

**“Scotland the Real”:
the Representation of
Traditional Music in Scottish
Tourism**

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Abstract

This thesis explores how Scottish traditional music has been represented to tourist audiences, through systems of representation such as travel literature, recordings and traditional music events (including folk festivals, tourist shows and sessions). It argues that an explicit concern with the "real" has been a recurrent, although contested, discursive trope in such representations. In particular, the thesis demonstrates how paradigmatic shifts in conceptions of authenticity have wrought ideological changes on tourist-oriented depictions of Scottish folk music.

The thesis identifies four generic categories of authenticity which have mediated touristic representations of Scottish traditional music, namely: authenticity of text; authenticity of performer; authenticity of context; and authenticity of locality. The first of these was of significance throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth century, as folksong collectors, travel writers and guidebooks authors based their judgements of musical authenticity upon the printed text. The folk revival of the 1950s resulted in a fundamental rupture in discursive formations of authenticity, leading to assessments of the "real" being based upon performers, their backgrounds and musical upbringings. As the folk revival developed, such assessments became predicated upon the context of the musical performance, and, in particular, the extent to which events succeeded in minimising the performer-audience stratification and facilitating communal participation. Finally, the geographical scope of the musical expression has recently become particularly significant in this regard: practitioners frequently regard localised musical identities as "real", while deriding the homogeneity and commercial connotations of transnational musical identities such as "Celtic music".

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Abbreviations

ATB	Area Tourist Board
Ch.	Child number (reference to Child's <i>English and Scottish Popular Ballads</i>)
DGAA	Dumfries and Galloway Arts Association
DGTB	Dumfries and Galloway Tourist Board
ESPB	<i>English and Scottish Popular Ballads</i> (ed. F.J. Child)
EPSHO	Every Pub Should Have One
GRCH	Glasgow Royal Concert Hall
RSAMD	Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama
SAC	Scottish Arts Council
SAT	Shetland Arts Trust
SBTB	Scottish Borders Tourist Board
STB	Scottish Tourist Board
TIC	Tourist Information Centre
TMSA	Traditional Music and Song Association
TMTI	Traditional Music and Tourism Initiative

Chapter One: Introduction

1. *Scotland the Real*

The CD *Scotland the Real: Music from Contemporary Caledonia* was produced by the Smithsonian Institute and released in conjunction with the 2003 Smithsonian Folklife Festival. It features artists including Brian McNeill, Battlefield Band and Capercaillie, and is described in its publicity material as “the ultimate insider’s view of a vital part of the pan-Celtic revival” (NPR Shop, 2004). This statement indicates that the CD purports to offer listeners an expert and informed insight into contemporary Scottish traditional music. Indeed, this eschewal of superficiality is central to the CD’s ethos, as evinced by its title: a pun on the “reel” traditional dance, the phrase *Scotland the Real* is intended to connote an aura of authenticity. This thesis, the title of which is inspired by the Smithsonian production, argues that this explicit concern with the “real” has been a recurrent, although contested, discursive trope in tourist-oriented representations of Scottish traditional music.

Beginning with those portrayals of folk music which appeared in eighteenth century Scottish tour accounts, this thesis explores how traditional music has been represented to tourist audiences, through “systems of representation” (Hall, 1997: 4) such as travel literature, events and recordings. It examines how processes of commodification and notions of authenticity have guided the representation of traditional music in Scottish tourism. In particular, the following chapters demonstrate how paradigmatic shifts in conceptions of authenticity have wrought ideological changes on touristic depictions of Scottish folk music.¹

¹ It is necessary to provide some context regarding the terms “folk” and “traditional” music. As Chapter Two demonstrates, the concepts of “folk” and “folk music” were constructed in the late eighteenth century, emerging out of theories of ethnic nationalism. With its anachronistic overtones, the term “folk” fell out of academic favour in the 1980s; this process was most notably marked when the International Folk Music Council changed its name to the International Council for Traditional Music in 1981 (Bohlman, 1988: 1). Both terms remain in common parlance, however, and are often used interchangeably by Scottish musicians.

2. Tourism, Traditional Music and Commodification

Before developing this argument, it will be apposite to introduce the study's key concepts, and offer an overview of the literature on traditional music and tourism. There is a sizeable body of academic literature on Scottish traditional music which is characterised by the diversity of its analytical lines of enquiry. Numerous authors have studied the historical development of Scotland's various musical traditions (e.g. Collinson, 1966; Johnson, 1972; Purser, 1992), while studies by Roger Fiske (1983) and William Everett (1999) analyse the use of Scottish folk themes in European art music. Other studies have investigated topics as diverse as the Scottish folk revival (Munro, 1996), the relationship between Scotland's traditional music and its national identity (Symon, 1997), and the organisation and reception of Celtic music festivals in Scotland (Symon, 1998, 2002; Matheson, 2004). Thus far, however, there has been no academic study of the relationship between traditional music and tourism in Scotland, a gap which this investigation attempts to fill.

Moreover, in addressing the question of representation (the creation and projection of meaning through language, discourse or image), this thesis marks a significant departure from existing studies on the relationship between music and tourism, most of which have emerged from the field of ethnomusicology (e.g. Kaepler and Lewin, 1988; Suppan, 1991; Qureshi, 1998; DeWitt, 1999). Many of these studies have been characterised by a preoccupation with the impact which tourism is judged to exert on traditional art forms. This analytical bias is exemplified by The International Council for Traditional Music's 1986 and 1989 colloquia on traditional music and tourism, the proceedings of which were respectively published as *Come Mek Me Hol' Yu Han: The Impact of Tourism on Traditional Music* (Kaepler and Lewin, 1988) and *Musikethnologische Sammelbände* (Suppan, 1991: vol. 12). In the former publication, for example, Olive Lewin asserts that tourism promotion inevitably causes "the distortion of traditional music" (Lewin, 1988: 4). This stance is typical of a dominant ethnomusicological approach to music and tourism, which presupposes that tourism commodifies cultural forms, to their aesthetic and artistic detriment. Martin Stokes describes this literature in the following terms:

Discussions of musical tourism have tended to look at situations where tourists come in as passive observers, and consequently much of the discussion has been concerned with illustrating or refuting Greenwood's thesis that tourism involves a commodification of traditional culture, which eventually destroys it (Stokes, 1994b: 98).

As Stokes asserts, Davydd Greenwood's 1977 discussion of the *Alarde* public ritual of Fuenterrabia in Spain has become particularly influential in analyses of the relationship between musical genres and tourism. Greenwood argues that "cultural commoditization" occurred when the *Alarde* was first marketed to tourists: the event was fundamentally changed, in that it was transformed from a community event into a tourist spectacle. When divorced from its original function, the event lost its significance for participants, who accordingly became unwilling to participate. Greenwood (1989: 179) argues that "by making it [culture] part of the tourism package, it is turned into an explicit and paid performance and no longer can be believed in the way it was before". Culture, he contends, becomes a commodity when presented for tourists, and as such it is removed from its original context and is often irreparably damaged.²

By prefacing commodification with the term "cultural", Greenwood is implying that the commodification of culture has distinct impacts which do not result from the commodification of other products. In particular, he suggests that such commodification results in a "loss of meaning" (Ibid.: 180) for participants. This conclusion, which Greenwood extrapolates from one incident and applies to "culture" in general, is a highly problematic generalisation (Boissevain, 1996: 117). As the following chapters

² Greenwood (1989) later added an epilogue which noted some of the original study's shortcomings. He acknowledged, for example, that tourism development can also stimulate cultural revitalisation, and that there are substantial difficulties inherent in differentiating cultural changes which result from internal dynamics from those which are a consequence of tourism development (1989: 182).

demonstrate, the representation and the commodification of Scottish traditional music have long, intertwined histories: indeed, they arose contemporaneously, for both were enabled by the development of publishing. The longevity of the relationship between commodification, tourism and traditional music in Scotland belies Greenwood's assertion that using culture for tourism purposes destroys its innate meaning.

Nevertheless, the relationship between tourism and commodification is a particularly intriguing one in relation to Scottish traditional music, for Niall MacKinnon (1993) argues that British folk musicians endeavour to disassociate their music from the trappings of capitalism: he suggests, for example, that the folk scene's "articulation with the past" may be "a powerful symbolic means of resisting commodification" (1993: 68). MacKinnon similarly argues that "the folk scene is thus a genre which encourages people to produce their own music rather than buy and consume it – in some cases removing the musical form from the cash nexus and the status of commodity altogether" (MacKinnon, 1993: 132).

MacKinnon's study is, however, informed by a somewhat nebulous notion of what constitutes commodification. For the purpose of semantic clarity, therefore, it is vital to emphasise that the present study's definition of commodification is derived from Harry Cleaver's (1979) discussion of the commodity-form in Marx's *Capital*. Observing that the commodity is the "elementary form of wealth of capitalist society" (1979: 71), Cleaver argues that the commodity-form is a set of power relations, imposed by the capitalist class on the majority of the population, who are thus required to sell their labour power in order to access social wealth (e.g. food and clothing). Developing this definition, we may conceptualise commodification as the process whereby social relations, which hitherto have been unmarked by the terms of commerce, become transformed into relations of buying and selling.

3. Authenticity

Within much tourism literature there is a pervasive notion that commodification debases cultural products, rituals and human relations (Crick, 1989: 335; Selwyn, 1996: 14; Shepherd, 2002: 185). This perspective is predicated upon the frequently explicit assumption that inauthenticity “stems from the commodification process which gives a phenomenon an alienating and explicit exchange value” (Halewood and Hannam, 2001: 567). Indeed, a number of ethnomusicological studies have propagated the notion that commodifying music for tourism purposes compromises its authenticity: Hahn Man-young’s (1988: 73) description of the relationship between folk music and tourism in Korea is notable in this regard: “when prepared for tourists, the melody and text are refined, rhythm is more clearly articulated, the performance-times are standardized, and dance (instead of work) is choreographed according to the stage-conditions and programme. [...] The original authenticity is gradually lost”. Man-young neither defines nor debates the term “authenticity”, however, thus giving little insight into its relationship with tourism and commodification.

The concept of authenticity has come to occupy a cardinal position in tourism studies, having been first introduced into sociological analyses of tourism in 1962 by Daniel Boorstin. Boorstin argued that American tourists shun authentic experiences in favour of contrived encounters, or “pseudo-events”: the “tourist seldom likes the authentic [...] product of the foreign culture; he prefers his own provincial expectations” (Boorstin, 1992: 106). This somewhat condescending and conjectural position was challenged, however, by Dean MacCannell (1976), who argued to the contrary that “Touristic consciousness is motivated by its desire for authentic experience” (MacCannell, 1999: 101). According to MacCannell, however, tourists’ attempts to penetrate beyond those destination spaces which are manufactured for their benefit are invariably thwarted by the contrived nature of the “staged authenticity” presented to them in the destination’s “back regions”. Together, Boorstin and MacCannell’s opposing perspectives constituted the two key paradigms of the sociological analyses of authenticity in modern tourism.

Both Boorstin and MacCannell's analyses are hampered, however, by their assumption that authenticity is an innate quality which can be measured objectively. As Erik Cohen (1988) emphasises, authenticity is not an absolute, but a social construction: "Authenticity is [...] a negotiable rather than primitive concept, the rigour of its definition by subjects depending on the mode of their aspired touristic experience" (Cohen, 1988: 371). In common with Cohen, this thesis subscribes to the notion that authenticity is less a quality of objects, than a judgement which is ascribed to them. Commodification and authenticity are intrinsically linked, not because the former compromises the latter; rather, the economic and social relations of power embodied within commodification permit the construction of notions of authenticity. The ability to ascribe a judgement of authenticity to a cultural form is an expression of power.

The emphasis which the present study places on the significance of authenticity may appear somewhat unfashionable, in that it apparently opposes those studies which attempt to analyse tourism as a postmodern, rather than as a modern, phenomenon (Hughes, 1995: 799; Pretes, 1995: 4; Urry, 2002; Waite, 2000: 846). Contemporary discourse on "post-tourism" often rejects the significance of authenticity: Ning Wang (1999: 356) observes, for example, that "with regard to the issue of authenticity in tourism, the approaches of postmodernism seem to be characterized by deconstruction of authenticity". However, whilst Eco's (1986) writings on "hyperreality" and Baudrillard's (1994) concept of the "simulacrum" support Wang's statement, this "simulational" (Uriely, 1997: 983) approach is complemented by another key theoretical framework in postmodern discourse on the sociology of tourism. This "other" conceptualisation of postmodern tourism (ibid.) points to the enduring appeal of authenticity, citing the attraction of the "natural" and the countryside as expressions of postmodernity (e.g. Urry, 2002: 87). Ian McKay (1994: 278) stresses the appeal of folk imagery in this regard, arguing that the postmodern condition emphasises the desire for "Folk images, for rustic hideaways, for rural authenticity". This observation has great implications for traditional music, suggesting that it has acquired heightened tourism valencies under the condition of postmodernity.

While the “simulational/other” division ostensibly seems to borrow from the aforementioned theories of modern tourism, under the condition of postmodernity these paradigms complement, rather than challenge, one another. John Urry (2002), for example, incorporates both the “simulational” and “other” frameworks into his critique of postmodern tourism: whilst he acknowledges that tourists may crave authenticity, he argues that they are equally aware of the simulated nature of the tourism experience (see also McKay, 1994: 278). According to Urry, the “post-tourist” is profoundly aware of his position as a tourist and acknowledges that he cannot become more than a mere outsider: the post-tourist knows, for example, “that the apparently authentic local entertainment is as socially contrived as the ethnic bar” (Urry, 2002: 91), although Urry neglects to provide any empirical evidence to justify this claim.

What all this literature has in common is a patent bias towards analysing authenticity from the perspective of the tourist, rather than from the perspective of the touristed (that is, the objects of the tourists' gaze). Studies invariably focus upon tourists' assessments of authenticity, to the exclusion of those of the destinations' inhabitants: as Cohen (1988) notes, “The question, whether the ‘tourees’ observed by the tourist at all possess such a concept, and if so, which traits of their own culture they consider to be ‘authentic’ is rarely, if ever raised” (Cohen, 1988: 374). The present study addresses precisely this lacuna by exploring how authenticity is defined and evaluated by the various agents who construct touristic representations of Scottish traditional music.

4. Agents of Representation

This thesis adopts a discursive approach to representation (Hall, 1997: 43), demonstrating that conceptions of authenticity are historically and culturally specific, and the production of such definitions is related to questions of authority. Accordingly, it investigates the relations of power embodied in the creation of tourism representations. It identifies the key agents of representation and investigates how their objectives,

interactions and conflicts have mediated touristic portrayals of Scotland's traditional music.

In so doing, this study draws upon Owe Ronström's (2001) model of the actors involved in the production of Swedish folk music. Ronström argues that, throughout the nineteenth and much of the twentieth century, conceptions of Swedish folk music were constructed by "knowers", namely, academics and scholars who catered to the musical demands of bourgeois audiences. From the 1970s onwards, however, a generation of "doers" (musicians) assumed control over the creation of Swedish folk music, and moved it from urban salons to outdoor festivals. As folk music became increasingly popular throughout the 1970s and 1980s, "makers", or music industry professionals, commodified the music for financial gain, thereby acquiring control over its production.

