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The Making of Modern Scottish Craft: Revival and Invention in 1970s Scotland

Andrea Peach

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
The Robert Gordon University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

The 1970s were a period of renaissance for the crafts in Britain, often referred to as a craft revival. The creation of national organisations and infrastructures to support craft, and define its identity, played a crucial role in this. The received craft revival narrative focuses on the Crafts Council of England and Wales, with its emphasis on raising the status of craft and promoting it as fine art, largely through the efforts the Minister for the Arts, Lord David Eccles. The narrative in Scotland was very different, and is a story that until now remains untold. Scotland had its own national agencies with responsibility for the crafts. But instead of having a focus on the arts, they were tasked with addressing Scotland's economic decline, and saw an opportunity to develop Scottish craft as both an industry and a product. The emphasis was not on promoting craft as fine art as in England and Wales, but rather on developing craft as commodity. Borrowing from Adamson's thesis that as a form of cultural production, 'craft is itself a modern invention' (Adamson 2013 p. xiii), this thesis will analyse how Scottish development organisations in the 1970s attempted to promote and invent Scottish craft as an industry and product, and how those involved in the making of Scottish craft responded to this. In order to do this, it will examine the origins of the 1970s craft revival in Britain, the legacy of the invention of modern Scottish craft, and the two development agencies tasked with its invention in the 1970s: the Highlands and Islands Development Board, and the Scottish Development Agency. This thesis makes an original contribution by telling the Scottish side of the 1970s craft revival story. It also addresses wider issues that have received little critical attention in craft history, namely the relationship between craft and commodification, and the tension between modernity and tradition in the invention of modern craft.

Keywords: Scottish Craft, 1970s Scotland, Craft History, Craft Revival, Craft Development, Souvenir, Cultural Production, Commodification, Modernity, Cultural Identity

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This is dedicated to my parents, Franklin Kelley Pierce (1922-1999) and Renate Mayer Pierce (1923-2010). Got there in the end.

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1.0 Introduction

All projects start somewhere. This one unwittingly began with my mother, a potter. She was one of myriad craftspeople in the late 1960s and 70s, accomplished in her trade, driven by an innate desire to create, but achieving at best, marginal commercial success. The tensions of balancing making with selling, creativity with business were palpable at home. Growing up with a 'maker' was an impressionable formative experience.

It was not until much later, settled into a career teaching at an art school in Scotland, that I began to question and then research this formative period in my life. Three initial observations were made: (1) the period in which my mother was practising as a potter was considered by both academics and casual observers to be one of revival and renaissance for the crafts in Britain; (2) the creation of national organisations and infrastructures to promote and support craft appeared to play a crucial role in facilitating this craft revival, namely the establishment in 1973 of the Crafts Advisory Committee of England and Wales (later the Crafts Council); and (3) Scotland was curiously absent from the 1970s craft revival narrative. If my initial observations were correct, and the Crafts Advisory Committee played such a vital part in this craft revival what, if anything, was happening in Scotland? Had it experienced a similar resurgence of interest in the crafts? Was craft being supported by government agencies in the same way as in England? Why had Scotland been left out of the national account?

My thesis journey had begun, and the findings were striking. Scotland did indeed have its own government agencies tasked with supporting craft. This support included a national craft centre in Edinburgh and later in the Highlands, generous financial aid and development opportunities for Scottish craftspeople, and a nationally funded magazine dedicated solely to the promotion of Scottish craft. The agencies responsible for supporting craft in Scotland were however separate in both ideology and motivation to their counterparts in England and Wales. Whereas the craft revival in England and Wales, facilitated by the Crafts Advisory Committee, was largely preoccupied with promoting craft to the status of fine art, in Scotland, the emphasis was on developing craft as an economic concern. Tasked with addressing Scotland's post-industrial decline, these government agencies were almost wholly driven by an economic development agenda, and were largely indifferent to promoting the 'fine art' qualities of craft. Instead they saw an opportunity to develop Scottish craft as both an industry and a product. This vision of Scottish craft, which I call 'modern Scottish craft', became part of a wider strategic plan to diversify Scotland's post-industrial economy, create employment opportunities and regenerate areas of depopulation. These plans would have important ramifications on makers, as well as on the objects produced, and differed, at

times dramatically, from how things were unfolding across the border. But what exactly was modern Scottish craft in a post-industrial economy? It is argued here that Scottish craft, in the eyes of those involved, was something that had to be defined, articulated, and ultimately invented. As such, it became the source of much debate, between consumers, producers and those in government who were tasked with supporting and developing it. This is an important part of the 1970s craft revival story, and indeed twentieth century British craft history, which is entirely missing from the overall British craft history narrative. This thesis therefore begins from the premise that there is a need to re-balance this narrative, in order to present a more accurate account of British craft history in the late twentieth century.

The main objective of the thesis is to examine the impact of Scottish national development strategy on the making, revival and invention of modern Scottish craft in 1970s Scotland. Drawing on craft historian Glenn Adamson's proposition that as a form of cultural production 'craft is itself a modern invention' (Adamson 2013 p. xiii), this thesis will analyse how the two main Scottish development organisations attempted to promote and shape Scottish craft as both an industry and product, and how those involved in the making of Scottish craft responded to this. The thesis does not aim to provide a substantive history of twentieth century Scottish craft, or a comprehensive survey of its makers. Instead it focuses specifically on the activities of Scottish national organisations and their development strategies, and the impact this had on individuals at the time, which I argue was the basis of the invention of modern Scottish craft. The main temporal focus of the thesis is a period in the late twentieth century, often referred to as the British craft revival. It was a moment in time that can be roughly mapped on to the mid 1960s to the late 1970s. It should be noted that historians commonly label periods, such as 'the sixties', as a form of shorthand to make sense of events that collectively might characterise or exemplify a broad sweep of time (Claus and Marriot 2012 pp. 38-43). For the purposes of the thesis, this time period will simply be referred to as 'the 1970s craft revival'. Where possible, images are used to substantiate key points and provide visual context to the discussion. In some instances, images of objects discussed were unavailable in archives or other primary source material, and for this reason were not been included.

Chapter 2.0 introduces the 1970s craft revival, by outlining its conceptual and substantive origins. The purpose of this chapter is to outline the wider socio-economic context of the 1970s craft revival period, and establish the prevailing institutional and ideological backdrop against which Scotland will be later juxtaposed. For this reason, it examines the emergence of the Crafts Advisory Committee in England and Wales and the inception of the concept of 'artist craftsman'. The Crafts Advisory Committee in England and Wales, it is argued, was a major force in promulgating the

1970s craft revival and championing an entirely new identity for craft. Its ethos of raising the professional status of craft to that of fine art practice was embraced by other national organisations formed at the time, for example the American Crafts Council and the Canadian Crafts Council (Alfoldy 2005). It is through the lens of the activities and ideology of the Crafts Advisory Committee that the story of British craft in the late twentieth century is currently told (Harrod 1999; Wood 1996). However as will be demonstrated, national organisations in Scotland also played a crucial part in enabling and shaping craft at this time, albeit a very different one. It is this very different narrative that this thesis aims to address.

In order to understand the reason why modern Scottish craft developed along its own unique trajectory in the 1970s, it is first necessary to go back in time. For that reason, Chapter 3.0 traces the foundations of what became modern Scottish craft from the eighteenth century up to the Festival of Britain in 1951. This chapter will examine the socio-economic origins of the key national organisations that would come to support and define Scottish craft in the 1970s, and their rationale for wanting to develop Scottish craft as a product and industry. The Manichean tensions of tradition versus modernity (a recurring theme throughout the thesis) that shaped the particular identity of modern Scottish craft in the twentieth century, and subsequently informed the policies of the two main Scottish development agencies tasked with its invention in the 1970s, are introduced here. This chapter also locates the key identifying features that would define modern Scottish craft during the 1970s craft revival, and explains how Scottish craft came to be linked to the idea of economic and social development.

Chapters 4.0 and 5.0 of the thesis focus specifically on the two main government-backed organisations tasked with supporting and developing the crafts in 1970s Scotland: the Highlands and Islands Development Board and the Scottish Development Agency. These organisations operated for the most part as independent agencies, and for this reason will be tackled in separate chapters. Chapter 4.0 looks specifically at the Highlands and Islands Development Board, the first of two organisations with responsibility for developing Scottish craft as a product and industry. It will begin by investigating Scotland's post-war development strategies, and outline how and why Scotland came to have its own agencies to support craft in the 1970s. It will then analyse the Highlands and Islands Development Board's involvement in promoting Scottish craft as a cultural product and tourist commodity, and consider the impact of this initiative on Scottish craftspeople and their products. The chapter concludes with a case study of two influential makers who engaged with the Highlands and Islands Development Board during the 1970s, in order to illustrate the opposing views on the impact of national development strategy on the invention of modern

Scottish craft. Both makers are ceramicists, an area of craft practice that the HIDB had singled out as being particularly suitable for development. It is for this reason that they are included here.

Finally, Chapter 5.0 ends the thesis by examining the activities of the second organisation charged with developing Scottish craft during the British craft revival - the Scottish Development Agency. It explores why Scotland came to have a second government organisation with responsibility for developing craft, and analyses how having two agencies with often competing strategies was ultimately to the detriment of the development of modern Scottish craft. It examines the three main areas of the Agency's support for Scottish craft: *Craftwork* magazine, The Scottish Craft Centre in Edinburgh and Highland Craftpoint, and returns to the themes of modernity and tradition introduced earlier in the thesis. The spectre of the Crafts Advisory Committee, discussed in Chapter 2.0, looms in this chapter, as makers and those charged with craft development, aware of the differences in policy south of the border, attempted to find their own ways of engaging with Scotland's development organisations.

This thesis makes an original contribution to craft history by telling the Scottish side of the 1970s craft revival story. As will be demonstrated, this is a significant gap in twentieth century British craft history, which to date has been weighted towards events in England and Wales. The thesis documents the role of state supported institutions in inventing the concept of modern craft, and how they wrestled with the concepts of modernity and tradition in this invention. Finally, the thesis addresses important wider issues that transcend national debates and have also received little critical attention in craft history, namely the relationship between craft and commodification and how modern craft objects operate as cultural products. There is still much work to be done in terms of setting straight the narrative of twentieth century Scottish craft, but this thesis has made a significant step in the right direction.

This thesis makes three important new contributions to knowledge: (1) it addresses a significant gap in twentieth century British craft history, which to date has prioritised events in England and Wales, by providing a detailed account of the Scottish craft revival narrative; (2) it documents the role of state supported institutions in the invention of competing concepts of modern craft in the twentieth century, and how in Scotland craft was developed particularly as an industry and commercial product; (3) finally, it addresses issues that are highly relevant today, namely the relationship between craft and the creative and cultural industries - specifically, the role of national institutions in supporting and developing craft as a cultural and economic concern. It could be argued that policy makers today would have much to gain from looking at the past, as it continues to inform and illuminate the present.

1.1 Approach

The thesis is approached from the perspective of craft history. This section will explore the historical context of craft history as an academic discipline, with reference to its more established neighbours of art history and design history, and examine how contemporary approaches to craft history, as both method and methodology, will be applied to this study. It will also introduce the central analytic concepts that will be used to inform the thesis.

Broadly speaking, the study of history is not just concerned with the past, but also with understanding how the past can be used to make sense of the present. This is what continues to makes history so vital, as historian E.H. Carr posits: 'it is a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between present and past' (Carr 1987 p. 30). However, since the advent of postmodernism the study of history has come under scrutiny. Philosopher Michel Foucault's (1926-1984) writings, for example, draw attention to the problematic nature of the discipline (Foucault 1980; 2000; 2003). Foucault was greatly influenced by the political and social events of the 1960s and 70s (the period of focus in this thesis), and subsequently shifted his attention away from philosophy and psychology to history (Mills 2008 p.23). As a postmodernist, he challenged traditional approaches to the study of history, which view it as a linear cause and effect recording of human events, with the goal of establishing a central 'truth' (Emerling 2005 pp. 147-8). Instead, Foucault was more interested in understanding how and why certain historical narratives have come to be accepted as an accurate representation of events.

Although criticised by some historians for his 'cavalier' (Mills 2008 p. 23) approach to conventional historical methods, Foucault's perspective on history has resonance for this thesis. As Claus and Marriott point out 'Foucault held firmly to the belief that a study of history was essential to an understanding of how power had been and continued to be exercised' (Claus and Marriot 2012 p. 97). This thesis, an examination of the impact of government policy on the development of Scottish craft in the 1970s (in essence an exercise in power), is approached from the initial observation that Scotland has been largely excluded from the British craft narrative of the 1970s. This omission substantiates Foucault's theoretical proposition that history is simply one of many possible narratives that may (or may not) come to be recorded from a particular cultural perspective and context. In other words, for Foucault, history is by nature highly subjective and coloured by the personal views of the historian, as well as the wider social and political spheres in which he or she operates (Munslow 1997 p. 123). Any assertion or presumption that history can be an accurate reflection of the past, is according to Foucault, spurious. This is not to say that history is irrelevant, and certainly that is not what Foucault thought. On the contrary, if we accept his central premise

that history is essentially a narrative construction, something that 'will never produce essential truths, only reveal the constant interplay of linguistic or narrative interpretation' (Munslow 1997 p. 122), we are presented with an important obligation to continually revisit and revise the gaps in the received narratives. In this thesis it will be argued that the absence of Scotland from craft narratives to date might be explained by the power structures at the time, but equally the cultural bias of those writing about it.

Craft History in Context

Accepting Foucault's premise that history is both contingent and highly subjective, it should also be acknowledged that craft history, as a specific historical discipline, is relatively new, and therefore lacking an established canon. For this reason, it draws upon the approaches of the more established academic fields of art history and design history. Riding on the coattails of these predecessors, until recently there has been little of critical attention paid to craft history as an academic field in its own right. Its methodology is largely interdisciplinary, referencing not only art history and design history, but also social history, cultural history, oral history and other related social science disciplines, including anthropology, sociology and material culture studies. The history of consumption, another emergent field of historical investigation, also informs craft history, as it interrogates the economic, social political and cultural value of the products of a consuming culture (Riello 2009 p. 32). The highly eclectic approach of craft history can make social science researchers uncomfortable (Burns 2000 p. 489), but as craft historian Glenn Adamson argues 'Craft has always been an idea that transcends discipline' (Adamson 2007 p. 6). For this reason, craft historians may prefer to discuss their practice in terms of 'approaches' rather than specific 'methods', as suggested by Jordanova (2012) when writing about the interpretation of visual materials, arguing that the former is 'open-ended, productively looser and more in keeping with the eclectic, flexible orientation … than the latter' (Jordanova 2012 p. 44).

In order to understand the strengths and weakness of craft history as a discipline and approach, it is helpful to know something about the origins of its main historical antecedents: art history and design history. Art history, as a distinct area of academic study, can be traced back to mid nineteenth century Germany, when it was first formally incorporated into the university curriculum. As an academic discipline, art history soon gained momentum in the United States, through the establishment of dedicated advanced degrees and professorships (Preziosi 2009 p. 7). Design history was initially treated as a branch of art history. Many of the early design historians had art history backgrounds and came to the subject with that sensibility. Notable examples include Nikolaus Pevsner (1902-1983), author of *Pioneers of Modern Design* (1936); Sigfried Giedion (1988-1968), author of *Mechanization Takes Command* (1948); and Reyner Banham (1922-1988),

author of *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (1975). Indeed it was not until the 1970s that design history became an academic field in its own right (Fallan 2010 p. xvii), and as with early art history, it adopted what was understood to be 'the canon', or 'the heroic approach' to analysing its subject (Conway 1997 p.9). This meant that its primary emphasis was on selected objects, designers and movements that were considered worthy or iconic, with a particular focus on aesthetics and connoisseurship. In the 1960s and 70s, influenced by French social theory, design history gave way to a more pluralistic, and some argued less elitist, approach which gave consideration to concepts such as the consumption, mediation and use of design (Fallan 2010 p. ix; Fallan and Lees-Maffei 2015).

In many ways this new approach mirrored contemporaneous developments in art history, described by Fallan as the 'new art history of design' (Fallan 2010 p. 7), although it can be argued that design history was the first to employ this more inclusive and radical approach. With the founding of the Design History Society in 1977, design history finally had its own infrastructure and constituency, including validated degrees, an annual conference and dedicated academic journal, *The Journal of Design History*. As an academic discipline, design history is now considered distinct from art history, although it continues to inform, and be informed by, art historical and other approaches, including business history, economic history, cultural studies, history of technology, and material culture studies (Lees-Maffei 2004; Lees-Maffei 2010 p. 2). This methodologically diverse approach has served design history well and mirrors changes in the contemporary design world. As design practice evolves, it continues to defy categorisation (Lees-Maffei 2004 p. 207). Kjetil Fallan, design lecturer and historian, author of *Design History - Understanding Theory and Method* writes about the increasingly diverse and interdisciplinary nature of design history, which has moved beyond the history of museum objects and famous designers 'to encompass a far wider subject matter, including pre-industrial and non-industrial manufacture, and spanning graphic design, fashion, textiles, interior design and craft' (Fallan 2010 p. 4).

Craft history has evolved along similar lines to that of design history, and now occupies its own discrete territory, largely through the pioneering work of craft historians and theorists such as Glenn Adamson, Sandra Alfoldy, and Tanya Harrod. The relationship between craft history and its predecessor, design history, is according to some not one of equals. In the inaugural edition of *The Journal of Modern Craft*, its editors likened design history to a 'colonial power' in its relationship with craft history, stressing further need for the latter to assert its academic independence (Adamson, Harrod and Cooke 2008 p. 8). The shoehorning of craft under the rubric of design history has, its editors argue, led to many crucial aspects of craft practice and its ideology being overlooked, indicating that there is plenty of new territory to be discovered (Adamson, Harrod and Cooke. 2008 p. 8). This point was made several decades earlier by design historian Cheryl

Buckley, whose work has focused on the role of women in design, arguing in a seminal 1986 essay 'Made in Patriarchy - Towards a Feminist Analysis of Women in Design' that design history's emphasis on design as a study of mass-produced objects had effectively excluded craft production, and by extrapolation, women, from consideration:

> For many women, craft modes of production were the only means of production available, because they had access neither to the factories of the new industrial system nor to the training offered by the new design schools. (Buckley 1989 p. 255)

Craft history is now gaining in academic critical mass, evidenced by the creation of *The Journal of Modern Craft* by Adamson, Harrod and Edward Cook in 2008, as well as the journal *Craft Research*, founded in 2010 by Kristina Niedderer and Katherine Townsend. Both journals cover aspects of historical and contemporary craft from the mid-nineteenth century to the present day, with the aim of advancing craft scholarship generally. It can be argued that in the same way that craft as a concept is both malleable and open to interpretation in a post-industrial landscape, so too is the study of craft history.

Craft as Modern Invention

Having outlined the origins of craft history as a discipline, as well as some its advantages and disadvantages as an approach to the thesis, I now move to the main theoretical premise underpinning the work, that as a form of cultural production craft is a modern invention. First proposed by Adamson (2013), I develop Adamson's concept of craft as modern invention, by applying it specifically to the context of post-war Scottish craft. In particular, I focus on the involvement of government agencies in the invention of modern Scottish craft. It can be argued that the idea of craft as something invented stems from craft's ambivalent identity and purpose in a post-industrial context. The question of 'what is craft' has continually vexed those involved with the discipline, for example practitioner and theorist Bruce Metcalf who surmised that craft is: 'a tricky word with no precise definition' (Metcalf 2002 p. 13), and craft historian and theorist Paul Greenhalgh, who claimed that 'craft has always been a supremely messy word' (Greenhalgh 2002 p. 1). Adamson himself, who has written that craft is 'making something well through hand-skill' (Adamson 2013 p. xxiv), has gone on to qualify this by adding 'I have come to realise that no such innocent usage of the term is possible' (Adamson 2013 p. xxiv). The reasons for the difficultly in committing to a single normative definition of craft today are manifest in its essential multiplicity as practice, object, and idea. Although craft sits alongside the disciplines of art and design, and borrows readily from these specialisms, it is also unique in its own right: a complex union of process, material and skill, as well as a concept, or way of thinking. Viewed within these conceptual parameters, craft could be considered a relatively new phenomenon. A product of the industrial revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when a fundamental

reinterpretation of the divisions between art and manufacture took place (Adamson 2013; Macdonald 2005; Metcalf 2002). As Metcalf points out:

> We're talking about the making of objects removed from necessity - we don't need handmade objects to survive anymore - and we're talking about a collective response to industrialization. (Metcalf 2002 p. 13)

The moment that craft became detached from everyday necessity, it was free to become something else - but what? Adamson describes this moment as when craft became ideologically charged (Adamson 2013 p. xxiv), discursive rather than simply descriptive (Adamson 2007 p. 6). At first glance the idea of craft as invention might seem counter-intuitive. A natural assumption being that craft is rooted in history, offering comfort, solidity and sometimes escape, in a world that is often transient, mass produced and flimsy. The recent clarion call to 'return to craft' is evident in a variety of contemporary publications extolling the virtues of making including: *The Case for Working with your Hands* (Crawford 2010), *Why we Make Things and Why it Matters* (Korn 2015) and *The Man who Made Things out of Trees* (Penn 2016), as well as popular television programmes including BBC's *The Great British Bake Off* (2010-2016), Channel 4's *Kirstie's Handmade Britain* (2013) and Monty Don's *Real Craft* (2014). Craftspeople today are commonly referred to as 'makers' with 'making' being the act of the one that makes. Making and crafting in this context are synonymous.

But 'making', a deceptively simple noun, is anything but simple, and can suggest a multiplicity of meanings. For example, it has connotations of construction, in the sense of fabrication and invention. And here the idea of craft as not only as a product, but rather as *an invention*, again comes into play. Scottish craft in particular, it will be argued, was subject to this interpretation of making or invention, as suggested in the thesis. 'Making' can also imply coercion, the act of compelling or driving someone to do something. In this sense, it will be demonstrated, craftspeople in Scotland were given incentives and inducements by government to produce, or *make*, a particular kind of craft to suit a particular kind of market. Finally, 'making' has obvious monetary connotations, related to earnings and profit, the act of *making money*. Craft practice, it will be argued, however satisfying, worthy or noble in the minds of its makers and admirers, has an important economic dimension. In the case of making Scottish craft, it became wholly subsumed with a wider government initiative to link the making of craft with the making of money. For all these reasons, *the making* of Scottish craft, in its many conceptual guises, will be scrutinised in the thesis, in an attempt to shed light on what the impact of national development strategy was on the invention of modern Scottish craft.

The Origins of Modern Scottish Craft

Having outlined the concept of craft as invention, it is now necessary to establish a definition of what is meant in the thesis by 'modern craft' and 'modern Scottish craft'. It has been argued that Adamson's thesis of craft as modern invention challenges the received story of craft, one where craft was supplanted by the industrial revolution of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, much to the detriment of society and the individual. In this narrative, craft was then championed and 'revived' by those longing to return to their pre-industrial roots in search of life of honesty, integrity and greater personal satisfaction. The founders of the nineteenth century Arts and Crafts movement, William Morris, John Ruskin et al. were complicit with this, and echoes can be seen in the recent craft revival zeitgeist (Peach 2013). Adamson challenges the premise that craft, as we understand it today, was deposed by the industrial revolution. Instead, he argues, it was the moment that craft became what we currently understand it to be, namely industry's antithesis: conservative, back-ward looking and rooted in tradition:

> Craft was not a static backdrop against which industry emerged like a figure from the ground. Rather the two were created alongside one another, each defined against the other through constant juxtaposition. (Adamson 2013 p. xiii)

In the same way that Adamson focuses on craft and its relationship with modernity in an industrialised society (2013), this thesis questions how modern Scottish craft came to be invented in modern Scotland, as both a product and an industry. The term 'modern' in the context of craft is important here. Modern craft according to Metcalf should be differentiated from pre-industrial craft. It originated in the nineteenth century not out of necessity, but rather as an ideological antidote to the perceived dehumanisation and shoddiness of factory production (Metcalf 2002). In the twentieth century, Metcalf argues, the concept of modern craft achieved renewed vigour and referred to post-war studio crafts and the craft revival of the 1960s and 1970s (Metcalf 2002 p. 2013). Metcalf's concept of modern craft is also distinguished from earlier iterations of craft, in that it marked a time when craft began to be considered and theorised for something other than simply its aesthetics, utility or function. According to Metcalf, craft was therefore essentially 'a cultural construction' (Metcalf 2002 p. 13).

Adamson and Metcalf's theory of modern craft maps itself nicely onto Scottish craft in the twentieth century, where its identity was also one subject to interpretation or invention. As Adamson, Cook Jr. and Harrod point out, 'Only once craft was no longer the basis of the economy did its identity become unclear' (Adamson, Cook Jr. and Harrod 2008 p. 6). And although this thesis is not concerned with Scottish craft in a pre-industrial context, it is important to point out that its pre-industrial origins have informed much of what subsequently came to be understood as

'traditional' Scottish craft in a twentieth century context (Carter and Rae 1998; Butler 2000). 'Traditional', is a highly subjective term, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 3.0 of the thesis, open to interpretation and invention (Hobsbawm and Ranger 2006). And what are often described as traditional Scottish crafts, are bound up with the troublesome concept of invention, as Hobsbawn argues: '"Traditions" which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented' (Hobsbawm 2006 p. 1). For the same reasons, the term 'heritage' has equally spurious connotations (Hewison 1987; Samuel 1994).

When describing pre-industrial crafts, Adamson suggests the usage of 'artisan' or 'artisanal', referring to the skilled production of utilitarian or decorative objects at a time when all processes of making were hand processes (Adamson 2013 p. xxiv). In Scotland, this artisanal practice would mostly apply to production in rural or village communities, but also urban areas. Defined by utility and economy, pre-industrial Scottish craft borrowed from, and adapted to, a variety of external influences including Norwegian, Celtic, French, Low Country, and English (Finlay 1948b pp. 11-12; Brander 1974 p. 5; Mackay p. 23). Over time, some of these Scottish crafts acquired a specific regional identity, rooted in the geography, materials and resources of the place, such as Harris Tweed, Orkney chairs, Fair Isle knitting (Butler 2000; Carter and Rae 1988). But alongside these more geographically located Scottish crafts, existed practices common to the everyday workings of any pre-industrial society, including blacksmithing, basket making, boat building, weaving and knitting, wood turning, pottery and glass manufacture. It is therefore arguable whether there is anything particularly Scottish about this latter category of Scottish craft.

The question of whether modern Scottish craft is *really Scottish* is a perennial one, and was recently debated in an essay by curator David Revere McFadden, who struggled to find anything intrinsically Scottish in the work of thirty contemporary makers selected for *The Cutting Edge* exhibition at the National Museum of Scotland (2007). Revere McFadden concluded that although much of the work made abstract references to nature and landscape (Revere McFadden 2007 p. 135), it was for the most part, international in outlook. A review of the exhibition corroborates this:

> While some work references familiar Scottish tropes (Laura Mulvey's jaunty post-modern sporran), most remains resolutely non-identifiable by national origins. (Sutherland 2007 p. 72)

In a post-industrial context, modern craft should therefore be considered both mutable and malleable, and essentially a form of cultural construction. And it will be argued here that it is was this protean nature of modern craft that national craft organisations in the twentieth century attempted to capitalise on, by shaping it to suit their particular needs.

The Production of Culture Perspective

Another important theoretical premise that underpins the work, and is linked to the invention of modern craft, is a sociological concept called the 'production of culture'. This theoretical model, originating from sociologist Richard Peterson (1932-2010), is concerned with how culture is fabricated by people and the institutions to which they belong (Inglis and Hughson 2007 p. 192). In this model, argue Inglis and Hughson: 'no form of culture is "natural" or "authentic", because it is always fabricated in one way or another' (Inglis and Hughson 2007 p. 210). Peterson's personal interest in country music led him to consider how and why such a 'cultural product' came into existence, and specifically how such a product subsequently acquired connotations of authenticity, originality and innovation (Peterson 1997). For Peterson, the production of culture encompasses a wide range of processes, including the product's creation, manufacture, marketing, distribution, exhibition and ultimately, its consumption. Each of these processes, argues Peterson, plays a defining role in the fabrication of a cultural product's so-called authenticity. However, Peterson goes on to explain, because each of the bodies, or institutions, involved in the processes of creating the product would often have competing interests, this would invariably lead to tensions that would impact upon the type of cultural product produced (Peterson 1976 p. 14). In other words, a product that might be considered 'authentic' or 'original' would in reality be something highly fluid. Peterson's production of culture perspective is not unlike Adamson's concept of craft as modern invention, in that it describes how the symbolic elements of culture - for the purposes of this thesis we might substitute 'Scottish craft' - are 'shaped by the systems within which they are created, distributed, evaluated, taught and preserved' (Peterson and Anand 2004 p. 311). In the same way that Peterson proposes that culture is 'not so much society wide and virtually unchanging' but rather 'situational and capable of rapid change' (Peterson and Anand 2004 p. 312), so too it is argued in this thesis that Scottish craft is a complex concoction of competing ambitions and ideas, shaped by society, and importantly by its cultural gatekeepers. It is maintained that these cultural gatekeepers - namely the national organisations supporting craft in Scotland - had a vested interest in controlling the kind of symbols produced and the contexts in which they were displayed and consumed.

Sociologist Howard Becker also uses a production of culture perspective in *Art Worlds* (2008), where he examines the hierarchical relationship between craft and art practices, and the cultural institutions that support them. Becker challenges the stereotypic notion of the artist (or cultural producer), working as a independent, autonomous individual, arguing instead that the maker is always embedded within a wider collective network involving a complex division of labour across numerous cultural institutions, including the state. It is this art world that in turn determines 'what is art', or in the case of the thesis, 'what is craft'. As Becker explains:

> Wherever an art world exists, it defines the boundaries of acceptable art, recognizing those who produce the work it can assimilate as artists entitled to full membership, and denying membership and benefits to those whose work it cannot assimilate. (Becker 2008 p. 226)

Again it is a useful conceptual model against which to compare the invention of craft in the 1970s, and indeed modern Scottish craft, as they might be considered 'art worlds' in Becker's sense of the term. In *Art Worlds,* and an earlier essay (Becker 1976), Becker outlines a typology of artists operating within the boundaries of these art worlds. The first is described as the 'integrated professional' (Becker 2008 p. 228). The integrated professional, according to Becker makes up the majority of artists operating in an organised art world (Becker 1976 p. 44). These are makers who, largely by necessity, have had to conform to the expectations and conventions of the art world in which they are working. As Becker puts it: 'They stay within the bounds of what potential audiences and the state consider respectable' (Becker 1976 p. 44). According to Becker, integrated professionals are preferred by the art establishment because they are considered easier to work with, and thereby facilitate the production of socially and commercially acceptable artworks:

> Everyone in an art world would, all other things equal, prefer to deal with integrated professionals. It makes life much easier. [But] A fully professionalised art world may become enslaved by the conventions through which it exists, producing what we would call (if we take the results seriously) hack work. (Becker 1976 p. 45)

In this thesis, the crafts person who operates within the framework of a cultural institution, such as the Crafts Council in England and Wales, benefitting from their patronage and support, but also complying to a degree with their norms and requirements, can be considered an integrated professional.

Becker goes on to explain how organised art worlds also produce 'mavericks' (Becker 2008 p. 233). The mavericks are in many ways the antithesis to the integrated professional, although they do share some similar characteristics. Both come from art worlds, in other words, were trained in an art world context and therefore still have an orientation towards it. But the maverick sees him or herself as more as a non-conformist or *provocateur*. As Becker writes:

> Every organized art world produces mavericks. Mavericks are artists who have been part of the conventional art world of their time, place, and medium, but who found it unacceptably constraining, to the point where they were no longer willing to conform to its conventions. Where the integrated professional accepts almost completely the conventions of his world, the maverick retains some loose connection to that world but refuses to conform, thus making it impossible for himself to participate in the world's organized activities. (Becker 1975 p. 46)

In the context of this thesis, the 'production of culture' perspectives of Peterson and Becker illuminate the role that national development organisations had on the invention of modern Scottish craft, but also help to understand how makers reacted to their policies and strategies. This thesis will argue that the various state-supported craft organisations in 1970s Britain operated as art worlds, largely encouraging the 'integrated professional', but inadvertently also stimulating 'mavericks'. Examples of the integrated professional and the maverick will be discussed in the two case studies (Chapter 4.0) of ceramicists David Grant and Lotte Glob.

Data Collection and Analysis

This section discusses the data used to inform the thesis, the methods used for collection, and how these data were analysed. When undertaking historical research it is essential to use a combination of primary and secondary sources, and not rely on any one source to construct an interpretation of an event. The data gathered for this research was diverse, comprising a wide range of primary source documents including: archives, historical texts, government policy documents, and magazines from the period. Interviews with surviving craftspeople, cultural commentators, policy makers and shop owners were also conducted. In addition to this primary research, the thesis made use of a wide range of secondary published sources, which will be discussed separately in the Critical Review of Relevant Literature (Section 1.2).

Archive Sources

For the historian, archive research is still considered 'as paradigmatic a disciplinary marker as the laboratory experiment for the physical scientist or fieldwork for the anthropologist' (King 2012 p. 13). The primacy of the archive has traditionally been based on the assumption that historical research is essentially a search for truth, which can be gained through the gathering of facts. In the words of nineteenth century historian Leopold Van Ranke, it was once assumed that the historian set out to ascertain 'wie es eigentlich gewesen' or 'how things really were' (King 2012 p. 16; Blouin Jr. and Rosenberg 2013 p. 14). More recently, in the same way that Foucault questioned traditional approaches to history, so too has the authority of archival research been challenged (Blouin Jr. and Rosenberg 2013 p. 3). History, as we have seen, is much less a science, but rather more of an art, and the same can be said about archival research.

Three main archives were investigated for the thesis. The first two pertain to Scotland's two main development organisations during the 1970s craft revival: the Highlands and Islands Development Board (1965-1991) and the Scottish Development Agency (1975-1991). A third archive, the Scottish Craft Centre (1949-1990), also formed part of the research. The Scottish Craft Centre predated both

the HIDB and the SDA, but became part of the Scottish Development Agency's portfolio in 1975.[1] Other archives were also consulted, and informed parts of the thesis, including the Crafts Council Reference Library, London, visited in 2005, and Hansard (online) for its House of Lords and House of Commons Debates (specifically those concerning the inception of the various development and craft organisations discussed in the thesis).

The Scottish Development Agency archive is housed in the National Records of Scotland in Edinburgh and contains documents relating to the Agency, including its Craft Section. The archive consists of annual reports, minutes of meetings, publications and other documentary material including press releases, marketing initiatives, development reports, and details of special project grants. Former SDA Craft Officer Sally Smith (who worked for the SDA between 1975-1988 and was interviewed in 2014) described how she was retained after the SDA closed in 1991 to go through all its papers and select the most relevant material to be archived. As Smith put it: 'I was kept on to get rid of most of the paper' (Smith 2014 p. 6). Because it would not have been practical or possible to keep everything relating to the organisation, editorial decisions had to be exercised. This is common practice when creating government archives, as King explains:

> The massive quantities of paperwork generated by modern state bureaucracies necessitate the imposition of at least some limits, lest the historian be "buried under the weight of archival excess" and the digging never end. (King 2012 p. 21)

Smith's long-standing association with the organisation conferred invaluable knowledge of its inner workings, ostensibly making her an ideal candidate for sorting its material. But her intimacy with the SDA also left her susceptible to potential bias and subjectivity. Decisions of what to keep would invariably be mediated through her desire to present a particular image of the organisation, and highlights a key problem with archives in general. As Claus and Marriott point out:

> Whether the archive is kept by church or state … the keeping of an archive becomes both controversial and contested, inevitably the object of dispute. What might be contained in the archive? What ought to be omitted? What are the criteria for the selection of material? (Claus and Marriott 2012 p. 388)

For this reason, the researcher needs to remember that archives are as much about 'completeness' as 'hiddenness' (King 2012 p. 14). Material that has not been kept may simply signify enthusiastic editing, but it may also indicate that material deemed unsuitable for public consumption has been excised. The

[1] A research grant from the Carnegie Trust in 2012 enabled me to spend two months at the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh, to fully investigate the Scottish Craft Centre archive. To date, this is the first detailed study of the archive that has been undertaken.

SDA archive appeared well organised and streamlined, but there is no way of knowing whether it is an 'accurate' representation of the inner workings of the organisation. This fact needed to be taken into consideration when analysing the material.

The Scottish Craft Centre archive, on the other hand, presented challenges of a very different nature. Deposited in 1990, this archive spans over fifty years, containing in excess of 650 box files including minutes, correspondence, promotional material, financial papers as well as photographs and samples. Anne Marie Shilitto (interviewed 2014), Chairman of the Scottish Craft Centre at the time of its closure, said that she spent a month going through all the paperwork relating to the organisation, and then appealing to the National Library of Scotland to become the archive's custodian (Shilitto 2014 p. 20). This in itself was a worthy act, as without the archive a large piece of Scottish craft history would have been lost. The precariousness of such archives is well illustrated by Eleanor Flegg's PhD research on Irish craft in the same period. Flegg found that much material relating to Irish craft organisations had simply not been retained (Flegg 2012), leaving important gaps in the history twentieth century of Irish craft.

As with Smith, Shilitto's close involvement with the Scottish Craft Centre meant that there was an evitable degree of subjectivity when editing the paperwork. Overall more material appears to have been retained, including seemingly inconsequential items such as steno notebooks, samples of shop wrapping paper, receipts, hand-written memos, etc. The extensiveness of the Scottish Craft Centre archive appears to provide a more complete picture of the organisation, but again it is hard to know for sure. Certainly the archive provided a less edited insight into the machinations and drama behind the organisation, but making sense of the material was in itself highly subjective and at times overwhelming for the researcher. The scale of the archive meant that potentially important data was easily missed. On the plus side, the archive plugged important gaps in this research by its inclusion of material peripheral to the organisation, for example documents relating to the Scottish Development Agency, that had been edited out of the SDA archive, as well as information relating to the Highlands and Islands Development Board that was unavailable through their online archive. The problem was how to weigh up the multiple perspectives that were presented in the archive, or judge their veracity. Some of the material included personal letters and notes of a polemical or vitriolic nature. Retaining critical distance from the material was at times difficult.

The final archive consulted related to the Highlands and Islands Development Board. It consisted of scanned documents publically available through the Highlands Enterprise website

(http://www.hie.co.uk).[2] At the time of the research the archive was in the process of being digitised, and was therefore incomplete. The available online material was mainly in the form of documents relating directly to the Development Board, for example its annual reports (1965-1991), marketing surveys, as well catalogues of Highland products, Board constitutions, economic reviews and feasibility studies for development projects in the Highlands. There was no material of a personal or potentially inflammatory nature. In this sense, it was comparable to the Scottish Development Agency archive.

Although much less satisfying than handling physical artefacts, there were many advantages to using an online archive such as that of the Highlands and Islands Development Board. The material could be accessed remotely at any time, and the PDF format meant that I was able to search documents using keywords and save them at no cost to my desktop. This greatly speeded up the research process, and made it less likely that important material would be overlooked (something I could not be sure of with the two physical archives). Having the documents on my laptop meant that I could refer back to them at any time. This made for a more thorough analysis of the material, unlike with the other two archives, where for logistical reasons my time in time in Edinburgh was limited.

My approach to the archives was initially one of visually scanning the existing material to see what was available, and then trying to hone in on specific themes based on my research questions for a closer investigation. Potential gaps needed to be taken into consideration, as well as the questioning of the judgments made in deciding to retain certain pieces of information over others. In the words of Blouin Jr. and Rosenberg: 'The historian's task [is] to understand what the documents left unsaid, as well as what they voiced in their manifest content' (Blouin Jr. and Rosenberg 2013 p. 69). Having three archives was helpful in this process, as I could triangulate my findings to a certain extent. It is clear when considering archives as a source of data that their stewardship is as much an example of power and authority as that of the organisations themselves. As Claus and Marriott point out:

> Archives have traditionally been defined by sets of power relationships; most often in the modern period by the acquisition of the archive by the modern state. The archive is also acquired, maintained and read in ways more subjective than the professionalization of the process might allow.' (Claus and Marriott 2012 p. 400)

Because of the power relationship behind any archive relating to a national institution, it must be acknowledged that a high degree of subjectivity will be involved in interpreting the data. In this sense, Foucault was very clear about archives as a source of historical data, arguing that they must be interpreted as representations of events in the past, rather than the actual event (Munslow 1997 p. 126).

[2] Highlands Enterprise is the organisation that subsumed the Highlands and Islands Development Board in 1990.

Reiterating his concept of history of as essentially a narrative, a signifier of 'the episteme in which it was generated' (Munslow 1997 p. 122), or quest for greater understanding rather than a resolution of universal truth.

Magazines from the Period

Another important source of primary research material underpinning the thesis was found in craft magazines and publications from the 1970s, in particular, *Craftwork - Scotland's Craft Magazine* (1972-1988), and *Crafts* magazine (1973-present). Magazines from the past are recognised as valuable primary sources in historical research (Pezzini 2011 p. 51), and like archives, bring together a rich source of material that can be analysed visually and textually. The visual elements of the magazine, including the cover designs, choice of illustrations, photographs, composition of the type, and even the quality of the paper, all provide clues to the past that can be decoded by the researcher. The textual elements, including the content of the editorial page, letters to editor, interviews, exhibition reviews, articles, and advertisements are also helpful in providing a contextual window into a particular period in time.

Magazines have gained attention from design historians not simply as objects of desire but also for their ability to communicate semiotically (Breward 2003; Beard 2002). For example, fashion historian Frances McDowell, writing about the 'process of history making' (McDowell 2016 p. 298), uses critical theory to decode fashion magazines from the past. She supports the idea that the visual and textual elements contained within these magazines provides the historian with important primary source material, but also cautions that:

> … the ways in which this is recognised and recollected concerns the agency and action of the historian, rather than the inherent value of a primary resource or 'document'. (McDowell 2016 p. 298)

For this reason, *Craftwork - Scotland's Craft Magazine* was of interest to the thesis not only because it provided tangible evidence of a Scottish craft 'scene' during the 1970s, but also because it differed so remarkably from its English counterpart, *Crafts* magazine. Unlike the fashion magazines discussed by McDowell above, or indeed *Crafts* magazine, *Craftwork* was hardly 'an object of desire' in terms of its visual presentation. Its homespun appearance and cheap print production - more like a newspaper than a magazine - meant that few copies managed to survive. No contemporary references to the magazine exist, and many libraries (including Aberdeen City Library and Robert Gordon University) had long discarded their copies of the publication, sadly failing to realise its importance as a primary source.[3] I was fortunately able to access copies of *Craftwork* retained by Aberdeen Art Gallery before its library

[3] Interestingly, Robert Gordon University has kept a complete set of *Crafts* magazine from 1973. Could this be because of its higher quality appearance?

closed, and subsequently was kindly given a set of the magazine by Alan Crawford (interviewed in 2012). *Craftwork*, which will be discussed in depth in Chapter 5.0, was an essential component of this research, because it provides an important alternative narrative to the one that was represented in *Crafts* magazine; one that spoke of Scotland's very different relationship with craft at the time.

Interviews – Oral History Approach

As the previous sections have outlined, the main sources of primary research for the thesis were derived from archive data relating to cultural organisations as well published material from the period. These sources were crucial in assisting the thesis's construction of the narrative of Scottish craft in the 1970s. But it has also been acknowledged that this material was reflective of a particular locus of power and was, in many instances, highly mediated. For this reason, interviews were also conducted as a third source of primary research material. These interviews provided personal testimony of the events covered in the thesis, and served to fill in gaps, and add contrasting or alternative views to those presented in the archive and other documentary material.

Seventeen interviews were conducted with individuals involved with Scottish craft in the 1970s to 1980s. The interviews were conducted between 2012 and 2014, and provided a spread of personal testimony across the main craft disciplines and cultural organisations covered in the thesis (Appendix 2.0). Those selected for interview had worked (and in some cases continued to work) as craftspeople, policy makers, government employees, craft curators, craft shop owners, journalists or academics. The selection of participants for interview was based on recommendations and personal knowledge, as well as findings from my research, using a method referred to as 'snowballing' (May 2011 p. 145). Interviews were conducted in person (with exception of one that was conducted by telephone). Thirteen interviews were recorded and transcribed, and four were unrecorded (at the request of the interviewee) with notes taken instead. Interviewees were sent information about the PhD research in advance and interviewees were met at a location of their choice, in most cases their home. When interviews were recorded, interviewees were asked to sign an interview consent form, giving approval for any interview material to be used in the thesis (Appendix 3.0). The interviews were in many ways a privileged experience, offering insight into the individual and their particular perspective on the crafts.

Because the purpose of the interviews was to gather recollections and personal testimony about events in the past, memory played an important part in the process. Memory is intrinsic to our personal identity and how we construct meaning with the external world, but it is also fleeting, highly subjective and shaped by culture and emotion. In many cases, the interviewees were in their seventies or older and being asked to recall events from over forty years ago. In some instances, this presented

understandable problems in terms of accuracy with names, dates and remembering particular events. The methodology used for the interviews was oral history, an established academic approach for gathering and interpreting historical information, which is gaining momentum in the visual arts and craft history (Sandino and Partington 2013; Abram 2010). Oral history has its origins in social history, collecting testimony of those whose voices, for example servants or marginalised women, may otherwise have been lost (Claus and Marriott 2012 p. 405). In cases where little published or primary archival material exists, it can be particularly useful as a research method. Eleanor Flegg's PhD research on Irish craft in the 1970s was based largely on oral history testimony, due to the lack of archive material on the subject (Flegg 2012 p. 5). In order to obtain as representative a perspective as possible, Flegg interviewed over sixty Irish craftspeople from the 1970s as part of her research.

As a method, oral history involves the recording and transcription of conversations with individuals who have had involvement with the subject in question (i.e.: Scottish craft in the 1970s), and then an analysis of their recollections of that subject. Using the oral history approach, the interviewer follows a loose, semi-structured framework, organised around themes or broad questions to assist with the recollection of events. The interviewer does not lead, but instead allows the conversation to evolve organically. The atmosphere should be relaxed, hence conducting the interview at a location of the interviewee's choice, and both the interviewer and interviewee should be free to follow whatever direction they choose. It is believed that allowing the interviewee to freely explore their recollections of an event can assist with the recollection process, and reveal more information than in a more formal, tightly structured interview (Flegg 2012 pp. 6-7; Abrams 2010 p. 21). This approach takes time and patience, and can be tiring for the interviewee as well as the interviewer. For this reason, it is recommended not to exceed more than an hour - hour and a half - when interviewing (Oral History Society 2013).

Oral history has opened up a rich avenue of sourcing historical data, particularly when dealing with undocumented information that will quite literally disappear with the demise of the individual. There are however conceptual problems with respect to how the information is interpreted, and some 'traditional' historians still view oral history with suspicion (Abram 2010 p. 5; Claus and Marriott 2012 p. 423). The reason for this is that memory is often highly subjective and unreliable, and certainly in the course of the interviews I conducted, there were inconsistencies in testimony. When interpreting the data it is important to use more conventional methodological approaches to corroborate the individuals' narrative and personal testimony. Techniques for this include conducting background contextual research, triangulating the narrative with other evidence to check for consistency (Thomson 2012 p. 114).

Consideration also had to be given to the emotional relationship of the individual to the event being recalled, and why they may wish to recall a narrative in a particular way. For example, James Carson, former Director of the Scottish Craft Centre (Chapter 5.0), left the Centre in circumstances that were not of his choosing, and his testimony was still coloured by a sense of regret and bitterness about the event and some of the individuals involved in it. Careful listening to the audio transcripts can often reveal pauses or hesitations that were not apparent at the time of the interview, again giving the researcher clues to the real feelings of the individual when presenting their narrative account of a particular situation. Lynn Abram has given extensive theoretical consideration of how to interpret the material once it is gathered. She describes oral history as being 'engulfed by issues which make it controversial, exciting and endlessly promising' (Abram 2010 p. 1). She argues that oral history should not be conducted using standard social science interviewing benchmarks, which insist on conducting interviews across a wide representative sample of interviewees (Abram 2010 p. 6). Accepting that oral history is a subjective methodology, Abram argues that 'oral sources must be judged differently from conventional documentary materials, but that in no way detracts from their veracity or utility' (Abram 2010 p. 6).

Conclusions

There are myriad ways that a thesis such as this one might have been approached. The methodological approach adopted for this study was essentially one of craft history. It has been established that craft history is a relatively recent academic discipline, and borrows from and responds to its direct antecedents: design history and art history. Although Eric Hobsbawm famously refuted the need for specialist branches of historical research by claiming 'there is no such thing as economic, social, or anthropological, or psychoanalytical history: there is just history' (Hobsbawn 1999 p. 88), the writings of Foucault have shown that the discipline of history is far from a fixed entity, and that it may be interpreted from many different angles and perspectives. Craft history takes into account that craft is itself something highly mutable, and this chapter has evidenced that craft in a modern sense should be considered an invention. The idea of whether in a post-industrial context Scottish craft was really Scottish was also posited. Allowing for the multifarious ways that the concept of 'making' might be applied to craft, the theme of invention is something that underpins the thinking throughout this thesis. In particular, how national development agencies in the 1970s attempted to promote and encourage a particular vision of craft.

This chapter also established important conceptual parameters that provide a framework for the thesis, namely Peterson's Production of Culture concept. This sociological perspective explains why cultural products come into existence and how they subsequently accrue authenticity and

originality. Becker's Art Worlds concept was an important signpost in this work, in particular the idea that an artist (or craftsperson) is never a sole agent but always part of a wider network of support. That network comes with restrictions and obligations, impinging at times on the makers' autonomy.

Finally, the chapter outlined the various methods used to collect the data. Primary research formed a crucial part of the investigation, in particular archive material pertaining to the main Scottish development organisations in the 1970s. Archive research is still an important part of the historian's toolkit, however archives must be viewed as highly mediated entities that are often personally and politically charged. The material must therefore be analysed as such. Oral history interviews added another dimension to the primary source material collected. These interviews provided a highly personalised window into a particular time and place, but had to be viewed as ultimately subjective, in the same way as the archive material. Together these craft historical approaches and perspectives allowed for a new interpretation of the thesis topic, and provided fresh insight into the history of modern Scottish craft at the end of the twentieth century. To conclude this chapter, it is argued that history can no longer be simply considered a search for an essential truth through the gathering of facts, but is rather a constant iterative process of revisiting and revising received narratives.

1.2 Critical Review of Relevant Literature

This section will critically evaluate relevant secondary literature on the subject of craft history and Scottish craft history. It will establish what is known about the thesis topic, highlight gaps in the knowledge, and finally, make a case for the need to present a new version of the 1970s craft revival narrative. It will examine literature that sheds a direct light on the thesis topic and, where useful, other supporting or complementary literature. Because the thesis adopts a craft historical approach, it has also drawn upon literature from a number of other related disciplines. This additional secondary literature will be applied and evaluated throughout the text, to complement the main arguments of the thesis. This section will focus on recent literature relating specifically to craft history, including Scottish craft, as well as literature pertaining to the two main development agencies discussed in the work - the Scottish Development Agency and the Highlands and Islands Development Board.

Craft Histories

Whereas academic research into the history of art is now long established,[4] with the history of design having gained momentum since the late 1980s, scholarship in the history of craft is still nascent. In the words of craft historian Paul Greenhalgh: 'The crafts have not been well served by historians for much of the twentieth century' (Greenhalgh 1997 p. 21). The reasons for this are attributed to the relative incipience of the field. But it has also been argued that the paucity of good craft historical material lies with crafts' own uncertain identity (Walker 1990 p. 42; Macdonald 2005 p. 34), and the ensuing crisis of confidence that such uncertainty brings (Greenhalgh 1997 p. 21). The history of Scottish craft has been even less served in published output as has the history of Scotland itself (Devine and Wormald 2014). This has left Director of the Crafts Study Centre, Professor Simon Olding, to call for the 'still pressing' need for an authoritative Scottish craft history post 1950 (Olding 2007 p. 55).

In terms of twentieth century British craft histories, only two major surveys have been written since the 1970s: Edward Lucie-Smith's *The Story of Craft – The Craftsman's Role in Society* (1981), and Tanya Harrod's *The Crafts in Britain in the Twentieth Century* (1999). Neither publications serve Scottish interests well. Lucie-Smith's work was intended to parallel Ernst Gombrich's seminal *The Story of Art*, published in 1950 (Harrod 1999 p. 370), and was the first to chronicle a global history of the crafts from the ancient world to the late 1970s. This text has obvious shortcomings, due to its breadth. However, for the purposes of this thesis it provides a contemporaneously observed social

[4] To the point of having undergone a period of reinvention as 'The New Art History' in the 1980s, see the work of Jonathan Harris (2001) *The New Art History*, and A.L. Rees (1986) *The New Art History*.

and economic context to British craft in the 1970s. Situating craft in a wider cultural context, Lucie-Smith examines the craftsperson, not simply in isolation (as is the tendency), but rather in relation to wider developments in art and industry. As such, he reinforces the close inter-dependency between craftsperson and institution, an idea that is central to this thesis and developed by Becker in *Art Worlds* (2008). As demonstrated in the previous chapter, Becker challenged the notion of the lone 'artist', or in the case of this thesis, craftsperson, working as an independent and unique individual. Instead he argued, the maker is always embedded within a wider collective network involving a division of labour across numerous cultural institutions, including government.

Harrod's *The Crafts in Britain in the 20th Century* (1999) is ambitious and considerably more expansive than Lucie-Smith's work. With regards to the thesis, it was helpful in mapping the myriad government craft institutions during the 1970s and 80s. Hers is the first effort made to document and analyse the complexities of the emerging institutionalism of craft in post-war Britain. Harrod writes well when describing the spirit and idealism of those individuals who rejected the increasing commodification of life in post-war Britain, but often overlooks the awkward fact that craft itself is a product, and the harsh reality that many craftspeople need to sell that product in order to survive. As reviewer Luke Hughes agrees: 'She also tends to forget a crucial motivator in the lives of craftsmen and women, the economic imperative' (Hughes 2000 p. 110).

The title of Harrod's book is also misleading. This is unashamedly a study of craft in England, with 'English questions' at its heart (Harrod 1999 p. 11). Little attention is paid to Scotland in this text, as Harrod concedes: '… Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish practitioners may feel that my coverage of their activities has been exiguous' (Harrod 1999 p. 11). Harrod's cursory coverage of Scottish craft in this text is understandable, given the amount of new ground she had to cover, and the marked differences between the various national contexts. It serves to further underline the deficit of attention to twentieth Scottish craft history, as reviewer Chris Bailey wrote: 'Only a separate volume could really do justice to the different rhythms and purposes of Scottish crafts' (Bailey 2000 p. 167).

Acknowledging the absence of a comprehensive academic volume devoted to twentieth century Scottish craft, it should be noted that efforts have been made by the National Museums of Scotland to chronicle both historical and contemporary Scottish craft in two separate exhibitions: *Celebrating Scotland's Crafts*, a touring exhibition (2000-2003), and *The Cutting Edge* (2007). Two slim publications accompanied the exhibitions: Butler and Toft's *Craft in Scotland* (2000), which looks at examples of traditional and indigenous craft practice, including knitting, weaving

and basket making, and Baird and Butler's *The Cutting Edge – Scotland's Contemporary Crafts* (2007), which examines the work of contemporary Scottish makers. The former is more celebratory and descriptive in content, but the latter includes several important essays which are of relevance to this thesis, including Olding's 'A Rightful Place in the Scheme of Things: A History of Craft Resources in Scotland' and McFadden's 'Is Scottish Craft Really Scottish?' (the latter discussed in Section 1.1). Olding's essay in particular notes the differences in funding structures between England and Scotland, and the role of cultural policy in the production and consumption of craft objects, something that this thesis interrogates. He also acknowledges the consequential tensions between economic imperatives and artistic ambitions, overlooked by Harrod, which were in many ways amplified in Scotland (Olding 2007 p. 49), and that this thesis analyses in greater depth. Citing the work of Peach (Kinchin and Peach 2002; Peach 2002), as noted above, Olding stresses the need for further detailed research into the history of Scottish craft post-1950 (Olding 2007 pp. 55-56).

Whereas there is a clear shortage of research on late twentieth century Scottish craft, the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have received considerably more coverage, with a primary focus on the Scottish Arts and Crafts movement and the lives and work of 'iconic' figures such as Charles Rennie Macintosh (1868-1928) and Phoebe Anna Traquair (1852-1936) (i.e.: Carruthers 2013; Cumming 2006; Cumming 2005). These texts concentrate little, if at all, on the impact of government support and policy on lives and work of more everyday Scottish craftspeople. Craft historian Elizabeth Cumming, whose work has focused mainly on the Scottish Arts and Crafts movement, has made some valuable links to craft in post-war Edinburgh in her work on the connection between craft and the rise of Scottish nationhood (Cumming 2008; Cumming 2007; Cumming 1997). In particular, Cumming highlights the difficulties faced by Scottish makers in attempting to reconcile modernity with tradition, briefly exploring the emergence of the Scottish Craft Centre in Edinburgh (1949-1990). This output is however limited to journal articles and references in book chapters, and should be considered speculative rather than exhaustive. Apart from the more exploratory work of Cumming and a subsequent article by the author (Peach 2014), the Scottish Craft Centre (an important adjunct of the Scottish Development Agency), has received no critical attention.[5]

It was therefore necessary to look further afield for exemplars of post-1950s craft history, specifically to the work of craft historians Sandra Alfoldy, Eleanor Flegg and Philip Wood. Alfoldy's *Crafting Identity: the Development of Professional Fine Craft in Canada* (Alfoldy 2005),

[5] For a brief history of the Scottish Craft Centre, see: *Scottish Craft Centre: the First Five Years* (1955). References can also be found in Cummings (1997); Olding (2007); Peach (2007; 2014), and Kinchin and Peach (2002).

based on her PhD research (Alfoldy 2001) examines the period of 1964-1974, a time of renaissance for the crafts in Canada, similar to that experienced in Britain. Alfoldy focuses specifically on the professionalisation of Canadian craft through its institutional support, tracing the origins of the Canadian Craftsmen's Association (1965), and the emergence of the concept of Canadian fine crafts. Alfoldy argues that the newly established Canadian craft authorities were instrumental in setting standards and creating a craft power elite in Canada. Her book also examines the ensuing hierarchical tensions that emerged between the newly professionalised elite and more marginalised makers, such as the Canadian First Nation craftspeople. Alfoldy's research has important parallels to this thesis, demonstrating the relationship between institutional support and the general resurgence of interest in craft during the 1960s and 70s, substantiating the existence of a craft revival at this time. However the Canadian model, with its focus on professionalisation rather than commercialisation, has more in common with the policies pursued by the Crafts Advisory Committee (subsequently the Crafts Council) in England and Wales, than with institutional support in Scotland.

