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LOOKING TO THE FUTURE, SELLING THE PAST: CHURCHILL WEAVERS MARKETING STRATEGIES IN THE 1950S

THESIS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Masters of the Arts in the
College of Fine Arts and Visual Studies
at the University of Kentucky

By

Cassandra White-Fredette

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Anna Brzyski, Professor of Art History and Visual Studies

Lexington, Kentucky

2014

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE, SELLING THE PAST: CHURCHILL WEAVERS MARKETING STRATEGIES IN THE 1950S

This thesis explores the Churchill Weavers stereocards housed at the Kentucky Historical Society and Berea College based on visual analysis. By examining the stereocards as advertisements and comparing them to a series of short films created by the company, I will discuss how the Churchill Weavers created a brand that emphasized both an image of traditional American rural production and modern urban consumption. I will further discuss how the marketing strategies used by the Churchill Weavers exemplify a larger trend in American advertising in the years following World War Two.

KEYWORDS: Churchill Weavers, Stereocards, Advertising, Appalachian Studies, Post World War Two America

Cassandra White-Fredette
June 10, 2014

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE, SELLING THE PAST: CHURCHILL WEAVERS MARKETING STRATEGIES IN THE 1950S

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Section One: Introduction

Established in 1922 in Berea, Kentucky, the Churchill Weavers operated as a small, but lucrative, weaving company for eighty-five years. Specializing in baby blankets, couch throws, and scarves, the Churchill Weavers sold products across America, from New York to Los Angeles. The company's success derived not just from producing a quality product, but in establishing a brand name synonymous with superior quality. With only one warehouse in Berea, the Churchill Weavers used a network of sales representatives to sell products across the nation in boutiques and department stores. By the late 1940s, the company brought in over half a million dollars a year in profit.[1] In the years following World War Two, at a time when the American economy was on the mend, the Churchill Weavers developed a series of advertisements that emphasized both the craftsmanship and quality of its merchandise and its desire to provide modern products for modern Americans. A series of stereocard advertisements produced from 1952 to 1954 show traditionally hand-woven products worn by attractive urbanites in various scenarios. The stereocards each have a black and white image of a model, with a pair of corresponding color transparencies at the bottom of the card. When placed in a viewing device called a stereoscope, the color transparencies create a three-dimensional image for the viewer. The technology is akin to a View-Master (Figure 1).[2] These ads, which only constitute a fraction of the advertising material produced by the Churchill Weavers, raise a number of questions. Why did the company branch out from traditional paper advertisements like catalogs and magazine ads? Who was meant to use the

[1] Alfred H. Sinks, "Wizards of the Hand Loom," *Saturday Evening Post*, February 21, 1948, 31.
[2] A View-Master is a children's toy introduced in 1939. It consists of a stereoscopic viewing device and a series of reels. These reels had a number of images, ranging from Disney movies to fairy tales.

stereocards? How do stereocard advertisements differ from two-dimensional paper images? Why did the company produce only a few years' worth of stereocards and then stop this marketing approach?

In this thesis, I intend to answer all of these questions. By examining both the images on the stereocards and the stereocards as objects, I will discuss how the stereocards functioned as a tool for advertising and how they embody a time of postwar prosperity for the Churchill Weavers. I will also explore the tension that the stereocards represent as objects used by a company that was known for hand-woven, traditionally made products. Although my research focuses on these stereocards, I will be discussing them in relation to other forms of Churchill Weavers advertisements, in particular a series of short color films from the late 1940s that showcase the production process and the location of the Churchill Weavers. Through this comparison, I will explore the tension that emerges between a growing desire for modernity and an equally growing sense of nostalgia for tradition in post war American culture. I intend to show how the Churchill Weavers used this tension to create a brand that successfully promoted hand-woven products from a small town in the Appalachians using cutting edge marketing technologies to the modern urban consumers across the country.

Before discussing the stereocards, first let me provide a brief introduction to the Churchill Weavers. The Churchill Weavers company was founded during a time when weaving and craft production centers had become fairly commonplace along the ridges of Southern Appalachia. Beginning at the end of the nineteenth century and continuing into the 1920s, a growing movement known as Appalachian Craft Revival brought new life to the mountains. Craft schools and weaving centers arose, emphasizing economic aid

through a revival of traditional Appalachian handicraft, including loom weaving.[3] During this same time, DC and Eleanor Churchill established their weaving company in 1922. Although the company originally stressed similar goals as other weaving centers, notable differences set the Churchill Weavers apart, including production methods, technological innovations, and most significantly, advertising techniques. The Churchills originally moved to Berea so DC Churchill could teach engineering at Berea College, but after just a few years he quit and worked with his wife to establish the Churchill Weavers. The company managed to develop a strong client base and thrived for many decades until finally closing its doors in 2007. The large warehouse can still be seen, hidden behind a handful of houses in Berea, just a few miles from the Berea College campus (Figure 2).

The Churchill Weavers produced numerous woven products throughout its lifetime. Its most well-known products were baby blankets, but the company also made couch throws, scarves, and ties. Since beginning production in 1922, the Churchill Weavers predominantly wove with wool, but also developed silk and synthetic blends. Although challenged by neighboring weaving centers as being too industrialized, the company staunchly maintained its label as "hand-woven" and opened its doors for visitors to tour the facilities.[4] Unlike neighboring weaving centers, which emphasized the authenticity of merchandise by showcasing pictures of Appalachian natives using products,[5] the Churchill Weavers advertised its products as appealing to more modern

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[3] For more information about Appalachian Craft Revival, see Philis Alvic, *Weavers of the Southern Highlands*, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2009). Jan S. Becker, *Selling Tradition: Appalachia and the Construction of an American Folk: 1930-1940* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998). Allen Hendershott Eaton, *Handcraft of the Southern Highlands* (New York: Dover Publishers, 1973).
[4] "As Churchill grew, Berea College viewed this competition with concern. Anna Ernberg considered the Churchill establishment 'a factory' and the products of the fly-shuttle loom not authentic handweaving." Alvic, *Weavers*, 133.
[5] Becker, *Selling Tradition*, 193-96.

urban consumers. This juxtaposition of traditional, rural hand-woven textiles intended for use by modern urban consumers appears throughout the company's advertisements, but is most predominantly found when comparing the previously mentioned stereocards of the 1950s to a series of short films produced in the late 1940s. Instead of relying on the one-sided imagery of a quaint country product to sell goods, Churchill Weavers used advertisements to add an extra layer of sophistication that acted as a buffer between the rural weaver and the urban buyer.

Scholarship about the Churchill Weavers is sparse, and generally discusses the company in relation to the Appalachian Craft Revival movement, particularly how the company is a foil to the weaving centers that were established in Southern Appalachia around the turn of the century. Philis Alvic has published the most material about the Churchill Weavers, generally discussing its history and the lives of DC and Eleanor Churchill. In the few pages that Alvic devotes to the Churchill Weavers in her book, *Weavers of the Southern Highlands*, she discusses how, although established in a similar time frame as other weaving centers, the "Churchill Weavers followed a more standard business model than any of the mountain weaving centers."[6] Unlike the other centers that taught weaving to individuals, who then completed products independently that the centers sold through a "women's club network,"[7] the Churchill Weavers established a production line based on a division of labor located at a central location. Jobs included measuring the warp, hemming finished pieces, and hand-stitching company labels. Alvic also wrote an essay entitled "Churchill Weavers: 80 Years of American Handweaving"

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[6] Alvic, *Weavers,* 134.

