well planned because they were also on the likely route of the expected rail system. Fertilisers improved grasses over a few years, and thus grazing capabilities for livestock. The natural effect of this was better quality of local wool. Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account acknowledges 2240 head of sheep amongst a population of 3057 souls in 1791.²¹

When George Kynoch purchased the Isla Bank Mills similar mills in Scotland were closing down. As better breeds of sheep were introduced into the area, finer unprocessed wool became available.²² The Cheviot, with bright illustrious fleece, and the Black face ewe were crossed with Border Leicester. Tweeds were the first powerful export from the Kynoch Mills.

The better quality of wool from local sheep enabled Kynoch to concentrate on labour. Expertise in sorting, willeying, blending, fettling, scouring and drying, carding, combing, spinning, doubling, warping, headling, sleying and warp twisting, weaving, and overlooking emerged. In the latter 19th century the Mill added the finishing techniques of scouring and milling, drying burling, raising the nap and shearing, boiling and brushing, mending or darning, and pressing and packing.²³

As with other wool manufacturers, the job of wool sorting became increasingly important. The labour distinctions between genders within the woollen and worsted textile industries in Britain began with these sorters and ended with weavers. Men usually had control of both ends of production. Wool sorting was a male job. It was an extensively trained component in the woollen mill, and was most often an apprenticed position. Sorting was also considered 'dangerous' due to the risk of contracting anthrax. North eastern Scottish wool was often smeared with tar, to try and insulate the animals from the harsh winter elements, and consequently difficult, if not impossible, to sort.²⁴ This isn't to say that women didn't work in risky situations in the mill; carding, combing and spinning were also considered unhealthy.²⁵ It's interesting to both that the typical genderization of specific skills in the mill occurred, but that it did not affect the structures of hierarchical management. The insular nature of the town becomes clear as developments move into the 20th century.

Unusually, the Kynoch Mill did not organise into craft trade unions. As well, there appears to be some overlapping between tasks and genders. A more egalitarian structure existed at Kynoch which is in part due to the size and organised social structure of the small town. Workers were not recruited from a labour pool, but from family, neighbours and friends of Keithites who had lived in the area for a number of years. Keith was not a 'tourist town'. Mobility outside the area was not common for the the working class. The Kynoch's maintained a critical element of control in the mill offering satisfactory wages and philanthropic perks. They organised trips for employees to the coast and employee picnics to help them socialise outside the workplace, and outside Keith. However there were rules regarding joining the town band, and regulated extra curricular activities for weavers. They were quite clearly the structure of authority. Because the Kynoch family was always active in the community, through their 200 year ownership, the likelihood of personal relations within the structure of the business is a natural probability.²⁶ Enough structure existed, employees were happy, and workers didn't formally organise labour into trade unions.

Most local newspapers mention of the goodness and strength of this family. By controlling part of the local economy and industrial change, the Kynoch's actually controlled the development of the primary social order of Keith. George Kynoch helped to purchase the first organ in the Episcopal church in 1815 for £30 which '...was for many years played gratuitously by him.'²⁷ The Kynoch family shared not only their wealth, but also their time: another example of community responsibility.²⁸

The Kynoch Mill increased output by increasing the selection of tweeds they had become sought out for. The designs were originally a reflection of local colour interests, local wools and local technological skills. One must not however underestimate the power of fashionable fallout from the larger centres such as Edinburgh and London. The state visit by King George IV in 1822 helped propel the image of 'Highland' tartan into fashionable society and to the greater British population.²⁹ A social romance with the kilt, tartan and things clannish, filtered from the urban elite to rural textile producers. Though tartan production as we now know it, did not really come to the fore until the early 20th century, the increasing trade needs of the British colonies were amongst the first of international clients. Military tartans had been a requirement for a long time, which were mostly commissioned from the larger mills.