Flegg's unpublished PhD thesis, *Transformation and Renewal – The Crafts in Ireland in the Late Twentieth Century* (2012), maps the origins of a craft industry in Ireland during a similar time frame to this thesis (1970s), analysing the organisations that supported craft, the individuals who were involved in the production its objects, and the subsequent impact of that organisational support on the objects produced. Both Alfoldy and Flegg adopt a multidisciplinary approach in terms of their use of secondary theoretical sources. Their work provides useful models for how craft practice can be considered culturally distinct from art and design, and therefore worthy of its own history.

Finally, Philip Wood's unpublished PhD thesis *Craft in Britain, 1971 to the Present: A Critical and Ideological Study* (Wood 1996) presents a thorough analysis of the attempts made to construct an ideological identity for the crafts based on the concept of the professional artist-craftsman. Wood's thesis is based mainly on crafts in England and Wales, although some mention is made of the Scottish context to provide balance.

A further unpublished source that deserves a mention is Douglas Brown's unpublished MA thesis *The Development of Small Craft-Based Businesses in Scotland* (Brown 1980). Brown, a former jeweller and Head of Design at Edinburgh College of Art (interviewed in 2014) had found '… little authoritative published evidence regarding the crafts in Scotland' (Brown 1980 p. ix), and undertook his research in an attempt to rectify the situation. Brown's approach is purely qualitative, but provides very useful empirical evidence on Scottish craft businesses between 1975-1978. His

aim was to identify craftsmen and crafts businesses, their major influences and general trends over a four-year period. Brown's research was based on the Scottish Development Agency's craft index in years 1975-1978 (not retained in the SDA archive) which catalogued the distribution of craft businesses and the types of craft being produced. He also undertook a personal survey of forty-one craft businesses in the summer of 1977, visiting each subject and interviewing them using a standardised questionnaire protocol. The results of Brown's survey were analysed quantitatively and are documented in extensive appendices.

Although the limited timeframe of Brown's research makes it difficult to draw any far-reaching conclusions from his data, he does highlight some very useful points for this thesis. First, he identified an overall increase in Scottish craft businesses between 1975 and 1977, followed by a subsequent decrease in 1978 (Brown 1980 p. ix). This appears to confirm that the 1970s craft revival was being experienced in Scotland, as in the rest of Britain, but that it had reached 'peak expansion' in 1977, after which it appeared to be in decline (Chapter 2.0). A similar retraction was also experienced in the rest of Britain and Ireland (Wood 1996; Harrod 1999; Flegg 2012, Lucie-Smith 1982 p. 14). Brown also noted an increase in craft businesses in rural areas during the period between 1975-1978 (Brown 1980 p. 33), which indicated that rural life was an attraction to new crafts businesses. One exception was Edinburgh, which continued to attract makers during the period analysed (Brown 1980 p. 38). From his survey, Brown found that 33 of the 41 makers interviewed had received financial assistance from either the Scottish Development Agency or the Highlands and Islands Development Board (Brown 1980 p. 95), confirming the role of government development schemes in supporting the crafts, and the extent to which craftspeople were making use of them.

Interestingly, Brown's survey found that many of the constituents of the 1970s craft revival were attracted for personal or lifestyle reasons rather than a professional or vocational calling. More than half of those interviewed had not received any formal training in their craft (Brown 1980 p. 105). The lack of professional training had ramifications on quality, as will be explored in Chapters 4.0 and 5.0. Finally, he found evidence that the Scottish Development Agency was attempting to improve overall craft standards by targeting its support specifically at makers who had 'assessable levels of training' (Brown 1980 p. x); in other words, art school training or equivalent. The rational behind this policy, and the consequences of it, are analysed in Chapters 4.0 and 5.0.

Brown's research provides important statistical evidence confirming that national development strategy had an impact on encouraging new craft businesses in Scotland, however as a purely quantitative study it leaves many questions unanswered. Quantitative research is predominantly a

scientific methodology concerned with obtaining empirically proven results. Qualitative research (which forms the basis of this thesis) on the other hand is about interpretation rather than a presentation of facts. As Mason suggests, qualitative is:

> Grounded in a philosophical position which is broadly 'interpretivist' in the sense that it is concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced, produced or constituted. (Mason, 2002 p. 3)

Brown's work, because of the methods employed, asks different questions from this study. In his research there is little critical discussion, or indeed speculation, as to the *how*, *why* and crucially *so what* of his findings. For this reason, although providing invaluable evidence to substantiate key points presented in the thesis, his research does little to address the questions this thesis poses.

British Craft Historiography 1970-1980

Whereas there has been a clear deficit of published material on the subject of twentieth craft history, the same cannot be said about books on the subject of craft as a practice, method or process. The 1970s in particular witnessed a proliferation of books on the subject of craft in Britain and North America, further corroborating the revival of interest in crafts and hand making that was experienced at this time (Chapter 2.0). Librarian Rochelle Smith has documented this publishing boom in America and writes: 'The 1965-1975 craft books … were generally aimed at the young, and more specifically at the counterculture subset of the young' (Smith 2010 p. 207). Similarly publications in Britain such as Bruce Alexander's *Crafts and Craftsmen* (1974) and Lucie-Smith's *World of Makers* (1975) evidenced the renewed interest in making, by documenting the types of crafts being practiced, the methods and processes involved, and the makers. These texts were largely spreading the message of the newly formed Crafts Advisory Committee of England and Wales, emphasising a new approach in attitudes to the crafts and the specific focus on 'craft as contemporary fine art', rather than 'craft as tradition'. The makers featured were invariably young, art school trained and keen to separate themselves from anything connected to the past (Chapter 2.0).

A similar upsurge in craft publishing was experienced in Scotland, but with an emphasis that was noticeably different to its English or American counterpart (Chapters 3.0 and 4.0). For example, Brander's *Scottish Crafts and Craftsmen* (1974) unequivocally projected an image of tradition with its tartan cover and old style typeface. Intended primarily to introduce the reader to 'crafts which are generally thought of as Scottish' (Brander 1974 p. 6), it featured examples of tartans, tweeds, golf clubs, bagpipes and fiddles, as well as details of where such items could be purchased. Brander was broadly dismissive of post-war Scottish craft such as ceramics, describing it as a 'very minor

craft in Scotland with a tendency to follow the lead of other countries' (Brander 1974 p. 41). Interestingly, Douglas Brown's research, discussed early, demonstrates that only a year after the publication of Brander's book, ceramicists were numerically the largest single group of craftspeople practising in Scotland (Brown 1980 p. 17).

John Manners *Crafts of the Highlands and Islands* (1978) similarly concentrates on what it describes as traditional crafts, with an emphasis on non-commercial croft practices such as peat-digging, dry stone dyking and thatching. Manners makes a clear distinction between the traditional craftsman and the 'artist-craftsman' (Manners 1978 p. 9), the latter being a term strategically employed by the Crafts Advisory Committee in England and Wales at the time of the book's publication. It again signals the conceptual divide between attitudes and approaches to craft in Scotland and the rest of Britain, which will be discussed in greater depth in Chapters 2.0 and 3.0.

James Mackay's *Rural Crafts in Scotland* (1976) provides a very useful overview to the key organisations involved in supporting the crafts, and a more representative overview of the types of craft being practiced in the 1970s than Manners or Brander (including floral art, enamelling, and macramé). However by focussing solely on 'rural' crafts, and excluding the four major cities of Scotland as part of his survey, he discounts many of the major contemporary craft practitioners in the 1970s (for example Dorothy Hogg and Ian Davidson in Edinburgh, Norma Starszakowna in Dundee, and John Creed in Glasgow). This again gives the misleading impression that craft in Scotland was an exclusively rural rather than rural *and* urban concern.

An exception to the books discussed above is *Scottish Crafts Now* (1980) published by the Scottish Development Agency. This was a wholly celebratory and contemporary publication, and remarkable because of its modern depiction of Scottish crafts, as compared to the texts discussed earlier. The purpose of this publication, according to Andrew Hughes, Chairman of the Crafts Consultative Committee,[6] was 'to give pleasure to people who love fine things' (Crafts Consultative Committee 1980 p. 7). It was also intended to encourage 'those who have the responsibility for furbishing and decorating buildings old and new' (Crafts Consultative Committee 1980 p. 7). As will be seen in Chapter 5.0, the commissioning of 'fine craft' for domestic and architectural purposes was a commercial activity that the Scottish Development Agency was very interested in promoting. Sally Smith (interviewed in 2014), then Crafts Officer to the SDA, was a keen advocate of quality and of supporting 'new' craft, and her influence can be seen in the work selected for publication. The craftwork featured in *Scottish Crafts Now* presents a very different picture of the types of craft being produced in Scotland in the late 1970s, and includes colourful

[6] See Appendix 1.0 for Glossary of Scottish craft organisations in the 1970s.

batik paintings by Norma Starszkowna, ceramicist Ian Pirie's (interviewed in 2012) stylised landscape plates, David Hemingsley's ceramic pendant sculptures, Lindean Glass's (Annica Sandstrom and David Kaplan - interviewed in 2014) Scandinavian style blown glass bowls and goblets, and Dorothy Hogg's (interviewed in 2012) abstract silver jewellery.

Interestingly, many of the types of craft featured in *Scottish Crafts Now* had no historical connection to Scotland, for example batik, which originated in the Dutch East Indies. Although there were examples of more 'traditional' crafts, including silversmithing, weaving and Fair Isle knitwear, the examples chosen were contemporary adaptations of these practices. The work selected to convey Scottish crafts 'now' was therefore overwhelmingly contemporary, largely made by young art school graduates, many who were not Scottish in origin. It serves as a reminder when analysing Scottish craft in the 1970s that the cultural landscape was far from uniform and stereotypic, although that is not what much of the literature from the period would like you to believe. This will be taken into account later in the discussion and analysis.

Craft Discourse

An important aspect of the thesis is the consideration of craft not as practice but as an idea and ideology. In terms of related literature, contemporary craft did not really gain theoretical momentum until the late 1980s and 1990s, and in this respect was again clearly lagging behind the fields of fine art and design. This is not altogether surprising. The 1980s, referred to as 'the design decade' (Harrod 1999 p. 432), witnessed an emphasis on designer goods and consumerism. Publications on design proliferated, whereas craft struggled to achieve a similar public profile. The lack of discourse surrounding the subject can again be attributed to craft's often ambivalent status, and mirrors the disjuncture between craft and the fields of fine art and design, the latter which had both become increasingly intellectualised in the mid-twentieth century (Dormer 1997; Macdonald 2005; Risatti 2007). Craft can be considered a complex union of process, material and skill, but it is also a concept or way of thinking. The objects produced by the craftsperson straddle a line between being functional, designed objects which may be considered prototypes for industry, but can also aspire to being highly collectable aesthetic objects in a gallery. This leaves the writer with a degree of ambiguity in terms of where to situate this activity. Glenn Adamson, one of the few craft historians who has written about craft in theoretical terms, suggests:

> Craft has always been an idea that transcends discipline – it pertains with equal relevance in pottery and architecture – and appreciation of that fact seems to be increasingly widely shared. Just as scholars are beginning to view craft practice from the standpoint of social history, anthropology, and economics, practitioners of various kinds are exploring the problematics of craft through increasingly diverse means. (Adamson 2007 p. 6)

The Crafts Council of England and Wales made enormous strides in addressing the deficit of critical literature on the subject in the late 1980s and 1990s, and was responsible for a series of academic conferences which resulted in a range of edited volumes including: *Craft Classics Since the 1940s* (Houston 1988), *Pioneers of Modern Craft* (Coatts 1997), *Obscure Objects of Desire – Reviewing the Crafts in the Twentieth Century* (Harrod 1997) and *Ideas in the Making – Practice in Theory* (Johnson 1998). These publications are important as they marked the beginning of a discourse on the subject of craft. A downside is that they reflected the Craft Council's geographic remit and the focus of these texts is largely an Anglo-centric one, again giving the impression that not much was happening north of the border.

Alongside the Craft Council's output, the last two decades have seen numerous attempts to specifically situate craft in a wider theoretical and cultural context, arguably making up for the lack of critical literature on the subject in previous years. The first author to address this was Peter Dormer, whose chapter 'Valuing the Handmade – Studio Crafts and the Meaning of their Style' made a surprising appearance in *The Meanings of Modern Design – Towards the Twenty-First Century* (1990). It took a further seven years for Dormer to edit the still highly relevant collection of essays *The Culture of Craft* (1997), which elevated craft scholarship from the uncritical consideration of process and connoisseurship to the examination of its meaning in a wider cultural and philosophical context. Dormer's text includes chapters by Greenhalgh, who has since published widely on craft (2002; 2007; 2009), as well as an essay on the commodification of craft, by Hickey, 'Craft Within a Consuming Society' (Hickey 1997), which is directly relevant to this thesis because of its consideration of craft as a consumer product.

The new millennium again heralded a quasi renaissance of craft scholarship from various international perspectives, some discursive, including curator Jorrun Veiteberg's *Craft in Transition* (2005), Adamson's *Thinking Through Craft* (2007) and *The Invention of Craft* (2013), Risatti's *A Theory of Craft – Function and Aesthetic Expression* (2007), Racz's *Contemporary Crafts* (2009), Frayling's *On Craftsmanship – Towards a New Bauhaus* (2011), and Richard Sennett's *The Craftsman* (2008). This outpouring of literature, comes from a range of academic perspectives including art history and sociology, and was largely dismissed by Greenhalgh as being 'idea driven and episodic' (Greenhalgh 2009, p. 405), arguing that it failed to truly address craft history or theory in any meaningful way:

> It is a saddening, if not depressing thought, that there is a paucity of historical material in the crafts, as decades ago a number of scholars identified the absence of a dedicated historical discourse as a central problem within the craft field – both for studio practice and for craft literature of all types. (Greenhalgh 2009 p. 402)

Closer to home, there have been a number of craft-related academic conferences and one-day seminars that have taken place in Scotland roughly over the last decade, providing encouraging evidence of a desire to progress research in the discipline. These include: *Reinterpreting the Craft Object*, Edinburgh College of Art, November 2002; *Challenging Craft*, Gray's School of Art, The Robert Gordon University, September 2004; and *New Craft Future Voices*, Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art and Design, University of Dundee, July 2007; *Craft Connected*, Craft Scotland, August 2011 and *Ideas of the Handmade – Histories and Theories of Making*, Edinburgh College of Art, April 2012. Edinburgh College of Art has also been the instigator of a cross-cultural partnership between Canada and Scotland titled *The Naked Craft Network* (2013-present). Funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, the network has brought together researchers, curators and industrial partners in a variety of events that have examined creative, cultural, educational and economic aspects of craft in both countries. Although not historically focused, the involvement of two key craft historians, Dr Juliette MacDonald and Professor Sandra Alfoldy, has been important in terms of advancing craft history discourse. The titles of these events are indicative of the fact that craft research, both in terms of its theory and practice, is continuing to grow, albeit largely through the efforts of a few key individuals.

Scottish Craft and its Government Organisations

Because the thesis is not simply concerned with Scottish craft in isolation, but also with the wider socio-cultural impact of government strategy on its development, the final section of this chapter focuses on literature on from the two main organisations under investigation: the Highlands and Islands Development Board (1965-1991) and the Scottish Development Agency (1975-1990). Of the two organisations, the Highlands and Islands Development Board has received more research attention, and is the focus of two contemporaneous texts authored by journalists: Hetherington's *Highlands & Islands - A Generation of Progress* (1990) and Grassie's *Highland Experiment - the story of the Highlands and Islands Development Board* (Grassie 1983). Hetherington's volume was funded by the Highlands and Islands Development Board, and chronicles the changes experienced in the Highlands following the formation of the Highlands Board. These changes included the growth of hydroelectricity, the North East oil boom, the decline in crofting and farming, the resurgence of interest in the Gaelic language and culture, the industrialisation of the Highlands, and the expansion of Scottish tourism. The overall message is a positive one, where change is wholly presented as progress. This was perhaps to satisfy the interests of the Highlands and Islands Development Board who funded the publication, although Hetherington notes that the organisation did not exercise editorial control (Hetherington 1990 p. v). Drawing on a variety of individual

perspectives, Hetherington's text provides valuable personal testimony about a time of considerable transformation in the Highlands, largely due to the actions of the Highland Board.

Of note in this text is a short section on 'Crafts in the Highlands 1965-1990' under the chapter of 'Sport, Culture and Communication' by journalist Jenny Carter (interviewed in 2014). Carter supplies a useful roadmap to the complicated government infrastructure supporting small craft businesses in Scotland prior to the establishment of the Highlands Board, including the Scottish Country Industries Development Trust and the Small Industries Council for Rural Areas of Scotland (Appendix 1.0). An overview of Highland Trade Fairs and the emergence of Highland Craftpoint in Beauly (Chapter 4.0) is also given. As a former editor of *Craftwork - Scotland's Craft Magazine* (Chapter 5.0), Carter writes from an informative and descriptive position, but corroborates key points at the heart of this thesis, namely differentiating Scottish craft development policy from that in England and Wales, and confirming that Scottish organisations were keen to develop craft as an industry rather than an art:

> Perhaps it has been an inevitable corollary of the HIDB's involvement that craftwork in the Highlands has always been viewed more as a manufacturing industry than as a branch of the arts. (Carter 1990 p. 210)

Grassie's *Highland Experiment* (1983) although not commissioned by the Highland Board, is written from the perspective of his having spent fourteen years developing the Board's information services. It presents a similarly positive portrait of the organisation. Reflecting Grassie's background as a journalist, the delivery of *Highland Experiment* is fast paced in its attempt to convey the Board's dramatic impact on all areas of development in the Highlands. This message is starkly exemplified by the cover illustration: a juxtaposition of ancient Scottish standing stones dramatically overshadowed by a giant North Sea oilrig.

Focusing on the key areas of fishing, tourism, industry and land, Grassie chronicles the strategic decisions made by the HIDB and the resources devoted to various Highland Board projects. Craft gets a brief mention under the section on 'industry', reinforcing the Board's focus on developing craft as an industrial concern (Grassie 1983 pp. 53-55). Grassie's journalistic approach, similar to Hetherington's, lacks academic authority, but it provides some empirical ballast through the provision of appendices with statistical information. These include details about HIDB expenditure, financial assistance by sector, jobs created, and population change, gleaned from HIDB annual reports.

A more academic and less partisan overview to the formation of the Highlands and Islands Development Board can be found in Turnock's *Scotland's Highlands and Islands* (1974). Part of the Oxford University's 'Problem Regions of Europe' series that focuses on twelve economic regions deemed to be in post-war decline, including the Mezzogiorno of Italy and the North Rhine-Westphalia region of Germany. It examines the impact of economic and social changes on specific problem areas, providing a case study analysis of how regional planning can be used to address the negative impacts of economic and industrial decline. Turnnock's volume was published in 1974, less than ten years after the formation of the Highlands and Islands Development Board, which is perhaps why it does not specifically mention the development of Scottish craft as an economic concern. Nevertheless, it provides an argument for the industrial diversification in the Highlands, in which craft came to play a part, and recognises the growth potential of tourism in the region. The Highlands Board soon came to realise that combining craft with tourism could present a very attractive development opportunity for the region (Chapter 4.0).

More recently, McQuillan and Preston's edited volume *Globally and Locally - Seeking a Middle Path to Sustainable Development* (1998), includes a chapter by Professor of Human Ecology, Mick Womersley, titled 'Sustainable Development in Scotland: Thirty Years of Experience in the Highlands and Islands', based on Womersley's Master of Science thesis for the University of Montana (Womersley 1996). As with Turnock, Womersley argues that the history of Highland development provides and important case study of how regional planners might approach future cultural and economic sustainability. Following extensive ethnographic fieldwork, Womersley contrasts Highland development before and after the formation of the Highlands and Islands Development Board. He concludes that despite various issues and setbacks, the HIDB's development policies demonstrate 'that government-sponsored efforts at sustainable development can be at least moderately successful' (Womersley 1998 p. 326).

Womersley's interest in Highland development is largely ecological and environmental, and he does not look at Scottish crafts as an aspect of sustainable development. However in an email conversation he suggested that when developing and supporting smaller industries (such as the crafts) the HIDB often had to replace its loftier principles with an approach of pure economic pragmatism:

> When it came to the push, staffers would take just about any arguably viable commercial proposition and support it as best they could, even if it were aesthetically unpleasing to them personally. This only intensified with Thatcher and the 'Enterprise' society. (Email conversation with Mick Wormersley, 27 January 2016)

This can explain why ideals of quality and aesthetics, at times, had to be compromised, or even abandoned, in the pursuit of commercially viable craft business activities, as will be seen in Chapter 4.0.

Whereas the HIDB has received both popular and critical attention, little comparable literature on the Scottish Development Agency exists. This is most likely because the SDA, founded in 1975, was an amalgamation of organisations rather than an entirely new venture like the HIDB. The SDA is referenced in texts devoted to Scotland's economic history, for example Tom Devine's edited volume *The Transformation of Scotland - The Economy Since 1700* (2005), which provides confirmation that:

> The principal vehicles of regional and industrial policy within Scotland over the last quarter of a century have been the development agency networks [namely the HIDB and the SDA]. (Newlands 2005 p. 182)

Richard Saville's edited volume *The Economic Development of Modern Scotland 1950-1980* (1985) also devotes a chapter to the Scottish Development Agency (McCrone and Randall 1985). This chapter was helpful in providing information about the inception of the SDA, as well as its various operations. Although it does not mention support for craft development, it points out that the Agency 'has increasingly sought to identify the industrial opportunities which offer the best scope for development in Scotland' (McCrone and Randall 1985 p. 238). From this, it can be inferred that one of these industrial opportunities would be craft. Saville's text underlines the significance of the SDA in terms of the scale of its political and economic remit and the extent of the resources it had at its disposal during the period covered by the book (1975-1980), something that will be investigated in more depth in Chapter 5.0.

The literature on the two main Scottish development organisations demonstrates their pre-eminence in terms of executive power and economic resources in their early days, as well as their ability to focus on particular industries or projects for development as they saw fit. Craft was one of these industries, as this thesis's primary research will show, although the secondary literature does not address this in any particular depth. Attention is instead focused on larger scale industries such as hydroelectric, forestry, farming, and tourism, leaving out a very important piece of the overall Scottish development picture.

Conclusions

This literature review has demonstrated that there are many significant gaps in the literature of twentieth century Scottish craft. In particular, a pressing need for a comprehensive survey of

Scottish craft in the post-war period. Although there is encouraging evidence, both academic and popular, of recent interest in craft as a discipline, making up for lost ground in comparison to its neighbouring fields of fine art and design, much of the recent output of literature is acknowledged to be inconsistent in terms of historical and theoretical rigour (Greenhalgh 2007; 2009). There are currently only two major surveys of twentieth century British craft history (Harrod 1999 and Lucie-Smith 1981). Neither is particularly recent and they both present British craft from an almost exclusively English perspective, focussing on the activities and ideologies of the Crafts Advisory Committee (and subsequently the Crafts Council).

Scottish craft in the nineteenth century has received better academic coverage, but the focus is almost exclusively on the work of notable individuals, failing to examine the wider socio-economic relationship between craft and wider government support. This research identifies that in the 1970s, Scottish government agencies had concerns and aspirations for craft that were quite distinct from those in England and Wales, and were motivated by commercial and industrial ambitions. This is an important area of craft history that has not been documented or questioned.

2.0 Inventing Craft in the British Craft Revival

The 1970s were a unique period for craft, as both practice and idea were said to be experiencing a significant renaissance. Sharing points of similarity with the craft revival of the previous century's Arts and Crafts movement, the 1970s craft revival gave impetus to a new generation of craftspeople and crafts businesses. Crucially, it was supported by newly created government institutions, which attempted to redefine and shape craft as a cultural product and industry. To date, the received narrative of the 1970s craft revival is one that is associated with the activities and outcomes of the Crafts Advisory Committee. Although this is an important part of the 1970s craft revival story, it is only one part of that story.

The purpose of this chapter is to explain why the 1970s became so closely associated with the notion of craft revival in Britain, and to provide a context against which the development of modern Scottish craft in twentieth century can be juxtaposed in Chapters 4.0 and 5.0. This chapter will first analyse the concept of 'revival' and the key socio-economic factors that contributed to the British craft revival of the 1970s. It will then look at the role of government in instigating and promulgating the 1970s craft revival, specifically through the creation of the Crafts Advisory Committee, an organisation that played a crucial part in defining and shaping craft in England and Wales during the 1970s. It is against this backdrop that Scottish craft will be analysed in subsequent chapters.[7]

2.1 Conceptualising Craft Revivals

> … craft seems positively fashionable in the present moment, as artists, architects and designers evince a fascination with process and materials not seen since the heyday of the Counterculture in the late 1960s. (Adamson 2007 p. 166)

The concept of craft revival is not a new one, and was not unique to the 1970s. Indeed as craft historian Glenn Adamson notes above, craft experienced another heyday at the start of this millennium. Affirmation of this comes from cultural historian Christopher Frayling, who announced: 'Craftsmanship has again become fashionable …' (Fraying 2011 p. 7). Even former Minister for Culture, Communication and Creative Industries (2010-2016), Ed Vaizey, noted that craft has been 'enjoying something of a *Zeitgeist* moment' (Crafts Council 2012b p. 11). The ultimate confirmation of this most recent interest in 'making' came from the Crafts Council of England and Wales, which in 2012 articulated it as a 'revival' (Crafts Council 2012b p. 11).

[7] This chapter draws on material from a journal article published by the author in the *Journal of Craft Research* titled 'What Goes Around Comes Around? Craft Revival, the 1970s and Today' (Peach 2013).

The concept of 'revival' suggests an improvement in the condition or strength of something, a resurgence of popularity or importance (Macmillan Dictionary 2013; Peach 2013 p.162). To experience a revival implies a reinvigoration of something that has fallen out of favour or lost its original urgency or relevance. The most recent craft revival has been experienced in a number of institutional spheres, including education and culture, and has been evidenced by a proliferation of craft writing in academic texts and journals, websites and blogs. The term 'craft revival' has been used in various forms of contemporary media when referring to a collective desire to return to a making and doing culture. Emergent 'indie' craft movements, including Stitch 'n' Bitch collectives and their offshoots, are today facilitated by social media, and have generated a global uptake of craft practice, a phenomenon described as 'heralding a new Arts and Crafts Movement' (Minahan and Cox 2007 p. 5).

Craft revivals are in many ways cyclical, and a number of the distinctive traits of this most recent craft revival can be traced back to William Morris in the nineteenth century. For example, the rejection of rampant consumerism and the homogeneity of mass-produced goods, coupled with a desire for simplicity and a renewed interest in working with your hands. Section 1.1 explored the concept of craft as a modern invention, and how this invention can best be understood as a response to periods of significant political, social, economic and technological upheaval. Much the same can be said about craft revivals.

Craft geographer, Doreen Jakob, describes these revivals or resurgences of crafting in Western societies as 'waves', beginning with the Arts and Crafts movement as the 'first' wave, the 'second' wave in the 1960s and 1970s, and the current 'third' wave, which started around ten to fifteen years ago (Jakob 2012 p. 130). These waves each display their own unique and defining characteristics, particular to their period in time, however collectively they share a common concern over the loss of individual creative autonomy and overall quality of life, and a belief that craft might offer a redemptive and restorative role in the face of bewildering change.

Anthropologist Trevor Marchand confirms the 'wave' theory of craft revivals through his study of 'vocational migrants'. In other words, individuals who are predominantly mature and middle class and who leave their careers in search of more meaningful work in the crafts (2007). He confirms that the desire to return to hand making, and the lifestyle that is associated with it, is not a purely contemporary phenomenon. Through a contextualisation drawing on ideas from Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) to the writings of William Morris, Marchand uses the term 'tradition of longing' to explain the concept of revivals (Marchand 2007 p. 24). Described as a desire to engage in 'non-

alienating modes of production, aesthetic work, and an authentic way of living' (Marchand 2007 p. 39). The longing for a preindustrial lifestyle, despite the economic hardships that may accompany that lifestyle choice, continues to appeal to a number of individuals (Marchand 2007 p. 39).

The narrative of craft revival can therefore be seen as a continuous pattern of ebb and flow that heralds periods of decline and subsequent renewal in the history of craft. But the concept of revival is essentially a modern one - a response to modernity. Modernity is perceived as craft's greatest threat, but it is paradoxically also its primary *raison d'être* (Section 1.1). Adamson uses the psychoanalytic term 'screen memory', when a traumatic memory of an actual event is repressed and replaced by an imagined memory, as a way of understanding craft revivals:

> The metaphor of the screen memory is particularly valuable as a way of understanding modern craft revivalism. It helps understand, first why industry looms as an absolute force, which can only be seen as destructive to craft's purposes. And to put it the other way round, the narrative of craft's disappearance serves as an ongoing testament to industry's unquestioned power. This is why, for the most part, industrial artisans have been invisible to craft historians and practitioners, Morris included; they are screened from view by the simple story of loss. (Adamson 2013 p. 187)

Revivals are important, not for their attempts to revive craft - as we have seen - craft never really disappeared - but rather for the symbolic narratives that they perpetuate. The 1970s craft revival in Britain, in particular, has been subject to this symbolic narrative. But as will be demonstrated, it is a narrative that applied to England and Wales. This chapter argues that it is essential to first understand this received narrative of 1970s craft revival, before sense can be made of the Scottish craft story.

2.2 Craft Revival in 1970s Britain

As discussed in the previous chapter, the 1970s craft revival appears to have been most acutely experienced at the beginning of the decade, and certainly by the end of the 1970s and the early 1980s it seems to have been in decline.[8] The received opinion, across a range of cultural commentators from academic to populist is that in the 1970s the crafts underwent a significant renaissance and reinvention across Britain at this time. Authors of the two most comprehensive British craft historiographies, Tanya Harrod of *The Crafts in Britain in the 20th Century* (1999) and Edward Lucie-Smith of *The Story of Craft* (1981), both acknowledge that the 1970s were

[8] Edward Lucie Smith wrote: 'The honeymoon days of the new craft revival are already over in this country and there are some signs that the development of the crafts is losing momentum just as the fine arts did previously' (Lucie-Smith 1982 p. 14).

significant because of their relationship with the revival of crafts. Lucie-Smith claims that 'The 1970s saw the upthrust of a second Arts and Crafts movement' (Lucie-Smith 1981 p. 274), whereas Harrod affirms that 'Even before the 1970s ended there was a strong sense that the decade had witnessed a remarkable craft revival' (Harrod 1999 p. 370). This second wave craft revival was not exclusive to Britain. Its impact was also experienced in North America (Alfoldy 2005) and in Ireland (Flegg 2012). But the revival was, in the words of Lucie-Smith 'very different from its predecessor' (Lucie-Smith 1981 p. 274). The difference can be attributed to the wide variety of craft constituents making up the revival, the disparate ways in which the revival manifested itself, and particularly, the formation of government supported craft institutions (Peach 2013).

It has been established that a common feature to all craft revivals, and one that is central to understanding the origins of modern craft, is craft's relationship to modernity. The experiences of loss and trauma that accompany modernity are a key part of the revival experience (Adamson 2013). In a wider human context, craft revivals can be linked to periods of significant social, economic, political and technological upheaval (Kaplan 2005 p. 11; Minahan and Cox 2007 p. 5). For this reason, the craft revival of the 1970s is perhaps best understood when viewed in the context of events following the Second World War.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Britain enjoyed a remarkable period of sustained economic expansion and prosperity, finding itself significantly richer than most other European countries (Tomlinson 2007 p. 236). But this golden period was followed by an equally remarkable period of socio-economic turmoil (Tomlinson 2007 p. 233). Indeed the 1970s in Britain can be characterised by a series of dramatic socio-economic events, which include the oil crisis of 1973, a steep rise in inflation, an economic recession, growing public sector debt, rising unemployment, and widespread industrial strikes. It is argued that these causal factors contributed to an overall crisis of confidence in the state and its institutions (Chartrand 1988 p. 44; Spittles 1995; Peach 2013). Across the globe similar reverberations were felt with opposition to the American war in Vietnam, student rebellions in Berkley and the Sorbonne, first wave feminism and the questioning of women's roles in society; all fuelling the rise of a youth counter-culture, opposing consumerism and conformism. A growing concern for the impact of industrial processes and nuclear proliferation marked the beginning of the modern environmental movement, epitomised by the publication in 1963 of Rachel Carson's bestseller *Silent Spring*. Another environmental movement bestseller, economist E.F. Schumacher's *Small is Beautiful - A Study of Economics as if People Mattered* (1973), also quickly became a key text for counterculture activists as well as government campaigners. In many ways Schumacher's text encapsulated the spirit of the era:

> Equal parts economic analysis, spiritual tract and radical manifesto, the book reflected the contradictory nature of its author - a patrician academic who was also passionately interested in Eastern philosophy. What bound his work was a central belief that modern society had lost touch with basic human needs and values, and in doing so had failed both the planet and its people. (Hodgson 2003)

The general atmosphere of social revolution and political turbulence had a mutual affinity with the ethos of craft, fuelling the craft revival in the 1970s, as concerned individuals abandoned mainstream careers in search of a simpler life as a craftsperson (Frayling 1992 p. 173; Harrod 1999 p. 371). This quest for personal autonomy, creative fulfilment and self-expression, as well the desire to find alternative sources of energy and to recycle, had direct links with the renewed interest in 'making', and created the ideal environment in which craft could again thrive (Peach 2013 p. 168).

Evidence of the 1970s craft revival can be seen in the proliferation of craft publications at the time (Section 1.2). Writing about the 1970s craft revival in the United States, librarian Rochelle Smith draws interesting comparisons with today. For Smith, the proliferation of craft texts provide a 'window on the zeitgeist of each period' (Smith 2010 p. 207):

> Both the 1960s and the early twenty-first century upsurges in hand making are notable for their involvement of young adults, working outside of any tradition handed down to them by their forebears. Both gained ground in the face of war and growing energy crises, at times when the status quo in terms of resource use and consumption is often challenged. Both express a fundamental disillusionment with big structures, be they governmental or private, that comes out of war, instability, and economic uncertainty, whether Vietnam or Iraq, the Bay of Pigs, or September 11. Political activism and social criticism bubble just beneath the surface of each. (Smith 2010 p. 207)

In Britain there was a similar surfeit of craft books published at this time, of which Bruce Alexander's *Crafts and Craftsmen* (1974), is a good example (Section 1.2). Alexander's text was primarily intended as a buyers' guide, containing useful addresses and a list of museums where craft could be seen. But it also provides a revealing introduction to 1970s British craft, with details of the types of craft practised at the time and their associated historical contexts. It is redolent of the idealistic rhetoric that accompanies craft revivals, extolling the virtues of 'singlehanded' production, as opposed to being one of 'tens or even hundreds of people in an industrial concern' (Alexander 1974 p. 7). The appeal of this way of working, Alexander claims, was that the craftsperson could 'devote far more care to every stage of the production' (Alexander 1974 p. 7). Becoming a craftsperson was synonymous with professional autonomy and was central to the revival's appeal:

> He is personally responsible for each article that leaves his workshop and becomes personally associated with it. He cannot hide behind the facelessness of a large concern nor its advertising campaigns. Every product reflects his ideas and precepts and some measure of his personality. (Alexander 1974 p. 7)

By his own admission, the range of craft that Alexander's text covered was catholic rather than comprehensive, but it provides boundaries to the broad spectrum of craft activity in the 1970s, as he explains:

> There are two extremes of craftsmen working in Britain: the most sheltered of the traditional craftsmen sometimes blindly following old designs, often surprised at the interest their work invokes and at the most justifying their work by such maxims as 'if a job's worth doing it's worth doing well'; and the most precious of the artist craftsmen sometimes with only an academic knowledge of their role in Yanagi's 'new period',[9] often unreasoningly reformist and obsessed with experimentation. (Alexander 1974 p. 8)

Such parameters demonstrate the attempts by cultural commentators, such as Alexander, to make sense of the hierarchies that existed in the crafts at the time. It provides a useful map of the main craft constituents, describing a dichotomy between traditional and avant-garde craft, with the middle ground being occupied by an undistinguished amalgamation of the two.[10] Parallels can be drawn here with Bourdieu's 'field of cultural consumption', where cultural goods, or in this instance cultural practices, can be considered as groups or 'fields' competing for social legitimacy, and ultimately cultural dominance (Bourdieu 1993; Inglis and Hughson 2003 p.176). The struggle for dominance was between the fields of traditional craft and artist craft, with the latter in the ascendant in terms of cultural dominance in 1970s Britain.

Edward Lucie-Smith's *World of the Makers* (1975), provides another example of the burgeoning literature on British craft at this time, and further substantiation of the British craft revival of the 1970s:

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[9] Yanagi's 'new period' is a direct reference to the 1970s craft revival. Yanagi Soetsu (1889-1961) was a Japanese philosopher and founder of the Mingei folk craft movement of the 1920s and 1930s. He was also a contemporary of potter Bernard Leach. Yanagi's text *The Unknown Craftsman - A Japanese Insight in Beauty* was first published in English in 1972, and along with Leach's *A Potters Book* was highly influential in the 1970s craft revival. Extracts from *The Unknown Craftsman* were included in the CAC's magazine, *Crafts* in May/June 1973.

[10] 'Traditional' crafts for Alexander included blacksmithing, dry stone dyking, Guernsey and Jersey knitting, thatching and corn dollies. 'Avant-garde' crafts included contemporary interpretations of traditional crafts such as jewellery, pottery and glass-making (Alexander 1975).

> … the ever-increasing activity which has been taken in the crafts over a number of years - an interest which has manifested itself in the publication of numerous books, and in the rising number of people who feel the ambition to become craftsmen.
> (Lucie-Smith 1975 p. 8)

Lucie-Smith acknowledges that the term craft revival was a loose one, covering disparate areas of craft practice and divergent types of craftsperson, confirming the broad spectrum of activity described by Alexander. The fact that this craft movement existed, but appeared to have no unified locus or constituency, disquieted Lucie-Smith:

> It *is* already with us, but we have not understood its significance, either in relation to the society we inhabit, or in relation to the artistic activity which that society generates.
> (Lucie-Smith 1975 p. 8)

For this reason, his text focuses solely on the 'artist-craftsman', a term that was to gain particular significance in the 1970s craft revival:

> Yet there are also certain frontiers to define. Enthusiasm for the crafts has led to a very loose definition of the area they may be supposed to cover. This is a book about the sophisticated craftsman, who is as keenly conscious of his own role as the so-called fine artist. (Lucie-Smith 1975 p. 9)

Using the term 'the sophisticated craftsman' to describe someone 'who is keenly conscious of his own role as the so-called fine artist', Lucie-Smith consciously excludes the opposite end of Alexander's two extremes, the 'traditional' crafts. Lucie-Smith is unrepentant about this omission, referring to products of the latter, in his opinion, lesser craft activity as 'skeletons at the feast' (Lucie-Smith 1975 p. 11):

> It is true that the vigorous craft scene of today has its roots in a reaction against the industrialism of the nineteenth century. But the reaction contained the seeds of misunderstanding. Like many revolutions, it felt the need to disguise itself as a return to tradition. (Lucie-Smith 1975 p. 9)

Lucie-Smith's text is a celebration of those contemporary makers occupying the field of the artist-craftsman, described as 'the heir and direct descendent' (Lucie-Smith 1975 p.20) of the nineteenth century Arts and Crafts movement. Interviews with esteemed studio potters such as Lucie Rie (1902-1995) and Bernard Leach, as well as a younger generation of makers, including potters Elizabeth Fritsch (1940-) and Glenys Barton, jeweller Wendy Ramshaw (1939-), and weavers Ann Sutton (1935-) and Peter Collingwood (1922-2008), are supported with Lucie-Smith's personal critique and commentary. The ambition of the text was two-fold: on the one hand, it was a

celebration of the 'craftsman as hero' mythology of the 1970s craft revival (Lucie-Smith 1975 p. 8), signalling their cultural significance and contribution to society. But it was also a plea to raise the status of craft, in this case 'artist crafts', to the hierarchical equivalent of fine art. It is significant that Lucie-Smith, as art critic and the author of numerous art texts at the time,[11] chose to argue against a divide that had been in existence, arguably, since the Renaissance. Also of interest was his desire to unleash craft from what he perceived as its unfortunate associations with tradition and the vernacular, as he writes patronisingly:

> If enthusiasts strive to preserve certain peasant skills, why should we try to deny them their pleasure? Yet it must be recognised that crafts exercised in this way, for their own sake, or in simple rejection of the modern world and its assumed evils, seldom produce objects which are particularly interesting to look at. (Lucie-Smith 1975 p. 10)

As chroniclers of the 1970s craft revival both Anderson and Lucie-Smith demonstrate how the various constituents of the revival were far from unified in identity or outlook. With traditional craft and fine art craft occupying opposite ends of a continuum, both authors clearly identified a hierarchy, with the artist craftsman occupying a more superior, 'heroic', position akin to that of artist. This hierarchy would become an essential part of the rhetoric employed by newly founded national crafts institutions in the 1970s, representing partisan interests and promulgating a particular ideology that would permeate the decade, as the next section will demonstrate.

2.3 The Crafts Advisory Committee

One interesting omission in Lucie-Smith's text is the absence of any mention of the role of government in supporting and promoting the crafts during the 1970s craft revival. He intimates that support for the crafts, as well as the fine arts, 'is likely to come increasingly from the public sector' (Lucie-Smith 1975 p. 221), but does not elaborate how or why. As will be demonstrated, the government played a crucial part in enabling and shaping the craft revival. The relationship between the craftsperson and the government is one which craft writer and campaigner James Noel White argues has been overlooked in craft histories, which have focused largely on the lives and outputs of individual makers (White 1989). Thus, as in the case of Lucie-Smith's *World of Makers* (1975), the impact of the wider socio-political context, including government funding, cultural policy and infrastructure has been largely neglected.

The Crafts Advisory Committee, founded in 1971 and renamed the Crafts Council in 1979, was a state supported, centralised body with overall responsibility for the development and management

[11] Including *What is a Painting* (1966), *Movements in Arts Since 1945* (1969) and *Art in Britain 1969-70* (1970).

of craft activity in Britain. Arguably the formation of the CAC crystallised the British craft revival in the 1970s (Peach 2013). However the CAC was only responsible for the crafts in England and Wales; Scotland had its own funding bodies, which led to very different outcomes for craft during the 1970s revival. The CAC is nevertheless highly relevant to the Scottish craft narrative. As the largest organisation supporting the crafts in Britain, it provided an ideological exemplar of how to situate and define craft. As will be seen, it also served as a counter point to what was happening with craft in Scotland.

After the Second World War and until the creation of the CAC, government support for the crafts in Britain came in the form of a Board of Trade grant, which was shared between three organisations: the London-based Crafts Centre of Great Britain and British Crafts Centre, and the Scottish Crafts Centre in Edinburgh (Crafts Council 1994 p. 4; Wood 1996 p. 29). The Board of Trade stipulated that funding for craft be linked to its ability to demonstrate a direct contribution to the improvement of industrial design, a caveat that would prove to be problematic and contentious. This situation was reversed dramatically when, under the leadership of Prime Minister Edward Heath (1916-2005), the Conservatives won the General Election in June 1970. Any presumption that a Conservative government would lead to less money for the crafts was dispelled in December of that year when the Paymaster General with responsibility for the Arts,[12] Lord Eccles (1904-1999), was given overall control for the crafts along with his existing remit of overseeing the Arts Council and other arts related organisations (Harrod and LaTrobe Bateman 1998 p. 15; House of Lords 1970).

Eccles' commitment and contribution to the crafts was formally acknowledged when he became the President of the World Crafts Council (1974-1978). He recognised that the crafts, unlike the fine arts, had been neglected by central government, and despite the recent upsurge of public interest in craft activity that presaged the 1970s craft revival, the crafts were badly in need of unified body to ensure that this interest was properly channelled and developed (Crafts Advisory Committee 1974 p. 1). The inception of the CAC was largely due to the individual efforts of Eccles who not only oversaw its organisation, but also played a fundamental role in shaping its ideology (Harrod 1994 p. 7 and House of Lords 1971). Coming from an upper middle-class background, Eccles had a personal investment in culture. He was a collector of fine crafts, antiquarian books, paintings and sculpture (Barnes 1999), and author of a book titled *On Collecting* (1968). It is therefore unsurprising that he had a particular vision for crafts, one that was quite distinct from industry. Eccles' desire to raise craft from the commercial to the elite is what Bourdieu would

[12] A ministerial position in the Treasury Department. The Paymaster General is responsible for the payment of government departments and other public bodies.

describe an example of 'the dynamic of change in the cultural field' (Bourdieu 1993 p. 19). In this case, Eccles aspired to raise the status of craft to that of fine art, in the same way as Lucie-Smith described earlier. His personal interests in the subject were made apparent in his opening speech at the House of Lords on December 3 1970:

> The crafts have long been recognised as an assembly of activities which fall between the fine arts and industry. Hitherto the industrial aspect has been held to be the more important and the crafts have been the responsibility of the Board of Trade. Presidents of the Board of Trade, notably Sir Stafford Cripps, have taken a personal interest in the artist-craftsman, but the present Government consider that the time has come to recognise the individual skills of these men and women by transferring responsibilities in relation to their activities to the Minister responsible for the Arts. I welcome this change and will try to be of service to the wide variety of artist-craftsmen whose work I admire very much. (House of Lords 1970)

Under Eccles' wing, the CAC was to receive funding from the Arts Branch of the Department of Education, rather than the Board of Trade, which had previously funded crafts organisations. Craftsmen were now being recognised alongside painters, sculptors, composers and writers for their cultural contribution to the society. This was a highly significant shift. The CAC's remit was to establish a position of greater prominence for the crafts, and specifically champion the 'artist craftsman' (House of Lords 1971), now a strategically important term for the time, and employed in both Alexander and Lucie-Smith's texts as seen earlier. It was a term expressly adopted by Eccles in a bold attempt to distance craft from previous connections with the Board of Trade and any connotations with industry. Eccles would have been familiar with the term artist craftsman and its lineage that could be traced back to William Morris and the Arts and Crafts movement in 1882:

> Time was when the mystery and wonder of handicrafts were well acknowledged by the world, when imagination and fancy mingled with all things made by man; and in those days all handicraftsmen were artists, as we should now call them. (Morris 2004 p. 238)

More recently it was a term associated with the potter Bernard Leach (1894-1978), author of *A Potter's Book* (first published in 1940), which became something of a bible to the new generation of craftspeople (Frayling 1992 p. 179; Roscoe 1992 p. 24):

> The potter is no longer a peasant or journeyman as in the past, nor can he be any longer described as an industrial worker: he is by force of circumstances an artist-craftsman, working for the most part alone or with a few assistants. Factories have practically driven folk-art out of England; it survives only in out of the way corners even in Europe, and the artist-craftsman, since the day of William Morris, has been the chief means of defence against the materialism of industry and its insensibility to beauty. (Leach 1976 p. 1)

Founder of the Leach Pottery in 1920 with Hamada Shoji (1887-1979), Leach was one of the most prominent and influential figures in the studio pottery movement of the twentieth century in Britain, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, and his work was known and collected by Eccles (Barnes 1999). Through the appropriation of the term 'artist craftsman' Eccles was effectively borrowing from, and aligning itself with, the institutional recognition and power of the fine arts in a bid to achieve greater prominence for craft (Peach 2013 p. 163). Free from obligations to industry, he believed that the new funding structure and central organisation would not only unite what he described as 'a number of different voices' (House of Lords 1970) making up the crafts, but also promote national interests and improve the quality of products overall (House of Lords 1971). When queried about the definition of 'artist craftsman', Eccles replied:

> I think I must say that this is a very difficult definition; but clearly there are craftsmen whose work really equals that of any artist in what one might describe as fine arts; there are others who are really very near industrial producers. Our intention is to go for high quality first. (House of Lords 1971)

Under the leadership of Secretary Victor Margrie, a potter, the new CAC dealt with grants and loans, special projects, commissioning and patronage, exhibitions, publications and publicity, as well as conservation projects and training. As an organisation, it ran alongside the existing Crafts Centre of Great Britain and the Crafts Council of Great Britain, the two merging to create the British Crafts Centre in 1972 (Crafts Council 1994 p. 8).[13] The CAC received £300,000 in government grant money for 1973/74 and by April 1974 grants of over £140,000 were allocated to individual craftsmen and organisations across Britain (Crafts Advisory Committee 1974 pp. 3-4). Whereas the Arts Council mainly funded larger projects and institutions, a substantial proportion of the CAC's funding was targeted specifically at supporting individual craftspeople. This support came in the form of a tax-free bursary scheme, which in 1974 allocated a generous £2000, tax-free and with no restrictions attached, to six makers. At the time, forty pounds a week for a year was considered 'a nice liveable sum to receive' (Coleman 1974 p. 7):

> It is impossible to measure the value of the grant in terms of artistic progression, still less by assessing the practical experiment of research. It can allow the craftsman to make mistakes by turning a critical gamble into a feasible experiment. The money will provide a certain pause in living, a slight shift in priorities. (Coleman 1974 p. 7)

With an emphasis on encouraging excellence and underlining the seriousness of the organisation, a selective index titled *Craftsmen of Quality* was published by the CAC in 1976. The intention of the publication was to promote high-end craft commissioning, by introducing the public to specific

[13] For a more detailed explanation of these organisations see: Crafts Council 1994, Harrod 1999 and Harrod and LaTrobe Bateman 1998. See also Appendix 1.0.

makers. The publication was deemed a success, and it was reported in *The Crafts Advisory Committee Review of 1971-74* that the majority of interest in craft commissioning was for higher value objects such as silver, jewellery and glass, designated for special occasions and anniversaries (Crafts Advisory Committee 1974 p. 8). In a further bid to elevate the status of craft to that of fine art, a shop featuring the work of selected CAC makers was opened in the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1974. It was a world away from any connotations of provincial amateurism or tradition, and with the association of an institution as esteemed as the V&A, the CAC's and Eccles' ambitions for fine art craft appeared well on the way to being realised.

2.4 Crafts Magazine and The Craftsman's Art

The last section of this chapter will concentrate on two specific initiatives that the CAC undertook to realise its aim of elevating craft to the status of fine art during the 1970s craft revival, further underlining the significance of institutional support in defining and shaping perceptions of craft in Britain during the 1970s. These were the introduction of *Crafts* magazine and the *The Craftsman's Art* (1973) exhibition. Both were crucial in terms of disseminating the CAC's doctrine, and establishing a new identity for craft in the 1970s.

Crafts, a bi-monthly magazine published by the CAC, was launched on the first of March 1973.[14] Timed to coincide with the opening of *The Craftsman's Art* exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum later that month, its initial 10,000 print run sold out during the exhibition (Crafts Advisory Committee 1974 p.6). *Crafts* magazine was noticeably different to other art magazines of the time. Its style was celebratory and modern, containing high quality photographs and profiles of contemporary makers engaging with what was now being described as 'the new crafts' (Peach 2007; Peach 2013 p. 164; Sandino 2007 p.177). Keen to distance itself from subject matter that might be considered traditional, sentimental or backward looking, *Crafts* magazine had little time for craft history. Its message instead was about the future. The magazine's content directly mirrored the CAC's rhetoric, as documented in their manifesto, *The Work of the Crafts Advisory Committee 1974-1977*:

> 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. (Crafts Advisory Committee 1977 p. 2)

The CAC's emphasis on individual creativity and engagement with the modern world was demonstrated by the image chosen for the front cover of the inaugural issue of *Crafts*: a colourful

[14] Still in circulation.

and contemporary quilted embroidery by textile artist Judith Lewis. [Fig 2.1] Quilting was a craft medium previously associated with sewing bees and female domesticity: 'embroidery as selfless work for the comfort of others' (Parker 1996 p. 203). Lewis's work was instead an exuberant explosion of youthful individuality. The work referenced the current feminist practice of challenging fine art boundaries by engaging with traditionally gendered media (Parker 1996 pp. 203-215). As such, it perfectly embodied the contemporary qualities of the 'artist craftsman' that the CAC wanted to promote. The work of silversmith Michael Rowe also featured in this first edition of *Crafts*, and equally defied any conventional notions of what might constitute craft. A full page photo of his two foot high spice pomander in beaten copper, with sweeping staircases and arched niches, was reminiscent of an M.C. Escher drawing, and described by *Crafts* as 'moving beyond the accepted confines of the craft, and into the realms of sculpture, architecture and even landscape' (Bond 1973 p. 22). [Fig 2.2]

The editorial content of *Crafts* further underlined the CAC's particular ideology, favouring the craftsperson as a heroic, highly creative individual, battling against a tide of consumerism and banal uniformity. In the first edition, editor Marigold Coleman wrote that:

> A craftsman sets his own standards: something either pleases him or it does not. For the traditional craftsman, concerned largely with achieving a high degree of technical skill, this is exacting enough; for the artist craftsman, whose intention is also to make a personal statement, it can be even more daunting. Small wonder he sometimes feels isolated in a society which is geared to mass production. But there is a growing public interest in his work, an interest which may be a combination of admiration for his products and envy of someone who has got his priorities right. (Coleman 1973 p. 1)

Fig 2.1 Cover, *Crafts* no. 1, 1973.

Fig 2.2 Pomander, Michael Rowe, 1973.

Coleman's editorial again reinforces the 'extremes' of the 1970s craft spectrum, outlined by Alexander in *Crafts and Craftsmen* (1975). It also established a clear hierarchy - with the unimaginative, skills-obsessed, 'traditional craftsman' at one end, and the pioneering and individualistic 'artist craftsman' at the other. It is clear from Coleman's rhetoric that the CAC considered the latter as more worthy and relevant - in Bourdieu's terms the more dominant of the two cultural fields.

The polarity of discourse which juxtaposed quiet conservatism with the maverick idealism of someone who has got their priorities right was highly topical in the 1970s. It is important to point out that not all respected craftsmen had a desire to elevate craft to the status of fine art and champion the cult of the individual. This is particularly evidenced in the writings of David Pye (1914-1993), esteemed woodworker and Professor of Furniture Design at the Royal College of Art from 1948 to 1974. As a tutor of the new generation of 'craftsmen artists', Pye found the term 'craft' highly problematic, 'tarnished' (Pye 1968 p. 76) even, preferring his term 'workmanship of risk' to 'craftsmanship'. The latter he felt had become ideologically loaded and 'honorific' (Pye 1968 p. 4), increasingly associated with pretentious self-regard, 'hairy cloth and gritty pots' (Pye 1968 p. 77). Pye's opus *The Art of Workmanship* (1968), showed a prescient awareness of what he thought were some of the negative impacts of the 1970s craft revival. Described by Adamson as 'perhaps the purest piece of "craft theory" written in the twentieth century' (Adamson 2007 p. 71), Pye accuses the crafts and craftspeople of possessing 'a propensity for striking attitudes'. He argued that these attitudes, or affectations, could be traced all the way back to Morris and Ruskin, both whom he held in particular contempt, as described below:

> The crafts and craftsmen have been bedevilled, ever since Ruskin wrote, by a propensity for striking attitudes. The attitude of protest I have mentioned already. Another one is the attitude of sturdy independence and solemn purpose (no truck with part-time workers: they are all amateurs; social value; produce things of real use to the community); another is the attitude of holier-than-thou (no truck with machinery; no truck with industry; horny handed sons of toil; simple life etc.). Another is the snob attitude, learnt from the fine artists (we who practice the fine crafts are not as other craftsmen are). (Pye 1968 p. 80)

Rejecting the elitist posturing of craft as fine art, Pye was clearly less enthusiastic about this aspect of the craft revival. This was in contrast to the CAC, which instead enthused that 'a remarkable renaissance has taken place' (The Crafts Advisory Committee 1974 p. 1), and promoted individuals galvanised by a common sense of purpose and 'a concern for human identity in a society that tends to require conformity' (The Crafts Advisory Committee 1974 p. 1). Pye's diatribe above tells us so much about his own common sense approach to making, and provides a useful, if somewhat

acerbic, encapsulation of some of the defining features of the 1970s craft revival, which included misguided protest, romantic and impractical idealism, as well as self-aggrandising pretentiousness. Although Pye was in charge of the education of a new generation makers at the Royal College of Art, and his book a key influence (Frayling 1992 p. 178), his concerns about the direction of the crafts were at odds with much of the content in *Crafts* magazine, which in the 1970s frequently featured articles about individuals who had 'dropped out' to pursue the rural idyll. An article about the Dove Centre for Creativity, a craft community outside Glastonbury part funded by the CAC, featured its Director Anthony Horrocks saying:

> It is obvious that today many people feel swamped by a flood of objects which closely resemble each other because they are standardized and mass-produced and there is a corresponding interest in handmade objects. (Horrocks 1973 p. 16)

This notion of choosing the life of the craftsperson over that of corporate conformism was viewed positively in *Crafts,* as Marigold Coleman confirms in the first edition:

> In this first issue craftsmen of different kinds, from many parts of the country, talk about their work and the kind of life they have chosen. What comes over is that as well as being hardworking, dedicated and idealistic, they are enjoying themselves … (Coleman 1973 p. 1)

This yearning for a preindustrial lifestyle of autonomy, in many ways a form of escapism, had links with the wider 1960s and 1970s counterculture movement, and was echoed in the popular culture television series *The Good Life* (1975-1978) and Do it Yourself publications such as Stewart Brand's highly popular *The Whole Earth Catalogue* (1968-1972), a manual covering disparate topics such as how to construct geodesic domes and grow mushrooms, and *Country Bizarre* (1970-1974) an eclectic compendium of nature, ecology, craftwork, folklore, poetry and art. This concept of revival can be viewed as both an escape and a critique of the present and the future. An idea explored by cultural theorist Raymond Williams in *The Country and the City* (1973), who analyses how the idea of retrospective regret for bygone eras is depicted in literature. As Rochelle Smith agrees:

> The 'D' in DIY in the 1960s and 1970s tended toward the holistic and expansive. The very idea of establishing a 'counterculture' suggests this, incorporating the possibility of a revolutionary overhaul of middle-class life ways, from growing organic food to building a geodesic dome to giving birth in a converted school bus. (Smith 2010 p. 209)

It also led to an upsurge of amateur hippy craft activity that was folksy, ethnic and fantastic in content, and sometimes highly dubious in quality. This was certainly a world away from either Pye or Eccles' vision of craft, an expression of a lifestyle choice rather than an attempt at

professionalisation or achieving fine art status. An example of this is Alexandra Jacopetti's *Native Funk & Flash - An Emerging Folk Art*, published in San Francisco in 1974, [Fig 2.3] which provides examples of embroidered denim, patchwork quilts, and tie-dyed t-shirts along with vivid commentary:

> Symbols and signs were flying around my brain those days. Spiritual talk and truck. Our family had just made its escape from the public eye, our swan song having been that great first coming-out ball, The Trips Festival at the Longshoreman's Hall in San Francisco, February 1966. We watched Bill Graham get the Fillmore together, while Roland felt the need to clear out: I've got to get away … I don't know - read some Zen or something.' 'Give it all away' was one of our catch phrases and, after giving a bunch of it away, we packed up that old Dodge panel truck with a treadle Singer (good little machine - still runs perfectly), pots and pans, a lot of brown rice and our functional clothes. We sighed our relief at finally getting out. (Jacopetti 1974 p. 7)

Fig 2.3 Cover, *Native Funk & Flash*, 1974.