[7] Alvic describes the women's networks that supported the majority of weaving centers as "a broad-based women's network of arts organizations, church groups, and community social service associations." Alvic, *Weavers,* 10.

the same year that *Weavers* was originally published.[8] In this essay, she gives a brief history of the company's origins, discussing early conflicts with other weaving centers, how the founders established the company, and what types of products they produced over the decades.[9] Beyond Alvic's work, little else can be found about the Churchill Weavers. Jane Becker mentions the Churchill Weavers in her book, *Selling Tradition: Appalachia and the Construction of an American Folk, 1930-1940,* but only to mention that the Churchill Weavers were considered too much of a business to be a part of the Southern Highland Handicraft Guild.[10] An earlier reference to the Churchill Weavers can be found in Allen Eaton's *Handicrafts of the Southern Highlands* from 1937, but he only mentions a few words about Eleanor's "fine sense of color harmony" and DC's improvements on the fly-shuttle loom.[11] Beyond these few books and essays, the Churchill Weavers have yet to be thoroughly examined, although the company provided over twenty thousand textiles and hundreds of boxes of paper records, which are now housed at the Kentucky Historical Society in Frankfort, Kentucky and at Berea College in Berea, Kentucky.

This thesis is based on archival research completed at both the Kentucky Historical Society and at Berea College. Although I originally learned about the Churchill Weavers by working with the textile collection, the focus of this thesis is the advertising material collected by the company. Along with my archival research, I also had the opportunity to work closely with a number of people who helped provide insight into the

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[8] Philis Alvic, "Churchill Weavers 80 Years of American Handweaving," *Textile Society of American Symposium Proceedings*, accessed November 7, 2012, http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/428/.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Jane Becker, *Selling Tradition*, 184-85.
[11] Allen Eaton, *Handicrafts of the Southern Highlands*, 102, 105.

Churchill Weavers. Jennifer Spence, the Churchill Weavers Project Assistant at the Kentucky Historical Society, first introduced me to the textile collections and has continued to provide me with new information throughout this process. Jennifer Duplaga from the Special Collections at Kentucky Historical Society helped me navigate the numerous boxes of material, and Philis Alvic, author of *Weavers of the Southern Highlands*, invited me into her studio on multiple occasions. She provided me with much background information about the company, and provided many leads at the beginning of this project.

Stereocards represent an anomaly among the Churchill Weavers advertising material. For the first two decades of its existence, the company used black and white wholesale catalogs with no images. Salespeople carried samples with them to show wholesale buyers the products and the catalogs had written descriptions of products. By the 1940s, the Churchill Weavers integrated black and white images into the catalogs. The company produced two main wholesale catalogs, one for the spring and one for the fall, for many decades; it also ran advertisements in magazines, most commonly in travel magazines that advertised Berea as a pleasant "off the beaten path" rest stop for travelers. By the 1960s, color images appeared in catalogs, and continued to do so until the company closed in 2007. The Churchill Weavers relied on textual advertisements just as much as images. It produced small pamphlets that relayed the story of the Churchills and the establishment of the company that sales representatives would give to wholesale buyers along with product samples. Brochures for walking tours were also produced by the company for visitors who came to Berea to see the weaving process and purchase

individual products. Amongst all these printed advertisements, the stereocards are somewhat of an anomaly.

Along with catalogs and magazine ads, the Churchill Weavers produced promotional pamphlets. Some pamphlets showed pictures of the Berea area and weavers, while others touted the importance of hand-weaving and the traditional values of the company. The intended audience for the pamphlets and catalogs is most likely wholesale buyers, who made up most of the sales made by the Churchill Weavers. Catalog spreads showed young women modeling finished products on one page and older, matronly women were shown weaving products on another (Figure 3). Lines of text along the bottom made such claims as "Churchill has a way with wool…" but also "The latest in design and textures."[12] Everything about the catalogs, from images to text, reflected the company's desire to strike a balance between tradition and modernity. This balance also created a sort of buffer between the humble weaver and the fashionable consumer. The Churchill Weavers developed its brand based on a disconnection between the rural producer and the urban consumer. Pamphlets, catalogs, magazine spreads, and short promotional videos were all used by the Churchill Weavers to advertise its products, but the most unique and unusual of its advertising tools are a series of stereocards developed by the company in the 1950s.

These stereocards, which only exist for a few years' worth of products, functioned much like the print catalogs. The viewer was able to see how the finished products looked on models, both in the black and white photographs at the top of the card, and to use a stereoscope to view the color transparencies (Figure 4). Unlike the catalogs, though, the

[12] The Churchill Weavers, 1948 catalog.

stereocards were not intended for the general public, but instead used by Churchill Weavers salespeople to promote products to wholesale purchasers, like the buyers for department stores. As far as I was able to determine, the company was unique in resorting to this technology. Most stereocards at this time were used purely for entertainment purposes. Scholarship about stereocards and stereoscopes, the devices used to view the cards, discusses these objects during the nineteenth century, when they developed alongside photography.[13] Popularity of stereoscopic images increased steadily during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but as a form of entertainment, not advertising. Often stereocards were used to promote parks or national landmarks, but I found no other instances of stereocards used to advertise specific products or companies. The popularity of stereocards began losing steam with the advent of movies and radio during the 1920s.[14] By the 1950s, they were relegated to the realm of children's entertainment, which makes their use as an advertising tool by the Churchill Weavers even more unusual.

Unlike photographs, stereocards created a life-like three-dimensional visual effect for viewers. Their popularity was based upon an ability to transport a viewer into another realm, a larger place far from reality. Often stereocards were packaged as a series that told a story when viewed in order. Others were used to display the majesty of nature or as

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[13] For further information about the history of stereocards, see William Culp Darrah, *The World of Stereographs* (Gettisburg: Darrah, 1977). Edward W. Earler, ed., *Points of View: The Stereograph of America: A Cultural History* (New York: Visual Studies Workshop, 1979). Lydia Hamessley, "Within Sight: Three-Dimensional Perspectives on Women and Banjos in the Late Nineteenth Century," *19th-Century Music*, 31 (2007): 131-63, accessed August 7, 2013, http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/ncm.2007.31.2.131. Robert J. Silverman, "The Stereoscope and Photographic Depiction in the 19th Century," *Technology and Culture*, 34 (1993): 729-756, accessed May 7, 2013, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3106413. Paul Wing, *Stereoscopes: The First One Hundred Years* (McLean: Transition Publishing, 1996).

[14] Hamessley, "Within Sight," 133.

staged scenes of exoticism for middle class viewers. The stereocards produced for the Churchill Weavers span only a few years of the company's lifespan, but provide insight into that time period. In this thesis, I intend to explore how the use of such objects by the Churchill Weavers represents a specific time of economic success the company's history. I will discuss how the company used advertisements to create a brand that relied on both traditional quality and modern innovation. I will expand this discussion to explore larger advertising trends in post-war America. Before discussing the stereocards, I will first provide an early history of the Churchill Weavers, covering the first three decades of its existence.