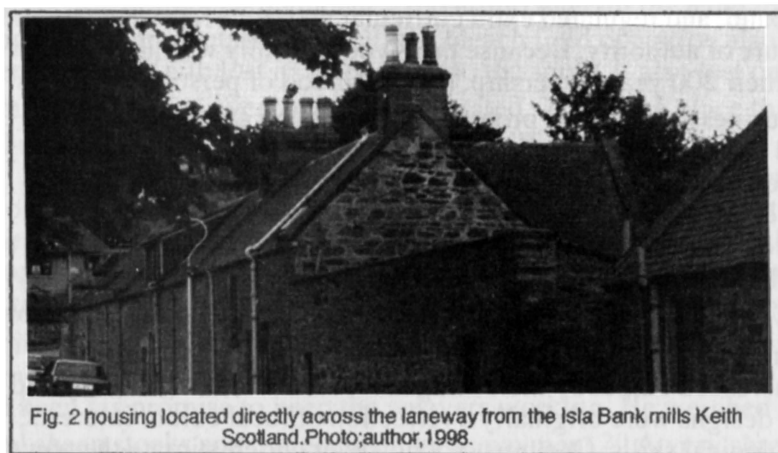
The Kynoch marketing partnerships which grew from the London head office connection directed the Kynoch Mill into more fashionable and international market trends. Once consumers created a demand for more variation in tartan design, not with standing clan connections, production followed, albeit limited. Mills like Kynoch could change production at a faster rate than their larger industrial brothers. Because the majority of tartan was not as globally fashionable in the 19th and early 20th centuries as it is now in our multicultural approach to the world, it could have been considered a localised 'fashion', whereas houndstooth and worsteds became a mainstay of their product line. Finished tartan products like scarves and throws developed only into the 1930's into the beginning of the

Mill we now use as tartan specialists.

Backtracking a bit, the foundations of social responsibility that George Kynoch built was to be carried on throughout the next 150 years. His family obligations to the community remained strong and he handed down this social contract with those in his family who were to continue the Isla Bank Mill success. The principles of the highest quality remained at the fore of production, regardless of product. Care of the workers through slow technological improvement, as with agriculture, helped maintain a sense of knowledge within a profession that was continually threatened by changing technology.

Technical change from water to steam had certainly increased productivity, and changes within the management structure of the Mill also changed productivity. The improving mid 19th century technologies transformed delivery systems from roads to rail. As physical changes were made to local economies, so too management was also evolving.

Delivery systems, inclusive of purchasing, packaging and accounting all had to evolve with the faster pace of life injected into the Keith Mill. Not only were products reaching destinations faster, but in more locations as well. A head office in London took care of the fast paced changes of international marketing. A partnership formed with Alexander Christie lasted 18 years. Christie's expertise in marketing in London was a central component of the long term success of the Kynoch Mills. With one son as an active partner George senior wisely sent another of his sons to learn the evolving skills of woollen manufacture in the Borders, where industrial technology was embraced and was most advanced.



The marriage between traditional skills and relatively egalitarian tasks within the mill, and new business strategies in the form of marketing and production management, created a textile industry in Keith which developed along side larger, more urban wool industries. The geographic distance of wool production from

the head business offices in London could be seen as a problem, but part of the success of the mill was the relatively rural sensibility of the community where the finished yardage made. The vices which larger centres such as Dundee, with close living quarters in tenement structures and related problems with sanitation and health, dictated that the living conditions in Keith, though cold and wet were probably better. Indeed, the family support and community structures which were well maintained in Keith with familiar faces, likely helped to create a work environment, though laborious, that was satisfying.

Industrial requirements of technical division of labour and limited authority relationships do not fit well into other systems of social placement according to More.³⁰ The social unrest caused by both the first and second World Wars changed production to wartime products such as khaki and bandages.³¹ Though it stopped regular production the Mill kept producing, and employing. The town and mill systems in Keith were developing at similar paces.

It would appear that as information barriers decreased, and mill management had less control, workers attitudes began to change. One former employee who went to military service and returned to the mill immediately afterwards, eventually felt that within his

middle management position it would be difficult to advance much farther and that more challenge awaited in other textile industries.³² However, some workers who never left Keith, tell a somewhat different story. Female workers continued to help each other in different parts of shop floor work, and they even collectively started a bussing system to get them selves to the Mill for work in the winter months.³³

As industrialisation advanced absolute distinctions in income, and therefore class, seem to have affected the Isla Bank Mill textile workers. Equipment restructuring in the 1960's and 1970's, and the sale of the Mill in 1988, is evidence of a faster pace of change. Observers of the Mill have identified the shift from product driven weaving, to market driven, as the key to the present success of the Isla Bank Mills.³⁴ I think the mill was definitely driven by local access to wool at the beginning, but very early on, even in the early nineteenth century, became driven more by consumer demand than by local wool access. As the rails took out product, so too they could import a variety of wools to blend with the local wool, and so they had. The tweeds and the tartan we now enjoy from the Isla Mill are produced with a high content of imported wools.

