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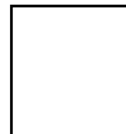

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Small Pieces of Scotland? Souvenirs and the Good Design Debate 1946-80

Juliet Kinchin and Andrea Peach

For those agencies concerned with the promotion of design and craft in post-war Scotland, and with the development of tourism more generally, souvenirs proved a source of constant anxiety and embarrassment. There were always going to be problems in tackling an industry that embraced such a wide range of design practices and markets, from exclusive hand-crafted items at one end of the spectrum to cheap mass-produced ephemera at the other. This paper examines ways in which the Council of Industrial Design (CoID), the Scottish Crafts Centre, the Tourist Board and the National Trust for Scotland all sought to address the 'souvenir problem' in the period 1946-80. At the heart of this topic is not only the issue of national identity but the very fraught question of 'good' and 'bad' taste. It is perhaps not surprising that the various competitions and exhibitions that were organised have sunk virtually without trace. What emerges is a depressing tale of well-intentioned propagandist ambition that was doomed to failure in the face of an uncontrollable industry and the public's apparently insatiable appetite for the 'worst' type of designed and crafted artefacts. The debates were particularly pressing in relation to the marketing of Scottish crafts that seemed inextricable from the 'woolly sentimentality' of the tourist-driven stereotype described by David McCallum in 1952:

> The word 'craftsman' has only to be spoken here to conjure up a pretty mental picture of a whiskered old gentleman, knee-deep in wood-shavings and poultry, lovingly fingering a fine surface worked without thought of time or reward, to keep alive a tradition of something or other for the benefit of travel magazine writers.[i]

The first flurry of activity was driven by the CoID for whom 'good design' was viewed as a weapon in the post-war scramble to reduce imports and rebuild industry. Not only did souvenirs have economic potential, but they represented the 'cheap-and-nasty' aspects of popular taste that the CoID wished to reform. In UK terms it was the Scottish design establishment which took the lead in tackling this thorny topic, preparing the way for a more general response from the London office to regulating souvenirs produced for the Festival of Britain in 1951 and the Coronation two years later. A Scottish Committee

had been set up as part of the CoID in December 1944, and set about establishing priorities for the development of crafts and home industries, an aspect of their remit which was gradually demitted to the fledgling Scottish Crafts Centre established in 1950. Although the Committee made noises about the importance of craft traditions to a healthy industrial economy, it had evidently grasped the fact that in reality the main outlet for Scottish crafts was through tourism, and within two years had earmarked the design of souvenirs for action.[ii] The steady atrophy of Scotland's manufacturing skills and export markets in the 20th century had increased the focus on marketing the country's heritage. In fact, as a category of products, souvenirs exemplified the post-war transition from a manufacturing to a service-based economy in which tourism was to play an increasingly important role.

Ironically, although souvenirs implied production – in theory at least – in the country of purchase, many were being imported by this time. But given the strength of the internal market, what was the 'justification for leaving Birmingham and Tokyo to make our souvenirs'?[iii] Foreign competition was a pressing, but hardly new problem. The mandatory marking of all imported items from the 1890s revealed the extent of the challenge to indigenous and hugely successful companies like Mauchline-ware that had its origins in snuff boxes made from the 1780s but finally gave up production in 1933. Throughout the 20th century there was a huge influx of cheap china imports, mainly from Germany and Bohemia. The same form of plate with pierced borders produced in Bavaria, for example, could be customised for sale at locations as geographically dispersed as the Burns Cottage, Blackpool Tower or Coney Island.[iv] Such competition proved too much for firms like Glasgow's Nautilus Company, once the main maker of crested and view-wares in Scotland. They closed in 1911. Closer to home was competition from the Devonian resort of Torquay where the Longpark Pottery c.1920–57 produced wares for sale in Scotland that traded on a look of hand-painted 'authenticity' similar to that of native Wemyss ware.

Souvenirs were an important aspect of commodifying 'Scotland the brand'. With the intensification of international competition there was an increasing tendency to market goods through national identity, and in no product area was this more pronounced than souvenirs, which by their very nature had to trade on stereotypical perceptions. As

Design magazine put it, ‘When a visitor to this country buys a souvenir to remind him of his stay, he is really buying a small piece of Britain, a symbol of our customs and habits and attitudes of mind.’[v] The problem, again not a new one, was how to express ‘the Scottish idiom in articles desirable in themselves and scaled to widely varying types of purchaser’,[vi] and secondly how to present a view of Scottish craft and design as modern.