Section Two: Early History and Post-War Ambitions

David Carroll and Eleanor Churchill opened the Churchill Weavers in Berea Kentucky in 1922.[15] At the time, the couple operated out of a small, single room workshop. Mr. Churchill designed and built the looms and Ms. Churchill designed products, wove them, and sold them door to door out of a suitcase.[16] Over the next few years, business quickly increased, and the Churchills began adding to their original workspace.[17] The company may have begun as a small endeavor, but by the late 1940s, it was a profitable business, bringing in half a million dollars a year by 1948.[18] The size of the company's marketing team also increased considerably, from Eleanor Churchill and a suitcase initially to a whole advertising department and a team of sales representatives nationwide a few decades later. The company survived the Great Depression and wool rationing in World War Two. By the 1950s, as the economy was on the rise, so too were the Churchill Weavers.

At the time that the Churchills established their business, weaving and craft production centers had become fairly commonplace along the ridges of Southern Appalachia thanks to the Appalachian Craft Revival movement. This movement, which began during the end of the nineteenth century and lasted well into the 1920s, consisted of missionaries traveling to remote Appalachian towns to promote the production of such

[15] The Churchills moved to Berea, Kentucky in 1920 so David Carroll (better known as DC) could teach engineering at Berea College. After two years, he left the College to focus on their business. For more information about the Churchills, see Alvic, *Weavers*, 129-31.
[16] Alvic, *Weavers,*
[17] Although now closed, the Churchill Weavers building can still be seen in Berea, just a few miles from the Berea College campus.
[18] Sinks, "Wizards of the Hand Loom," 121.

crafts as woodworking, quilting, and weaving, amongst others.[19] These centers ranged from Kentucky to Georgia. Even in Berea, multiple centers that made hand-woven goods already existed by 1922, including Fireside Industries at Berea College. The model for the weaving centers focused more on social and economic reform for Appalachian inhabitants than establishing a productive business. Women would learn to weave at centers, or schools, then go home and weave products independently. Comparatively, the Churchill Weavers had a central location of production and paid employees an hourly wage. Although often conflated by scholars, the basic model of production was vastly different between the Churchill Weavers and other Appalachian weaving centers.

Since the weaving centers focused more on preserving the traditional handicrafts of Appalachia than becoming profitable businesses, they handled the selling of products in a different way from the Churchill Weavers.[20] Weaving centers sold products directly to customers, while the Churchill Weavers sold theirs mostly through wholesale buyers, like department stores and boutiques. Weaving centers did sell products far from home, but solely through a "women's network" of church groups and sororities,[21] while the Churchill Weavers had their own boutiques in Chicago and Los Angeles, and operated in-house a sales department that had a national network of sales representatives. When the Churchills opened their business, they, too, wanted to maintain the tradition of hand-weaving, but from the beginning, they were more interested in profits than preserving the concept of the "traditional weaver."

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[19] Alvic, *Weavers*, 1-14.
[20] Ibid., 5-9.
[21] Ibid.

Over the next two decades, the Churchill Weavers continued to have an antagonistic relationship with its neighbor, Fireside Industries, and other weaving centers and craft guilds, who saw the company as too industrialized to claim that it products were hand-woven.[22] Despite these tensions, the Churchill Weavers advertised all its products as "hand-woven," and opened its doors to the public for tours of its weaving manufactures. Visitors could read pamphlets and brochures that touted the authenticity of Churchill products in romanticized language. For example, one brochure produced by the company entitled "The Story of the Churchill Weavers" contains a short essay that describes the weaving process as follows:

> The mountain people inherited from their Revolutionary ancestors the old art of weaving. Even in the strenuous life of the pitiless wilderness that art has survived… The Churchill Weavers have recaptured all this ancestral home-spun beauty. By mechanical as well as artistic genius they have refined it into rainbow delicacy, into a dreamy laciness with the softness of the finest wool.[23]

Such descriptions of the hard working Churchills bringing back the ancestral art of weaving to the equally hard working mountain folk of Berea were very much part of a self-consciously cultivated company image. One catalog, from 1948, describes the Churchill Weavers location as being "tucked away in the foothills of the Cumberlands" in "the charming college town of Berea… a world center of handweaving."[24] The tours provided by the company, the descriptions in brochures and catalogs all served to enforce a specific image that the Churchill Weavers wanted people to perceive, a sentimentalized

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[22] Most specifically, the Southern Highland Handicraft Guild denied the Churchill Weavers admission for decades because the company was seen as too industrialized. Alvic, *Weavers,* 134, and Becker, *Selling Tradition*, 184-85.

[23] James Watt Raine, "Have They Found Aladdin's Lamp?" from "The Story of the Churchill Weavers," The Churchill Weavers.

[24] Churchill Weavers catalog, 1948, 2.

view of simple mountain folk happily weaving their products. As the company grew larger, this image remained integral to its advertising strategy.

Although the idealized view of mountain folk weaving products was an advertising strategy also used by all weaving centers, the Churchill Weavers used a slightly different approach. The weaving centers emphasized the authenticity of products by showing Appalachian inhabitants using such items in everyday life, often photographing scenes in cabins or on farms. The Churchill Weavers, however, never showed finished products in such scenarios. When the company introduced photographs into its catalogs in the 1940s, finished products were modeled against blank backgrounds with young, attractive models wearing makeup and fashionable clothes (Figure 5). These images would appear alongside descriptions of the quaint countryside and rolling hills of Berea. By showcasing the scarves and blankets with models that were young and chic, the Churchill Weavers managed to add another layer to the company's image: although produced in the quiet, old-fashioned town of Berea, Kentucky, Churchill products should be consumed by a different set of people, those who are fashionable, urban, and *modern*.

Up to this point, I have discussed the Churchill Weavers only in relation to weaving centers. I made that choice for two reasons: all scholarship written about the Churchill Weavers compares the company's practices to weaving centers, and the company identified itself with weaving centers and guilds, even joining the Tennessee Valley Authority's Southern Highlanders when rejected by the Southern Highland Handicraft Guild.[25] By joining a craft guild, the Churchill Weavers reaffirmed its small town, rural façade of production, but the Churchill Weavers was also a business. It had a

[25] Alvic, *Weavers*, 134.

central location of production, hourly wages, and set prices. By the 1940s, the company had separate departments for production, sales, and advertising. Although the Churchill Weavers identified with small town quality and Appalachian craft tradition, the company was also interested in selling products and making a profit.

The Churchill Weavers had no intention of becoming a large scale producer of woven goods for mass market. Instead, the company maintained a moderate size and stayed locally owned until 1996.[26] When the Churchills established their company, they were interested in making weaving more efficient without compromising the tradition of hand-weaving. They wanted to create a business that specialized in quality products. In a 1948 article from *The Saturday Evening Post*, the writer notes:

> Carroll Churchill does not pretend to compete with the big textile factories… there is still a place, he feels, for the traditional American crafts like hand weaving. As he sees it, there will always be costumers with a craving for individual workmanship which no machine goods can satisfy.[27]

Instead of focusing on becoming a massive, industrialized producer of textiles, the Churchills found a small, niche market for upscale, handwoven goods. This market appealed to American consumers interested in American craftsmanship who would be willing to pay a few extra dollars for authenticity.