Conclusively, the trend from local product within Scotland to internationally driven production is key in the longevity of this mill. Though tartan is a mainstay of the revamped Isla Bank Mills in 1998, one cannot forget the fingram beginnings of the hand loom weavers and their simple, often painful subsistence lifestyle. The marketing of tartan scarves and blankets in the first half of the 20th century, and endorsements from international clients helped Kynoch move into the distinctive tartan market early on. The allegiance of the mill worker through the periods of wage reduction and mill slowdown, when upper management was adjusting for market trends should also be considered in the continuum of the Isla Bank existence. The choice of management to find work in other departments to keep workers busy in slow production periods even up to the 1950's needs to be examined further. Was adaptability of the work force, skill, gender, and social state, a factor in shifting to tartan production? In other words did the work force have any effect on the specific textile choices of woollen manufacture in Keith? Had the workers unionised would the pace of change been different, and thus economics of industry and urban development?

Presently Kynoch produces tartan. The forecast for tartan is such that demand often outstrips supply. The problem that larger companies face is maximising the put out, while maintaining a quality of tartan suitable for traditional uses. In part the huge collection of tartans that exist cause producers grief in the short yardage requirements for consumers. This is not an industry where everyone needs one or two specific tartans. It is a market where everyone wants selection. The management systems are complicated as international consumers expand daily through the interest in genealogical research, internet access and global travel.

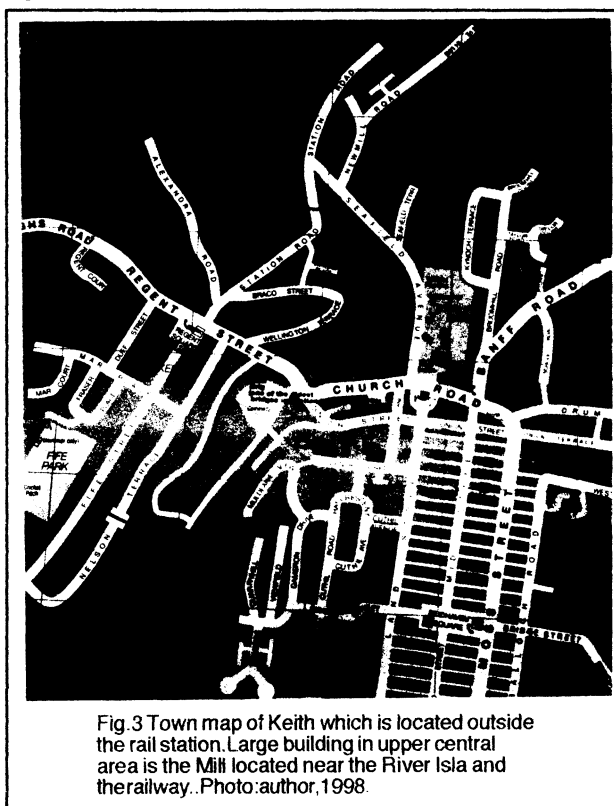


Fig.3 Town map of Keith which is located outside the rail station. Large building in upper central area is the Mill located near the River Isla and the railway. Photo: author, 1998.

This mill is still competing with very large mills all over the world, under the new ownership of The House of Edgar. Many employees whose family work lives are integrally connected to the Isla Bank Mills and the town of Keith, continue employment in traditional skills and upgrade as required to integrate the newest technologies .

The mills left producing in Scotland are enjoying a boom with the popularity of a variety of weights of wool and silk tartans. Special scotchgarded finishes have allowed the Isla Bank Mill to enter a market other than apparel. In addition to developing the actual textile properties, the new company also seeks to grow vertically using the tartan fabrics in a range of finished gift items. District tartans are popular choice in these products.³⁵ Other associations now exist to help retain this rich cultural history, as well as inform potential customers of options one of which is the Scottish Tartan Society in Pitlochry, which was organised as a public registry of all known tartans in 1963.

