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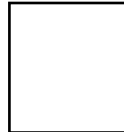

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Souvenirs and the Commodification of Scottish National Identity

Introduction

The 1970s heralded a revival, as well as a reinvention, of what was considered to be the crafts in Britain. With the creation in 1971 of the Crafts Advisory Committee, a body to promote and support the concerns of British 'artist craftsmen', attempts were made to more clearly articulate what was meant by the crafts, as well as carve out a more distinct identity and position of prominence for them.[i] However despite the efforts to engender a greater understanding and appreciation of the term, it remained a slippery one, which was subject to considerable debate and differing regional interpretation.[ii]

This paper will examine the commodification of Scottish craft to satisfy the demands of tourism, and ultimately the problematic outcome of the consumption of craft objects as souvenirs. Using as primary source material the magazine *Craftwork: Scotland's Crafts Magazine,* a periodical dedicated to the crafts in Scotland, as well as contemporary reports from Scottish organisations such the Highlands and Islands Development Board,[iii] this paper will argue that what was happening in Scotland, with respect to craft economy and types of craft practice, was in many ways distinct from concurrent developments in England and Wales.

Craft and the Scottish Myth

The launch of the first Scottish magazine dedicated to the crafts in 1972 coincided with the nascent British craft revival. The aim of the magazine was to bring together craftspeople throughout Scotland, disseminate craft information to the general public, and provide critical commentary on the general Scottish 'craft scene'.[iv] Jointly funded by the Scottish Craft Centre, the Highlands and Islands Development Board and the Small Industries Council for Rural Areas of Scotland, *Craftwork* preceded the launch of the Crafts Advisory Committee's more widely circulated British publication, *Crafts*, by one

year, a prescience that is indicative of Scotland's desire to establish its own forum for the crafts in the latter part of the twentieth century.

In comparison with its more affluent counterpart, *Crafts*, *Craftwork* magazine was a modest publication, its subscribers numbering only 1,053 at the time of its demise in 1988 (circulation for *Crafts* in 1988 was 13,162).[v] However *Craftwork's* significance to this paper lies in its specific attempts to position contemporary Scottish craft against what it perceived as the more problematic notions of 'Scottishness' associated with commercial Scottish craft production at this time. It can be argued that indigenous Scottish craft and its associated iconography had been adopted in Scotland since the eighteenth century, and continued to be employed as a vehicle for the promulgation of Scottish national identity at home and abroad. However the use of traditional iconography as an emblem of national identity was curiously at odds with Scotland's concurrent rise as a modern industrial nation and the demise of its more traditional rural economies. T.M. Devine author of *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000*, argues that as Lowland Scotland became more like England, it turned to the Highlands for symbols and beliefs to maximize its difference. This seemingly paradoxical adoption of traditional Highland iconography by a modernizing Scotland was, in Devine's opinion, done in order to unify Highlander and Lowlander and present a cohesive national identity that could be readily distinguished.[vi]

Although the linking of indigenous artefacts with constructs of national identity and tradition was by no means unique to Scotland, this romanticised depiction of national character, and appropriation of symbols which were not an accurate reflection of modern Scottish life, was particularly employed in Scotland to assert its own unique cultural identity. In The Invention of Tradition, Eric Hobsbawn argues that it can be expedient for a society to adopt certain values and norms of behaviour which assume a factitious continuity to the past; a version of the past bearing little resemblance to reality. [vii] This, it can be argued, is particularly the case in post-industrial societies, such as Scotland, where rapid economic growth contributed to the erosion and fragmentation of 'old' traditions

and ironically gave way to the necessity of inventing ‘new’ traditions, which it was hoped would encourage greater social cohesion and promote global recognition.