Along with advertising the use of the traditional process of handweaving, the Churchill Weavers also prided itself in the choice of material. At a time when weaving centers predominantly used cotton, the Churchill Weavers only used wool. This choice set Churchill Weavers products apart from its competitors during the 1920s, but became

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[26] Alvic, "80 Years," 12. After DC's death, Eleanor Churchill continued to run the company until 1973, when she convinced Lila and Richard Bellando to take over the business. In 1996, Crown Crafts acquired the business and ran it until 2007, when Churchill Weavers closed.
[27] Sinks, "Wizards," 124.

problematic in the 1940s, when the United States government rationed wool for the war. During this time, the Churchill Weavers focused production primarily on baby blankets because of the high cost of wool thread. By the end of the war, when wool was easily accessible again, the Churchill Weavers increased production of scarves, stoles, men's neck ties, and large couch throws. By adding a wider variety of products and increasing production, the company's profits also escalated, thus making the years following World War Two extremely profitable for the Churchill Weavers.

Emphasizing the production of all-wool products had unforeseen benefits for the Churchill Weavers. After years of experimenting with various synthetic fibers during World War Two, large chemical companies began flooding the US textile market with cheap, synthetic fabrics in the late 1940s. These new synthetic materials were inexpensive to produce and allowed for low prices for the consumer, but they were temperamental, and consumers did not know how to properly care for them. Some were extremely flammable or would shrink or fall apart when washed. Meanwhile, the Churchill Weavers continued to provide one hundred percent wool products – reliable, American made products. The advent of synthetic materials may have been appealing to middle and lower class Americans because of price and convenience, but the Churchill Weavers maintained that its products were of a higher quality. Many catalogs and advertisements touted the expression: "Churchill has a way with wool…"[28] The company advertised to wealthier clientele based on the material used, the process of production, and on the quality of the craftsmanship.

[28] Churchill Weavers, fall 1954 catalog

By the late 1940s, the Churchill Weavers was an established business that had survived early competition, the Great Depression, and World War Two. This period was a time of increased profits in a growing market, a time to focus on establishing a national brand of products based on quality craftsmanship and modern design. The Churchill Weavers did so by experimenting with advertising material that emphasized both sides of the Churchill brand: tradition and modernity. In the next section, I will discuss how the Churchill Weavers used the stereocards to promote the modernity of its products and compare them to other forms of advertising that highlight the traditional aspects of the business. I will explore how these two sides of advertising worked together to create a brand name that had one foot in the past and the other in the future.

Section Three: Churchill Weavers Stereocards

In the years following World War Two, the Churchill Weavers experienced a boom in business that subsequently translated into rising profits. With this increase in money flow, the Churchill Weavers could focus more intently on expanding the company's marketing. By 1952, the company was spending over three thousand dollars a year on advertising.[29] Instead of appealing to a wide audience of consumers, the Churchill Weavers focused on advertising to a select group of people, particularly boutique store owners and buyers for large department stores. Since the company was primarily advertising to knowledgeable professional buyers with a discerning eye for products, something had to set them apart from the competition. During the first two decades of its existence, the Churchill Weavers relied heavily on catalogs that described products, but had no accompanying images. Salespeople kept a case of sample products for wholesale buyers to peruse. Since the company primarily sold wholesale to boutiques and department stores, individual salespeople had specific routes they traveled, providing new products every fall and spring. With the increase in business, the Churchill Weavers decided to experiment with new forms of advertisements. In the late 1940s, images were added to the once all-text catalogs, and the company produced a series of short color films about its base of operation in Berea. Advertisements for the Churchill Weavers began appearing in travel magazines, and the *Saturday Evening Post* published a story about the company in 1947.[30] Included in this increase of advertising materials are a series of stereocards produced between 1952 and 1954.

[29] Churchill Weavers account ledgers, Berea College Special Collections.
[30] Sinks, "Wizards," Saturday Evening Post.

By the middle of the twentieth century, stereocards had existed in one form or another for over a century. The earliest stereocards consisted of a pair of slightly off-set images that could be aligned using a stereoscope to create a three-dimensional viewing experience (Figure 6). As they evolved alongside photography, by the late 1800s stereocards became extremely popular form of amusement.[31] Robert Silverman discusses the appeal of stereocards and stereoscopes in his article "The Stereoscope and Photographic Depiction in the Nineteenth Century," in particular, how the technology creates a "hyperspace" for viewers.[32] In other words, the viewer could be transported to a new reality through the stereocards. Stereocards were most often packaged and sold in sets. Some sets told a story (with accompanying text), and others were used to capture the majesty of nature. By using a stereoscope, a viewer's entire field of vision was filled with one scene that appeared three-dimensional. Instead of seeing an image on a page, the viewer was instead surrounded by that image, creating the "hyperspace" described by Silverman. The popularity of stereocards waned with the advent of the cinema, but stereoscopes continued to be produced in various incarnations well into the twentieth century. The latest, most well-known manifestation is the View-Master children's toy created in the 1930s. Most scholarship about stereocards discusses them in the context of nineteenth century entertainment.[33] I found no other examples of stereocards as advertisements, which led me to question why the Churchill Weavers adopted this technology to market their products. I will argue that they were motivated by a desire to help store buyers and boutique owners visualize their products in their own store displays. The hyperspace created by viewing the cards would have given these wholesale

[31] Darrah, *Stereographs*.
[32] Silverman, "Stereoscope," 748-49.
[33] See footnote 12 in introduction.

customers a unique way to imagine not just their product and their intended users, fashionable upper class women and, occasionally, men, but also the store setting that could be created to reach them most effectively. In short, the stereocards provided buyers with an added bonus of custom merchandising service.

I found dozens of Churchill Weavers stereocards in the collections at the Kentucky Historical Society and at Berea College. During my research, I found no written documentation about the cards, no explanation about their creation and later discontinuation. My investigation is based primarily on a visual analysis of the cards and how they represent one facet of the Churchill Weavers. Each stereocard is about four inches wide, six inches long, and an eighth of an inch thick. The cards have a black and white photograph on the back and front. Beneath the photograph are two corresponding color transparencies. In both collections, I also found a viewing device, called a Brumberger stereo viewer (Figure 7). Unlike earlier stereoscopes, the Brumberger viewer uses a battery powered light bulb to illuminate the color transparencies (Figure 8).[34] Even after sixty years, the effect is vibrant and colorful, without the faded look of printed advertisements. When viewed through the stereoscope, the advertisements appear life-sized and three dimensional, giving the viewer a sense that he or she is in close contact with the model. Color and detail can easily be seen, both of which would have been essential for advertising intricately woven products. However, using the stereocards and stereoscope did have its limitations. Only one person at a time could use the stereoscope. With films and print advertisements, numerous people could view the ad at once, but with the stereocards, people had a more individual experience. For this reason, the Churchill

[34] Originally, stereoscopes had a stick-like design where the viewer clipped a card on the device and adjusted the distance of the card from the eye manually.

Weavers would have sent these stereocards out to large scale buyers, like those for department stores, and maintained the use of printed catalogs for smaller scale buyers, like boutiques.