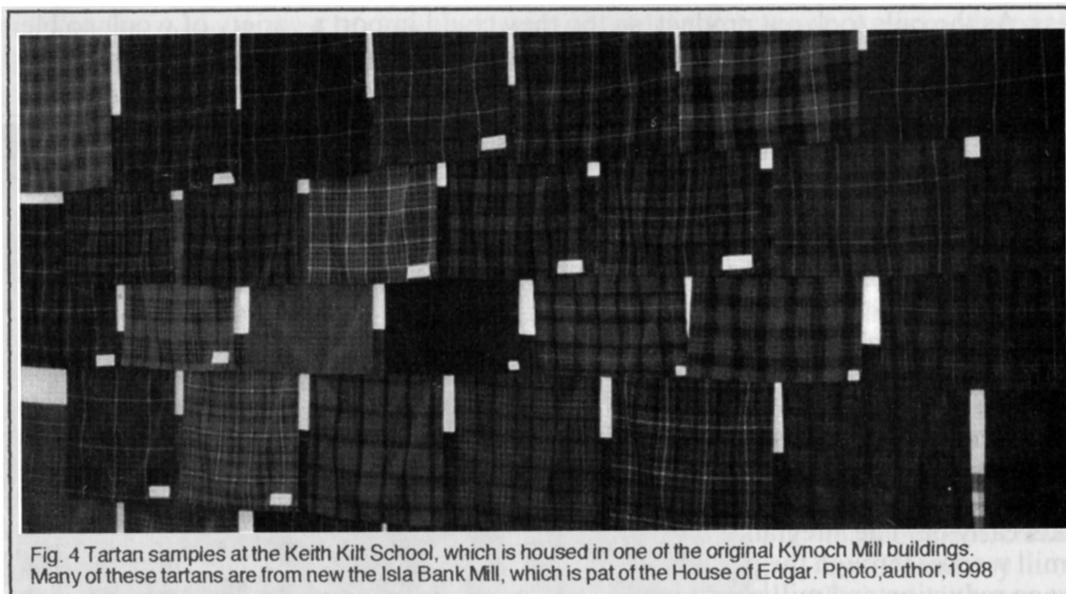


Fig. 4 Tartan samples at the Keith Kilt School, which is housed in one of the original Kynoch Mill buildings. Many of these tartans are from new the Isla Bank Mill, which is pat of the House of Edgar. Photo;author, 1998

The continuing accreditation of new district and ceremonial tartans reflects the idea that environs, or geographic communities, connect people in ideological ways as well as physical ways. The nation you live in, and the land you live on and around somehow affects what you are, as a person and as part of a society. In order to obtain a clear picture of the industrial evolution of the Kynoch Mill we must paint portraits of all the workers involved in the development of the mill. A huge undertaking, but a worthy and interesting one. By tracing the social connections of the founding Kynoch family through the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, we can begin to understand how each man's hidden story is part of Keith history, and on a larger scale textile history and Scottish history. To be sure, the Kynoch Mill, or Isla Bank Mills were exemplary in reflecting the tenacity of fibres of Keith, people and product.

NOTES

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- 3 Ian Carter, *Farm Life in Northeastern Scotland 1840-1914 : The Poor man's Country*, Edinburgh, John Donald Pub. Ltd., 1979, pg.15-16.
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- 5 R.E. Tyson, 'Manufacturing in Rural Aberdeen', *Fermfolk and Fisherfolk: Rural Life in*