The 1970s in Scotland were characterized by a marked rise in membership of the Scottish National Party (SNP), championing devolution and ultimately independence for Scotland. The SNP, with its emblem of a looped thistle, was at its peak in the two general elections of 1974.[viii] Similarly, newly founded cultural organisations, such as the Scottish Craft Centre,[ix] also promoted Highland symbols and cultural artefacts in the form of traditional Scottish crafts, such as kilts, sporrans and knitwear, perpetuating what can be described as ‘the Scottish myth’. [x] Indeed, it can be argued that much of what we continue to associate with Scottish heritage has its origins in the eighteenth and nineteenth century revolution in romantic historical writing, depicting idealized images of heroic Highlanders, championed by John Macpherson’s Ossian ‘translations’ (1760) and Sir Walter Scott’s *Waverley Novels* (1814).[xi] Such arguably spurious notions of identity could also be viewed as being at odds with the development of a contemporary Scottish craft movement, promulgating instead a hackneyed version of ‘scottishness’ in the form of ‘tartan gifte shoppes.’[xii]

Tourism, which had increasingly become an important part of Scotland’s exchange economy of the 1970s, created a market that would continue to differentiate the direction of Scottish craft from elsewhere in Britain. As argued in David McCrone’s *Scotland the Brand*, due to the spreading influence of Romanticism, Scotland has been the subject of an intense ‘tourist gaze’ for at least the last 200 years.[xiii] John Urry, in *The Tourist Gaze*, discusses the contemporary fascination with ‘with gazing upon the historical’, arguing that heritage has played a particularly important role in British tourism, with overseas visitors seeking evidence of the quaint and historical rather than the modernity associated with post-war development.[xiv]

Craftwork Magazine

Magazines have increasingly become the focus of the historian as artefacts of representation through the examination of their influence in shaping attitudes and

responding to mass-mediated constructs of identity.[xv] The craft revival of the 1970s produced an ideological schism with respect to how the crafts were perceived, between England and Wales on the one hand, and Scotland on the other. Seen in this context, *Craftwork* magazine provides evidence of the disparity between support for craft across Britain, with England and Wales witnessing the promotion of the 'craftsperson as artist', and Scotland, as 'small business activity.' [xvi] This was largely due to disparate funding structures of the time: the Crafts Advisory Committee, which was responsible for the publication of *Crafts* magazine as well as the funding of crafts in England and Wales, received its backing not from the Department of Trade and Industry (as in Scotland), but from the Arts Branch of the Department of Education and Science.[xvii] This encouraged the Crafts Advisory Committee to establish a new image for the crafts, which was much closer to fine art practice than to design.[xviii]

Funding for *Craftwork* magazine, and the crafts in Scotland, came not from the Crafts Advisory Committee, but from the Joint Crafts Committee for Scotland, which included the Highlands and Islands Development Board, and the Small Industries Council for Rural Areas of Scotland. These organisations were, as the names suggest, interested specifically in the economics of rural regeneration and the promotion of local industry, and in ensuring that issues such as 'business', and 'sustainability' stayed at the top of the Scottish craft agenda.

Scotland's emphasis on craft as small business activity as opposed to fine art practice was debated within the pages of *Craftwork*, as its editors and readership questioned what it meant to be a craft practioner in 1970s Scotland. *Craftwork's* often defensive editorial stance, and its heated debates surrounding craft and commerce, were in contrast to the more sanguine *Craft* magazine, and suggest unrest amongst the craft community at this time. *Craftwork*'s loyalties were multifarious: on one hand it actively supported and promoted developments within contemporary Scottish craft, but it was equally dedicated to preserving cherished notions of indigenous craft, as well as advising on the more commonplace practicalities of how to earn a living as a craftsperson. As its editor in 1973, Bill Williams, points out:

> For the great majority of craftsmen in Scotland a living has to be made by the simple process of selling a product. [xix]

In contrast, *Crafts* was more interested in celebrating all that was contemporary and 'artistic' about craft, reflecting the Craft Advisory Committee's philosophy, and at this time was reluctant to feature articles on, or be associated with, anything that could be considered in any way prosaic or historicist. This modernist bias towards the crafts can be seen in *The Work of the Crafts Advisory Committee 1974-77*, a manifesto stating:

> Whilst tradition and the sense of continuity have a part to play, they should not be allowed to take precedence over individual creativity, nor should they divert the artist craftsman from making a response to the modern world. [xx]

Keen to champion the 'new' crafts,[xxi] *Crafts* magazine had little interest in craft history. This partiality can be seen in the image chosen for the front cover of the first issue of the magazine, featuring a colourful abstract quilted embroidery, which was in keeping with the Craft Advisory Committee's emphasis on the 'artist craftsman' and the promotion of 'contemporary' practice.