The attraction of the crafts as a lifestyle choice, rather than a means of professional livelihood was discussed in the pages of *Crafts*. For example, Ella MacLeod, Head of Textiles at West Surrey College of Art:

> The Craftsman ought to be dead as a dodo … There is no place for him economically: we do not need him to feed, clothe or house us. And yet, she [MacLeod] argues there has been an upsurge of the crafts, which she attributes to their appeal to thwarted people fed up with a faceless world who are trying, sometimes extremely poorly, to do something they want to do. (Crafts 1973 p. 13)

These manifestations of craft had more in common with romanticised social rebellion than the kind of contemporary, innovative craft that the CAC was so keen to promote. In the eyes of the CAC, such retreatism was counter-productive, leading to disenfranchised and socially isolated craft communities. From the rhetoric of the CAC and *Crafts* magazine it can be assumed that they favoured practitioners to be socially and institutionally engaged in order to reproduce the CAC's craft ideology and practice. But this became an activity, which is described by oral historian Linda Sandino below as something akin to 'policing a border':

> The magazine was primarily the site for the consumption and fetishization of handmade objects but the conflicting languages in the magazine are evidence of the constant struggle to police the border between the 'new' Craft Council approved work and that of the amateur. (Sandino 2007 p. 183)

Despite the disparate factions within the craft world at the time, the government's position, under the stewardship of Lord Eccles, was clear: craft was to become synonymous to fine art and by association would achieve similar status. And as with *Crafts* magazine, the CAC set about organising a number of national exhibitions, intended to change public attitudes by introducing them to the new, fine art crafts. The first, and arguably most impactful, was *The Craftsman's Art* held at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1973. To illustrate just how extraordinary this exhibition was, Christopher Frayling first imagines a visitor to the Festival of Britain in 1951, discussed in the next chapter (3.0), writing that they 'would have found nothing to challenge the popular definition of 'the crafts'' (Frayling 1992 p. 169). By way of contrast, he describes the same person visiting *The Craftsman's Art*:

> The visitor to this exhibition might have wondered whether 'The Craftsman's Art' had anything to do with the concept of 'the crafts' as commonly understood. (Frayling 1992 p. 169)

This was of course the intention. An initial trawl of almost 8,000 objects from 1,700 craftspeople was sent to twelve Regional Arts Associations. This was further whittled down to 1,200 objects from 440 makers (Crafts Advisory Committee 1974 p. 6). The exhibition organiser, Wyndham Goodden, supported by a panel of specialists and the exhibition's designer, Barry Mazur, made the final cut to 507 objects from 265 makers across Britain (Crafts Advisory Committee 1974 p. 6). The exhibition was intended to represent craftwork from across the nation, but notably the majority of the exhibitors were actually from England, with only eleven makers from Scotland (The Craftsman's Art 1973).[15]

Visitor numbers and the public response to the exhibition were very positive. The private view alone 'defeated all efforts to count the guests queuing along the galleries of the Victoria and Albert Museum' (Crafts Advisory Committee 1974 p. 6). By way of sealing the exhibition's cultural and academic credentials, lectures by leading authors and critics were given, such as architectural theorist Professor Reyner Banham (1922-1988) author of *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (1971), and design historian Fiona MacCarthy, who had recently published *All Things Bright and Beautiful: British Design 1830 to Today* (1972). The exhibition was visited by 56,000 people, including HRH Prince Philip, Princess Margaret and the Earl of Snowden, as well as Prime Minister Edward Heath (Crafts Advisory Committee 1974 p. 6). Over £8,000 of sales was generated, with some craftsmen claiming that the exhibition 'brought them enough work for three years or more' (Crafts Advisory Committee 1974 p. 6). National press coverage was enthusiastic and the exhibition was credited with providing a focus to the 'strong but undirected interest in the crafts among the public' (Crafts 1973 p. 41). It was exactly this undirected interest, the awkward strands of the disparate crafts renaissance, that the CAC wished to corral and ultimately convert, using the exhibition as a focal point for their particular ideological position.

The catalogue for the exhibition provided some historical context to the types crafts exhibited, as well as essays about the different craft processes, a glossary and an index with makers' addresses. It was designed by Pentagram, an exciting new design consultancy in London, with photography by fine art photographer, Enzo Ragazzini (renowned for his photography of the new Optical Art movement), giving the catalogue:

> … a sophistication and modernity which reflected the feeling of the exhibition and surprised those who connected craft only with the supposed charms of the retrospective and amateur. (Crafts Advisory Committee 1974 p. 8)

[15] Including jewellery by Dorothy Hogg, tapestries by Maureen Hodge and Archie Brennan, and silver engraving by Malcolm Appleby.

The cover image for the exhibition catalogue and poster was a butterfly resting on a slab of slate carved with serifed lettering, suggesting in the words of the organisers that craft was 'something beautiful and exotic that needed to be preserved' (Crafts Advisory Committee 1974 p. 8). [Fig 2.4] Gordon Russell,[16] responsible for designing the Utility range of furniture during the Second World War, wrote the foreward to the catalogue. Russell was not only an outstanding craftsman but also a pragmatic believer in the relationship between craft, design and industry. His quote below therefore speaks more of the organisers' aspirations than his own beliefs, reiterating the self-centred aspirations of the artist craftsman and his individual quest for personal fulfilment and satisfaction, rather than any wider social or commercial responsibility:

> It has been staged in the belief that the outlook of the artist-craftsman is of particular value today when numbers of people are finding a lack of personal fulfilment in their jobs. (Russell 1973 p. 5)

James Noel White, then Vice President of the World Crafts Council, provided the historical context to the emergence of the 'artist craftsman' for the catalogue, using it as an opportunity to underline the connection between the Arts and Crafts movement and the 1970s craft revival:

> The present state of the crafts would, I believe, gladden, in theory if not in practice, the fiery heart of William Morris: a vital existence independent of industry, a belief in the value of the work itself, a certain simplicity in the way of life. The forms and textures of the objects would be questioned by Morris, but the experimentation would be acclaimed. (White 1973 p. 11)

It is probably safe to say that Morris would have been alarmed by many of the objects at the exhibition, such as Wendy Ramshaw's gold and silver necklace 'which may have fallen like a meteorite from a galaxy far, far away' (Frayling 1992 p. 170) [Fig 2.5], or Glenys Barton's functionless twelve bone china cubes, screen printed with bright orange and yellow op-art inspired graphic 'permutations'. [Fig 2.6] He may however have found comfort in the work of David Pye, whose understated fluted dishes of French walnut, designed using Pye's own 'fluting engine' (a type of lathe), demonstrated a sympathetic understanding of material and process that could only come from years of dedicated practice. [Fig 2.7]

[16] (1892-1980) English craftsman and designer, Director of the Council of Industrial Design and member of the Crafts Advisory Committee.

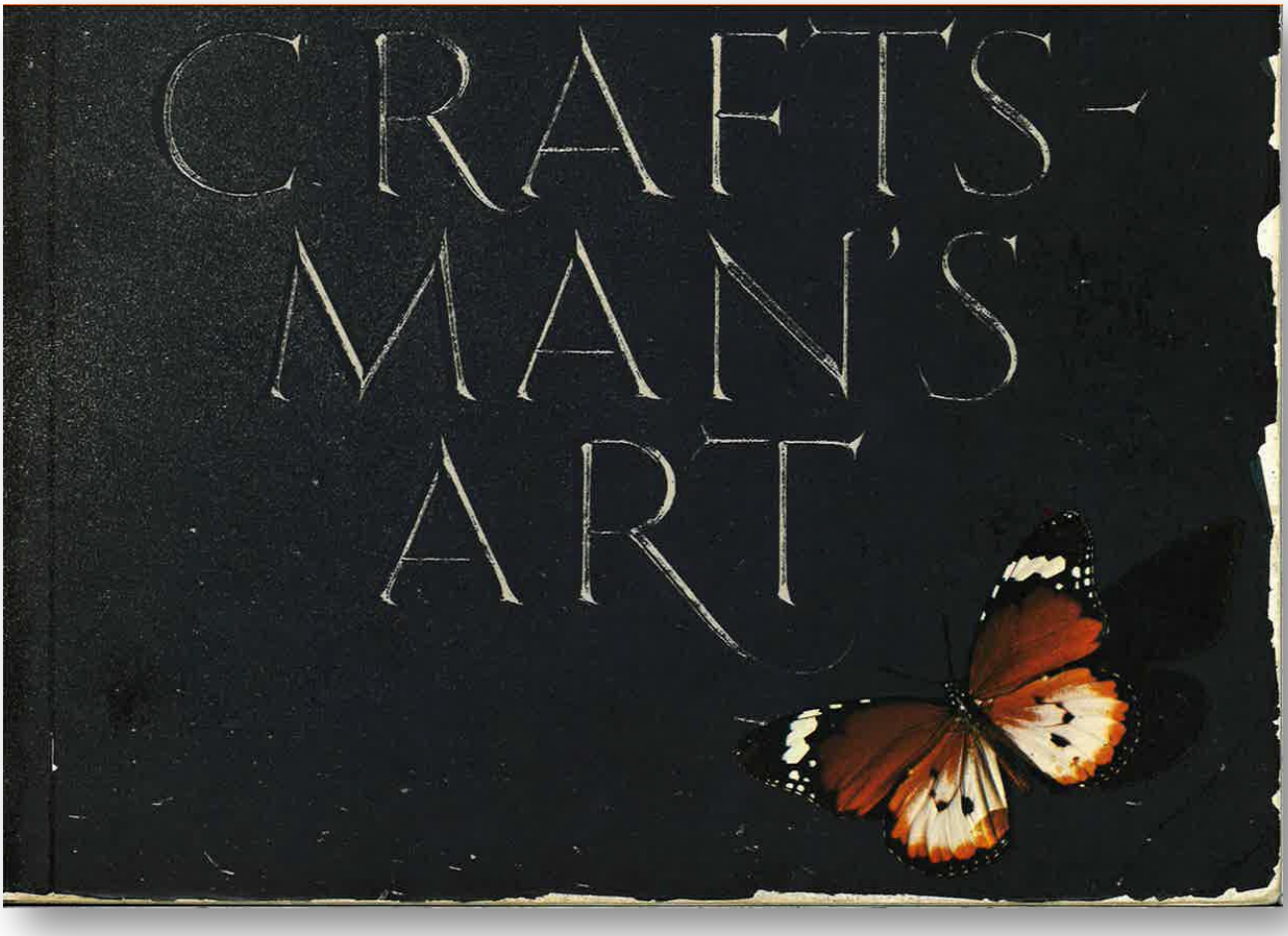

Fig 2.4 Cover, *The Craftsman's Art*, 1973.

Fig 2.5 Necklace, Wendy Ramshaw, 1972.

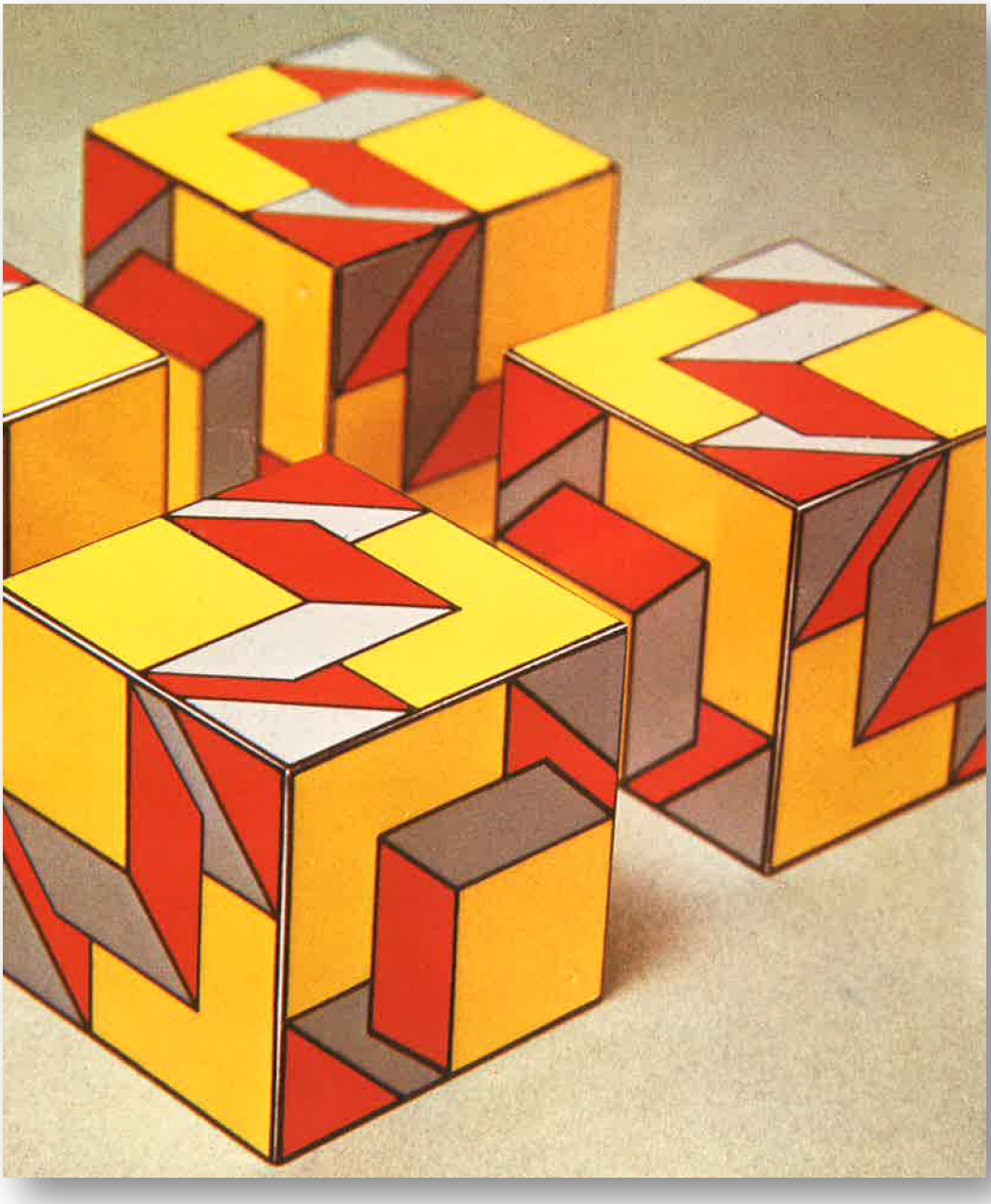

Fig 2.6 Twelve bone china cubes, Glenys Barton, 1971.

Fig 2.7 Carved dish, David Pye, 1965-1972.

White's essay also made a case for the importance of continued government support for the crafts. Recognising that public sector finance was essential in order to sustain the 'modern development of the independent artist-craftsman' (White 1973 p. 11). As Howard Becker points out in *Art Worlds* (2008), artists never operate in isolation but are rather part of a complex network of collective activity and support, including the sponsorship of the state. Acknowledging the contribution of Lord Eccles, White writes:

> Some governments indeed recognise this as part of social and economic policy. Fortunately, and thanks to the Paymaster General, there are signs that we do too. (White 1973 p. 11)

The catalogue to *A Craftsman's Art* also included essays on 'basic craft techniques', many of which were prosaic and descriptive, intended to educate the uninitiated. For example, Michael Casson's somewhat obvious explanation of how clay might be manipulated into a pinch pot, and Alan Peter's description of the nerve-wracking experience of gluing joints in furniture. But in keeping with the overall tenor of the exhibition there were moments of proselytising. Ivor Robinson's essay on bookbinding, stated that as well as satisfying the demands of function and beauty, book binding should also have 'meaning' (Robinson 1973 p. 15), and exhibition organiser Wyndham Goodden acknowledged:

> … the shadowy, often indefinable, line which separates the artist-craftsman, the craftsman, and the industrial craftsman: and indeed the designer of crafts who is also a designer for industry. (Crafts Advisory Committee 1973 p. 37)

In particular, Goodden was unequivocal about the purpose of the exhibition as 'a celebration of the craftsman's art rather than the craftsman's craft' (Crafts Advisory Committee 1973 p. 37).

The Craftsman's Art confirmed that there was a craft revival in 1970s Britain but that its constituents were varied and disparate. Even those endorsed by the CAC, who distanced themselves from conservative preoccupations with tradition by fully embracing the concept of 'artist craftsman', showed signs of discord. On the one hand there was the work of Wendy Ramshaw and Glenys Barton, which looked to contemporary fine art and the avant garde in order to find greater meaning in craft. Described as 'conceptual craft', this work often had no function but was instead about ideas. There was also the work of David Pye, which was contemporary in aesthetic, but more concerned with redressing the decline in standards of making, resulting from the privileging of ideas over skill. This dichotomy is best described by craft theorist Peter Dormer:

> The crafts world divides between those who have a conservative ideology, of whom Pye is a good example, and those who seek a form of decorative arts avant-garde based often on a denial not only of function but also the primacy of skill. (Dormer 1990 p. 148)

Harrod substantiates the duality that was emerging in 'the new crafts', writing that the 1970s craft revival consisted of two distinct types of craftsperson: 'the knowing ironists and those who continued to be inspired by the modernist canon' (Harrod 1999 p. 375). In many ways the craft revival wholly reflected the tensions occurring in fine art practice at the time, signalling the transition from modernism to postmodernism. Although the CAC was keen to raise the status of the craftsperson to that of fine art, 'fine art' as a loose system of practices, ideas and values was

undergoing profound changes in the 1970s, and was far from a unified body upon which craft could conveniently map itself.

Perhaps the most significant impact on the cultural landscape at this time was conceptualism, a movement giving precedence to ideas over making and skill, leading to what art critic Lucy Lippard described as the 'dematerialization of the art object' (Lippard 1997). The influence of conceptualism can be seen in many of the exhibits at *The Craftsman's Art*, and exemplify craft's complicated relationship with fine art, as Peter Dormer explains:

> The separation of craft from art and design is one of the phenomena of late twentieth century culture. The consequences of this split have been quite startling. It has led to a separation of 'having ideas' from 'making objects'. It has also led to the idea that there exists some sort of mental attribute known as 'creativity' that precedes or can be divorced from a knowledge of how to make things. This has led to art without craft. (Dormer 1997 p.18)

Dormer raises an important point, because if the tendency was towards 'art without craft', where did that leave craft aspiring to be art? This is perhaps where makers like David Pye gained purchase, as Edward Lucie-Smith writes: 'there began to appear a hunger for physical virtuosity in the handling of materials, something which many artists were no longer happy to provide' (Lucie-Smith 1981 p. 274). This desire to return to more highly skilled forms of making was endorsed by the likes of Pye, but his voice was not the only one at the time. The craft revival of the 1970s was therefore largely about re-embracing making and belonging as a generalised concept. As the Crafts Advisory Committee acknowledged:

> Perhaps the one thing that needs to be said is that in the crafts movement there are people of every shade of conviction and the only possible qualification for belonging is that one has chosen to belong. (Crafts Advisory Committee 1974 p. 8)

Most importantly, we see that the CAC was attempting, through the production of *Crafts* magazine and the *The Craftman's Art*, as well as its various funding initiatives, to manipulate the structure of power in the 1970s craft world, steering it towards its own particular vision of craft as fine art. Not everyone was on-board, but certainly the CAC was in the driving seat. This process of Peterson's Production of Culture model, described as 'institutionalisation' (Peterson 1997 p. 10), is when an institution attempts to manipulate or influence an aspect of culture. In this respect, the Crafts Advisory Committee as a government institution was instrumental in providing both impetus and focus to the 1970s craft revival, and for that reason has subsequently become synonymous with the 1970s craft revival narrative itself.

Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter was to establish the main reasons behind the 1970s British craft revival in order to provide a broad contextual framework for the subsequent analysis of Scottish craft that will take place in the following chapters. The 1970s British craft revival is central to this thesis, in both temporal and conceptual terms, and was the original impetus for this research. But it is a narrative that to date has been told almost uniquely through the workings of the Crafts Advisory Committee, an organisation that was responsible for craft in England and Wales.

It was demonstrated that craft revivals share key socio-economic circumstances, and that the British craft revival of the 1970s is considered the second in a series of 'waves' in revival terms. In the case of the 1970s, government played a crucial role in shaping the revival, through the formation of the Crafts Advisory Committee. Despite the fact that the crafts constituency at the time ranged from traditional to highly conceptual, the CAC chose to align itself with 'fine art', focusing its attentions on high-end studio craft rather than vernacular, traditional or amateur crafts. This was evident from its inception and reiterated by the naming of its first major exhibition, *The Craftsman's Art*. The CAC, with its ideological impetus defined by its urbane patron, Lord Eccles, clearly played a crucial role in shaping and enabling the British craft revival of the 1970s through its funding schemes, exhibitions and the launch of a high profile magazine. As Harrod writes: 'The 'new' era was, therefore, partly the result of a new institutions' propagandising activities' (Harrod 1999 p. 370). However although the CAC was crucial in defining what we understand as the 1970s craft revival, its influence was largely restricted to England and Wales. Scottish makers featured only very fleetingly in both early editions of *Crafts* magazine and *The Craftsman's Art*, leaving the false impression that Scotland was absent from this national craft renaissance.

3.0 The Origins of the Invention of Modern Scottish Craft

> There is a mode of vital experience - experience of space and time, of the self and others, of life's possibilities and perils - that is shared by men and women all over the world today. I will call this body of experience 'modernity'. To be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world - and, at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything that we have, everything we know, everything we are. (Berman 1999 p. 15)

If craft was a modern invention, who or what invented 'modern Scottish craft'? What shape did it take and why? In order to answer these questions, and understand Scotland's under-represented place in twentieth century craft history, it is necessary to first trace the origins of what is described as 'modern Scottish craft'. To do this requires going back several centuries because, it is argued, the notion of modern Scottish craft was shaped by two key emerging concepts: modernity and tradition. These seemingly opposing, but not mutually exclusive forces, gained momentum in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and remained a potent influence on what became modern Scottish craft in decades to come. This chapter investigates the cultural antecedents of modern Scottish craft, arguing that a desire to reconcile tradition with modernity was particular to the creation of its identity. The involvement of national institutions, charged with supporting and promoting Scottish craft in the twentieth century played a key role in promulgating this identity. This was a dynamic that increasingly set Scottish craft apart from the trajectory of the rest of modern craft in Britain from the post-war period onwards, and continued to differentiate it as Britain entered the craft revival of the 1970s.

3.1 The Invention of Tradition in Scotland

In *The Invention of Tradition* (2006), Hobsbawm and Ranger propose that the concept of tradition, particularly when associated with material culture and national identity, often has no time-honoured antecedents, as one might imagine, but is instead a modern cultural construction. Similar to Adamson's critique of craft in *The Invention of Craft* (2013), Hobsbawm and Ranger challenge received notions of 'tradition', by demonstrating that many commonly accepted national traditions are neither old, nor based on anything particularly historical. For example, traditions that are commonly associated with 'Britishness', such as the pageantry associated with monarchy, are shown by the authors to be lacking in any bona fide antecedents. The authors instead maintain that 'traditions' are fabricated in order to engender a normative sense of continuity between past and present, and provide a collective feeling of solidity and belonging where this may otherwise be lacking:

> Invented tradition is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past. (Hobsbawm 2006 p. 1)

The relevance of Hobsbawm and Ranger's concept of invented tradition to the invention of Scottish craft, and to understanding Scottish craft during the 1970s craft revival, lies in its relationship with modernity. Paradoxically, the authors argue, it is modernity that gives us much of what we commonly accept as tradition. Modernity in this context is taken to mean the transformation of a pre-industrial society to a modern one through the processes of modernisation, which typically include organised capitalism, industrialisation, urbanisation, and improvements in technology and communication (McCrone 2001 p. 34).[17] Sociologist Anthony Giddens (1938-) who likens the experience of modernity to 'being aboard a careering juggernaut rather than being in a carefully controlled and well-driven motor car' (Giddens 1991b p.53), explores the double-edged nature of modernity in social institutions which offer opportunity but also pose threat. In pre-industrial societies he argues 'the past is honoured and symbols are valued because they contain and perpetuate the experience of generations' (Giddens 1991b p. 37). In times of rapid change, such as the industrialisation experienced in Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the rhythms of society were disrupted and links with the past broken. It can been argued that this transition to modernity, jarring and unsettling to many who experienced it, necessitated the projection of a more reassuring appearance of stability through the manufacture of an unbroken link with history. Invented traditions, it is claimed, are most likely to arise as a response to situations of unprecedented change:

> … we should expect it to occur more frequently when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which 'old' traditions had been designed, producing new ones to which they were not applicable. (Hobsbawm 2006 p. 4)

It can be said that Scotland is heavily invested with Hobsbawm and Ranger's concept of invented tradition, promulgating what McCrone describes as the 'wrong sort' of history (McCrone 2001 p. 128). In other words, a history that promotes narratives of a past bearing little relationship to reality. Scottish historian Tom Devine (1945-) argues that this version of history, existing largely in our imaginations, can be traced back to the Act of Union in 1707, when in a bid for greater

[17] See also Jurgen Habermas 'Modernity - An Incomplete Project' in Foster, H. 1983, *Postmodern Culture*: 'With varying content the term "modern" again and again expresses the consciousness of an epoch that relates itself to the past of antiquity, in order to view itself as the result of a transition from the old to the new.' And Harry Cocks 'Modernity and Modernism' in F. Carnevali and J. Strange, 2007. *20th Century Britain - Economic and Social Change Second Edition*.

economic opportunity Scotland relinquished its political independence by joining sides with England (Devine 1999; Blaikie 2013). In situations of dramatic transformation and upheaval such as this, McCrone claims, politics and culture are often inversely proportional; as political autonomy diminishes, the need for cultural invention rises (McCrone 2001 p. 128).

Marinell Ash makes this point beautifully in her text, *The Strange Death of Scottish History* (1980). She writes that Scotland 'lost its nerve' at precisely the moment it became part of Britain and the wider British Empire. As a consequence, it also lost the connection to its genuine history and identity:

> Yet the time that Scotland was ceasing to be distinctively and confidently herself was also the period when there grew an increasing emphasis on the emotional trappings of the Scottish past. This is a further paradox and its symbols are bonnie Scotland of the bens and glens and misty shieling, the Jacobites, Mary Queen of Scots, tartan mania and the raising of historical statuary. (Ash 1980 p. 10)

With respect to modern Scottish identity and its craft, many of the symbols and materiality that we have come to associate with 'Scottishness', including tartan, kilts, bagpipes, thistles, can therefore be considered a consequence of this cultural invention. Similarly, the idea of one distinctive Highland culture signifying 'Scottishness', in reality has very tenuous historical foundations:

> The creation of an independent Highland tradition, and the imposition of that new tradition, with its outward badges, on the whole Scottish nation, was the work of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. (Trevor-Roper 2006 p. 16)

English historian Hugh Trevor-Roper (1914-2003) has written probably the most compelling and controversial account of the invention of tradition in Scotland, arguing that much of what we accept as traditional Highland culture, in terms of music, literature and indeed craft, has been 'borrowed' from neighbouring nations, such as Celtic Ireland. He explains that the invention of tradition in Scotland occurred in several distinct phases: the first, in the eighteenth century, where Celtic Scotland was rewritten (to its advantage) as the cultural usurper of Celtic Ireland; the second, where the invention of previously non-existent Highland traditions were applied to the Highlands; and the third, where supposed Highland traditions were adopted in the lowland south of Scotland (Trevor-Roper 2006 p. 16). This gradual cultural reinvention, correlates directly to a period of increased industrialisation and modernisation in Scotland, and was facilitated by key individuals, such as author James Macpherson (1736-1796) with his 'discovery' of the Ossian

ballads in 1760.[18] Similarly, Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), who effectively reinvented the whole of Scotland as a Highland nation for the visit of King George IV to Edinburgh in 1822 (Faiers 2008 p. 64; Pittock 1999 p. 37; Gold and Gold p. 141), by presenting the kilt as an example of traditional Highland dress.[19] From the shaky origins of 'traditional' Highland craft, to what is now a globally recognised and mass-produced symbol of Scottishness, the socio-cultural transformation of tartan is a perfect exemplar of the invention of tradition applied to Scottish craft (Faiers 2008).

The Trevor-Roper thesis is however not without its critics. His Englishness and pro-Union stance have detracted from his credibility as an unbiased observer, particularly in the opinion of Scottish historians Beveridge and Turnbull (1989; 1997)[20] and more recently Devine and Wormald (Devine and Wormald 2014 p. 63). McCrone is also circumspect about the Trevor-Roper thesis on the invention of Scottish tradition, particularly the origins of tartan, but agrees that the appropriation of customs bearing tenuous links to Scotland's past, and their subsequent application as wholescale shorthand for Scottish culture, often referred to as 'tartanry', is symptomatic of Scotland's difficult relationship with modernity:

> A form of dress and design which had undoubtedly real but haphazard significance in the Highlands of Scotland was taken over by elements of lowland society anxious to claim some distinctive aspect of culture at a time when the economic, social and cultural identity was ebbing away in the late nineteenth century. (McCrone 2001 p. 132)

It is an ironic paradox that as Scotland became more modern, it assumed the Highlands, its least developed and most economically challenged region, as its cultural emblem. Devine argues that before the Union, the Highlands were externally perceived as 'alien and hostile, in need of greater state control and both moral and religious "improvement"' (Devine 1999 p. 232). However with

[18] Said to be the Celtic equivalent Homer's Odyssey, the Ossian ballads were in fact an invention of Macpherson's (Fergusson 1998; Devine and Wormald 2014).

[19] It has since been claimed that the kilt we recognise today was invented long after the Act of Union in 1707 by an English industrialist as a form of practical work attire for Scottish factory labourers (Trevor-Roper 2006 p.1; Faiers 2008 p. 79).

[20] Heavily influenced by post-colonial theorist Frantz Fanon's (1925-1961) concept of inferiorism, Beveridge and Turnbull use Fanon's analysis to explain the origins of what they describe as Scotland's 'cultural subordination' in *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture* (1999). Here Trevor-Roper is taken to task by the authors for likening the Scottish before the Union of 1707 to a backward and 'barbaric race':

> *The constant use of the metaphor of darkness and light, gloom and enlightenment to contrast pre and post Union Scotland underlines the crudity of such representations. Fantastic as they may be, however, these myths have acquired, thanks to endless repetition, the status of indubitable truth, and so are rarely subjected to critical analysis*. (Beveridge and Turnbull 1989 p. 6)

the Union, and the subsequent Disarming Act of 1746,[21] the Highlands ceased to be a threat in the public consciousness. This led to popular romantic depictions of the primitive but heroic Highlander (Pittock p. 37 1999), and somewhat perversely, to a craze for tartan in the Lowland upper and middle classes, as Devine explains:

> This strange development was part of a wider process, which was all but complete by the end of the Napoleonic Wars, through which (mostly) imagined and false Highland 'traditions' were absorbed freely by Lowland elites to form the symbolic basis of a new Scottish identity. This 'Highlandism' was quite literally the invention of a tradition. (Devine 1999 p. 233)

What is important to glean from the various stands of this debate, is that the adoption of traditions, spurious or otherwise, can be considered a signifier of wider socio-economic and cultural changes; in this instance, the fallout of modernity. Devine agrees, pinpointing this fallout to the 1760s, when Scotland's traditional rural economy effectively came to an end, bringing social and economic changes that were more pronounced in Scotland as compared to the rest of Britain:

> That decade seems to have been a defining watershed because from then on Scotland began to experience a social and economic transformation unparalleled among European societies of the time in its speed, scale and intensity. The currently favoured view of English modernization, as a process characterised by cumulative, protracted and evolutionary development does not fit the Scottish experience. (Devine 1999 p. 107)

It is clear that from the eighteenth century onwards, through the processes of globalisation and the growth of free market capitalism, Scotland's transition to a modern industrial society was dramatic, and with this came anxieties about cultural identity. This transformation was inversely reflected in its visual and material culture. Rather than embrace the future by adopting outward-looking symbols of modernity, Scotland instead became associated with visual tropes of the past, specifically the mythologised Highlands, as a way of reinforcing and asserting its cultural individuality:

> The images of Scotland continue to resonate the past. It is in many ways a rural, pre-industrial history which we reach for when we try to explain what makes Scotland 'different'. The 'Scotland' of our imaginations remains not only rural, but largely Highland, replete with tartanry and clans. (McCrone 2001 p. 6)

No longer seen as a threat, the Highlander, and his associated visual trappings, became an enduring symbol for an entire nation. The iconography that came to be commonly associated with Scotland,

[21] Which banned anyone not in the army from wearing Highland clothing - namely the kilt.

is therefore not only deeply romantic and stereotypic, but also largely fictitious. This distorted historical perspective gained particular dominance from the nineteenth century onwards, in Scotland and abroad, and is argued to have had a pernicious impact on its economic, social and cultural life for decades to come (Beveridge and Turnbull 1989 p. 2). Modernity therefore acted paradoxically as a stimulus for the invention of tradition in eighteenth and nineteenth century Scotland, and indeed what subsequently became the invention of modern Scottish craft.

3.2 The Legacy of the Arts and Crafts Movement

> I will argue that tradition is a state of mind - a recurring nostalgia for an idealized past, or the desire for a utopian future. (Marchand 2007 p. 24)

Scotland's complicated relationship with modernity and tradition continued into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and was particularly evident during the Arts and Crafts movement. This movement, which began in Britain in the 1880s, but soon spread to Europe and America, is credited with having revived the notion of craft: as object, practice and ideology. It was also a reaction to the trauma of modernity, and in this sense, shares many characteristics with Hobsbawm and Ranger's concept of invented tradition. As Adamson has pointed out, to describe something as 'craft' in the nineteenth century was to imply a connection to a traditional past, fictional or otherwise (Adamson 2013 p. xvii). An understanding of the legacy of the Arts and Crafts movement, and its impact on twentieth century craft discourse, is therefore important as it further exemplifies the contiguous and complicated relationship between craft, modernity and tradition in Scotland.

Defining the Arts and Crafts movement succinctly, as design historian Annette Carruthers states, is complex (Carruthers 2004 p. 19). Rather than attempt a comprehensive overview of the movement, a few germane points will be singled out. The first is that although manifestations of the Arts and Crafts movement appeared in many different parts of the world, it was by no means a unified concern, and its variations were contingent upon local politics, economics, industry and culture. Its name derives from the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, one of several organisations that can be identified under the 'Arts and Crafts' rubric. The London-based Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society was founded in 1887 and held annual exhibitions of work exemplifying its cause. It was preceded by the Art Workers' Guild, established in 1884 as a self-regulating amalgamation of artists, designers, architects and craftsmen. Spurred on largely by the anti-industrial rhetoric of theorist and critic John Ruskin (1819-1900), and designer, writer and activist William Morris (1834-1896), its followers were generally upper middle class, keen to improve the standards of design, and elevate

public taste in the wake of mass production (Crawford 2004a). Guided by a pre-historical narrative that embraced the myth of the medieval 'happy artisan', the movement is described by Fraying as having parallels with that other modern construction, the 'artist craftsman':

> The myth of the happy artisan - like the 'artist craftsman', craft guilds to which select potters could belong, and the confusion of rural workers with guild craftsmen - did not exist until the nineteenth century, when it became part of a romantic reaction against the spread of industrial capitalism. And the history which underpins much of the 'craft revival' is, in fact, nostalgia masquerading as history. (Frayling 2011 p. 66)

The Arts and Crafts movement was at its height in the period of 1890-1910 (Cumming and Kaplan 1991) and its influence quickly spread throughout the United Kingdom. It was however never wholly consolidated in terms of having a central unifying organisation or outlook. For this reason, Arts and Crafts historian Alan Crawford (1943-) posits that in the United Kingdom the movement was particularly 'dis-united' (Crawford 2004a p. 7). The Scottish Arts and Crafts movement, a case in point, reflected Scotland's very ambiguous relationship with the Union; at times Scottish in outlook, at others British (Crawford 2004b p. 21). It is best exemplified by individuals based in the cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, such as Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1868-1928) and his Glasgow School of Art contemporaries, comprising 'The Glasgow Style', architect Robert Lorimer (1864-1929), artist and designer Phoebe Traquair (1852-1936) and intellectual Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) embracing aspects of romantic nationalism and Celtic revival in Edinburgh.

What is important to emphasise from this overview is that as with Hobsbawm and Ranger's concept of invented tradition, the Arts and Crafts movement, and subsequent craft revival that it inspired, were further manifestations of craft's complicated relationship with modernity. However, it would be wrong to suggest, as many of the received narratives of the movement do, that it was wholly anti-modern or anachronistic. Craft was not at risk of disappearing during the industrial revolution, as is often suggested, with Morris, Ruskin et al., heroically coming to its rescue by offering 'an antidote to modernity' (Adamson 2013 p. xv). Historian Tom Crook (2009) and Adamson both challenge the simplicity of the received Arts and Crafts narrative by demonstrating that craft, and its relationship with modernity and tradition, were not two sides of an opposing coin, but rather forces that operated in complicity. Echoing what philosopher and sociologist Jürgen Habermas (1929-) described as a 'romantic modernist' consciousness which evolved in the nineteenth century, this concept is applicable to the Arts and Crafts movement with its reverence for a bygone pre-Raphaelite era:

> The romantic modernist sought to oppose the antique ideals of the classicists; he looked for a new historical epoch and found it in the idealized Middle Ages. (Habermas 1985 p. 4)

Although the Arts and Crafts movement critiqued the modern industrial world, it was never wholly antithetical to it (Adamson 2013 p. xv). Craft knowledge and skill were integral to the automation process. Rather than disappearing during the industrial revolution, craftsmen were needed to make new machines and tools. These in turn allowed craftsmen to extend their practice beyond what had been previously possible (Adamson 2013 p. xvi). Crawford agrees that Morris and his contemporaries did not mount a whole scale rejection of mechanised production. They were instead far more pragmatic, rejecting the idea of the loss of autonomy in the creative process, but not the use of individual machines that might facilitate that process (Crawford 2004b p. 22).

Modern craft, or craft that was no longer pre-industrial, can therefore be described as multivalent, encompassing aspects of tradition and innovation. For this reason, understanding this multivalent identity is central to understanding the discourse surrounding modern Scottish craft in the late twentieth century. Design historian Elizabeth Cumming explores the nineteenth century Scottish context in her work on the Arts and Crafts movement in Scotland, as well as her research on Scottish craft between the wars (Cumming 1997; 2004; 2006; 2007). Cumming offers a range of case studies, which exemplify the dialectic pairing of old and new approaches to craft, for example, Glasgow textile artist Jessie Newbery (1864-1948), who claimed that 'modern designers should be "the sum of tradition" but they should also use ideas in a contemporary way' (Cumming 2007 p. 177). Cumming also cites Scottish textile industrialist James Morton (1867-1943), who was a champion of industry, but also a member of the Art Worker's Guild in London (Cumming 2007 pp. 173-174). The Arts and Crafts movement in Scotland, Cumming argues, was complicit with the industrial revolution, having derived much of its prosperity and impetus from it:

> In a country that had contributed much to the Victorian economy, Arts and Crafts by 1918 had run with industrial practice for more than thirty years … In Scotland handcraft and the machine were partners, not opponents … (Cumming 2006 p. 191)

As Britain entered into the twentieth century, the legacy of the Arts and Crafts movement meant that craft had associations that were 'both modern and anti-modern' (Harrod 1999 p. 9). In its opposition to the forces of modernity, the movement paradoxically claimed modernity for its own purposes. To this end, historian Tom Crook proposes a new way of looking at the Arts and Crafts movement, describing it as an 'alternative modernity':

> On the one hand, craft is conceived of as 'antimodern,' as opposed to, and critical of, industrial modernity. In this way, it is also seen as backward-looking, nostalgic and anachronistic. On the other hand, its very critical posture towards industrial modernity is

> taken as evidence of its modernity, of a forward-looking, transformative ethos which seeks to foster change, innovation and reform. (Crook 2009 p. 18)

As both style and critique of the industrialised world, the influence of the Arts and Crafts movement on craft in the twentieth century is unequivocal. Tanya Harrod, author of *The Crafts in Britain in the Twentieth Century* (1999) writes that the Arts and Crafts movement 'towers over any discussion of modern handwork' (Harrod 1999 p. 9). Not only did it foreground a revival of interest in vernacular forms of hand-making, as well as an interest in national and cultural identity through craft (Blakesley 2006 p. 8), it also left an important legacy in the formation of craft guilds and societies. Many of these provided the foundations upon which twentieth century national craft institutions were built. Contemporary definitions and ways of conceptualising craft can also be directly traced to the Arts and Crafts movement. For example, the ideological label 'artist craftsman' seen in the previous chapter, which contemporary craft organisations, such as the Crafts Advisory Committee in England and Wales (Chapter 2.0), were keen to champion in the late twentieth century can be linked to the writings of William Morris, and many of the most influential characters of the 1970s British craft movement, such as Bernard Leach (1887-1979), were also directly influenced by Morris's rhetoric.

The Arts and Crafts movement was accepted to have 'run its course' by the end of the First World War, giving way to modernism (Blakesley 2006 p. 239), but its ideology continued to influence creative practice. Its basic tenets, and those of modernism, were never mutually exclusive (Cumming 2004). Indeed, as Crook argues, the Arts and Crafts movement 'sought to inaugurate a new modernity; a new and alternative way of being modern' (Crook 2009 p. 19). Arts and Crafts values continued as a guiding force in the newly emerging craft organisations and initiatives in pre and post-war Scotland, with the concept of tradition, foregrounding the invention of modern craft in Scotland.

3.3 Craft, Modernity and Tradition in Wartime Britain

In 1942, halfway through World War II, the government agreed for the Fine Arts Committee of the British Council to mount a touring exhibition titled the *Exhibition of Modern British Crafts*. [Fig 3.1] Unsurprisingly, at a time when raw materials were scarce, and craft activity was almost wholly re-directed to assisting the war, there was not a lot of craft to choose from (The British Council 1942 p. 5). The exhibition's significance was not in what was displayed, which was limited, but rather in the rhetoric contained within what was displayed. Despite its modest pretentions, the exhibition singled out craft as being vital to the physical and spiritual rebuilding of Britain. Some,

such as art critic Charles Marriot (1869-1957), also argued that craft would play a strategic role in Scotland's post-war industry:

> ... the artistic problems of the factory must first be worked out in the studio, and the handicraft workers represented here can be looked upon as the 'pace makers' of art in industry. (The British Council 1942 p. 10)

The apparent oxymoron of 'art in industry', from the quote above was borrowed directly from art critic Herbert Read's (1893-1968) formative text *Art and Industry* (1934) and would have been familiar to any forward thinkers of the time. Read was heavily influenced by the precepts of continental modernism, particularly Bauhaus principles, and was an advocate for new aesthetic standards in industrial production, namely those that drew inspiration from abstract forms (Kinross 1988). The impact of Read's work was experienced in Scotland almost a decade later when Scottish artist Stanley Cursiter (1887-1976) published a follow-up text for the Satire Society, titled *Art in Industry - With Special Reference to Conditions in Scotland* in 1943. Cursiter, who trained at Edinburgh College of Art, and later became the Director of the National Galleries of Scotland, was initially influenced by the modern movements of Cubism and Futurism, but subsequently turned to a more conservative form of modernism (Normand 2000 pp. 4-5). The application of 'art to industry', Cursiter argued, had to fulfil two promises: first it should increase the sale of mass produced objects, and second, it should improve their overall aesthetic standard, which in turn would raise the taste of the general public (Cursiter 1943 p. 8). Cursiter claimed that this was particularly relevant in Scotland, as the emphasis on large-scale industrial production had led to a demise of smaller craft industries (Cursiter 1943 p. 9). In order to remain competitive, Scottish craft industries needed to hold on to what made them unique. This uniqueness, Cursiter argued, could be found its 'traditions', however these may have been interpreted:

> Every effort should be made to protect these industries, to preserve their traditions and to expand other industries with a similar national character. (Cursiter 1943 p. 32)

Cursiter's conservative vision of modernity, combined a traditional aesthetic with modern production techniques; a vision that was present throughout the *Exhibition of Modern Craft*s. The 'modern' in the title underlined the belief that although craft had a substantial legacy in Britain that should be capitalised on, an alliance of craft and industry would be advantageous in the rebuilding of its post-war economy. By way of asserting the exhibition's modernist credentials, reference was made in the catalogue to the writings of Bauhaus Professor Walter Gropius (1883-1969), but homage was also paid to William Morris and the Arts and Crafts movement, stating that 'The object of this exhibition is a modest one; to show that the lamp he [Morris] lit in 1888 is still burning' (The British Council 1942 p. 10). Not surprisingly, the craftwork on display was far from

homogeneous. A juxtaposition of old and new, which was symptomatic of the way in which the Committee of the *Modern British Crafts Exhibition*, and indeed the Arts Committee of the British Council, wanted British craft to be perceived and promoted to its audiences in Britain and abroad.

Fig 3.1 Cover, *Exhibition of Modern British Crafts*, 1942.

The exhibition toured Canada and the United States between 1942 and 1945, providing an ideological showcase of how British craft could contribute to the post-war reconstruction economy. There were twenty-eight categories of craft in the exhibition, the majority which could be considered rural or pre-industrial, such as 'Basic Crafts of the Soil' including a besom broom, corn dolly and shepherd's crook, and 'Traditional Crafts' which featured mostly Scottish products,

including tartans in colours based on natural vegetable dyes, hand-woven tweeds from Locharron, and lacework and baskets from Shetland. Despite the 'modern' in the exhibition's title, the work displayed was mostly what might be considered 'traditional' in content and form. Indeed it was hard to find much that could be considered truly 'modern' about any of the craft displayed. Attempts to address this deficit could be seen here and there, for example in the 'Country Dining Room', featuring ceramics by Bernard Leach (1887-1979) and Michael Cardew (1901-1983), a Sycamore dining table by Edward Barnsley (1900-1987), and hand-printed textiles designed by Dorothy Larcher (1882-1952) and Phyllis Barron (1890-1964). There were also several categories of work 'produced under industrial conditions', but only where they could be linked to a named designer, for example pottery designed by Eric Ravilious (1903-1942) and manufactured by Josiah Wedgwood & Sons; and curtain material designed by Ben Nicholson (1894-1982) and machine executed by The Edinburgh Weavers. With the exception of these limited examples of mass-production, the exhibition was overwhelmingly one of modernity with a small 'm'.

The catalogue essays were written by individuals noted for their affiliation with the arts, crafts or industry.[22] They underlined Britain's legacy as a nation with a strong craft tradition, and attempted to articulate what the future might hold for the crafts in post-war Britain. Some authors were able to envisage the benefits of a strong relationship with industry, celebrating the potential rewards of pairing the 'artist designer' with 'modern industrial production'. Keith Murray's collaboration with Wedgwood, for example, was seen as a perfect example of the merging of 'tradition from the past' with 'steady progress' (The British Council 1942 p. 20). Others were more circumspect, predicting that the physical destruction experienced in the war, and the ensuing period of post-war recovery, would lead to a rapid demand for cheap manufactured goods, and a decline in taste and standards. These more conservative critics foresaw an urgent need to return to the Arts and Crafts values of the previous century.

The importance of the exhibition in terms of the Scottish modernity and tradition dichotomy outlined earlier, was that it substantiated a government awareness of the external perception of British craft as a cultural product; its inherent strengths, but also its limitations, in a post-war industrial market. It was clear that to be engaged with modernity and industry was perceived by government as necessary, but there were concerns that this alliance could render craft, and the craftsman, redundant in a post-war economy: 'There is temptation enough to brush aside their activities as of no real importance whatever' (The British Council 1942 p. 6). The exhibition's

[22] Including Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum Eric Maclagan (1879-1951); art critic Charles Marriott (1869-1957); banker and textile magnate Thomas Barlow (1883-1964); author and patron of the arts Lady Semphill (1903-1984); Director of the Goldsmiths Company G.R. Hughes (1926-2010); and typographer, designer and historian of printing Stanley Morison (1889-1967).

organisers championed craft as embodying positive national characteristics, including the British pastoral and rural, in contrast to the brutal inhumanity associated with the German war machine. The very essence of British craft, as Charles Marriott wrote, was that it had remained unchanged 'in quality and character' over time, 'distinguished by quality of substance and workmanship rather than by quality of design' (The British Council 1942 p. 7). He went on to argue that the national proclivity towards the staid solidity embodied by the crafts, rather than fashionable modern design, was what differentiated the British products from their foreign competitors:

> This native peculiarity is easily explained. The Englishman likes 'good stuff' and delights in doing things for their own sake, irrespective of what the results look like, and this naturally makes the British craftsman and manufacturer resistant to new ideas. (The British Council 1942 p. 7) [23]

Clearly the economic question of how British craft could continue to justify its existence in an industrial post-war economy was at the forefront of the organiser's minds, as Charles Marriott pointed out:

> The crux of the present situation in British crafts is the existence side by side of hand and machine production. There is room for both, and if they could be kept entirely separate the only problem raised would be the economic one - ability in the consumer to pay the higher price that handicraft compels. (The British Council 1942 p. 8)

However, there was also evidence of a growing cultural revulsion at the more blatant commercial aspects of aligning craft with industry. This more reactionary attitude had parallels with the concept of the invention of tradition seen earlier in this chapter. In the words of Thomas Barlow:

> Hand-made objects are either justified by their inherent qualities and their capacity to express certain values which are otherwise unattainable or they are hardly justified at all. To assess them purely on an economic basis is indefensible.
> (The British Council 1942 p. 16)

In essence, what the *Exhibition of Modern British Crafts* promulgated was a debate on the importance of differentiating between 'the handmade artefact of the artist-craftsman and the mass-produced product of the machine' (White 1989 p. 208). This debate was to gain momentum after the war, but did not fully crystallise until 1973 with the V&A's exhibition *The Craftsman's Art* discussed in the last chapter. The thirty year period between these two exhibitions was crucial, in the fight to secure the foundations of an infrastructure in which crafts could be supported and

[23] Note that in this quote Marriott conflates 'English' with 'British' which was common at this time.

thrive. Clearly tradition and modernity were far from reconciled at the *Exhibition of Modern Crafts*. Attempts were made to engage with it, but there was also a discernible desire to retreat. Most noticeable of all in this exhibition was that Scottish craft, which appeared in around twenty of the categories of craftwork on show, was without exception 'traditional', as the examples below indicate:

- Baskets in old-type Shetland straw-work.
- Scottish tartans in the traditional colourings based on vegetable dyes.
- Mitts, hand-knitted from hand-spun, vegetable-dyed Harris yarns. Traditional design.
- Hand knitted gloves. Fair Isle pattern, natural colours. Traditional design.
- Superfine traditional Shetland pure wool lace shawls.

(The British Council 1942 pp. 25-28)

The *Exhibition of Modern British Crafts* may have simply been a propaganda exercise (Harrod 1999 p.196), but it set the scene in terms of displaying, in both writing and objects, the aspirations and tensions that were apparent in modern British craft at this time. Although attempts were made to align craft with modernism, through the title of the exhibition, and also through some of the objects displayed, this was overwhelmingly a conservative vision of modernity. And with respect to Scottish craft, the *Exhibition of Modern British Crafts* projected an identity that was firmly rooted in tradition and in the past. The examples of textiles and basketwork exemplified a longing for days gone by that was not entirely dissonant with the rest of the exhibition, but that was certainly at the more reactionary end of what craft in the mid-twentieth century might be. This was a difference that would continue to become more pronounced throughout the twentieth century, particularly with the increasing institutionalisation of craft through the formation of national craft organisations and the emergence of separate organisations in England and in Scotland.

3.4 Modern British Craft and its Institutions

The *Exhibition of Modern British Crafts* was a barometer for the state of the crafts in Britain during the Second World War, reflecting a mood that was cautious and conflicted. It also highlighted how Scottish craft was rapidly acquiring a separate identity that would continue to differentiate it from the rest of British craft in years to come. It was against this backdrop that the first attempts were made to unite the disparate strands of former Arts and Crafts organisations into one national institution in Britain, with the creation of the Craft Centre of Great Britain in 1946, and the Scottish Craft Centre in 1949. The consequences of this post-war institutionalisation of craft, in particular how these nascent organisations attempted to shape an ideology and identity for craft in Britain,

would have a lasting impact. It will be argued that the institutions themselves had far more purchase than the individuals involved could bring to bear, as James Noel White explains:

> Initial research into the documents relating to the craft movement of the twentieth century suggests that the progress of events depended as much on the activities of cultural and economic groups as on those of individual craftsmen themselves. (White 1989 p. 208)

White was well placed to document the early history of the Crafts Centre of Great Britain, having first hand experience of craft infrastructure through his involvement with the Rural Industries Bureau and the Council of Industrial Design, both organisations whose constituent members were to make up the new Crafts Centre of Great Britain (White 1989 p. 207). He later became the Vice President for the World Crafts Council of UNESCO in 1966. White's observation that cultural and economic institutions had an important relationship with craft reflects the key motivation behind the *Exhibition of Modern British Crafts*, which was that crafts could play a strategic part in the reconstruction plans of post-war Britain. This was a time of great opportunity for Britain, and after a long period of austerity and deprivation, reconstruction was very much on the mind of policy makers. This gave rise to numerous ambitious plans set to improve all aspects of society, including the Education Act, the Town and Country Planning Act, the National Insurance Act, the New Towns initiative and the National Health Service. In the words of William Beveridge (1879-1963), architect of the 1942 Beveridge Report that laid the foundation for the welfare state in Britain, these were times that required nothing short of radical rethinking: 'A revolutionary moment in the world's history is a time for revolutions, not patching' (Beveridge 1942 p. 6).

It was during this burst of reconstruction optimism that the first government funded craft organisations also came into existence. In 1946, craft societies[24] dating back to the Arts and Craft movement that had previously operated independently came together as one government-supported entity called the Crafts Centre of Great Britain (Crafts Council 1994 p. 1). Based in London, the Crafts Centre was the first crafts organisation since World War I to receive a capital grant of £18,000 from the Board of Trade, as well as an annual grant of £3,000 (Crafts Council 1994 p. 1; Harrod 1999 p. 211). Although these grants were considered modest in comparison to those received by the larger Arts Council and Council of Industrial Design, the fact that craft was now recognised at government level was significant (Crafts Council 1994 p. 1). It also marked a point when craft, in terms of government expenditure, was separated from the arts and design (these

[24] Including the two main craft societies at the time: the Red Rose Guild of Manchester and the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society; and three subsidiary societies: the Society of Scribes and Illuminators, the Senefelder Club, and the Society of Wood Engravers.

being funded respectively by the Arts Council and the Council of Industrial Design), and could operate with its own particular focus and agenda.[25]

Under the chairmanship of John Farleigh (1900-1965), illustrator, engraver and former President of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society,[26] it was decided that the Crafts Centre of Great Britain would support what he described as 'fine craftsmanship' (Harrod 1999 p. 211). This nomenclature was significant, as it evidences a desire to differentiate craft from 'traditional, rural and vernacular' examples which were seen at the *Exhibition of Modern Crafts* in 1942, as well as 'trade' craft, such as saddlery and watch making (Crafts Council 1994 p. 2). Harrod confirms that the Crafts Centre for Great Britain 'effectively defined the boundaries of "fine craftsmanship" of government and arts policy makers for the rest of the century' (Harrod 1999 p. 211). 'Fine craft', as a concept, had parallels with fine art, and could be seen as the government's imposition of modernity as the benchmark for post-war craft. Similar government interventions were occurring with Canadian craft in the 1950s, as Sandra Alfoldy points out:

> In the 1950s, actively identifying craft as 'fine' was perceived as distinguishing it from the non-professional objects that cluttered the field … By simply inserting the term 'fine', loaded with overt references to the 'fine' arts, it was believed that the crafts could be elevated … For all concerned, fine crafts were professional crafts, poised to work with industry and fully engaged with modernist discourses. (Alfoldy 2005 p. 4)

But Farleigh's aspirations for the Craft Centre were to market craft as 'progressive design' with 'a permanent exhibition where the public could see and buy handmade articles, and industrialists could see examples of craftsmen's work' (White 1989 p. 209). Although Farleigh supported the separation of craft from machine work, the Centre's financial dependency on the Board of Trade meant that it had to promote fine craft as something that could also have a beneficial impact on industrial design (White 1989 p. 212). This concept was mooted in the rhetoric that accompanied the *Exhibition of Modern Crafts*, even if the objects themselves were not obvious exemplars. Rather than supporting craft for its cultural value, the Board of Trade's advisors at the Council of Industrial Design stipulated that the Craft Centre must, first and foremost, demonstrate its usefulness to industrial design. Despite the Craft Centre's clear desire to showcase innovative and contemporary craft, the fact that its support came with such restrictions ultimately proved a limiting factor. For these reasons, not only was its financial situation often precarious, but its constituency also less than united (Crafts Council 1994 p. 2; Harrod 1999 pp. 211-220; Harrod and La Trobe-Bateman 1998).

[25] See Houston 1988 chapter written by Farleigh on BCC.

[26] Farleigh had also been on the Exhibition Committee for the British Council Modern British Crafts Exhibition in 1942.

With the formation of the Craft Centre of Great Britain, craft was finally recognised at a national level as an entity with government support and a growing national constituency. But although the Craft Centre had 'Great Britain' in its title, it was in reality a London-centric organisation, with little concern for craft outside of England and Wales. For this reason, a parallel craft organisation, The Scottish Craft Centre, was formed in 1949. Not only was the Scottish Craft Centre very distinct in outlook and ideology from its English counterpart, it received funding from different government income streams, which in turn led to very different outcomes for modern Scottish craft in the twentieth century.