There was an implicit assumption that the cultural elite of the CoID was both qualified and duty-bound to lead the nation on such issues of aesthetic discrimination, despite the narrowness of their social outlook. At the 1954 Scottish Design Congress organised by the CoID Sir John Maud, for example, argued that ‘as responsible citizens … we all of us have some responsibility as patrons of design. Some of us have special responsibilities as trustees for the rest’; another speaker claimed that ‘the vast amount of ugliness that was bought really represented public taste, which could only be improved by a long process of education.’ If the public were offered good design at the right price, ran the argument, they would be enabled to resist the seduction of ‘vulgarity, ostentation or the cult of novelty.’[vii] This whole outlook was infused with 19th-century design reform ideals of ‘honest’ construction, ‘truth to materials’, and a commitment to producing artefacts of lasting value and utility. Alister Maynard, head of the Scottish Committee, identified such values with a peculiarly Scottish tradition of ‘utility solidity and austerity … together with hard work and an insistence on quality’. He argued that the Scots felt an instinctive ‘barrier against the introduction of any ideas not appearing to be of immediate and practical use.’[viii] Nothing could have been further from the souvenir, with its associations of shoddiness, vulgarity, popular taste and novelty. The word itself was ‘foreign’ and felt to have a ‘spurious ring’.[ix]

Initially the imposition of CoID views on souvenir design was eased by the general public’s appetite for consumer goods after the privations of wartime. When the Committee launched a competition to improve souvenirs in 1946, more than 5000 ideas came flooding in. A selection of these were taken to prototype and shown as part of the CoID’s *Enterprise Scotland* exhibition that opened in August 1947 at the Royal Scottish Museum, attracting some 457,000 visitors.[x] Apparently the souvenirs were one of the most popular sections. Being by their very nature ‘useless’, an unnecessary luxury, souvenirs had been particularly hard-hit by restrictions and rationing. After the exhibition

a specially packaged selection was dispatched as part of a trade visit to USA and Canada, which apparently created ‘remarkable interest’ among buyers there.[xi] The competition was seen as an initiative that would be repeated: the judges agreed ‘to act as a permanent panel for future souvenirs’ and discussions were initiated between the CoID and the Scottish Tourist Board with a view to developing a tourist souvenir industry.

To set the tone for the aesthetic direction in which they wished to see the design of souvenirs develop, a sample collection was purchased by members of the Scottish Committee from countries in which the modern souvenir was felt to be ‘most highly and interestingly developed’.[xii] It should come as no surprise to anyone familiar with the Design Council’s view of ‘good design’ that these came from Sweden, Switzerland and Denmark. All were made of ‘cheap and simple materials’ – straw, wood, wool and earthenware. This continental collection was exhibited in Glasgow and Edinburgh in 1948. Thereafter the Committee simply could not keep pace with the demand from centres wanting to host the exhibition. Over the next three years the displays appeared in Inverness, Aberdeen, Lerwick, Dumfries (where Scottish examples were added for the first time), Kilmarnock, Greenock, Dundee, Keith, Buckie, Portsoy, Banff, by which time the Swedish straw-work squirrels must have been getting a bit tatty. Somewhere in the middle of this tour the London Design Centre was given a slot. The Committee was keen to emphasise that their aim was to stimulate local talent and ingenuity rather than imparting a ‘foreign flavour’, yet the reverse seems to be suggested by the products that subsequently won CoID approval, such as the wooden toys by Stanley Noble selected for inclusion in the *Living Traditions* Exhibition of 1951. David McCallum sounded a critical note in 1952 arguing that it was not enough just to copy souvenirs from Norway, Sweden or Switzerland.[xiii]

A second souvenir competition was launched in 1950 that attracted far fewer entries than the first (about 500), but the Council felt their educational initiative was beginning to pay off. ‘The standard of design and workmanship was substantially higher than that of a similar competition held two years before. It was keenly followed by the press and the BBC and the resulting wide publicity served to emphasise the importance of souvenirs to the Scottish tourist industry and the need to improve their general standard.’[xiv] Yet little evidence of all this press coverage is to be found, and the bland assurances of which the

annual reports were full betray an ignorance of the complex, often negative reactions of the public to their policies and style.