Although the Churchill Weavers cards advertise various products, like blankets, scarves, and stoles, certain underlining themes appear throughout the entire collection. The cards that have models use young, thin, white women with perfectly coiffed hair. The exceptions are a pair of cards featuring infants and another pair of cards with a male model (Figure 9 and Figure 10). In both scenes, a young white male with slicked back hair, who looks strikingly similar to a young Jimmy Stewart, lounges on a chair in a study. He relaxes comfortably under a Churchill Weavers blanket. The male model, like the female models, is dressed in nice, but conservative, neutral-colored clothing. In one scene the man wears a gray suit and tie and, in the other, a black velvet smoking jacket and bow tie. In both he is surrounded by books and magazines. The same Town and Country magazine appears in both scenes, in one it is draped across his lap and in another it is discarded on the floor in favor of a book. The man appears to be in a comfortable, domestic setting, even holding a sandwich in one scene. The position of the models and the props used strongly indicate that the man is relaxing in an established household, not a bachelor pad. In the scene with the sandwich, the man looks at the camera, almost saying, "Look how comfortable my wife makes me with my sandwich, beverage, and Churchill Weavers blanket." Although the subject of these two cards is men, the scene appeals to women who would purchase the blanket for her home and husband. Much like the scenes with female models, the props used are sparse, and the model's positions are simple and could be reproduced using a mannequin in a department store. The effect

would be much like this window display, in which mannequins are in a variety of poses (Figure 11). The ability to replicate the scenes on the cards would have been appealing for those who purchased items for department stores.

The stereocards all show models that are white and thin. The clothing and props used in the scenes create narratives that indicate the people are wealthy, most likely upper class. Books are often used in scenes, as are popular magazines, like Town and Country and Vogue. The poses are stiff, like those used by models in fashion magazines. For example, in one scene, the model is posed almost exactly like a model in a contemporary Vogue advertisement (Figure 12 and Figure 13). Both women sit with straight backs, leaning against the chair at an angle, left hand fisted and placed on the hip. They are wearing fashionable outfits cinched at the waist and wrist-length gloves. The Vogue model looks younger than the Churchill Weavers model, and she places her right hand on her cheek in a more provocative pose. Her unsmiling, ruby red lips and shifted gaze are more sensual than the smile and down cast eyes of the model in the Churchill Weavers scene. In the Churchill Weavers image, the woman is dressed in neutral, conservative clothing that highlights the scarf. In the Vogue image, the woman is wearing a vibrant lilac silk dress, a bright red coat with matching lilac lining, and lilac gloves. Her light skin and dark hair create a striking contrast with the lilac and red ensemble, and her lips perfectly match her coat. The image is more dramatic compositionally compared to the Churchill Weavers image. Instead of showcasing the entire outfit, the Churchill Weavers image instead uses dark colors and more somber clothing to highlight the main product: the scarf draped across the model's shoulders. Although both scenes use only a few props, the effect is quite different. The Vogue image uses a sparse background to

emphasize the fashionable nature of the model's outfit. The scene oozes a sense of haute couture, perhaps she is in a Parisian flat or Manhattan penthouse. In the Churchill Weavers image, the props are used to highlight a more conservative sense of fashion. Although the model is wearing pearls and clutching a leather handbag, she is wearing dark clothes made of wool and tweed. Instead of appealing to high fashion, the Churchill Weavers are showing wholesale buyers how to advertise to their target end consumer: upper class women in their thirties. Women who are comfortably settled down with an expendable income that they could use to buy fine, American made products like wool stoles and scarfs.[35]

A small subset of stereocards shows women with infants or only infants on blankets. Like the rest of the images, these advertisements use clothing and props to emphasize the specific customer base of Churchill Weavers products. In one scene, a woman leans down to adjust a blanket for a baby in a bassinette (Figure 14). Only the woman, stroller, and infant appear in the scene. The woman wears a dark suit and brown fur stole that contrasts with the pearl-colored baby blanket. The baby wears a hooded light-blue jacket hemmed in white scalloping. Judging by the quality of the woman's clothing and her age, she is obviously the baby's mother, not a nanny or babysitter. Although this card, along with less than half a dozen others, shows an infant in the scene, the women are still thin, white, and in the same upper class income level as the women in the other stereocards.

[35] By 1955, one Churchill Weavers stole could cost up to $18.50 at wholesale value, not including the department store mark up. See Figure 15.

The majority of the stereocards have one woman modeling a single Churchill Weavers product. Some are blond Grace Kelly types and others have dark hair and bring Elizabeth Taylor immediately to mind (Figures 16 and 17). Placed in various scenarios, each advertisement exudes a sense of wealth and elegance. The women are modestly dressed, but wear chic modern styles. For example, in Figure 16, the woman wears a black dress that contrasts with the lavender and pink Churchill Weavers scarf wound around her neck. Her pink belt matches the scarf perfectly. She wears large pearl earrings and silver bangles on her wrist and stands in front of a poster with the word "Espagne" printed across the bottom, thus conjuring associations between the woman and world travel, a luxury easily affordable to the upper class. In another image, a woman relaxes on a deck chair (Figure 18). The scene shows a woman lounging on the deck of a cruise ship. Like the image with the Espagne poster, in this image the woman appears to be a world traveler, taking a relaxing cruise. A discarded Town and Country magazine with an image of a cruise liner on the cover lies next to her brown leather satchel while she peruses a novel, snug under her Churchill Weavers throw blanket. In the chair next to her is another blanket with a man's fedora and gloves on it, most likely her husband's. The scene highlights the versatility of the blanket (take it on a cruise vacation!) as well as reinforcing the target demographic: a married woman with the level of income and correlating tastes to appreciate the quality of a Churchill Weavers blanket.

In another image, a woman wrapped in a large wool stole appears to be at a college football game (Figure 19). The red leaves of the tree on the left and the pennant grasped in her right hand indicate that she is participating in an outdoor sporting event. The dark blue pennant has the word "Yale" in bright white block letters, which means

that she is at a football game at an Ivy League university. Instead of using the name of a state school, the image correlates the woman with one of the most prestigious universities in America. Like the woman on a cruise, this woman is in a scene that indicates she is of a specific economic demographic. Another image shows a woman wearing a pale yellow Churchill Weavers scarf over a black dress (Figure 20). She has a pearl necklace, earrings, and bracelets, and she's pouring tea from a silver teapot. The silver set and marble countertop, like the Yale pennant, and cruise deck, act as visual clues into the woman's tastes and level of income. The stereocards served as a blueprint for those who intended to sell Churchill Weavers products. Using a variety of props, the scenes could easily be reproduced with mannequins to give the same illusion of wealth.

The stereocards not only show what type of woman purchases Churchill Weavers items, they also show these women how to wear their recently purchased items. Although many of models wear the scarves draped around their arms and shoulders, other scenes show more innovative ways of wearing a scarf. In Figure 21, a woman wears a yellow scarf tied around her neck, with it bunched in the back. The model is turned away from the camera, so the viewer can see how she has placed her scarf. In Figure 17, a woman is turned towards the viewer, showing off how her scarf is cinched at her neck with a pin, creating a bow-tie effect. Other images show even more creative variations. In Figure 22, a woman uses her yellow and orange stole as a belt that accentuates her form-fitting white dress, and in Figure 12, the woman draped her scarf over her shoulders, but secured it with her belt, thus adding a splash of color to her outfit. By showing the woman modeling products in a variety of styles, the viewer could then translate that variety when

advertising to end consumers, who might be unsure of the amount of options available in wearing a scarf.

Since the cost of producing the stereocards was high, and only one person could view a stereocard at a time, the message that the images displayed needed to be multilayered. By using minimal props and stiff poses, the image viewed by a single individual could later be translated into a store display that could reach hundreds of people at a time. Even in the few images with no models, the product is still shown draped across a chair, as if part of the room's décor (Figure 23).