3.5 The Beginning of The Scottish Craft Centre

With financial backing from the Scottish Committee of the Council of Industrial Design, the Scottish Craft Centre was established in Acheson House, a recently restored seventeenth century townhouse in Edinburgh's Old Town. The choice of Edinburgh over Glasgow as a locus for Scotland's first national craft centre was highly significant. Although Glasgow was recognised as the more commercial of the two urban centres, Edinburgh with its strong links to heritage and the aristocracy, chimed more with the Centre's ambitions of becoming a national showcase for Scottish craft. The themes of heritage, nationalism, and importantly tradition, now recognised as a complex problematic of Scotland's post-war identity, were all at play here. Parallels can be made with another charitable organisation dependent on state subsidy: the National Trust for Scotland, founded in 1933. As with the Scottish Craft Centre, the National Trust for Scotland was heavily dominated by aristocrats and landed gentry. Described by McCrone, Morris and Kiely in *Scotland the Brand - The Making of Scottish Heritage* (1999) as 'patrician and paternalistic' (p. 102), the National Trust for Scotland was effectively the custodian of Scotland's natural and cultural heritage, with a staid image of respectability, 'eschewing any downmarket iconography of Scotland, as befits a gentry-led organisation' (McCrone, Morris and Kiely 1999 p. 106). Similar comparisons can be drawn with the Scottish Craft Centre and its links with Acheson House, owned and restored by the aristocratic Bute family.[27] The political climate in post-war Scotland saw a number of eminent Scottish aristocrats campaigning to preserve historic buildings. Arguably the relationship between the aristocracy and the National Trust was one of expediency. The Trust enabled the landed elite to maintain their property, as well their position in society, through their

[27] The fourth Marquess of Bute (John Crichton-Stuart -1881–1947) was a key name in the modern Scottish conservation movement, which was dedicated to preserving Scottish craftsmanship and history (Cumming 2006 p. 209). He gave a lecture in 1936 titled 'A Plea for Scotland's Architectural Heritage' published by the National Trust for Scotland campaigned for government money to classify and record Scotland's old domestic houses (Cummings 2007 p. 188).

work in conservation and the preservation of heritage. This situation was greatly enabled by the boom in post-war tourism and the emergence of a 'heritage industry' as Devine explains:

> In this as in so many other ways, there was a significant continuity of the inherited system of landownership from earlier centuries to the modern age. This connection has in recent times become even more secure, as the opening of the great houses to the public, mass tourism and the popular addiction to nostalgia have enabled aristocratic families to act as guardians of the nation's heritage and personified symbols of an enduring link with the glories of the Scottish past. (Devine 1999 p. 459)

Confirmation of this phenomenon could be seen at the Scottish Craft Centre, not only through the Bute family's connections with Acheson House, but also in the interests of the Centre's first chairman, John Noble, (1912-1972), first Baronet of Ardingklas. Noble came from an ancient Scottish family and was a well-respected philanthropist, collector and connoisseur of Scottish craft. His commitment to supporting the crafts was evidenced by the commissioning of the eminent Scottish Arts and Crafts architect Robert Lorimer (1864-1929) to build his family home, Ardingklas House, in 1907. Considered Lorimer's masterpiece, the house was a testament to the best of Scottish craftsmanship, further underlining the Scottish Craft Centre's chairman's credentials as an arbiter of fine Scottish craft. The Centre's early minutes evidence a plethora of Scotland's 'great and the good, including its first president Lord Haig (1918-2009) the second Earl of Bemersyde, a Scottish aristocrat, collector and connoisseur of craft.[28]

A booklet to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the Centre, *The Scottish Craft Centre - The First Five Years* (1955), reinforced the point that the Second World War had been a watershed for the crafts in Britain. [Fig 3.2] It was clear that those involved with the Centre saw themselves as the future custodians of Scottish craft; moral guardians whose mission was to safeguard its future, and preserve it from the encroaching inhumanity witnessed during the war:

> It requires little imagination to realise how the awful necessity of gearing the whole of the nation's manpower to the prosecution of a highly technical modern War must go against the hand craftsman. (Scottish Craft Centre 1955 p. 7)

[28] Other aristocratic members included Noble's sister, Lady Gainford (1990-1995), The Countess of Elgin (- 1989), Lady Carnegy (1925-2010) and Lady Home (Scottish Craft Centre 1958; 1959).

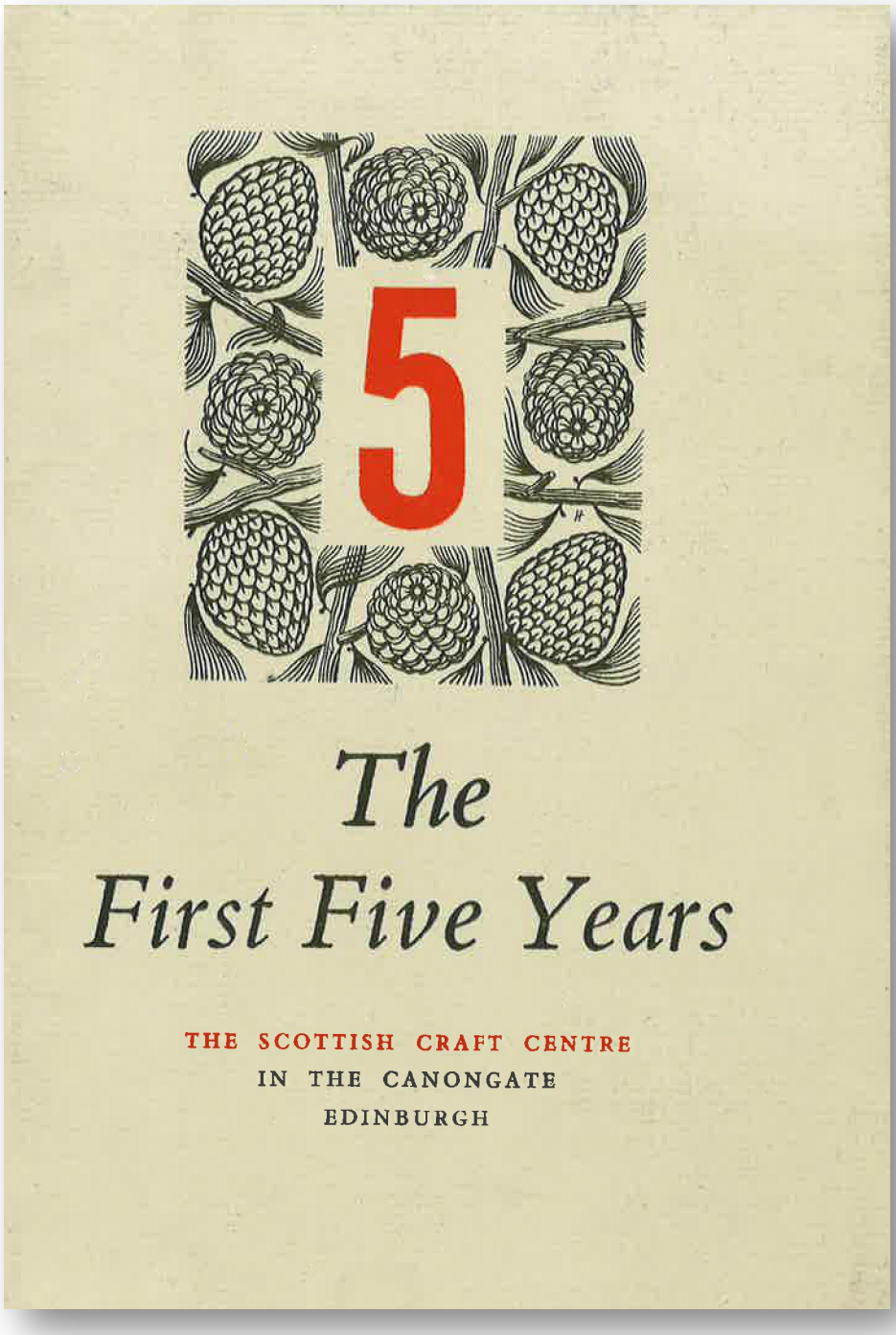

Fig 3.2 Cover, The First Five Years, 1955.

The First Five Years outlines the beginnings of the Scottish Craft Centre, explaining that because its institutional predecessor, the Craft Centre of Great Britain, was predominately English in its membership, it was unable to adequately serve the needs of Scottish craftsmen. For this reason, the

Craft Centre of Great Britain's Chairman, John Farleigh, was happy to devolve responsibility for the stewardship of Scottish craft to the Scottish Craft Centre. This was to mark an ideological schism between Scottish crafts and the rest of Britain. The relationship between the two organisations, described as 'friendly and cooperative' despite 'differences of opinion' (Scottish Craft Centre 1955 p.9), was from the start at odds in both approach and attitude:

> The Centre differed from its London counterpart in another way; it promoted some rurally based industrial crafts like knitwear and woven lengths and leather work in the form of sporrans, gloves and travel bags. Such products, redolent of the invented traditions of the nineteenth century, were of course not the whole story of Scottish craft, but 'traditional' goods were as important to the Scottish Crafts Centre and to its aristocratic patrons as Scotland's innovative tapestries, engraved glass and silver. (Harrod 1999 p. 212)

Beginning with a council of twenty, the Centre soon established a constitution, and a monthly meeting executive committee. By way of securing membership to the Centre, a panel of assessors was appointed to vet the work of craftsmen as potential 'craftsmen members'. There were 'associate members' who were charged a small membership fee, and 'corporate members', who would contribute financially to the Centre.[29] Registered as a charitable institution, it was intended that the Centre would eventually become self-supporting, generating its income from membership subscriptions and craft commissions (Scottish Craft Centre 1955 p. 15). There were high expectations for the commissioning side of the business, the idea being that individuals, or organisations, could commission craftsmen members to produce bespoke items for public buildings or special occasions, such a wedding or a christening. In the early days, Lord Haig was an enthusiastic craft commissioner, and with his aristocratic connections, this side of the business looked promising. The Centre also had a small shop, where craftsmen members were invited to sell their work. But the Centre's organisers were keen to emphasise that its ambitions went beyond retail, that it was not 'just a superior Gift Shop' (Scottish Craft Centre 1955 p. 16):

> In the first year or so there was a great demand for small things which could be bought as it were 'over the counter.' A number of people probably came out of curiosity and perhaps bought the smallest, least expensive thing they could find, to avoid the embarrassment of going out again empty handed (Scottish Craft Centre 1955 p. 16).

[29] The setup appeared familial if slightly eccentric; a Miss Ferguson managed the Centre and the exiled Count Tarnowski acted as Crafts Organiser, a vague title that seems to have implied an enthusiastic assistant. It may well be argued that this was an organisation that was run on personal passion and favour as much as government subsidy.

The Centre's charitable status meant that all the items sold in the shop had to be handled on a 'sale or return' basis. This was to cause problems for its craftsmen members, as it meant tying up valuable stock without payment in advance, an unattractive prospect for many of its members eking out a living from their craft. The craftwork favoured by the Centre's visitors included silver smithing, bookbinding, pottery and glass engraving (Scottish Craft Centre 1955 p. 16). There was also a marked preference for 'traditional' types of craft, in contrast to the British Craft Centre's shop in London:

> It is interesting also to note that in spite of all that is said to the contrary nowadays, many people are still interested in buying silver. It has been one of the best sellers. (Scottish Craft Centre 1955 p. 16)

Despite the initial enthusiasm upon which the Centre was launched, there was awareness that it faced an uncertain future. Figures from the first five years confirmed that although some revenue was generated from the sale of craftsmen's work, its existence was largely down to 'substantial financial help' (Scottish Craft Centre 1955 p. 17). This 'help' consisted mainly of a five year Board of Trade Grant from 1953 (Scottish Craft Centre 1955 p. 18). Interestingly, the grant was not linked to the number of sales at the Centre, but rather to the number of membership subscriptions and donations it could generate. The Board of Trade explained that this was to ensure that craft standards were upheld, and not compromised by commercial demands:

> … so anxious that standards of design and craftsmanship should be maintained that they feared, if hard pressed for money, the Centre might be tempted to lower its standards to achieve greater sales. (Scottish Craft Centre 1955 p. 18)

The issue of retail was one that would plague the Centre for decades to come, as it was continually torn between the desire to encourage high standards in craftsmanship but also make a profit from selling its members' goods (Chapter 5.0). These two ambitions were not always compatible, and became a source of great tension for members. Setting and maintaining standards was therefore a recurrent problem for the Centre. Its panel, none of who were practising craftsmen, met every month to decide whether a prospective applicants' work was good enough for membership to the Craft Centre (Scottish Craft Centre 1955 p. 24). This was a fraught business, as it was acknowledged that the pool of practising craftsmen in Scotland was limited, and from that pool, standards were often extremely variable. 'Skill' had to be weighed up with 'design'; a poor sense of the latter was cited as a 'common failing' (Scottish Craft Centre 1955 p. 25). The panel were keen to accept only work of craftsmen who produced their own designs. However deciding what constituted an 'original design' was problematic. As with many traditional crafts, such as wrought iron, it was common practice to repeat patterns passed down through generations. The notion of

autonomy and creative expression were a more contemporary approach to craft, applicable to the practice of fine art, rather than craft. As Adamson writes:

> Only with the formation of modern craft did hand skill come to be seen as the domain of the 'one off'. Previously, replication was the core business of artisanal practice. (Adamson 2013 p. 145)

With a view to encouraging and maintaining standards, as well as educating the public, the Centre held a series of exhibitions showcasing craft in practice. Exhibitions at the Centre, such as *Craftsmen at Work (*1954), invited the public to see makers involved in craft production. Travelling exhibitions were a further initiative to educate the wider public and spread the word about Scottish craftsmanship and the Centre. Final year students from the four Scottish Art Colleges were invited to exhibit work at the Centre, to ensure that the younger generation were also encouraged and showcased. It was recognised that with the closure of so many craft workshops following the War, and the loss of established models of training future craftspeople, such as apprenticeships, Art schools now played an important role in maintaining these craft skills.

Reflecting the overall mood of the nation, the Scottish Crafts Centre concluded its fifth anniversary in 1954 on an optimistic note. It now had recognition from government, by way of a rolling grant, and an enthusiastic and growing membership who were united by the conviction 'that quality must be the chief aim of the Centre if it is to survive and serve its purpose' (Scottish Craft Centre 1955 p. 22). It was believed that mass-produced goods, although having a place in post-war society, could not fulfil a fundamental human need to connect with unique, handcrafted objects:

> Mass production cannot cater for the individual, the craftsman can. What he produces has a life of its own, derived from the maker, whereas the machine product is inert. (Scottish Craft Centre 1955 p. 23)

This rhetoric mirrored that of William Morris, and appealed to those who were able to differentiate and appreciate between craft and mass-produced objects, and importantly, those who could afford to pay for the difference. This was the type of member and customer the Centre particularly hoped to attract:

> One person prefers a silver cup to a plastic tumbler. Another is content with any material that holds water, but has an aversion to plastic buttons and will willingly spend the extra shilling or pound to substitute wood, horn, pebble or silver. (Scottish Craft Centre 1955 p. 23)

However, convincing the public to pay the extra shilling for craftwork was a challenge for the Centre. It also needed to educate the public on how to differentiate and value what it considered a 'beautiful' object from an 'ordinary' or 'ugly' one. This was a question of taste and elitism that exemplified the Centre's post-war anxiety about modernity:

> It is a strange feature of our present civilisation that vast sums of money are spent on works which are thought to be useful, but the comparatively small amount required to make them beautiful as well as useful is grudged. (Scottish Craft Centre 1955 p. 23)

The post-war period in Britain was significant in terms of the emerging institutionalisation of the crafts. It witnessed the formation of two government supported national organisations that were to become the arbiter and champions of craft for decades to come. These institutions were however very different in approach, and whereas the history of the British Crafts Centre has been well documented (Crafts Council 1994; Harrod and LaTrobe-Bateman 1998; Harrod 1999), the Scottish Craft Centre has escaped with little critical attention. Both institutions were products of the post-war push to recover Britain's 'greatness', however they differed considerably in outlook and ideology. The Crafts Centre of Great Britain was keen to embrace 'fine crafts' and modernity (a concept that would continue into the 1970s craft revival), wanting to move away supporting traditional, vernacular forms of hand-making. Government demands that the Crafts Centre of Great Britain also demonstrate links with industry meant that it needed to at least be *thinking* about contemporary industrial production and the role craft might play in that process. A rather different picture was emerging in post-war Scotland. The Scottish Craft Centre saw modernity largely as a threat. Guided by its influential aristocratic patrons, its mission was to preserve and maintain traditions, and to educate the public against the growing wave of cheap mass-produced goods. In the words of Elizabeth Cumming:

> For many crafts-people, particularly in Scotland, Modernism and war now symbolised not a positive future but an abandonment of heritage, an intellectual vacuum. (Cumming 1997 p. 66)

3.6 The Saltire Society *Scottish Tradition* Series and *Scottish Crafts*

During the interwar period a movement aspiring to restore authentic Scottish culture and recover Scotland's 'Celtic' past gained momentum (Normand 2000 p. 6). Described by its supporters as the Scottish Renaissance, it was galvanised by the formation of the National Party of Scotland in 1934 and a growing desire for Scottish self-determination. It consisted of writers, poets and artists - most

notably Hugh MacDiarmid (1892-1978), William Soutar (1898-1943), William McCance (1894-1970), and John Duncan Fergusson (1874-1961). The work of these individuals was in a modernist idiom, but it was a conservative form of modernism; one that continued to engage with the narrative and decorative aspects of Scottish painting, rather than wholly embrace the more radical approaches of the avant-garde movements on the Continent (Normand 2000 p.6). At the heart of the movement was a desire to re-assert a 'truer' Scottish identity, one that would garner respect and credibility on an international stage.

The desire to re-align Scotland with its 'authentic' national origins was reflected in the rhetoric of The Saltire Society, an organisation founded in 1936 by individuals wishing 'to see Scotland restored to its proper position as a cultural unit' (Cursiter 1943). The Saltire Society professed to be non-political, engaging instead in a mission to safeguard Scotland's cultural future. The restoration of 'tradition' was at the heart of the organisation, but not the invented tradition described by Hobsbawm and Ranger, evidenced in 'tartanry' and what was referred to as the 'Kailyard School' of literary fiction.[30] In the eyes of Scottish Renaissance proponents, these forms of tradition were debased pastiche, representing a sentimental vision of rural life, designed to appeal to colonialists and Scottish emigrés. The Saltire Society's mission was to reclaim Scotland's 'true' traditions, free from any degrading stereotypes or nostalgia.[31]

The Society's message was disseminated to the public through a series of pamphlets, such as 'The Tradition Series'. With its self-explanatory title, this series of publications covered a range of Scottish subjects including burgh architecture, photography, pottery, silver and printed books. As well as providing a subject overview, the Tradition Series texts were vehicles for the Saltire Society's own particular rhetoric on the vexed issue of tradition and modernity. A good example being *The Scottish Tradition in Silver* (1948c) by Ian Finlay (1906-1995),[32] [Fig 3.3] then curator of art at the Royal Scottish Museum. According to Finlay, the respect for tradition and a preference for 'true' Scottish crafts, had increasingly been supplanted by an influx of inferior products from England, as well as an alarming demand for objects evoking a spurious Scottish past (Finlay 1948c p. 1). Finlay rallied for drastic change in both attitude and policy concerning Scottish craft, to ensure its safe return to authentic Scottish values:

[30] Epitomised by authors such as J.M. Barrie. See Cameron 2010 pp. 9-10.

[31] For an example of how this would translate to architecture, see Reiach and Hurd's *Building Scotland - A Cautionary Tale* (1944).

[32] Also author of *Art in Scotland* (1948).

This attitude is dictated by public demand, for the public is sentimentally thirled to its own ideas of a past of which it is really profoundly ignorant. The solution is surely the recreation of a demand for that everyday domestic silverware at present met - but how dully and inadequately! - by the products of English manufacturing centres. (Finlay 1948c p. 6)

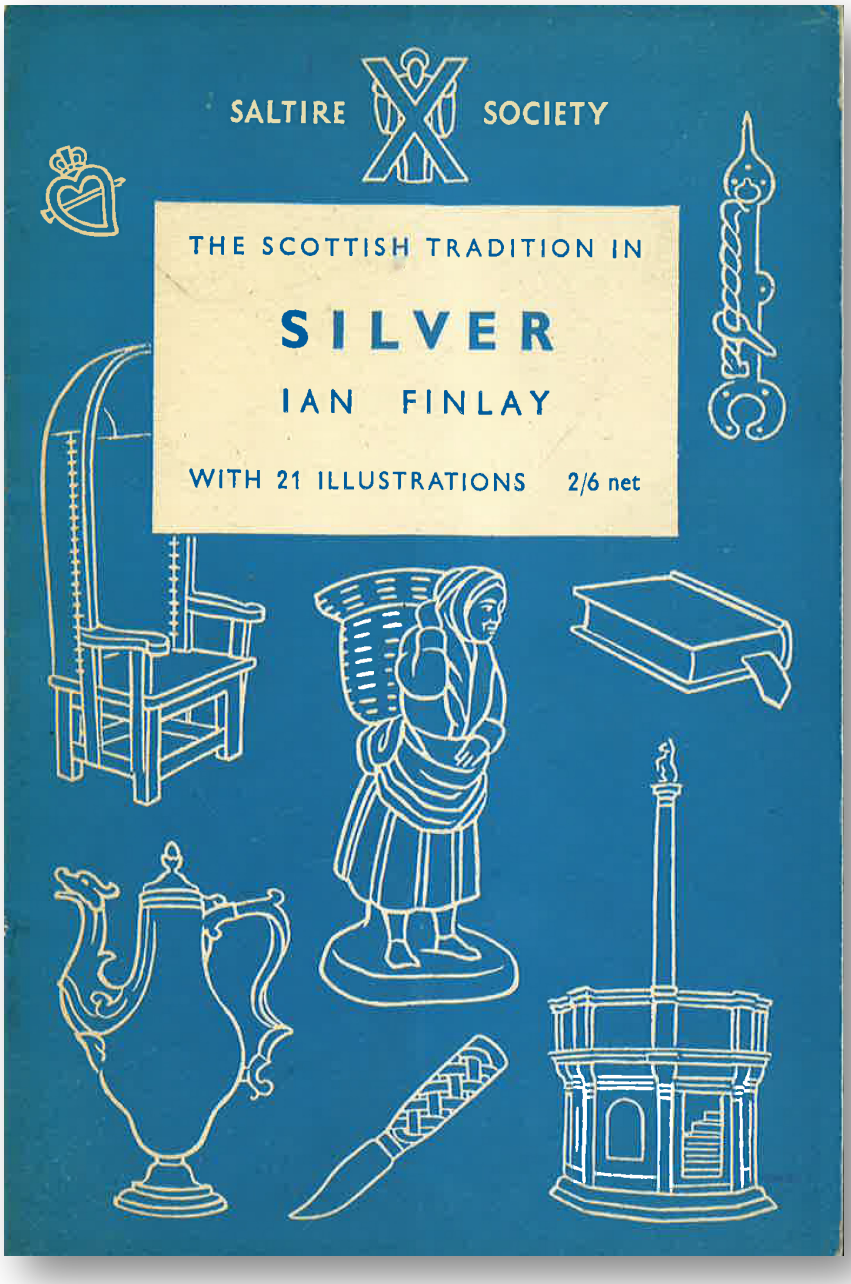

Fig 3.3 Cover, *The Scottish Tradition in Silver*, 1948.

Finlay's *Scottish Tradition in Silver* included examples of Scottish silverware, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, such as quaichs, teapots, mazers and thistle cups. They represented the kind of quality and authenticity Finlay believed was under threat from the homogenising influences of modernism, and a national tendency towards subordination in the face of outside influences. Beveridge and Turnbull took up the same argument nearly forty years later, rejecting what it described as Scottish 'inferiorism' and calling for a return to a more genuine Scottish culture:

> Inferiorism is then expressed, in more precise terms, in the adoption of discourses which portray Scotland as a dark and backward corner of the land, and in the severe distrust of Scottish traditions and precedents displayed by the intellectuals. Combatting this dismal orientation will mean, then, on the one hand, interrogating official discourses on Scotland, and, on the other, re-asserting the practices which define our own culture. (Beveridge and Turnbull 1989 p. 15)

Iain Paul's *The Scottish Tradition in Pottery* (1948), another Saltire Society publication, presents a similar rebuke on the precarious state of post-war Scottish craft. As with Finlay's *Scottish Tradition in Silver*, Paul's text is infused with polemic. Using examples from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, his premise was that Scottish pottery, once a thriving industry with its own unique character and cultural integrity, was now under threat posed by English and Continental potteries. The English, he claimed, benefitted from a larger home market and better transportation networks, and the Continent had more government support and larger overseas markets. However, the really pernicious problem, Paul argued, was much closer to home. His refrain that the Scots had lost confidence in themselves, their traditions, and their roots, was now a familiar one. True Scottish craft had been replaced by sham imitation in the form of mantelpiece 'dabbities', including 'cheeny dugs, parrots, fishwives, pirlie-pigs'[33] (Paul 1948 p. 3). Not only had the Scots let their cultural standards slip, they had prostituted their heritage to such an extent that the buying public had now come to expect such travesties. As with Finlay, Paul argued that the problem was rooted in Scotland's deep sense of inferiority. In order for this to be eradicated, it would need the attention of policy makers, and cultural institutions, such as the Scottish Craft Centre. Again pre-empting the work of Beveridge and Turnbull, Paul explains:

> Another factor in this decline has been the morbid tendency among many Scots people - traceable no doubt to political origins - to belittle everything Scottish. They have come to care little for their own traditions, their language, their literature, their painting, their architecture, their music and, least of all, their pottery. Even many of those with pretensions to culture have become strangely diffident (and remarkably ignorant) about their own heritage: they have tended to be apologetic about all our native achievements except, perhaps about the making of whisky, shortbread and other 'Scotch' products on

[33] *Cheeny dug* - china dog; *dabbities* - cottage ornaments; *pirlie-pig* - earthenware money-box.

> which commercial advertising has conditioned their minds to hold more confident views. Coupled with this diffidence there has been an extensive decline in cultural standards, mainly due to the degrading influence on our way of life of the past century's industrialism - a serious situation, so far largely ignored by the education authorities. (Paul 1948 pp. 4-5)

The Saltire Society's Tradition series were not the only publications concerned with the state of Scottish craft. Their publication coincided with Ian Finlay's *Scottish Craft* (1948a), the first comprehensive survey text on Scottish craft to be published in the twentieth century. Finlay's text covered the subjects of architecture, sculpture, bone-carving, woodwork, metalwork, textiles, ceramics, glass, manuscripts and books. Highly critical, it echoed the ideas expressed in the Saltire series. Describing the 'disintegration of craftsmanship' as a threat to the Scottish nation, as well as 'her usefulness to the society of nations' (Finlay 1948b p. 12). Finlay lamented that in the industrialised post-war era, craft was in a particularly perilous state: 'Crafts is not a happy word. It suggests outdated trades, or rainy afternoons' (Finlay 1948b p. 11). He rejected architectural influences from the south, with its 'prefabricated houses… clothed in litter' (Finlay 1948b p. 12), and called for Scots to re-embrace the vernacular and native qualities of its culture. The 'Celtic genius' that made its craft unique, and rival to anything the Continental modernists might be produce. In terms of form and function, Finlay argued that the eighteenth century Scottish craftsmen were actually in the vanguard - well ahead of their twentieth century counterparts:

> … [they] achieved a perfection of design based on functional consideration, which had to be discovered all over again by the Bauhaus and its contemporary movements. (Finlay 1948b p. 73)

Finlay's text is unashamedly proselytising, warning that 'Scotland should appreciate that she has a considerable tradition to preserve and build upon' (Finlay 1948b p. 12). Not only were the Scottish ignorant of their rich cultural history, but in the post-war rush to modernise, they risked losing their unique connection to the past.

Finlay's views on Scottish Victorian and early twentieth century architecture were equally frank. He was wary of the work of modern architects, such as Aberdonian Tom Scott Sutherland (1899-1963), whose buildings expressed 'the machine age rather than external grace' (Finlay 1948b p. 49). But he particularly disparaged the invented traditions of 'Scots Baronial' architecture, which he described as 'atrocious' (Finlay 1948b p. 12).[34] His most spirited attack was on the cult of 'Balmoralism', and the influx of wealthy and fashionable southerners who followed in the wake of

[34] Scott Sutherland was responsible for numerous council housing schemes and cinemas in Aberdeenshire in the 1930s, all which conformed to tenets of continental modernism. http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=203533 [Accessed 30.02.2015].

Queen Victoria, resulting in 'travesties of ancient things' (Finlay 1948b p. 99). Echoing Hobsbawm and Ranger's notion of invented tradition, he decried the wholescale appropriation of Highland dress and tartan as 'romanticised and degenerate'; 'vulgarized by the addition of fripperies and gew gaws' (Finlay 1948b pp. 99-100). In Finlay's opinion, the romantic revivalists from England and the Scottish lowlands had debased Scottish heritage and culture, and it was now time to reclaim it.

Finlay's text, as well as the Saltire Society Tradition series, epitomised the wary, and often antagonistic attitude towards modernity that was symptomatic of the discourse in the arts in Scotland at this time. Although it would be wrong to describe Finlay as wholly reactionary, he was of the opinion that Scotland had more to gain by renewing links with its past, than by copying trends from Continental modernism. A link with tradition was essential, in his opinion, in order to retain a distinctive Scottish style and maintain true cultural and national integrity. This attitude is one that Normand applies to the Scottish Renaissance movement, whose proponents demanded for a revaluation of Scottish culture that, in their opinion, had been degraded to the extent that even its own people were unable to discern reality from myth: '…they accepted and reproduced a reductive vision of their own culture, not only sentimental and quaint, but to all intents infantile and retarded' (Normand 2000 p. 11).

Peterson's uses the term 'fabricating authenticity', to describe this process of claiming a particular tradition as ones' own. As he explains:

> The ironic phrase of 'fabricating authenticity' is used here to highlight the fact that authenticity is not inherent in the object or event that is designated authentic but is a socially agreed-upon construct in which the past is to a degree misremembered. (Peterson 1997 p. 5)

As Scottish Renaissance artists attempted to find a means of expression that was 'indigenous, modern and authentic' (Normand 2000 p.11), concepts that Peterson would argue were simply cultural constructions (Peterson 1997), so too were those engaged with Scottish craft discourse seeking to reconcile modernity with untainted tradition. This would have a profound impact on the attitudes and approaches to craft in the latter part of the twentieth century, by informing national craft policy and what was eventually supported and promoted by organisations such as the Scottish Craft Centre.

3.7 The Festival of Britain in Scotland: Living Traditions and Industrial Power

This chapter on tradition and modernity ends with an analysis of two government-supported exhibitions held in Scotland in the summer of 1951: *The Living Traditions of Scotland* in Edinburgh, and *The Exhibition of Industrial Power* in Glasgow. Both exhibitions formed part of the *Festival of Britain*, a year-long, celebration that took place across the United Kingdom in 1951. Together these Scottish exhibitions exemplified the two sides of the modernity and tradition debate that informed modern Scottish craft in the mid twentieth century, and continued to exert a defining influence in later decades. They also exemplify the differing attitudes to modernity and tradition that were associated with the cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh in the post-war period, as evidenced earlier by the decision to locate the Scottish Craft Centre in Edinburgh rather than Glasgow.

The Festival of Britain was initially conceived as a means of commemorating the centenary of the Great Exhibition of 1851 in the arts, architecture, science, technology and industrial design (Cox 1951 p.6), but its main purpose was to celebrate 'British contributions to world civilisation in the arts of peace' (Cox 1951 p. 6). In stark contrast to the physical and economic deprivations of the war, the Festival provided a much-needed boost to public morale. Curator and art historian Sir Roy Strong (1935-) recalls the event as one of joyous possibility:

> I was fifteen when the Festival of Britain blazed its sparkling star across the grey heavens of Britain in the aftermath of the Second World War. All of us who grew up then remember it and its concomitant fete, the Coronation, as culminations of a great reawakening of the arts after years of privation, particular sharp for those whose formative years were the ones of austerity. (Banham and Hillier 1976 p. 6)

Ostensibly national, including events and touring exhibitions across the country, the Festival's focal point was the South Bank in London. Visited by eight and a half million people, those unable to attend could view highlights of the Festival on one of the 2,700 BBC broadcasts of the Festival on their newly acquired television sets (Conekin 2003 p. 4). The South Bank exhibition covered twenty-seven acres, and included themed pavilions that wove a narrative of past, present and future around the concepts of: 'Land', 'People' and 'Discovery'. The latter involved futuristic feats of architectural engineering, including the Dome of Discovery and the gravity defying Skylon. Both were examples of a post-war modernity that had become synonymous with the exhibition's overall atmosphere and ambition (The Festival of Britain 1951; Harwood and Powers 2001). Cultural historian Becky Conekin writes:

> The South Bank's architects and planners were endeavouring to construct more than just an exhibition, they were attempting to build a vision of a brighter future for Britain - a future that was clean, orderly and modern after the dirt and chaos of the war. (Conekin 2003 p. 53)

The South Bank exhibition was novel in its attempts to convey an experiential narrative of Britain 'through the medium, not of words, but of tangible things' (Cox 1951 p.9). Rather than read about post-war progress in Britain, the public were invited to experience this progress through interactive displays and live demonstrations. Craft was included in the overall experiential narrative, but its portrayal was multivalent and lacking cohesion, as Harrod explains: '… inscribed in the totality of the exhibition was a complex craft story - suggestive of craft's chameleon identity …' (Harrod 1999 p. 342). This post-war craft ranged from displays of contemporary craft, serving as prototypes for industry, to examples of traditional, vernacular and vanishing rural crafts, and as Harrod argues, was indicative of crafts' multivalent identity at the end of the War.

There has been a tendency to retrospectively distil the Festival of Britain down to the events at the South Bank of London, and no doubt these were intended to be the focal point of the exhibition, but the South Bank event tells only part of the Festival of Britain story. Despite a number of academic publications on the Festival, including design historians Mary Banham and Bevis Hillier's *A Tonic to the Nation* (1976), and design historian Harriet Atkinson's *The Festival of Britain: A Land and its People* (2012), there is little analysis of what happened outside the capital. With the exception of the work of Elizabeth Cumming (2001), Scotland has been left out of the Festival of Britain story, conflated instead with the South Bank narrative. And yet there were significant differences that serve to illuminate the invention of modern Scottish craft.

Along with a series of short arts festivals in the cities of Perth, Inverness, Dumfries, Aberdeen, the main Scottish complement to the 1951 Festival of Britain was encapsulated in two exhibitions: *Living Traditions of Scotland* at the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh and *The Exhibition of Industrial Power* at Kelvin Hall in Glasgow. Of these exhibitions Cumming writes 'Nowhere was the diversity, even polarity, of modern identity [in Scotland] more pronounced…'(Cumming 2001 p. 4). To emphasise this point, there was a smaller *Scottish Exhibition of Books*, which was divided between the two cities: Edinburgh focusing on the work of eighteenth century authors (including the works of Hume, Smith, Ramsay and Burns), and Glasgow focusing on contemporary Scottish subjects (The Mitchell Library 1951; The Signet Library 1951). It can be argued that the organisers of the Scottish Exhibition of Books distilled the character of the two cities into these opposing exhibitions, aligning Glasgow with modernity and the future, and Edinburgh with tradition and the past.

In Glasgow, the *Exhibition of Industrial Power* was organised by the Festival of Britain's Scottish Committee, and working with the Scottish Committees of the Arts Council and the Council of Industrial Design. It attempted to capture the excitement and 'white heat' of Britain's achievement in heavy engineering, aligning it with the story of 'man's conquest of power' (The Festival of Britain 1951 p.22). This message was underlined by physical demonstrations of how British advances in heavy industry had enabled its two main sources of power - coal and water - to be harnessed. Designed and co-ordinated by Scottish architect Basil Spence (1907-1976),[35] the *Exhibition of Industrial Power* covered 120,000 square feet and included the halls of Power, Coal, Steel, and Electricity. It culminated with the Hall of the Future, where visitors were encouraged to imagine the unlimited potential of atomic power. Massive in scale, the exhibition was designed to inspire awe. According to *Architecture Review*:

> The scale of the display, particularly at the openings of the main sequences, has a massiveness considered appropriate to heavy industry. (Architectural Review 1951b p. 194)

One of the more grandiose features of the *Exhibition of Industrial Power* was the Hall of Hydro-Electricity. Here visitors were led through a glass tunnel, where 20,000 gallons of water pounded above their heads, impressing the visitor with how the latest advances in technology could be used to channel the forces of nature (Ebong 1986 p. 425). In the Hall of Coal, primitive mining techniques from centuries past were juxtaposed with the latest coal extraction practices, including a live demonstration of modern mining equipment. This theme was reinforced by a 'vast sculptured mural' (The Festival of Britain 1951 p. 23) by Scottish sculptor, Thomas Whalen (1903-1975), visually reinforcing the concept of man's triumphant creation of power through the conquest of technology and natural resources.

The contrasting metaphors of dark and light were central to the narrative of power and progress throughout the *Exhibition of Industrial Power*, as the visitor was led from murky primordial swamps, with 'dim lighting and sponge-rubber underfoot' (Architectural Review 1951b p. 194), to the vast Hall of the Future with its dazzling beacon of light revealing distant galaxies. The physical distinction between our gloomy primitive origins and the sparkling future of nuclear power, exemplified all that it meant to be modern. Habermas describes this process of looking both forward and backward as a condition of modernity, or:

[35] Best known for his contemporary design of the new Coventry Cathedral, but also for his design of the *Exhibition of Scottish Everyday Art* (1936) and *Enterprise Scotland* (1947).

> … the consciousness of an epoch that relates itself to the past of antiquity, in order to view itself as the result of a tradition from the old to the new. (Habermas 1983 p. 3)

Here the idea of being 'modern' took its inspiration from science, with an unwavering belief in 'the infinite progress of knowledge and in the infinite advance of toward social and moral betterment' (Habermas 1983 p. 4).

The juxtaposition between the theatrical grandiosity of *Industrial Power* and the quiet reverential atmosphere of the *Living Traditions* could not have been more pronounced. It provided further evidence of the distinct personalities of the two cities, and the modernity/tradition dichotomy apparent in Scotland at the time. The *Living Traditions* exhibition was primarily object-based, and had none of the physical, high impact value of *Industrial Power*. Nevertheless, it proved very popular with the public. The exhibition organiser's initial estimate of 1,000 visitors a week, was surpassed by a weekly average of 11,500:

> The organisers had expected strong support, in a limited way, from members of the community who were specifically interested in Craftwork and Scottish History. However, as the exhibition progressed, it became increasingly clear that the exhibition was attracting wide support from the general public as well as from the specialist audience. (Ebong 1986 p. 436)

Housed in the Royal Scottish Museum, the exhibition was divided into fifteen sections ranging from Celtic stones to contemporary architecture (Architectural Review 1951a p. 195). Its designers rejected a chronological approach, instead weaving old and new examples of craftwork into one continuous story. The intention was to underline the importance of maintaining a link with traditional approaches to craft, demonstrating that concepts of beauty and fine workmanship were as relevant today as they were centuries ago. The notion of continuity was central to the exhibition's overall narrative. The message was not about retreating to the past, but rather about drawing inspiration for contemporary work from past examples. Starting with the origins of Scottish architecture, the organisers traced the story of Scottish architecture, attaching particular importance to the evolution of authentic regional differences:

> It is the same local variation that we seek today so that our architecture may not be made impersonal by technology. This is not to recommend a self-conscious 'Scotchness' nor a false facing of old forms, but a knowledge of traditions that still live amongst us. (Scott-Moncrieff 1951 p. 28)

In many ways the direct antithesis of *Industrial Power*, in *Living Traditions* advances in technology, for example mass production, were depicted as a threat rather than an opportunity. Edinburgh-born author and journalist, George-Scott Moncrieff (1910-1974),[36] wrote the catalogue essay accompanying the *Living Traditions* exhibition. [Fig 3.4] Having knowledge of architecture and a love of Scottish culture, Scott-Moncrieff's text was essentially about Scottish craft, but interestingly the word 'craft' was not mentioned until page fourteen. Instead, 'craft' was conflated with 'tradition' in the text, as Scott-Moncrieff took the reader on a meandering tour of the Scottish nation, touching upon an eclectic range of craft production ranging from Pictish carvings on the Moray coast to Arbroath armcreels, Shetland shawls to medieval castles. Scottish craft, for Scott-Moncrieff, was a vital but endangered entity, in need of protection against the rising tide of modernity. To illustrate the importance of maintaining a link with tradition, Scott-Moncrieff described moments in history where this link had been broken, resulting in disastrous cultural destruction and debasement. In one example, decrying the Viking invasion, neat Scottish Stone Age and Bronze Age villages are shown being replaced by unkempt Viking long houses. The Vikings are described by Scott-Moncrieff as: 'a dirty-living people, not house-proud at all but leaving their litter lying everywhere around' (Scott-Moncrieff 1951 p. 5). This particularly evocative narrative of the Viking invasion was then tenuously compared to the twentieth century encroachment of modernism. Borrowing from modernist architect Le Corbusier's (1887-1965) aphorism 'une maison est une machine à habiter' (a house is a machine for living), Scott-Moncrieff writes '… just as today many people value their cars more than their homes, inclining to see their homes merely as machines for living in' (Scott-Moncrieff 1951 p. 5). Scott-Moncrieff's argument was that a link with tradition in craft must be maintained, rather than sacrificed to the whims of modernity. Using the example of the traditional Highland 'black house' he writes:

> By having more regard to tradition there is no doubt that a much better type of contemporary house for these particular conditions could have evolved than the stock plans now in use. The beauty of the black house is not merely fortuitous, it has a fittingness to climate and circumstance. (Scott-Moncrieff 1951 p. 7)

Here Scott-Moncrieff argues that far from being anachronistic and backward looking, borrowing from craft traditions was in fact a more honest way of embracing the concept of 'fitness for purpose' (another well-worn modernist aphorism) than blindly conforming to the precepts of modern design. Scott-Moncrieff's call for simplicity, dignity and a lack of pretentiousness (Scott-Moncrieff 1951 p. 10) - all epithets that were applicable to modernism - recalls Habermas's discourse on romantic modernism discussed earlier, and can be juxtaposed with what Habermas

[36] Including *Scottish Country* (1935), *The Stones of Scotland* (1935), *The Lowlands of Scotland* (1938), and *Scottish Islands* (1939).

described in the 1980s as a more recent iteration of modernism, one that sees tradition as its binary opposite:

> … there emerged out of this romantic spirit that radicalized consciousness of modernity which freed itself from all specific historical ties. This most recent modernism simply makes an abstract opposition between tradition and the present; and we are, in a way, still the contemporary of that kind of aesthetic modernity ... (Habermas 1985 p. 4)

The *Living Traditions* exhibition was another exemplar of the importance that was placed on the concept of 'tradition' in the early post-war years in Scotland. Again, tradition was depicted as something that was both active and persistent in Scotland, and in Scott-Moncrieff's narrative, as something that could also be 'modern'. This distinction is important, as it was not synchronous with the overall mood of The Festival of Britain itself, which was much more about providing a forward-looking 'tonic to the nation' after the war. [37]

[37] 'A tonic to the nation', was a phrase borrowed from Gerald Barry (1898-1968), the festival's organiser (Banham and Hillier 1976).

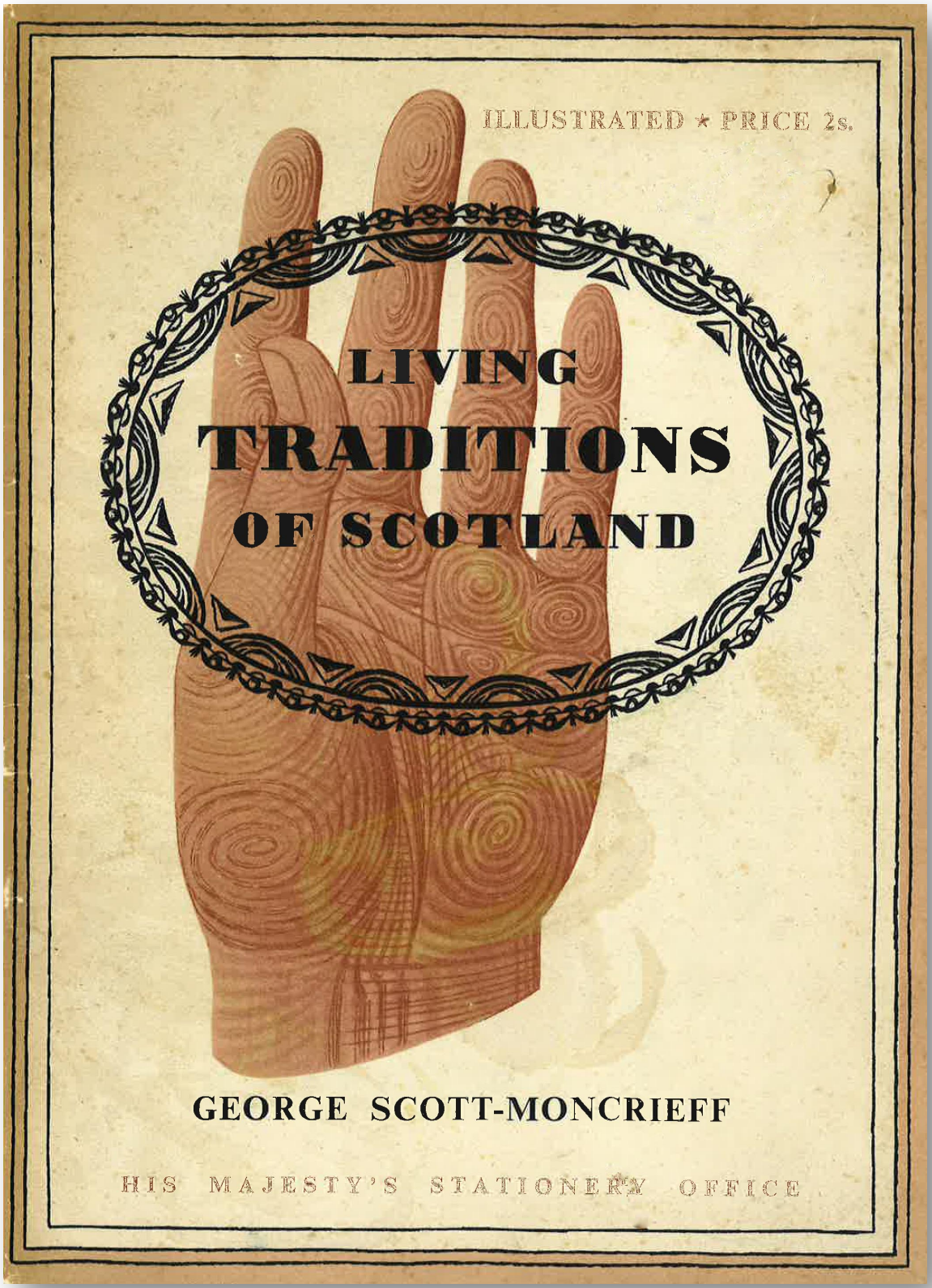

Fig 3.4 Cover, *Living Traditions of Scotland*, 1951.

The evocation of 'place' and its relationship with tradition was also highlighted in *Living Traditions,* through a sensory representation of Scotland and its craft. Here the visual complemented by the aural, with the inclusion of two musical zones, one where traditional Lowland tunes were provided by a string orchestra, and the other where seabirds cried 'with the lonely, unaccompanied voice of a young girl singing Gaelic airs' (Architectural Review 1951a p. 195). Scott-Moncrieff's text plays on the romantic relationship between place and craft, his descriptions presenting an idealised country scene where 'making' is physically and sensually connected to the land:

> When the tweed is finished by hand, traditionally done by girls who sing the waulking songs as they work, it retains the smell of peat-fire over which the water has been heated, and is more strongly redolent of the land of its origin. (Scott-Moncrieff 1951 p. 14)

Adamson similarly expands on how the concept of the 'pastoral' is applied to craft. A literary genre, the pastoral depicts an idealised way of life in the country. When associated with craft, it has positive but also negative connotations, as Adamson explains:

> And it is striking how completely craft exemplifies both the positive and negative aspects of pastoral: its double structure - in which making a chair or pot is valued not only in itself but also as a symbolic gesture about the value of lifestyle, integrity, and so forth - but also its tendency towards sentimental escapism. (Adamson 2007 p. 104)

These notions of 'lifestyle' and 'integrity' in association with craft were certainly in evidence at *Living Traditions*, and although the exhibition was keen to demonstrate an inherent continuity in Scottish craft, Scott-Moncreiff's text is redolent of a longing for a past that was felt to be under threat from the present, and indeed the future, such as that depicted at the *Exhibition of Industrial Power*.

As a national event, the Festival of Britain was decidedly more forward than backward looking, establishing a framework for a modern Britain along socially democratic lines (Conekin 2003 p. 46). However, as *Living Traditions* and *The Exhibition of Industrial Power* demonstrate, this message was not an entirely congruent one. Although these two Scottish exhibitions may have played only a small part in the overall Festival of Britain panoply, they were nevertheless significant in terms of representing the prevailing attitudes to craft, modernity and tradition in Scotland. They also set the scene in terms of defining attitudes and approaches to craft in the later half of the twentieth century in Scotland, continuing to set it apart from the rest of Britain, as will be seen in subsequent chapters.

Conclusions

> The power of heritage seems unduly onerous in Scotland. Indeed, it seems at times as if Scotland only exists as heritage: what singles it out for distinction is the trappings of its past while its modernity seems to make it little different from elsewhere. (McCrone, Morris and Kiely 1995 p. 6)

This chapter set out to examine the origins of the invention of modern Scottish craft and its relationship with the concepts of modernity. Taking as a starting point Adamson's thesis that craft is a modern invention (Adamson 2013), it analysed Hobsbawm and Ranger's concept of 'the invention of tradition' and applied this to the concept of modern Scottish craft as 'invention'. It was found that tradition has an intimate and complicated relationship with modernity. The two concepts are never mutually exclusive and certainly the notion of invented tradition can be explained as a direct result of modernity.

In the case of Scotland, the invented traditions which have come to define so much of Scotland's material culture and indeed its craft, can be directly linked to periods of modernity - for example the Act of Union and the rapid industrialisation of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Modernity, therefore, gave rise to many representations that have come to define 'Scottishness', but also took away much of what was considered 'true' or 'authentic'. An attempt to redress this was apparent in key post-war representations of Scottish craft, such as the Exhibition of Modern British Crafts in 1946, and the 1951 Festival of Britain, as well as the publications of the Saltire Society and the ideology of the newly emergent Scottish Craft Centre. Modernity was therefore instrumental in shaping the identity of modern Scottish craft, an identity that was deeply conservative but never wholly backward looking. Many of the most vociferous champions of Scottish craft tradition knowingly adopted modernist aphorisms to suit their particular cause. Modern Scottish craft, as a cultural product and invention, continued to have a complex relationship with the concept of tradition, a highly subjective term, that would continue well into the twentieth century. It would also increasingly be at odds with contemporary attitudes and approaches to craft, as will be seen in the next chapter.

4.0 The Making of Modern Scottish Craft: The Highlands and Islands Development Board

This chapter returns to the central question of the thesis to analyse the relationship between national development strategy and the invention of modern Scottish craft as a cultural product and industry. It argues that national organisations with responsibility for Scottish development played a defining role in shaping a distinct identity for Scottish craft in the post-war period. The reason for this can be linked to Scotland's changing socio-economic landscape, which had become increasingly different to the rest of Britain after the Second World War. This difference led to government intervention and the formation of organisations charged with socio-economic development. This chapter will examine the reasons for these socio-economic differences, focussing on the first of two national development organisations ultimately responsible for the invention of modern Scottish craft in the 1970s: The Highlands and Islands Development Board (HIDB). The second organisation, the Scottish Development Agency (SDA) will be looked at in the next chapter.

4.1 Scottish Development Strategy and the Post-War Economy

To understand why Scotland came to have its own national organisations tasked with economic development, and how the making of modern Scottish craft subsequently became associated with them, it is first necessary to examine the wider socio-economic landscape of Britain following the Second World War. As with the transition to modernity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this was a time of considerable change across Britain, when wartime deprivation and austerity gave way to rapid post-war growth and prosperity. Often referred to as a 'Golden Age' for Britain as a whole (Crafts 2007 p. 9), it is easy to overlook Scotland's very different socio-economic circumstances at this time. Although Scotland shared many of the benefits of Britain's 'golden period', it also displayed signs of serious social and economic decline. As with the invention of tradition, the reasons for Scotland's increasingly divergent post-war situation are linked to its past, namely to its rapid industrialisation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This socio-economic difference not only influenced how modern Scottish craft would subsequently be promoted and supported, but would also distinguish it from the trajectory of the rest of modern craft in Britain in the latter part of the twentieth century.

When looking at Britain as a whole, the period of 1950 to 1973 was one of unprecedented economic growth, measuring 2.43 per cent per annum (Crafts 2007 p. 9). This was the fastest

growth rate experienced in Britain's economic history and would remain unsurpassed for decades to come (McCrone 1985 p. 196). Employment was at a high, and previously unobtainable consumer goods were now within the reach of the average British citizen. The British public also benefitted from the policies of a comprehensive welfare system established in 1948, giving universal access to health care, education and social security. There were other significant social changes, including a decline in the influence of the church and a revolution in sexual attitudes. Individuals now felt freer and less restricted by convention than at any point in the past (Walker 2014 p. 594).

Whereas this was undoubtedly a time of considerable social progress and economic stability for Britain, closer analysis shows that in a wider industrial context, Britain's growth was actually slower in comparison to other industrial nations, with Scotland lagging significantly behind. And despite experiencing its lowest unemployment rates in years, in relative terms, Scotland's unemployment levels were consistently higher than the rest of Britain (Peden 2005 p. 237; Devine 2013 p. 33). The relative prosperity that Scotland experienced during the post-war boom therefore belied deep-rooted social and economic problems. Former Chief Economic Advisor to the Scottish Office, Gavin McCrone attributed these to:

> … a continuing heavy dependence on the industries which had brought it past prosperity, an out of date infrastructure and an appalling urban environment giving rise to severe social problems. (McCrone 1985 p. 195)

These socio-economic problems were the legacy of Scotland's crumbling nineteenth century industrial base, which had failed to modernise. At the height of Scotland's industrial revolution in the nineteenth century, it was celebrated internationally for its manufacturing, which included textiles and jute in Tayside and the Borders, as well as the traditional industries of agriculture and fishing. However its main economic focus, which continued to dominate throughout the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth, was heavy engineering (ie: coal, engineering, ship-building and metal working trades). This dependence on a narrow range of industry, largely centred in Lanarkshire and the ports of the Clyde (Saville 1985 p. 1; Devine 2005a p. 34), is cited as the main reason for Scotland's subsequent economic decline (Newlands 2005 p. 162 and 169; Finlay 2014 p. 573).

Scotland's relationship with heavy industry had many distinguishing features. Its transition to industrialisation in the nineteenth century, largely facilitated by lower wage costs, was faster and more dramatic than in the rest of Britain. This had the negative impact of causing high levels of unplanned urban growth and poverty, leaving an inheritance of social inequality and urban

deprivation for decades to come (Peden 2005 p. 1). And whereas Scotland continued to be renowned as an industrial leader up to the Second World War, it had failed to keep pace with England's expansion and diversification into newer, 'lighter' industries. Specifically, it had not experienced a 'second industrial revolution' (Peden 2005 p. 6) by expanding into automobile manufacture, and domestic consumer goods production, as was the case in the Midlands and South-East of England (McCrone 1985 pp. 196-198). With little attention to industrial diversification over the years, when faced with external competition and diminishing natural resources, Scotland was left economically vulnerable. This worsening economic situation, exacerbated by a knock-on effect of continued emigration (Devine 2013 p. 3), was of serious concern to government. In an attempt to reverse the social and economic decline, Scotland became the focus of intense national intervention (Peden 2005 p. 234; Devine 2013 p. 34; Cameron 2014 p. 620).

The most far-reaching interventions aimed at Scotland's economic decline were in response to the recommendations of the Toothill Report (1961). Tasked by the Scottish Council for Development and Industry to produce a report on the Scottish economy, John Toothill (1908-1986)[38] outlined Scotland's present situation and its future potential, making recommendations for how economic growth could be achieved. Described as a 'landmark in thinking on regional development' (McCrone 1985 p. 203), the Toothill Report became a platform from which many ambitious Scottish development initiatives were subsequently launched, including the creation of organisations tasked specifically with development. The Toothill Report identified Scotland's chronic levels of high unemployment, as compared to the rest of Great Britain, as the first issue to address. Confirming that Scotland's unemployment was a direct result of the decline in its traditional industries (Toothill 1961 p. 184), the report recommended developing a new range of industries that would favour growth and employment. To accomplish this, the report argued that substantial public investment was needed, as well as a dedicated department to manage it. The result was a major reorganisation of the existing Scottish Office, and the creation of a separate semi-autonomous Scottish Development Department in 1962. This development department was tasked with overseeing and advising on Scotland's economic and industrial matters, and shifting its dependency away from heavy industry and into other sectors of business (Levitt 1996 p. 42).

The Toothill Report reinforced the already strong link between government policy and industrial development that was increasingly particular to Scotland, and that would continue into the late twentieth century (Cameron 2014 p. 630). On a macro level, national economic decisions were still taken by the Treasury and Bank of England in London. However on a micro level, Scottish issues

[38] Then managing director of Feranti, an electronics company based in Edinburgh.

were now dealt with by the Secretary of State for Scotland, Willie Ross (1911-1988).[39] Wielding considerable power, Ross looked out for Scotland's interests by securing an increase in public expenditure of 900 per cent between 1964 and 1973 (Devine 2013 p. 41). The primary focus of this expenditure was on development initiatives, as recommended by the Toothill Report. In real terms this meant that public spending per capita in Scotland was now one-fifth higher than the British average, with over £600 million allocated to the Scottish Office Department for development initiatives (Devine 2013 p. 41).

Following the Second World War, and over the course of roughly two decades, Scotland continued to experience a significant transfer of economic responsibility away from central government to more devolved economic development organisations. The significance of this to the making of modern Scottish craft was that it led to the creation of two new development agencies, specifically charged with investigating and promoting all viable types of 'lighter' industry. Scottish craft would be identified as one of these industries. These development organisations were: the Highlands and Islands Development Board (HIDB) established in 1965, and the Scottish Development Agency (SDA) in 1975. Both organisations would become the primary drivers of economic policy and change in 1960s and 70s Scotland, as Devine confirms:

> The principal vehicles of regional and industrial policy within Scotland over the last quarter of a century have been the development agency networks. To the Highlands and Islands Development Board (HIDB), created in 1965, was added the Scottish Development Agency (SDA) in 1975, with responsibilities for the economic development of Lowland Scotland. (Devine 2005 p. 181)

The remit of these organisations was broad and their approach and outlook differed in many cases, but they shared overall responsibility for diversifying Scottish industry, and ensuring its future economic growth. Both organisations would specifically target craft for potential industrial development, albeit with very contrasting outcomes and agendas. The next section will examine of origins of the first of these organisations, the Highlands and Islands Development Board how this was accomplished.

4.2 The Highlands and Islands Development Board

The concept of the 'Highlands and Islands' as a unified political, economic and geographic entity is a relatively recent one, dating back to the Crofters Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886, when the

[39] In this role from 1964-1970 and 1974-1976.

seven Crofting Counties were merged into one jurisdiction (Crofters Holdings Act 1886 p. 10).[40] Occupying over half of Scotland's total landmass, the Highlands and Islands are largely comprised of rough, mountainous terrain of low fertility, and deemed unsuitable for most large-scale agriculture or industry. In the post-war period, and leading up to the early 1960s, the majority of the Highland population was reliant on a pluralistic subsistence income derived from farming, fishing and tourism. There was little manufacturing to speak of. Eking out a living in the Highlands was difficult because of its geographic and social isolation. Consequently, the region suffered from years of mass emigration, as its younger population sought opportunities elsewhere.