Developing Ronström's model, we may identify three types of actors involved in the production and representation of Scottish traditional music. Firstly, and analogous to Ronström's concept of "doers" are "practitioners": namely, those whose primary objective is simply to make music. Extending Ronström's concept of the "knower", we may identify a second category: that of the "cultural entrepreneur". Such figures are academics, theoreticians and "cultural workers" (Whisnant, 1983: xiii) who intervene in the cultural life of practitioners for artistic or ideological purposes. Although labelled "entrepreneurs", their objective in conducting cultural interventions is not reducible to purely financial gain: rather, their aim is the acquisition of cultural and/or symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1979). They may benefit financially from their cultural interventions, although it is not their sole objective to do so.

Thirdly, and related to Ronström's concept of the "maker", are "economic entrepreneurs": that is, those figures whose prime motive is to distribute, promote and sell the activities of both practitioners and cultural entrepreneurs. Thus, whereas cultural entrepreneurs practise intervention as a means of acquiring symbolic and cultural capital, the economic entrepreneur's motive is the acquisition of economic capital. For instance, the corporation

that provides a music festival with commercial sponsorship does so for neither altruistic nor artistic reasons: rather, it intends to raise the profile of the company amongst the festival's patrons, and sell more products as a result.

It will become evident that these three groupings are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, individuals can move between all three categories, and in this respect there is a certain degree of overlap between them. Nonetheless, together they constitute a dynamic model which can elucidate the numerous displacements of power which have occurred in the representation of Scottish traditional music.

5. Research Methodology

The thesis adopts a constructionist approach to representation, acknowledging that meaning is not objectively conveyed by signs, but is constructed through the practice of representation (Hall, 1997). It proceeds from the understanding that musical works, events, recordings, and texts are all systems of representation which construct and transmit meaning. Accordingly, it includes travel literature and musical recordings in its analysis, together with musical events such as folk music festivals and sessions. Despite the considerable tourism valencies of public events such as the World Pipe Band Championships (which is held annually in Scotland), space limitations render it impossible to investigate the particular relationship between bagpiping and tourism to Scotland.³ Indeed, given that Scotland's solo piping and pipe band traditions developed relatively independently of its other folk music practices (Munro, 1996: 7), it is suggested that this topic could be more fruitfully explored in a separate study.

Primary research was conducted using three key research methods, namely, documentary research, participant observation, and qualitative interviewing. Firstly, archival research was conducted in order to investigate the subject of the following

³ Following Rice (2003), the expression "tourism valencies" is used here to refer to those qualities which appeal to the tourist market, and which thereby confer upon the event and/or product the status of a tourist attraction.

chapter, namely, the historical representation of traditional music in Scottish travel literature. Published travel accounts and tourist guidebooks from the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were consulted in order to establish how Scottish traditional music was historically represented to tourists through the medium of travel writing.

Folk festivals, which form the focus of Chapters Three and Four, emerged as a new system of representation from the 1960s onwards. The complete absence of critical accounts of the Scottish folk festival scene's historical development rendered it necessary to investigate this topic using documentary evidence such as traditional music fanzines, magazines and folk festival fliers. Publications including *Sandy Bell's Broadsheet*, *The Scottish Folk Directory*, *Chapbook* and *The Living Tradition* were of central importance in establishing the chronological development of the folk festival movement.

The documentary component of the research process also involved analyses of the publicity material of folk festivals, together with the advertising literature of those traditional music events, initiatives and projects instigated specifically for tourism purposes. The discourses and imagery present in these materials were investigated in order to ascertain how such events are promoted and represented to tourist audiences. The fliers and posters consulted are listed in the bibliography.

Given the problems of reliability, validity and representativeness which are associated with documentary research (Macdonald and Tipton, 1993: 196, 199), it was essential to complement this method with participant observation at a number of Scottish folk music festivals.⁴ This was conducted in order to explore how these events construct and convey meaning to their tourist audiences in an experiential sense (as opposed to the

⁴ Participant observation is a method by which "the observer seeks to become some kind of member of the observed group. This involves not only a physical presence and a sharing of life experiences, but also entry into their social and 'symbolic' world through learning their social conventions and habits, their use of language and non-verbal communication, and so on" (Robson, 1993: 194).

“official” messages which advertising literature attempts to produce). This method permitted exploration of the extent to which the meanings created by these events are congruent with those constructed by their publicity materials.

As Chapter Three recounts, folk festivals can be classified into one of three categories, depending upon their organisational affiliation (and, relatedly, their tourism orientation). At least one festival from each category was analysed in this manner. In most instances, the researcher’s participant role was that of an audience member. At the National Folk Festival of Scotland/ Common Ground (2002), however, the researcher participated as a volunteer-organiser. In every case, the observation was overt in nature, to the extent that the study’s research objectives were communicated to those festival organisers who consented to being interviewed (as described below). Whilst it is patently not feasible for every festival attendee to be informed of the observer’s presence and objectives, this does not entail any particular ethical implications, as the events in question are in the public domain. In such cases those under observation would expect to be observed by strangers (Robson, 1993: 474).

Finally, the preceding methods were supplemented by the use of in-depth interviews. The respondents selected belonged to one (or more) of the following three categories: organisers of tourist shows and folk festivals; organisers of traditional music and tourism initiatives; economic entrepreneurs who promote traditional music events for tourism purposes. The size of the universe rendered it appropriate to identify respondents using judgement and snowball sampling (Burgess, 1984: 55).⁵ The latter sampling strategy proved particularly useful in terms of gaining access to networks of practitioners and entrepreneurs involved in the promotion of traditional music and tourism. Readers are referred to Appendix 1.1 for a list of respondents and their respective positions and affiliations.

⁵ Judgement sampling involves selecting respondents with “previous experience that endows them with special knowledge” (Burgess, 1984: 55). Snowball sampling entails asking respondents to recommend further potential informants who possess the appropriate expertise and experience.

This study's respondents are involved with organising a body of events and projects which are diverse, in both musical and geographical terms. As a result, it was deemed most appropriate to conduct semi-structured interviews, guided conversations in which specific questions and issues are addressed, but the order in which they are considered is flexible (Robson, 1993: 237; Denscombe, 1998: 113). Semi-structured interviews therefore allow the researcher to adjust the content and direction of the interview process according to the particular expertise of the respondent. This interview style proved particularly valuable given the exploratory nature of the research, for it afforded respondents the latitude to introduce issues which were of particular importance to them, and for these to be incorporated into future interviews, as appropriate. The majority of these interviews were recorded to enable verbatim transcription; recordings were made with the permission of interviewees. Quotations selected for inclusion in the thesis were shown to respondents for the purposes of verification and approval; revisions were made, and particular responses were anonymised, where requested.

In summary, this study employed methodological triangulation, a strategy which Keith Macdonald and Colin Tipton (1993: 199) argue is valuable in terms of enhancing validity, particularly in regard to studies which employ documentary research. In this particular instance, methodological triangulation permitted insight into the degree of coherence between the constructionist and intentional representation of Scottish traditional music. Documentary analysis and observation revealed the former (that is, the meanings produced by the text, image, discourse or event), whereas interviews gave some insight into the latter (that is, those meanings which the producer wishes to convey). As shall become evident, the two are not always entirely congruent.

6. Thesis Outline

The following chapter addresses the historical representation of folk music in Scottish travel literature. It demonstrates that throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth and much of the twentieth century, touristic representations of Scottish folk music were constructed by cultural entrepreneurs: namely, song collectors who chronicled and published Scotland's

musical traditions, and travellers who left documentary accounts of their musical experiences in Scotland. From the early nineteenth century onwards, however, economic entrepreneurs also became involved in the representation of folk music, as guidebook authors attempted to engage readers by describing the musical associations of particular destinations. Thus, until the mid-twentieth century, touristic knowledge of the nation's musical traditions was filtered through the perspectives of figures who often were not members of the tradition they documented. The ability to represent Scotland's music was confined to those with access to the means of publishing.

Chapter Two therefore explores the musical images constructed by these cultural and economic entrepreneurs and demonstrates that, by commodifying music which hitherto had been common property, these agents of representation promoted an entirely silent image of Scottish folk music. Nineteenth century travellers, for example, portrayed folk music as an ancient remnant of a long-lost golden age, while song collectors depicted folksongs and ballads as archaic literary texts. The construction of a notion of authenticity contributed to this fossilisation of Scottish music: informed by the notion that traditional ballads had been composed by ancient minstrels, antiquarians and song collectors edited, amended and bowdlerised ballads in order to restore them to their "authentic" and "original" state.

The folk music revival of the late 1950s marked a fundamental displacement of power in the relationship between the three agents of representation, and consequently led to a redefinition of musical authenticity. As Chapter Three recounts, the folk revival allowed practitioners to reclaim ownership over the representation of their musical tradition. The People's Ceilidhs of the 1950s, and the folk festivals which developed from the 1960s onwards, allowed practitioners to determine the content of their musical performances, and thereby counter the misrepresentations which had been propagated by song collectors and commercial travel writers. In particular, the folk revival allowed practitioners to promote the tradition in a musical, rather than a literary, sense. The initial stages of the movement were marked by a shift in discursive formations of the "real", as

practitioners based their assessments of authenticity not upon musical texts, but upon the backgrounds of performers. Source singers, who had acquired their skill and repertoire through oral transmission, were revered as “authentic”, while the “sanitised” versions of folksongs which had been propagated by certain of Scotland’s song collectors (and quoted repeatedly in the travel literature) were condemned for their inauthenticity.

Although the folk revival was initially practitioner-led, from the late 1970s onwards economic entrepreneurs achieved increased control over the organisation and representation of folk festivals: tourism authorities, private sponsors and local councils alike sought to invest in their tourism-generating potential, and some instigated festivals specifically for tourism purposes. Chapter Three therefore explores how the musical programming of folk festivals varies according to their tourism orientation, and reveals how public or private sector investment can result in a reassessment of the festival’s objectives, and alteration of its content and presentation.

Chapter Four investigates how different festivals structure the performer-audience relationship, and the extent to which they encourage or preclude attendee participation. It demonstrates that practitioners’ assessments of authenticity are frequently associated with the social distance between performers and audiences. As a result, practitioners invariably criticise tourism-oriented festivals for their explicit staging and resultant performer-audience demarcation. It is argued, however, that whilst practitioner-led festivals may profess to dispense with such hierarchies and promote participation, such claims are highly problematic, for the type of participation encouraged is invariably of a selective, staged and hierarchical nature. Moreover, Chapter Four reveals that the importance placed on participation renders folk festivals and tourism somewhat incompatible: audiences dominated by overseas tourists may lack the familiarity with the tradition required to participate fully, while success in attracting tourists may compromise the intimacy which practitioner-led festivals strive to achieve.

Chapter Five examines how Scottish traditional music is represented in Scottish Evenings, those musical performances which are staged specifically for the tourist market. Given that practitioners frequently criticise such shows for their supposedly “inauthentic” representation of Scottish musical culture, the content of such shows is examined, and their historical development is outlined. Contrary to the cultural commodification thesis (which informs most ethnomusicological analyses of tourist shows), it is argued that the tourism-oriented nature of these performances does not result in a loss of meaning for participants; neither does it result in an “inauthentic” performance, manufactured simply to conform to audience demands. Rather, Chapter Five argues that the judgements of inauthenticity which are frequently ascribed to tourist shows are to some extent expressions of taste, predicated upon the staged nature and formal presentation of such performances. Ultimately, they are derived from the power relations associated with the corporate nature of these shows: as economic entrepreneur-led events, Scottish Evenings permit practitioners little control over the content or presentation of their musical performance.

Chapter Six develops the theme of authenticity through an examination of *The Traditional Music and Tourism Initiative*, a project which was jointly operated by the Scottish Tourist Board/VisitScotland and the Scottish Arts Council between 1999 and 2002.⁶ Positioned in dichotomous opposition to the music of Scottish Evenings, the initiative was marketed as an example of “real” traditional music. Chapter Six argues that the preponderance of sessions in the initiative is indicative of its self-espoused ethos of authenticity. Drawing on Dean MacCannell’s (1976) model of destination spaces, it demonstrates that the *Traditional Music and Tourism Initiative* was an exercise in manufacturing “back region” experiences in order to provide tourists with the authenticity which they are deemed to desire. It also, however, draws attention to the problematic manner in which the rhetoric of authenticity was used to promote this project: in particular, it reveals how the initiative

⁶ From November 2000 onwards, the Scottish Tourist Board began to trade under the name “VisitScotland”. In this study the appropriate name is used according to the period under discussion.

resulted in the widespread commodification of hitherto uncommodified events, and therefore compromised the informality upon which the sessions' supposed authenticity was predicated.

Chapter Seven relates discourses of authenticity to the geographical scope of musical identities. Arguing that practitioners conceive of Scottish folk music as being a number of traditions, rather than one homogenous musical tradition, Chapter Seven explores the recent trend towards expressing musical identities in increasingly local terms, and demonstrates how individual regions in Scotland have latterly aimed to foster their own distinct musical identities for tourism purposes. Drawing upon theories of postmodernity, this chapter demonstrates how established musical identities are being reinterpreted and expressed in increasingly accessible and vernacular terms. It argues that many practitioners are disaffected with corporate expressions of national and transnational musical identities, and accordingly equate local distinctiveness with authenticity. Whilst localised and globalised musical expressions may appear to be contradictory phenomena, it is argued here that both trends are emblematic of the postmodern condition, and as such are intricately connected.

The concluding chapter illustrates how the shifting relations of power between practitioners, cultural and economic entrepreneurs have wrought considerable changes upon the representation of traditional music in Scottish tourism. In particular, these displacements of power have led to different conceptions of authenticity achieving dominance at different times. As a result, touristic representations of traditional music have always been negotiated by the "shifting sands of authenticity" (Rosenberg, 1993: 10). "Scotland the Real" is a fluid, unstable and highly contested notion.

Chapter Two: The Representation of Folk Music in Scottish Travel Literature

1. Introduction

The love-songs of Dumfriesshire and the Mearns, another region famed for its fertility in Scotland, are mainly Rabelaisian, and quite unlike those of the Highlands or the Borders. They are completely of the soil [...]. The Border ballads achieve magic through passion, the Gaelic songs through some inexplicable refinement of sensibility (Muir, 1979: 64-5).

This observation is taken from *Scottish Journey*, an account of Edwin Muir's 1934 tour of Scotland. For Muir, the songs of Scotland are intimately related to their geographical and topographical origins: he argues that the songs of Dumfriesshire and Kincardineshire (the Mearns) exhibit an unsophisticated rustic simplicity analogous to the fertile nature of each county's agricultural land, while the songs of the Borders and the Highlands are of superior artistic merit. Muir offers a contentious, if intriguing, assessment of the relative merits of Scotland's regional musical traditions, which raises a number of questions regarding the place of music in travel literature. Why, for example, does Muir believe that his discussion of Scotland's musical traditions will appeal to readers of a travel journal? From what sources has Muir developed his understanding of these regional musical categories? To what extent are his views representative of the travel literature?