At this point, with the Festival of Britain looming, the attempt to improve the tarnished luster of the souvenir took on a British-wide dimension. The Council in London launched its own offensive against ‘presents from Ramsgate and tartan pincushions’.[xv] A committee was set up to approve or reject souvenirs, and to encourage the use of a well-designed logo. In the event the logo was widely taken up, but often applied to totally inappropriate objects, or used to jazz up ordinary production lines. Although supported by the Board of Trade and FBI the CoID judges had no powers, and no budget. They could only make as much headway as the support they received from manufacturers and public. The result was by all accounts a ‘sorry story’, with too many substandard examples let through the sieve. Many of the approved objects were also criticised for being too expensive.

A second chance to address the lapses of cheap and trashy Festival souvenirs came with the Coronation celebrations scheduled for 1953, although it was clear that manufacturers already had in production or prototype souvenirs ‘which will fall far short of the occasion.’[xvi] Again there was a committee and a process of selection by the CoID working in conjunction with the Royal Mint, the Home Office, the Lord Chamberlain and the Keeper of the Privy Purse. As a guide for souvenir manufacturers the Scottish Committee published a folder depicting Royal Arms in their Scottish form with designs specially prepared by Walter Pritchard and Gordon Huntly, and rules for the Coronation emblem were published in the Scottish press.[xvii]

The initial enthusiasm of the CoID for souvenirs as a test case for aesthetic engineering was fading. ‘To influence a trade which must be short-lived and opportunist is not an easy task’, concluded Paul Reilly gloomily in *Design* magazine.[xviii] Maynard felt that such difficulties were compounded in Scotland by a traditional conservatism and apparent suspicion of all things visual.[xix] CoID priorities were shifting to engineering and product design, and for the time being souvenirs were put to one side, though the Scottish Committee did contribute to the UK-wide competition and exhibition held in London in 1965. Despite the increasingly articulate opposition to notions of so-called ‘good design’ from within the design and craft professions, the general tone of the exhibition was still

worthy and somewhat staid. The inclusion of a few young turks like Terence Conran on the judges' panel did little to modify the message about 'good' versus 'bad' souvenirs. The tammy purse was vetoed but a Scottish version of the gonk, woolly Highland cows and National Trust souvenirs like a paperweight for Culzean all passed muster. The latter was an indication of the increasingly visible presence of the Historic House and Heritage lobby. At a conference of historic house owners in 1965 the Duke of Bedford lamented the fact that it was the worst souvenirs that invariably seemed to sell the best, and the owner of Bradwell Lodge claimed that 'It was too embarrassing and shameful to put on sale the absolute trash that was available.'[xx] Evidently despite the best efforts of the CoID, the consuming public, manufacturers and retailers had yet to be convinced of the need for, and efficacy of, good design.

In the last ten years of the Scottish Souvenir Competitions (1970-80), the increasingly explicit relationship between the consumption of souvenirs and the commodification of Scottish Craft, can be illustrated by the periodical *Craftwork – Scotland's Craft Magazine*, which was launched in the summer of 1972 and ran until 1998. *Craftwork* was a cooperative venture between The Scottish Craft Centre, The Highlands and Islands Development Board, and the Small Industries Council for Rural Areas of Scotland, and preceded the Crafts Advisory Committee's more generously funded national craft magazine, *Crafts*, by a year, possibly suggesting that Scotland was in more urgent need to create its own discourse for the positioning of the crafts in the latter part of the twentieth century.[xxi]

Craftwork provides irrefutable evidence as to the uncomfortable and increasingly explicit commercial relationship between craft and souvenirs in Scotland. The inaugural issue editorial, for example, laments what it describes as the debased status of crafts and craftsmen in Scotland, directly linking the perceived demise in standards with Scotland's burgeoning tourist industry and attendant 'craft shops' and 'centres': 'And of course the tartan thistles sell (God how they sell!) But where's the real thing – where's true craft?'[xxii]

The search for what it described as 'true craft' as opposed to what was felt to have been sullied by the spurious promise of objects claiming to be 'lovingly fashioned from the finest materials available', was a key issue.[xxiii] With it, came the quest for a new, 'clean'

word with which Scottish craft could be associated, one that would imply both high standards and quality and be more representative of true Scottish workmanship.[xxiv]

In a marked contrast to previous decades, attempts to regulate the quality of such souvenirs had also become increasingly commercial in the 1970s. An example of this was the creation of the ‘Craftmade’ brand which was introduced by the Highlands and Islands Development Board in the early 1970s as a means of identifying quality products to the consumer. These objects were clearly directed not at the indigenous Scottish market, but at the tourist, the underlying message of the brand being a cautionary one, implying that without such identification, the consumer was at real risk of unknowingly purchasing an ersatz, and by inference, inferior, Highland object. Discerning tourists could now be sure that they were obtaining a piece of ‘the real thing’ by ensuring that their object indeed had the ‘Craftmade’ ticket. An advertisement for ‘Craftmade’ products exemplifies this direct promotion of the Scottish craft object as souvenir, its punch-line --‘Memories are made of this' -- clearly linking the consumption of the Scottish craft object with the added value of providing a lasting memory of Scotland.