Whereas the Crafts Council and *Crafts* magazine in its early inception acted as an ideological platform for avant-garde contemporary craft in England and Wales, *Craftwork* magazine operated more as a sounding board for views on craft in Scotland, and in particular, dealt with issues surrounding how to make craft practice economically viable for the maker and accessible to the consumer. *Craftwork*'s attempt to accommodate both the old and new, the mundane and the monumental, directly mirrors the paradoxical status of craft in Scotland in the 1970s. This is tellingly evidenced in the choice of graphic imagery for the cover of its inaugural edition. The usage of a 'modern' bespoke typeface for the title *Craftwork*, offset by the more conservative 'trajan' lettering of *Scotland's Crafts Magazine*, is an indication of this dual identity, as is the editor's choice of cover image: a contemporary form of iron fire poker, wrought in the shape of a rural Scottish image - a ram's head.

Craftwork also provides proof as to the increasingly uncomfortable, but nevertheless expedient, relationship between crafts and tourism that was being experienced in 1970s Scotland. The first issue editorial, for example, laments what it describes as the debased status of crafts and craftspeople in Scotland, directly linking the perceived demise in craft standards with Scotland's burgeoning tourist industry and attendant craft shops and centres:

> And of course the tartan thistles sell (God how they sell!) But where's the real thing – where's true craft?'[xxii]

The relationship between craft, commerce and tourism was also a subject of much debate within the ranks of the Highlands and Islands Development Board, as is reflected in their 1974 *Proposal for Development* which argues that the primary objective of a Scottish craftsperson should be to achieve economic sustainability.

Scottish Craft and Souvenirs

With the growth of Scottish tourism came the demand for objects that could enhance as well as authenticate the tourist experience. Susan Stewart, in her work *On Longing - Narratives on the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, discusses this search for authenticity as being corollorative with the search for 'the authentic object',[xxiii] as does Jonathan Culler in 'The Semiotics of Tourism', *Framing the Sign*. Culler argues that tourism is ultimately a quest for signs and evidence of 'the real thing'. [xxiv] Souvenirs in this instance become semiotic reproductions of tourist experiences. Similarly, in Scotland craft and souvenirs became increasingly synonymous, as visitors searched for their own 'little piece of Scotland.'[xxv]

It was estimated that total sales of Highland craft products rose from about £350,000 in 1968 to £3.5M in 1975, an increase attributed to the influx of tourism.[xxvi] This economic mediation between craft and tourism was viewed positively by policy makers and craftspeople, and seen as a practical way of sustaining rural economies, as well as an opportunity to promote a positive sense of Scottish national identity abroad. It had been feared that indigenous craft in Scotland was at risk of dying out, and the emergence of a

new market for craft goods, largely in the form of the souvenir, was one that was accepted and encouraged, as was acknowledged by Philippe Taylor, Chief Executive of the Scottish Tourist Board in *Craftwork* Spring 1975:

> There is a great potential for people who can express the artistic character of a country. Craft made articles are very important to tourists who make it possible and profitable for many craftsmen to exist in remote parts of the country.[xxvii]

However welcome the burgeoning influx of tourists, there was a fear amongst the Scottish craft community that tourism was not making a positive impact on the *quality* of craft souvenir being produced and subsequently consumed, and that the standard and design of such goods produced by some craftworkers, fell short of desirable levels. The Highlands and Islands Development Board, whose primary function was to provide financial, marketing and promotional resources to support industries and enterprises in the Highlands and Islands, of which craft formed a major part, was particularly interested in the relationship between Scottish craft and the souvenir trade. Their 1969 *Survey of Craftworkers* concluded that many visitors to Scotland must be surprised and disappointed with some of the craft goods offered for sale, arguing that the fact that medium or low quality articles may sell well was not a reason for denying a need for further training or an imposition of quality standards.[xxviii]

There were government attempts to regulate the quality of Scottish souvenirs dating back to 1946, and by the 1970s, initiatives to improve the standards of craft articles in the retail sector were largely taken on by the Highlands and Islands Development Board as part of their marketing strategy for Scottish crafts. A display centre in Inverness was opened in 1972 and shared accommodation with the local tourist information centre, containing a collection of the area's craft products, and directing visitors to local shops where they could buy the articles on display.