This chapter will examine how Scotland's musical traditions, instruments and repertoire have been represented in Scottish travel literature, from the early eighteenth century onwards. (It will not proceed past the immediate post war era, for the folksong revival of the 1950s conferred immense changes upon the representation of Scotland's traditional music, which will be discussed in the following chapter). It will examine the mediation practised by the song collectors and travel writers who represented Scotland's folk music

traditions to a tourist audience, and will demonstrate how they shaped travellers' conceptions of Scotland's regional musical identities. This chapter will argue that these cultural and economic entrepreneurs divorced Scottish folk music from its performative context and represented it in an entirely literary fashion. They depicted folksongs as remnants of an archaic literary tradition, and portrayed folk music as simply a relic of Scotland's fertile musical past. This process was exacerbated by the imitative nature of the travel literature: travel writers' propensity to repeat one another ensured the widespread dissemination of an image of Scottish traditional music which silenced not only the "folk", but also the music itself.

2. Music in Early Travel Literature

Throughout the seventeenth century and much of the eighteenth century, travel to Scotland was hazardous and infrequent. The upper classes, whose tastes had been cultivated by the southern climes of the Grand Tour, regarded Scotland as wild and dangerous, and its landscape as harsh, barren and unattractive. G.M. Trevelyan (1942: 420) estimates (somewhat conservatively) that at the start of the eighteenth century no more than a dozen travellers visited Scotland for pleasure. Throughout much of the eighteenth century, most travellers were scholars, undertaking trips throughout Scotland for research and exploration purposes.

Particularly significant in this regard is Martin Martin, a native of Skye, who published two highly influential travel journals, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1703) and *A Voyage to St Kilda* (1753, 4th ed.). The former was the earliest first-hand account to be written about the Hebrides and was based upon a series of voyages Martin had made around the Western Isles in the 1680s and 1690s (Bray, 1986: 13). Martin undertook these explorations at the behest of the Royal Society, an organisation founded in 1660 to advance the cause of scientific methodology. As a practising scientist, Martin sought to present an objective view of what was a little-known area, and to do so from a scientific perspective. He accordingly aims to disassociate the influence of his own personality and identity from the text itself. There is essentially no narrative: Martin does

not mention the stories of his various voyages, he does not describe his hosts, and offers no insight into his personal experiences.

As a native Gaelic speaker, Martin was able to offer a degree of insight into Hebridean culture unmatched by subsequent English speaking tourists, and his descriptions of Hebridean musical culture helped shape later travellers' preconceptions of Scotland's musical traditions. Martin depicted his subjects as having a particular predilection for music and dancing. When discussing the people of his native Skye, for example, he observed that "They have a great Genius for Musick and Mechanicks. I have observed several of their Children, that before they could speak, were capable to distinguish and make choice of one Tune before another upon the Violin" (Martin, 1703: 199). Martin thus suggested that the inhabitants of Skye were born with a unique and innate musical skill.

He similarly depicted musical activity as an integral part of the social life of the St Kilda islanders, describing the dirges sung by the women upon the loss of their husbands (Martin, 1703: 294): "The poor people do sometimes fall down as they climb the Rocks, and perish: Their Wives on such occasions make doleful songs which they call lamentations". In his *Voyage to St Kilda*, Martin represents the islanders' music in a somewhat different light, portraying it as a vehicle for sociability: "There are some of both Sexes who have Genius for Poetry, and are great Admirers of Music; the Trump or Jews Harp is the only musical instrument they have, which disposes them to dance mightily" (Martin, 1753: 38). According to Martin, then, certain inhabitants of St Kilda had a notable predisposition for music, and music formed an integral aspect of the community's life.

In common with the rest of his journal, Martin's musical observations are related in the present, rather than the past, tense. This tense usage suggests that his musical observations are not experiential descriptions of his journey: that is, they do not describe specific instances where he witnessed musical activity. Rather, these descriptions are founded on Martin's general observations of musical life in the Western Isles. In this

respect, Martin's literary style differed markedly from that adopted by future generations of travellers.

Nevertheless, Martin's travel accounts were particularly significant in determining the route of the Scottish tour from 1760 onwards: as John Byrom argues, "Martin Martin and the poetry of Ossian lie behind the Scottish Tour, as does the recording of Scottish balladry in such books as Percy's *Reliques*" (Byrom, 1997: 65). Indeed, Martin's writings in general, and his musical observations in particular, proved highly influential on future generations of travellers. Before developing this observation, it will first be apposite to provide some context regarding the development of tourism to Scotland, and the concomitant development of Scottish travel literature.

3. The Rise of Travel Literature in Scotland

Travel to Scotland for leisure purposes increased substantially from the 1760s onwards. In particular, the publication of James Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* in 1760 inspired travellers such as John Stoddart (1801) to seek out Ossianic scenes in the Highlands, and motivated others such as Samuel Johnson to prove that they were forgeries.⁷ In more general terms, the development of tourism to Scotland from the late eighteenth century onwards can be attributed to both logistical and ideological factors. With regard to the latter category, the development of taste for the picturesque and the growth of Romanticism redefined landscape tastes and revolutionised attitudes to Scotland as a tourist destination: rather than being regarded as forbidding and desolate, Scotland came to be viewed as mysterious and alluring.⁸ Moreover, logistical factors, such as the road building programmes which took place throughout the 1720s, 1740s and 1760s, provided the infrastructural support for leisure travel, allowing tourist traffic to permeate previously inaccessible areas (Seaton, 1998: 21). Additionally, the growth of

⁷ The role of Macpherson's Ossianic poems in generating tourism to Scotland is discussed by Baines (1997) and Gold and Gold (1995: 53-57).

⁸ The relationship between Romanticism and the development of tourism to Scotland is discussed by Haldane (1990), Gold and Gold (1995), Glendening (1997) and Seaton (1998). Scottish traditional music played a highly significant role in the development of European Romanticism, as discussed by Fiske (1983).

the professional middle classes led to the development of new tourist markets, while rising levels of leisure time increased tourists' propensity to travel.

The development of tourism to Scotland was accompanied by a concomitant rise in the production of travel writing, with at least sixty tourists publishing accounts of their tours to Scotland between 1760 and 1830 (Baines, 1997: 45). In addition, from the early nineteenth century onwards the division between travel account and guidebook became more marked: the former remained scholarly in tone, narrative in style and expensive, whereas the latter was more populist and cheaper (Byrom, 1997: 90). The guidebook offered travellers practical information regarding transportation timetables and fares, together with suggested itineraries. The production of commercially oriented tourist guidebooks became a lucrative market dominated by the publishing house A. & C. Black, which produced guides including *Black's Economical Tourist of Scotland* (1844) and *Black's Picturesque Tourist of Scotland* (1845). Furthermore, from the 1880s onwards, the main railways within Scotland (e.g. Great North of Scotland Railway, Highland Railway, Caledonian Railway, North British Railway, Glasgow and South Western Railway) also began producing guides pertaining to their respective routes.

The travel literature of the Romantic era was essentially imitative in nature. As Byrom (1997: 65) observes, Scottish travel accounts repeatedly elucidated the romantic associations of destinations by quoting earlier travel writers, the novels of Scott, Macpherson's Ossianic poems, and the poetry and song of Burns. Such cultural and literary stimuli were instrumental in determining both where tourists included on their itineraries, and how they gazed upon those places. Indeed, Martin's account of the Western Isles was a particular inspiration for Samuel Johnson and James Boswell's famous 1773 tour of Scotland: Boswell opened his 1786 *Journal* by informing readers that "Dr. Johnson [...] told me, in summer, 1763, that his father put Martin's Account into his hands when he was very young, and that he was much pleased with it" (Boswell; in Johnson and Boswell, 1996: 163).

4. The Representation of Highland Music

The “folk” and, by extension, “folk music” are concepts which were constructed within a particular discursive formation: namely, the Romantic theories of ethnic nationalism which emerged in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The key pioneer in producing the folk as a particular social category was the theologian and philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803). Herder’s *Volk* were a nebulous and ambiguous category, which he defined in opposition to the nobility, “the rabble” and the educated class (Barnard, 1965: 73-74). The folk were regarded as the embodiment of simplicity, virtue and nature yet insofar as Herder promoted folk culture as a refuge from the stresses of modernity, he also succeeded in creating a social grouping which was intimately associated with notions of primitivism and barbarism. Herder portrayed folk music as a bridge between the natural and civilised worlds: poesy, he claimed “lived in the ear of the people, issuing forth from the lips and harps of the living singers” (Bohlman, 1988: 52). For Herder, the innately musical folk encapsulated the cultural core of the nation, before it was tarnished by modernity and society.

The construction and popularisation of the concept of the “folk” had a patent impact on Scottish tour literature: from the late eighteenth century onwards, travellers to Scotland increasingly sought out examples of folk traditions, archaic beliefs and ancient customs. Johnson and Boswell notably toured the Hebrides in 1773 in search of “pastoral life” and “primitive customs” (Johnson; Johnson and Boswell, 1996: 88, 99). When discussing the music of the folk, writers of tour accounts exhibited a distinct propensity to repeat and quote the musical observations of earlier travel writers. This self-referential tendency served a distinct ideological function, in that it allowed Romantic travel writers to portray Scotland’s musical past in a conspicuously idealised fashion.

The musical observations of Martin proved particularly useful in this regard, and came to be frequently cited in travel accounts of the Highlands and Islands. The influence of Martin’s work is apparent, for instance, in John Stoddart’s *Remarks on Local Scenery and*

Manners in Scotland.⁹ Stoddart noted that, together with Lochaber, the island of St Kilda was “celebrated” for its long association with the Jews Harp (Stoddart, 1801, vol.2: 179), and in so doing echoed Martin’s description of the St Kilda islanders’ “only musical instrument” (Martin, 1753: 38). Martin’s influence is somewhat more explicit in *The Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland*, a travel account based upon a series of annual journeys made between 1811 and 1821 by the geologist John MacCulloch (1773-1835). When MacCulloch observed, for example, that the Jews Harp “is described as used in St Kilda” (1824, vol.2: 395), he was implicitly referring to Martin’s *A Voyage to St Kilda*. Neither Stoddart nor MacCulloch reported having visited the island themselves: for both, their authority is based on earlier work, almost certainly that of Martin.

From the late eighteenth century onwards, the travel literature invariably echoed Martin’s musical observations, frequently expressing the view that Highlanders were particularly predisposed to musical activity. Informed by the ideological impulses of Romantic nationalism, travellers from England exoticised the music of Gaelic speakers, portraying it as ancient, spiritual, poetic and passionate. John Stoddart, for example, claimed that the “wild warbling of the native Gaelic airs is a more general soother of care, or incitement to labour” (1801, vol.2: 5). In so doing he ascribed to Gaelic song a particularly privileged ability to salve human emotions and excite human agency.

The Devonshire travel writer Sir John Carr (1772 - 1832) similarly alluded to the emotional content of West Highland song: “Perhaps, within the whole compass of music, their ancient airs and ballads, in point of genuine and affecting tenderness, are unrivalled” (Carr, 1809: 195). For Carr, it was the “eminently plaintive” (1809: 184) quality of these Highland airs which rendered them particularly distinctive. This latter observation was repeated by MacCulloch: “The general character of the Highland vocal airs is familiar to every one [...] It is their common feature to be plaintive, whether in the major or the minor key” (MacCulloch, 1824, vol.2: 397). The Gaelic music of the Highlands was therefore

⁹ Stoddart (1773-1856), a native of Salisbury, was the admiralty advocate in Malta from 1803 to 1807. Between 1812 and 1816 he was political editor for *The Times*.

differentiated from more prosaic English-language forms because it was deemed to be more spiritual, passionate, emotional and melancholic.

Commercial guidebooks produced within Scotland colluded in this “othering” of Gaelic music. In its section devoted to “The Highlands”, *The Gazetteer of Scotland* (Chalmers, 1803: n.p.) argued that:

The Caledonians have always been addicted to poetry and music [...]. When their work is over, and when the weather does not permit the usual labours of the field, especially in the long winter nights, they devote a portion of their time to the tale and the song.

The Gazetteer thereby portrayed the Highlanders as a poetic race, whose natural medium of communication was song. *The Scottish Tourist and Itinerary* similarly argued that it was the “wild and sublime” scenery of Fort William, and the West Highlands in general, which accounted for the distinctive nature of Gaelic music. According to the guidebook, such awe-inspiring scenery “gives a peculiar tone to their [the Gaels’] music and their poetry” (Anon., 1825a: 249). Using rhetoric reminiscent of Herder’s theories of cultural nationalism, these descriptions effectively identified the music of the *Gaeltacht* with the personality and topography of the nation itself.

In attempting to emphasise the archaic nature of Gaelic music, many nineteenth century travel writers invoked Martin’s work to highlight the contrast between the supposed richness of Scotland’s musical past, and an apparent decline in contemporary musical standards. The observations of MacCulloch are particularly significant in this regard: “In St Kilda, formerly so musical, the art is absolutely forgotten” (1824, vol.2: 398). He discussed the violin in similar terms, portraying it as a relic of a musical past which has long since been lost. He stated that throughout the course of his tours of the Highlands he “can barely recollect a violin” (1824, vol.2: 398) yet pointedly observed that “in Martin’s time, in 1700 or thereabouts, it [the violin] was common” (1824, vol.2: 410). This

particular observation exemplifies “the tour literature’s endemic tendency to self reference” (Byrom, 1997: 66), in that MacCulloch’s musical expectations were clearly shaped by Martin’s (1703) *Description*. However, with its descriptions of a vibrant musical culture, Martin’s account contrasts sharply with the sparse musical landscape portrayed by MacCulloch. Indeed, MacCulloch patently displayed nostalgia for the fertile musical past of Martin’s description: for MacCulloch, Martin’s work served as evidence that the Western Isles’ days of musical greatness have vanished.

Despite such observations, MacCulloch was insistent upon the inherent musicality of the Highlanders as a race. Indeed, so convinced was he of the quality of “Highland music”, he contended that it lay at the basis of all Scotland’s “national music” (1824, vol.2: 400). However, Byrom’s (1997: 115) comment that “From Pennant on, the Tour was locked in to the discourse of decay” is of great relevance here: whilst MacCulloch aims to convince his readers of the Highlanders’ particular talent for music making, he also reported hearing virtually no music during his annual tours of Scotland. In particular, he argued that:

Though we must unavoidably consider the Highlanders as a musical people, it is nevertheless remarkable that very little music is to be heard in this country [...] I can scarcely remember, that, excepting the boat song which the Ulva men sing to the cockneys who visit Staffa, I ever heard five songs throughout the whole country during the whole of my acquaintance with it (MacCulloch, 1824, vol.2: 398).

In common with Martin, MacCulloch described the singular musical talent purportedly possessed by inhabitants of the Highlands. In contrast to Martin, MacCulloch claimed that the Highlanders rarely made use of this innate musical aptitude. This latter claim is, however, somewhat inconsistent with MacCulloch’s aforementioned description of the widespread familiarity which Highland vocal music supposedly enjoyed (“The general character of the Highland vocal airs is familiar to everyone” (1824, vol.2: 397)).

Carr was similarly dismissive of Scotland's contemporary musical practices, and contrasted them with the supposed fertility of Scotland's musical past: "Little can be said of the present genius of the Scotch for music; of their former taste we cannot say too much" (Carr, 1809: 195). Thus for Carr too, the songs of Scotland were not part of a living tradition, but simply remnants of the nation's rich musical past and examples of its archaic traditions. In this respect Carr and MacCulloch's remarks exemplify Ian McKay's (1994: 14) observation that, for Romantic writers, "attention was focused obsessively on an idealized past of the Folk".