The advent in the early 1970s of annual ‘craft fairs’ at both Aviemore and Ingliston, sponsored by the Highlands and Islands Development Board and the Small Industries Council for Rural Areas of Scotland, also confirmed this demand for commodifying the craft object as souvenir, and provided for the first time an opportunity for craftsmen across Scotland to collectively display and sell work largely destined for the tourist market. David Ogilvie, the General Manager of the Small Industries Council for Rural Areas of Scotland championed the fairs as means of addressing the problem of marketing craft goods in Scotland, given the remoteness and small-scale production of many of the producers.

Despite the attempts of the ‘Craftmade’ branding scheme, the quality of the objects on display at these well-attended fairs was inevitably called into question. *Craftwork* magazine was particularly critical of what it saw as the increasingly problematic association between mass-produced souvenirs and craft, arguing that the objects displayed were neither contemporary nor representative of what the Scottish craft market was capable. The majority of hand-made goods at the Trade Fairs neither appeared well made, nor showed much imagination: ‘I know there are better craftsmen in Scotland … It

is only by seeing well made goods that the public will learn to be more discriminating. As for the mass produced souvenirs, I simply don't know what they were doing at a 'craft fair'.[xxv]

Central to these debates were the ongoing 'Souvenirs of Scotland' competitions. In relation to the previous souvenirs competitions, these were altogether more commercial in focus, largely due to a conspicuous shift in sponsoring bodies. The original sponsors, the Design Council's Scottish Committee and the Small Industries Council for Rural Areas of Scotland, were now joined by The Scotch House Limited and The Scotsman newspaper. The Scotch House, in particular, took an active role in the competitions, not only by offering the largest cash prize,[xxvi] but also by hosting a display of the winning entries in their flagship shop on Princes Street in Edinburgh.

The competition of 1970 was renamed 'The First Souvenirs of Scotland' competition, in a bid to differentiate itself from previous competitions in light of its changing sponsorship, with subsequent competitions occurring biennially until 1980.[xxvii] There were five of these competitions in total.

Unlike its predecessors, this new brand of souvenir competitions had three clearly defined sections to which entries were invited. The first, 'souvenirs for mass production', was primarily concerned with items suitable for sale in bulk quantity but which were also of a sufficiently high standard to eventually be included in the Design Council's Design Index. The second section was for souvenirs of small-scale batch production, designated for what were described as 'craftsmen/ manufacturers'. Finally, there was a section for 'prototypes' or 'ideas for souvenirs'. This section hoped to attract practicing designers and students, with the enticing promise that winning items would be given 'publicity with the aim of achieving commercial production.'

It is clear from the press release that entries from the latter two sections were being actively encouraged; the judges' emphasis on 'craft and good design' was presumably aimed at eliciting the kind of quality which was proving so elusive in the burgeoning souvenir market. In contrast, the first category, 'souvenirs for mass production', obviously presented certain problems for the judges, who reserved the right to 'award as many or as few certificates as the entries justify.' This was the very market that was perceived to be the prime culprit in the debasing of craft souvenirs, and the hope was that

there would be enough entries from this first section to allow the judges to be truly discerning about what constituted a well-designed, mass-produced souvenir. Unfortunately, this category was consistently under-represented.

It is clear from the winning entries of the second competition in spring 1973 that judges continued to favour objects that embodied CoID-inspired qualities of both function and practicality, with an emphasis on contemporary adaptations of traditional forms or techniques. This is evident in their comments on the three joint first-prize winners: David Harkison's 'range of six pewter pendants' was commended for being 'well finished' with 'clever use being made of traditional Scottish emblems and symbols ... which reflected the true character and fine craftsmanship long associated with Scotland', Donald McGarva's 'Scots Tower Houses' were praised in particular for the material used and the packaging,[xxviii] and Margaret Stuart's range of Fair Isle bordered scarves (an industry the judges 'would like to see revived') with an 'exciting use of colour'.[xxix]

Despite the initial enthusiasm, it was increasingly clear that the competitions were not proving to have the impact or success that had been hoped for. There was a note of desperation in the attempt of Robert Clark, the Chief Executive of the Scottish Design Centre to rally flagging support for a third Souvenir competition: 'at the risk of persistence in the matter of Scottish souvenirs' he appealed to 'any craftsman wishing to enter'.[xxx] Finding new and original entrants was proving somewhat difficult, and there was a degree of duplication in entrants from year to year. For example, John Martin's Jeannie Deans and Burn's cottages figured in both the 1970 and 1972 competitions; Sheena MacLeod's Highland character dolls in both 1972 and 1974, as well as Margaret Stuart's and Jean McLeod's knitwear.