Although stereocards had long been used to replicate the vast majesty of nature, these stereocards instead focus the viewer's attention to a small space that accentuates the quality of the product. The scenes lack distractions, but do use the minimal amount of props to reiterate the sophisticated taste of those who purchase Churchill Weavers products. By simplifying the scenes, the stereocards provide a template for stores to replicate using mannequins instead of models. This would then allow costumers at those stores to see the various ways in which to accessorize with a scarf or stole, or how best to show off an expensive hand-woven couch throw.

The most alluring aspect of the stereocards for the Churchill Weavers must have been their ability to accentuate the product by immersing a buyer directly into the advertisement. Another possible reason exists for why the Churchill Weavers were interested in the uniqueness of the objects. Since the company predominantly sold to educated, wholesale buyers, both the vibrant colors and the visual experience would have set these advertisements apart from traditional two-dimensional print ads. Long touting

its roots in traditional craft and quality, the stereocards were a physical manifestation of the contemporary and experimental side of the company. At a time of technological experimentation spurred by World War Two, these stereocards represented a similar type of experimentation for advertisements. Although not necessarily a new technology, the variations of the stereocards, such as the color transparencies and use of battery-operated lighting, show an interest in altering old technologies to suit a new age, much like the Churchill Weavers created products based on old techniques manifested in a new fashion.

Section Four: Churchill Weavers Films

Both the stereocards as physical objects and the scenes displayed on them emphasize the newness and modernity of Churchill products. Instead of relying solely on consumer interest in traditional American products, the company added a second layer to its advertising campaign, one that would appeal to wealthy, urban consumers. The stereocards represent the appeal to the new, but the Churchill Weavers did not forgo the appeal of the past. Only a few years before the stereocards were produced, the company released a series of short films. Unlike the stereocards, the films highlighted the production of Churchill products by showcasing the location of the company and the process of weaving. Unlike the stereocards, which have a stiff, posed quality, the films have a more natural appeal, like an ethnographic documentary. However, the films are not an objective documentation of the company, but instead represent the other side of the Churchill Weavers brand: that of the rural manufacturer.

I found nine of these films while searching the archives at the Kentucky Historical Society. They range in running time, from about thirty seconds to just over three minutes long. Each film is in color, but they lack audio and use placards to display text. The films highlight the numerous steps involved in creating woven products, from shearing sheep to inspecting final products. Like the stereocards, the films were most likely meant for large-scale buyers, especially individuals who bought wholesale for department stores, since the viewer would require a projector to watch them. In the opening film, the quaintness of Berea is shown with close up shots of oak trees and dogwood flowers and the accompanying description, “From early morn to the end of the day, color, color

everywhere"[36] (Figure 24) Another scene shows a tree lined road (Figure 25). A placard describes how "many a slave contributed his share of labor to the perfection of this cathedral-vaulted road and its flanking walls of stone from adjacent plantation fields."[37] By using descriptive language, the films set the scene of a charming Southern town of unsurpassed beauty, a perfect location to continue the tradition of hand-weaving. In the next video, a woman garbed in a simple cotton dress strolls amongst sheep outside her small cottage (Figure 26). She later cards and spins wool into thread, presumably to use in Churchill Weavers products. The use of embellished language in the opening video and the depiction of a woman spinning wool shorn from her own sheep are akin to the stiff-posed models in the stereocards in that they are staged. In fact, the Churchill Weavers bought yarn from other companies, not from local sheep herders or wool spinners. The films were not created to show a realistic representation of the company's production methods, but instead were advertising the *idea* of the process involved.

Many of the steps shown in the films are accurate portrayals of the production process, such as women adding warp to a warping wheel, the inspection of yarn colors in the factory, weaving, and checking final products for flaws, but even these depictions are exaggerated by language and costume. In one film, about one minute long, an older woman, gray-haired and bespectacled, works at a loom (Figure 27). A placard at the beginning of the film describes the scene: "To make the many complicated Churchill Weavings the weaver uses both hands and feet and plays her organ-like pedals while she

[36] Churchill Weavers promotional film, accessed at http://www.kyhistory.com/cdm/singleitem/collection/Weave/id/420/rec/6 on November 22, 2013.
[37] Churchill Weavers promotional film, accessed at http://www.kyhistory.com/cdm/singleitem/collection/Weave/id/420/rec/6 on November 22, 2013.

guides the shuttle back and forth across the warp yarns."[38] The weaver wears a simple cotton dress and has her hair tied in a bun at the nape of her neck. Much unlike the young women in the stereocard advertisements, the men and women shown in the films are clearly not upper class, and many wear old fashioned clothes and hair styles. The settings are staged, much like the stereocards, but instead of displaying wealth and class, the films show a country setting, an undisturbed backwoods country in which folksy, salt of the earth people focus on developing their craft. Even in the film that shows women modeling the final products, they are less stylish, less cosmopolitan than the models in the stereocards. In one scene, a woman shows off a scarf while walking down the stairs (Figure 28). Although young, the woman is less made-up, with a less fashionable hair style. Instead of wearing it short and curled, her hair is pulled back into a bun. The floral wallpaper and dark wood paneling betray the country setting of the film. Unlike the stereocards, these films were meant to highlight the rural manufacturing setting of the Churchill Weavers.

At the end of the film series, a placard appears reading: "You are invited to visit the Churchill Weavers in Berea, Kentucky or The Churchills of Kentucky Shop in the Palmer House, Chicago."[39] This final scene is a perfect example of the urban and rural tension created by the Churchill Weavers advertisements. A potential wholesale buyer could make a trip down to the quaint town of Berea, Kentucky, or he or she could visit

[38] Churchill Weavers promotional film, accessed at http://www.kyhistory.com/cdm/singleitem/collection/Weave/id/421/rec/9 on November 22, 2013.
[39] Churchill Weavers promotional film, accessed at http://www.kyhistory.com/cdm/singleitem/collection/Weave/id/417/rec/13 on November 22, 2013.

the prestigious Palmer House in Chicago,[40] where Churchill Weavers products were sold in the hotel boutique. The buyer could experience the rural production process or check out the refined places in which the Churchill Weavers sold products. The disparity between the locations where costumers could purchase products really reaches two ends of the scale.

Based on the juxtaposition between the films and the stereocards, the Churchill Weavers created a brand that was two sided. On one side was the rural producer and on the other was the urban consumer. Although in conflict with one another, both sides worked to complement each other. Grounded in both traditional quality and modern innovation, the brand developed by the Churchill Weavers helped establish a specific image that appealed to consumers during the years after World War Two. Although neither a large company, nor one interested in mass-production, the Churchill Weavers managed to be successful for many decades. In the next section, I will discuss how the Churchill Weavers fit into the spectrum of mid-twentieth century textile companies, particularly in relation to large corporations like DuPont.

[40]By the 1950s, the Palmer House had been a Chicago institution for eighty years, hosting scores of celebrities and socialites who visited the city.