In response to the retailers survey conducted in 1970, the Highlands and Islands Development Board found that visitors to the Highlands and Islands 'had a preference for products made in the area'[xxix] and launched the 'Craftmade' mark in 1971 as a means of

identifying to the consumer, quality products from the Highlands. The intention of the brand was to link *authenticity* with *quality*, implying that without the Craftmade mark, the consumer was at risk of purchasing an ersatz, and by inference inferior, Scottish souvenir. It was hoped that discerning tourists could now be sure that they were obtaining a piece of the 'real thing' by verifying that their object had the Craftmade label.

The 1973 advertisement for Craftmade products exemplifies the direct promotion of the Scottish craft object as souvenir. The title of the advert: *Memories are Made of This,* clearly links the consumption of the Scottish craft object with the added value of providing a lasting memory of Scotland. Despite the Highlands and Islands Development Board's aim of regulating the standard of Scottish craft objects through the Craftmade label, attempts to link authenticity and quality were not always successful. While some objects bearing the Craftmade label were deemed of a high standard by the Highlands and Islands Development Board, both technically and from an aesthetic standpoint, some work was also found to be inferior in both respects.[xxx]

Scottish Craft Fairs

The introduction of annual craft fairs in Aviemore and Ingliston sponsored by the Highlands and Islands Development Board and the Small Industries Council for Rural Areas of Scotland in the early 1970s, both confirmed and satisfied the demand for commodifying the craft object as souvenir. The fairs provided for the first time an opportunity for craftspeople across Scotland to collectively display and sell their work, largely destined for the tourist market. As with the Craftmade branding scheme, the quality of the objects on display at these well-attended fairs was questioned.[xxxi] The trade fairs confirmed the existence of a hierarchical craft system operating within Scotland in the 1970s: on one level dedicated to serving higher personal ideals and satisfying a more discerning and limited public, on the other, addressing the demands of the tourist industry; a growing and lucrative market, but one which appeared to be compromising quality and standards. A point also acknowledged in the 1974 Highlands and Islands

Development Board *Proposal for Development* calling for a re-evaluation of design standards 'if work in this field is to achieve and develop credibility and recognition.'[xxxii]

Scottish Souvenir Competitions

Central to these debates of quality were the ongoing 'Souvenirs of Scotland' competitions, which were initially launched in 1946 by the Council of Industrial Design in an effort to improve the quality of souvenirs nationwide.[xxxiii] By the 1970s these competitions had become increasingly commercial, largely due to a shift in sponsoring bodies. The original Scottish souvenir sponsors: the Council of Industrial Design, The Design Council Scottish Committee, the Scottish Crafts Centre and the Small Industries Council for Rural Areas of Scotland, were joined in the 1970s by the Scotch House Ltd. and The Scotsman newspaper. The Scotch House (ironically, an English retailer) took an active role in the competitions, not only by offering a large cash prize, but also by hosting a display of the winning entries in their flagship store on Princes Street in Edinburgh. [xxxiv] For both the Scotch House and The Scotsman, the souvenir competitions represented a mutually beneficial commercial opportunity that enabled them to draw attention to their businesses, as well as support Scottish craft.[xxxv]

There were five Scotch House sponsored souvenir competitions in total, occurring biennially from 1970.[xxxvi] The objective of the competitions was to encourage the production of souvenirs that would do credit to Scotland and satisfy the demands of the increased number of visitors to Scotland.[xxxvii]

It is clear from those entries chosen that judges favoured objects that were both functional and practical, with an emphasis on contemporary adaptations of traditional forms or techniques. This can be seen in the first prize which was awarded to David Harkison, for his range of six pewter pendants, commended for being 'well finished' with 'clever use being made of traditional Scottish emblems and symbols…which reflected the true character and fine craftsmanship long associated with Scotland'[xxxviii] and Donald McGarva's Scots Tower Houses, commended for the material used and the packaging.[xxxix]

The demise of the souvenir competitions came in 1977 when it was announced that the Souvenirs of Scotland competitions were to be re-named, 'The Scotch House Souvenirs of Scotland Competition'. The obvious commercial interests of the Scotch House acting as both sponsor and judge were considered to be of dubious benefit in raising the standards of souvenirs. The Spring 1977 issue of *Craftwork* carried two examples of items which had been seen on display at the Princes Street Scotch House: a ceramic piper and tile depicting Balmoral Castle, reporting acerbically: 'not presumably the stuff of which award winners are made.'[xl] This was followed by a series of irate letters from readers, complaining about the competition and its motives:

> …death to the Souvenirs of Scotland competitions. The idea of making worthless souvenirs is patronizing and mercenary. Let our craftsmen make beautiful useful articles and let our visitors remember us for their quality.[xli]

By 1977, *Craftwork* conceded that although commercial ventures such as the souvenir competitions and the craft trade fairs had heightened the awareness of the possibilities of the craft object as souvenir, creating an 'alternative to the chromium plating and spray-on Hong Kong tartaning,'[xlii] there remained a disparity between the higher end of the craft market, for which there was a limited customer base, and the lower souvenir end, which was now being hit by a decline in Scottish tourism due late 1970s inflation.[xliii] Craft workers appealing to the lower end of the market would have found it difficult to cover production costs and maintain any degree of acceptable quality, and tourists hard-pressed by the devalued pound, may have had trouble justifying the expense of a holiday souvenir.[xliv]

It was ultimately recognized that the future of the Scottish crafts industry depended on more than simply satisfying the demands of the tourist trade. The continued reliance on traditional iconography, considered problematic by many makers, was perceived as a reactionary step in terms of promoting a vision of contemporary Scottishness, and allowing makers to be experimental and innovative. A sentiment reflected in the 1974 Highlands and Islands Development Board report, which concluded that if development of the crafts in Scotland was to be sustainable and meaningful for the craftsperson and

patrons alike, it was essential that through education, exhibition and promotion, a more informed market for craft, and craftsmanship, was created.[xlv]

Conclusion

This paper has examined the commodification and consumption of craft in Scotland, providing evidence that prevailing ideologies and representations differed from those in the rest of Britain in the 1970s partly as a result of disparate funding bodies and divergent consumer demand. In Scotland, tourism and heritage had become inextricably linked, with the potential for tourism as a creator of jobs and opportunity for craft workers, augmented by the dramatic growth of tourism after the Second World War. Unfortunately, this economic dependence on tourism as a means of sustaining the Scottish craftworker presented a problem: as Scottish craft objects were being targeted primarily at the tourist, craft and souvenirs became increasingly synonymous. The ensuing craft-souvenir relationship was largely fuelled by a demand for objects representing the *myth* rather than modernity, therefore impeding the growth of a more contemporary Scottish craft identity. The tourist market was also a fickle one, dependent on the vicissitudes of economy, and although souvenir production may, on the surface, have created a sustainable outlet for Scottish craft production, it also appeared to compromise the quality and design integrity of its goods in the interest of commercial viability.

Rather than encouraging the 'artist craftsman' as someone whose work 'although rooted in traditional techniques, had an aim which extended beyond the reproduction of past styles and methods'[xlvi] it seemed that the prevailing consumer demand for craft in Scotland was for a simulacrum of what it perceived as 'Scottishness'. In this sense, it could be argued that Scotland suffered from a surfeit of its own heritage, burdened with its indelible iconography of tartan, thistles, Bonnie Prince Charlie and Brigadoon, which ultimately limited commercial opportunities for artistic experimentation. Although tourism was undeniably good for Scotland in economic terms, the question as to whether the association of souvenirs with craft objects was a positive one for the Scottish craft industry is less clear. It provided an economic boost, that was both expedient and

necessary in the short term, but may have mitigated against contemporary Scottish craft's chances of ensuring a truly sustainable long-term future. As a primary source, *Craftwork* magazine confirms that despite strenuous efforts to control the quality of such craft objects, and attempts to encourage the consumption of a more contemporary craft aesthetic, the consuming public, by and large favoured 'the myth'.[xlvii]

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[i] T. Harrod, *The Crafts in Britain in the 20th Century*, Yale University Press, 1999, p. 370.

[ii] Questions such as: 'What is craft?' and 'How does it differ on the one hand from industry and on the other hand from art?' were being asked by the editor of *Crafts* following the CRAFTS ADVISORY COMMITTEE's first crafts exhibition at the V&A Museum in 1973. 'The Concept of Craft', *Crafts*, no. 1, March 1973, p. 21.

[iii] The Highlands and Islands Industrial Board was established in 1965 by the new Scottish Office Department with executive authority over transport, industry and tourism.