Geographer David Turnock cites that in 1801 18.8 per cent of Scotland's population lived in the Highlands, dropping to 13.7 per cent in 1851, 7.9 in 1901 and 5.4 in 1971 (Turnock 1974 p. 5). By the early 1960s the Highlands and Islands comprised only four per cent of Scotland's population, despite geographically making up forty per cent of its actual landmass (McCrone 1985 p. 204).[41] The vicious cycle of depopulation in the Highlands had far-reaching socio-economic repercussions, as geographer and regional development theorist F.D.N Spaven explained:

> … the long-term effects have been not only an ageing of the population and a lowering of natural increase but also a lack of enterprise and confidence and a serious weakening of communities already too small and too isolated. (Spaven 1969 p. 1)

Successive government attempts to address the issue, now commonly referred to as 'The Highland Problem', can be traced back to the passing of the Crofters Holdings Act (Highlands and Islands Development Board, 1967 p. 1; Turnock 1974), but none had managed to reverse the pernicious spiral of decline. With the aim of formerly addressing The Highland Problem, the Highland and Islands Development Act was passed in 1965 (Highlands and Islands Development Act 1965). The passing of this Act led to the establishment of the Highlands and Islands Development Board (HIDB), an executive body under the Secretary of State for Scotland, Ross, with the dual purpose of:

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[40] The seven crofting counties: Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland.

[41] Spaven included the following statistics in his report, which made clear the fact that Highlands and Islands were large in land and small in population, as compared with the rest of the Scotland and the UK:

	Sq. Miles '000s	Population '000s
Highlands and Islands	14.5	275.4
Scotland	30.4	5,187.5
UK	94.2	55,068.4

(Spaven 1969 p. 1).

> … assisting the people of the Highlands and Islands to improve their economic and social conditions and of enabling the Highlands and Islands to play a more effective part in the economic and social development of the nation. (Highlands and Islands Development Act 1965 s. 1)

Ross argued in parliament that a steady tide of emigration was draining the Highlands of its rightful inhabitants, and that without immediate economic development, the Highlands were doomed to become an elite playground for rich English city dwellers, relegated to myth and memory in the public's collective imagination:

> No country can claim happiness if one of its most splendid assets - in this case, its unsurpassed landscape - can only be enjoyed in the dreams of exiles. (Hansard 1965 col. 1096)

The HIDB suspected that not everyone in the higher echelons of Westminster perceived Highland depopulation to be a problem. Indeed, it was noted, some members of parliament viewed the sparsely inhabited Scottish landscape as a positive attraction, preferring the stereotype of the Highlands as a vast untamed wilderness, rather than a region with industrial and economic potential:

> It is significant that most opinions, as we have studied and listened to them, accept that depopulation of the area is the central problem - indeed it is almost the only common factor. The only exception to that is a curiously diverse group of attitudes, almost wholly urban in origin, which sees the Highlands as a natural relief value for an over-urbanised country - in fact a kind of natural wilderness. (Highlands and Islands Development Board, 1967 p. 2)

As seen in the last chapter, for centuries the Highlands had been steeped in its own particular mythology, one that was not synonymous with modernity or ambitious economic development schemes. In the minds of many government ministers, efforts should be made to keep the Highlands as a remote and unblemished wilderness (Hetherington 1990 p.1). To underline the point, a specific mention was made in the Highlands and Islands Development Act, that 'the Board shall have regard to the desirability of preserving the beauty of the scenery in the Highlands and Islands' (Highlands and Islands Development Board Act 1965 s. 3).

The creation of the Highlands and Islands Development Board exposed long held prejudices and stereotypes about Highlands, with little consensus on how best to modernise a region that was so steeped in romantic rhetoric. As Professor of Historical Sociology Andrew Blaikie points out '… the iconography of Scottish landscape overwhelmingly consists of images of empty places that are

distant from where most Scots live' (Blaikie 2013 p. 137). Could the Highlands be developed in a way that was economically productive, whilst retaining the characteristics that made it so distinctive? There was considerable debate in parliament about the lengths to which government should go to develop the region, as voiced by Conservative Minister for Perth and East Perthshire, Ian MacArthur. His words below vividly illustrate the tensions surrounding the potential development of the Highlands, exemplifying the opposing concepts of modernity and tradition outlined in the last chapter:

> It is often quite easy, when considering the Highlands, to slip into a mood of romantic sentimentality. Like the reaction of the piper in Neil Munro's story, the heart leaps back over the years and yonder lies Glencoe. Romance and sentiment are very agreeable, but these emotions, which often cloud debate outside this House, distort judgment by obscuring reality with a tartan cloud …
>
> When we speak of the Highland problem today we mean the problem of depopulation, which should haunt the mind and conscience of every hon. Member. Today there are fewer than 300,000 people in the Highlands. Great stretches of land lie nearly deserted except for the memory of generations scattered around the world and more often than not, a stone with too long a list of names of gallant men who died for their country. Against this background, any Measure which sets out to develop the Highlands is to be welcomed, provided that it is designed to meet the problem and is not simply an essay in theoretical Socialism. (Hansard 1965 col. 1172)

MacArthur's quote reiterates how the 1960s were a time of cultural complexity and contradiction for Scotland, as it continued to negotiate and define its national identity. The SNP victory of 1967 in the previously strong Labour constituency of Hamilton signalled a rise in nationalism, as well as a re-writing and re-imagining of Scottish history. The adoption of the 'Flower of Scotland' as Scotland's unofficial anthem, with its provocative themes of persecution by the English, was one example of this. Another was the rise in 'victim history' books, such as the Scottish-Canadian historian John Prebble's (1915-2001) widely read accounts of the battle of Culloden (Prebble 1962) and the Highland Clearances (Prebble 1965). Each reinforced a particular cultural narrative where 'myth easily triumphed over reality' (Devine 2013 p. 26). With the intervention of government in The Highland Problem, cultural expectations were conflated with development plans and policy. As will be demonstrated, the industrialisation of Highland crafts would facilitate the translation of these myths into its cultural products.

The Highlands and Islands Development Board had considerable financial autonomy with theoretically no limit on its expenditure (Hansard 1965 col. 1085). Based in Inverness, it was led by a chairman and an executive body of six. In 1980 the Head of Policy and Research for the HIDB, J. T. Hughes, described the Board as follows:

> In essence the HIDB is an economic development agency, (albeit with a social role) and by far the largest part of its budget is devoted to its discretionary grants and loans scheme, which provides financial assistance to developers wishing to start or expand commercially viable enterprises in the Highlands and Islands. (Hughes 1980 p. 7)

Considered 'risk taking and adventurous' (Hetherington 1990 p. 4), the Board 'had been given a brief unlike any in Scotland, and its approach had to be unorthodox' (Hetherington 1990 p. 3). Its powers and levels of involvement in the Highland economy were extensive (Newlands 2005 p. 170), and 'concordant with the intractable character of the problems involved' (Highlands and Islands Development Board, 1967 p. 1). It should be noted that some considered these powers excessive given the proportion of the Highland population as compared to the rest of Scotland (McCrone 1985 p. 204).[42]

Following the establishment of the HIDB, the Labour Government (in office since 1964) produced a five-year *Plan for the Expansion of the Scottish Economy* in 1966. Prepared in consultation with the Scottish Economic Planning Council and the HIDB, the White Paper set out the government's plans for further expanding the Scottish economy as part of its overall national plan. The White Paper estimated that public investment in Scotland would continue 'at a rate which, relative to population, is likely to be above that of the United Kingdom generally' (Scottish Office 1966 p. xiii), and that in the period from 1965/66 to 1969/70 Scottish public investment would 'rise considerably and will total nearly £2,000 million' (Scottish Office 1966 p. xiii). With the creation of the HIDB came an exponential increase in public spending, with the aim of stimulating economic growth in the Highlands, along with dedicated leadership and specialist guidance from a carefully selected team.

The Board's immediate challenge was to address The Highland Problem. This was no simple task, given the divergent opinions and previous policies that had been perceived as failures, notwithstanding the considerable emotional investment that the public had in the region. Reconciling these disparate cultural, economic, and romantic strands required careful consideration, as the Board acknowledged in its first annual report, in a section appositely titled 'The Challenge':

[42] Newlands writes: '… by the end of the 1960s, the Highlands was securing 10 per cent of government expenditure in Scotland despite having only 5 per cent of the population' (Newlands 2005 p. 170).

> The Board can see and appreciate all the historic, romantic, economic, preservationist, social and even music-hall influences that have produced this confusion of ideals and attitudes. (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1967 p. 2)

There were a number of public opinions and stereotypes that the Board needed to take into account when devising a solution. The first was how to address crofting. Grant's *Highland Folk Ways* (1961), documents the crofting way of life as something that was 'wonderfully adapted to the conditions of the past' (Grant 1961 p. 93), a way of life that was anathema in an increasingly urban, mechanised world. The crofter was described by the Board as an 'idealised character' embracing an 'extreme "Highland Way of Life" (Highland and Island Development Board 1967 p. 2). Crofter Iain Thomson from Wester Ross offered a more romantic depiction of crofting, describing it as '… a love of native glens and the fulfilment to be found in simple work harnessed to the seasons' (Thomson 1990 p. 72). The reality, in the opinion of the Board, was that crofting was essentially a form of peasant farming. With little way of making money, the crofter would almost always need supplementary ways of earning a living (Highland and Island Development Board 1967 p. 2). While the Board was able to appreciate the importance of crofting to the identity and culture of the Highlands, it decided that crofting would only ever figure as a minor player in its development plans. Its sights were instead set on developing a modern, thriving, and industrial Highlands.

The Highlands region was considered by government to possess significant natural resources with the potential to be developed and exploited, including vast areas of outstanding natural beauty that could be used for tourism and recreation, sheltered deep-water harbours for shipping and fishing, and abundant supplies of water for the generation of hydro-electricity. The question was, how best to capitalise on all these resources? The Board was only too aware of the likely resistance to the development of newer industries in the Highlands. Public perception had been tainted by previous development initiatives, particularly forestry, because of the environmental impact of great swathes of imported conifers marring the otherwise 'unspoilt' landscape. Along with forestry, the industry of tourism was also viewed with suspicion and at times derision, as the Board acknowledged:

> In this context industry and tourism are accepted as necessary evils and forestry suspect either as (a) something which pre-empts land that should produce food or (b) a sinister monoculture that will blanket, before the inevitable ecological disaster, the beauty and variety of the 'traditional Highlands' - forgetting that much of the bare and spectacular beauty of the Highlands is, in sober fact, a strong example of such a disaster. (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1967 p. 2)

The Board eventually embarked on an ambitious plan for economic expansion that included the creation of four dedicated development divisions covering the areas of land, fisheries, industry and tourism. The two areas that are of relevance to this thesis are: the industrial development division

and the tourism division. The former included a disparate number of manufacturing activities under its umbrella, ranging from larger scale heavy industries, to independently run craft businesses. The latter division was charged with improving and increasing the Highland and Island's accommodation and catering facilities, providing assistance with tourist marketing and publicity campaigns, and persuading stakeholders to lengthen the tourist season for optimum return (Hughes 1980 p. 7). Although craft was included under the rubric of smaller industries, it is interesting to note that in the HIDB's early plans craft was not explicitly targeted as an area for development. Craft for the HIDB was still an unspecified term, not be confused with the Highland's more established textile industry (knitting and weaving), which had enjoyed continuity due to its modest capital needs, abundance of raw materials (namely sheep wool) and domestic nature of production (Turnock 1974 pp. 18-19). For the HIDB, craft broadly encompassed a wide range of potential small industrial activity, which might include anything from pottery to jewellery or indeed any other small batch manufacture.

An examination of the Board's annual reports provides evidence of its gradual awareness that craft might be a Highland industry worth capitalising on. For example, in the first Highlands and Islands Development Board Annual Report of 1966 the word 'craft' does not appear. The term 'rural craftsman' is cited once, but only in the context of commercial enterprises that had received financial aid from the Board (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1967 p.10). The following year, in 1967, the report made a brief mention of 'craft producers' that were included in a display at the Board's office in Inverness. Accompanying this was a note that a 'much wider investigation into the possibilities of increasing the sales of Highland craft goods by means of exhibition and display' was under consideration (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1968 p. 40). In the 1968 report, 'craft' was mentioned in relation to traditional boat building (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969b p. 54) and it was also recorded that a display of Highland crafts had been sent to Sweden (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969b p. 73). Otherwise 'craft' received no mention. It was not until the Annual Report of 1969 that a shift in focus could be detected. Here it was confirmed that development plans for 'Highland crafts' would include 'marketing, training, production and financial cost accountancy' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970a p. 24), as well as the appointment of a Craft Development Sub-Committee and a Crafts Liaison Officer (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970a p. 92). Up until this point, as Turnock points out, 'craft industries for the production of luxury goods called for capital, training and management skills that few could provide' (Turnock 1974 p. 18). The HIDB was now in a position to provide this support, and Scottish craft as a potential industry was given increasing consideration in its strategic plans.

It is clear is that in the case of the Highlands and Islands, the Board was instrumental in the implementation of ambitious development plans that would include the marketing and promotion of Scottish craft. As McCrone points out, in Scotland politics and commerce were to become increasingly entwined:

> From even a cursory reading of Scottish and Highland history it is clear that the cultural construction of the region was the result of political and commercial forces, often acting together. (McCrone, Morris and Kiely 1995 p. 201)

The next section will focus on how the Highlands and Islands Development Board attempted to specifically target and shape modern Scottish craft as a cultural product and industry. Unlike the Crafts Advisory Committee in England and Wales, which was keen to separate craft from anything that could be construed as traditional or commercial (Chapter 2.0), the Highlands and Islands Development Board focused instead on developing Scottish craft as an economically sustainable industry; one that would not only provide jobs and security for the local population, but also products for tourists to buy. The invention of modern Scottish craft as cultural product was therefore the result of a strategic and calculated analysis on the part of the HIDB. Coinciding with the craft revival that was now gaining momentum in England and Wales, the HIDB annual reports and its accompanying craft surveys provide evidence of the organisation's increasing realisation that Scottish craft had the potential to be developed as an industry and product. By 1970 craft was firmly a part of the HIDB's overall development plans. How the organisation would achieve this, and indeed the kinds of craft that it would single out as worth supporting, will be explored in the next section.

4.3 Modern Scottish Craft as Product and Industry in the Highlands and Islands

Once the HIDB recognised that Scottish craft could play a strategic role in the economic regeneration of the Highlands and Islands, its Industrial Promotion Division commissioned a series of reports to investigate the sector. The first, titled *Report Following a Survey of Craftworkers* was published in May 1969 (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969a). Its aim was to 'determine the value of the craft industry in the Highlands and Islands' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970a p. 24). Its findings were promising, revealing that the total turnover of Highland craft sales was in the region of £500,000 a year, with the potential for this to be more than doubled (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969a p. 8). In 1970, the HIDB subsequently commissioned a London marketing agency to conduct two craft market surveys. One focused on Highland and Island craft retailers, and the other on its purchasers. The findings of

these surveys would determine the trajectory that government supported Scottish craft would take in the decade to come.

The 1969 *Survey of Craftworkers* was the first formal craft survey to be undertaken in the Highlands and Islands, and resulted in a comprehensive register of craft activity in its region. The survey's fieldwork was extensive, consisting of over four hundred completed questionnaires, from which data was analysed in eleven separate appendices (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969a). The survey included breakdowns of the different kinds of craft producers in the seven HIDB regions, details of the types of craft being produced, total business turnover, current employment patterns (i.e.: part-time/full-time), the age details of its makers, and finally, and the usage of existing retail outlets to sell craft produce (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969a).

One of the first decisions the Board made when commissioning the report was how to define a craftworker, or indeed, a craft business. This was far from straightforward. In terms of size, it was decided to focus on firms employing no more than five full-time skilled persons. This automatically excluded many larger-scale, well-known Scottish craft businesses in existence at this time, such as knitwear companies in Shetland. The HIDB argued that these larger industries were generally financially healthy, and therefore not in immediate need of the Board's attention (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969a p. 1). The survey also decided to focus solely on craft workers 'whose products are channelled towards commercial outlets' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969a p. 2), with the ambition that such craft could be developed into 'a worthy asset and contributor to the area's economy' and also offer 'attractive career prospects' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969a p. 8). The language in the survey was noticeably different from that employed by the Crafts Advisory Committee in England and Wales in the early 1970s. The particular emphasis on the terms such as 'commercial', 'product', 'career' and 'economy' was contrary to the ethos of the CAC, and provided further evidence of the triumvirate of craft, product and industry that was so particular to Scotland, and that the HIDB specifically wanted to promote.

The 1969 *Survey of Craftworkers* identified twenty categories of 'craft' currently in production in Scotland, ranging from producers who were described as 'hobbyist' or 'spare time' to 'skilled (possibly art school trained)' and 'whole time' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969a p. 2). The type of craft being produced also ran from 'traditional' or 'rural' Scottish craft - the kind that would not look out of place in Finlay's 1948 *Scottish Crafts* or the 1951 *Living Traditions* exhibition (Chapter 3.0) - to types more synonymous with the Craft Advisory Committee's concept

of fine art craft, to mass produced souvenirs and knickknacks. On the traditional end of the spectrum the survey included: boat building, carving or woodturning, crook and stick making, deerskin and sheepskin processing, hornwork, jewellery, leatherwork and saddlery, marquetry and fine woodware, furniture making, woven and knitted textiles, wrought ironwork and farriery. This type of 'traditional craft' was how Scottish craft was depicted in a number of publications in the 1960s and 70s (Chapter 1.2). These included Grant's *Highland Folk Ways,* first published in 1961 (reprinted in 1975, 1977 and 1980); Brander's *Scottish Crafts and Craftsmen* (1974); Mackay's *Rural Crafts in Scotland* (1976) and Manners' *Crafts of the Highlands and Islands* (1978). This depiction of Scottish craft as a more rural, or traditional practice, was largely a cultural construction. As Adamson argues, the idea of what constituted a 'rural' or 'traditional' craft in a post-industrial economy was subject to both imagination and expedience:

> Regional 'vernacular' craft traditions are invariably modern inventions, to some degree. They are fashioned according to the needs of the present day, and the objects produced in these circumstances acquire potent totemic value. (Adamson 2013 p. 187)

The 'needs of the present day' in the Scottish context, it is argued, were decided by the national organisations offering financial support and incentives (i.e.: the HIDB and the SDA), and the totemic value might be that which the craft promoters, and indeed consumers, conferred upon them. In this example, book publishers, such as those cited above, played a key role. The proliferation of craft texts in Scotland during the 1970s mirrors a similar surge in craft publishing in England, coinciding with the 1970s craft revival, as seen in Chapter 2.0. But as has been demonstrated, the focus in England was on craft as contemporary and modern, in Scotland the emphasis was very different. Put simply, despite the evidence of the 1969 HIDB survey that both 'traditional' and 'contemporary' types of craft were being produced in the Highlands, there were no books being published that celebrated contemporary or modern versions of Scottish craft this at this time.[43] James Mackay, author of *Rural Crafts in Scotland* (1976), (featuring a long-haired youth throwing a pot on a wheel), comes closest to accurately depicting the breadth of craft production in Scotland at this time:

> In the broadest sense the term [Scottish craft] embraces all manner of products by individuals controlling all processes of manufacture from raw materials to finished article … The types of crafts also varies considerably, from the traditional village artisan turning out useful objects to a time-honoured pattern with little pretension to artistry, to the art school graduate whose pottery has more in common with sculpture and whose purely academic approach has little relevance to the applied arts, let alone the harsh realities of making a living from craftsmanship. (Mackay 1976 p. 22)

[43] It was not until the publication of the publication of *Scottish Crafts Now* in 1980 (Section 1.2) that a more contemporary image of Scottish crafts was presented.

Both Mackay and the HIDB's 1969 *Craftworkers Survey* evidence the production of traditional categories of craftwork in Scotland, but importantly, also types that might not be readily associated with stereotypic images of Scottish craft. These included: costume figures and toymaking; shellcraft and pebblework; painting, drawing and sketching; silkscreen printing and batik work. The latter two are perhaps the most incongruous, but give a nod to fashions of the 1960s and 1970s. These are what John Manners, author of *Crafts of the Highlands and Islands* (1978) described as 'Artist Crafts' in his list of Highland crafts (Section 1.2), echoing the language of the Crafts Advisory Committee in England and Wales. This type of craft was designated as a separate category in his text, and included glassblowing, glass engraving, pottery, silverwork, pewterware, bookbinding, enamelling, model making and ships in bottles (Manners 1978 p. 6). Manners, similar to Mackay and the findings of the 1969 HIDB *Craftworkers Survey*, confirmed the existence of both 'traditional' and 'contemporary' forms of craft activity being practised in Scotland at this time. But as the choice of image on the cover of his book confirms - a craftsman fashioning an Orkney chair - the concept of modernity was being actively supplanted by one of tradition.

The 1969 HIDB *Craftworkers Survey* also illustrates differences in the HIDB's approach to craft development, as compared to that of the Crafts Advisory Committee in England, in its decision to only include craft that was considered 'an industry' 'or activity of potential development', regardless of whether it 'involved an acceptable degree and combination of hand-skill, design and/or artistic appreciation and taste' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969a p. 2). Industry, as a concept, had connotations that were not readily associated with the practice of craft. In many ways the two terms, 'craft' and 'industry' might be considered incongruous, in the same was as 'heritage' and 'industry' might be. Nevertheless, the commodification of heritage, or 'the heritage industry', was an increasingly popular concept in the late twentieth century, bringing with it its own particular associations. As McCrone et al argue in *Scotland the Brand*:

> The concept of 'the heritage industry' implies a product, a set of entrepreneurs, a manufacturing process, a set of social relations structured around this process, a market, and, of course, consumers. (McCrone, Morris and Kiely 1995 pp. 20-21)

The HIDB's perception that craft was something that could be industrialised and commodified was a natural extension of their economic development remit, and can be linked to the concept of the commodification of Scottish heritage, as discussed by McCrone et al. in *Scotland the Brand* (1995). Here the authors analyse how Scottish heritage has been capitalised on by both public and private ventures in what they describe as a 'post industrial' or 'service' economy (McCrone, Morris and Kiely 1995 p. 17):

> [An] aspect of this commodification of heritage and culture relates to the process of economic regeneration, especially at the local level. Local authorities in particular have not been slow to recognise the economic and political potential of heritage. (McCrone, Morris and Kiely 1995 p. 17)

In terms of industrial development, the HIDB had the primary aim of increasing the role of manufacturing in the Highland economy (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1971 p. 19). Scottish craft was now recognised as part of this overall industrial development strategy, particularly 'in areas where other forms of manufacturing development are unlikely' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1971 p. 19). Craft was therefore seen as a possible replacement industry in areas where larger scale manufacture was unviable. In order to strengthen this new 'craft industry', the Board recommended targeting funding at specific types of craft activity, rather than supporting the wide spectrum of practices identified in its 1969 *Craftworkers Survey*. This strategic channelling of support is significant, as it demonstrates how a particular institutional context can give rise to very specific types of cultural products (Inglis and Hughson 2003 p. 197; Peterson 1976; Peterson 2004). The selection of crafts that the HIDB deemed would offer the most promising financial returns were the ones that it chose to support. In the words of the HIDB:

> The craft industry, such as it is today, can only be strengthened satisfactorily on a basis of those crafts and craftworkers lending themselves to development on an economic footing and time may show that it will be desirable to support merely a handful of crafts. (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969a p. 7)[44]

Concurrently, the *Craftworkers Survey* recommended moving away from supporting the production of one-off, highly skilled craft items, for example intricate models of traditional spinning wheels, which appear to have been popular at the time, because they were time consuming to produce and therefore not cost effective as a commercial product. Such objects were described in the survey as:

> … delightful examples of a craftsman's skill but it is doubtful, when considered solely on a basis of financial return, if the reward is commensurate with the skill and time employed. (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969a p. 5)

Similarly, it warned against the promotion of more expensive, 'high end' objects which could not be easily produced in quantity, such as pewter or silverwork, for which Scotland was traditionally known:

[44] These included: boat-building, carving and woodturning, furniture making, toymaking, jewellery, leatherwork, pottery, sheepskin processing, silverwork, textiles, and toymaking and leatherwork (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969a p. 7).

> … the nature of the medium does not allow "mass production" and the time taken to produce one item demands a fairly high price for any one item. (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969a pp. 5-6)

The Board encouraged the support of textile production, both knitted and woven,[45] but pottery was particularly singled out as 'one of the more exciting fields of development', specifically 'the growth of whole-time pottery businesses in the Highlands and Islands' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969a p. 5). These Highland potters were reported to 'all have had art college training' with the survey enthusing 'there is every hope that the quality of design and production will set a high standard in this craft' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969a p. 5). Art school graduates became prime targets for support by the HIDB. Although they often did not come from a 'traditional' craft background, they were generally young and motivated and perceived as able to introduce new skills and standards to the area. This was a new category of producer, as art school graduates previously had few career opportunities other than to teach or practice part-time (Mackay 1976 p. 15). Makers such as David Grant, founder of Highland Stoneware in Lochinver in 1974, to be discussed as a case study at the end of this chapter (Section 5.5), fit into this category.

The 1969 *Survey of Craftworkers* conceded that craft was largely an industry of 'luxury or inessential goods' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969a p. 21), but it was convinced that 'properly organised, it could tap into new markets at home and abroad and create new prosperity' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970b p. 24). For this to happen, it was crucial that the production of craft objects be viewed as a *business*. Only producers that had a reasonable chance of a successful financial return on the sale of their products should be encouraged, as underlined in the 1971 HIDB Annual Report:

> Craft enterprises are encouraged to produce goods that sell well and at a price that gives an adequate return. The craft producer who can design for a market taste and produce a regular flow of goods of consistent quality stands every chance of success. (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1971 pp. 23)

The HIDB was not interested in the 'artist craftsman', or 'those who engage in craft work solely for the aesthetic pleasure of occupation with a traditional craft' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969 p. 9), in the way that the Crafts Advisory Committee in England and Wales was. It was also wary of those who saw craft as a means of pursuing an alternative lifestyle and escaping from the 'rat race' (as was symptomatic of 1970s craft revival):

[45] With the exclusion of Harris Tweed, which was deemed a well-established commercial enterprise and not in need of further support.

> … there are those who erroneously form the opinion that hand-loom weaving is a romantic and simple way to obtain high prices for inferior tweed … (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969a p. 6)

This aspect of the report signalled the HIDB's awareness of a growing trend of makers, who were inspired by the craft revival, but did not necessarily come from a craft background. These makers were generally dismissed by the HIDB, as the quote above demonstrates, but in some instances were seen as a solution to the depopulation of the Highlands, and a possible provider of employment in rural areas. The Balnakeil Craft Village, which will be examined as a case study at the end of this chapter, is a good example of this. As Mackay below confirms, some novice craftsmen were lured to Scotland by the attraction of working in a rural location, but had not considered the many practicalities and pitfalls of setting up in business in a remote area:

> Remoteness and self-sufficiency are ideals shared by many craftsmen, blithely disregarding such practical problems as infrequent communications and high freight charges in their bid to 'get away from it all'. (Mackay 1976 p. 23)

Aesthetics, romance and idealism had no place in the HIDB's development plans. And although it was keen to maintain and improve quality, this was not at the expense of quantity. Essentially producers of costly one-off objects were not of interest to the Board.

Finally, and importantly, the 1969 *Craftworkers Survey* underlined that there had be a market for the Scottish crafts being produced. Priority therefore, in terms of the Board's financial support, needed to be given to those who were:

> (a) Primarily a profit making concern
> (b) A producer of high quality (not necessarily high value) work and
> (c) A producer of craft goods sought by the purchaser rather than a producer of craft goods for which a market is sought following production
>
> (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969a p. 9)

The 1969 *Survey of Craftworkers* was important to the making of modern Scottish craft on several levels. It confirmed the existence of a wide variety craft activity being practiced in Scotland at a time roughly coinciding with the 1970s British craft revival. It also substantiated that as a development organisation, the HIDB's focus was on businesses that could be economically sustainable and contribute to the overall Scottish economy. This policy effectively determined the type of craft that would come to be associated with Scotland as a cultural product, and therefore

define the Scottish craft 'industry'. Not all craft activity would be supported in this. The HIDB's vision was not of an 'industry of one', but rather of small enterprises that would employ 'three to five people' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1971 p. 23). In terms of markets, the survey also recognised that the Scottish home market for craft, although of some value, was limited. The main focus was therefore on external consumers, namely visitors and tourists.

The next section will examine the HIDB's two subsequent craft surveys commissioned in 1970 to specifically analyse the retail and purchasing end of Scottish craft. These surveys highlight the Board's realisation of the importance of tourist and foreign markets to the future sustainability of modern Scottish craft. As stated in the conclusion to the 1969 *Craftworkers Survey*: 'as the tourist industry grows in the area so should the craft industry grow with it' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969a p. 21). This statement confirms what would become an expedient, but at times problematic relationship in the making of modern craft in Scotland. The increasing commodification of Scottish craft as an object of tourism may have assisted in growing the Highland craft industry, but did this commodification benefit the making of modern Scottish craft in the long run?

4.4 Modern Scottish Craft as Tourist Commodity

Tourism was an obvious area for the HIDB to target for development in the Highlands and Islands, given the natural beauty of the region that had come to symbolise all of Scotland. But in practical terms, the promotion of the Highlands and Islands as a tourist destination presented significant obstacles. Scottish historian Ewen Cameron cites two deficiencies in the 1960s Highland tourism infrastructure that needed to be addressed before it could become commercially attractive. The first was the lack of adequate facilities for tourists. Hotel accommodation in the Highlands was limited, and generally not of high standard, particularly in more remote areas. Hoteliers, described by Cameron as 'conservative', were reluctant to extend their opening season beyond the summer months (Cameron 1997 p. 165). The second deficiency identified by Cameron was a lack of Highland goods and services for tourists to spend their money on. In a Minute from a 1958 meeting with the Secretary of the Scottish Tourist Board it was reported that:

> It would be possible for hundreds of parties to travel thousands of miles in the Highlands, carrying their own tents and tinned food, buying only a few cairngorm brooches made in Birmingham and providing employment only for county roadmen and garbage collectors. (Cameron 1997 p. 165)

But as the quote above confirms, these deficiencies also presented significant opportunities. Not only was there the potential of developing desirable accommodation and local food products, but

also of producing objects from the region, which tourists could take home as souvenirs of their experience. The HIDB believed that Scottish craft fit this description, as corroborated by their 1969 *Survey of Crafts*, and soon craft would be actively targeted as part of the HIDB's development portfolio of small to medium sized manufacturing businesses.

Tourism was not a new industry for Scotland. There is no reliable statistical information as to when it became economically significant, but the first travellers' accounts date from mid eighteenth century,[46] and burgeoned in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Durie 2003 p. 21). In the early years, there was no tourist economy or infrastructure to speak of. This would take another century to become established (Butler 1985 p. 372). The earliest tourists were attracted to Scotland for its 'scenery … both natural and man-made, the value of its history and antiquities, and the pull of tradition and literary association' as well as its 'reputation as a sporting playground' (Durie 2003 p. 40). These attractions would remain fairly constant over the centuries.

In its *Plan for Expansion* (1966) the Scottish Office reported that the value of tourism in Scotland in 1964/65 was in the region of £65 million (Scottish Office 1966 pp. 33-4). The HIDB's first Annual Report in 1967 formally recognised that tourism was an important industry for Scotland being 'one of the three main props of the Scottish economy' and one where there was 'ample scope for its further expansion' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1967 p. 23). Apart from the introduction of skiing, the attractions of Scotland to the twentieth century visitor were much the same as those of their eighteenth century predecessors. Efforts were made to address this, and from 1965 onwards the HIDB played a significant part in developing Highland tourism by providing subsidies for ferries, trains and buses, as well as improvement grants and loans to hotels and B&Bs (Scottish Office 1966 p. 35; Hetherington 1990 pp. 14-15). Tourism was viewed by the *Plan for Expansion*'s authors as something that:

> … would not only make a growing contribution within the Scottish economy as a whole, but would even - by transforming the whole economic basis of particular areas - make a substantial contribution towards solving some of the regional planning problems in the outer regions of Scotland. (Scottish Office 1966 p. 35)

As the methods of transportation and the overall tourist infrastructure modernised, the cultural representations of Scotland did not (Gold and Gold 1995 p. 138). Tourists were still largely compelled by a particular vision of Scotland, predominantly fabricated on myth. The iconography of this myth would subsequently take the form of Scottish cultural products.

[46] For example: Thomas Pennant's *A Tour in Scotland and a Voyage to the Hebrides* (1772) and Samuel Johnson and James Boswell's *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland in 1773* (1876).

In 1968 a campaign was launched to specifically attract people to holiday in the Highlands and Islands (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969b p. 40). It was the first time that an advertising campaign devoted exclusively to the region had been attempted (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969b p. 40). The brochure titled: 'Escape to the Highlands and Islands', capitalised fully on the mythical notion of Scotland as a place of refuge and retreat from the modern world. Efforts to increase the holiday season were made in 1969 with the introduction of a 'Highland Holiday Ticket' giving purchasers a discount on a wide range of services and facilities during the off-peak season (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969b p. 41). The concerted focus on tourism soon began to reap rewards, with 1968 reported as an excellent year for the industry. This was attributed to fine weather, but also to overall rising standards of living and increased leisure time. The Board's assiduous attention to tourism by way of financial support also made a significant contribution with £851,000 given in grant and loan assistance to the tourist industry for marketing, promotion, accommodation, resources and facilities, servicing and research (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969b p. 39). In 1970 HIDB Chairman Robert Grieve reported confidently that:

> Tourism, too is doing exceedingly well. We are providing, in Scottish terms, a massive infusion of capital to equip and gear it for the increasing demands that will be made on it in the years to come. Our tourism development plan is being systematically and energetically put into action. No other part of the country is being promoted in such a co-ordinated and professional way. (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970a p. 7)

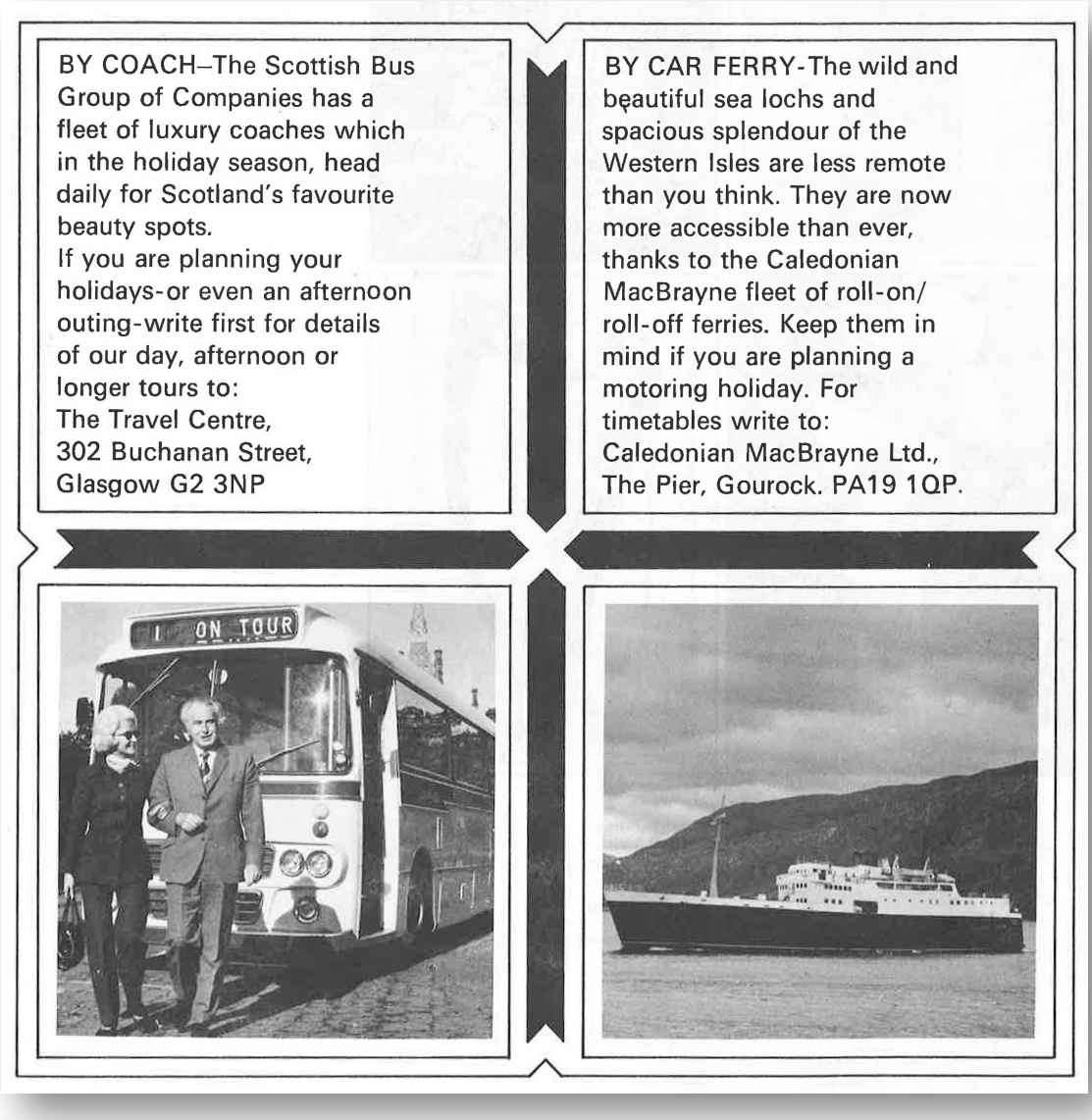
The 1970 HIDB Annual Report estimated that overseas visitors to Britain were now numbering about 5.5 million a year, and expected to rise to 11 million by 1975. The number of British who were taking more than one holiday a year was also increasing, as was the volume of motorcars in the UK (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970a p. 50).[47] [Fig 4.1] Visitors recorded at five of Scotland's key tourist attractions rose from 240,417 in 1967 to 280,296 in 1969 (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970a Appendix vii). [48] Significantly, it was the same year that the HIDB confirmed that the value of the craft industry in the Highlands and Islands in total turnover was half a million annually, with an optimistic estimate that this could be doubled in certain regions (HIDB 1970a p. 24). The economic benefit of linking craft and tourism was now obvious. The Board had been clear that it would only support craft businesses that had a specific market, and tourism was now seen as a potentially very lucrative one. Certainly this was the opinion of James

[47] Estimated in the report to rise from 12.9 million in 1969 to 21 million by 1980 (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970 p. 50).

[48] The five tourist attractions were: the tourist information Centre at Dunnon (Argyll); the Glenfinnan Monument and Information Centre at Culloden Battlefield (Inverness-shire); Inverewe Gardens and Hugh Miller's Cottage (Ross and Cromarty) (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970 Appendix vii).

Grassie, author of *Highland Experiment - The Story of the Highlands and Islands Development Board* (1983), who wrote:

> The Irish Minister, Tom O'Donnell, during his visit to the Highlands in 1973 was impressed with the work done by the board to encourage the development of crafts. This had started very early in the board's life. Indeed, one of the first projects it financed was a pottery. The region itself had attractions for craftsmen. The environment was congenial to their skills, a circumstance which, through its drawing of tourists, also created a basic market for their products. It was an advantage which almost demanded exploitation by the



> board. (Grassie 1983 p. 53)

Fig 4.1 Advertisement, *Scotland is There to be Seen*, 1974.

Having identified the economic benefit of linking craft with tourism, the Board tried to determine the specific types of craft that would be most desirable to the tourist market. This was the first time

that the term 'souvenir' would be linked to modern Scottish craft as part of the HIDB's economic development plan, marking the beginning of a trajectory that would increasingly distinguish Scottish craft as a cultural commodity. In the summer of 1970, the HIDB engaged an independent marketing company to undertake a retailer's survey of seventy-two retail outlets within the Board's geographic area (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970c). The overall objective of the survey was 'to establish the market relationship between the crafts and souvenir trade in the HIDB area' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970c p. 2). Moreover, the HIDB wished to quantify what kinds of souvenirs Scottish visitors were buying, and whether they were able to differentiate 'mass-produced' and 'foreign' from 'handmade' and 'Scottish'. Ultimately, the Board wanted to 'arrive at a definition of "souvenir" in relation to crafts' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970c p. 2), in order to strategically target its marketing and funding.

Considering the function of the tourist artefact, tourism and material culture theorist David Hume outlines a hierarchy of potentially desirable souvenir qualities:

> As an artefact of tourism the humble souvenir serves many purposes. From the perspective of the producer, the souvenir needs to represent the culture and heritage of the tourist destination, that is, his or her home or part thereof: the more nodes of heritage that can be tastefully invested in the souvenir by the maker, and recognised by the consumer, the better. An object made from a material indigenous to the tourist destination is a good start. If the object represents some aspect of the destination's heritage then all the better, and, if it carries with it the mark of the maker, who happens to be a local craft person, then better still. (Hume 2013 pp. 2-3)

In the first instance, Hume argues, a souvenir should encapsulate the intangible characteristics of a tourist destination's culture and heritage. As Dean MacCannell, author of *The Tourist - A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1999), also points out, the souvenir is essentially a 'vicarious representation' of a place that has been experienced (MacCannell 1999 p. 158). Hume goes on to explain that to be successful these cultural representations, embodied by the souvenir, must be easily recognised by the tourist consumer. Craft theorist Gloria Hickey substantiates this idea, writing that 'souvenir craft must above all be accessible and as such is limited to the understanding of its buyers' (Hickey 1997 p. 93). In this sense, the souvenir operates as shorthand for a place, by capturing its essential qualities in an easily translatable package. The final, and most desirable quality outlined by Hume above, is a souvenir that physically bears the 'mark of the maker', thereby providing an immediate and tangible human connection between the craftsperson, object and place. By directly linking the craft object and the souvenir, Hume argues that the consumer not only takes away a local artefact, they also take away a physical and human connection to a specific

place - arguably a very potent symbol. It was these salient craft souvenir qualities that the HIDB was trying to articulate and identify, by undertaking a market survey in 1970.

The HIDB market survey asked retailers if they could articulate the difference between craft goods and souvenirs, quantifying the origin and sales turnover of each, and giving details of their bestsellers (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970c p. 2). The consensus of the retailers surveyed was that craft goods could be distinguished from souvenir goods based on their origin, the way they were produced, and the quantity in which they were produced. The findings were not particularly surprising. Craft goods were defined as being 'produced locally', 'made by hand' and sold 'at a higher price in relation to mass-produced "souvenir" goods' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970c p. 4). The opinion of retailers was that mass produced souvenirs were of a generally lower quality and associated with 'tartan packaging' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970c p. 4). Those surveyed stocked either craft or mass-produced goods, but generally did not favour a mixed stock (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970c p. 5). In overall terms, retailers stocked more mass-produced goods than craft (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970c p. 6), with a slight advantage in terms of sales turnover of foreign mass-produced souvenirs (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970c p. 8).

Of the retailers surveyed, their bestsellers were postcards and pottery (the latter produced in Scotland). Jewellery made in Scotland was considered the third best seller, followed by knitwear (both Shetland and Aran designs) (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970c p. 11). Other popular items included: tartan dolls (foreign made), Caithness glass, tablet and shortbread and tweed (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970c p. 11). When asked what products retailers could sell, but had difficulty obtaining from makers, the response was 'better designed pottery' in a 'wider variety of designs'; 'more deerskin goods from small retailers' and 'more handmade baskets' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970c p. 12). It was apparently common knowledge that the Scottish baskets being sold in the HIDB area were in fact made in China, having been the subject of derision in a recent BBC programme (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970c p. 12). Other objects that retailers had no problem selling, but lacked sufficient quantities of, included 'matching sets of polished stone earrings and pendants'; 'Loch Ness Monster novelty pottery'; 'Flora Macdonald statuettes' and 'Sprigs of Heather' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970c p. 13). Unsurprisingly, July and August were reported as the best trading months (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970c p. 15).

In terms of packaging, the *Retailers Survey* found that souvenir items sold better when packaged in tartan paper, but craft items sold better when unpackaged (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970c p. 18). It reported that:

> There was a strong feeling among retailers that any form of commercial presentation would destroy the 'craft' appearance of such goods. (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970c p. 18)

To accompany the *Retailers Survey*, the industrial and marketing division of the HIDB also commissioned a *Purchasers Survey*, which was carried out in September of the same year (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970b). Tourists leaving the Highlands by car were targeted by researchers and interviewed about their holiday purchases. In total, 1060 interviews took place (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970b p. 2). Similar to the *Retailers Survey*, this research set out to ascertain tourists' perceptions of manufactured and locally produced craft goods (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970b p. 1). It also wanted to determine how much tourists were prepared to spend on such souvenirs and gifts (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970b p. 1).

The main findings of the survey were encouraging for the HIDB. The survey found that sixty-five per cent of those interviewed had purchased items that could be described as 'gifts' or 'souvenirs' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970b p. 3). Most tended to spend around £3.10 with the average expenditure being £8.32.[49] This higher average was accounted for by consumers aged between 45-54, of AB socio-economic class, without children and from overseas (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970b p. 3). A preference for goods produced in Scotland was indicated by seventy-one per cent of the respondents. This was most evident in the older respondents and those from overseas (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970b p. 4). The researchers compiled a detailed inventory of the types of gifts or souvenirs, and the numbers of each that were purchased. The main items mentioned as 'favourites' were jewellery (brooches in particular), material/clothing (sweaters and tea towels in particular), pottery/glassware, as well as foodstuffs (rock, shortbread, whisky) and finally postcards and books (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970b pp. 5-6).

The findings of the surveys were revealing on many levels. First they indicate an increase in what is described as 'taste' on the part of the consumer, and an ability to differentiate between Scottish craft (with a particular preference for pottery) and foreign mass-produced souvenirs:

[49] £1 in 1970 was equivalent to approximately £14.71 today. (http://www.thisismoney.co.uk/money/bills/article-1633409/Historic-inflation-calculator-value-money-changed-1900.html) [Accessed 6 February 2016].

> Taste is improving particularly among young people who refuse to buy 'junk'. This trend should increase the market for good quality goods. (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970c p. 22)

The survey also indicated that the public was becoming more discerning about the kinds of souvenirs they purchased, and that they preferred to buy a Scottish craft good, over what was described as a 'mass produced Souvenir with a Scottish flavour'. However, it was reported that overall mass-produced souvenirs had more saleability over craft goods, mainly due to their price and their 'tartan appeal' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970c pp. 18-21).

For the HIDB the survey further strengthened their conviction that locally produced Scottish craft objects could be successfully marketed towards the tourist trade. Socio-cultural anthropologist Nelson Graburn's 1979 study of ethnic and tourist arts states that 'souvenirs or trade objects for the mass market must be (a) cheap (b) portable, (c) understandable' (Graburn 1979 p. 15), and this concurs with the findings of the HIDB's survey. The public's preference was for products made by hand and produced in Scotland, and there was a demand for products that could be clearly identified as 'Scottish'. Tartan, heather, and the Loch Ness monster were all mentioned as being highly popular motifs and themes. The HIDB now wondered whether it was possible to successfully combine these more stereotypical depictions of Scotland, tastefully, with Scottish craft. The price of such craft souvenirs was also an issue, and a perennial problem for the craft producer. How to make a quality product for a price that was competitive enough for a tourist to want to purchase, but still give a reasonable return for the retailer and the producer? Finally, there was the issue with mass-produced or foreign produced objects masquerading as the real thing, for example the Chinese baskets purporting to be Scottish mentioned earlier.

Together with the *Retailer's Survey*, the *Purchasers Survey* provided tangible evidence that visitors to Scotland had a marked preference for items that were made in the area and were representative of that area. Having confirmed that craft was an economic activity it wanted to develop, the HIDB now actively linked Scottish craft and souvenirs through a marketing scheme that would enable visitors to easily distinguish goods made in the Highlands, as described in the 1970 HIDB Annual Report:

> A study of gifts and souvenirs purchased by visitors to the region has shown that most visitors buy several separate items. It also revealed that the average expenditure of those interviewed was over £8 and as demand for individual items was quantified we were able to find out which items were in short supply. It was also established that visitors have a strong preference for products made in the area and are prepared to pay more for them. In

> view of this preference we decided to introduce a mark or symbol to denote goods produced in the Highlands and Islands. The mark will be launched early in 1971 and should be of considerable benefit to producers. (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1971 p. 25)

The mark referred to above was the Craftmade symbol, introduced by the HIDB in 1971 and in use until the early 1980s.[50] [Fig 4.2] It consisted of a stylised Celtic knot with the text 'Craftmade' and 'The Mark of the Highlands & Islands of Scotland'. It came in the form of swing tags and stickers that could be attached to objects, as well as point-of-sale merchandising, including display cards, leaflet dispensers, posters and window stickers (Highlands and Islands Development Board c.1974 p. 34). The symbol soon appeared regularly in HIDB advertising and the promotion of Scottish products. The deliberate combining of the words 'craft' and 'made' in the brand name, rather than 'Scottish made', was notable and underlined the HIDB's desire to specifically promote craft as a form of cultural production in the Highlands and Islands.

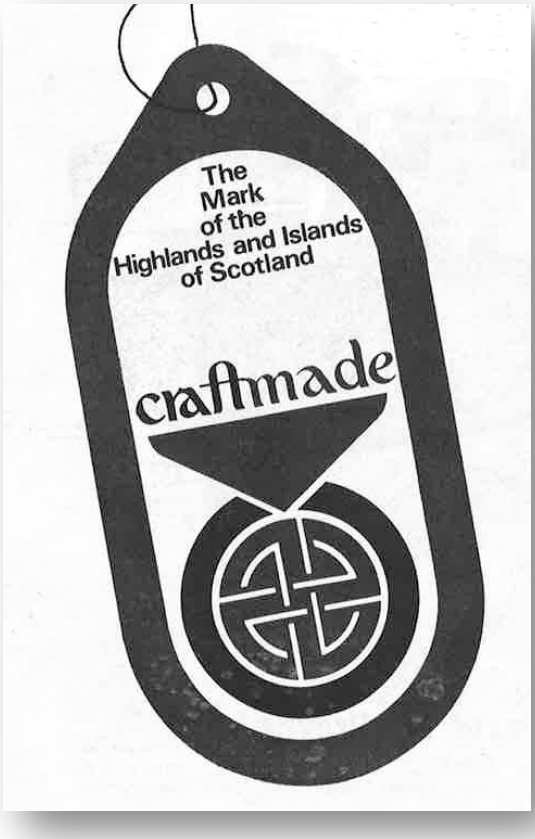


Fig 4.2 Craftmade label, 1971.

[50] The administration of the Craftmade scheme was taken over by Highland Craftpoint (see Chapter Five) in 1981 after which it appears to have been discontinued (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1981 p. 31).

It was hoped that the Craftmade logo would imbue the Scottish craft product with a sense of authenticity and place, referred to by Gold and Gold as 'place promotion' (Gold and Gold 1995 p. 17). Echoing the work of Peterson (Chapter 1.1), Gold and Gold argue that as consumer choice increases, so too does the search for authenticity (Gold and Gold 1995 p. 22). The HIDB were therefore hoping to grow the Scottish craft market by reassuring its consumers that they were obtaining both place and authenticity when purchasing a Craftmade item. As an advertisement from the early 1970s affirmed:

> When you see this Craftmade Symbol you can be sure you're buying the real thing - a little bit of the Highlands to take home with you. (Highlands and Islands Development Board c. 1974 p. 1)

> When you're buying gifts, look for the Craftmade ticket. It's the Mark of the Highlands and Islands and ensures that what you buy has indeed been produced in the Highlands. (Craftwork 1973b p. 31)

A 1973 advertisement for Craftmade products further confirms the HIDB's desire to connect Scottish craft with souvenirs, made explicit by the title 'Memories are Made of This' (Craftwork 1973 p. 31). [Fig 4.3] The concept of memory and the souvenir are inextricably linked here, with the word souvenir coming from the French 'to remember'. The marketing association of craft with souvenirs was by extension associated with looking backward, and therefore linked Scottish craft to a conceptual idea of the past, rather than the future. Literary theorist Susan Stewart writes about this backward gaze with respect to place, arguing that souvenirs are particularly associated with nostalgia and 'the longing for its place of origin' (Stewart 1993 p. xii). In this sense, the souvenir becomes a powerful and emotive object:

> The souvenir speaks to a context of origin through a language of longing, for it is not an object arising out of need or use value; it is an object arising out of the necessarily insatiable demands of nostalgia. The souvenir generates a narrative which reaches only 'behind', spiralling in a continually inward movement rather than outward toward the future. (Stewart 1993 p. 135)

Fig 4.3 Advertisement, Memories are Made of This, 1973.

The cover to the HIDB's first *Catalogue of Highland Products* (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970) is a good illustration of this. It features a drawing of a woman wearing an old-fashioned floor-length skirt and blouse buttoned to the neck. [Fig 4.4] She looks over her shoulder, longingly it seems, at a spinning wheel. The symbolism of the woman's historical dress and her backward gaze are remarkable in their depiction of a way of life that had ceased to exist in Scotland in the 1970s. However, it was one that presumably survived in the imaginations of its visitors and consumers. The irony is that in an industrial, consuming culture, crafts are merely supplementary, rather than useful or necessary, what Stewart describes as 'devices for the objectification of desire' (Stewart 1993 p. xii). In Marxist terms, craft souvenirs are not produced for their use value, but rather their exchange value (Marx and Arthur 1992 p. 5). By extension, craft souvenirs are detached from anything that could be described as authentic or even traditional (Peterson 1976; Peterson 2004). The HIDB's Buyer's Guide to Retail Products of the Highlands and Islands continued to emphasise this link to tradition despite the fact that many of the articles described had little connection to anything that could be construed as 'traditionally' Scottish:

> While in many places traditional crafts have been overtaken by modern production methods, the Highlands and Islands of Scotland remain a stronghold of top quality craftwork. Highland skill and craftsmanship is evidenced by the wide range of mechandise available: candles, hornwork, marquetry, ornamental metalwork, pottery, pewterwork, paperweights, soft toys, shellcraft, stonework, tableware, woodturning, sealskin, deerskin and leather goods. (Highlands and Islands Development Board c.1974 p. 10)

Fig 4.4 Cover, Highland Products, 1970.

Nevertheless it was the 'traditional' and 'authentic' that craft consumers came to expect, as acknowledged by Hickey:

> Marketing supports the producers' goals in so far as it manipulates the variables of design, distribution and promotion to generate sales and profit. Marketing attempts to match product with consumers' associations and expectations. Craft is seen as pre-industrial by these consumers - it comes from the past or is old-fashioned and rooted in a place and tradition. (Hickey 1997 p. 96)

The matching of products with consumers' associations and expectations was something that the HIDB was hoping to exploit through the Craftmade scheme, and HIDB annual reports from the early 1970s were quietly confident that the Craftmade branding scheme was proving successful in this respect. In 1971 a reference was made to the Craftmade label being used at 170 outlets, with the comment that 'results suggest that the scheme has promise' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1971 p. 30). The following year the HIDB carried out a limited survey to gather tourist responses to the Craftmade scheme, reporting that:

> Consumer reaction was favourable and confirmed the view that, when deciding what to purchase by way of gifts, souvenirs etc. the tourist prefers a locally manufactured product. (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1972 p. 27)

By this time, there were over 200 businesses registered as Craftmade users, and it was stated that Craftmade promotions were featuring in stores in London, Liverpool and Edinburgh and at certain airport shops including Heathrow, Prestwick and Glasgow (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1972 p. 27). This increased to 410 by 1979 (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1980 p. 39).[51]

There was however a crucial problem with in the Craftmade scheme that would ultimately undermine it. Although the HIDB was keen to impress that it strictly controlled the label's use, and that it was 'supplied only to registered manufacturers and craftsmen' (Highlands and Islands Development Board c.1974), the only stipulation was that the object be produced in Scotland. In theory anyone who produced goods in the Highlands and Islands could attach the Craftmade logo to their products. Unfortunately Scottish provenance alone did not always confer quality. The HIDB hoped that purchasers would connect the idea of 'Scottish made' with 'quality' but at this

[51] The HIDB reported in its 1981 Annual Report that Highland Craftpoint would take over administration of Craftmade scheme (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1982 p. 31).

point it had no system of regulating the standard of the goods displaying the Craftmade label. As will be seen in the next chapter, the issue of quality, coupled with the often tenuous connection to tradition or authenticity, would become a dogged issue for national development agencies in their ongoing desire to promote Scottish craft as a tourist commodity.

The HIDB continued to attach considerable importance to assisting smaller craft businesses (those employing three to five people) to become established in remote areas that had no other prospect of attracting larger manufacturers (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970a p. 23). An excerpt from the 1970 Annual Report details the types of businesses that it supported:

> A silversmith in Shetland who will shortly be moving into a factory built by the Board and a pottery firm in Aviemore now employing twenty are examples of the type of development we wish to encourage. Other craft enterprises assisted during the year included a jewellery business in Orkney, a family on the small island of Coll printing postcards and reproductions from their own paintings and drawings, and a unit in Conon Bridge weaving high quality tapestries. (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970a p. 23)

The 1970 HIDB Annual Report stated confidently:

> Craft enterprises are encouraged to produce goods that sell well and at a price that gives an adequate return. The craft producer who can design for market taste and produce a regular flow of goods of consistent quality stands every chance of success. (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970a p. 23)

Building a development strategy upon the linking of Scottish craft with tourism was an economically expedient one for the HIDB, but it is debatable whether it was ultimately good for the long-term development of modern Scottish craft. The HIDB had evidence that there was a market for good quality, low value articles (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969a p. 22), but quality was not easily achievable at low costs. Targeting tourists was also risky. As consumers, they could not be counted on to discern quality from sham. Fluctuations in the economy could have an impact on their purchasing decisions, leading them to choose the cheaper tartan dolly over the more expensive hand-thrown pot. Finally, there was a risk that makers would feel constrained by the demand for producing cheaper, 'traditional' objects, rather than being able to experiment with more expressive and contemporary forms, in the way that producers in England and Wales were being encouraged to do by the Crafts Advisory Committee. [Fig 4.5]

Fig 4.5 Craftmade Products c. 1971.