Similar sentiments are present in the writings of Stoddart, who referred to the Gaelic islanders' native airs as "relics of former excellence" (1801: 4-5). He thus represented folksongs as historical artefacts, and did not report hearing any of this music on his travels. Nevertheless, Stoddart argued that whilst the Hebridean islanders lagged behind their mainland neighbours in matters of industrial advancement, their folk music was far superior in quality. Within this geographical comparison, a distinct subtext is discernible: Stoddart implicitly attributed the superior quality of the islanders' musical heritage to their lack of "modern improvements" (Ibid.: 4). For Stoddart, a resistance to modernisation permitted the islanders to preserve the artistic quality of their musical canon. The mainland, conversely, was subjected to the corrupting force of modernisation, a development which led to a supposed decline in its musical standards. Stoddart's observations are an expression of the Romantic ideology which dictated that folksong had survived solely because the folk had survived in primitive, rural isolation. According to such logic, industrialisation and urbanisation were disturbing developments which threatened the very survival of the folk tradition. Adopting this profoundly Romantic perspective, Stoddart equated modernity with cultural entropy and evoked an idealised musical past, despite having no evidence for its existence.

Like Carr and MacCulloch, Stoddart described music which he had apparently never heard. It was of no matter to these writers that folksongs were apparently no longer of common currency. Indeed, by portraying them as moribund, if not as entirely extinct, they

were conforming to the ideological demands of Romanticism. Nostalgia for an imagined past was a potent and recurrent theme for Romantic writers and poets; as Shelagh Squire (1988: 241) notes, “[a] vanished past that probably never existed as described both fascinated and tantalized the romantic imagination”. It was clearly in the interests of commercially oriented travel writers of this era to entice their readers with a romanticised image of the Highlands, depicting the area as a land which had once been a repository of folksong of the highest order.

4.1 Highland Musical Instruments

Travel writers invariably depicted instrumental music in similar terms to the vocal music of Scotland. Just as MacCulloch cited Martin, so too did John Stoddart quote an unnamed author in order to illustrate the former ubiquity of the harp in the Highlands. In 1633 Stoddart’s source wrote of the Highlanders: “They delight much in musicke, but chiefly in harpes and clairschoes [sic] of their owne fashion. [...] They sing verses prettily compounded, containing (for the most part) prayses of valiant men” (Stoddart, 1801: 5). This extract contrasts sharply with the views expressed by Stoddart regarding contemporary musical practices, for he argued that harps and clarsachs had fallen into disuse: “The Harp was formerly in general use among the peasantry. It is supposed by Ritson to have been confined chiefly to the Highlands” (Stoddart, 1801: 178). Moreover, whilst arguing that the Highlanders undoubtedly had a natural talent for music, Stoddart contended that it was of “an inferior degree” than that of their predecessors (Ibid.). His purpose in citing this author was therefore to romanticise past musical practices in the Highlands and to depict current musical practices as being under the threat of modernisation.

Carr (1807: 182) offered a more emotive discussion on the harp, lamenting its apparent loss: “how much it is to be regretted that in the Highlands there is not now one harper to be found, although the harp was once cultivated with great success from a very early age”. Although apparently not having had the opportunity to hear the harp in practice, Carr authoritatively reported to be an “exquisite and affecting instrument” (1807: 184), and

implored his readers to join him in regretting its demise. In so doing, Carr and his fellow commentators elevated the harp to almost mythic status, depicting it as an instrument of unimaginable beauty which had inhabited a long-lost age of musical excellence.¹⁰

The only instrument which visitors to Scotland regularly had the opportunity to hear was the Highland bagpipe, yet few were particularly charitable regarding its musical value. In her account of the Highlands, for example, Mary Anne Hanway reported that:

in many houses, they still retain the ancient custom of the piper playing all the time the company are at dinner, on his horrid bagpipes [...] this is to me more dreadful, than the grunting of pigs, the screaming of fowls, and the squalling of cats (Hanway, 1777: 132-3).

Indeed, the romantic terms in which travel writers portrayed instruments and songs they had never heard often contrasted sharply with the manner in which some described the bagpipes. MacCulloch, for example, found little pleasure in listening to a Highland bagpipe recital, and contended that it was “as vile a contrivance as it is easy to imagine: harsh, imperfect and untuneable” (MacCulloch, 1824, vol.2: 379). For Carr (1809), the bagpipes were particularly pernicious for having deposed the harp from its position as the pre-eminent instrument of the Highlands. Upon attending an Edinburgh solo piping competition, Carr (1809: 176) reported that the Highland bagpipes were a “wretched” instrument, capable of producing only “sounds so loud and horrible, that, to my imagination, they were comparable only to those of the eternally tormented”. Describing how he found the performance discordant and depressing, Carr insisted that his readers must be shocked that the bagpipes had succeeded the harp. By discussing the

¹⁰ Indeed, for Romantic travel writers, the harp was truly iconic, for it was laden with Ossianic associations. At Ossian's Hall (a hut from which the Black Linn Falls on the River Braan could be viewed), tourists regularly appreciated a painting which depicted Ossian playing his harp and singing. The Ossianic connection was made explicit by *The Gazetteer of Scotland* (Chalmers, 1803: n.p.) in its entry on “The Highlands”. “In the times of Ossian”, it declared, “the harp was the chief instrument of music; its simplicity suited the mildness of their manners, and its wild notes were well adapted to the poetical effusions of the bards”.

bagpipes in such pejorative terms he used the bagpipes as ammunition in his argument that Scotland's days of musical greatness had disappeared, together with the harp.

5. Folksong in Travel Literature

The preceding discussion has emphasised the extent to which travel writers' musical expectations were shaped by the observations of earlier travellers. Travellers regularly commented upon music and instruments which they had not heard, because the writings of Martin had prepared them to hear the music and song of an innately musical people. Travel writing was not the only stimulus in this regard, however. Edward Cowan argues that the ballad collections which emerged from Scotland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries helped perpetuate an image which appealed to early tourists: namely, that of a country antiquated in its beliefs and customs:

As long as the survival of ballads and the beliefs they reflected could be demonstrated, so the corollary that Scotland was a backward country was sustained. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries travellers and visitors to Scotland sought the archaic and the ancient (Cowan, 2000: 13).

As Cowan argues, each successive ballad collection provided evidence that Scotland was a country inextricably bound to superstition, pagan beliefs and antiquated traditions: traditional ballads were precisely the kind of "archaic" practices which fascinated Romantic travellers. John Glendening (1997: 11) has likewise noted that interest in balladry was one of a number of features of Romanticism which advanced Scottish tourism. From the late eighteenth century onwards, song collections not only shaped tourists' preconceptions of Scotland's musical repertory, but also guided the direction of the Scottish tour itself, as travellers sought out scenes associated with particular ballads.

As previously noted, Byrom (1997: 65) argues that Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765) was of particular significance in this regard. The ballads, songs, sonnets

and romances in Bishop Thomas Percy's (1729-1811) three-volume anthology were not collected from oral tradition: rather, many were drawn from a seventeenth century manuscript Percy claimed to have rescued from a friend's maids, who were using it to light a fire. According to Percy, the ballads had been composed by anonymous English minstrels, who were esteemed artists in the medieval court. In the anthology's introductory remarks, for example, Percy stated that "The reader is here presented with select remains of our ancient English Bards and Minstrels, an order of men, who were once greatly respected by our ancestors" (Percy, 1910, vol.1: 7).

Percy viewed the ballads as rude survivals of the past which, although valuable examples of belief and custom, were of little merit in poetic terms. He therefore altered his texts in order to ensure they were "fit for the perusal of cultivated readers" (Hustvedt, 1930: 23), insisting that "without [such emendations] the collection would not have deserved a moment's attention" (Hustvedt, 1916: 198-99). For Percy, then, the concept of historical verisimilitude was of little innate value, and was outweighed by considerations of aesthetic judgement. His mediation and editorial practices were guided by the notion that oral transmission had destroyed the ballads' inherent authenticity. Describing the ballads in the Percy Folio, for instance, he observed that they "are sometimes extremely incorrect and faulty, being in such instances probably made from defective copies, or the imperfect recitation of illiterate fingers" (Percy, 1910, vol.1: 6). His amendments were therefore made in an attempt to reclaim the "original" essences of the ballads.

As the collection's title suggests, Percy treated the ballads as antiquarian artefacts, rather than performance pieces, for he published the ballad texts without their respective melodies. For Susan Stewart (1991: 105) this is emblematic of the "crisis in authenticity" which occurred from the sixteenth century onwards, as collectors severed the ballad from its performative context. As Stewart (1991: 106) correctly argues, the separation of the ballad texts from their musical context resulted in the "artificialisation" of ballad material. The ballads were essentially fossilised, represented as archaic literary texts rather than as living performance pieces.

Guidebook authors' propensity to cite the observations of both song collectors and earlier travel writers ensured that the image of ballads as poetry permeated the travel literature. This is exemplified by the manner in which guidebooks discussed *The Bonny Earl of Moray* (Ch.181), a ballad which features in Percy's *Reliques*. Discussing Doune Castle in Perthshire, M'Phun's 1848 guide observed that "Most readers of the old traditional poetry of Scotland will remember the beautiful, picturesque and affecting stanza which concludes the ballad" (M'Phun, 1848: 49; emphasis added), and cites the stanza in question. This quotation is significant in two respects: firstly, in referring to Scottish "poetry", it sustains Percy's vision of balladry as an archaic literary movement, rather than a musical tradition. It presupposes that the guidebook's audience reads, rather than listens to, Scottish balladry, thus further emphasising the supposed status of the ballads as literary artefacts. Secondly, this observation highlights the extent to which the travel literature indulged in imitation, for it closely paraphrases Robert Burns's remark that "the last verse of this old fragment is beautiful and affecting" (Johnson, 1962, vol.2: 173).¹¹ In so doing, it suggests that touristic knowledge of this particular ballad is more likely to have derived from the collecting efforts of Burns, rather than Percy's *Reliques*. Indeed, whilst Percy's *Reliques* had a limited degree of influence in inducing tourists to visit scenes associated with ancient balladry, it is argued here that Burns (1759-1796) and Walter Scott (1771-1832) had far greater influence in this respect.

6. Burns

Allison Lockwood (1981) and John and Margaret Gold (1995) have revealed how sites in Ayrshire and Dumfriesshire which were associated with the life of Burns became tourist attractions shortly after his death. Burns Cottage in Alloway was the high point of the Burns tour: as the poet's birthplace, it possessed a particular resonance for Romantic travellers who were fascinated by the lowly beginnings of the ploughman poet.¹²

¹¹ The lack of topographic reference in this verse does render M'Phun's use of the term "picturesque" somewhat incongruous, however.

¹² By 1882 a sign was placed in Burns Cottage which requested "visitors NOT to jump into the bed" in which Burns was born (Lockwood, 1981: 363).

Conversely, Dumfries and Ellisland Farm possessed melancholic overtones for most visitors: Dorothy and William Wordsworth, for example, visited Dumfries in 1803 and found every place connected with Burns's life "heart depressing" (Wordsworth, 1974: 7). Dumfriesshire was notable for its associations with Burns's poverty, his illness and death. Ayrshire, however, was associated with his birth, life and was portrayed as the source of his creative genius. The epithet "Land o' Burns" accordingly became synonymous with Ayrshire, as travel guides appeared bearing titles such as *A Pilgrimage to the Land of Burns* (Ainslie, 1822).

The literature which documents the extent to which Burns's residences functioned as tourist attractions implies that his influence in generating tourism was confined to Ayrshire and Dumfriesshire. It is significant, however, that the role of Burns's music and song in attracting tourists to Scotland has not been studied to any comparable extent. An examination of this lacuna reveals that Burns stimulated tourism to Scotland on a nationwide level, for visitors regularly sought out sites associated with music and songs which he had written, collected and published.

The origins of this phenomenon can be traced to 1787, when Burns first made the acquaintance of the publisher and engraver James Johnson. Johnson was in the process of compiling *The Scots Musical Museum* (6 vols.: 1787-1803), a collection which attempted to publish the words and music of all Scotland's folksongs. So enthusiastic was Burns regarding this project that he contributed over 200 songs to the collection between 1787 and 1792 (Henderson, 1992: 37) and gradually assumed more and more of the editorial duties, until he was its *de facto* editor. In addition, between 1792 and 1793 Burns contributed around 100 songs to George Thomson's *Select Collection* (Johnson, 1972: 148), a collection of Scots song arranged in art song style by composers including Haydn and Pleyel.

Motivated by the antiquarian and nationalistic impulses of his time (Brown, 1984: 27, 28), Burns viewed it as his duty to collect Scotland's folksongs in order to preserve them and

thereby prevent from them from becoming extinct. Indeed, like Percy's *Reliques*, the very title of Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum* indicated that the songs which it contained were not living entities but artefacts, packaged and displayed as items of historical interest. In contrast to Percy, however, Burns collected from oral tradition. Motivated by the prospect of salvaging the last remnants of Scotland's oral song culture, Burns made tours throughout the Borders, Stirlingshire and the Highlands in 1787.¹³ In a letter to John Richmond, he described one of his two Highland tours as follows: "I have done nothing else but visited cascades, prospects, ruins and Druidical temples, learned Highland tunes and pick up Scotch songs, Jacobite anecdotes, etc., these two months" (Ferguson, 1931, vol.1, 146: 132-133). For Burns, the tour was not only an opportunity to visit the sites associated with particular folksongs, but also functioned as an act of rescue, allowing him to document the last vestiges of Scotland's rich musical past.

Although Burns rejected the notion of payment for the *Museum* (Harker, 1985: 26), his efforts resulted in the commodification of Scottish folksong. The publication of the *Museum* ensured that songs which once had been common cultural property became commodities with an explicit exchange value. The commodification of the music entailed its mediation, for Burns finished fragments, amended indelicate texts and composed new texts for particular melodies. Whilst Dave Harker (1985: 27) interprets this mediation as a purely commercial attempt to cater to the tastes of his bourgeois audience, for Burns it was also an expression of aesthetic judgement. In addition, commodification ensured that Burns, rather than his sources, achieved renown through the publication of the songs. With the exception of his wife, Jean Armour, Burns rarely identified his sources. He described, for example, collecting the air *Craigieburn Wood* from "a country girl's singing" (Ferguson, 1931, vol.2, 557: 168).

The travel literature, too, privileged the collector over the collected, and described sites as "classic" if they were associated with songs written, collected or edited by Burns: Lizars

¹³ For details of these tours see Lamont Brown (1972; 1973). In addition, Burns made tours throughout Galloway in 1793 and 1794.

(1848: 25), for example, described the River Doon as “this classic stream”, due to its association with *Ye Banks and Braes*. Johnson and Walker’s 1828 *Dictionary of the English Language* defined the term “classick” as referring to “An author of the first rank” (Johnson and Walker, 1828: 120). A classic site, by extension, can therefore be defined as one which ranked as one of the most celebrated destinations on the Scottish Tour. Byrom attributes the classicisation of tour sites to the imitative nature of the travel literature: “The intertextuality of the travel account had the effect, through repetition, of ‘classicising’ various sites” (Byrom, 1997: 89), and argues that this process “took place remarkably fast after an author’s ratification” (Ibid.: 65).