[iv] *Craftwork – Scotland's Craft Magazine*, no. 1, summer 1972, p. 2.

[v] British Rate and Data Index (BRAD), December 1989.

[vi] Devine explains: 'As Lowland Scotland becomes more and more like England, it turns to the Highlands for symbols and beliefs to maximize its difference.' Ibid, pp. 244-5.

[vii] E. Hobsbawm and T.O. Ranger, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 12.

[viii] The Scottish National Party gained seven seats and 22 percent of the vote in the first general election of 1974, and 30 percent of the vote in the second election. Devine, op.cit., pp. 575-576.

[ix] The Scottish Craft Centre was founded in 1949, with support of the Scottish Committee of the Council of Industrial Design, as a non-profit organization with the aim of encouraging the production and sale of high quality craftwork.

[x] Recent publications exploring the Scottish myth and its origins include: D. Broun, R.J. Finlay and M. Lynch (eds.), *Image and Identity – The Making and Re-Making of Scotland Through the Ages*, John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1998; R. Carr, 'Scottish Design Myths', *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History – Scotland 1900 and Scotching Myths*, vol. 5, 2000, pp. 37-42; N. Davidson, *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood*, Pluto Press, 2000; J.R. Gold and M.M. Gold, *Imagining Scotland – Tradition, Representation and Promotion in Scottish Tourism since 1750*, Scholar Press, 1995; K. H. Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland 1770-1914: Creating Caledonia*, Ashgate, 2005; J.A. Herman, *The Scottish Enlightenment – The Scots' Invention of the Modern World*, Fourth Estate, 2002; D. McCrone, *Scotland the Brand – The Making of Scottish Heritage*, Polygon, 1995.

[xi] Hugh Trevor-Roper writes that far from being a traditional Highland dress, the kilt was the invention of an Englishman after the Union of 1707. Being cheap to produce and easy to wear, the kilt's original purpose was not to preserve tradition but to facilitate the transition from 'the heather… into the factory.' After a generation of trouser wearing (Highland dress was banned in Scotland from 1745 until 1782), it is not surprising that the Highlanders were not keen to adopt the new kilt. Instead, it was the upper and middle classes who embraced the costume with romantic enthusiasm. Hobsbawm and Ranger, op. cit. p. 24.

[xii] B. Williams, 'Editorial', *Craftwork – Scotland's Craft Magazine*, no. 1, summer 1972, p. 2.

[xiii] McCrone, op. cit., pp. 47-77 and Durie, op. cit., p. 44. See also: 'The Rhetoric of the Open Road' in Gold, op. cit., pp. 116-139, for information on the rise and promotion of Scottish tourism during the twentieth century.

[xiv] J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze - Second Edition*, Sage Publications, 2002, pp. 98-99. See also: J, Urry, *Consuming Places*, Routledge, 1995; Raphael Samuel's *Theatres of Memory - Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*, Verso, 1994(in particular the chapter 'Heritage'), pp. 205-273 as well as D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge, 1985.