Alan Keegan, interviewed in 2014, was Director of Castlewynd Studios, a craft production and retail outlet that opened in Aviemore, Highlands, in 1965, and in business until the economic downturn of the 1980s. Castlewynd sold a range of craft items, such as domestic earthenware, traditional Scottish pots and modelled animal figures produced by Edinburgh College of Art graduates, Jim and Mary Crawford. In an unpublished account of the business, Keegan states that:

> The company prospered in its new location, benefitting greatly from its Highland setting and from a huge expansion in a tourist industry that placed a premium on souvenir goods. (Keegan undated)

Keegan witnessed first hand the impact of the HIDB's craft development policies, in particular the Craftmade logo scheme. He describes two instances that highlight the inherent flaw with the scheme:

> … there was a fad for some mode of collecting semi precious specimens, and there was a chappy came round and basically what he was doing was importing stones from abroad and we bought a few from him and he also made wee pendants from polished stones … he would come to the Strathspey Hotel in the Aviemore Centre … and he'd book a room and spend a night or two there and he would have a case full of polished stones … he would have a bag of these bells made in Birmingham, and chains and … would stick the stones to the bell, put the bell on to the chain, and then he would get a wee tag out that said Craftmade in Scotland and he would tie it to that. And I mean, legitimately I suppose, or legally, he was doing exactly what it said on the label, except there was no craft involved, but that was wrong. (Keegan 2014 p. 5)

> … we were retailers, so we were quite interested in having things labelled if they were legitimate … we were finally put off any thought of using it [the Craftmade logo], when we discovered that the first year of the promotion they hired a whole lot of students and gave them these packs of Craftmade things and told them now you go away and find some shops and put these in, and there were sweetie shops that happened to have a few souvenirs and things and suddenly … had a sign outside 'here you can get Scottish crafts'. (Keegan 2014 p. 5)

As Keegan's accounts above illustrate, the HIDB's attempts to link Scottish craft with souvenirs was controversial and his experience was not an isolated one. Describing souvenirs as tourist or airport arts (Graburn 1979 p. 6), Graburn writes about the compromises that makers are faced with when trying to satisfy the tourist market, often sacrificing standards to satisfy the customer:

> In the headlong rush to please the tourist and the taste-makers the artisan finds himself in danger of surrendering control of his product. Where this has occurred, it is no longer his art, it is ours. He is now subject to our aesthetic whims. It is our concepts of 'authentic ethnic identity' that will be manufactured and distributed. (Graburn 1979 p. 32)

This feeling is reiterated by Hickey, who writing about Canadian tourist crafts states:

> At their lowest common denominator, souvenirs gift objects can become visual clichés, conforming to the consumers' popular misconceptions. (Hickey 1997 p. 93)

Stewart also ponders the fickle nature of souvenirs, arguing that the materiality of the souvenir is of little value. Its real meaning and significance is instead linked to the place and to the person's experience of that place (Stewart 1993 p. 138), neither of which are available for purchase. For this reason, in Stewart's opinion a postcard, or a plastic mass-produced tartan dolly might be just as

potent a souvenir as a hand-crafted object. A theoretical position when applied in practical terms explains the flaw in the HIDB's marketing of Scottish crafts as souvenirs.

This final section of this chapter will consider two case studies that demonstrate in very practical terms the outcomes of the HIDB's involvement in shaping modern Scottish craft as a product and commodity. Pottery, or ceramics, although not a traditional Highland craft, was perceived by the Board as being both 'new' and 'exciting' (HIDB 1969a p. 5) and as such was a Scottish craft business they were keen to promote. The first case study is ceramic designer David Grant (1949-), founder of Highland Stoneware in Lochinver, Sutherland, and the second is Lotte Glob (1944-), a ceramic artist in Laid, Sutherland (also a founding member of the Balnakeil Craft Village in Durness, Sutherland). Both individuals were engaged in the making of modern Scottish craft in the 1970s and had direct experience of the HIDB and its development strategies. However, as makers their engagement with the HIDB, and indeed their approach to the concept of Scottish craft as a commodity, are very different. In many ways, they exemplify two opposing ends of a spectrum in terms of what might be considered the making of modern Scottish craft at this time.

Fig 4.6 David Grant, Highland Stoneware, 2017

4.5 Case Study One: David Grant - Highland Stoneware

Highland Stoneware, is today an internationally renowned pottery, situated in the village of Lochinver on the far North-West Highland coast (Haggith 2012). Currently employing twenty-three, it celebrated its fortieth anniversary in July 2014 (Highland Stoneware 2016). In the same year, its founder David Grant (1948 -), was interviewed for this thesis. [Fig 4.4] Highland Stoneware owes much of its existence to financial support provided by the HIDB in the 1970s. Grant's dream of establishing a pottery in the remote North West of Scotland fulfilled many of the key criteria of the type of 'lighter industry' the HIDB was keen to support. In many ways, Grant and Highland Stoneware are textbook models of the HIDB craft development strategy in practice. But Grant's success must also be attributed to his willingness to adapt his product range, once he realised which products he could sell, and which he could not. This again is of interest to this thesis, as the eventual success of his business depended on his own 'invention' of modern Scottish craft, in this case the invention of a previously non-existent industry: Highland ceramics. As well as being an innovator, Grant was pragmatic: 'if you are making things, you've always got to look to just exactly what you are doing and how you fit in' (Grant 2014 p. 29). As such, he did not mind having to adjust his early ideals to meet the demands of his market for a cultural product representing a particular vision of Scotland. [Fig 4.6]

Highland Stoneware officially came into existence in June 1974. Employing semi-industrial techniques combined with elements of hand-making, the company continues to produce a wide range of 'tableware with the quality of studio pottery' (Highland Stoneware 2016). Although not mass-produced per se, Highland Stoneware manufactures almost identical products in volume, using semi-industrial production techniques. In this respect, it should be considered commercial rather than purely 'artistic'. Its products are highly recognisable, drawing inspiration from the flora and fauna of the surrounding Highland landscape, including commonly recognised Scottish motifs such as thistles, sheep and leaping salmon. Grant has also demonstrated a desire to be contemporary, most likely an influence of his art school training, evidenced by Highland Stoneware's recent range of abstractly decorated, oriental-inspired ceramics, under the name of 'Celadon Water'. But the firm's most successful products, and certainly the majority of products exported to retailers abroad, are those that are most readily identified with Scotland.[52] Highland Stoneware's products are distributed internationally and command high prices. Its painted mugs start at £24.50 and go up to £34.30, and lamp bases begin at £153 going up to £236 (Highland Stoneware 2016). It currently employs twenty-three staff, down from thirty-two before the recent

[52] Examples of these retailers include: *Thistles and Things - Gifts with a Scottish Flair* in Harpswell, Maine (http://www.thistlesandthingsgifts.com/pages/main) and *Scotland House - The Bonniest Shop in America* - in Williamsburg, Virginia. (http://www.scotlandhouseltd.com) [Accessed 3 April 2016].

recession (Grant 2014 p. 16), with a factory and showroom in Lochinver, and a further factory and showroom in Ullapool (Highland Stoneware 2016).

In many ways, Grant personifies exactly the type of craftsperson and business the HIDB was most keen to support and promote in the 1970s. He was young, Scottish, and art school educated. He was also highly motivated and business-minded (Pirie, 2012 p. 18). The first of three students to study ceramics at post-graduate level at Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art in Dundee, Grant benefitted from a wave of newly created craft courses across the country in the early 1970s. He went on to complete a further three years at the Royal College of Art (RCA) in London, graduating in 1974. At the RCA, he met and gained the support of ceramics tutors Grahame Clark (1942-2014) (Clarke 2014) and David Queensberry (1929-), who later became directors and shareholders in the Highland Stoneware business. Grant's early business philosophy was opposed to producing one-off, fine art ceramics for an elite market; the kind of 'craft as fine art' objects that were being actively supported by the Crafts Advisory Committee in England and Wales. Inspired by modernist principles, his vision was instead to provide a fairly priced, quality product to a wider demographic (Haslam 1999 p. 9).

After studying in London, Grant was keen to return to his native Scotland, but he needed money to set up his business. While a student at Dundee, he contacted the Highlands and Islands Development Board's Craft Officer, Mike Wilton, to inquire about starting a Highlands business (Grant 2014, p. 1). At the RCA he made further enquiries to Sutherland County Council and the Highlands and Islands Development Board about the possibility of financial aid. He received encouragement from both the HIDB and Sutherland County Council that 'a working potter could be a considerable tourist attraction in addition to providing a reasonable living for the individual craftsman' (Haslam 1999 p. 7). Subsequently, Grant was awarded a £4,800 loan and special grant of £3,000 from the Highlands and Islands Development Board (Haslam 1999 p. 11). This was not an insignificant amount at the time, taking into account inflation, it would be approximately £85,000 today.[53] As well as the money from the HIDB, Sutherland County Council agreed to erect a pre-fabricated building (which the business would lease) in the small fishing village of Lochinver (Grant 2014, p. 7). This suited Grant, who came from Achfary, a small hamlet north of Lochinver.

With a population of 283 in 1971 (General Register Office 1971), Lochinver epitomised The Highland Problem. Its remote location and rocky terrain made it unsuitable for larger manufacturing industries. Combined with a diminishing population, employment opportunities and

[53] Using an online inflation calculator it is estimated that £4,800 in 1974 was equivalent to £51,875.34 in 2016, and £3000 equivalent to £32,422.09. (http://www.thisismoney.co.uk/money/bills/article-1633409/Historic-inflation-calculator-value-money-changed-1900.html) [Accessed 3 April 2016]

future prospects were limited. But given the natural beauty of its unspoilt coastal location, Lochinver also presented tremendous opportunities as a tourist destination, and a site for lighter industries - both sectors the HIDB had specifically targeted for its industrial diversification programme. Writing about Lochinver in 1962, Geographers O'Dell and Walton noted:

> The beauty of the coastal scenery and the scope for salmon fishing give some hope for tourism provided adequate accommodation can be made available. Scourie, Kinlochbervie, and Lochinver are the principal centres, but the population is ageing as younger folk seek employment elsewhere, although given the opportunity, as in the fishing industry at Kinlochbervie and Lochinver, the population may be stabilised. (O'Dell and Walton 1962 p. 246)

Recognising that Grant's 'Stoneware Project' (Haslam 1999 p. 8) would not only provide a tourist attraction to the area, but also bring 'opportunities for employment in a very fragile local economy' (Highland Stoneware 2016), the HIDB was keen to invest. Today, the business has more than fulfilled the HIDB's original expectations. At the last census, Lochinver's population was up from 273 in 1974 to 651 in 2011 (General Record Office 2011), and it can be argued that Highland Stoneware played a role in this. As Grant confirmed when interviewed, the business has become an important part of the community, providing jobs not only for craftspeople, but also to local trades such as plumbers, joiners, painters, and related businesses including restaurants and B&Bs to accommodate visitors. Speaking in support the HIDB's craft development strategy, Grant explained:

> … people live in the area, populate the schools, make things, create in remote areas and ship it out, so that's the principle. It was quite sound really. (Grant 2014 p. 5)

Grant's business seems to have had a desirable knock-on effect of encouraging the now flourishing local restaurant trade. Described in *The Guardian* newspaper as 'Scotlands New Foodie Hotspot' (Nicoll 2011), Lochinver currently boosts a number of restaurants, one Michelin starred, the other run by celebrity chef Albert Roux. Both restaurants openly promote Highland Stoneware products by using the tableware in their dining rooms. The Michelin-starred Albannach restaurant includes a personal endorsement for Grant and his business on its website:

> Even our tableware is made by friend and neighbor David Grant at Highland Stoneware. A trip to Lochinver would be enhanced by a visit to his workshop and showroom. (The Albannach Hotel 2016))

Nicholas Gorton, General Manager at Inver Lodge (of Albert Roux fame) writes that the Highland Stoneware 'is a focal point for our breakfast service' (Gorton, N., personal communication by e-

mail. 3 April 2016). Whether Lochinver's culinary renaissance can be directly attributed to the impact of Highland Stoneware is debatable, but as Nicoll, a one time local, writes '…a revolution has been occurring in the three decades I've been gone. It seems that Lochinver is turning into a foodie paradise, albeit an isolated one' (Nicoll 2011).

Highland Stoneware's early days were challenging. The development of a light industry in a location with no existing infrastructure, such as Lochinver, was daunting. It meant organising basic logistics such as the preparation of sites with proper drainage, and the installation of three phase power (Grant 2014 p. 14). As Grant describes: 'Sounds elementary these days, you know, [but] getting three phase power was a big deal' (Grant 2014 p. 14). Even in 2014, the rugged terrain, northern latitude and remoteness of the location was remarkable. Scheduled to open to the public in September 1974, the year Grant graduated from the Royal College, for logistical reasons the foundations for the building were not laid until the following February, and power was not connected until July 1975 (Grant 2014 p. 8). A 1975 photograph shows Grant and his Highland Stoneware colleagues (including Norah, his wife, Paul and Rae Phipps, Gordon Kilgour and Barbara Mattner),[54] posing by the newly laid concrete foundation of Highland Stoneware's first factory. [Fig 4.7] The backdrop is desolate and the group's windswept hair conveys something of the harshness of the environment. It was this environment that Turnock described as making development in the Highlands so costly and difficult (Turnock 1974 p. 26). Nevertheless, the pioneers of Highland Stoneware are smiling, and exude a youthful optimism and energy in their potters' aprons with 1970s counter-culture motifs, scruffy hair, clogs and stripy jumpers. Grant presides over the group, a cup a tea in hand, with an air of casual confidence. Three years later Highland Stoneware was described in Manners' *Crafts of the Highlands and Islands* (1978) as a 'larger concern', 'bursting at the seams' (Manners 1978 p.107), employing local labour and small batch production methods.

[54] This image also featured on the cover of edition No. 14 of *Craftwork* magazine, which is discussed in Chapter 5.0.

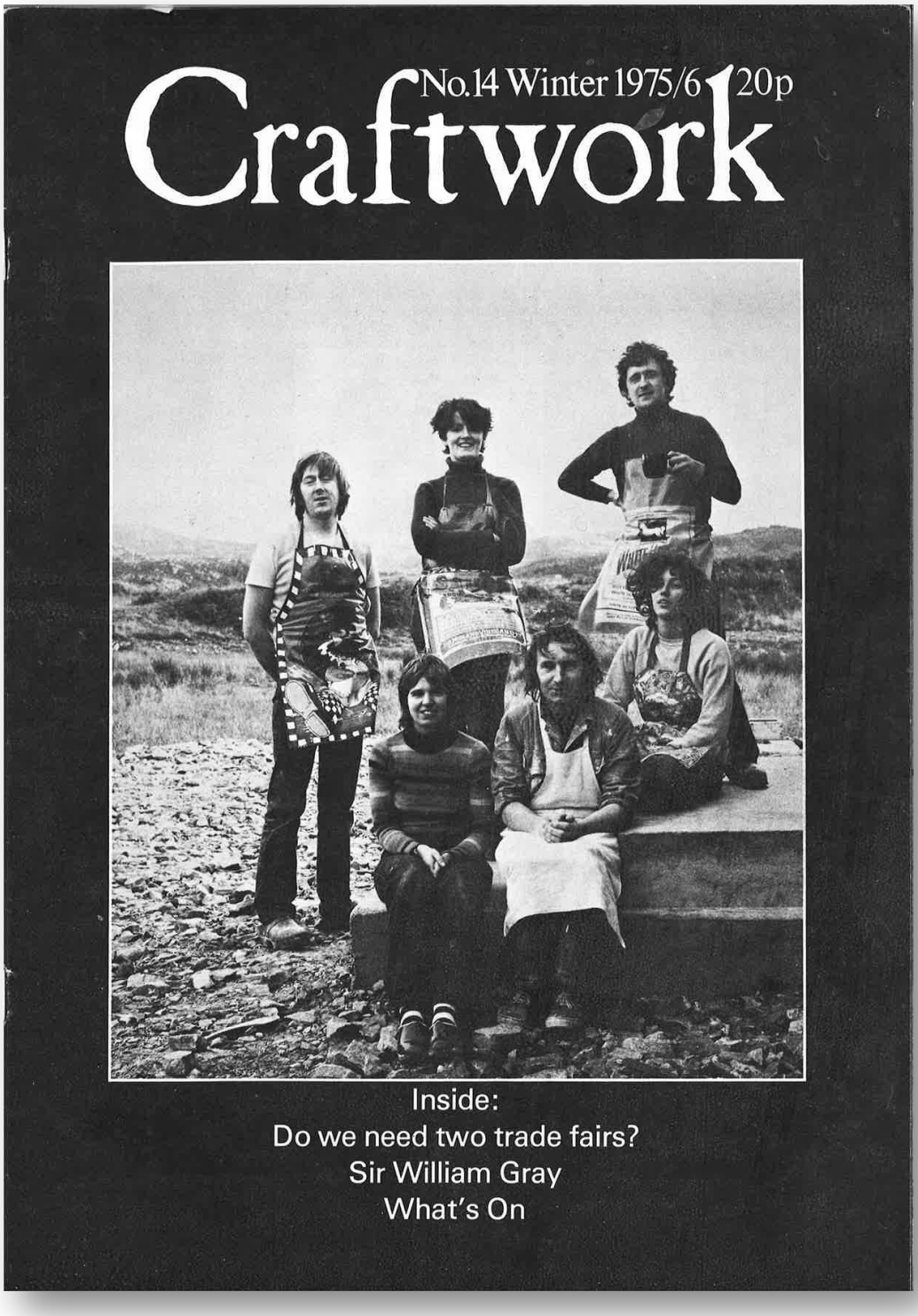


Fig 4.7 David Grant (top right) with founding members of Highland Stoneware, 1975.

The story of Highland Stoneware is in many ways notable, but it was not the only pottery to receive financial aid from the HIDB at the time, as Grant pointed out:

> … there were so many potteries and potters, by the time we formed Highland Stoneware … the Chairman of the Board's reaction [Sir Andrew Gilchrist of the HIDB] was 'oh surely not another pottery in Sutherland … (Grant 2014 p. 5)

This burgeoning number of newly established potters in Scotland gain provides evidence of the 1970s craft revival being experienced across Britain. As Grant agreed: 'there's no doubt that movement existed in the public' (Grant 2014 p. 3), elaborating further: 'there was a tremendous movement towards crafts' (Grant 2014 p. 5). Highland Stoneware may have been one of many potteries to be supported and established in 1970s Scotland, but according to Grant, it was not long before they were employing more people than all the other potteries in Scotland (Grant 2014 p. 5). In 1980, with further encouragement from the HIDB, Highland Stoneware expanded into an additional HIDB site for light industry in Ullapool (Grant 2014 p.11).

Exceptionally, Highland Stoneware was one of the few start up ceramic businesses that weathered the economic vicissitudes of the 1970s and 80s recessions, and is still operating today as a viable concern. The success of Highland Stoneware has been attributed to Grant's hard work and talent (Grant 2014 p. 6), as well as his canny aptitude for business, and according to some, his sheer good luck (Keegan 2014 p. 12). But certainly it would not have happened when it did without initial support from the HIDB:

> David is a case, of a craftsperson, very, very, skilled, who has applied in the best possible way, made a living out of it, a good living, and he had a grant, I don't know if he told you this, he had a grant to establish the pottery there. (Keegan 2014 p. 12)

As stated earlier, Grant's original business plan was to produce well-designed, affordable, everyday ceramic tableware, using plain glazes and simple shapes. The idea was to keep costs down through the simplicity of production and to bring good design to the masses. He had successfully produced a range of plain tableware for German porcelain manufacturer Rosenthal using this model (Macleod 2014 p. 2). But Grant soon realised that his highly modernist approach to production in a Scottish context was uneconomic:

> … we only had the very small kilns … and if you filled it with plain tableware, the payload, you know, that would be something like 3 quid a plate, whereas if you decorated it, it was 12 quid a plate, so you know you get a far higher payload from the kiln. (Grant 2014 p. 18)

Grant also realised that his initial idea of producing plain tableware was out of synch with the emerging Highland Stoneware market, and indeed his customer's perception of Scottish craft. Quickly accepting that selling plain tableware 'was completely inappropriate' (Grant 2014 p. 8), and recognising that his market was in 'Scottish gifts', he had to find other ways to add value. To do this, he decided to decorate his products, effectively making them appear more 'crafted'. As he pointed out:

> … the free hand painting and the Scottish gifts side, the freehand painting adding value, that became essential. (Grant 2014 p. 18)

Grant remarked upon the irony that after having spent years developing refining processes to remove all the impurities from the clay, with the 1970s craft revival and a desire for a more 'handmade' aesthetic, he had to revert to putting impurities back in. As Grant put it: 'to get that craft rustic look' (Grant 2014 p. 3). By recognising that there was no money to be made in 'utilitarian pottery' (Haslam 1999 p. 18), Grant's solution was to jettison the plain tableware that had been so attractive to Rosenthal, and produce an altogether more 'Scottish' looking product. By decorating his plain pieces with local motifs, he effectively created his own tradition in Scottish pottery. As Grant explains:

> Well, Eduardo Paolozzi [Scottish sculptor and artist, 1924-2005] taught me and when somebody said I was starting up a pottery, there was a crowd of London people and somebody who rather pompously said 'Is there any tradition of pottery in the Highlands?' and this growl came from the back of the room, Eduardo said, 'traditions have to start somewhere'. (Grant 2014 p. 9)

Grant's quote perfectly encapsulates Hobsbawm and Ranger's concept of the invention of tradition, and indeed the invention of modern Scottish craft. There was no longer a tradition of Scottish ceramics, particularly Highland ceramics, as noted by Brander in his 1974 book on *Scottish Crafts & Craftsmen*:

> Although much of the pottery produced today is by craftsmen from abroad who have settled in Scotland, there are, also, a considerable and growing number of native Scots turning out work of high merit and fine artistic achievement. In a sense, however, pottery is international and few pieces today could be said to be distinctively Scots. Yet even so there are some potteries turning out ware of high quality which has a distinctly Scottish flavour and style of its own. (Brander 1974 p. 43)

Highland Stoneware therefore began introducing its own a range of recognisable, but customised Scottish motifs, including *Culag* a thistle range by Graham Clarke in 1974:

> Grahame had his own version of the 'Immortelle' pattern made famous by Royal Copenhagen and this was render more suitable for Highland Stoneware by substituting the thistle for the immortelle and calling the design *Culag* after a locality just south of Lochinver village. (Haslam 1999 p. 20)

Other Highland inspired designs developed by Highland Stoneware included *Culkein*, a blue and white pattern named after a bay near Lochinver, designs relating to local salmon fishing (a hobby of Grant's) including a fishing fly range designed by Grahame Clarke in 1975 (Haslam 1999 p. 81), as well as designs with sheep and puffins. There was also a Highland Village series, including models of croft houses and cottages (an irony in itself, given the HIDB's attitude to crofting), as well as a *Tam o'Shanter* range. Perhaps their best-known product is their salmon dish, a long flat serving plate in the shape of salmon, hand-decorated using their unique clay extrusion technique (Grant 2014 p. 14). [Fig 4.8]

4.8 Salmon Dish, 2017. Highland Stoneware.

Highland Stoneware is reputed to be popular with the Royal Family, something Grant is delighted by. A Highland Stoneware salmon dish, a gift from Prince Charles to the Queen Mother, allegedly hangs in the Castle of Mey. The highlight of Highland Stoneware's anniversary Open Day in 2014 was a visit from Princess Anne (Macleod 2014 p. 3). On these occasions Grant makes a point of proudly wearing his kilt to promote the business, something he noted was particularly popular in the United States:

> … going to a huge place like the Javits centre in New York[55], it's obviously huge competition, but if you're in a kilt, you've got some ceramic fish with you, well you do stop a few people. (Grant 2014 p. 14)

Highland Stoneware has continued to innovate but at the core of its business is its link to place and the myth of 'Scottishness'. Grant is unapologetic about this borrowing from a well-stocked reservoir of Scottish imagery. Justifying Highland Stoneware's thistle range he argues: [Fig 4.9]

> … we do a thistle range, for example, but I think Tracey [Montgomery] has done a beautiful job of the thistle, but it's quite an interesting one, in that people who come to the people who come to the area, say that our designs are of the area, because it's high fired, and because it's hard, and the great lump of rock sticks up over there [Suilven] and actually the composition of the rocks and the composition of the stone is pretty similar … So that you know, its quite natural, painting a seascape, for example, landscape, fairly obvious, sheep, puffins, rock pools, pebbles, you know that have come out of the area. That's what gives it a character. And people say it's of the area. So basically, it's an oriental clay body, slightly Scandinavian design, and West Highlands, well its West Highlands now! (Grant 2014 p. 10)

Fig 4.9 Thistle Range, July 2014, Highland Stoneware.

[55] An international trade and convention centre opened in 1986 that describes itself as 'the market place of the world' (http://www.javitscenter.com/about/overview/about-javits-center/).

It is clear that Highland Stoneware conformed to the HIDB's development strategy of encouraging a new range of light industries, but it also satisfied their desire to promote tourism. Grant confirms that the majority of his business has come from people visiting the area:

> Certainly visitors to us have been absolutely vital. I mean we are now thirty per cent of what we do is to trade shops and seventy per cent is direct to the public, and a lot of that is through Lochinver and Ullapool direct. (Grant 2014 pp. 20-21)

Certainly there appears to be a correlation between the success of Highland Stoneware and the local infrastructure, in terms of restaurants. Tourists, or visitors as Grant prefers to call them, have been essential to his business, as he points out:

> … it's not tourism, it's visitors to the area, who have an affinity, with the area, and when you get people … like the open day, loads of people came up, you know to stay with us, and they ate and drank locally. (Grant 2014 p. 21)

This distancing from the concept of tourism is interesting. Grant's distaste for the term was palpable during our interview, as was his disregard for the HIDB's Craftmade scheme, discussed in the last section. Asked if Highland Stoneware ever used it, he noted that in the early years they did. But as their reputation grew, they were not longer interested in a branding scheme that was merely about geographic provenance rather than quality:

> … we did use it… because at that time, there was a tremendous amount of product, not made in the Highlands, sold as sort of Scottish souvenirs. (Grant 2014 p. 16)

> … we didn't really bother with it … all it was, instead of a mark of quality…was just a mark of authenticity. (Grant 2014 p. 16)

As Grant rightly points out, the concept of Craftmade was inherently misleading because its concept of authenticity could be predicated on a technicality:

> … if you engrave glass and buy in the glass, where is the dividing line? Edinburgh Crystal were trying to claim it was made in Scotland because they put it in a box in Scotland. (Grant 2014 p. 26)

Grant seems to have lost none of the early enthusiasm for the business, and is still a very hands-on director. When interviewed, he was busy in his Lochinver studio, with its enviable views of Suilven, a distinctively shaped mountain that features in many of the company's designs. He was happy to converse while effortlessly decorating three lampshade bases at a time with an identical

seascape design. As Grant spun the lamp bases round on their individual stands, he simultaneously applied clouds, mountains, and sea spray to each of bases in turn. This was Highland Stoneware's semi-industrial process in action. Grant's mentor and company Director, David Queensbury, had originally advised him to mass-produce, confirmed in an interview with fellow potter Ian Pirie:

> Queensbury had said to David Grant, 'if you are going to make a living at this you need to mass produce, because you can't hand throw this stuff.' (Pirie 2012 p. 15)

The lamp bases, made using a traditional ceramics technique called 'jigger and jolley' (effectively mechanical throwing using moulds), are fired and then hand-decorated in batches by either Grant or one of the other artists employed by the company, sometimes working on up to half a dozen at a time to speed up the process. The lamp base designs conform to a range evocating the surrounding landscape (i.e.: 'Seascape', 'Machair' and 'Rock Pool') and are reproduced identically with Grant's precision and expertise. They still bear the hand of the maker, rightly justifying the claim that 'each piece is handmade by a dedicated team of craftspeople' (Highland Stoneware 2016), but they cannot be described as one-off products.

As a case study, David Grant and Highland Stoneware provide tangible evidence of how the HIDB's policies were put into practice in the Highlands. The concept of the Highlands itself, as demonstrated earlier in the chapter, was an artificial construction. The HIDB set out to address issues of depopulation and economic decline through investment in lighter industries. In particular, it singled out pottery as 'an exciting industry to promote' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969a p. 5), not because of any particular predilection towards craft, but rather to its suitability as a light industry which could provide local employment opportunities and bring visitors to remote areas. Highland Stoneware fulfilled all these criteria. Indeed as Grant pointed out, the reason why Scottish craft enjoyed so much development money in the early 1970s was not because the HIDB particularly valued craft, but rather that they perceived craft as an industry and 'activity of potential development' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1969a p. 2).

> … why should it be just crafts, there's all sorts of manufacture now … why should crafts just get this tremendous subsidy? ... and then they [the HIDB] would say to me, but you're not craft so you're industry so you're all right. (Grant 2014 p. 16)

The HIDB's 1970 Purchaser's Survey revealed a 'preference for pottery featuring readily recognisable Scottish motifs' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970b) and a 'taste for products made by hand and produced in Scotland' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1970b). As a consequence, Grant invented and developed an aesthetic language that could communicate Scottishness, be economically successful, but also satisfy his own artistic

requirements and exacting standards as a maker. As Alan Keegan pointed out:

> … he was in the right place, at the right time, he had the right skills, he had the right attitude and the right personality, I mean its admirable, but then again, it's not a continuum. (Keegan 2014 p. 12)

Keegan above suggests that the success of Grant's business is in many ways down to the individual. Certainly many of the potters who enjoyed support from the HIDB in the early 1970s are no longer in existence, such as Keegan's protégés, Alan and Mary Crawford. Arguably Grant capitalised on the 'myth' but he also produced a quality product rather than 'tartan tat'. When asking Grant to reflect on all this, with characteristic modestly he replied, 'It's not as clever as that. Basically, we were interested in making pots' (Grant 2014 p. 16).

4.6 Case Study Two: Lotte Glob - Balnakeil Craft Village

The second case study is situated approximately fifty miles north of Highland Stoneware, and focuses on Danish ceramic artist Lotte Glob (1944-) and the Balnakeil Craft Village. [Fig 4.10] There are a number of parallels between Lotte Glob and David Grant, making them an interesting comparison: both are of a similar age, work in the same craft medium, and have carved out long and successful careers, based on a dedicated commitment to their practice and to living in the Scottish Highlands. Unlike many craftspeople, their practice also sustains them financially, and although not rich, they both live comfortably in enviable natural surroundings. Importantly for this thesis, both Grant and Glob have experience of engaging directly with the HIDB and its craft development policies. However their interaction with, and reaction to, the organisation was very different, as will be shown.

Fig 4.10 Lotte Glob in her studio, 2014.

There are other notable differences between the two makers: Glob is Danish, although Scotland has been her home for over fifty years. She learned her craft through various hands-on apprenticeships with respected Danish potters, rather than following the art-school route as Grant. Glob also considers herself more of an artist than a commercial producer, but like Grant, she prefers to describe herself as simply 'a potter'. Glob and Grant are helpful as case studies because they personify the opposing ends of a spectrum that defined modern Scottish craft in the 1970s. As Amanda Game, former Director of the Scottish Gallery in Edinburgh, confirmed when interviewed: they 'epitomise the poles of the debate' (Game, 2014 p. 8). It is these debates that make their case studies compelling.

Glob lives on the shores of Loch Eriboll, a glacier-formed fjord nine miles east of Durness. Her architect-designed house gives dramatic views to Ben Hope, the most northerly Scottish Munro, which provides a source of constant inspiration.[56] The sixteen-acre property includes a studio and showroom, as well as a sculpture croft where visitors can see her sculptural works in situ. Described as 'individual' and 'idiosyncratic' in *Ceramic Review* (Sutherland 2011 p. 31), Glob is

[56] House designed in 2001 by Gokay, Deveci (ARIAS, RIBA), winning the RIAS *Best Building in Scotland Award* in 2004. (http://www.e-architect.co.uk/scotland/lotte-glob-house) [Accessed 5 April 2016].

internationally recognised for her distinctive sculptural forms inspired by the Scottish wilderness (Ross 2002; Ross 2013; Stevens and Lansley 2013). Like Grant and Highland Stoneware, her work is highly evocative of the surrounding landscape. [Fig 4.11; Fig 4.12] This can be seen in both the forms she employs (taking the shape of floating pebbles, rock pools, and even mountains), as well as the materials collected from the area (which she literally fuses into the clay), and the vivid colours of her glazes (Glob 2016).[57] As she explains on her website:

> My creative process involves a close relationship with the landscape and wilderness of the Scottish Highlands, a part of which is long hikes into the mountains, bringing back materials such as rocks and sediments to incorporate into my work. (Glob 2016)

Fig 4.11 Bowl, Lotte Glob, 2014.

[57] Her distinctive use of glazes was poetically described in the 1977 *Scottish Arts Review* 'the Far North glazes seem reflect nature in the very far north - merging hues which echo the aurora borealis, or more muted tones reminiscent of melting ice-sheets' (Cruickshank 1977 p. 9).

Fig 4.12 Lotte Glob sculpture Croft, 2014.

Glob considers herself first and foremost an artist, and unlike Grant, she does not see her work as a product (Glob 2014). She finds the commercial aspect of her livelihood an uncomfortable one to negotiate. Although her website is highly professional and includes many examples of her work in carefully designed downloadable books, there are no price lists, no uniform product range, and scant information about where to purchase her work or see it exhibited. Her showroom is open only during the summer months, and there is a sense that she engages with the public under some duress (Glob 2014). When interviewing her she whispered conspiratorially:

> I try to be polite to people when they come in, because you have to be … But sometimes I hide because I can't stand it. (Glob 2014 p. 26)

The downloadable catalogues on her website are analogous to artists' books, comprised mostly of images and very little text. One book, titled *Inspiration*, consists only of photographs of weathered rocks, mountain landscapes, cairns and lochans, her main sources of inspiration. Another, *Environment Installations*, makes deliberate use of the term 'installation', one more often employed by the fine artist than the potter. It describes an eleven-year project that involved launching 333 floating ceramic stones into 111 Scottish lochans (Ceramic Review 2008). Inspired by the work of land artist Richard Long (1945-), the book includes enigmatic diary excerpts describing Glob's close relationship with the Scottish Highlands:

> Sunday 27-10-1996 10 am Dog barking - walking up the hill at the end of Loch Eriboll - sounds mingling with water running down the hill - a mirror-still lochan at the bealach - 3 stones floating at 10 am - a layer of streaky clouds - sun appearing - going and coming - spotlighting the peaks of Foinaven … (Glob 2016)

Glob comes from an academic and artistic family. Her father, Peter Glob (1911-1985), was an archaeologist and the Director of the National Museum in Copenhagen, and her grandfather was a painter (Ross 2002). Her early life was unconventional. She hated school and left home at fourteen to become an apprentice to Danish ceramicist Gutte Eriksen (1918-2008), who Glob described as 'a Lucie Rie type potter' (Glob 2014 p. 30). There she learned about materials, and the craft of being a potter. She then went to work with Danish potter Knut Jensen, in a traditional pottery located in Sorring, a town renowned for its ceramics since the eighteenth century (Kurczynski 2014 p. 115). Through her family she was acquainted with sculptor, painter and ceramic artist Asger Jorn (1914-1973) of the COBRA movement, who was also a key artistic influence on Glob (Glob 2014 p.29; Sutherland 2011 p. 33).[58]

Her early life was peripatetic, taking her at the age of nineteen to work at a pottery in Cork, Ireland in 1963, and then to Scotland a year later (Glob 2014 p. 1). The craft revival had yet to take off in Britain in the early 1960s, as she explains, 'I was looking for a pottery and there was hardly any handmade pottery' (Glob 2014 p. 1). She heard from friends about a pottery in Mallaig, on the west coast of Inverness-shire, and was intrigued '… they said, "Oh don't go up there, its really wild"… so the next day I was up' (Glob 2014 p. 1). It was there, at the Highland Home Industries Pottery[59] that Glob met her husband, potter David Illingworth (1926-2009) (Glob 2014 p. 1). Upon hearing

[58] See Karen Kurczynski's (2014) *The Art and Politics of Asger Jorn* for details about Jorn and the Cobra movement.

[59] Morar Pottery is perhaps best known for the work of potter Alexander Sharp, who set up the pottery and ran it for nine years. Sharp had work included in the *Living Traditions* exhibition discussed in Chapter 3.0.

about a craft village that had recently been established in an abandoned Ministry of Defense base in Durness, Glob and Illingworth set off for Balnakeil in search of adventure and autonomy. She was one of the first and the longest occupants of the craft village, staying until 1998 (Stevens and Lansley 2013 p. 65; Glob 2014). [Fig 4.13]

Fig 4.13 Former Lotte Glob House - Balnakeil Craft Village, 2014.

The story of Balnakeil Craft Village began in 1963 when Sutherland County Council purchased a disused airbase from the Ministry of Defense. The original military base (built in 1954), was intended to provide housing for staff working at a nearby Nuclear Early Warning System that was never commissioned (Ironside Farrar 2014 p. 2; The Far North Revisited 2016; Ross 2013; Lansley 1998). Consisting of a series of austere flat-roofed concrete buildings, the abandoned base was deemed uninhabitable because of its lack of insulation and basic utilities, such as water and electricity (Ironside Farrar 2014 p. 2). As with the rest of the Highlands, Durness was suffering from The Highland Problem of depopulation and economic decline. The Council's idea was to use the base to attract small, start-up businesses (The Far North Revisited 2016). Initially it struggled to draw individuals to the derelict base, until Hugh Powell, former Head of Industrial Design at Leeds College, suggested to the Council that 'it be converted into a community for artists and

craftspeople' (Ross 2013). The concept became known as 'The Far North Project' (The Far North Revisited 2016), the name speaking for itself:

> The Far North Project, as it was known, attracted applicants from all over Britain, and eventually the first pioneer residents made their way north to embark on a new experiment in living … (http://balnakeilcraftvillage.weebly.com/history.html)

Fig 4.14 Balnakeil Craft Village, c. 1976.

Units were advertised nationally, and rented to enterprising young craftspeople at the very reasonable rate of £5 a year (about £60 today). The scheme attracted individuals described as 'dreamers, wild-schemers, the unorthodox and idealistic' (Ross 2013), from across the country and abroad. [Fig 4.14] These dreamers included Glob and Illingworth. In an article published in *The Scotsman*, Glob reflects on those early years:

> When we first came there were just three or four others and the buildings were totally vandalized … We came on July 24, 1968, at three in the morning, with two babies, a dog, a small-electric kiln, a potters wheel, a ton of clay and five pounds in our pocket … We had a lot of choice of buildings because so many were empty. Windows were broken, doors were broken, the toilet was ripped out and you could look straight into the sewer. There was no power. All the copper pipe was pulled out … We found one room with a door and a window where we settled down with the kids. They were two-and-a-half and six months

> old. We didn't have electrics for three months and I had to wash nappies in the stream. It was tough, but I was only 24, so. (Ross 2013)

At the height of the village's popularity, in the 1970s and early 80s, there were twenty-eight units housing various craft businesses. In 1980, residents were given the option to buy their units from the County Council, and the village ceased to operate as a commune (Balnakeil Craft Village 2016). Although still in operation today, the village has declined, and when I visited in 2014, only nine businesses were in operation. [Fig 4.15] Although lacking much of its early vibrancy, there was still a community of sorts. The *Diggers and Dreamers* website *(*a guide to communal living in Britain*)*, provides the following description for the village: '… the compactness of the site and the remoteness lead to a certain feeling of community, the strength of which inevitably varies from time to time' (Diggers and Dreamers 2016). Plans to revitalise the village are apparently afoot, with a report commissioned in 2014 by Highland and Islands Enterprise (HIE) to look into its regeneration. It was noted in the report that at its height, the craft village 'brought benefits to Durness and the surrounding North West Sutherland region' (Ironside Farrar 2014 p. 2).

Fig 4.15 Cast Off Crafts, July 2014. Balnakeil Craft Village.

In 1974, the BBC made a documentary about the village, titled *The Road to Balnakeil*, which has provided a valuable source of information about Balnakeil Craft Village and its residents in the 1970s. The documentary opens with BBC presenter Derek Cooper (1925-2014) driving a Land Rover along a bleak snow-covered stretch of road in the direction of Durness: 'There's nothing between you and the arctic except miles and miles of sea', the isolation and harsh environment are palpable. According to Cooper, Durness shared a 'terminal fascination' with similar places such Lands' End or John O'Groats, marking the 'end of a holiday road for thousands of visitors' (Cooper 1974). It was this remoteness that attracted makers such as Glob. It also attracted summer tourists, who came to the village out of curiosity, and gave its occupants a source of income. Unlike Highland Stoneware, which provided employment opportunities for locals, Balnakeil Craft Village was largely made up of outsiders, the majority being young English idealists. Like Glob and Illingworth, they were attracted to the cheap rent, as well as the idea of communal living and creative self-sufficiency: 'to be unregimented, free to work when they want' (Cooper 1974). As Cooper explains:

> The craft village is a haven for those with nothing to declare but their talent, people who aren't afraid of making their own home from scratch, and who are anxious to turn their backs on the amenities and pressures of life in the town. (Cooper 1974)

The early Balnakeil residents included individuals such as Alan Dawson and his wife Jan, who produced a random assortment of craft objects to sell to tourists, including corn dollies, ornamental wax candles and wrought iron fire screens. Another resident, Maureen Kerr, created pressed flower pictures using local wildflowers that she collected (Cooper 1974), and also turned her hand to 'Viking tapestry hessian bags' (Highlands and Islands Development Board c1974 p. 11). There was also Iain Gunn and his wife Sue, who sold their house in London to make nursery toys and felt pouffes in a range of bright colours. Peter and Liz Harvey were also there, Peter working with leather, although noting 'my primary interest was always music … leatherwork is more or less incidental' (Cooper 1974). In the Cooper documentary, Harvey and his wife appear disillusioned and complain about Balnakeil's 'sheer isolation' and 'disconnection to the world' (Cooper 1974). What seemed like a good idea at the time appears to have soon given way to what Sue Harvey described as 'the harshness of life'[60]. Their attitude to craft was characteristic of many who set up home in Balnakeil. As Cooper put it:

[60] Ross (2013) writes that of all the residents interviewed in Cooper's 1974 documentary only Sue Harvey remained (having divorced Peter in the 1970s). She was still working with leather.

> … theoretically you could come all the way up here and handcraft garden gnomes, if that's what turns you on. (Cooper 1974)

One commercially minded couple, Peter and Sylvia Lawry from Cornwall, had a business manufacturing sheepskin rugs by piecing together offcuts. The Lawry's was the only business that employed labour from the local community, and it was reported in the Cooper documentary that they had recently opened up a second factory in Durness (Cooper 1974).[61] This more commercial approach appeared contrary to the overall village ethos. Asked if he minded being 'the odd man out in the community' or 'a businessman motivated by profit', Peter Lawry replied:

> I like to look at myself as part craftsman, part artist, but mostly on a commercial scale. It's all very well to make this and that, and do it when you want to, and put a craft label on it, and say 'that's fine, that's enough for bread and butter this week' but that's not how I look at it. (Cooper 1974)

Balnakeil in the early 1970s could be largely described as a counterculture community, comprised of idealistic young people who wanted to 'escape the urban rat race' (Cooper 1974). There were similar such craft communities emerging in England, as seen in Chapter 2.0, and on the West coast of America (Auther 2012). For many at Balnakeil, such as the Gunns, or the Dawsons, craft was simply a means to an end. But for those who were commercially ambitious, such as the Lawrys, craft was about making a profit using whatever was to hand, in their case repurposing sheepskin offcuts. It can be argued that none of these approaches really had much to do with craft (or indeed Scottish craft), but were a constituent element of the burgeoning 1970s craft revival (Chapter 2.0. The fact that few of the original Balnakeil residents have continued to practice their craft, or remain at Balnakeil, is telling. Lotte Glob and the Far North Pottery were in many ways exceptional. As Alan Keegan, who sold her work in his Castewynd Gallery in the 1970s, pointed out: 'I sometimes say that Lotte was the only craftsperson that was ever in Balnakeil' (Keegan 2014 p. 25). He adds:

> … it was a peculiar selection of people there, some of them were good some weren't. A good ironworker came up. But in general, the people who came were ones who wanted to get away from the rat race, they maybe knew how to do something with their hands, some of them came up and when they got there said 'what am I going to do now'. (Keegan 2014 p. 25)

The notion of a self-sufficient artistic community appealed to Glob, but unlike many of the other original residents, craft for her was not a means to an end, but a way of life. Despite being a self-

[61] The Lawry's business, Balnakeil Sheepskins Limited, was listed under the Companies Act 1948 as being 'voluntarily wound up' in 1981 (The Edinburgh Gazette 1981 p. 420).

described ‘scruffy potter’ (Glob 2014 p. 4), Glob, like Grant, was very much a professional. She had already exhibited her work internationally, and although not art school educated like David Grant, she had trained with some of the finest Danish potters of her generation. Glob was serious about being a potter and had come to Balnakeil, not as many of the others, as Cooper put it, to simply ‘to freak out’ (Cooper 1974). But although Glob and Grant shared the same aspiration to be experts in their chosen craft, their attitude to its making and selling was very different. As Cooper pointed out:

> They [Glob and Illingworth] produce functional oven and tableware, which they design themselves. They see themselves as basically makers, not sellers. They work in close partnership, each doing best, what they do best. But their main pleasure derives not from the repetitive work of producing coffee mugs or saucers, but the taking of a piece of clay and moulding it into something that is no longer just a piece of clay, an activity which for them, brings a great deal of happiness. (Cooper 1974)

The Cooper documentary shows a thirty-year old Lotte, throwing a large vessel on a potter’s wheel. Her skill and confidence are evident. The film cuts to Illingworth, who is now glazing the same pot, along with a number of other vessels. A production line of sorts, but dissimilar to Grant’s at Highland Stoneware. Although all of the Far North Pottery vessels shared the mark of the same maker, each one was hand thrown and essentially unique. There was no Highland Stoneware jigger and jolly production of a uniform range. This way of working was essential to Glob. As Illingworth points out in the Cooper documentary:

> We do no conscious design, we don’t design on paper at all. It’s this way of the clay, as it were, showing us what it is capable of, under fire and under the control of the fire, as to what we can help to happen, we can’t control it entirely. (Cooper 1974)

Glob confirmed this approach when interviewed:

> I still made exactly what I wanted. You know, I always thought, you know, I’d make a casserole, I’d need a casserole in the house, so I’d make twenty or fifty, (Laughs) but they were still all individual because I can’t make something I don’t like … (Glob 2014 p. 4)

This individualistic and often idiosyncratic way of working suited Glob, and still does, but was at odds with the Highlands and Islands Development Board’s vision for the development of craft businesses in the Highlands. That is not to say that the HIDB did not try to make inroads with Balnakeil Craft Village, and attempt to encourage its residents into adopting a more commercial approach to business, but rather that Glob did not want to be a part of what they were proposing.

The first mention of Balnakeil Craft Village in HIDB literature is in their Annual Report from 1973. Here it was noted that the Board gave financial support to some of the Balnakeil craftspeople. It also underlines the HIDB's desire to make improvements to the craft village, in a bid to encourage more tourists:

> In 1971 financial assistance was given on a modest scale to a number of the individual craftsmen who live and work at the Balnakeil craft village, a former armed services camp on the north coast of Sutherland. In 1972 this was followed by a series of meetings with the villagers and County Council, who own the village, with a view to improving living and working conditions in the community and making it more attractive to visiting tourists. (HIDB 1973 p. 27)

Tourism was integral to the survival of the craft village, but it was also essential to the HIDB's vision of developing viable alternatives to heavy industry in the Highlands. Their solution, as discussed earlier, was to link craft with tourism, by encouraging the production of craft objects as souvenirs. As Derek Cooper substantiates: '… the summer visitors who come to Cape Wrath are avid for souvenirs' (Cooper 1974). There was of course the obvious irony, that the crafts people who had come to Balnakeil in search of an escape from 'the rat race', were now subsumed in another form of tyranny, that of churning out products for tourists:

> Although most people came here to get away from the pressure of an industrial society, some of them find that a full order book means that their freedom is being diminished and they are being caught up in a self-made production treadmill. (Cooper 1974)

The linking of craft and souvenirs, as seen in previous sections was contentious (Graburn 1979; Stewart 1993; Hickey 1997). In the case of Balnakeil Craft Village, with the noted exception of Glob, it is clear that the goods being produced were more along the lines of amateur or hobby craft production, produced by makers who had not come from art-school or an apprenticed background. Many were not Scottish, and quality was often an issue. The HIDB had hoped that through the introduction of their Craftmade logo scheme, they could help consumers to differentiate between 'real' Scottish craft and craft that was imported and/or mass-produced. But as was shown in the last section, the Craftmade label was distributed more or less indiscriminately by the HIDB. Therefore, rather than acting as a stamp of approval in terms of quality, it conferred only a tenuous connection to the place of origin.

Nevertheless, in the same HIDB annual report that Balnakeil is first mentioned, the Board announced that over 200 businesses in the Highlands were now registered as Craftmade label users, and this included Balnakeil Craft Village. Indeed in Cooper's documentary, if you look closely, the Craftmade logo appears in several of the frames. For example, Maureen Kerr can be seen using a

Craftmade compliments slip to rest her dried flowers on. Glob was not a fan of the Craftmade scheme. As with Grant, she recognised that it was in no way a guarantee of quality. Both were in agreement that their work spoke for itself, and did need the label to add legitimacy or status. Glob in particular was extremely adverse to the idea of labeling her pots with any kind of 'brand', Craftmade or otherwise:

> … everybody that says they're a craftworker, they get a sticker, and that's what happened, everybody that said that said it was craft, they got a sticker. So you could have, you know, the most atrocious craftwork with the sticker on. Or fantastic things with a sticker on. It was just crazy, I thought. (Glob 2014 p. 9)

The Craftmade scheme, as demonstrated in the previous section, was wholly bound up with promoting Scottish crafts as souvenirs (as in the HIDB's 'Memories are Made of This' advertising) and Glob was uncomfortable with the concept of marketing her work as a souvenir. Grant had less of an issue about engaging with tourism, although he was keen to make the distinction that his customers were 'visitors' rather than tourists (Grant 2014 p. 21). Glob was happy for people to buy her work as something to remember their visit to Scotland by, but unlike Grant, she was unwilling to conform to the HIDB's notion of manufacturing a locally recognisable commercial product, even though she admits that she was more than capable of doing so:

> I did make a Loch Ness Monster, I have it somewhere…I didn't want to commercialize it. And people said, oh you should make more, why don't you make more? And I said, no. (Glob 2014 p. 14)

In this sense, Glob actively resisted the concept of engaging with the commodification of modern Scottish craft. She confirms the emphasis that the HIDB placed on marketing Scottish craft as a product, as she put it: 'they wanted to commercialise people' (Glob 2014 p. 8). As has been discussed, the HIDB did this by not only providing financial support, but also training craftspeople to develop business skills. For example, the 1974 HIDB Annual Report documents that it trialled a course on 'efficient book keeping for small businesses' at Balnakeil (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1974 p. 34). Pressure to commercialise also came from the HIDB Craft Officer, David Pirnie (1943 - 2014), who often visited the village. Glob describes an instance in the 1970s where Pirnie tried to persuade her to produce a range of products that she could package in a way that would be more appealing to tourists:

> … what he [Pirnie] said was, I think we should, you should, we should organise that you have four soup bowls in a nice package … with a little pink ribbon on and a Craftwork sticker. (Glob 2014 p. 9)

These attempts were actively resisted by Glob. Although she recognised the value of tourism in sustaining Balnakeil, she was unwilling to conform. As she pointed out:

> So, I think, in one way, tourism is very good if you … do just what you want to do, and that's the difficult thing. I mean I could make a lot more money, if I did more mugs, but I don't. (Glob 2014 p. 26)

Glob's resistance to commercialisation came at the expense of turning down attractive grants being offered by the HIDB. As seen in the case study of Highland Stoneware, these grants were generous and provided a much-needed lifeline for many craft businesses in the 1970s. Describing her first encounter with the HIDB:

> … they came to us after 4 years, 5 years in Balnakeil and a lot of craftworkers were there, and they came round to us [Far North Pottery], because they were amazed at how we had made a success. But we were still struggling. And so they came round and they were going to upgrade the whole place for us and give us money for new kilns and upgrade everything. And we had gone so far as to get a solicitor, to set it up, and then we sat back and we thought okay, if we do that, we get that much grant and that much loan, but in order to pay that loan, we would have to step up making the production, much more production, and then we would have to employ somebody and where would we be? and we said 'no', and they couldn't believe that we said 'no thank you, we don't want it because we want to do our craft work … otherwise we would end up like Highland Stoneware.' So that was very interesting … I admire David Grant, I admire his, all his work, I do, but I am glad I didn't end up like him. (Glob 2014 pp. 3-4)

The quotation above is what essentially differentiates Glob and Grant. Whereas Grant was creating a product, albeit a very high quality one, Glob was uncompromising in her desire to remain individualistic. As she describes Highland Stoneware:

> Oh it is, totally, yes, it's commercial. Even though he does hand paintings and so on, but it's more … Anyway, he's done a good job and would never fault him … (Glob 2014 p. 4)

Grant can be seen as an HIDB success story, and certainly, as he confirmed when interviewed by craft journalist Jenny Carter in 1990, much of the success of Highland Stoneware has been attributed to early support from the Board:

> We wouldn't be where we are today without the help of the HIDB. They helped us financially, with marketing and with our premises. We have help with setting up our business systems and we work closely with two management units who have helped us to improve our efficiency and have tailor-made software for us. We started from nothing and now we employ 30 staff. (Carter 1990 p. 209)

Glob on the other hand, rejected the idea of commodifying her work, and effectively rejected the HIDB and its policies. In the BBC documentary, Cooper asks Glob's husband, Illingworth, whether their approach to craft was seen as a disappointment to the Board. He replies:

> I am sure features of it are a disappointment for them, yes, because they take the simple fact that here is someone producing something that sells, therefore why don't you make more of it? Why don't you employ six people and increase your output? But of course it isn't like that at all. If we were to employ even two people I would very soon become a works manager, I would do even less pottery than I am doing now. (Cooper 1974)

It is unsurprising that other residents of the Balnakeil Craft Village in the 1970s had fewer qualms about attaching the Craftmade logo to their goods. It appears they were also less principled than Glob about accepting the generous HIDB grants, as Glob points out:

> … But there was other people in Balnakeil they got huge grants and what did they do with it, they bought carpets, they bought this, new cars, stereo, ate steak ... (Glob 2014 p. 9)

In Glob's opinion, these makers discredited the notion of what it meant to be a craftsperson, and indeed, debased the word craft. The HIDB's support therefore seems to have resulted in either creating a few successful businesses like David Grant's, or being wasted by unscrupulous makers:

> … they [HIDB] put a lot of money into a lot craft people, who either developed big business or squandered the money and left the country. You know there was a lot of that, both of that. (Glob 2014 p. 4)

Glob is still a craftsperson, and her work is wholly rooted in Scotland, both geographically and conceptually, drawing inspiration from the surrounding landscape. But in terms of the making modern Scottish craft, it refuses to conform any tradition, invented or otherwise. She has also actively rejected the commodification of her work. In this respect, her approach had more in common with the ethos of the Crafts Advisory Committee in England and Wales in the 1970s. Although she acknowledges that these distinctions are still slippery in the quote below, it is clear to see where her allegiances lie:

> … where do you division [sic] between craft and an artist? You know, you can take a bowl, I would say that's art. But that bowl is not art. You know. But there in ceramics anyway, that Britain, now it's changed, especially for in South, but certainly in Scotland, if you are a potter, you know you are not an artist. Not that … I'm not aiming to be anything (laughs) you know what I mean. (Glob 2014 p. 20)

Conclusions

This chapter set out to analyse the relationship between national development strategy and the making of modern Scottish craft. It argued that Scottish development organisations, in particular the Highlands and Islands Development Board, played a crucial role in supporting and shaping the identity of modern Scottish craft in the twentieth century. Their motivation was driven by an imperative to increase the number of lighter industries in Scotland, and diversify the economy, recognised as 'The Highland Problem', in a bid to arrest the economic and social decline that can be traced back to Scotland's industrial revolution. By outlining the socio-economic context in Scotland following the Second World War, it was demonstrated how craft came to be associated with these development schemes, and how it subsequently was promoted as a cultural product and industry.

Craft was a term that the HIDB had to define and quantify, which it did through a series of market surveys. These identified that there was a plethora of craft practice in existence at the time, but the HIDB had particular interest in supporting craft that had an identifiable market and would contribute to the local economy. It identified tourism as this market, and introduced a number of initiatives, including the Craftmade scheme, to actively link Scottish craft products with the tourist economy. Makers responded to this scheme differently; some benefitted from it, and others actively rejected it.

The case studies of David Grant and Lotte Glob neatly exemplify two ends of what might be considered a craft spectrum in operation during the 1970s craft revival. One, more commercial and industrial, was in harmony with many of the HIDB's objectives, and the other, more artistic and individualistic. Each made certain compromises in order to survive: Grant, by inventing his own Scottish traditions and embracing a more industrial approach to business, and Glob rejecting mass production and the potential to grow her business, in order maintain creative autonomy and 'do her own thing'. Grant was in many ways a poster boy for organisations such as the HIDB, whereas Glob was more in tune with the fine art ethos of the Crafts Advisory Committee in England and Wales (Chapter 2.0). In the wider theoretical context of the production of culture, Grant was what Howard Becker would describe as an integrated professional. Not only did he possess the requisite social and technical skills of his particular art world, he knew how to navigate it successfully. As Becker describes the integrated professional: 'They stay within the bounds of what potential audiences and the state consider respectable' (Becker 2005 p. 229). Glob on the other hand, is what Becker would describe as a maverick, refusing to conform to convention. Becker explains again: 'Instead of giving up and returning to more accepting materials and styles, mavericks continue to pursue the innovation without the support of other art world personnel' (Becker 2005 p. 233). It

must be noted that Grant and Glob were in many ways exceptional in their creative abilities and in their professional capacity to negotiate the vicissitudes of the achieving financial autonomy as a craftsperson in the 1970s and beyond. In between them existed a raft of makers, buoyed by the craft revival tide, attempting to negotiate their place in the craft world and their relationship to modern Scottish craft. How they did this, and more importantly, how they were assisted by national development strategy will be the focus of this last chapter.

5.0 The Making of Modern Scottish Craft: The Scottish Development Agency

This chapter concludes the analysis of the making of modern Scottish craft by examining the impact of the second national organisation with responsibility for developing Scottish craft in the 1970s: The Scottish Development Agency (SDA). Created in 1975, on the surface the SDA had a very similar remit for craft development to that of the Highlands and Islands Development Board. Both organisations were committed to linking craft with economic development initiatives in Scotland and ensuring that state-supported craft followed a commercial trajectory. But despite these similarities, the two organisations operated almost entirely separately of one another, often at cross-purposes. In this institutionally bifurcated scenario, makers had to navigate and negotiate between two very different development agencies. This chapter will investigate the processes and outcomes of these negotiations on the making of modern Scottish craft in the 1970s. It will focus specifically on three major ventures that were supported and funded by the SDA. The first was *Craftwork - Scotland's Magazine for the Crafts*, the first government backed magazine dedicated to the promotion of Scottish craft. The second was the Scottish Craft Centre in Edinburgh, a national showcase for Scottish craft, established in 1949, but with plans to expand its retail and exhibition profile. The third was Highland Craftpoint in Beauly, an ambitious new project that aimed to train and support Scottish craftspeople and raise their status nationally and internationally. This last initiative was a rare joint development between the SDA and the HIDB. These three case studies serve to illustrate how Scottish makers engaged with government development policy, and will demonstrate how individuals negotiated the increasing demands for commercial engagement with their own desires for more creative autonomy.