Indeed, innumerable sites throughout Scotland received recommendations by virtue of their connection to songs collected or composed by Burns. In the border region, *The Scottish Tourist and Itinerary* (Anon., 1825a: 304) extolled the virtues of Gala Water observing that its “youths are celebrated in song, as “The Braw Lads o’Galla water”, and are extolled as matchless, even by those of “Ettrick shaws and Yarrow braes, in one of Burns’s beautiful lyrics”. In neglecting to inform its readers of the title of the latter song (*Braw Braw Lads on Yarrow Braes*: Low, 225: 582), the guide demonstrates the widespread familiarity this song is assumed to enjoy. Similarly, the 1853 edition of *A Visit to Moffat* described “the lovely wood of Craigieburn, the locality to which Burns applied the stanzas in George Thomson’s collection – “Sweet fa’s the eve on Cragieburn” [sic]” (Fyfe, 1853: 83). This particular description ensured that, for the tourist audience, the song was associated with its collector and publisher, rather than the “young girl” from whom it was recorded. Indeed, this reference exemplifies the manner in which the “folk” were erased from the travel literature.

In guidebooks to the Highlands, Burns was quoted at places including Foyers, Aberfeldy, and Bruar to such an extent that “he became a part of the landscape” (Byrom, 1997: 154). As Byrom correctly implies, Burns’s influence was so pervasive that the travel literature could only represent places in his terms. *The Steam-Boat Companion* (Anon., 1825b: 201) was typical in pointing its readers to “the village of *Aberfeldie*, whose classical birks

are still venerable”, thus referring to Burns’s song *The Birks of Aberfeldy* (Low, 1993, 54: 198). Some years later, Thomas Cook’s *Scottish Tourist Official Directory* (1861) also encouraged its readers to visit Aberfeldy, “the very name of which rings in the ear with classic sweetness, and brings up the memory of Burns’s verses”. As the latter reference suggests, guidebooks continued to assume readers’ familiarity with Burns’s songs throughout the Victorian era, confident that they would entice tourists to visit the sites with which they were associated. Indeed, the promotion of Burns associations became increasingly common throughout the nineteenth century, reaching its apotheosis in the years immediately preceding the First World War.

The pervasive effect of Burns’s poetry in directing and manipulating the tourist gaze is described most succinctly by John Burke (1983: 149), who argues that “We shall always visualize ‘Ye Banks and Braes o’ Bonnie Doon’ through his eyes, and walk with him beside ‘The Banks of Allan Water’”. Commercial guidebooks invariably encouraged their readers to view these particular rivers in Burns’s terms: with regard to the former “classic stream”, Lizars (1848: 25) informed readers that in the Ayrshire village of Patna, “the first peep of the “Banks and braes o’ bonnie Doon” present themselves to the eye of the tourist” [sic]. The impact of Burns’s songs in constructing the tourist gaze was therefore compounded by the manner in which economic entrepreneurs capitalised upon their commercial potential. Similarly, in 1904, the Glasgow and South Western Railway (1904b: 3) was advising its customers that those in search of charming picturesque scenery would be amply rewarded by the sight of the “classic Ayr, the sweet Afton, the bonnie Doon and the winding Nith”. By citing lyrics from songs such as *Flow Gently Sweet Afton* (Low, 1993, 112: 328), *Ye Banks and Braes* (Ibid., 162: 442) and *A down Winding Nith* (Ibid.: 242: 624), it actively participated in the perpetuation of Burns’s vision of each of these rivers. Places were rendered classic not only by their association with Burns’s work, but also through the tendency of travel literature to cite his words as evidence of their picturesque qualities or historic interest.

This is particularly evident with regard to the Nith, the river which flows from the southern uplands and through the town of Dumfries before emptying into the Solway Firth. In the first decades of the twentieth century, in particular, many visitors to Dumfries viewed the River Nith in the terms expressed by Burns in the song *The Banks of Nith* (Ibid.: 98: 296) (See Appendix 2.1). A. A. Thomson (1930: 96), for example, described how he “walked on the Sands where sweeter flows the Nith between its bridges”, thus directly quoting *The Banks of Nith*. D.C. Cuthbertson’s (1938: 72) guide to *Romantic Scotland* similarly advised readers that “Winding Nith, too, has more than beauty to commend it, because Robert Burns has given it a place amongst the classic streams”.

It is significant, however, that Burns wrote *the Banks of Nith* in 1788 while living at Ellisland Farm, some 6 miles north of Dumfries. The river which Burns described, with its “fruitful vales”, “bounding hawthorns” and “lambkins”, thus referred to the rural prospect which he experienced from Ellisland. Nevertheless, travel guides invariably took his vision to refer to the part of the river which flowed through Dumfries and which was increasingly marked by the trappings of industrialisation (specifically, the noise and pollution generated by a tweed mill on the riverside). In so doing travel writers such as Thomson and Cuthbertson actively sought to represent the Nith in Burns’s terms.

The promotion of erroneous Burns associations became increasingly common from the early nineteenth century onwards, with the growth of the commercial guidebook market. With their prime purpose being to elucidate the romantic associations of particular places, guidebooks did not strive for any great degree of accuracy. The second edition of *A Traveller’s Guide Throughout Scotland and the Islands Belonging to It* (Thomson, 1805: 254), for instance, proclaimed the Ayrshire town of Mauchline to be “the birthplace of Burns the poet”. Similarly, when discussing his actual birthplace (Burns Cottage in Alloway) the guide referred to it merely as a “residence” of the poet, declaring that: “The house stands on the roadside, and is, *we are informed*, marked to the notice of the traveller by a sign board with an inscription” (Ibid.: 265; emphasis added). The author’s admission that this information is not based upon his own research, demonstrates the

lack of concern with accuracy which such guides possessed, and further demonstrates that any connection to Burns (no matter how tenuous) was sufficient to canonise a site.

The marketing of even spurious Burns associations was a lucrative venture for commercial guidebooks. *Cook's Scottish Tourist Official Directory* (1861) also made erroneous associations between particular sites and the songs of Burns, yet was atypical in admitting doing so. Recounting the details of an earlier tour, it recorded the disappointment felt by the tour party upon being told that Bridge of Allan is not the scene of Burns's *Banks of Allan Water* (Low, 1993, 243: 628): "it is not a little disenchanting to be told that this is not the stream of poetic inspiration which elicited the sentiments of that chastened effusion" (Cook, 1861: 49). Similarly, upon reaching Doune Castle it observed that:

here again, disappointment is felt when we are told that the beautiful "banks and braes" adjacent to the old castle, of Doune, are not those of the poet's inspiration; notwithstanding that all the youngsters begin to hum or give full voice to the charming melody, set to those exquisitely touching words of nature's bard (Ibid.: 49).

For visitors such as these, who possessed an acquaintance with the work of Burns, little was needed to stimulate that acquaintance. Equally, for economic entrepreneurs, accuracy was of secondary importance: assuming that their readers were familiar with a particular song, authors of commercially-oriented guides were aware it was of prime importance to publicise that association. The benefit in marketing even spurious connections to Burns and his work was that guidebooks could ensure that a great number of sites could be rendered classic and thereby incorporated into the Scottish tour itinerary.

One outcome of the promotion of such tenuous or inaccurate associations was the propagation of invented traditions, as happened with Burns's song *Scots Wha Hae* (Low, 1993, 246: 634). For guidebooks, the location of its composition was the matter of some

debate. The Portpatrick and Wigtonshire Joint Railways guide, for example, proclaimed that it was at Lochenbreck Spa that Burns "wrote under the inspiration of the Galloway Hills his famous patriotic song, "Scots wha hae"" (1898: 35). The Glasgow and South Western Railway's *Tourist Guide* (1904b: 15), initially takes a different view, stating that it was written in the poet's house in Bank Street, Dumfries. Later, however, when describing the Galloway village of Gatehouse of Fleet it notes that "In the Murray Arms Hotel at Gatehouse the room is pointed out where Burns wrote *Scots Wha Hae*" (Ibid.: 78). In so doing it contradicts not only other guidebooks, but also itself.

The myths perpetuated by this and other guidebooks persisted well into the twentieth century, with H.V. Morton reporting in 1933 that the hotel in which he stayed in Kirkcudbright also claimed to be the very place in which Burns had been inspired to compose the song. Noting that both the Murray Arms Hotel in Gatehouse and Lochenbreck Spa also laid the same claim to the song, Morton elected to take "no sides in this contentious question" (Morton, 1933: 53). In 1955, a further site was claimed as the proper location: the *Official Guide to the County of Dumfries* pointed tourists to the Nith's riverside walk, asserting that "here [Burns] composed "Scots Wha Hae" and other well-known poems" (County Council of Dumfriesshire, 1955: 30). The travel literature thereby rendered no less than four sites classic due to their questionable associations with this song.

7. Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*

The publication which stimulated the most significant amount of folksong-inspired tourism was *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802-03), a ballad collection compiled by Sir Walter Scott. Scott's legal duties as the Sheriff of Selkirkshire required him to make several journeys into the Ettrick Forest and Liddesdale, which he used as opportunities for collecting ballads. Scott compiled the ballad texts which he collected from these "raids" together with some appropriated from extant ballad manuscripts, and others which

had been sent to him by numerous collaborators and correspondents.¹⁴ Like Percy, Scott published only the song texts, thus divorcing the ballads from their musical context. Selling “massively in a small literary market” (Harker, 1985: 48), and earning Scott some £600, the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* was the first ballad collection to surpass the popularity of Percy’s *Reliques* (Groom, 1999: 7).

Such was the touristic appeal of Scott’s collection, that guidebooks including *Miller’s Official Tourist Guide* (North British Railway, 1901: 19) even directed tourists to the office in Kelso which first published the *Minstrelsy*. Moreover, the *Minstrelsy* functioned as a guidebook for many visitors: with its extensive annotations, detailing the respective origins and location of each ballad, it directed “would be ballad tourists” (Byrom, 1997: 333) to sites of musical interest. Given that it was divided into three sections, namely, “Historic Ballads”, “Romantic Ballads”, and “Imitations of the Ancient Ballad”, its very structure helped construct an image of the eponymous “Scottish Border” which appealed to Romantic tourists.

It is important to distinguish between the “Scottish Border” of the *Minstrelsy* and the present-day Scottish Borders region. Scott’s collecting efforts were not confined solely to the border region: riding ballads which have their respective settings in Dumfriesshire and Cumbria are included in the *Minstrelsy*, together with ballads from Ayrshire, Galloway and Lanarkshire. For the purpose of semantic clarity, “the Borders” is used here to denote the local authority region, while the wider area which had its balladry collected and published by Scott is referred to as “the borderland”.¹⁵

¹⁴ Whilst some of Scott’s ballad correspondents were local (e.g. the antiquarian Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe and the poet and writer James Hogg), many others came from the North East. The extent to which the “Romantic” section of the *Minstrelsy* drew upon the ballads of Mrs Brown of Falkland is particularly notable. According to David Buchan (1997: 6), it is ironic that “many of the Scott ballads that helped establish the Borders as the pre-eminent ballad area come from the Northeast”.

¹⁵ The Borders region was established in 1975 and consisted of the counties of Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire and Peeblesshire. After a further local council reorganisation in 1996 this region became the Scottish Borders.

In 1901 the North British Railway alluded both to the geographical scope of the borderland, and to its wealth of ballad associations: “For what country has given birth to [...] songs and ballads so charming as that wonderful English and Scottish borderland?” (North British Railway, 1901: 7). On the English side of the border, tourists were encouraged to visit Carlisle, due to its associations with the ballad of *Kinmont Willie* (Ch.186); the Glasgow and South Western Railway (1904a: 13), for example, informed its readers that “now and then enthusiastic Scots take occasion, when visiting the Castle, to regale the ears of the guide with the words of the famous ballad written in celebration of the feat”. Visitors to Ayrshire were similarly exhorted to visit Mansion House in Maybole because “it is said to have been the residence of the repudiated Countess of Cassilis, whose story was the subject of the well known ballad of Johnny Faa” (Black and Black, 1844: 47). In Lanarkshire, tourists were encouraged to visit Cadzow Castle, near Hamilton, for it was the subject of an “imitation ballad” composed by Scott himself: M’Phun’s 1848 guide was typical in instructing readers to “see Sir Walter Scott’s beautiful ballad, entitled ‘Cadyow Castle’ in the Border Minstrelsy” (M’Phun, 1848: 13). This particular example suggests that the historical pedigree of the ballad was of little relevance to commercial guides: it mattered little whether the ballad in question had been amended by Scott, or even whether it was traditional in origin. “Imitation ballads”, which were written to be recited rather than sung, were also capable of classicising sites.

7.1 The Borderland: Dumfriesshire

Indeed, in Dumfriesshire, travellers were often enticed to visit the location associated with *The Murder of Caerlaveroc*, an “imitation ballad” composed by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe which features in the final section of the *Minstrelsy*. The ballad, which recounts the tale of a murder recorded as having taken place in Caerlaverock Castle in 1357, attracted the attention of tourists throughout the nineteenth century (See Fig. 2.1). With its supposed basis in historical fact, dramatic narrative and heroic themes, the ballad appealed greatly to Romantic sensibilities.

Upon his visit to Caerlaverock Castle in 1838, the English bibliographer Thomas Frognall Dibdin instructed his readers that *The Murder of Caerlaveroc* “is full of sweetness and pathos” and “of exquisite tone and keeping” (Dibdin, 1838: 456, 457). Dibdin mistakenly believed that the ballad referred to a castle which had long since been destroyed and replaced by the one which he encountered.¹⁶ Nevertheless, he appeared compelled to append his description of the castle with a quotation of the entire ballad. Indeed, for many visitors of this era it would have been impossible to disassociate their view of the castle from that evoked by the ballad, for as Dibdin recounts, the “venerable guide” insisted upon reciting the verses while conducting visitors around the ruin (Ibid.: 457). Dibdin’s reference to the guide’s “recitation” of the ballad is instructive, for it highlights the extent to which “imitation ballads” functioned as poetry. Given that they were written to be narrated rather than sung, they were devoid of one central aspect of traditional balladry: namely, a melody.



Fig. 2.1: Caerlaverock Castle, Dumfriesshire.

¹⁶ The original castle was built in the 1220s and used for some 50 years.

Nevertheless, this particular imitation ballad held no small degree of resonance for potential visitors to the region for some years later. Dickie's 1898 guidebook to Dumfries, for example, cited both *The Murder of Caerlaveroc* and its inclusion in Scott's collection as evidence of the castle's historical interest (Dickie, 1898: 133). Moreover, the language which visitors used to refer to the castle is often evocative of the ballad's repeated references to "proud Caerlaveroc's towers", with Edmund Bogg in 1898, for example, talking of the castle's "commanding presence" and its "hoary towers" (Bogg, 1898: 358). However, even at the time of Dibdin's visit, 60 years earlier, the towers to which Bogg referred were in a state of some ruination. Thus Bogg's view of the scene appears to some extent to have been constructed by a ballad which referred to a castle that no longer existed.

The manner in which the tourist gaze was constructed by the ballads is further exemplified by the travel literature's description of the scenes associated with the riding ballad *The Lads of Wamphray* (Ch.184). In *Rides, Walks and Drives around Moffat*, Charles Stewart (1861) exhorted his readers to visit the Biddes Burn and Biddes Law, for it is the location of the ballad's climax: specifically, it is the scene of the battle between the Johnstones and the Crichtons, at which the Crichtons suffered such severe losses that "the Biddes-burn ran three days blood". Stewart's guidebook was not alone in recommending the site of such brutality and loss as a tourist attraction, however. In 1890, for example, Baddeley echoed Stewart's comments by praising the "exceedingly picturesque" Wamphray Glen, noting that it was famed as the scene of *The Lads of Wamphray* (Baddeley, 1890: 73). That it had reputedly been the site of such bloodshed did not deter them from gazing upon it or recommending it to others. For both, its connection to the ballad and Scott's collection merely served to render it classic.