Section Five: Conclusion

The period of time in which the stereocard advertisements were produced was also a time of much innovation in the textile industry. Large companies like DuPont had been working on perfecting synthetic fabrics for a number of years.[41] During the Second World War, most of that effort was diverted toward military applications, but in the post-war years, manufacturers turned their eyes toward civilian consumers. Advertisements for "space-age" materials like nylon flooded catalogs. Unlike the Churchill Weavers, these advertisements were garnered toward larger audiences, not just department store buyers and boutique owners. These new materials were advertised to the growing middle class, particularly housewives. Taglines like "affordable" and "convenient" were commonly used. By maintaining an image of "tradition" and "quality materials," the Churchill Weavers continued to advertise to a specific, educated consumer: upper class clients who were willing to spend more money for reliable, traditional American made products.

In 1939, DuPont introduced nylon, a pliable synthetic material that could be used instead of silk. Originally used for military purposes, the company quickly saw numerous civilian applications for nylon, as well as a new market for synthetic materials, but they first had to tackle the issue of successfully introducing new materials into the world of fashion. In her article "Styling Synthetics," Regina Lee Blaszczyk discusses how DuPont spent the decades after World War Two focusing on getting "in touch with end-use costumers."[42] End-use costumers, or the general public, became the focal point of DuPont's advertising campaigns. During the 1950s and 60s, the company teamed up with

[41] For more information about DuPont and synthetic textiles see: Regina Lee Blaszczyk, "Styling Synthetics: DuPont's Marketing of Fabrics and Fashions in Postwar America" in *The Business History Review,* 80 (2006): 485-528, accessed November 16, 2013, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25097227.
[42] Ibid., 487.

French fashion designers, creating a brand that emphasized the tradition of fashion and the "positive association of synthetics with progress and…modern notions of comfort and convenience."[43] Instead of emphasizing American tradition, DuPont focused on haute couture and European influenced fashion. By appealing to both the end-costumer and manufacturers, DuPont managed to flood the market with synthetic materials, and "helped to transform the look of American mass-market textiles and clothing."[44] By the end of the 1960s, synthetics materials were all the rage.

In relation to DuPont, the Churchill Weavers was a miniscule company. DuPont spent millions in advertising, as well as in research and development. DuPont was interested in mass-production, not niche marketing. The Churchill Weavers never intended to compete with DuPont, but instead wanted to maintain a strong footing during the decades when synthetic materials were rapidly replacing natural fibers like wool. The stereocards represent a way in which the Churchill Weavers would have been set apart from other small companies, while the videos reiterate the traditional production methods.

The stereocards are a physical representation of how the Churchill Weavers wanted to provide an image of innovation without losing the company's face of traditional quality. Department store buyers could visual the space in which the products could be sold in the store. Although the manner in which the cards operated required a smaller audience, such a hindrance was acceptable for the Churchill Weavers. The company wanted to highlight its products to a smaller group of buyers, who would then

[43] Ibid., 495.
[44] Ibid., 489.

showcase items in stores. DuPont, on the other hand, was interested in mass appeal and primarily used print advertisements.

The Churchill Weavers never intended to become a large-scale manufacturer of products, but instead maintained a dedicated focus on fulfilling a niche consumer market. The unusual use of technology for advertising purposes would have been appealing to the Churchill Weavers at a time when the company was gaining much success. However, the limited accessibility of the stereocards and likely the cost of production kept the company from continuing to experiment with them. While the stereocards represented the high end consumer side of the Churchill Weavers brand, the films the company produced represented the traditional simplicity of production. Although at first glance the films appear to be documentary in nature, the company instead used them to manufacture a second image: that of the small town, a company employed by wholesome mountain people. By using this double-sided form of branding, the Churchill Weavers created a brand that had one foot in tradition and one foot in modernity. This double-sided branding technique is an excellent example of the American mindset during the 1950s.

The rise of suburbia caused a mass relocation of the nuclear family unit, often distancing themselves from relatives and previously close-knit communities. This relocation triggered a nationwide interest in recreating a new community, one based on "traditional America." Instead of having family connections, people wanted to be Americans, with a collective past. As Gary Cross discusses in his book, *An All Consuming Century*, "While Americans continued to be obsessed by the technological

future, they also longed for the certainties of an invented past."[45] Cross gives examples based on the image of pioneers and "tough frontiersmen,"[46] but the romanticized vision of Appalachia is just as valid an example. In her book *Selling Tradition*, Jane Becker describes this appeal: "Mainstream Americans saw the uniqueness of southern mountain culture as deriving from preindustrial conditions that persisted into the present, preserving the legacy of an idealized colonial past."[47] The image of the modest hard-working Appalachian that was solidified during the Craft Revival movement, was then reiterated during the years after World War Two. By simplifying Appalachian tradition and people, they became part of the generalized story of America's history.

People were conflicted between wanting to experience the future, but also longing for a fictionalized past of regional and local identities. As family units broke down, and suburbs continued to grow, people became "generic Americans." Using this tension to their advantage, the Churchill Weavers reiterated their location in Kentucky and their connection to traditional weaving constantly. However, instead of relying on a single angle to advertise products, the Churchill Weavers also strongly noted the modernity of its products. This other angle, this angle of modernity is a perfect representation of another shift in American thought in the years after the first nuclear bombs. This period was also a time of an intense interest in the future and what great innovations have yet to come. People wanted to see the next great thing, from kitchenware to rockets. By playing on this seemingly oxymoronic dichotomy, the Churchill Weavers created a brand that

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[45] Gary Cross, *An All Consuming Century: Why Commercialism Won in America*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000): 98.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Jane Becker, *Selling Tradition*, 189.

represented the tradition of the hard-working American and the yearning for modernity and the future.

IMAGES

Figure 1. Viewmaster. From http://cacb.wordpress.com/2010/08/25/viewmaster/ (accessed March 18, 2014).

Figure 2. Churchill Weavers campus. From Kentucky Historical Society: *Churchill Weavers Collection.*

16789. A gentle, soft textured scarf of light-weight Orlon. Handwoven in an overall warp-stripe rib, in solid colors with a dainty, narrow fringe on four sides.

5—Daredevil red
11—French vanilla
12—Light blue
15—Pink
22—Splendor blue
90—All white

10" x 44" plus fringe $5.00

16895. The artistry of the skillful weaver is shown in this leno net weave scarf. Luxuriant mixture of 40% mohair, 40% wool, and 20% Orlon in double thickness. Extra length for wrap around yet lightweight for wearing comfort. Available in gay colors for today's casual or sports wear.

1—Coffee beige w/green, gold, aqua stripes
5—Watermelon red w/gold, white, black stripes
23—Kingfisher blue w/red, white, blue stripes
34—Avocado green w/aqua, blue, gold stripes
60—Midnight black w/gold, white, watermelon stripes
70—White w/red, black, gold stripes

Size 5" x 72" $10.95

16789

16895

16576. Here is the increasingly popular poncho beautifully expressed in handwoven basketweave of 100% virgin wool. It is downy soft, weightless yet warm, and perfect for any informal indoor or outdoor occasion. Just slip it on and forget it! The neat neck opening cleverly faced with soft velvet to create just enough friction to hold in place.

16894. No wrap is more graceful or practical than a cape and ours is a very stylish refinement of the Central and South American ponchos. It is completely reversible in that one side is solid color while the other is of twilled tone-on-tone and can be worn with either side out. Handwoven of finest virgin wool and bound all around with matching wool braid. An unusual feature is the cape collar which may be easily removed if the wearer prefers a collarless cloak in the true poncho tradition. Styled in a proportion that permits one size to fit both tall and short women.