Craftwork magazine continued to cover the souvenir competition in 1975, with another report by Robert Clark.[xxxi] By now, it was apparent that the competitions were proving a source of embarrassment to both the readers and the editor. The language employed is telling: Clark speaks of the competition as 'culling' a further 20 products from the 400 entries which reached a 'desirable' standard. Although he points out that this year's prize winning awards at least contained 'new entries', he complained that 'it was unfortunate that the overall standard of submissions was not higher', taking the view that 'it might have been supposed that producers would have taken greater care with their designs so

that standards would have risen'. The notion of a corollary between the number of competitions held and any perceptible increase in quality of entries was becoming untenable.

It was also increasingly apparent that all the entries had come from small manufacturing craftsmen, who appeared to have little notion of what the public might want, or of what might sell in satisfactory quantities.[xxxii] The question was also raised as to whether the low level of acceptances related to submissions could continue to make the competition viable for its sponsors, The Scotch House, along with other organizations, such as the Small Industries Council for Rural Areas of Scotland. By this time it was generally accepted that the negative connotations of the word 'souvenir' were irredeemable and it was suggested that if there was to be a fourth Souvenirs of Scotland Competition, perhaps the format should be modified and the word 'gifts' substituted for 'souvenirs'.[xxxiii]

The penultimate competition in 1977 emphasised the great disparity between the higher end of the craft market, with its limited customer base, and the lower souvenir end, which was now being hit harshly by late-1970s inflation. Craft workers producing for this lower end of the market could barely cover production costs and maintain any degree of acceptable quality, and the decreasing numbers of tourists, hard-pressed by the devalued pound, had less spending money for something as frivolous as a holiday souvenir. In this context, the whole future of the competitions was brought into question.

By the end of the 1970s, it was apparent that the souvenir competitions were of little to no benefit in raising the standards of souvenirs and that if anything, they had unintentionally contributed to the debasing of Scottish craft. The eventual death knell to the competitions came in 1977 when it was announced that the Souvenirs of Scotland Competitions were to be re-named 'The Scotch House Souvenirs of Scotland Competition'. The overtly commercial interests of the Scotch House as a sponsor and judge were now clearly being scrutinised, as was the quality of their own merchandise. Two examples of items which had been seen on display at the Princes Street Scotch House: a ceramic piper and a tile depicting Balmoral Castle, were reported by *Craftwork* magazine as 'not presumably the stuff of which award winners are made'[xxxiv]. This announcement was followed by a series of rabid letters to *Craftwork* from its readers:

'death to the "Souvenirs of Scotland Competitions", the idea of making worthless souvenirs is patronizing and mercenary'; 'Let our craftsmen make beautiful useful articles and let our visitors remember us for their quality, whether they be tweed, toy, goblet or gold ring.'[xxxv]

It can be argued that when competitions first started in 1946 there were few commercial firms involved in sponsorship of local craftsmen and the general quality and design standards of souvenirs was poor and did little to project an accurate image of Scotland and its heritage. Although the competitions did stimulate interest by creating an 'alternative to the chromium plating and spray-on Hong Kong tartaning' that had previously pervaded the trade, it is not apparent whether this had any real or lasting impact on the actual quality of souvenirs produced, or indeed in making the general public's taste more discriminating. That tourism was undeniably good for Scotland in economic terms is undisputed; the question as to whether the association of souvenirs with craft objects was in fact a positive one for the Scottish craft industry is less clear. An economic necessity, perhaps, but one that may have caused more damage than good in the long run. Interestingly the last Scottish Souvenir competition, which was not covered in *Craftwork* magazine, and of which we know very little, was titled 'All in a Good Cause'. The name reflecting perhaps the heartfelt intentions of an exercise that was ultimately doomed to failure.[xxxvi]