- Northern Scotland in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Edinburgh, The Mercat Press, 1989, pg.68.
- 6 Rev. J.F.S. Gordon, *The Book of the Chronicles of Keith, Grange, Ruthven, Cairney, Botriphnie: Events, Places and Persons*, Glasgow, Robert Forrester, 1880, pg. 25. See also, W.H. Mc Farlane, *Twixt the Land and the Moss ; The Story of a Northern Church in its Historical Relations (1773-1922)*, Edinburgh, Andrew Elliot, 1922, pg. 17.
- 7 Rev. J.F.S. Gordon, *The Book of the Chronicles of Keith, Grange, Ruthven, Cairney, Botriphnie: Events, Places and Persons*, Glasgow, Robert Forrester, 1880, pg. 27.
- 8 Rev. J.F.S. Gordon, *The Book of the Chronicles of Keith, Grange, Ruthven, Cairney, Botriphnie: Events, Places and Persons*, Glasgow, Robert Forrester, 1880, pg.12.
- 9 Ian Carter, *Farm Life in Northeastern Scotland 1840-1914 : The Poor man's Country*, Edinburgh, John Donald Pub. Ltd., 1979, pg.22.
- 10 Rev. J.F.S. Gordon, *The Book of the Chronicles of Keith, Grange, Ruthven, Cairney, Botriphnie: Events, Places and Persons*, Glasgow, Robert Forrester, 1880, pg.15.
- 11 Rev. J.F.S. Gordon, *The Book of the Chronicles of Keith, Grange, Ruthven, Cairney, Botriphnie: Events, Places and Persons*, Glasgow, Robert Forrester, 1880, pg.15.
- 12 Enid Gaudie *Scotland's Past in Action : Spinning and Weaving*, National Museums of Scotland, 1995, pgs. 14-27.
- 13 Rev. J.F.S. Gordon, *The Book of the Chronicles of Keith, Grange, Ruthven, Cairney, Botriphnie: Events, Places and Persons*, Glasgow, Robert Forrester, 1880, pg.21.
- 14 R.E. Tyson, 'Manufacturing in Rural Aberdeen', *Farmfolk and Fisherfolk: Rural Life in Northern Scotland in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, Edinburgh, The Mercat Press, 1989, pg.64.
- 15 Rev. J.F.S. Gordon, *The Book of the Chronicles of Keith, Grange, Ruthven, Cairney, Botriphnie: Events, Places and Persons*, Glasgow, Robert Forrester, 1880, pg.21.
- 16 Rev. J.F.S. Gordon, *The Book of the Chronicles of Keith, Grange, Ruthven, Cairney, Botriphnie: Events, Places and Persons*, Glasgow, Robert Forrester, 1880, pg.21.
- 17 W.H. Mc Farlane, *Twixt the Land and the Moss ; The Story of a Northern Church in its Historical Relations (1773-1922)*, Edinburgh, Andrew Elliot, 1922, pg. 24.
- 18 J.W. Cowie, *Recollections of Keith, Fife-Keith and Newmill*, no pub., no date, pg. 7.
- 19 Ian Carter, *Farm Life in Northeastern Scotland 1840-1914 : The Poor man's Country*, Edinburgh, John Donald Pub. Ltd., 1979, pg.23.
- 20 J.W. Cowie, *Recollections of Keith, Fife-Keith and Newmill*, no pub., no date, pg. 22.
- 21 Sir John Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland 1791-1799*, Volume XVII, Banffshire, Moray and Nairnshire, EP Pub. Ltd., 1982, pg.251 and 256.
- 22 *200 Years of Kynoch : A Scottish textile Story : 1788-1988*, G. and G. Kynoch plc, Keith Scotland, Isla Bank Mills, 1988, pg.3.
- 23 Sir John Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland 1791-1799*, Volume XVII, Banffshire, Moray and Nairnshire, EP Pub. Ltd., 1982, pg.254.
- 24 R.E. Tyson, 'Manufacturing in Rural Aberdeen', *Farmfolk and Fisherfolk: Rural Life in Northern Scotland in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, Edinburgh, The Mercat Press, 1989, pg.67.
- 25 Deidre Busfield 'Job Definitions and Inequality : The unskilled women workers of the West Riding textile industry, 1850-1914', *Textile History*, Volume 19, (1), pg.65.
- 26 W. E. Moore, *The Impact of Industry*, U.S.A., Prentice Hall , 1965, pg.52.
- 27 Rev. J.F.S. Gordon, *The Book of the Chronicles of Keith, Grange, Ruthven, Cairney, Botriphnie: Events, Places and Persons*, Glasgow, Robert Forrester, 1880, pg.236.
- 28 See Newspaper articles which mention the philanthropic work by the Kynoch family members. *Banffshire Advertiser*, 03 January, 1890, P5 / 5; *Banffshire Herald*, 03 January, 1894, P5 / 1 and 31 July, 1896, P 5 / 1-2; *Moray and Nairn Express*, 05 March, 1887, P / 2; *Northern Scot*, 05 January, 1894 P 4 / 7
- 29 Ian Grimble *Scottish Clans and Tartans*, New York, Hamlyn Publishing Group Ltd., 1973, pg. 11
- 30 W. E. Moore, *The Impact of Industry*, U.S.A., Prentice Hall , 1965, pg.92.

- 31 *200 Years of Kynoch : A Scottish textile Story :1788-1988*, G.and G. Kynoch plc, Keith Scotland, Isla Bank Mills, 1988, pg. 14.
- 32 Interview with Mr. Alan Anderson, July 27th, 1998. As a management employee Mr. Anderson rose through the ranks of the Isla Bank Mills and offers a wealth of expertise in the local textile industry. many employment opportunities existed in Keith when Mr. Anderson chose to work at Kynoch as he saw opportunity and ales desk bound employment than other options.He began as a message runner, office jack of all trades and worked, through night schooling into design and management. Dedication from the employees saw a balance between technical experience on the shop floor and academic growth in formal school training. Mr. Anderson participated in military duty between 1951 and 1953.
- 33 Interview with Mrs. Iris Harold; Professional darning for 10 + years. Her work experience also includes employment at another local Mill, Laidlaw. Darners were trained over a 2 year period by strict but patient instructors. textiles worked on included tweeds, worsted suiting weights, houndstooth and coatings. Wages were kept up by working quickly and well. There was always a large pile of work to process through clean and dirty darning and often overtime was the norm for many at the mill between 1956 and 1966. Deidre Busfield has also commented on the intricacy and importance of the 'menders' or darners within the woollen industry. Interviewed at the Keith Library July 1998.
- 34 *200 Years of Kynoch : A Scottish textile Story :1788-1988*, G.and G. Kynoch plc, Keith Scotland, Isla Bank Mills, 1988, pg. 51-52.
- 35 G.T. Teallach and P.D. Smith (eds) *District Tartans*, London, Sheppard-Walwyn Pub, Ltd., 1992.

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