The stance adopted by the authors of these two guidebooks can be attributed to the manner in which the ballads portrayed the Border reivers: such ballads glorify these freebooters, depicting them as heroes, while portraying custodians of the law as criminals. The version of the ballad printed by Scott presents the murderous deeds of the

Lads as “noble” and describes the *Lads* themselves in aristocratic terms, concluding that “A Wamphray lad’s the king of men”.

This glorification of the reivers had an evident influence on commercial guidebooks, for they apparently subscribed to these romantic interpretations of the freebooters’ lawless deeds. George Eyre-Todd’s *Through Scotland by the Caledonian Railway*, for example, recommended the town of Lochmaben as a site of historic and heroic interest for it “was the base, in the reiving centuries, of many raids into England” (Eyre-Todd, 1904: 26). For Eyre-Todd the most notable of these raids is that recounted in the ballad, *The Lochmaben Harper* (Ch.144). The Harper of the title is a horse-thief, who not only steals the Lord Warden of Carlisle’s horse, but also manages to extract compensation from him for the alleged loss of his own horse. Although referred to throughout the ballad by the Lord Warden as “thou silly blind Harper”, when the extent of his cunning and deception is revealed the ballad notably terms him “the cunning auld Harper”. The guidebook adopted the pro-reiver stance exhibited by the ballad, describing the scheming trickster of the title as “this worthy”, and thereby condoning his illegal deeds and deception. In so doing, it participated in the classicisation of sites associated with the reivers and colluded in the glorification of their crimes.

Hodgart suggests that Scott also actively participated in the glorification of the reivers: with specific reference to the reiving ballads, he notes that “Scott’s romanticism sometimes colours the versions he printed” (Hodgart, 1962: 134). Indeed, the tone of Scott’s introduction to the ballad *Johnie Armstrang* (Ch.169) supports Hodgart’s contention. Describing the sixteenth century freebooter, Scott argues that “the common people of the high parts of Teviotdale, Liddesdale and the country adjacent, hold the memory of Johnie Armstrong in very high respect” (Scott, 1931: 152). This observation is unqualified, however, and there is no evidence to suggest that this was ever the case.

The romanticisation of the reivers perpetuated by guidebooks, Scott and the ballads themselves, evidently guided the manner in which travel writers interpreted their

respective sites. In 1898, for example, the aforementioned Edmund Bogg sought out places associated with *Johnie Armstrang*. An evident familiarity with, and implicit reference to, Scott's *Minstrelsy* permeates throughout much of Bogg's writing: whereas Scott speaks of Johnie Armstrang as a "Border hero" (Bogg, 1898: 152), Bogg terms him a "true Border king" (Ibid.: 314). Similarly, Bogg's reference to Armstrang's "splendid retinue" (Ibid.: 311) echoes the ballad's description of his "gallant cumpanie".



Fig. 2.2: Gilnockie Tower, Canonbie, Dumfriesshire.

Bogg's comments on Gilnockie Tower, Johnie Armstrang's place of residence (see Fig. 2.2, above), also accord with those of Scott, who contended that "its ruins still adorn a scene which, in natural beauty, has few equals in Scotland" (Scott, 1931: 150). Bogg referred to the tower's locality in similar terms, noting that the sight of its neighbouring woods, meadows and river "imparts tuneful melody and lulls the soul into reveries of ballad romance" (Bogg, 1898: 314). For Bogg, nearby streams were "musical with song",

which caused his memory to be cast back to “half-fabled ballads” (Ibid.: 316). The musical nature of the streams evoked in Bogg memories of border ballads which in turn conjured up visions of the fearsome borderers and their heroic exploits:

the storied deeds of the Lindsays, the Grahams, the Armstrongs and other famed borderers, leapt before our mental vision. Lances gleamed, and armour rattled, and smoke issued from the distended nostrils of the weary steeds, hotly ridden by plundering Border spears (Ibid.: 316).

Thus, the manner in which Bogg portrayed the scene was inextricably linked to the ballads which he came in search of, for rather than describing scenes objectively, he could only do so in the most romantic of terms. The scene which he gazed upon was not that of the late nineteenth century, but his conception of the sixteenth century “debatable land”.

7.2 The Borderland: Selkirkshire and Roxburghshire

Although the wider borderland became associated with balladry, the counties of Selkirkshire and Roxburghshire were the high-points for most ballad tourists. Topographical considerations permeate much of the travel literature’s descriptions of this area, demonstrating an inextricable connection between music and place. Just as *The Scottish Tourist and Itinerary* (Anon., 1825a: 249) attributed the particular qualities of Highland music to the wild, sublime scenery of the surrounding landscape, so too did other guides highlight the connection between the beauty of the area’s landscape and its music. More specifically, the rivers which traverse the region were often painted as the inspiration for its heritage of balladry. In describing the county of Selkirkshire, *The Gazetteer of Scotland* (Chalmers, 1803: n.p.) observed that:

The country is mountainous, and intersected by numerous streams, on the banks of which, those plaintive airs were produced, the natural

simplicity of which is the pride of the Scots, and the admiration of strangers. Besides the Tweed, it is watered by the *Etterick* and *Yarrow*, two pastoral streams, more celebrated in poetic lays than any of their size in Scotland.

The *Gazetteer* later described the Tweed itself in similar terms, noting that “It is a celebrated pastoral stream, giving name to many of the most beautiful Scottish melodies” (Chalmers, 1803: n.p.). The river was thus depicted as both a fount of musical inspiration and as the object of musical dedication.

This was an image adopted by many subsequent guidebooks, with *The Scottish Tourist and Itinerary* (Anon., 1825a), for example, describing the Tweed in particularly lyrical terms. This particular guide portrays the Tweed as one of Scotland’s most “noble” rivers, and attributes its appeal partly to its musical connotations:

No doubt it is partly owing to the association of ideas which it suggests of music and of song, and of deeds of hardihood in the olden time, that we never look upon the Tweed but with greater emotion than we feel in beholding any other Scottish stream (Anon., 1825a: 321).

The areas through which the Tweed flowed, the guide contended, were also laden with musical associations. In particular, it terms the Yarrow Valley (see Fig. 2.3) a “land of minstrelsy” (ibid.: 321), a musical toponym which is evocative of the title of Scott’s collection.

Without exception, travel writers portrayed the River Yarrow as the highest source of musical and poetic inspiration. M’Phun (1848: 99), for example, observed that, “Yarrow, partly from a certain melancholy event which occurred upon its banks, but more perhaps from its adaptation to rhyme, has been the subject of ballads, songs and poems innumerable”. The Yarrow Valley was famed for its associations with ballads including

Willie's Drowned in Yarrow (Ch.215), *The Dowie Dens o' Yarrow* (Ch.214), *The Douglas Tragedy* (Ch.7), *Tam Lin* (Ch.39), *The Lament of the Border Widow* (Ch.106) and *The Gay Gos Hawk* (Ch.96), all of which received regular recommendations in the travel literature. *Black's Economical Tourist of Scotland* (Black and Black, 1844), for example, recommended Blackhouse Tower, near St Mary's Loch, noting that it was reputed to be the scene of the ballad *The Douglas Tragedy*.



Fig. 2.3: The Yarrow Valley, Selkirkshire.

The ballads of the Yarrow Valley appealed particularly to the Romantic fascination with history, for they often bear particularly strong links to recorded incidents and characters. The very fact that the places mentioned in these ballads are real was a further source of attraction for those who valued historical detail. As Kaye McAlpine argues, "The strong sense of locality which exists in the ballads can add credence to the tales: the argument being that the story must be true because the places where the action occurred exist" (McAlpine, 2000: 73). Developing McAlpine's argument, we may surmise that the ballad tales were lent further credence by Scott's extensive annotations regarding the ballad's

local connections. Indeed, it is in Scott's commentary in the *Minstrelsy* that this connection is made explicit, with Scott (1931: 339) noting that "The ballad of *The Douglas Tragedy* is one of the few to which popular tradition has ascribed complete locality". The scene of a couple's death is thus made romantic through song.

Oliver and Boyd's Scottish Tourist (1860) similarly recommended a visit to the three upright stones in Yarrow churchyard, for they supposedly mark the battle between the families of Tushielaw and Thirlstane which is recounted in *The Dowie Dens o' Yarrow*. *Black's Economical Tourist of Scotland* (1844) also narrated the tale, arguing that "to this incident may be traced that various poem of which Yarrow has been the subject" (Black and Black, 1844: 11). Some years later the Royal Mail Express Route's guide also recommended the scene associated with "that doleful ballad" (1908: 29). The variant ballad entitled *The Braes of Yarrow* features in collections such as Percy's *Reliques* and Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, yet Scott's version patently remained the most influential for guidebook authors. In this respect, Scott's efforts to reclaim the "authentic" and "original" ballads were highly influential, for the imitative nature of the travel literature ensured that his versions of the ballads came to be cited repeatedly, as did his historical accounts.

M'Phun's *The Scottish Land Tourist's Guide to the Picturesque Scenery* (1848) portrayed the Yarrow Valley as the undisputed centre of Scottish balladry, claiming that "no tourist should neglect an opportunity of visiting this truly classic region in Scottish song" (M'Phun, 1848: 100). Subsequent travel writers invoked similar language, with Bogg terming the area "the land of romance and song" (Bogg, 1898: 282). Indeed, at the end of the nineteenth century the travel literature remained profoundly imitative in nature: Angus's (1894) *Ettrick and Yarrow: A Guide with Songs and Ballads* referred to the confluence of the Yarrow, Tweed and Ettrick as the point where "the poet's trinity of lovely streams, link on the "singing land"" (Angus, 1894: 21). In so doing Angus paraphrased a remark made by John Ruskin, namely that "The Border district of Scotland was [...] of all districts of the inhabited world, pre-eminently the singing country – that which most

naturally expressed its noble thoughts and passions in song" (Ruskin, 1894: 133). Angus therefore borrowed Ruskin's phrase, yet re-interpreted its geographical coverage, using it to refer simply to the Yarrow Valley, rather than the border counties as a whole.

This image maintained credence into the twentieth century, with H.V. Morton arguing that "in all Scotland there is probably no spot richer in great ballads than the vales of Yarrow and Ettrick waters" (Morton, 1933: 313), and Colin Walkinshaw similarly asserting that "In no valley of the Border does the romance of the more tragic or melancholy of the ballads lie so thickly" (Walkinshaw, 1935: 252). Yarrow effectively came to be branded as the home of Scotland's balladry, arguably as a direct result of Scott's collection, and the tendency of the travel literature to reference it.

The imitative practices of travel writers were not only confined to repeating Scott's commentary and the ballads themselves, however. Rather, it is apparent that travel guides were also influenced by Scott's editorial practices. Before exemplifying this argument, it will first be apposite to provide some context regarding Scott's editorial methods.

Like many of his contemporaries, Scott believed that in collecting the ballads, he was rescuing the last remnants of a dying tradition. He claimed, for example, that "the peculiar features of [Scotland's] manners and character are daily melting and dissolving into [England's]" (Scott, 1931: 70), and therefore sought to document the ballads before this process of cultural homogenisation reached its conclusion. Prompted by this sense of being on a rescue mission, Scott sought to identify the original essences of the ballads, which he believed had been corrupted through the process of oral transmission. This belief was allied to the Romantic aesthetic which equated constancy with authenticity while regarding change as an indication of deterioration and deviance (McKay, 1994: 13). For collectors such as Scott, songs were only authentic if they consistently conformed to their purported original versions. The process of oral transmission, through which songs were continually shaped and refashioned, was regarded as a corrupting force which

destroyed the intrinsic authenticity of folk culture. Scott therefore amended, bowdlerised and “improved” ballad texts, a practice which was considered entirely reasonable in the early nineteenth century (Bold, 2000: 119). When faced with a number of variants of the same ballad, Scott collated the individual “stanzas appearing to possess most merit” (Scott, 1931: 405), together with some of his own interpolations. In publishing these mediated, hybrid texts, Scott sought to remedy the damage which he believed the ballads had suffered at the hands of the folk: he vainly pursued the original ballads, which had not been “much mangled by reciters” (Ibid: 185).

Invariably, the authors of such guidebooks uncritically accepted the “improvements” which Scott had imposed upon his texts. M’Phun’s guide, for example, advised its readers to visit Newark castle in Selkirkshire because of its reputed connections with “the outlaw Murray, a noted character in song” (M’Phun, 1848: 101). Offering his readers a brief overview of the tale connected with *The Sang of the Outlaw Murray* (Ch.305), M’Phun informed his readers that “A long ballad, containing an account of this transaction is preserved in the ‘Border Minstrelsy’” (M’Phun, 1848: 101). Thus, a text which Scott admits to collating from no less than five individual sources (Scott, 1931: 135) is presented by M’Phun as historical fact. Indeed, Scott’s commentary repudiates the notion that Newark Castle is associated with the ballad, yet this does not deter M’Phun’s guide from recommending the castle for that very reason. For commercial travel writers such as M’Phun, even a patently spurious ballad association was sufficient to render a site of historic interest.

The travel literature’s propensity to engage in imitation further ensured that commercial guidebooks displayed some degree of confusion regarding the status and origins of the ballads. In particular, guidebooks readily repeated Percy and Scott’s thesis that the ballads were the compositions of ancient minstrels. In 1830 Scott argued that “the qualities necessary for composing such poems are not the portion of every man in the tribe” (Scott, 1931: 501), and further claimed that the development of balladry was dependent on “the rise of some highly gifted individual” (Ibid.: 503). Rather than

subscribing to the “communal composition” thesis, Scott maintained that ballads were composed by minstrels, a belief which satisfied the Romantic fascination with the figure of genius.

In the travel literature, the influence of this view extended beyond the Romantic era, however. Even towards the end of the nineteenth century, commercial guidebooks continued to subscribe to the notion that the borderland's ballads had been produced by ancient poets, or *Makers*. In discussing “Yarrow's Unknown Minstrel”, Angus's guide to *Ettrick and Yarrow* alluded to the ballads' supposed basis in ancient minstrelsy: “To few valleys was fate so kindly as to Yarrow, for she gave it a minstrel-historian, who struck the key-note to all succeeding “makers”” (Angus, 1894: 94). Angus thus attributed the area's musical fertility to the efforts of one figure, and in so doing echoed Percy's insistence that the ballads were composed by ancient minstrels. This belief is further perpetuated in the following statement:

in the old days of sturt and strife, when strength of arm was a charter of right, Yarrow's celebrated minstrel would have no lack of subjects sad as the 'Dowie Dens', and pitiful as 'Willie's Drowned in Yarrow', to inspire his pen (Angus, 1894: 116).

Such commentary therefore precludes the possibility that the ballads were the products of collective composition at the hands of the “folk”. It presupposes, by extension, that multiple variants of ballads are merely corruptions of the original, definitive versions composed by this nameless “celebrated minstrel”.