[xv] J. Aynsley and K. Forde (eds.), *Design and the Modern Magazine*, Manchester University Press, 2007, includes Linda Sandino's essay 'Crafts for Crafts Sake' on *Crafts* magazine, and Gillian Naylor's essay on the design and promotion of design values in *Design* magazine.
[xvi] P. Wood in *Craft in Britain, 1971 to the present: a critical ideological study*, unpublished PhD Thesis, Keele University, 1996, p. 29, and Harrod, op.cit. pp. 369-370.
[xvii] *Crafts Advisory Committee News*, no. 1, October/November 1977, p. 1.
[xviii] Harrod, op. cit., p. 370.
[xix] B. Williams, 'Editorial', *Craftwork – Scotland's Craft Magazine*, no. 4, summer 1973, p. 2.
[xx] *The Work of the Crafts Advisory Committee 1974-1977*, Crafts Council Library, London, p. 2.
[xxi] Harrod, op. cit., pp. 386-7.
[xxii] B. Williams, 'Editorial', *Craftwork – Scotland's Craft Magazine*, no. 1, summer 1972, p. 2.
[xxiii] S. Stewart, *On Longing – Narratives on the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, Duke University Press, 1993, p. 133. Gloria Hickey in her essay 'Craft within a Consuming Society' also explores the idea of authenticity and place with respect to Canadian craft objects: '… don't be surprised if you find an Ontario potter's work in a Nova Scotia store. Afterall, Ontario still fulfils 'made in Canada' – especially if you are visiting from Japan'. Dormer, op. cit., p. 91. See also *Design and Evocation*, J. Aynsely, C. Breward, M. Kwint (eds.), Oxford, 1999, p. 115 and C. Lury, 'The Objects of Travel' in Touring Cultures – Transformations of Travel and Theory, C. Rojeck and J. Urry (eds.), Routledge, 1997, pp. 75-95.
[xxiv] J. Culler, 'The Semiotics of Tourism', *Framing the Sign – Criticism and its Institutions*, Basil Blackwell, 1988, p. 160. See also: G. Shaw and A. M. Williams, *Tourism and Tourism Spaces*, Sage, 2004, p. 27.
[xxv] J. Kinchin, A. Peach, 'Small Pieces of Scotland? Souvenirs and the Good Design Debate, 1946-1980', *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History*, vol. 7, 2002. pp. 23-30.
[xxvi] *Scottish Crafts Now*, Scottish Development Agency, Edinburgh, 1980, p. 76. The HIDB *Retailers Survey*, July/August 1970 results showed that 83.3 percent of the craft souvenir retailers surveyed were open only in summer, substantiating the link between seasonal tourism and the consumption of craft souvenir goods.
[xxvii] E. Lyon, 'STB's [Scottish Tourist Board] New Man', *Craftwork – Scotland's Craft Magazine*, no. 11, spring 1975, p. 13.
[xxviii] *Report Following a Survey of Craftworkers*, op. cit., p. 16.
[xxix] The *Retailers Survey*, op. cit.
[xxx] D. Pirnie, *Designer Craftsmen in The Highlands and Islands – Proposal for Development*, March 1974, Highlands and Islands Development Board, CR 1974/23, p. 15.
[xxxi] J. Youseman, 'Letter to the Editor', *Craftwork – Scotland's Craft Magazine*, no. 3, spring 1973, pp. 3-4.
[xxxii] Ibid., p. 14.
[xxxiii] Kinchin, Peach, op. cit., p.17.
[xxxiv] £500 was offered by the Scotch House and £100 by The Small Industries Council for the Rural Areas of Scotland. Design Council Scottish Committee. Press Release Number AT CMM/4/75, Design Centre Archive, Brighton. I am grateful to Juliet Kinchin for sharing this research with me.
[xxxv] The Scotch House advertisement, *The Scotsman*, January 25, 1973.
[xxxvi] With the exception of 1976, when competition was deferred to 1977 to coincide with the Royal Jubilee year.
[xxxvii] For the purposes of this competition, the Design Council defined a souvenir as 'any article made in Scotland for retail sale which relates to or is reminiscent of Scotland'. Design Council Scottish Committee, Press Release, op. cit.
[xxxviii] 'Souvenirs of Scotland', *Craftwork – Scotland's Craft Magazine*, No. 3, spring 1973, p. 21.
[xxxix] Ibid.
[xl] Ibid.

[xli] I. Hird, 'Letter to the Editor', *Craftwork – Scotland's Craft Magazine*, no. 12, summer 1975, p. 6.
[xlii] Ibid.
[xliii] R. Clark: 'In today's inflationary times there can be few craft workers who can contemplate a selling price for any of their products of less than £1. But the same harsh economic laws hit the holidaymaker just as hard as they hit the craft producer. The hard pressed mum and dad will be searching with even greater diligence this year for elegant solutions to their gift problems that leave some change from their old devaluated pounds.' Ibid.
[xliv] R. Clark 'Letter to the Editor', *Craftwork – Scotland's Craft Magazine*, no. 11, spring 1975 p. 3.
[xlv] D. Pirnie, *Designer Craftsmen in The Highlands and Islands – Proposal for Development*, March 1974, Highlands and Islands Development Board, CR 1974/23, p. 1.
[xlvi] Harrod, op.cit., p. 369.
[xlvii] 'Ian Clarkson – Man of Silver', *Craftwork – Scotland's Free Distribution Arts and Crafts Guide*, May-June 1978, no. 23. p. 1.