This chapter also returns to the theme of Scottish craft's relationship with tradition and modernity, introduced in Chapter 3.0. In particular, the translation of 'Scottishness' into craft objects, as attempts were made to define what modern Scottish craft meant to the buyer, the seller and the national institutions supporting it. This complicated mix of interests led to questions of whether the government's more commercial agenda could be achieved without compromising the creative integrity of the goods produced. Could the maker's creative autonomy, and the quality and standards of their goods, be successfully balanced in such a relationship, and how were notions of Scottishness articulated in the objects produced?

5.1 The Origins of the Scottish Development Agency

This section begins by focussing on the origins of the second major post-war development organisation in Scotland after the Highlands and Islands Development Board: the Scottish Development Agency (SDA) (1975-1991). It will analyse the activities of the SDA's Small Businesses Division, under which craft development was situated in the 1970s. As with the HIDB, the SDA's decision to link craft with business left those involved in no doubt of the government's aspirations for the development of Scottish craft. There were now effectively two national organisations with responsibility for Scottish craft operating alongside each other. On the surface they shared many points of commonality. However, this commonality gave rise to tensions and competing interests between the two, differences that ultimately proved damaging to the making of modern Scottish craft.

The idea of a second Scottish development agency, with responsibility not only for the Highlands and Islands region, but the whole of Scotland, had been in discussion for some time (McCrone and Randall 1985 p. 233). But it was not until 1975 that the new Labour Government created the Scottish Development Agency (SDA). It was an act described as 'one of historic significance' by then Minister of State, Lord Hughes (1911-1999) (Hansard 1975 col. 847). Now overseeing both the HIDB and the SDA, Secretary of State for Scotland, Ross, had responsibility for all of Scotland's economic development affairs. The resources and power at his disposal were described in parliament as both 'unprecedented' and 'substantive' (Hansard 1975 col. 847):

> … it is clear that its creation was one of the more important landmarks in the development of policy for the Scottish economy. Its significance lies both in the resources it was able to command and in its organisation. (Saville 1985 p. 242)

As with the HIDB, the SDA's remit was to secure Scotland's economic future and ensure the long-term sustainability of its businesses (Scottish Development Agency 1977 p. 12). Its creation provided further proof of the government's acknowledgement of Scotland's 'deep and undoubted needs' (Robertson 1978 p. 30), stemming from the decline in its traditional industrial base, and its persistently high unemployment. With funding coming from the Scottish Economic Planning Department (Robertson 1978 p. 21), the SDA now had the power to affect change across the whole of Scotland, rather than in one geographic area. Much was expected of the new SDA, described by its first Chairman, Sir William Gray (1928-2000), as a 'rag bag of everyone's hopes for Scotland' (Lyon 1975-6 p. 17). With the HIDB acting as a test bed for Scottish post-war regional development strategy, the SDA was expected to take Scottish development to a new level. As Lord Hughes confirmed in his parliamentary address:

> Today, almost 10 years later, I have the privilege of commending to your Lordships for Second Reading a measure which is of at least as great significance to the whole of Scotland as that earlier measure was for the Highlands. The Bill seeks to bring to the breadth of Scotland the benefits of harnessing substantial financial resources and wide executive powers within a new body—the Scottish Development Agency—charged with furthering the development of Scotland's economy and improving its environment. (Hansard 1975 col. 846)

With initial funding of £200 million, and the possibility of a further increase to £300 million (Hansard 1975 col. 852), the SDA had power to provide substantial investment capital to businesses through loans or equity. Acknowledging Scotland's deficit of newer lighter industries (Scottish Development Agency 1977 p. 12), it set out to support and promote the indigenous private sector of Scottish industry, namely its smaller businesses (Hansard 1975 col. 250). As with the HIDB, small businesses were seen as a crucial means of diversifying Scotland's economy and bringing employment to deprived areas. This point was underlined in the SDA's 1978 Annual Report, which states: 'Small businesses are increasingly recognised as the indispensable warp and woof of much of the country's industrial fabric' (Scottish Development Agency 1978 p.19). To enable this development, the SDA (which had its base in Glasgow) established a Small Business Division in Edinburgh to provide consultancy, technical instruction and advice, as well as funding in the form of a Small Business Loans Scheme to smaller companies in rural districts and towns in Scotland (Scottish Development Agency 1977 p. 16).

It should be noted that the small business function of the SDA was not an entirely new operation, but rather a continuation of work previously carried out by the Small Industries Council for Rural Areas of Scotland (SICRAS), an organisation that the SDA absorbed when it was formed in 1975. SICRAS, founded in 1969, operated through the Department of Education and Science, and was overseen by the Joint Crafts Committee (JCC), a consultative body established in 1964 (National Records Scotland 1977).[62] By the early 1970s, SICRAS was well established as a financial supporter of craft businesses outwith the HIDB area, and closely associated with what Mackay described as 'the craft scene' (Mackay 1976 p. 7). Examples of its funding initiatives included the Crafts Entrants Scheme, which allocated grants of £500 to art school graduates to set up craft businesses in Scotland, and bursaries to existing craftsmen to develop skills (Mackay 1976 p. 17).[63]

[62] See Appendix 1.0 for details about Scottish craft organisations.

[63] An example of the diverse range of craft SICRAS supported can be seen in the list of full-time craft businesses awarded grants as part of SICRAS's Craft Entrants Scheme in 1975. This included: a taxidermist, thirteen potters, four handloom weavers, one tapestry weaver, twelve jewellers and silversmiths, one furniture maker, one leather-worker, two wood-turners, two wooden toy makers, four screen printers, two knitters, one craftsman in stained glass, one glassmaker and a craftsman working with polyester resin and bronze casting (Smith 1975 p. 14).

The main difference between the SDA and SICRAS was that SICRAS acted exclusively as a council for rural areas, whereas the SDA had a national remit, with 'broad powers and substantial resources' (Robertson 1978 p. 21). Within a year of taking on SICRAS, it was stated in the SDA's first Annual Report:

> Even at this early state it was possible to detect an increase in the flow of business handled by the division, reflecting greater awareness of the services provided by the Agency. (Scottish Development Agency 1975-6)

Douglas Brown's (jeweller and former Head of Edinburgh College of Art, interviewed in 2014) research on Scottish craft businesses in the 1970s confirmed the extent of the SDA's powers and ambitions as compared to those of SICRAS:

> … the SDA has much greater powers and responsibilities even within the craft area than those attributed to SICRAS. There is no geographical restriction within Scotland. There is a clear remit to assist, co-ordinate even possibly control development and growth in an industry. (Brown 1980 p. 12)

His research substantiates the degree of control that the SDA exercised over the Scottish craft industry at the time. Although in theory the SDA's remit applied to the whole of Scotland, in practice it left the HIDB to manage the majority of industrial operations in its territory, with the exception of only a few large concerns (Scottish Development Agency 1977 p. 12). This meant that there was an overlap in the SDA's and the HIDB's territory, which had to be negotiated. As the two organisations' different managerial and ideological approaches became apparent, this overlap led to power struggles, and at times, discord. Despite the SDA's official claims that it had 'a harmonious relationship with the HIDB' (Scottish Development Agency 1977 p. 12), David Grant of Highland Stoneware, who sat on the Boards of both organisations, confirmed otherwise, reporting that they were 'both secretly at war' (Grant 2014 p. 2). Alan Keegan also had experience of working with the SDA and the HIDB through his retail business, Castlewynd Studios. When asked about their relationship he explained '… it wasn't so much that they were overlapping, [rather] they each went their own way' (Keegan 2014 p. 22). Certainly it appears that having two government organisations, each with very similar remits, was not the most efficient means of furthering the interests of modern Scottish craft.

Sally Smith (interviewed in 2014) worked for SICRAS and then the SDA for almost two decades (1970-1988), and was instrumental in promoting Scottish craft and implementing craft policy at

this time. The longevity of her career is testament to her personal determination and ambitions for the making of modern Scottish craft. Smith was first employed as the Assistant Crafts Officer for SICRAS in 1970, becoming Crafts Officer for the SDA in 1975, and later promoted to Crafts Manager for the SDA in 1978, where she remained until she retired in 1988 (Smith 2014). One of Smith's first jobs for SICRAS was to establish a database of Scottish craftsmen and their businesses (1970), as well as a list of outlets for purchasing Scottish craft products (1971). At the same time, the HIDB was commissioning its own Scottish craft retailer and purchaser reports and setting up an index of Highland crafts (Chapter 4.0). Despite arguing that the SDA was not 'strictly divided by area' (Smith 2014 p. 36), the SDA's index did not include the Highlands, because according to Smith 'Highlands was a separate country' (Smith 2014 p. 3). Already the divisions between the two organisations were becoming apparent. Brown's MA thesis attempted to address the absence of cohesion and collaboration between the two organisations (Chapter 1.2). His quantitative analysis of Scottish craft businesses between 1975-1978 was a compilation of data from the SDA's Index of Craft Businesses as well as HIDB reports. Both sources were described by Brown as 'fragmented and inconsistent' (Brown 1980 p. 25).

Brown's research concluded that together the SDA and the HIDB exerted substantial control over 1970s Scottish craft, not only through the extent of their governing remits but also through the capacity of their funding. He confirms here:

> As it was found that approximately one in three of the businesses [in his index of craftsmen] had received assistance from either the SDA or HIDB then clearly the policies and methods of implementation adopted by these bodies are a major influence on the craftsmen as a whole. (Brown 1980 p. 209)

One might imagine that the two organisations would attempt to consolidate activities in order to operate more effectively, but this appears not to have been the case. An example of the separateness of the two organisations could be seen in the annual Scottish craft trade fairs. An important part of Scottish craft promotional strategy, the trade fairs were a crucial means of getting craftsmen's products out to a wider retail network. They were not small concerns. However, rather than hold one annual fair, each organisation held their own fair, in the same month, causing confusion with buyers, annoyance with sellers, and at times intense competition between the two organisations. The HIDB's Highlands and Islands Trade Fair was the first to become established, opening its doors to buyers at Aviemore in October 1971, and continued annually until the HIDB's demise in 1991. By 1977, the HIDB fair had become a fixture in the annual Scottish craft calendar. That year it was attended by 1,600 buyers, and boasted 159 exhibitors occupying 180 stands, with 55 first time participants (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1978b p. 44). The HIDB

announced confidently in their Annual Report of 1977 that the fair reflected 'healthy development of small business activity in the area' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1978b p. 44).

In what might be seen as direct competition, a year after the first HIDB trade fair in 1972, SICRAS put on its own trade fair at Ingliston outside Edinburgh. Interestingly, SICRAS documentation indicates that its Board initially wanted to join forces with the HIDB, but was rebuffed. This apparently set the precedent for separate Scottish craft trade fairs for years to come. In the Minute of a 1972 SICRAS Board meeting, it was noted that:

> The Board opposed the promotion of a separate Fair concurrent with the Highland Board presentation and regretted the Highland Board's reluctance to participate in a combined venture for the overall benefit of Scottish Craftsmen. (Small Industries Council for Rural Areas of Scotland 1972 p. 4)

Undeterred, SICRAS established its own trade fair at Ingliston, and Smith was determined that their fair would be different to the HIDB's. Keen to promote quality (Smith 2014 p. 4), the SICRAS fair had what Smith described as 'a selection sieve that the crafts people had to go through'. In her words: 'we didn't want touristy things at all' (Smith 2014 p. 3), inferring that because the HIDB's fair was 'unselective' it was host to inferior goods. It was reported in *Craftwork* magazine that:

> At the Scottish Crafts Trade Fair at Ingliston qualifying conditions are being tightened. Mrs Sally Smith, the fair administrator (pun intended) elaborated to Craftwork: 'A great deal of stress is being put on the quality of the design and finish of the goods being submitted this year. We want to exclude anything which is tawdry or garishly over-designed. This does not mean items have to be expensive to be good - many relatively cheap products which are well designed and finished will be on show.' (*Craftwork* 1974b p. 16)

Craftsmen submitting to the SICRAS fair were encouraged to have what Smith described as their 'bread and butter' range, in other words 'things that they could produce in quantity, but not necessarily lessening the quality' (Smith 2014 p. 4). Alongside the more everyday range, craftsmen were also encouraged to produce what Smith described as 'artistic' craft (Smith 2014 p. 4). This implied the production of 'one-off' items that would be more contemporary and experimental, and would command higher prices. In this respect, it appears that SICRAS was trying to differentiate commercial craft from 'artistic craft', a term that would have resonance with Lord Eccles' rhetoric and the policies of the Crafts Advisory Committee in England and Wales (Chapter 2.0). In contrast, at the HIDB's Aviemore Trade Fair, the only stipulation for makers was that they had to be working and producing in the Highlands. As with the HIDB's Craftmade label, this meant that

anything described by the maker as 'Scottish produced' could be exhibited at the fair, as potter Lotte Glob confirmed:

> … there was so much just gifts and crap. You know, you are putting all your soul into what you are doing … and you are becoming sort of part of an established gift market. So I hated it. (Glob 2014 p. 20)

The HIDB's conflation of craft and 'giftware' at the fairs was viewed by craftspeople such as Glob, as negative, but not all makers shared this opinion. David Grant of Highland Stoneware reported how useful the Aviemore trade fairs were for him, putting him in touch with retailers from America and helping him to establish the Highland Stoneware brand internationally (Grant 2014 p. 5). As seen in the previous chapter, Grant made a conscious decision to pursue a more commercial craft route, albeit one which combined high standards of design and workmanship. He confirmed that the SICRAS (and subsequent SDA) fairs at Ingliston had higher ambitions in terms of quality, but that this selectivity caused rifts by excluding some makers who also exhibited at the HIDB fair:

> Sally and the SDA were all for selection, you know. They had a selected trade show at Ingliston, and that of course caused all sorts of … [disagreements]. There were commercial people left out … there were just wars there. (Grant 2014 p. 12)

The trade fairs were just one example of how the two organisations, the SDA (and SICRAS before it) and the HIDB, operated at cross-purposes to one another. Although each organisation had the overarching ambition to develop Scottish craft, they seemed unable to agree on how best to achieve it, and indeed what form the craft they were promoting should take. Individuals, with their own particular ambitions for the crafts, such as SICRAS/SDA Craft Officer Sally Smith, became key players in this narrative, imposing their own particular vision on the implementation of government policy.

At the same time, it was also increasingly apparent that the SDA and the HIDB's economic development plans for craft were at odds with how craft was being marketed and promoted in England and Wales by the Crafts Advisory Committee. Victor Margrie (1929-), then Secretary to the Crafts Advisory Committee, highlighted the differences between the CAC and the Scottish organisations at the 1975 World Crafts Council Assembly held at Dartington Hall in Devon:

> I would suggest that the greatest difference between Scotland and our own operation, is that Scotland places greater emphasis on employment and craft industries rather than on the individual artist-craftsman and this is quite a natural thing for them to do considering that crafts play a very important part in Scotland's economy. (Macleod 1975 p. 12)

The policies and methods of implementation adopted by the HIDB and the SDA had a major influence on Scottish craftsmen in the 1970s. This was manifested through financial assistance (in the form of generous grants or loans to set up or develop businesses) and the provision of services to assist craftsmen. These services, such as the annual Scottish craft trade fairs, ostensibly had the aim of assisting craftsmen, but more importantly served the over-arching purpose of continuing to promote and define a particular concept of modern Scottish craft. One that was both commercial and competitively priced, but also strived for quality and authenticity. Achieving a successful balance of these characteristics was often very difficult, and certainly having two organisations with similar, but also competing remits, did not help. The next section will examine the makers' responses to the governments' involvement in the making of modern Scottish craft, through the vehicle of a new government funded Scottish craft magazine.

5.2 Craftwork - Scotland's Crafts Magazine

In the summer of 1972, the first magazine devoted entirely to Scottish crafts was launched. It was another example of a nationally funded effort to specifically support and promote Scottish craft in the 1970s. *Craftwork - Scotland's Magazine for the Crafts* (1972-1990) provides important evidence of the debates surrounding Scottish craft in the 1970s, in particular how craft was being actively commodified, and how makers responded to this. *Craftwork* was a collaborative venture between the two main government bodies with responsibility for the crafts in Scotland, SICRAS (and later the SDA) and the HIDB, with some input from the Scottish Craft Centre (Chapter 3.0). The aim of the magazine was to provide information and commentary to craftsmen and the general public on the Scottish 'craft scene' (*Craftwork* 1972a p. 2). The relevance of *Craftwork* to this thesis is that it gave Scottish makers, for the first time, a national platform from which to express their opinions. This previously unheard voice did not always chime with the government's rhetoric on craft development, and provides evidence that many makers had concerns about the increasing commercialisation of Scottish craft. As a primary source, *Craftwork* has been completely overlooked in British craft history, despite the fact that it sheds important light on the discord and disquiet between government craft policy and the aspirations of Scottish craftspeople.

Craftwork magazine started as an unassuming quarterly newsletter, edited by SICRAS Craft Officer Sally Smith between 1971 and 1972. Smith's newsletter was purely informative and refrained from any judgement on the state of Scottish craft at the time (Smith 2014 p. 9). This changed dramatically when more government money was channelled into the publication and St Andrews University language graduate Bill Williams was appointed editor. Erudite and opinionated, Williams was described by Smith as 'a law unto himself' (Smith 2014 p. 24). In many

ways, Williams brought to light issues to do with the making of Scottish craft that had not previously been aired in public.

Compared to *Crafts* magazine, the CAC's more generously funded publication launched in 1973 (Chapter 2.0), *Craftwork* was very modest. With an initial quarterly print run of around thirty black and white pages per copy, its recorded circulation was only 1,053 when it ceased publication in 1988. In comparison, *Crafts* (still in print) circulated 13,162 copies in the same year (British Rate and Data Index December 1989). Whereas *Crafts* was ambitious and upbeat about the crafts in England and Wales, reflecting the CAC's hubristic attempts to re-profile craft as 'fine art', *Craftwork* was more about polemic than promotion. Williams used the publication to air provocative opinions and encourage debate amongst makers, bringing to the surface many of the issues and undercurrents experienced by Scottish makers at the time. Despite the fact that the HIDB, SICRAS, and then the SDA, were funding *Craftwork*, its editorial content was often critical of them. Acting as Scottish craft's *agent provocateur*, Williams highlighted the particular constraints he felt Scottish craftspeople were under at the time. These constraints were exemplified in the Glob case study (Chapter 4.0), which illustrated how makers tried to retain creative autonomy at the same time as satisfying the burgeoning demand to make commercial products that would sell. This dilemma was often highlighted in William's editorial columns, as in the example below:

> Readers of this paper will have gathered by now that it is not part of our editorial policy to believe that craftsmen can exist on thin air and fine sentiments … for the great majority of craftsmen in Scotland a living has to be made by the simple process of selling a product. (Williams 1973b p. 2)

The cover design of the first edition of *Craftwork* (1972) provides visual evidence of the conflicted identity of modern Scottish craft in the 1970s. Typographically, it was an amalgamation of traditional and contemporary references, which ranged from the trendy orange lettering of 'craftwork' on its cover, to the conservative classical typeface of 'Scotland's Craft Magazine'. [Fig 5.1] The cover image of John Macdonald's ram's head fire poker reinforced this dichotomy. The traditional wrought iron design of the poker was a clear nod to Scottish rural life, but the moody close up photograph, shot in black and white, was more evocative of a gallery artwork. Whether Williams was deliberately presenting a visual metaphor of two very contrasting worlds, or simply trying accommodate all possible readers, is unknown. In semiotic terms, the cover design is certainly more complex than the boldly exuberant and highly contemporary cover of the first edition of *Crafts* magazine. [Fig 2.1]

Fig 5.1 Rams Head Fire Poker, Cover, *Craftwork - Scotland's Crafts Magazine,* 1972.

If there was any confusion about the message contained on the first cover of *Craftwork*, Williams' opening editorial made his position perfectly clear. Here he dispelled any notions that the 1970s Scottish craftsperson was anything other than a 'machine minder', or slave to the 'ad man' whose 'involvement in the product he is producing to turn out is usually peripheral in the extreme' (Williams 1972 p. 2). The more mundane realities of craft production were not part of the 1970s

craft revival narrative, and were often not exposed in the popular press. Certainly Williams' inflammatory rhetoric was anathema to the government bodies funding *Craftwork,* reflecting badly on their efforts. Although a small disclaimer on the inside cover relinquished these organisations of any responsibility for *Craftwork's* editorial content, it is not hard to imagine the increasing disquiet in the HIDB and SICRAS board rooms.

Despite any reservations the HIDB or SICRAS may have had about the direction Williams was taking *Craftwork*, it was noted in a Scottish Crafts Centre Council meeting by Chairman Jefferson Barnes that the first issue of *Craftwork* had 'gone well' with 'considerable interest shown' (Scottish Craft Centre 1972). Not only had the initial print run of 4,000 sold out, another 4,000 had been ordered (Scottish Craft Centre 1972). This seemed to come as a surprise to the Council, as Barnes commented: 'On the whole the reception had been more, rather than less, favourable', with SICRAS Craft Officer, Douglas Brims reporting that they had received 'quite a flow of letters' (Scottish Craft Centre 1972). One letter to the editor of *Craftwork* opined that 'a magazine of this kind has long been overdue' hoping it would continue to retain its 'freshness and individuality in word and spirit' (Newhouse 1972 p. 3). A fresh and honest approach was something that Williams was trying to promote as editor, not only for the magazine but also for Scottish craft, in his battle against a tide of what he perceived to be hackneyed conformity.

The fact that the CAC's *Crafts* magazine (referred to by the Scottish Craft Centre Council as 'the new English craft magazine') had a more professional print finish, and featured expensive colour cover images was reported as a concern by the Council, but was perceived as a positive attribute by many of *Craftwork's* followers. English Metalworker John Creed who came to Scotland in 1971 agreed that *Craftwork* was 'amateurish' and 'parochial' in comparison to *Crafts,* but added that it was more 'honest' (personal communication by telephone. 21 July 2014). In a minute from the Scottish Crafts Centre Council meeting, a year after *Craftwork's* launch, it was noted that Barnes:

> … wondered how far it would be possible to carry on with a low budget magazine such as ours against their [*Crafts*] much more expensive production. However members felt that it was worthwhile and Mr. Brims [Crafts Officer for SICRAS] said the response from craftsmen was amazingly strong. (Scottish Crafts Centre 1973)

The main difference was that with *Craftwork*, Williams had created a much-needed forum for Scottish craftspeople, often working alone and trying to eke out a living in isolated locations. As one reader comparing *Crafts* to *Craftwork* wrote:

> I find it much more direct and outspoken and appreciate the format. Somehow the black and white conveys a much more practical and hard working image than a glossy coloured format. (Graham 1975 p. 4)

The articles in the first edition of *Craftwork* evidenced the wide range of issues concerning Scottish craftspeople in the 1970s, and the disparate nature of modern Scottish craft itself. There was practical information, such as an explanation of the new Value Added Tax, and an article on whether mains electricity would be coming to the Island of Coll. There were articles celebrating the Scottish craft 'aristocracy', such as a eulogy to recently deceased John Noble, Chairman and founding member of the Scottish Crafts Centre (Chapter 4.0). This article stressed Noble's commitment to supporting 'quality' and 'self-sufficiency' in Scottish crafts (Barnes, 1972 p. 4). These aspirations had become increasingly difficult to realise for Scottish craftspeople, as commercial pressures to manufacture and sell objects in high quantities were not always compatible with maintaining levels of quality.

The content of *Craftwork* magazine also evidenced an attempt to negotiate a balance between tradition and modernity, again reflecting the conflicted state of Scottish crafts at the time. For example, the main feature of the first edition of *Craftwork* reviewed the 'Glass in Scotland' exhibition at the Scottish Craft Centre, and included full-page images of work by Edinburgh College of Art graduates Helen Turner and Alison Geissler. This very contemporary work was contrasted with a photographic feature on a traditional smithy, John Macdonald of Ardvasar (maker of the ram's head poker on the magazine's first cover), in tweeds at his rural forge, and was followed by an article on 'past crafts of Scotland' by John Weyers. A regular contributor on traditional craft, Weyers argued that it was 'fruitless trying to separate a "Scottish" element in design', claiming that 'Much of Scottish craftsmanship can be shown to be derivative in origin' (Weyers 1972 p. 22). In Weyers' opinion, the only true characteristics of Scottish craft were 'quality and economy of use' (Weyers 1972 p. 22), confirming again that what was commonly understood to be 'Scottish craft', was lacking in truly distinctive national characteristics of its own. These conflicting conceptual representations of Scottish craft were common to *Craftwork*, providing confirmation of the invention of modern Scottish craft discussed in Chapter 3.0. They also set it apart from the more unified message championed by its southern counterpart, *Crafts*.

Despite Williams lambasting the ad man in his editorials, the commercial emphasis of the government's support for Scottish crafts was apparent in the magazine. *Craftwork* relied in part on revenue from advertising, and advertisements were interspersed between Williams' more anti-establishment features. For example, the first edition of *Craftwork* included advertising from MacBrayne's car ferry services to the Scotland's Western Isles, reinforcing a connection between

craft activity and the rise in Scottish tourism.[64] There was also a full-page advertisement for SICRAS exclaiming 'Let's be practical about this craft business!':

> Crafwork isn't all fun. Craftsmen may enjoy employing their skills to make fine things, but they need to sell then too *and* run a profitable business. That sometimes brings problems. Craftsmens' problems are our business. (Craftwork 1972a p. 25)

This advertisement was one of many frequent reminders to craftspeople that the making of modern Scottish craft was not really about personal fulfilment and satisfaction, but rather, profit and business. The message was in contrast to the one that generally epitomised the 1970s craft revival, encouraging individuals to 'follow the dream', leave behind the rat race and become a craftsperson. Having said that, Scotland did have its own craft counter-culture, which could be found in communities such as Balnakeil Craft Village (Chapter 4.0), and *Craftwork* provided confirmation of this trend. A regular feature titled 'Craft Communities' featured remote communities such as Findhorn (*Craftwork* 1972a p. 19) and Kelso that attracted craftspeople to Scotland in the 1970s (*Craftwork* 1972b pp. 6-7)[65]. Potter Ian Pirie, described this alternative Scottish craft community phenomenon:

> That's another thing that you need to understand … is that television programmes such as 'The Good Life' were on the go and the reason that's important is that you had an exodus from London, out of the rat race, of people coming up to Scotland. Selling up their homes in London, buying a half castle in Scotland because of the one-bedroom flat price had reached in London. And take the book, literally take the book out of the library on Friday, and set up a pottery on Monday morning. And the crap … that was being produced, Now this … incensed me, and irritated an awful lot of people, Because of course they were eligible to apply for small development grants to the SDA, they were eligible to go to Ingliston [craft trade fair]. (Pirie 2012 p. 24)

But despite the attraction of 'the good life', an article in the second edition of *Craftwork* outlined the harsher aspects of trying to make a living as a fulltime craftsperson in Scotland:

> Thousands of people quit the rat race every year to set up on their own. Yet many of them end up in a harrowing rat race of their own making. The pressure of being your own boss,

[64] Similar ads for Caledonian MacBrayne Ltd. appeared in subsequent editions of Craftwork, under the title 'Scotland is there to be seen' exclaiming: 'The wild and beautiful sea lochs and spacious splendor of the Western Isles are less remote than you think' (Craftwork 1973-4 p. 25).

[65] The Kelso craft community, started by Edinburgh College of Art ceramics graduates Ian and Elizabeth Hird in 1970, was supported by SICRAS money, in an effort to attract new industry and employment to the area (Craftwork 1972b p. 7).

> even in the basic and self-fulfilling field of the crafts, can be extraordinary. (Craftwork 1972b p. 4)

Pirie's quote provides confirmation of the attractive financial incentives offered to fledgling craftspeople, such as the grants for craftspeople by the HIDB, SDA, and SICRAS before it. One such incentive was the Craftsman's Grants Scheme introduced by SICRAS that offered between £200 - £500 (between £2000 and £5000 today) 'to encourage craftsmen to improve the quality and/or quantity of their production' (Craftwork 1972b p. 3). Pirie's implication, confirmed by Glob (2014) in the previous chapter, was that these grants were liberally distributed, and did not always encourage what he felt was 'quality craft' (Pirie 2012).

Were quality and quantity compatible when engaging in the making of modern Scottish craft? Would the pressure to increase quantity lead to a drop in the quality of goods being produced? Douglas Brown's research found that:

> Among existing craftsmen too there was uncertainty evidenced by conflicting views on elements such as the degree of 'commercialism' needed for survival and the 'artistic compromises' which were considered by many to be unacceptable. (Brown 1980 p.1)

These were issues that *Craftwork* and its readers also grappled with. In this respect, *Craftwork* was quick to blame of the impact of consumer culture on the production of modern Scottish craft. It specifically singled out the burgeoning Scottish tourist market, which was presented as fuelling an insatiable demand for spurious forms of Scottish craft such as cheap tartan and thistle-themed goods. Williams was on a mission to liberate Scottish craft from what he believed were its tarnished associations with the 'tartan gifte shoppe' (Williams 1972 p. 2). He appealed dramatically to his readers: 'But where's the real thing - where's true craft?' (Williams 1972 p. 2). As with the proponents of the earlier Scottish Renaissance (Chapter 3.0), Williams argued that Scottish craft had become debased and distanced from its 'purer' origins, and was in urgent need of a 'cleaner' word to describe it:

> Something which indicated a high level of skill and application; an obsession with quality and, put simply, devotion. (Williams 1972 p. 2)

The often uncomfortable blurring of boundaries between Scottish craft and souvenirs analysed in the last chapter was a recurrent theme in *Craftwork*. Williams' editorial position on this subject was clear, and he often used highly provocative images to reinforce his points. For example, in the first edition, under the caption 'Showcase, Glasgow Airport', are a selection of mass-produced airport souvenirs, including a tartan hatted 'rock the jock', and a plastic doll in a tartan mini-dress. [Fig 5.2] There is no further commentary; the image speaks for itself. It provides further evidence, not

only of the rise in Scottish tourism facilitated by increased transportation networks, but also the resulting rise in demand for Scottish souvenirs.

Fig 5.2 Showcase, Glasgow Airport, *Craftwork - Scotland's Crafts Magazine,* 1972.

Many readers of *Craftwork* railed against the increasing association of Scottish craft and souvenirs and the perceived industrialisation of Scottish craft, as one pointed out:

> It is unrealistic to assume that the craft industries automatically provide work with a high degree of job satisfaction and creative opportunity when, at the same time, the demand for a constant supply of inexpensive 'worthy souvenirs' is positively encouraged. (Craftwork 1973a p. 3)

Quality and sustainability, the two principles underpinning the original Scottish Craft Centre, articulated earlier by John Noble, were felt to be under threat from the push to commodify Scottish

craft. The issue of declining standards was the focus of the Spring 1973 edition of *Craftwork*, which featured on its cover a quote from craft gallery owner Alan Keegan (Chapter 4.0):

> One talks about setting standards for craftsmen, but it may be that the best way to work at it is from the other end, with something like a union of good shops. (Craftwork 1973a p. 1)

Keegan, had a policy of stocking 'good quality Scottish things' (Craftwork 1973a p. 4) at his gallery, Castlewynd Studios Ltd. in Aviemore, and described some of the problems faced by retailers. Keegan was particularly uncomfortable about the linking of Scottish craft with souvenirs, as he told *Craftwork* magazine:

> I don't think there's really any connection between being a local shopkeeper and being a purveyor of souvenirs. One would be better if one couldn't make ends meet selling good quality goods to do something completely different … (Craftwork 1973a p. 5)

Keegan blamed declining standards on the government funding bodies, in this case the HIDB, because in his opinion, 'they refuse to set standards' (Craftwork 1973a p. 5). The cover of the 1974 edition of *Craftwork* again launched an attack on poor quality of Scottish tourist craft, with a photograph of a crudely painted sign reading 'Hand Made Baskets for Sale 300 yards'. The photograph was accompanied by the caption 'Another Season Starts' (Craftwork 1974a p. 1), [Fig 5.3] a reference to the approaching tourist season, and the inevitable surge in buying and selling of shoddy amateur 'craft'. It represents the government's efforts to promote Scottish crafts to tourists in a wholly negative light.

Fig 5.3 Another Season Starts, Cover, *Craftwork - Scotland's Crafts Magazine,* 1974.

Fig 5.4 What Future for the Airport Gonk? Cover, *Craftwork - Scotland's Crafts Magazine,* 1976.

Williams' provocative choice of cover images made those at SICRAS increasingly uncomfortable, with SICRAS craft officer David Ogilvie commenting in a *Craftwork* Editorial Committee meeting that 'messages of that kind seldom truly worked' (Small Industries Council for Rural Areas of Scotland 1974). But despite the disquiet amongst some on the Editorial Board about *Craftwork*, Williams continued to use the publication as a vehicle for his critique. The cover image of the summer 1976 *Craftwork* was a Scottish 'gonk', an egg shaped doll with wild hair, kilt and Tam o' Shanter hat, with the caption: 'What Future for the Airport Gonk?'. [Fig 5.4] It was followed up by an article titled 'Aircrafts' - an obvious play on words - which reported with dismay that both Prestwick and Edinburgh airports now had 'Scottish Craft' shops:

> Despite the beckoning 'Scottish Crafts' sign there was little that could be so described when *Craftwork* paid a visit there recently. Less than half the merchandise on display appeared to be of Scottish origin and much of it would be difficult to include under the most generous interpretation of the work craft. (Craftwork 1976 p. 19)

Some of *Craftwork's* most spirited attacks were targeted at the annual Scottish craft trade fairs held by the SICRAS/SDA and the HIDB. Although the magazine had an obligation to its sponsors to promote the fairs, *Craftwork's* commentary through its editorials and letters to the editor, was often highly critical of them. The magazine was keen to express its opinion on the HIDB and SICRAS's inability to jointly run one fair, and their contrasting strategies on quality and selection:

> … anyone going to either event in what might be reckoned the reasonable hope of seeing the cream of Scotland's craft on display might come away somewhat disappointed. While some very accomplished craftsmen were in evidence both at Aviemore and at Ingliston many more, it has to be recorded, were nowhere to be seen at either event. (Williams 1973a p. 2)

Readers of *Craftwork* were quick to join Williams in condemnation of the fairs, including Ian Hird, of Kelso Pottery, who wrote 'Their form of selection for the Trade Fair applications must be more severe. Out with the rubbish!' (Hird 1975 p. 5), and another reader commenting about the SICRAS's Scottish Craft Fair at Ingliston:

> The majority of the hand-made goods at the Trade Fair were neither well made, nor showed much imagination … As for the mass produced souvenirs, I simply don't know what they were doing at a 'craft fair'. (Craftwork 1973b pp. 3-4)

It was not long before the government agencies funding *Craftwork* decided that Williams' editorial stance was at risk of undermining their aims and ambitions. By giving makers a voice, *Craftwork* had unleashed an unexpected wave of discord that did not present the organisations, or their

policies, in a good light. At a 1976 Editorial Committee Meeting, Charles Rennie (Craft Officer of the HIDB) was reported as wanting 'more control of the content of the magazine' (Editorial Committee Meeting of Craftwork 1976). In the summer of 1978 the Committee finally took the decision to contain Williams by re-launching the magazine in a revised and restrained format. Although Williams was nominally still editor, it was clear that views were now being reined in. The provocative covers and critical commentary were replaced with a bland newspaper format that was much less confrontational and more heavily populated by advertisements. Described by one reader as a 'downgrading' of the publication's status (Craftwork 1978b p.2), Williams' dissatisfaction with the limits placed on his editing position was made clear in a meeting between Crafts Consultative Members in December:

> He [Williams] said his role had become blurred to the extent that he was unsure of it. Although in some respects he now appears to have sole responsibility for producing the magazine, paradoxically he felt he had none … (Crafts Consultative Committee 1978)

Williams continued in a reduced capacity as editor, until replaced by Jenny Carter in August 1983 (interviewed in 2014). At this point *Craftwork* underwent one last radical transformation. With a fresh injection of funding from the SDA, the publication for the first time boasted an expensive colour magazine format, projecting a much more professional image. It had finally achieved the corporate polish its government backers felt was lacking in previous iterations. But with that, as Carter herself acknowledged, *Craftwork* had 'lost that edge' (Carter 2014 p. 5). Carter was new to the Scottish craft world, feeling 'in the pay of the funders' and found it 'difficult to be really critical of the way things were done' (Carter 2014 p. 5). The new look *Craftwork* was clearly trying to emulate the Crafts Council's higher status *Crafts* magazine, but with that it had lost all of its early rebellious candour.

For six years under Williams' unbridled editorship (1972-1978), *Craftwork* managed to encapsulate the main debates in the making of modern Scottish craft. It provides a rare window into a period that is now largely forgotten. It documented how individuals reacted to the Scottish government policy of promoting craft as a product and business in the 1970s, and substantiated an ideological discord between this policy and the individual craftperson's autonomy. In particular, it highlighted the increasing pressure on makers to cater to the growing tourist market, raising legitimate concerns of what actually constituted Scottish craft. Ultimately, it questioned whether achieving commercial success as a Scottish craftsperson necessitated the compromising of quality, standards and individual integrity. In its early iteration, *Craftwork* gave a voice to a population of craftspeople in Scotland who had previously not had a platform from which to express themselves about the making of Scottish craft. This relatively short-lived freedom of expression demonstrated

that the making of Scottish craft had it own very particular concerns, which were often very different to those south of the border. The next section will examine how these concerns were expressed through the vehicle of the Scottish Craft Centre in Edinburgh. The SCC was a member's organisation, and as with *Craftwork*, it gave a wide range makers a forum in which to debate issues relating to their craft practice and the government's support of it.

5.3 The Scottish Craft Centre in the 1970s

This section returns to the Scottish Craft Centre (SCC) in Edinburgh, introduced in Chapter 3.0, to examine its relationship with the Scottish Development Agency in the 1970s. As seen in Chapter 3.0, the SCC was established in 1949 as a non-profitmaking members' organisation, with the aim of encouraging quality Scottish craftsmanship, and providing a national showcase for it. In the 1970s the SCC was the only craft retailer in Scotland to receive annual government support (Scottish Economic Planning Department 1976 p. 2).[66] When the SDA assumed responsibility for craft development in 1975, the commercial operations of the Scottish Craft Centre became a target of the its attention. It had high expectations of what the Centre could deliver in terms of quality, but also commercial returns.

The SDA's involvement with the SCC was both positive and negative for the making of modern Scottish craft. On the one hand, it provided the Centre with a much-needed financial and professional stimulus, but on the other, it placed the Centre under considerable commercial strain. This pressure often mitigated against the Centre's original aims of raising the quality and professional profile of craft in Scotland. In the early days of its involvement with the SCC, when the SDA had ample resources at its disposal, this was not an issue. Towards the end of the 1970s, as the craft revival began to wane, so too did the SDA's resources, forcing the Centre and the SDA to make difficult choices. As a case study, along with *Craftwork* magazine, the Scottish Craft Centre's turbulent history provides another important window into the making of modern Scottish craft.

Prior to the SDA assuming financial responsibility for the Scottish Craft Centre, the SCC had been reliant on an annual grant received from the Board of Trade, and subsequently the Scottish Economic Planning Department.[67] These grants were only intended to provide a short-term boost to

[66] The only other craft retail organisation to receive government support was the Highland Home Industries Ltd. Formed in 1921, the HHI and went into voluntary liquidation in 1975. Thereafter it reformed as a commercial venture.

[67] The SCC's grant was distributed first through the Joint Crafts Committee (JCC), and then through the Crafts Consultative Committee (CCC) when the JCC was reconstituted in 1977.

the Centre by covering any unforeseen deficits. The long-term plan was for the Centre to become self-supporting through membership subscriptions, craft commissions and shop sales (Scottish Craft Centre 1955 p. 15). However this self-sufficiently proved elusive, and the Centre was continually reliant on regular increases in government grant money to remain operational. In 1972 - 1973 the grant stood at £3000 but rose rapidly to £7,000 in 1974 - 1975 (Scottish Economic Planning Department 1976 p. 1). When the grant was withheld, namely in 1963 - 1964 and 1965 - 1966, the Centre quickly fell into deficit (Scottish Economic Planning Department 1976 p. 1). The servicing of the SCC's finances was officially taken over by the SDA in 1977, after which the Centre's business operations were closely monitored. Its inability to become self-financing was now under particular scrutiny (National Records of Scotland 1977). The SDA's involvement therefore marked a significant change at the SCC, one that was greeted with optimism, and apprehension, by its Council and members.

On the plus side, whereas the Centre had previously 'lived on a hand-to-mouth basis' (Scottish Craft Centre 1979), the SDA now provided welcome financial security that enabled the Centre make plans for the future. In addition, much needed business advice was also now available from the SDA's craft officers. But in return for this support the SDA, answerable to the Scottish Office, made specific demands of the Centre. Not only did it now expect the Centre to become more commercial in its outlook, but also to tighten up on the quality of craft it represented. In theory this sounded completely reasonable, but in practice it was almost impossible to achieve. The Scottish Craft Centre had always trod a thin line between being commercially minded and maintaining the standards expected of a national craft showcase. This delicate balance became more acute when the SDA stepped in, leading to a conflict of interests between the SCC's members, its elected council, and the SDA itself. As seen in the previous section, attempts to actively commercialise craft were not always positively received by Scottish makers, particularly when it meant actively linking craft to the tourist market. These same tensions were experienced at the Scottish Craft Centre.

The trepidation felt when the SDA took over the stewardship of the Scottish Craft Centre was made clear in Lord Elgin's first SCC Presidential Address in 1979. Here Elgin voices caution over a possible loss of identity and autonomy at the SCC, as a result of the new governance:

> Much as he [Lord Elgin] admired the work of the SDA, he thought the Craft Centre should be vigilant not to lose its identity completely, because the crafts were as important as the arts in Scotland, and they must have that measure of independence that whatever public money was voted, the decision as to how the money was spent must be in the hands of the craftsmen who were competent to make it. (Scottish Craft Centre 1979)

Elgin felt that important decisions about the development of Scottish craft should not be left to government, rather it was the craftspeople themselves who should ultimately be responsible for their destiny. But Elgin, described as having 'always taken a great interest in things Scottish' (Scottish Craft Centre 1979), was one of what Robert Clark, Vice President of the SDA, disparagingly described as 'a body of well intentioned individuals who had a non-practical interest in the crafts' (Scottish Development Agency 1986). The SCC was founded by a number of such well-intentioned individuals, including many Scottish aristocrats (Chapter 3.0).[68] For this reason, it was often criticised as operating as a 'self-appointed elite' (Barnes 1978), run by 'an Edinburgh clique' (Scottish Craft Centre 1974). This conservative and elitist reputation was one that the Centre found hard to shake off, and was exacerbated by the overall reluctance of many of its members to embrace change.

One change the Centre had to negotiate in the 1970s was the transition from operating as a cosy and familial operation, closely associated with aristocratic patronage, to one of detached professionalism and increased accountability. The SDA's insistence that the Centre revise its management structure to include more full-time professional Scottish craftspeople was an example of this new policy (The Scottish Craft Centre 1978). It led to heated discussions about who should, and should not, be a member of the Centre, and crucially, who had the right to decide what was in the best interests of modern Scottish craft.

It is important to point out that the SCC was a membership organisation, or as some referred to it, a 'Craftsman's Club' (Scottish Economic Planning Department 1976 p. 1). Its elected council, comprising twelve members and a president, was responsible for the day-to-day running of the organisation, as well as devising its future strategy. Under the new SDA regime, a tight rein was kept on the organisation's activities, with strategic decisions now overseen by the SDA's Craft Officer. The Centre's grant went from £32,296 in 1978 to £41,543 in 1979 (Scottish Craft Centre 1979), and with this mounting dependence on SDA funding, the Centre felt obligated to conform to the SDA's expectations. Many makers believed that Lord Elgin's prophecy of a loss of autonomy and identity at the Centre was now becoming a reality.

In 1978 the Scottish Craft Centre's membership stood at 597, and included craftsmen members, corporate and associate members. The 303 craftsmen members paid an annual subscription of

[68] A list of 'Friends' of the Scottish Craft Centre from 1981 includes the following peers: Lady Bannerman, Lady Birsay, Lady Lyell, Lady Younger, Lord Bute, Lord Elphinstone, Lady Graham, Lady Hudson, Lady Lumsden, Lord Glenkinglas of Cairndow, Lady Tatiana Reid, Lord Strathenden, Countess of Crawford and Balcarres, Baroness Elliot, Baroness Gainford of Headlam, Duchess of Sutherland, Sir R Johnson, Sir A.N. Noble, Sir A.J. Reid (Scottish Craft Centre 1981).

£5.40 and lifetime membership could be secured by paying a single lump sum of £22 (Barnes 1977a p. 1). In order to be approved for Centre membership, prospective craftsmen had to submit samples of their work and provide evidence of academic credentials (Scottish Economic Planning Department 1976 p. 1). An example of how this worked can be seen in the SCC records from 1977, where it was noted that the membership panel considered sixty-four membership applications and rejected thirty-six (Scottish Craft Centre 1977). The applications provide evidence of the diverse range of crafts the SCC panel had to vet at the time, which included textiles, jewellery, ceramics, knitwear, woodwork, glass, macramé and wrought iron (Scottish Craft Centre 1977). It is clear from the records that the standard of applicants was highly variable, as noted at an earlier Annual General Meeting in 1974:

> … the panel was constantly put to the test and always found it difficult to determine what was craft and to keep standards high enough (Scottish Craft Centre 1974).

Not only was quality an issue, some of the applications clearly tested the boundaries of what the panel considered to be craft. The Minute of the 1977 membership panel meeting noted: 'the panel had not had anything too outlandish to consider like the dried apple figures mentioned last year' (Scottish Craft Centre 1977). As this was a craftsman members' organisation, membership was intended to confer prestige, and act as a badge of professional approbation. Nevertheless, with mounting SDA pressure to increase revenue from membership fees, there was a feeling amongst some members that the Centre was becoming more inclusive than exclusive (Shilitto 2014 p. 8).

As part of their membership, craftsmen members were able to display their work in SCC exhibitions, undertake commissions organised by the SCC, and sell their work in its shop. These three activities were central to fulfilling the SCC's original constitutional aim of making quality Scottish craft more widely accessible to the public. In doing so, it was hoped the SCC would educate the public about Scottish crafts, and cultivate higher levels of taste and appreciation for quality craft goods. The ability to purchase or commission craft was an important aspect of this, as underlined in the words of the SCC Chair Jefferson Harry Barnes who noted: 'possession is probably the surest way of cultivating a true appreciation' (Barnes 1977b p. 1). For this reason, the shop was initially intended for cultural rather than commercial gain, and this accounted for its relatively modest financial returns. Despite having recorded some increase in sales turnover over the years, taking into account inflation, the shop consistently operated at a loss.[69] Once the SDA began overseeing its organisation, the Centre was expected to dramatically expand its craft retail activities. This included plans to open satellite outlets in various locations ranging from the Scotch

[69] If no grant had been paid, the losses in the three years of 1972/3 to 1974/5 would have been £2,353, £6,795 and £7,779 (Barnes 1977a p. 2).

House on Princess Street in Edinburgh to the Design Centre in Glasgow. Some members of the SCC's Council were anxious about this change in retail policy. The fear was that the craftsman members would be unable to satisfy the increased demand for quality goods, and the Centre would be forced to compromise standards. SCC Chairman Barnes warned:

> We also have considerable reservations as to whether a retail organisation on that score could be certain of getting adequate quantities of the goods at the upper end of the quality range to make such an enterprise commercially viable. We would also certainly have to compromise dangerously with standards. (Barnes 1977a p. 9)

The problem with the SDA's sales strategy, highlighted by the quote above, was obtaining a continuous supply of high quality craft goods. As Barnes reported in an earlier SCC annual general meeting '… there is a great shortage of the prestige type of object' (Scottish Craft Centre 1974). It should be noted that part of the rationale for the creation of the SCC in the aftermath of the Second World War was to bolster quality Scottish craft production, for the very reason that a lack of such goods had been identified. In reality the Centre had an on-going struggle to satisfy consumer demand and maintain standards. Evidence of which can be found in the SCC's records as far back as 1960, where it was reported:

> Over the years a fair amount of poor work has crept in, and it was difficult to steer a course which, in eliminating this, might empty the shelves. (Scottish Craft Centre 1960)

In the same way that standards and quality were an on-going source of debate in *Craftwork* magazine, heated discussions ensued about the types of crafts objects that were on sale at the SCC shop, and whether their professional standards were high enough. The SDA was in principle committed to raising standards, and when Sally Smith was made Crafts Manager of the SDA in 1978, her appointment came with the announcement that her aim was to 'make Scottish crafts synonymous with high quality and professionalism' (Craftwork 1978a p.1). Nevertheless, the SDA was still accountable to the Scottish Office for turning around the Centre's finances. It therefore wanted the best of both worlds: a range of high quality, professional crafts goods that would also sell in volume. This balance was proving difficult to achieve. As former SDA Craft Officer Sally Smith commented when interviewed:

> … we wanted to push quality … [but] at the same time … we were obliged because of our funding through the Scottish government to look at the business side. So we were keeping this balance the whole time. (Smith 2014 p. 1)

The struggle to maintain a balance between quality and commercial success at the Centre was further exacerbated by the Centre's geographic location. Its proximity to the Royal Mile made it

attractive to tourists, and visitors coming to the Craft Centre were generally not interested in buying expensive contemporary craft items. The unfortunate truth was that craft goods that evoked stereotypical images of 'Scottishness' tended to be the most popular at the Centre. Craft souvenirs became an easy commercial option for the Craft Centre, as Craft Officer for the SDA, Douglas Brims, confirmed:

> Souvenirs are a 'soft touch' in Scotland. There is so much nostalgia and sentiment involved, especially among Americans that it is easy to sell. (Glasgow Herald 1976 p. 3)

A 1964 edition of *Design* magazine (funded by the Council of Industrial Design) surveying the 'state and status of design in Scotland', included an article by Magnus Magnusson, summarising the situation at the SCC:

> The Craft Centre … makes a brave effort to encourage native craftsmanship. Unfortunately it is hampered by being situated so far down that Royal Mile that it does not attract the number of visitors it might. Also, the products on display are too often self-consciously Scottish and lacking in style and imagination; many of Scotland's craftsmen do not trouble to participate, so that the centre is not given the opportunity of developing good design standards, or expanding its activities.' (Magnusson 1964 p. 33)

Fig 5.5 Gift Items, Scottish Craft Centre, c. 1970s.

Evidence of what Magnusson was describing above can be seen in an undated image (c.1970s) from the SCC archive, which includes a disparate variety of craft goods that were available from the SCC shop at the time. [Fig 5.5] A woven blanket, sheep skin rug and straw basket all suggested 'traditional' rural crafts, but the tie-died scarf and wooden toy were more contemporary and geographically indistinct. Three transfer printed ceramic tiles depicting a Mackintosh-inspired rose, Culzean Castle, and a 'dancing lassie' were obviously 'Scottish inspired', but were neither traditional nor rural. They do however suggest 'Scottish souvenir'. Overall, this selection of goods projected a disparate and confused Scottish craft identity, and it is questionable as to whether any of the items would satisfy Smith's call for 'high quality and professionalism'. The Centre's attempts to cater for a wide range of possible consumers, including tourists, is evident here. But as SCC Chairman John Noble's reply to Magnusson's article reveals, the decision to sell souvenirs was more out of necessity than choice:

> I am certain we would not survive if we tried to cater exclusively for a small section of avant garde design fanciers. Moreover, where are all the craftsmen who will produce the wondrous stuff, even if there are the customers? (Noble 1965 p. 69)

This was essentially the root of the problem at the Craft Centre, and perhaps with modern Scottish crafts more generally in the 1970s. Not only was there a short supply of higher quality goods, but crucially, there appears to not have been much demand for them. This was key difference between the Scottish Craft Centre and its London-based counter-part the British Craft Centre, an organisation the SCC sought to emulate when it was founded (Chapter 3.0). Unencumbered by commercial and cultural expectations in the way that the SCC was, the British Craft Centre enjoyed an altogether more contemporary, or 'avant garde design' (to paraphrase Noble above) outlook in both the objects it sold and the clientele it attracted. As Maureen Brown (wife of Douglas Brown, former Head Design at Edinburgh College of Art) commented about the SCC when interviewed 'it was certainly nothing like the Craft Centre in London' (Brown 2014 p. 20). Amanda Game, former Director of the Scottish Gallery in Edinburgh, who worked on the shop floor of the SCC in the early 1980s, was of a similar opinion: 'It was not the sort of place that local Edinburgh came, it was just the tourists' (Game 2014 p. 16).

Whereas some craftsmen members were happy to fill the demand for Scottish craft souvenirs, others were less enthusiastic. As Magnusson's quote above suggested, many Scottish craftsmen simply did not bother with the Centre. Lotte Glob, who was a craftsman member of the SCC in the 1970s, soon became disillusioned with the standard of goods on sale at the Centre, as well as the

pressure from the SCC's management to sell her goods at more competitive prices. When interviewed she recalled:

> I came down with some big casseroles and teapots, and they said 'Oh our prices, we had to cut our prices down' so they could compete with others in the Craft Centre, but [the] other people in the Craft Centre were people that taught, or had just a hobby, so they could afford to sell it at a cheap price. But we couldn't afford to do that … we had to make a living … so we took our casseroles and our teapots and said okay home now. (Glob 2014 p. 5)

Glob's comment references a frequent criticism that many of the Centre's craftsmen members were in fact not full-time professionals, but rather hobbyists or part-time makers. With craft not being their sole livelihood, they could afford to sell their work at lower prices. Glob saw herself primarily as an artist-craftsman, as in the Craft Advisory Council's terminology, producing quality one-off ceramic pieces that were highly individualistic and time consuming to make. For this reason, they commanded higher prices. But her work increasingly did not conform to the shop's move towards stocking cheaper, higher-turnover items, as Craft Centre Director, James Carson (interviewed in 2014) lamented:

> … it is my opinion that unless allowance is made for actually trading in fast selling items, there is no real chance of significant increases in turnover. (Scottish Craft Centre 1978)

The push to increase sales and become more commercial in the 1970s was just one factor perceived to be having a negative impact on the Centre. Another, ironically, was the effect of the 1970s craft revival itself. Whereas in its early years, the Scottish Craft Centre enjoyed the position of being the only craft retail outlet in Edinburgh, it now had serious competition. This was something that the Centre was slow to react to, with detrimental consequences. English silversmith and metal-worker John Creed came to Scotland in 1971 and remembered that in the early part of the 1970s opportunities for craftspeople in Scotland were 'limited' compared to England (Creed telephone interview 21 July 2014). He recalls very few Scottish outlets selling or exhibiting craft work, with the SCC being the only place where you could actually see craft 'of any quality' (Creed telephone interview 21 July 2014). This was confirmed by SCC Chairman Robert Clark, who described the early Scottish craft infrastructure as 'fragmented', with 'few formal links with other bodies' (Clark c.1976). By the mid 1970s this was no longer the case. Much to the benefit of craftsman, craft retail outlets and professional societies had grown to such a degree in Scotland that craftspeople now had a wide range of choice where they could sell their work (Clark c.1976). As Mackay confirmed: 'Craft shops are a phenomenon of the seventies, and they are now proliferating all over Scotland' (Mackay 1976 p. 154).

In particular, there was now an abundance of independent, specialist craft shops, focusing on one type of craft, such as jewellery or ceramics. For this reason, makers like Glob no longer saw any economic or status advantage to selling at the SCC. This was compounded by the SCC's 'sale or return' policy, meaning that makers only received payment for their work once it was sold. With most craft production involving expensive material outlays, such as jewellers working with precious metals, this policy was highly unattractive (Brown 2014 p. 13). Many of the leading craftsman members were now strategically selling their more ambitious work directly to specialist galleries, in order to secure the highest prices. Their cheaper, less adventurous 'bread and butter' ranges, were then relegated to the SCC shop, prompting craftsmen members to ask what benefit SCC craftsman membership actually served:

> What exactly does it mean to say 'I am a member of the Scottish Crafts Centre'. Does it mean that 'I have a line of goods accepted, but, of course, I have another cheap line which I also sell' or does membership mean 'I am a good all around craftsman and everything I do is done well and soundly.' (Scottish Craft Centre 1974)

Another major issue that the SCC faced in the 1970s was its inability to attract younger members. The fear that 'the somewhat traditional image of Acheson House might deter them' was expressed at one SCC meeting (Scottish Craft Centre 1968). Although the SCC may once have been considered as 'an outlet with an element of quality', (Creed telephone interview 21 July 2014) it was increasingly perceived by the next generation of makers emerging from the four Scottish art schools as being 'old fashioned' (Creed telephone interview 21 July 2014). [Fig 5.6] It was common practice in the 1970s for talented young Scottish graduates to pursue post-graduate training at the Royal College of Art (RCA) in London, where according to Amanda Game they became 'aware of this completely different world [that was] much more connected to design [and] fashion' (Game 2014 p. 3). As Game explained, this new world was one 'that the Centre didn't in any way embrace' (Game 2014 p. 3). Game cites examples of Scottish makers such as Dorothy Hogg and Roger Millar, who followed the Scottish art school to RCA trajectory, returning to Scotland as 'artist craftsmen'. For these individuals, the Scottish Craft Centre was completely 'irrelevant' (Game 2014 p. 3).

Fig 5.6 Entrance to Scottish Craft Centre, 'Value for Money', c.1975.