James Menzies' (1900) *Illustrated Guide to the Vale of Yarrow* also subscribed to this premise; with reference to *The Douglas Tragedy*, Menzies observed that “one of the Border minstrels has bequeathed us a very touching tale of love and strife” (Menzies, 1900: 63). In contrast to Angus, Menzies presupposed that the Yarrow Valley benefited from the efforts of a number of minstrels, rather than one particularly gifted individual.

Similarly, Menzies argued that *The Border Widow's Lament* was the composition of a "poet, whose name and birth-place are lost for ever" (ibid.: 55). In so doing, this guide and others ensured that the mythic concept of the composer-minstrel attained credence through the power of repetition.

This guidebook's reference to the "poet" minstrel is suggestive of a certain ambivalence regarding the status of the ballads. Commercial guidebooks regularly referred to ballads as literary verses, rather than as songs: Menzies (1900: 41), for example, described the Yarrow Valley's balladry as "poems which the world will not willingly let die". Discussing *The Dowie Dens o' Yarrow*, The North British Railway's guide to *The Beauties of Scotland* similarly observed that "the ballad *must be read* by the traveller if it should happen that it is unfamiliar" (North British Railway, 1915: 72; emphasis added). Such descriptions demonstrate the legacy of collections such as Percy's *Reliques* and Scott's *Minstrelsy*, which divorced the ballads from their melodies and thereby presented them as literary artefacts. Guidebooks authors were, however, apparently aware that the ballads were to be sung, for Menzies praised the "melody, tenderness, and pathos" of *The Dowie Dens of Yarrow* (Menzies, 1900: 78). Nevertheless, allusions to the musical nature of the ballads are relatively sparse, suggesting that for guidebook authors the ballads existed principally on the printed page: that is, their familiarity with the ballads derived from their publication in book form, not through hearing them being performed.

In 1859, Nelson's guide to *The Land of Scott* cited a remark written in 1715 by the physician and poet Alexander Pennecuik (1615-1722). Discussing the people of Tweeddale's apparent lack of musical aptitude, Pennecuik had argued that, "Music is so great a stranger to their temper, that you shall hardly light upon one amongst six, that can distinguish one tune from another; yet those of them that hit upon the vein, may match with the skillfullest" (Pennecuik, 1815: 95). Echoing Martin, Pennecuik considered the ability to "distinguish one tune from another" to be a reliable measure of musicality. Nelson's 1859 guidebook cited Pennecuik's observation as evidence that the area continued to be a wasteland in terms of musical performance:

The pastoral life is sung in old ballads, and by modern poets down to Fergusson, as if it were the only life of Tweeddale and the Forest, [...] but it no longer possesses the Arcadian character, having imbibed much of the spirit of modern enterprise, and even lost its fondness for song (Nelson, 1859: 147).

In an expression of the anti-modern aesthetic, Nelson attributed the peoples' purported loss of musical aptitude to the advances of industrialisation and modernisation. Value judgements such as this, however, neglect to acknowledge that it is "modern enterprise" which has permitted the widespread dissemination of the area's balladry, and the publication of guidebooks such as Nelson's.

8. Ballad Tourism in the Highlands

By contrast, the notes in Pennecuik's (1815) *Description of Tweeddale* echo Martin, Stoddart and MacCulloch's respective descriptions of the supposed innate musicality of the Highlanders: "In the West Highlands, every thing unusual has a long and often romantic story attached to it; and a song is always ready, to relieve from vacuity, loneliness, or fatigue in the Highlander himself" (Pennecuik, 1815: 137).¹⁷ Such observations differ sharply from Pennecuik's aforementioned description of the inhabitants of Tweeddale, with their reputed lack of musical skill. It is apparent, however, that whilst guides to the borderland were peppered with folksong and ballad references, elsewhere in Scotland this was generally not the case. Despite repeatedly promoting the supposed inherent musicality of the Highlanders, the travel literature represented the Scottish Highlands as a land almost devoid of musical repertoire.

No sites in the West Highlands were recommended due to their ballad connections, despite the travel literature's insistence that "we must unavoidably consider the

¹⁷ Notes written by Captain Armstrong, 1775.

Highlanders as a musical people" (MacCulloch, 1824, vol.2: 398). This juxtaposition of the musicality of the Highlanders, together with their apparent lack of musical repertoire, may appear initially to be somewhat contradictory. Indeed, the juxtaposition of Tweeddale's apparently rich musical repertoire together with its seeming dearth of musical talent appears equally inconsistent. For the travel literature of the nineteenth century, however, it was entirely possible for a region to be a great repository of folksong, yet for it to be entirely silent in terms of music-making. Indeed, the travel literature intentionally portrayed musical repertoire and musical aptitude as inversely related to each other. A surfeit of balladry and a lack of musical aptitude functioned as two mutually-supporting constructs, which together served the ideological purpose of silencing the music. Ballads remained enticing because they were regarded as literary relics of a musical past: to allude to their contemporary performance was therefore to destroy their status as emblems of a vanished past. It was accordingly in the ideological and commercial interests of travel writers to represent Scotland as being devoid of musical performances. This could be achieved either by denigrating the musical talents of the people in question, or by alluding to their lack of musical heritage: hence MacCulloch's aforementioned claim in regard to the West Highlands that "very little music is to be heard in this country" (Ibid.).

The Central Highlands fared little better, with only two sites in Perthshire receiving mention due to their ballad associations. Firstly, the stately home of Ballechin, near the banks of the River Tay, received occasional recommendations due to its ballad connections. *The Steam-Boat Companion and Stranger's Guide* (Anon., 1825b), for example, pointed readers towards the house, noting that it was the scene of the murder of Sir James Ross at the hands of Sir John de Graham, "as sung in the pathetic old ballad" (Anon.: 1825b: 201). The ballad in question is *Sir James the Rose* (Ch.213), an item published in David Herd's 1776 *Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads etc.* (Herd, 1869, vol.1: 30).

More popular in this regard, however, was the area surrounding Methven in Perthshire, with its associations with the ballad, *Bessy Bell and Mary Gray* (Ch.201). Sarah Murray's 1803 guide to *The Beauties of Scotland* incorporated a visit to the grave of Bessy Bell and Mary Gray, and cited two lines of "the old Scotch ballad [... which] gives the history of two affectionate faithful friends" (Murray, 1982: 45). In 1807, Sir John Carr similarly extolled the virtues of the journey towards Methven, advising the "romantic wanderer" to visit the grave of Bessy Bell and Mary Gray, "so celebrated in Scottish song" (Carr, 1809: 264). Carr's description of this particular ballad as a song is somewhat striking for, as has been demonstrated, most travel writers laboured under the misconception that balladry was simply an ancient form of poetry. In this case, however, knowledge of the ballad's musical associations can be attributed to its publication in Johnson's compendium of Scottish folksongs, *The Scots Musical Museum*.

9. Greig and Duncan: The North East

That the Scottish borderland was the focus for the ballad tourists of the nineteenth century may appear initially somewhat surprising given that contemporary wisdom instructs that the North East is home to the majority of Scotland's "muckle sangs". In the nineteenth century, however, there was no North East equivalent to Scott's collection. Indeed, in his *Remarks on Popular Poetry*, first published in 1830, Scott described Aberdeenshire as "full [...] of minstrel relics", yet observed that its balladry had been "comparatively little attended to" (Scott, 1931: 527). As Aberdeenshire's folksong had not been chronicled to any significant extent, music and ballad references rarely featured in the region's travel literature.

The only notable exception in this regard is Drum Castle, which achieved some renown in the tourist literature due to its associations with "gude Sir Alexander Irvine", a noted figure in balladry. Francis Douglas's (1826) *General Description of the East Coast of Scotland*, first published in 1782, informed readers that "this laird of Drum is very respectfully mentioned in the old popular ballad of the battle of Harlaw, stanza 28" (Douglas, 1826: 266). *Oliver and Boyd's Scottish Tourist* (1860) similarly recounted the tale of Sir

Alexander Irvine's death at the Battle of Harlaw, and cited a verse taken from "the old ballad of the battle". In discussing the Laird of Drum, David Logie (1894: 120) also cited a stanza from "the popular ballad of the battle of Harlaw", noting that it "records at once his gallantry and the high respect with which his countrymen regarded him". Such travel literature assumed readers' familiarity with *The Battle of Harlaw* (Ch.163), for it had been published in Herd's (1776) collection, *Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads &c.*

It was not until the early twentieth century, however, that guidebooks in the North East began to promote the area's musical associations to any great extent. Increasing awareness of the region's balladry at this time can in part be attributed to the publication of Francis James Child's canonical collection, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads (ESPB)*, which appeared in five volumes between 1882 and 1898. 91 of the 305 ballads given to Child in manuscript form were from Aberdeenshire: this predominance helped to establish the North East's reputation as the source of the finest Child balladry.

Of even greater significance in this regard is the collecting work of Gavin Greig and the Reverend James Bruce Duncan. In 1899, prior to commencing their efforts to chronicle the folksong of the North East, Greig proclaimed that:

we in Buchan are not a lyric lot, and cannot show many triumphs in the domain of song that is, always, as compared with Scotland south of the Grampians. [...] And not only is our song-production limited in quality; it is also less intense in its emotional character than the lyric utterances of our southern bards (Greig, 2000: 14).

Greig's initially dismal view of the richness of the region's musical heritage was rapidly to be revised, however. In the first decade of the twentieth century Greig and Duncan collected over 3000 songs, texts and tunes in the North East. The first sizeable collection of these endeavours was not published until 1925, following the deaths of Greig (in 1914) and Duncan (in 1917). The ballad scholar William Walker published this initial collection

as *Last Leaves of Traditional Ballads and Ballad Airs Collected in Aberdeenshire by the late Gavin Greig*, a title which again reveals an antiquarian concern with treating songs as historical relics to be saved from extinction. This particular anthology featured only Child ballads, for Walker had assisted Child's collecting efforts and remained convinced that a ballad's inclusion in the *ESPB* was a guarantee of its value (Olson, 2002: 544). It should be noted, however, that Walker's highly selective approach to the publication of folksong was entirely contrary to Greig's own views.¹⁸

Walker's bias towards Child balladry exemplifies McKay's observation that "Child's legacy was an exaggerated tendency among ballad collectors and others to equate change with corruption, in pursuit of the *authentic* and the *original*" (McKay, 1994: 18; emphasis in original). For followers of Child, authenticity was equated with historical pedigree: modern songs were inauthentic, and only traditional ballads could be genuine. Assessments of authenticity, moreover, were based upon textual considerations: as Neil Rosenberg (1993: 11) argues, "researchers drew conclusions about authenticity on the basis of what could be seen on the written or printed page: meter, rhyme, mode, scale, theme".

By contrast, Greig and Duncan rejected such regimented systems of collection and evaluation. They collected everything sung by the folk, not simply ancient balladry. They also differed from earlier collectors in that they published song melodies: as Duncan claimed, "Our first interest is in the airs" (Campbell, 2002: 447). They dismissed the practices of earlier collectors such as David Herd and Peter Buchan who documented ballad texts without recording their respective tunes: speaking specifically of Child's collection, Duncan noted that "it is very strange how utterly [the ballads] have been divorced from their music" (Ibid.: 448). They further recognised the importance of collecting multiple variants of particular songs, and presenting them without amendments. Unlike Child, they collected directly from informants. Moreover, unlike Scott, Greig and

¹⁸ Robert Thomson (2004: 207) claims that "Greig was ill served by *Last Leaves*", as his desire to have all the material he collected be made public was ignored, as was his insistence on the importance of publishing texts and tunes together.

Duncan attributed the items they collected to their respective informants. The folk were no longer nameless.

Although the first of the eight volumes of the entire *Greig-Duncan Folk Song Collection* did not appear until 1981, the fruits of Greig and Duncan's collecting efforts appeared initially in Greig's weekly column in *The Buchan Observer*. In the years immediately following the songs' initial publication in the newspaper, commercial guidebooks began to trade upon the North East's association with Child balladry. In 1915, for example, the Great North of Scotland Railway (1915a: 67) advocated a visit to the grave of the heroine of "the pathetic ballad, 'Mill o' Tiftie's Annie'" (Ch.233), near Fyvie. It similarly proclaimed Towie Castle to be of interest, due to its associations with the ballad *Edom o'Gordon* (Ch.178). The Great North of Scotland Railway's (1915b) *The Three Rivers Tour* guidebook also publicised Towie Castle for the very same reason, but further noted that the actual location of the ballad was the matter of some dubiety: "Corgarff Castle contests with Towie the repute of being the stronghold in which, in 1551, Sir Adam Gordon burned the wife of Alexander Forbes with her children and household, as narrated in the ballad" (1915b: 11).

The latter of these two publications marketed the area's ballad associations particularly prominently. It proclaimed the area to be "crammed with legend and romance" (Great North of Scotland Railway, 1915b: 13), an observation which would appear equally at home in nineteenth century guidebooks to the borderland. Musical references were repeatedly cited as evidence of the region's historic interest. The Kirk of Tulloch, for example, was promoted as the scene where "a madness seized the people, and to the excited strains of the cobbler's fiddle they improvised the famous Reel o' Tulloch" (Ibid.: 6). Nevertheless, it was largely ballad references upon which the guidebook was most reliant. Pitmedden was deemed classic because it "was the seat of that 'Bonnie John Seaton' of ballad fame" (Ibid.: 9). Similarly, it announced that "Drum Castle and Crathes Castle, Leys and Aboyne, have each their quaint old-world love-romance enshrined in

song" (Ibid.: 5).¹⁹ Also identified as worthy of note is the village of Glenkindie, which "gives name to one of the most romantic Scottish ballads" (Great North of Scotland Railway, 1915b: 10). Here the connection is somewhat more tenuous, however: the ballad to which the guidebook refers is a variant of the English ballad, *Glasgerion* (Ch.67), the tale of a Welsh harper who seduces the king's daughter. There is thus no evidence to suggest that the ballad's events happened in this location. This mere toponymical association was nevertheless evidently sufficient to render the village classic.

10. Musical Identities in the Twentieth Century

Touring Scotland for its song associations reached its apotheosis in the years immediately preceding the First World War. The travel literature's inherent tendency to self-reference ensured that, by the inter-war period, certain of the musical identities discussed here had become firmly established. The Yarrow Valley was the "land of minstrelsy", Ayrshire was the Land o' Burns, and the West Highlands were home to the bagpipes, the harp and Gaelic song. Indeed, the statement from Edwin Muir which opened this chapter exemplifies the degree to which these identities had become entrenched in the travel literature. Muir's description of the poetic sophistication and elegance of Gaelic song echoes many nineteenth century travel writers, as does his equation of the border with traditional balladry. His comment on the Mearns' reputation for balladry, meanwhile, is a reference to a musical identity of more recent construction.

Muir's observations on the rustic, bawdy nature of Dumfriesshire folksong are more intriguing, however, for the preceding discussion demonstrated that, during the nineteenth century, musically-inclined visitors to Dumfriesshire were directed to sites associated with riding ballads and the songs of Burns. As Muir's observations suggest, in the early twentieth century the romantic aspect of Dumfriesshire's song heritage achieved a higher profile in the travel literature, with the love songs of Burns and the ballad *Fair Helen of Kirconnell* (Scott, 1931: 383-385) being cited as evidence of the region's romantic nature.