SEE PAGE 10 FOR

Figure 3. 1969 Churchill Weavers catalog (detail). Kentucky Historical Society.

Figure 4. Stereocard. New York City: G & R Associates, Inc., c 1954. From Kentucky Historical Society: *Churchill Weavers Collection.*

Figure 5. Churchill Weavers catalog (detail). Kentucky Historical Society.

Figure 6. Stereoscope and stereocards. From http://tinglefactor.typepad.com/thetinglefactorbox/2011/08/thats-awesome-stereograph-and-stereoscope.html (accessed March 18, 2014).

Figure 7. Brumberger viewing device. Berea College Special Collections.

Figure 8. Stereocard shown in Brumberger Viewing Device. Berea College Special Collections.

Figure 9. Stereocard (detail). New York City: G & R Associates, Inc., c 1954. From Kentucky Historical Society: *Churchill Weavers Collection.*

Figure 10. Stereocard (detail). New York City: G & R Associates, Inc., nd. From Berea College Special Collections.

Figure 11. Window Display, McCurdy's. From Rochester Public Library, http://photo.libraryweb.org/rochimag/rochpublib/rpf/rpf02/rpf02139.jpg (accessed March 18, 2014).

Figure 12. Stereocard (detail). New York City: G & R Associates, Inc., nd. From Berea College Special Collections.

Figure 13. Vogue advertisement. From Jean Patchett official website. http://jeanpatchett.com/galleries/fifties/ (accessed March 18, 2014).

Figure 14. Stereocard (detail). New York City: G & R Associates, Inc., nd. From Berea College Special Collections.

churchill weavers
berea · kentucky

wholesale price list — *December 1, 1955*

scarves and stoles

STYLE	WHOLESALE DOZEN	WHOLESALE EACH
1893S	$ 66.00	$ 5.50
15293	66.00	5.50
15315	18.00	1.50
15319	126.00	10.50
15327	66.00	5.50
15337	96.00	8.00
15341	222.00	18.50
15457	15.00	1.25
15462	90.00	7.50
15466	66.00	5.50
15567	84.00	7.00
15568	78.00	6.50
15569	126.00	10.50
15576	84.00	7.00
15577	90.00	7.50
15579	78.00	6.50
15580	72.00	6.00
15582	90.00	7.50
15587	22.50	1.875
15688	144.00	12.00
15690	84.00	7.00
15691	102.00	8.50
15692	102.00	8.50
15693	108.00	9.00
15694	162.00	16.00

baby blankets, shawls and toddler scarves

1144	12.00	1.00
3188	63.00	5.25
3289	30.00	2.50
3290	30.00	2.50
3295	42.00	3.50
35221	54.00	4.50
35333	54.00	4.50
35338	36.00	3.00
35339	36.00	3.00
35341	$42.00	$3.50
35347	48.00	4.00
35469	54.00	4.50
35578	36.00	3.00
35581	42.00	3.50
35582	42.00	3.50
35585	48.00	4.00
35587	54.00	4.50
35590	42.00	3.50
35591	54.00	4.50
35592	60.00	5.00
35593	72.00	6.00
35594	42.00	3.50
35595	13.80	1.15
35696	30.00	2.50
35697	48.00	4.00
35698	54.00	4.50
35699	54.00	4.50
35601	84.00	7.00

couch throws

4250		10.00
45251		10.50
45254		11.50
45456		10.15
45457		10.50
45559		9.00
45560		9.50
45561		10.50
45562		10.50

ties

75312	15.00	1.25
75313	15.00	1.25
75417	15.00	1.25
75526	13.20	1.10
75527	18.00	1.50
75628	15.00	1.25

ties (cont.)

75629	$18.00	$1.50
75630	22.50	1.875

linens

9902	3.00	.25
9906	15.00	1.25
95617	15.00	1.25
95618	15.00	1.25
95619	12.00	1.00

men's mufflers

15444	36.00	3.00
15586	54.00	4.50
15208	48.00	4.00

fleer — *not handwoven*

F-31	39.00	3.25
F-32	39.00	3.25
F-33	51.00	4.25
F-51	126.00	10.50
PC 5201	87.00	7.25
PB 5250	54.00	4.50
533	72.00	6.00

bed blankets

4044		15.50

bedjacket and shrug

85213	66.00	5.50
85614	66.00	5.50

kivverlets *(coverlets)*

4A01		16.00
4A02		16.00

display looms

ML-1	60.00	5.00
ML-2	7.00	.60

all prices are subject to change without notice

TERMS: All f.o.b. Berea, Kentucky

Net E.O.M. Cash discount allowed 10 days

ITEMS	
Scarves and Stoles	8%
Baby Blankets, Shawls	3%
Couch Throws	3%
Ties	7%
Linens	3%
Men's Mufflers	8%
Fleers	3%
Bed Blankets	2%
Bedjacket	3%
Kivverlets	2%
Loom	2%
Toddler and Baby Scarves	8%
Shrug	8%

Merchandise shipped as ordered cannot be returned for credit without written authorization from Churchill Weavers, Inc., or their representative.

Figure 15. Wholesale Price List. Churchill Weavers catalog, c. 1955. Kentucky Historical Society.

Figure 16. Stereocard (detail). New York City: G & R Associates, Inc., c 1954. From Kentucky Historical Society: *Churchill Weavers Collection.*

Figure 17. Stereocard (detail). New York City: G & R Associates, Inc., c 1954. From Kentucky Historical Society: *Churchill Weavers Collection.*

Figure 18. Stereocard. New York City: G & R Associates, Inc., nd. From Berea College Special Collections.

Figure 19. Stereocard (detail). New York City: G & R Associates, Inc., c 1954. From Kentucky Historical Society: *Churchill Weavers Collection.*

Figure 20. Stereocard (detail). New York City: G & R Associates, Inc., nd. From Berea College Special Collections.

Figure 21. Stereocard (detail). New York City: G & R Associates, Inc., c 1954. From Kentucky Historical Society: *Churchill Weavers Collection.*

Figure 22. Stereocard (detail). New York City: G & R Associates, Inc., nd. From Berea College Special Collections.

Figure 23. Stereocard (detail). New York City: G & R Associates, Inc., c 1954. From Kentucky Historical Society: *Churchill Weavers Collection.*

Figure 24. Screenshot. From Kentucky Historical Society: *Churchill Weavers Collection.* http://www.kyhistory.com/cdm/singleitem/collection/Weave/id/420/rec/6 (accessed March 17, 2014).

Figure 25. Screenshot. From Kentucky Historical Society: *Churchill Weavers Collection.* http://www.kyhistory.com/cdm/singleitem/collection/Weave/id/420/rec/6 (accessed March 17, 2014).

Figure 26. Screenshot. From Kentucky Historical Society: *Churchill Weavers Collection.* http://www.kyhistory.com/cdm/singleitem/collection/Weave/id/419/rec/18 (accessed March 17, 2014).

Figure 27. Screenshot. From Kentucky Historical Society: *Churchill Weavers Collection.* http://www.kyhistory.com/cdm/singleitem/collection/Weave/id/414/rec/8 (accessed March 17, 2014).

Figure 28. Screenshot. From Kentucky Historical Society: *Churchill Weavers Collection.* http://www.kyhistory.com/cdm/singleitem/collection/Weave/id/415/rec/1 (accessed March 17, 2014).

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