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[i] D. McCallum, 'Crafts, a Living Tradition in Question', *Design,* September 1952, p.13.
[ii] 'The Committee is keenly aware of the importance of the individual craftsman in the everyday life and industrial well-being of a country like Scotland, and feels tat rural craftsmanship can make an influential contribution to the general standard of design in industrial areas.' *Council of Industrial Design 5th Annual Report 1949-50*, p.35.
[iii] McCallum, 'Crafts, a Living Tradition' (n.1).
[iv] Made by the Carl Schumann factory at Arzberg in Germany. For a general discussion of this tendency see G. Evans, *Souvenirs: from Roman Times to the Present Day*, Edinburgh 1999, p.68.
[v] 'Souvenirs and the image of Britain', *Design,* August 1965, p.200.
[vi] McCallum, 'Scottish Design', (n.1).
[vii] ed. A. Maynard, *The value of good design: a report on the Scottish Design Congress*, Edinburgh 1954, p.68.
[viii] A. Maynard, 'Scottish design and today', *Design,* September 1952, p.1.
[ix] W. Goodden '1951 Festival: a challenge to souvenir manufacturers', *Design*, October 1950, p.18.
[x] *Council of Industrial Design 2nd Annual Report 1946-7*, p.22; *3rd Annual Report 1947-8*, London 1948, p.17.
[xi] *Council of Industrial Design 2nd Annual Report 1946-47*, London 1947, p.17.
[xii] *Council of Industrial Design 4th Annual Report 1948-49*, London 1949, p.30.
[xiii] 'Scottish Design and Today' *Design,* September 1952, p.1.

[xiv] *Council of Industrial Design 6th Annual Report 1950-51*, p.26.
[xv] Goodden '1951 Festival', p.19 (n.9).
[xvi] P. Reilly, 'Coronation Souvenirs', *Design* 43, 1952, p.2.
[xvii] *Council of Industrial Design 8th Annual Report 1952-53*, London 1953, p.20.
[xviii] Reilly, 'Coronation Souvenirs', (n.16).
[xix] *Council of Industrial Design 15th Annual report 1959-60,* London 1960, p.41.
[xx] 'Souvenirs and the image of Britain', *Design,* August 1965, p.200.
[xxi] Victor Margrie (secretary to the Crafts Advisory Committee) '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.' *Craftwork – Scotland's Craft Magazine*, Summer 1975, pp.11-12.
[xxii] *Craftwork – Scotland's Craft Magazine*, Summer 1972, p.2.
[xxiii] ibid.
24 ibid.
[xxv] *Craftwork – Scotland's Craft Magazine*, Spring 1973, pp.3-4.
[xxvi] £500 in 1974, as opposed to £100 offered by The Small Industries Council for the Rural Areas of Scotland. Design Council Scottish Committee, Press Release Number AT CMM/4/75, Design Centre Archive, Brighton.
[xxvii] With the exception of 1976, when competition was deferred to 1977 to coincide with the Jubilee year.
[xxviii] The revamped competitions were not covered in *Craft* magazine or *Design* magazine, although it is interesting to note that Donald McGarva's 'tower houses' (winner 1972) were mentioned in 'Things seen' of *Design* magazine in May 1973, not in terms of having won the souvenir competition, but rather for the 'ingenuous use for insulating cork' which was both 'highly realistic and pleasing' as well as 'reasonably priced'. *Design*, 293, May 1973.
[xxix] *Craftwork – Scotland's Craft Magazine*, Spring 1973, p.21.
[xxx] *Craftwork – Scotland's Craft Magazine*, Spring 1974, p.3.
[xxxi] *Craftwork – Scotland's Craft Magazine*, Spring 1975, p.23.
[xxxii] Robert Clark: 'Some sort of balance must be achieved, between the new and well-designed and well-tried products, and the kind that will sell in satisfactory quantities.' ibid.
[xxxiii] *Craftwork – Scotland's Craft Magazine*, Spring 1975, p.23.
[xxxiv] *Craftwork – Scotland's Craft Magazine*, Spring 1977 p.8.
[xxxv] *Craftwork – Scotland's Craft Magazine*, Summer 1975, p.6.
[xxxvi] 'Unfortunately the quantity of really good craft products is still small and the number of craftsmen who explore and produce what the public want rather than what they want to make are in the minority … Gradually the public – the buyer who appreciates an article not in mass production – has grown, but even now the percentage of the public who appreciate good craft is small. The tourist is not the true purchaser, he mainly wants a souvenir from a given geographical area which he has passed through or where he has spent a holiday and local sales, therefore bear no relation to true retailing'. Ethel Stewart MBE, Managing Director, Highland Home Industries, in *Craftwork – Scotland's Craft Magazine*, Spring 1974, p.24.