The SCC's links to the Edinburgh elite also did not help in this respect, as they were seen to be part of an older, traditional world that younger makers did not identify with. Ian Pirie (interviewed in 2012), then a graduate from Gray's School of Art in Aberdeen, noted that the SCC's membership committee was comprised mostly of non-makers, or 'ladies and gentlemen that lunch' (Pirie 2012 p. 25), with decisions about who gained membership being left to the Council members' personal taste. In his opinion: 'chances of them knowing one aesthetic from another [were] few and far

between' (Pirie 2012 p. 25). This perception led younger makers, such as Pirie, to direct their energies towards newly emergent craft organisations such as the Scottish Potters Association (SPA) founded in 1974. The advantage of the SPA over the SCC was that it was a purely members outfit, and not encumbered with any elitist legacy or affiliation with government:

> So the SDA was okay and that was fine in terms of providing grants. There was only Sally Smith, Sally Smith was very good, the Craft Centre was okay, but the community already felt that, no … we're not being properly served here. (Pirie 2012 p. 17)

SCC President Lord Haig, demonstrating his sensitivity to the change in mood and aesthetic shifts at the time, reported an early visit to Edinburgh College of Art where he saw good examples of glass engraving with 'a Jackson Pollock touch about it' (Scottish Craft Centre 1962). But overall the Centre found it difficult to engage with modernity and the concept of the contemporary artist craftsman, as Maureen Brown noted:

> One of the problems with the Craft Centre [was] that it kind of wanted old fashioned looking things rather than what young craftsmen were wanting to produce. (Brown 2014 p. 18)

Anne Marie-Shilitto agreed that the Centre had a reputation for 'old fashioned things'. As Brown describes above, Shilitto confirmed that it was renowned for the kinds of traditional Scottish craft that would be more at home at the 'British Crafts Exhibition' of 1947 or 'Living Traditions' in 1951 (Chapter 3.0), such as woven baskets, knitted clothing, woven throws and traditional hand-carved or 'bodged' furniture (Shilitto 2014 p. 7). [Fig 5.7] Acheson house, the SCC's sixteenth century premises, was described in a Craft Centre brochure as 'one of the most unique and beautiful houses in Edinburgh's Royal Mile' (Scottish Craft Centre 1985). But it was perceived by many craftsmen members, and the SDA, as a liability, projecting a backward rather than forward looking image for Scottish crafts. A warren of small rooms with timber-panelled ceilings and stone fireplaces, the building was in many ways the physical embodiment of the Scottish Craft Centre's more traditional values. Its eccentric layout, spread over three floors, made the display and retail of craft objects difficult. As Amanda Game confirmed: 'it was a very beautiful building but utterly unsuited to retail' (Game 2014 p. 16). Craftsman member and potter Janet Adam (interviewed in 2014), also remembers that the SCC shop 'wasn't very practical to run' with goods stocked over three floors 'you had to have somebody staffing each room so somebody didn't come and nick things …' (Adam 2014 p. 21).

Fig 5.7 Scottish Craft Centre Interior, c. 1970s.

The summer of 1978 was considered 'another good year' (Craftwork 1978b p. 1) for many Scottish craft retailers who reported 'buoyant sales', due to an influx of European visitors that showed 'no signs of abating' (Craftwork 1978b p. 1). A different picture was emerging at the SCC, where only modest increases in retail sales were recorded (Scottish Craft Centre 1978).[70] Interest in the Centre from consumers and craftspeople overall was reported to be on the wane at this time, and this was reflected a the last minute decision to cancel the follow up to the SCC's 1974 Craft Biennale in 1976, due to 'lack of support from craftsmen' (Scottish Craft Centre 1976a).

The Director's Report for the Year of 1977 / 78 stated grimly that the SCC was considered 'obsolete' and that the 'whole existence of the Craft Centre was in jeopardy' (Scottish Craft Centre

[70] From £56,614 in 1977 to £58,000 in 1978. Allowing for inflation these figures represented a decrease in sales revenue (Scottish Craft Centre 1978).

1978). In 1979, in a dramatic effort to reverse this decline and raise the Centre's professional profile, the entire SCC Council including the non-practising Edinburgh elite and many of the older, more traditional makers, were sacked and replaced with a new Council. This new Council was comprised of mostly of young, up-and-coming makers, including Mike de Haan, David Hemingsley and Margery Clinton, and later joined by John Creed, David Kaplan, Maggie Riegler, Roger Millar and Ian Hird. To add further professional kudos, the new Council also had representatives from each of the Scottish art schools, the Scottish Design Centre, and the Scottish Arts Council (Craftwork 1979a p. 1).

At the helm of the Centre was newly appointed Director, Stephen Elson.[71] An experienced curator, Elson was crucial to the new SDA Chairman Robert Clarke's plans to 'raise standards to the point where we have an "upper house" situation' (Craftwork 1979b p. 5). The Centre planned to run a continuous exhibition programme, promoting 'experimental work', and implement a more selective membership scheme, requiring all 280 existing craftsmen members to be reassessed and vetted for 'ordinary' membership or 'upper' membership level (Craftwork 1980a p. 5). The shop would continue to operate, but become much more selective: 'less like a general bazaar and much more prestigious' (Craftwork 1979b p. 5). And crucially, there would be less emphasis on commercial profit. As Elson explained: 'Admittedly, with high standards to uphold, we have to be insulated, to a certain extent, from commercial aims' (Craftwork 1980a p. 5). Revenue in this new organisation would be derived from commissions on the sale of high-ticket exhibition items, shop sales and membership dues (which would be raised). It was envisioned that the Centre would attract private and corporate sponsorship and ultimately free itself entirely from dependence on SDA money (Craftwork 1979b p. 5).

It was a risky strategy, but the hope was that with more stringent entry requirements, and an emphasis on 'experimental' rather than traditional or souvenir craft, the Centre would finally attract the high profile makers who had previously refused to be associated with it. As former SCC Chairman Barnes had earlier opined:

> Instead of the Centre spending so much of its energies in trying to be a good shopkeeper, we should try to ensure that the very highest quality of things appeared in the Centre, so that we had a standing exhibition … which would be nationally worthwhile. (Scottish Craft Centre 1976b)

[71] Elson was formerly keeper at the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum in Glasgow with experience as a Director at the Collins Gallery at Strathclyde University (Craftwork 1979d p. 1; Craftwork 1980a p. 5).

Unsurprisingly, the decision to review membership and the shop angered many of its more established members. Those who were reliant on selling their work at the Centre were now anxious about reselection, including craftsman member Stanley Whyte, whose thistle shortbread moulds, which had been popular in the shop, were now considered too traditional and touristy. Writing to Whyte about the Council's decision to no longer stock his work, SCC Director Stephen Elson explained:

> The traditional operation of the Craft Centre is now recognised to be not so relevant to the present requirements of craftsman who have now many more retail outlets at their disposal … In consequence of this, in some cases, work which has traditionally shown at the Scottish Craft Centre is now thought to be no longer applicable to the type organisation into which the Craft Centre is developing. (Elson 1980b)

The Scottish Craft Centre had become a battle ground between old and new, populist and elite. The question of whether the Centre should 'lead public taste' rather than 'pander to it', was at the heart of the debate, an issue raised by Anne Hartree, owner of the Prescote Gallery in Oxfordshire, who lamented that: 'alas, the Scottish Craft Centre has for many years fallen victim to the gift shop syndrome' (Craftwork 1981b p. 1). On the other hand, craftsmen members such as John Miller of Ferryport Pottery in Tayport wrote to *Craftwork* magazine to express their disquiet about the changes at Acheson House, convinced that its visitors:

> … do not come to see an arbitrary selection of elitist work, for which various galleries already exist and which few could afford to purchase, but expect to find quality of craftsmanship as applied to work lovingly produced within the cultural ethos of Scotland … It is clearly an emotional bonus to the public to find themselves within a building redolent of the Scottish family past out of which most of the crafts … have evolved. (Craftwork 1979c p. 2)

Craftsman member, Susan Senior of Nether Lennie Pottery, wrote to *Craftwork* with her concerns about the changes, in particular the 'drive to rid the Centre of production "selling" goods in favour of select one-off pieces' (Craftwork 1980c p. 3). Senior went on to ask:

> Is all this public money being spent on a place for the few? What has become of the interests of the majority of craftspeople, for whom this money was presumably allotted in the first place? (Craftwork 1980c p. 3)

Despite, or possibly because of, the radical changes at the Centre, sales at the shop continued to decline. The new Council viewed this, and the fact that the British Craft Centre in London had recently closed its retail operation, as evidence that retail was no longer appropriate for the Centre (Craftwork 1980c p. 1). In the wake of considerable objections from established members, in

January 1981 the new Council backed by Stephen Elson took the drastic decision to stop retailing altogether, in order to focus exclusively on high-end exhibitions. As Council member David Kaplan (interviewed in 2014) pointed out in support of the decision: 'the Centre had a duty to set an example to others' (Craftwork 1980c p. 1). Unsurprisingly, this decision was met with further uproar by many, such potter Barbara Davidson, who was interviewed for the *Edinburgh Evening News*:

> How can you produce a stream of innovative items when you are in a traditional craft? People don't want them anyway. There is a very restricted market for the innovative, and most of us have to sell our work, we can't afford the luxury of one-off pieces. (McNamara 1981)

Whether there was actually a market for the kind of contemporary Scottish craft the new Council was so keen to promote was debatable. Potter Marjorie Clinton, one of the few Council members opposed to the decision to close the shop argued that forty-four per cent of the sales in the Centre during May and June of 1980 were in fact for items priced between £5 and £20, with a further twenty-four per cent of items between £20 and £50. She emphasised that there were no sales over £100. Who, Clinton asked, would finance the Centre's new policy of exhibitions only? (Craftwork 1980c p. 1) SCC Director Stephen Elson countered this by arguing that for the shop to meet its sales overheads, it would have to sell at least £84,000 in stock. Given that its highest annual sales had only ever reached £56,000, he explained:

> In the worst economic recession for fifty years, it is obvious that the Scottish Craft Centre is unlikely to reverse the downward sales trend of the last five years. Emotive talk of 'elitism' and 'rejection' just does not stand up when faced with these economic realities - particularly as many of the things for sale in the Centre can be purchased at any number of other venues. (Craftwork 1981a p. 5)

Such was the disquiet over the threat to close the shop that MP Robin Cook intervened on the craftsmen member's behalf. Elson provided Cook with a lengthy reply (Elson 1980a), but this seems to have done little to convince the public that closing the shop was a good idea. Numerous articles were published in the national press, exposing the Centre to further unwanted public scrutiny. The final word in the matter came from the SDA, who announced it would no longer financially support the Centre if it refused to continue its retail outlet. A letter from the Crafts Consultative Committee on behalf of the SDA to Centre Director Stephen Elson made the SDA's terms for support apparent:

> It must be made clear that as the Scottish Development Agency's grant is to a degree primarily related to the provision of a prestige sales outlet for Scottish craftsmen in

> Scotland, this inevitably requires the Centre also to pursue a vigorous retail activity. (Geddes 1980)

In an Extraordinary General Meeting in March 1981, craftsmen members delivered a vote of no confidence in the new Council and its policies, which resulted in the Council's mass resignation (Craftwork 1981c p. 1). Defeated, Stephen Elson was forced to resign from his post as Director, having served less than two years. The ambitious membership and exhibition policy that was planned to take the Centre to a higher professional level was now abandoned, and in a dramatic reversal of policy, emphasis was now back on the commercial side of the business.

Disappointingly, the Centre continued to underperform financially, and after years of declining subsidies, the SDA finally halved the SCC's grant in 1989. The following year the Centre was declared bankrupt and forced to close its doors in September 1990 (Scottish Craft Centre 1990). Needless to say, it had never managed to fulfil its promise of becoming economically self-reliant. Equally, it never managed to keep up with the momentum of the 1970s craft revival, or fulfil its original aim to 'seek to maintain and improve the standards of design and workmanship' (Scottish Craft Centre c.1976). As Ian Pirie stated:

> So what had been very good in the early days of the Small Business Division of the SDA, all of that funding started to dry up, and it was drying up. One of the reasons it was drying up is that there was no way of demonstrating the value to the economy, the usual thing, both culturally, economically. (Pirie 2012 p. 21)

The story of the Scottish Craft Centre is one that is by now familiar. Although the Centre clearly benefitted from the support of the Scottish Development Agency, in both financial and leadership terms, the two organisations were at odds from the beginning. On the one hand, many members of the Scottish Craft Centre were dedicated to showcasing the best of Scottish craft, but on the other, they were constrained by pressure from the SDA to become economically self-sufficient. By effectively forcing the Craft Centre to treat craft as a commodity, its members had to make difficult compromises that were not entirely compatible with the Centre's original ethos. This was exacerbated by the Centre's location, and the temptation to succumb to the obvious demand of selling craft as Scottish souvenirs.

The Scottish Craft Centre also provides evidence of the difficulty in engaging with modernity that has been identified as symptomatic of the making of modern Scottish craft at the time, as Anne Marie Shilitto suggested '…people are very comfortable with traditional' (Shilitto 2014 p. 7). Perceived as 'stuck in the past', with a reputation for Edinburgh elitism, the Centre failed to attract younger members and embrace a more contemporary outlook. Despite the hard work and best

efforts of all involved, the goal of raising standards and promoting quality Scottish craftsmanship at the Centre unfortunately remained unfulfilled, raising the question as to whether the SDA's involvement with the Centre was to blame. As Amanda Game put it:

> … because in the end, you know the government's funding something, [if] you're sitting at a distance, you can do whatever you the hell you want, that makes lots of money, selling tartan dollies, that's up to you, but if it is the government suggesting that it has cultural value, and actually this should not have been funded as representative of Scottish cultural life, because it wasn't. (Game 2014 p. 18)

5.4 Highland Craftpoint

One hundred and seventy miles north of the Scottish Craft Centre a different scenario was playing out, one that adds a final dimension to the story of the making of Scottish craft in the 1970s. It was called Highland Craftpoint, and it was rare example of the coming together of the two government agencies that did the most to shape modern Scottish craft during the 1970s craft revival: the Highlands and Islands Development Board and the Scottish Development Agency. Although both the HIDB and the SDA had similar ambitions for Scottish craft, they approached the development of craft very differently. The Scottish Craft Centre had an historic legacy to build upon, but because of this legacy it was encumbered by traditional perceptions and expectations of Scottish craft that kept it mired in the past. Highland Craftpoint had the advantage of starting with a clean slate, but as with Scottish Craft Centre, it also had to negotiate a difficult balance between satisfying the commercial expectations of government and the creative aspirations of Scottish craftspeople. Both institutions were ultimately answerable to the public bodies that were funding them; a co-dependent relationship that at times enabled, but also undermined.

Although conceived several decades after the Scottish Craft Centre, in the middle of the 1970s, Highland Craftpoint did not come into existence until the end of that decade, when the original impetus fuelling the 1970s craft revival was rapidly losing momentum. Craftpoint ceased operation in the early 1990s, roughly the same time as the Scottish Craft Centre was forced to close its doors; a time when government bodies across Britain no longer had the means, or the motivation, to support craft as they had done in the past. For these reasons, it serves as an appropriate coda to the 1970s Scottish craft narrative.

Like much of the making of modern Scottish craft, Highland Craftpoint, was largely down to the vision and effort of a single individual. That individual was David Pirnie (1943-2014), and like Sally Smith at SICRAS and the SDA, he did much to shape the concept of modern Scottish craft in the late twentieth century. Although Highland Craftpoint continued to operate until the early 1990s,

by that time it had lost most of its original energy and motivation, and David Pirnie had long since left the organisation. It is therefore the early years of Highland Craftpoint that are of most interest.

David Pirnie was Scottish and trained as a fine artist at Edinburgh College of Art. He first appeared on the Scottish craft scene in 1974, when he was commissioned by the HIDB to write a craft development proposal for the Highlands and Islands (Pirnie 1974). He had previously gained valuable experience advising the Nepalese government on how to develop their craft industries (Pirnie 2014). His brief from the HIDB was to investigate how the crafts in the Highlands and Islands could be commercially developed. The initial findings concluded that there was an urgent need to raise both the quality and professionalism of Scottish craft. This, Pirnie argued, could best be achieved by the provision of a purpose-built craft centre, which would provide an integrated service for craftspeople, and include training, marketing and technical advice (Pirnie 1974). It is interesting to note that at this stage Pirnie's research made no reference to the Scottish Craft Centre in Edinburgh, despite the fact that the SCC was equally committed to raising standards and quality of craft, and was also a nationally funded craft institution. The HIDB and Pirnie must have felt that the SCC had not satisfied these ambitions, justifying the need for a fresh approach in a new location.

On the basis of Pirnie's research, the HIDB put together a steering committee to investigate his proposal in greater depth (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1977). The findings were promising, particularly in light of the economic potential of Highland craft which, excluding Shetland knitwear and Harris Tweed, had increased from an estimated £1 million in 1969 to £3.5 million in the mid 1970s, (Carter 1990 p. 204). The final proposal gained approval from the Scottish Office in 1978, and crucially, the HIDB was able to convince the SDA to join forces to financially back the new centre. Two-thirds of the capital and running costs would be met by the HIDB, with the remaining balance would come from the SDA (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1979 p. 39).[72] An alliance between the two most powerful government development agencies in Scotland was ostensibly strategic, but in reality the relationship was an uncomfortable one: 'a partnership that never worked very well' according to Highland Craftpoint's Company Secretary, Andrew Duncan, interviewed in 2014 (Duncan 2014 p. 3). The difficulty of the relationship was substantiated by discussions with a number of craftspeople involved with both organisations over the course of this research, including Grant (2014), Keegan (2014), Pirie (2012), and Game (2014).

[72] Carter reports that in the first year of its operation the SDA contributed £61,345 to the Highland Craftpoint's running costs, and the HIDB £123,320 (Carter 1990 p. 207).

Highland Craftpoint's aim 'to stimulate further commercial development in the field of craft production' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1979 p. 39) was made clear from the beginning, and it benefitted from that clarity. Unlike the Scottish Craft Centre, which attempted to reinvent itself many times during its tumultuous history, Highland Craftpoint '… wasn't trying to be all things to all people' (Duncan 2014 p. 27). To achieve its aim, Craftpoint would focus on the provision of practical advice and assistance specifically tailored to its clients' individual needs. This would include specialist training, technical and information services, help with design, research and development and marketing (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1979 p. 39).

Pirnie was appointed Director of Highland Craftpoint in December 1978. His vision for a modern purpose-built craft centre in the small Highland town of Beauly (ten miles west of Inverness) was outlined in an HIDB press release (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1978a). There had been arguments in the HIDB about situating the centre in Beauly, with questions asked about the suitability of the location (Grassie 1983 p. 55). Pirnie apparently found parallels between Beauly and places he had visited in Nepal, and therefore felt it was an ideal location for the development of Scottish craft (Pirnie 2014 p.2 5). He was also keen to avoid obvious tourist centres, such as Aviemore, because of their connections with the souvenir trade (Duncan 2014 p. 8). Rather than having to adapt existing premises, Highland Craftpoint would be newly built and therefore perfectly adapted to its purpose as a working craft centre (Duncan 2014 p. 4). Pirnie did not want Craftpoint to be encumbered by historical legacy - physical or metaphorical - as was the SCC's Acheson House in Edinburgh.

Although the original plans made some provision for a possible retail area, according to Duncan, 'It wasn't meant to be retail or to conflict with retail at all' (Duncan 2014 p.4). For this reason, Pirnie's vision was again a marked departure from the model of the Scottish Craft Centre, with an emphasis on educational rather than commercial activities. Pirnie believed that in order for Scottish craft to become truly sustainable as a modern and thriving practice, it had to detach itself from the tourist industry. This was at odds with the HIDB's previous initiatives, which had singled out tourism, and indeed the production of souvenirs, as a potentially attractive and viable option for HIDB-supported craft businesses to focus on. It also differed from the SCC's failed attempts to combine the sale of souvenirs with high-end objects. As Pirnie pointed out in his early proposal for the HIDB:

> The future of the crafts industry clearly depends on something greater than an exclusive concern with satisfying the demands of the tourist trade, and, if development is to be purposeful for designer craftsmen and patrons alike it is essential that through education,

> exhibition and promotion, an informed market for craftsmanship is created. (Pirnie 1974 p. 1)

The triumvirate of education, exhibition and promotion therefore became the cornerstones of Pirnie's plan for the new centre: education, through the provision of master classes and specialist workshops; exhibition, using the Centre's purpose-built exhibition space; and finally, promotion through the provision of specialist business and marketing advice for working craftspeople. As seen in the previous section, although one of the Scottish Craft Centre's original aims was to educate, partly through its own exhibition programme, this activity had been severely curtailed when pressure mounted from the SDA to increase revenue through retailing, and more or less ceased after the dramatic shakeup in 1981. Pirnie wanted to avoid this, and certainly in the early years as Director of Highland Craftpoint, he was relatively unconstrained by demands from the Scottish Office. According to Duncan '… in the early stages he was given pretty much a free hand' (Duncan 2014 p. 8). Another important difference between Highland Craftpoint and the Scottish Craft Centre was that unlike the SCC, Highland Craftpoint was not a members' organisation. This meant that it was unencumbered by a council of non-practitioners and the legacy of an aristocratic elite, as was the case of the SCC. Pirnie was very likely aware that these long-serving and well-meaning individuals had probably kept the Scottish Craft Centre rooted in the past. With an entirely new venture, he was able to handpick his staff, and have greater control of the organisation.

By all accounts, Pirnie was exacting in his specifications for fitting out the building, making sure that it was equipped with the highest quality and most up-to-date equipment (Duncan 2014 p. 5). Former potter Ian Pirie (interviewed in 2012) taught master classes at Highland Craftpoint and described the facilities as 'Rolls Royce' (Pirie 2012 p. 26). The architect-designed building, costing £680,000 (Carr 1981 p.12) comprised four main areas: a library and information unit, an exhibition unit, a conference unit, and two 3000 feet square workshops for the provision of training, research and development, and limited production (Highland Craftpoint c.1979 p. 2). [Fig 5.8] Highland Craftpoint's services were open to clients throughout Scotland and the rest of Britain, and for those unable to come to the Centre, and it provided an 'itinerant instructional service'. This was intended for makers based in remote locations, such as Lewis, Shetland or Orkney, where the Highland Craftpoint team would deliver onsite training sessions and seminars (Duncan 2014 p. 21).

12 BUILDING DESIGN, September 4, 1981

CRAFTS HIT THE HIGH POINT

Richard Carr reports on Scotland's latest crafty scheme.

ACCORDING to David Pirnie, director of the new Highland Craftpoint at Beauly, near Inverness, money has always been spent on the crafts in Scotland.

The new organisation, funded jointly by the Highlands and Islands Development Board and the Scottish Development Agency, is the latest proof of this and comes into being complete with a purpose-built building on a tight, 1 ha site which houses two, 278sq m workshops as well as an exhibition hall, conference room, library and administrative offices.

The building, designed by Matheson Mackenzie and Partners to a cost of £680 000, began as little more than an architect's schedule of accommodation. This made the workshop requirements very clear but left the use of some of the other areas rather uncertain and even now this is reflected in the final design.

For example, though there are no doubts about the purpose of Highland Craftpoint, which is to provide training for craftsmen and their apprentices and research and development for craftsmen and craft-based industries backed up by information and marketing services, its relationship with the public remains in doubt.

Originally, there were plans for both a retail outlet and a restaurant, both of which were opposed by local interests and eventually vetoed by the planning authority. So, though the public are welcome to visit Highland Craftpoint (at 30p a time) there are no facilities for them. Even the obscure entrance to the building, sideways on to the front facade, reflects this doubt about the organisation's connection with the outside world.

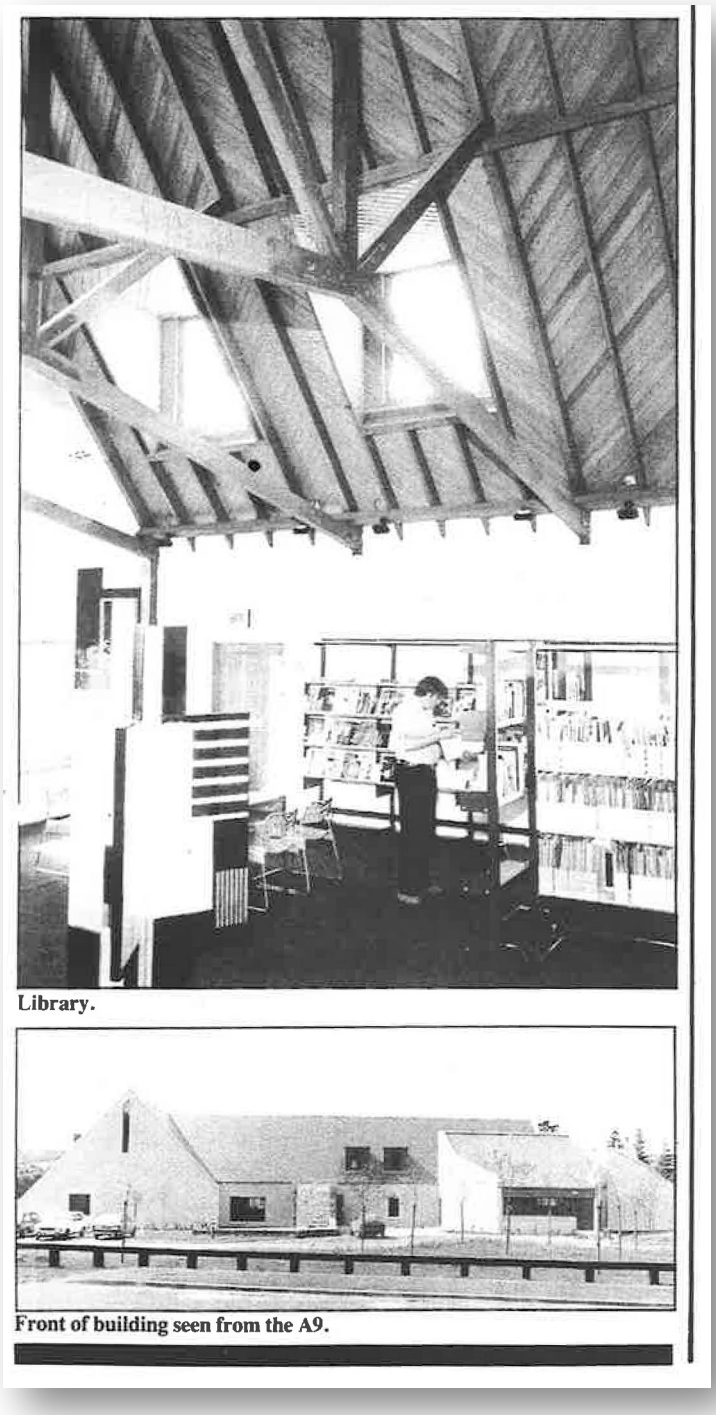
The same criticism can also be made about the location of the exhibition hall and the conference room in the basically E-shaped building. The former occupies the main body of the building and has a splayed out area at the back which

Rear facade of Highland Craftpoint, showing the workshop wing on the left hand side.

Fig 5.8 *Crafts Hit the High Point*, Highland Craftpoint, 1981.

In the same way that Pirnie was exacting about Highland Craftpoint's fixtures and fittings, he was equally stringent about the calibre of staff he employed. Craftpoint employed a permanent team of eighteen highly experienced designers, craftspeople and technicians, and ran a regular lecture and master class programme, delivered by visiting professionals. According to Pirnie's widow 'the people who came and did workshops, training courses, were the very best in the country' (Pirnie 2014 p. 7). Ian Pirie remembers that 'people came from all over … it had such a good reputation' (Pirie 2012 p. 31). The high levels of expertise and service, combined with state-of-the-art facilities, were essential to achieving Pirnie's vision for modern, innovative and sustainable Scottish craft. [Fig 5.9] These tenets were also in the HIDB's plans for developing craft products and markets, as their 1979 Annual Report states:

> … markets once won, do not stay won unless product improvement as least keeps pace with changes in customer's requirements. (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1980 p. 3)


Library.

Front of building seen from the A9.

Fig 5.9 Library and Front of Highland Craftpoint.

Advice and assistance, including the instructional itinerant service, were provided free of charge. Training courses held at Craftpoint were run for a modest fee, with the possibility of financial assistance (Highland Craftpoint c.1979 p. 5). Duncan confirmed that Craftpoint's rates were highly subsidised (Duncan 2014 p. 7), and that in the beginning 'there was plenty of money thrown at it' (Duncan 2014 p. 5). As a business model, Highland Craftpoint was never meant to generate profit.

Instead it would boost the craft sector by providing a much-needed service to Scottish craftspeople, encouraging and enabling them to become more profitable. Craftpoints's success would therefore be judged not on profit, but rather on the success and expansion of the businesses it assisted (Pirnie 2014 p. 31). Pirnie's vision for Highland Craftpoint was one where the relationship between the public funding body and the craftsperson would be mutually beneficial, with the funding body providing facilities and technical training to promote and educate craftspeople, and the 'designer craftsperson' providing professional teaching, and imparting their wisdom, inspiration and skills through their master classes. In his words:

> The scheme would be founded on the recognition of the value of distinct funds of experiences and expertise, which, if shared in an appropriate manner would encourage development within the crafts industry. (Pirnie 1974 p. 2)

Sue Pirnie's description of a master class by Richard Rattan, an English wood turner, demonstrates how this imparting of new ideas and sharing of skills worked in practice at Craftpoint:

> He could turn a piece of wet wood to something that was paper thin, and you would see all these people coming along, and you know seeing their work at so many craft fairs around the region, indistinguishable thick bowls … and you could see their eyes completely open, no just [by] his technical ability, but the whole imagination of the shape and the merging of the shape with the wood that he was turning' (Pirnie 2014 p. 12).

Similarly, David Grant of Highland Stoneware acknowledged how much his business benefitted from the training at Highland Craftpoint, as it was there that he first saw American potter John Glick using a ceramic extruder. As a result, this extrusion process became a crucial component in the production of Highland Stoneware's signature salmon plates, one of their most popular and successful products to date (Grant 2014 p. 14). Anne Marie Shillito, jeweller and Research Fellow at Edinburgh College of Art, was also was a keen supporter of Craftpoint, describing a one-day photography course that entirely changed the way that she approached her work (Shilitto 2014 p. 17), as was ceramic artist Lotte Glob:

> When Craftpoint came up I thought fantastic, what a brilliant idea … and to have these fantastic workshops for people to come to. They had the most fantastic library! Oh I loved it! (Glob 2014 p. 8)

Although Pirnie's approach to Highland Craftpoint was in many ways highly idealistic, his attitude to the making of modern Scottish craft was essentially pragmatic. Rather than aspiring to raise its status to that of fine art, along the lines of the Craft Council of England and Wales (or indeed the Director of the Scottish Craft Centre Stephen Elson), Pirnie's belief was that craft should be treated

as a 'viable commercial commodity' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1977 p 49). As he explains below:

> The hard fact … is that the designer craftsman is a maker of commodities and as such his ultimate aim must be to exchange the objects he makes for the money without which he can neither live nor work.' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1977 p. 49)

For Pirnie, the commodification of craft was not something to be scorned, but rather embraced. However, he was also adamant that the Scottish craftsman should aspire to more than simply churning out products for the tourist trade, hence his very deliberate usage of the term 'designer craftsman' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1977 p. 49). The term 'designer craftsman' was a direct reference to post-war debates by the Council of Industrial Design and the Design Council on promoting the link between industry and craftsmanship (Frayling 1992 p. 175), and was used by Pirnie as a mark of distinction. In his proposal for Highland Craftpoint, Pirnie differentiated the work of a 'designer craftsman' from that of the folk artist or industrial designer (Pirnie 1974 p.3). The designer craftsman did not have to be local, and would often use imported rather than indigenous materials. Their work would be based on 'principles often far removed from the traditions of the area in which the designer lived and worked' (Pirnie 1974 p. 3). As Pirnie explains below, the designer craftsperson:

> … may acknowledge an aspect of local tradition but will more usually reflect an amalgam of wider and more diverse influences - cultural, aesthetic, technological and personal. (Pirnie 1974 p. 2)

Crucially, Pirnie wanted to differentiate 'designer craft' from any obvious connotations with Scottishness, something he perceived as a hindrance to the making of modern Scottish craft. As he clarifies below:

> An emphasis on the Scottish-ness of a product may attract the curious, or less discerning of our visitors, but will not contribute to a significant progression of the standards of design and craftsmanship in the north. (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1977 p. 55)

Pirnie believed that the only way for a Scottish craftsperson to achieve genuine self-sufficiency was to produce a quality product that could be sold at high prices. For this reason, he was particularly keen to encourage art school students to consider craft as a profession in Scotland, offering four-week 'stepping stone' courses designed to help graduates set up a business (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1982 p. 31). Art school graduates were prime targets for Highland Craftpoint, as it was understood they would come with a solid foundation in contemporary design principles, and be unencumbered by any outmoded or traditional views. With

Pirnie's particular vision of modern Scottish craft, standards would be high, with no room for amateurism or part-time hobbyists:

> Craftsmen should depend on no one for support. They should be capable of selling what they make at a high enough price to make a satisfactory living; if they are not capable of achieving self supporting status, serious questions should be asked about the future of their particular venture. (Pirnie 1974 p. 1)

By the early 1980s Highland Craftpoint had become the main locus for craft in the Highlands. It had assumed responsibility for all the HIDB craft advisory and support services previously managed in Inverness, including the administration of the Craftmade logo (Chapter 4.0), the organisation of the annual Highland Trade Fairs in Aviemore, and the production of the *Buyer's Guide to Retail Products* for the region (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1983 p. 11). At this time, it was reported that Craftpoint had participants coming from all over Scotland, and in some cases from south of the border (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1983 p. 10). For all intents and purposes, Pirnie had managed to make Highland Craftpoint a thriving centre and a powerbase for craft in Scotland, certainly providing competition to the SCC in Edinburgh.

But despite Pirnie's efforts to elevate the professional standards of Scottish craft through reinventing it as 'designer craft' there was still the issue of who was buying it, and it seems that in this respect modern Scottish craft was unable to wholly detach itself from the commercial tourist market. The reality was that most of those coming to Highland Craftpoint for training and advice were still catering to the tourist trade (Duncan 2014 p. 14). A few makers, such as David Grant at Highland Stoneware, had managed to break out to sell to major retailers, and makers, such as Lotte Glob, had also carved out a niche as an independent artist craftsperson. But in Duncan's opinion, for most crafts producers, business was essentially 'tourist related' (Duncan 2014 p. 14). One of Highland Craftpoint's services was to conduct market research into public attitudes towards the purchase of Scottish crafts in order to allow makers to target their production more specifically (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1983 p. 11). It was telling that the focus of one of Highland Craftpoint's regular information 'Bulletins' was on 'Tourist Expenditure on Crafts' (Highland Craftpoint 1981). The Bulletin concluded, following a Gallup Poll based on 610 interviews, that the three visual features that confirmed a tourists' belief that an object has been made in Scotland were: 'tartans, traditional Celtic designs and thistles' (Highland Craftpoint 1981 p. 2). It went on to state 'this fact is invariably responsible for encouraging a purchase and as such, associations of this kind cannot be easily ignored.' (Highland Craftpoint 1981 p. 2). No doubt Pirnie and his staff at Highland Craftpoint would have been dismayed by the survey's findings, including that its visitors perceived Scotland as a 'predominantly rural place', and that its history

and traditions (real or imaginary) were of significant interest to tourists when purchasing Scottish-made products (Highland Craftpoint 1981 p. 2). Despite their best efforts to steer a course that was innovative *and* commercial, there was no escaping the continued demand for more stereotypic interpretations of Scotland.

It was no accident that the original 1974 concept for Highland Craftpoint coincided with the height of the British craft revival, and ran parallel with other hubristic ventures such as the formation of the Crafts Advisory Committee in England and Wales. By the time the venture finally got off the ground, the decade was nearly over and the socio-economic landscape in Britain had changed dramatically. The new decade saw Britain plunged into a deep recession, with the HIDB reporting that 'many craft businesses [had] encountered depressed market conditions, and several closed or cut back operations' (Highlands and Islands Development Board 1981 p. 38). As Sue Pirnie described:

> In the 1970s money was no object, the HIDB had tons of money, it was more difficult spending it, and then in the early 80s that world changed. Oil crisis and things like that. And all of a sudden accountability became much tighter. And you know, government has basically withdrawn from all these areas now. It doesn't write blank cheques. And it's a totally different way of looking at things. (Pirnie 2014 p. 25)

The recession also had an impact on tourism in Scotland, and in 1981 Alan Devereux, the Chairman of the Scottish Tourist Board warned that the effect of recession, high unemployment and civil disorder in London (the main overseas gateway to Scotland) meant that 'for several years to come Scotland was going to be up against hard times' (Scottish Tourist Board 1981). Highland Craftpoint was entirely reliant on funding from the by the HIDB and the SDA, which in turn were answerable to the Scottish Office. As the heady days of the 1970s craft revival came to a close, problems began to loom for Highland Craftpoint. As Ian Pirie explained:

> … it was heavily subsidised but financially the model wasn't right. Because it was heavily subsidised, people thought it was amazing, so therefore they came, so there was no shortage of business, but the financial model was unsustainable. (Pirie 2012 p. 31)

Declining public resources were clearly a problem for the Highland Craftpoint, according to Duncan: 'They were trying to get us to earn more money, and budgets were an issue' (Duncan 2014 p. 20). Over time came more scrutiny and monitoring, and 'having to spend inordinate amounts of time justifying what was being done' (Duncan 2014 p. 17). This mirrored the experience at the Scottish Craft Centre, as it was made increasingly accountable to the SDA. There were also rumblings concerning spending at Craftpoint, with Pirnie's insistence on 'nothing but the

best' increasingly coming into question. The money had became a source of envy amongst others at the HIDB, as Grant recalls:

> … there was this huge salary … David Pirnie loved spending money … it was that period, there were a lot of people on the board, the Highland Board, that would have been just jealous of the amount of money, you know, that Craftpoint got … and there was … that sort of interpersonal rejoicing against people like David Pirnie and his team. (Grant 2014 p. 20)

Ideological disputes and differences as to how Craftpoint should be run and what it should be doing were rife (Duncan 2014 p. 16), and personal relationships between the SDA and the HIDB, which were described as 'terrible' (Pirnie 2014 p. 9), did not help. According to Duncan: 'it was the thing that brought the project down' (Duncan 2014 p. 9). The SDA had also become increasingly critical of Craftpoint, as it felt that 'much of the benefit' of the centre was 'confined to craftsmen in the HIDB area' (Scottish Development Agency 1979). And there was also the question of the underutilisation of facilities, particularly in light of the availability of training that was now on offer at the four Scottish art colleges (Scottish Development Agency 1979).

Certainly there was duplication between the two organisations with respect to the development of the crafts, which was unhelpful. The SDA could hardly consider itself a national body if it had to defer to what was effectively a regional organisation (Grassie 1983 p. 118). It was also clear that Pirnie and Smith had very differing opinions on the crafts (Grant 2014 p. 19). These personal rivalries were picked up in an issue of *Craftwork* magazine where Pirnie and Smith were pitted against each other in an article provocatively titled 'The Great Divide' (Carr 1985). [Fig 5.10] Journalist Richard Carr questioned whether Scotland, and indeed modern Scottish craft, would not have been better served by having one single official body with responsibility for all of Scotland rather than two separate organisations (Carr 1985 p. 15).

Fig 5.10 The Great Divide, 1985.

In 1987, bowing to pressure to appear less 'Highland' and more national in its outlook, Highland Craftpoint's name was changed to simply 'Craftpoint'. With the name change came a change in direction. Pirnie's integrated approach to craft development, with its emphasis on high quality training and instruction, was replaced by a focus on marketing and trade fairs (Highland Craftpoint 1987). His foreign trips were stopped, as were the itinerant training programmes (Duncan 2014 p. 21). According to Duncan, the organisation became increasingly 'bureaucratic' and 'run by committee rather than people' (Duncan 2014 p. 18). Unhappy with the direction the organisation had taken, Pirnie resigned from his position at Craftpoint, taking many of the original staff with him (Pirnie 2014 p. 19). Several years later in 1991, a year after the Scottish Crafts Centre was declared bankrupt, both the Highlands and Islands Development Board and the Scottish Development Agency were wound up, replaced by Highland Enterprise and Scottish Enterprise respectively. This signalled the demise of Craftpoint, and with it, the end of an era for the making of modern Scottish Crafts.

Conclusions

The final chapter of this thesis examined the involvement of Scotland's second national development agency, the Scottish Development Agency, in the making of modern Scottish craft in the 1970s, by focusing on three key manifestations of its support for craft: *Craftwork* magazine, the Scottish Craft Centre, and finally Highland Craftpoint. In particular, it examined Scottish makers' engagement with government policy, and their reactions to an increasingly commodified craft marketplace. *Craftwork* magazine provided a much needed voice to Scottish craftspeople, and evidenced the frustrations and tensions that Scottish makers experienced when trying to reconcile commercial pressures and the desire for more creative autonomy. This voice ultimately proved to be too much for its government sponsors to bear, and efforts were made to suppress the more polemical opinions of *Craftwork* and its editor Richard Williams.

The Scottish Craft Centre evidenced the dichotomy between modernity and tradition that continued to plague Scottish craft in the 1970s, and the dilemma of whether to satisfy tourist demands for stereotypical Scottish products, or aspire to the Craft Council's loftier vision of the 'avant garde'. Crucially, the Scottish Craft Centre failed to ensure its future by attracting newer, younger members. The influence exerted by the Edinburgh elite and the legacy of the Scottish aristocracy as a guiding force in the making of modern Scottish craft, were ultimately detrimental to the survival of the Centre. This influence promulgated an identity for modern Scottish craft that was rooted in tradition and the past and increasingly at odds with the rest of modern British craft in 1970s craft revival.

Finally, Highland Craftpoint demonstrated that implementing an ambitious an integrated training and education programme for craftspeople, that was wholly dependent on government money, was laudable but problematic, particularly when the money began to run out. Despite its original aims to reinvent Scottish craft as internationally focused 'designer craft', it too was forced to bow to government demands to become more commercial in outlook. This largely meant having to support the development of the Highland tourist market, compromising Highland Craftpoint's original aspirations.

Because the SDA operated concurrently to the HIDB, with considerable overlap in responsibility and ambition, this led to inevitable tensions and conflict as the two organisations tried to carve out their own development strategies for modern Scottish craft. The overlap in their responsibilities meant that they were effectively operating in competition to each other, duplicating efforts when they should have been joining forces. Despite the best intentions of both organisations, and the commitment and vision of the individuals involved, it was found that having two government

agencies with very similar remits was in many ways counter-productive to the development of modern Scottish craft in the 1970s.

6.0 Conclusion

This thesis set out to analyse the impact of Scottish development strategy on the making of Scottish craft during the 1970s craft revival. The 1970s craft revival is generally recognised as a unique period in time when craft across the western world experienced a profound renaissance in both activity and ideology. The key objective of the thesis was to critically challenge the received British craft revival narrative, and provide a more informed interpretation of events, by directly addressing the Scottish context which to date has been missing. The central premise of the thesis was that national development agencies played a crucial role in facilitating, supporting and enabling the 1970s craft revival. It established how the Crafts Advisory Committee of England and Wales, later the Crafts Council, was particularly instrumental in its efforts to raise the status of craft to that of fine art, and in doing so, to champion the craftsman as contemporary artist. The current narrative of the British craft revival is however told primarily from the perspective of the activities of the Crafts Advisory Committee. This thesis has demonstrated that not only is this narrative incomplete, but that the missing Scottish narrative adds a uniquely different dimension to the received outcomes of that revival. This thesis has critically addressed this deficit, by presenting a more complete picture of this important period in craft history.

A key initial observation in the research was that Scotland had its own organisations for the promotion of craft. Unlike the Crafts Advisory Committee of England and Wales, these organisations were specifically tasked with economic rather than cultural development. The thesis hypothesised, and then set out to demonstrate, that this was a crucial difference, ensuring that Scottish craft developed along a very different trajectory to its English and Welsh counterparts. By analysing the origins and subsequent activities of the two main Scottish development agencies for craft in the 1970s: the Highlands and Islands Development Board, and the Scottish Development Agency, the thesis evidenced how and why Scottish craft developed along such a different path to that in England and Wales, and what the impact of this difference was on Scottish makers. In doing so, it has advanced the professional debate of late twentieth century British craft, and provided lessons that could be applied to craft development and the creative industries today.

There were three main conclusions to the thesis. The first was that the 1970s craft revival experience was dramatically different in Scotland as compared to the rest of Britain. Different in terms of how craft was supported and promoted by government, and different in terms of how makers responded to this. The reason for this difference was because in Scotland, craft was supported by organisations that were responsible for economic development, rather than arts and culture, and craft was therefore targeted as a potential industry that could be developed and

expanded to fulfil the government's economic demands. The support and patronage of the Highlands and Islands Development Board and the Scottish Development agency had a direct influence in shaping the production of Scotland's cultural products, namely in the form of modern Scottish craft.

The second conclusion is linked to a central motif running through the thesis, which is that modern craft is an invention (Adamson 2013). Because modern craft as a concept is inherently open to invention, it was concluded that modern Scottish craft was specifically targeted and then crucially shaped by government development agencies to suit their specific requirements, which were economic and commercial. In this way, modern Scottish craft was strategically supported and encouraged to develop as both an industry and a product. This support extended to a number of government funded initiatives, including generous grants and loan schemes, annual craft trade fairs, a national craft centre in Edinburgh, a specialist training in the Highlands, and a dedicated magazine.

The third conclusion, again linked to the idea of 'craft as invention' was that as modern Scottish craft became increasingly commodified, it became directly associated with tourism and souvenirs. This was an association that was economically expedient and advantageous for many makers, but also led to Scottish craft becoming associated with stereotypic iconography including thistles and tartan. The long-term impact of this commodification had negative impacts, in terms of the quality of the objects products, and public perceptions of them. It also had an impact on makers who felt their creative autonomy was being compromised by having to satisfy the increasing demand for such goods.

Alongside the thesis' main conclusions there were three important motifs, or themes, running throughout the work. The first was the concept of 'making' as reflected in the thesis title: *The Making of Scottish Craft*. This double-edged interpretation of making referred both to the production of craft as a physical object, but also to the production of craft as an idea. It was established early on in the thesis that craft in a post-industrial context is essentially an invented concept. When machine production replaced the necessity to hand-make, craft had to find another purpose and therefore became ideologically charged. Whereas in England and Wales, through the efforts of the Crafts Advisory Committee, the making of craft became associated with fine art ideals, in Scotland, because of its association with economic development agencies, the making of craft became associated with products and industry.

A second theme underpinning the thesis was the modernity and tradition nexus that was very specific to the making of modern Scottish craft. This is a theme that relates directly to the idea of 'making' discussed above, as Scottish 'traditions' were shown to be largely inventions, mythologised and promulgated from the 1706 Union of Scotland Act onwards. Despite Scotland being very much a modern industrial nation in the twentieth century, the image that was most often translated to its cultural commodities was a backward rather than forward looking one. This was an image that was favoured by tourists and subsequently promoted by national agencies supporting craft in the 1970s, despite many makers wanting to engage with the modernity embraced by the Crafts Advisory Committee in England and Wales.

The final motif, again core to the thesis, was that of narrative. The thesis set out to address the historical narrative of the 1970s craft revival that was found to be lacking in the Scottish context. As with most broad historical descriptors, the 1970s craft revival had been reduced to a dominant narrative that encapsulated some, but not all, of what happened during that period in time. History is in essence narrative, an interpretation of events from the perspective of the individual (or individuals) who deem the event worthy of telling. The job of the historian is to interrogate but also to distil events from the past. For that reason, history is highly subjective, and must be viewed as such. Historians search for the truth, but essentially they are searching for new narratives to challenge the existing ones. It is an endless iterative task, but one that is necessary if we are to learn anything from the past. The narrative presented in this thesis will no doubt be interrogated, revised, and possibly even dismissed by future craft historians. That is how it should be. This thesis creates a starting point for further discussion and newer narratives.

As with any research project, there were limitations to the research and its outcomes. The thesis did not set out to produce a substantive history of twentieth century Scottish craft. Although it addresses significant gaps, there is still a need for a volume similar to Harrod's *Crafts in Britain in the Twentieth Century*, covering all of twentieth century Scotland, rather than one decade. The research itself focused on key individuals in the making of Scottish craft in the 1970s, but this pool of individuals was representative rather than comprehensive. There were individuals who would have added significant light to the project but remained inaccessible, for example Bill Williams, former editor of Craftwork.[73] David Pirnie of Highland Craftpoint had also sadly passed away a matter of months before I began interviewing. His widow and business partner were extremely helpful with my research, as were the many written reports Pirnie left behind, but they could not replace an individual's personal account. The case studies of Lotte Glob and David Grant presented two opposite ends of craft spectrum in the 1970s, and clearly there are many 'shades of grey'

[73] Despite numerous attempts to contact Bill Williams he never replied to my letters, emails and telephone calls.

between the very different approaches of these two makers. Glob and Grant cannot be considered representative of makers across all of Scotland, but they marked two extremes of how makers reacted to the policies of national development strategy. It must also be acknowledged that the testimony collected from oral history interviews is highly subjective, and must be viewed as one persons' opinion as opposed to factual evidence.

Other limitations to the research were outlined in the Review of Relevant Critical Literature (Chapter 1.2), and included the thesis' reliance on archive material as well as magazines from the period. Archives can never be considered a completely accurate representation of an organisation, because they are always mediated by a gatekeeper. In the case of this research, the gatekeepers of the Scottish Development Agency archive and the Scottish Craft Centre archive had a direct involvement over many years with the organisations, and therefore had an inevitable personal investment in what material was retained, and what was not. The Highlands and Islands Development Board's physical archive was in the process of being digitised and not available for public use. The thesis was therefore reliant on what HIDB material had been digitised, and despite a highly accommodating archivist, gaps were apparent.

These limitations aside, the thesis made several important contributions to knowledge. First, it addressed a significant gap in British craft history by providing a more balanced account of the 1970s craft revival in Britain. In this respect, it has progressed scholarship in the history of twentieth century craft as well as Scottish craft and Scottish material culture studies. The thesis has also provided a case study of how national institutions have used policy to alter the production of culture to suit their particular ambitions and agendas, and how this has not always had the intended results. By examining the attempts by Scottish national institutions to imbue its cultural goods with 'authenticity', it corroborates Richard Peterson's 'Production of Culture' thesis (Peterson 1976; Peterson and Anand 2004), by concluding that no product of culture can ever be considered genuinely authentic. It also substantiated Howard Becker's 'Art Worlds' theory (Becker 2008) by demonstrating how individual craftspeople are always part of a much wider collective network, including consumers, retailers, and the suppporting national development agencies.

Finally, in broader terms it has addressed the relationship between cultural commodities (in this instance craft goods), and the wider creative and cultural industries. One might wonder what the 1970s craft revival has to teach us today, but government policy is still at the heart of supporting and defining how creative businesses can become financially self-sufficient and contribute to the wider economy. The concept of the 'creative industry' was defined by government in 2001 in a mapping document and included:

> … those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property. (Department for Culture Media and Sport 2016 p. 6)

Interestingly, the Scottish Government has expanded the Department for Culture Media and Sport's original definition of creative industries to include a broader remit of activity, by including craft, heritage and aspects of textiles and cultural education (Creative Scotland 2014 p. 49). Craft is therefore still at the heart of national policy as it is still recognised as a 'key growth sector for the future economy' (Creative Scotland 2014 p. 49). In their attempts to once again 'generate' and 'exploit' the products of the creative industries, there is much that government today could learn by looking at the events and outcomes of the 1970s craft revival.

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Appendix 1.0

Index of 1970s Scottish and British Craft Organisations

BCC **British Craft Centre** (1972-1987)
An amalgamation of the Crafts Council of Great Britain and the Crafts Centre of Great Britain. Became Contemporary Applied Arts in 1987.

CAC **Crafts Advisory Committee** (1971-1979)
The creation of Lord Eccles, Paymaster General. Supported by funding from the arts branch of the Department of Education and Science, with the purpose of promoting the artist craftsman and improving their products.

CCC **Crafts Consultative Committee** (1977-1990)
Successor of the JCC (below). Serviced by the Small Business Division of the SDA. It role was to advise the SDA on crafts policy and activities in Scotland. Made up of representatives from main bodies involved in development of arts, crafts and design in Scotland, including the Scottish Design Council, the HIDB, Highland Craftpoint, the SCC, the Scottish Arts Council, the Scottish Colleges of Art and practising craftsmen.

CCGB **Craft Centre of Great Britain** (1948-1972)
Set up by a group of English craft societies with the aim of established a permanent Centre for the crafts based in London. First post-war craft organisation to receive grant from Board of Trade. Merged with the CCGB to form the British Crafts Centre in 1972.

CC **Crafts Council** (1979-Present)
Previously named CAC. Responsible for promoting and developing craft in England and Wales. Publisher of *Crafts* magazine (1973-present).

CCGB **Crafts Council of Great Britain** (1964-1972)
Modelled on the Arts Council with the aim of supporting crafts. Merged with the CCGB to form the British Crafts Centre.

HC **Highland Craftpoint**
Jointly funded by the HIDB and the SDA to advise and assist craftsmen and crafts firms throughout the Highlands, Islands and rest of Scotland. Based in Beauly, Inverness-shire.

HHI **Highland Home Industries, Ltd.** (1921-1975)
A non-profit making company that marketed and sold Scottish craft items made by rural people in their homes. Had aim of improving quality of craft products through instruction. Went into liquidation in 1975 and was taken on by a successor on a commercial basis.

HIDB **Highlands and Islands Development Board** (1965-1991)

Set up to promote and assist the economic and social development of the Highlands and Islands, through the provision of grants and loans, business consultancy and training as well as technical advice and support. Replaced by Highlands and Islands Enterprise in 1991. Overseen by the Secretary of State for Scotland and funded by the Treasury.

JCC **Joint Crafts Committee** (1964-1977)
Established by the Scottish Office in 1964 to co-ordinate crafts development in Scotland. Acted as an advisory board to the Crafts Section of SICRAS. Serviced by the Scottish Office. Replaced by the CCC in 1977.

SCC **Scottish Craft Centre** (1949-1990)
Modelled on the English CCGB with the aim of becoming a national focal point for the best of Scottish craft. Based in Acheson House Edinburgh. From 1974-90 the Centre received its funding from the SDA (Crafts Division).

SCIDT **Scottish Country Industries Development Trust** (- 1969)
Reconstituted in 1969 as SICRAS. Established to provide business and technical support as well as offer credit to small firms in country towns and rural districts in Scotland. Funding provided by the Treasury.

SDA **Scottish Development Agency** (1975-1991)
Absorbed SICRAS when it was established in 1975. Its purpose was to further economic development in Scotland by diversifying its industrial base. Replaced by Scottish Enterprise in 1991.

SICRAS **Small Industries Council for Rural Areas of Scotland** (1969-1975)
Replaced SCIDT in 1969. Responsible for the development of grant schemes in rural areas, marketing assistance, technical advice and for funding Scottish Crafts Trade Fairs. Absorbed by the SDA in 1975.

Appendix 2.0

Interviews - Recorded and Transcribed

Name	Title	Date Interviewed
1. Ian Pirie	Ceramicist; Former Head of Gray's School of Art; Former Head of Edinburgh College of Art	22.08.12 Edinburgh
2. Ann Marie Shillito	Jeweller; Former lecturer Edinburgh College of Art; Former Committee Member Scottish Craft Centre	06.06.14 Edinburgh
3. Douglas Brown	Jeweller; Former Head of School Edinburgh College of Art; Author of 'Business of Scottish Crafts' Open University MPhil	13.06.14 Edinburgh
4. Janet Adam	Potter; Former Committee Member of Scottish Craft Centre; Member of Scottish Applied Arts and Scottish Potters	08.07.14 Edinburgh
5. Jenny Carter	Journalist and author; Editor of Craftwork Magazine (1980-90)	08.07.14 Edinburgh
6. Sally Smith	Former Craft Officer Scottish Development Agency	10.07.14 North Berwick
7. Sue Pirnie and Andrew Duncan	Widow and business partner of David Pirnie, founder of Highland Craftpoint	15.07.14 The Black Isle
8. Lotte Glob	Ceramic artist; Member of Scottish Craft Centre; Associate of Highland Craftpoint	16.07.14 Loch Eriboll, Durness
9. David Grant	Ceramic artist; Director of Highland Stoneware; Member of Scottish Craft Centre and Highland Craft Point	30.07.14 Lochinver
10. Alan Keegan	Director of Castlewynd Gallery, Aviemore, Craft historian, Member of Scottish Crafts Centre and Highland Craftpoint	31.07.14 Aviemore

11. James Carson	Former Director of Scottish Craft Centre; craft collector	14.08.14 Edinburgh
12. Amanda Game	Curator; Former Director of Scottish Gallery; Craft specialist	14.08.14 Edinburgh
13. David Kaplan and Annica Lindstrom	Glass artists; Directors of Lindean Mill Glass; Former members of Scottish Craft Centre	19.09.14 Galashiels

Interviews - Not Recorded, but Notes Taken

1. Dorothy Hogg	Jewellery; Former Head of Jewellery Edinburgh College of Art; Former Member Scottish Craft Centre	20.06.12 Edinburgh
2. Nicholas Oddy	Lecturer in Contextual and Critical Studies Glasgow School of Art; Son of Revel Oddy, former Member of Scottish Craft Centre and Keeper at National Museum of Scotland	05.06.14 Edinburgh
3. John Creed	Silversmith; Former lecturer in Silversmithing and Jewellery at Glasgow School of Art; Former Member of Scottish Craft Centre	22.07.14 Telephone
4. Maureen Hodge	Textile artist; Former Head of Textiles Edinburgh College of Art; Former Member of Scottish Craft Centre	18.08.14 Edinburgh

Appendix 3.0

Sample Interview Information Sheet and Consent Form

This study will be conducted by Andrea Peach, a PhD researcher at Gray's School of Art, The Robert Gordon University, Aberdeen

Purpose of the research:
The aim of this research is to examine how national craft organisations shaped, promoted and defined Scottish craft as a cultural commodity between 1970-90.

What you will do in this research:
If you decide to volunteer, you will be asked to participate in an interview. You will be asked questions about your specific role in relation to national craft organisations in Scotland between 1970-1990. You will be asked to share your memories and perceptions of Scottish craft during this time and consider changes in the field of craft since then. I will make an audio recording of the interview.

Time required:
The interview will take approximately 1 hour.

Location:
The interview will take place a location convenient to you.

Benefits:
Scottish craft is culturally very important, but its recent history is largely unwritten. This is a chance to contribute to the documentation of that history.

Confidentially:
This is not an anonymous study. The names and identities of the people involved in this period are an important part of the historical record. The information that you provide will be used in the PhD dissertation and may also inform academic publications.

If you wish to speak to me confidentially during the interview you can ask me to pause the recording device at any time. Any information that is not recorded will be treated with the strictest confidentiality.

Participation and withdrawal:
Your participation is completely voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time, prior to the completion of the final draft in June 2017, by informing me that you no longer wish to participate. You may also skip any question during the interview, but continue to participate in the rest of the study.

Contact:
If you have questions or concerns about this research, please contact:

Andrea Peach

Gray's School of Art, The Robert Gordon University, Garthdee Road, Aberdeen, AB710QD
Telephone: +44 (0)1224 263692.
Email: a.peach@rgu.ac.uk

You may also contact the faculty member supervising this work:

Professor Alistair Anderson
Institute for Management Governance & Society, Robert Gordon University, Garthdee Road, Aberdeen, AB710QD
Telephone: +44 (0)1224 263883
Email: a.r.anderson@rgu.ac.uk

Agreement: The nature of this research has been sufficiently explained and I agree to participate. I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time.

Signature:_____Date:_____

Name: (print)_____

I agree to be a named participant in this study: YES / NO

I agree to having my interview recorded: YES / NO