¹⁹ The ballads in question are *The Laird of Drum* (Ch.236), *Baron o Leys* (Ch.241) and *The Earl of Aboyne* (Ch.235).

With regard to the latter ballad, for example, Bogg (1898: 322) encouraged his readers to visit “a beautiful nook of ballad land”, namely, Kirkconnel Churchyard, the site at which the eponymous fair Helen was purported to have been killed.

For many travellers, the song which provided conclusive proof of the region’s romantic credentials was Lady John Scott’s (1810-1900) *Annie Laurie*. Many writers commented on its international appeal, with Thomson (1930: 106), for example, terming it “the world’s sweetest love song” and H.V. Morton (1948: 16) suggesting that it is “the most famous personal love song in the world”.²⁰ Accounts left by twentieth-century visitors to the region often reveal a desire to pay a musical pilgrimage to the “Maxwelton” which is referred to in its first line (see Appendix 2.2). “Maxwelton” refers to Maxwellton House, near the Dumfriesshire village of Moniaive, where Annie Laurie was born in 1682 (Fig. 2.4). Many travellers who visited the house sought out the braes of the song, invariably anticipating that they would be as “bonnie” as the song proclaims. Upon reaching Maxwellton House, M’Carter (1947: 25) observed that “All around us are the braes of the famous song [...]. Bonnie indeed they are”.

A common mistake made by travellers, however, was to assume that the song actually referred to the Maxwelltown area of Dumfries. Invariably, this did not deter them from seeking to gaze upon the braes of which the song boasts. Edwin Muir was particularly notable for making this mistake in his 1935 tour of Scotland, for upon arrival in Dumfries he announced that Annie Laurie’s braes were “covered with tasteless council houses” (Muir, 1979: 69). That Muir spoke of this song in most derogatory terms, yet still actively sought out the place to which it referred, is indicative of the potency which songs have historically possessed in directing the tourist gaze.

²⁰ In 1947 a contributor to the *Dumfries and Galloway News Review* commented on the worldwide enthusiasm for the song, noting that most Americans in particular “have a strong and enduring interest in the song about Maxwellton Braes” (Irving, 1947: 26). Such was American fascination with the song that in Los Angeles a replica was built of Glencairn Church, the church in Dumfriesshire in which Annie Laurie worshipped as a girl (Ibid.; Forest Lawn website, 2004).



Fig. 2.4: Maxwellton House, near Moniaive.

The musical identities associated with particular places are therefore neither static nor immutable. Dumfriesshire, most notably, was patently an attractive destination for musically-inclined visitors, yet it never retained one distinct musical identity. Although Dumfriesshire shared with Ayrshire the repute of having been home to Burns, it was the latter which became known as the “Land o’ Burns”. Similarly, although many of the items in Scott’s *Minstrelsy* are of Dumfriesshire origin, the travel literature portrayed the neighbouring border counties (and the Yarrow Valley in particular) as the heartland of Scottish balladry. Dumfriesshire’s musical image was arguably further muddied when it began to trade on the romantic associations of its love songs in the twentieth century. A region which was known for its Burns connections, together with its heritage of riding ballads and love songs, was unlikely to achieve an individual, stable, musical identity.

The musical identity of the North East of Scotland was similarly in a state of flux in the first decades of the twentieth century. Aside from the occasional reference to the ballad *The Battle of Harlaw*, the region’s musical heritage had been rarely alluded to in the travel literature of the nineteenth century. By 1915, however, the Great North of Scotland

Railway guide declared the Dee Valley to be “the Ballad Country of the North of Scotland” (1915b: 5). Significantly, it did not declare the area to be the “Ballad Country of the whole of Scotland”, although this is arguably how the North East is considered today, its reputation in this regard having been most emphatically established by Buchan’s (1972) *The Ballad and the Folk*, which proclaimed the North East to be the “most fertile area” of balladry in Scotland.

The manner in which the North East superseded the borderland as the centre of Scottish balladry highlights the role of mediation in constructing musical identities. Although terms such as “North East balladry” or “Border balladry” denote folk music canons, it is apparent that these canons do not exist independently of human agency. The musical repertoires and identities of regions are cultural constructs; their content and nature are determined by the processes of selection and interpretation involved in collecting and editing. If not subjected to chronicling, publication, dissemination or performance, a region’s musical traditions lack a public face. Equally, as Henderson (1980b: 74) argues, the fact that a folksong is published in a collection is no indication that it has ever been sung by the “folk”.

Although musically-inspired tourism reached its apotheosis in the years preceding World War One, many Scottish destinations suffered a downturn in tourism business during the war years (Durie, 2003: 171-191). Despite the buoyancy of the 1920s tourism economy, the Depression of the 1930s damaged domestic and international tourism to Scotland (Ibid.: 196). As a result, the guidebook market became less lucrative, and the production of commercial guides declined substantially, although authors such as Cuthbertson (1938) and Morton (1933) continued to produce travel accounts of Scotland.

By the mid-twentieth century, publishing houses no longer dominated the market in the publication of destination guidebooks: rather, they were increasingly being produced for tourism purposes by local councils and trade associations. From the 1950s onwards, these guides featured fewer and fewer musical references. The 1955 *Official Guide to*

the County of Dumfries, for example, invited readers to explore the districts of Eskdale and Liddesdale, “made famous in border minstrelsy” (County Council of Dumfriesshire, 1955: 53), yet neglected to mention any particular ballads. The 1962 edition, by contrast, contained no musical references: it recommended Caerlaverock Castle and Kirkconnel Churchyard (County Council of Dumfriesshire, 1962: 31, 51), yet not for their associations with the erstwhile oft-cited ballads

Thus, although folksong had achieved its highest profile in the travel literature at the turn of the century, by the 1950s such references were on the wane. This is not to suggest, however, that the profile of folksongs was declining. On the contrary, the 1950s and 1960s were the era of the Scottish folk revival, a movement which heightened the profile of Scottish traditional music in general, and folksong in particular. Indeed, it is argued here that the declining representation of traditional music in 1950s travel literature can be attributed to the folk revival itself, and the wholesale changes it was effecting upon the representation of Scotland’s traditional music. From this point onwards, songs were no longer represented as inert literary texts, but as part of a vibrant tradition of performance. The development of this process shall be explored in the following chapter.

11. Conclusions

The preceding discussion has demonstrated that representation of a musical tradition necessarily entails mediation of that tradition. In the period under discussion, the “folk” themselves did not have the opportunity to present their music to Scotland’s tourist audience. Rather, it was represented (and hence mediated) by those with access to the means of publishing production: antiquarians, song collectors, travel writers and guidebook publishers. Prior to and during the Romantic era the public representation of Scottish folk music was the preserve of cultural entrepreneurs: namely, song collectors who chronicled Scotland’s folk music repertoire, and travellers who produced accounts of their musical experiences in Scotland. From the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards, economic entrepreneurs, such as publishing houses, began to capitalise upon the Romantic enthusiasm for folk traditions, harnessing folksong not only to enhance the

popularity of their books, but also to generate tourism to the destinations which they featured.

The mediation practised by these cultural and economic entrepreneurs had several impacts upon the tourist representation of Scotland's folk music. The most notable of these impacts was the manner in which the music was silenced. Informed by the Romantic tendency to revere and idealise the folk's ancient past, early nineteenth century travellers consistently portrayed folk music as a final vestige of a long-lost golden age. For Romantic tourists, the genuine essence of folk music was that which had disappeared or was dying. Accordingly, travellers such as Stoddart, Carr and MacCulloch described the beauty of instruments and songs which they never heard, and denigrated those which they did (the bagpipes are most notable in this regard). From the Romantic perspective, folk music represented the cultural core of the nation because it was presumed to be a relic of archaic folk practices. Music which could be heard disproved this supposition and therefore often disappointed. It is for this reason that travel writers silenced Scotland's folk music: only music which was entirely absent could satisfy touristic desire for the archaic.

Scotland's musical repertoire was treated in a similar fashion throughout the nineteenth century. Following the examples of Percy and Scott, both of whom published ballad texts without their respective melodies, the travel literature represented folksongs and ballads as archaic literary texts rather than as part of a performance genre. Guidebooks repeatedly alluded to the ancient origins of the ballads, thereby establishing their status as historical artefacts. In Marxist terms, the travel literature reified folk music, reducing it to the status of a mere object.

The mediation practised by song collectors and travel writers ensured not only the fossilisation of music, but also the silencing of the "folk". The regional musical identities promoted in the travel literature were bourgeois constructs, constructed by cultural entrepreneurs and widely disseminated by travel writers. Although folk music

practitioners provided collectors such as Burns and Scott with much of their source material, they did not benefit from its commodification. The power imbalances inherent in these relationships were further exacerbated in the tourism literature, which rendered sites classic due to their associations with collectors, rather than singers, of folksong.

The imitative nature of the travel literature was the key factor which enabled the ossification of the music and the silencing of the folk. Travel writers' propensity to repeat one another led to the widespread dissemination of some misinformation regarding particular musical forms. In particular, it ensured the propagation of the notion that ballads were archaic poems rather than contemporary songs. It similarly permitted the promulgation of the "minstrel-poet" concept, and the related notion that there existed an original (*ur-*) ballad, which had textual authority. The travel literature ensured that these notions gained credence through the power of repetition.

The imitation inherent in the Scottish tour literature also enabled the construction of the tourist gaze. The tourism economies of classic sites profited from their association with particular songs and ballads, and guidebooks made certain that visitors viewed these scenes in the terms expressed by both the songs and their collectors. This referential tendency ensured that travel writers romanticised the lawless actions documented in the riding ballads, and described sites of battles and bloodshed in Scott's romantic terms. In addition, the commercial imperative to classicise sites led to the development of invented traditions (such as those generated regarding *Scots Wha Hae*). As a result, visitors were often encouraged to view certain sites through the lens of songs to which they had questionable or specious connections.

This thesis argues that representations of Scotland's traditional music have historically been negotiated by the concept of authenticity. As will become evident, authenticity is an unstable and fluid concept, interpretations of which have varied from generation to generation, and according to the agents promoting the music. In the period under discussion here, cultural entrepreneurs exhibited a particularly essentialist concern with

authenticity. In particular, the editorial practices of collectors including Percy and Scott were dedicated towards recovering the “original” essences of ancient minstrels’ compositions. By contrast, authenticity was of little concern to economic entrepreneurs: it is apparent that guidebook authors did not use historical verisimilitude as a critical standard, for they variously marketed spurious folksong associations and “imitation ballads”. There is no indication what, if anything, the concept meant to the folk themselves, for until the 1950s, the practitioners of Scotland’s musical traditions were erased from the tourism literature. As the following chapter demonstrates, however, this situation changed with the advent of the Scottish folk revival. This movement led to the promotion of a new conception of musical authenticity, one which was defined by practitioners of the tradition.

Chapter Three: Folk Festivals, Tourism and Programming

1. Introduction

Last year the Edinburgh People's Festival put on a folk-song ceilidh which was considered by eminent foreign critics and folklorists to be an entirely new departure. It rigorously excluded all concert-hall bowdlerisation of folk song, and invited as participants only *the best of natural folk singers*. The entire ceilidh was recorded by Alan Lomax [...] It is necessary [...] to show up and denounce the debasers of the tradition, the "beauticians" and "morticians" of Scottish folk-song, because these gentry are strongly entrenched in many cultural organisations. [...] we are resolved to give the "improvers" no quarter. Last year's ceilidh showed conclusively that *people prefer the real thing* if only they get a chance of hearing it (Henderson, 1967: 27; emphasis added).

This chapter considers the relationship between tourism in Scotland and the folk festival scene, of which the ceilidh described above was an important precursor. This extract, written by Hamish Henderson, is taken from the programme of the 1952 Edinburgh People's Festival. The 1951 ceilidh which Henderson discusses was founded in an effort to revitalise the Scottish folk music tradition, and counter the commodification and misrepresentation which hitherto had been practised by collectors from outwith the tradition. It will be argued here that this ceilidh in particular, and the folk revival from which it emerged, caused a fundamental displacement of power in the relationship between traditional music and Scottish tourism. Firstly, it marked the point at which touristic representations of traditional music ceased to be concentrated within the forum of travel writing, and extended into the realm of performance. Secondly, the ceilidh offered many attendees their first opportunity to hear traditional songs and ballads which had been unmediated by the editorial efforts of "improvers". Thirdly, as Henderson's

reference to “the real thing” indicates, this event marked a paradigmatic shift in conceptions of musical authenticity. Together, the People’s Festival ceilidhs, and the folk music festivals which followed them, allowed practitioners to reclaim ownership over the representation of their musical tradition.²¹

From the late 1970s onwards, however, economic entrepreneurs sought to capitalise upon the tourism potential of such events, and accordingly became involved in their representation and organisation. It is the intention here, therefore, to offer an insight into the diversity of actors involved in the promotion of Scottish folk festivals, and analyse the manner in which they have mediated the representation of Scotland’s musical traditions. More specifically, this chapter will explore how the respective objectives, ideological stances and motivations of practitioners and economic entrepreneurs manifest themselves in relation to the musical programming of such festivals.

2. Traditional Music and Song Association Festivals

The origins of the folk music festival movement can be traced to the Scottish folk revival of the 1950s and, in particular, the ceilidh which was held as part of the first Edinburgh People’s Festival in 1951. The People’s Festival was held under the auspices of the Edinburgh Labour Festival Committee, an organisation set up in 1951 and supported by both the Labour Party and the trade union movement (Henderson, 1992: 16). Underwritten by a direct socialist purpose, the People’s Festivals were designed to ensure that working class culture was represented within the Edinburgh International Festival, which the Labour Festival Committee viewed as elitist, with its “influx of tourists and culture-vultures” (MacNaughton, 1980: 183).

²¹ Writers including Falassi (1987), MacAloon (1984) and Stoeltje (1992) provide comprehensive definitions and discussions of the term “festival”. For the purpose of this discussion, a “folk festival” will be considered a musical event which takes place on two or more consecutive days, and has a programme dominated by folk and traditional music, consisting of any combination of concerts, competitions, ceilidhs, sessions, workshops, and/or lectures.

The ceilidh which was held as part of the first People's Festival was organised by Hamish Henderson, a figure who straddles both the "practitioner" and "cultural entrepreneur" categories. He described the ceilidh as an attempt "to restore folk-song to the ordinary people of Scotland" (Henderson, 1967: 27). It was attended by an "enthusiastic audience of predominately young folk" (Henderson, 1995: vi), and served as a means of introducing urban Scots to the music of travelling Scots and other tradition bearers. As David Francis (2002) explains, "that was the first time for a lot of urban people in Scotland that they'd ever heard the music of people like Flora MacNeill and Willie Matheson from the North East, and Jeannie Robertson as well". The People's Festivals therefore provided a public forum in which source singers (i.e., those who had learned their traditional music repertoire through oral transmission in their respective families or communities) could be brought to the listening public.

Henderson (1992: 17) emphasises that those who performed at the ceilidh were "authentic" singers. Their songs had been learnt in the time-honoured fashion of oral transmission and accordingly were not tainted by the improvements and amendments which had hitherto afflicted ballads in certain song collections. This event therefore marked a radical rupture in discursive formations of authenticity. The criteria for determining what constituted "true" Scottish folk music were no longer predicated on texts and lyrics, but on the performers themselves.

Not coincidentally, Henderson's definition of authenticity bore striking similarities to that produced by the American folklorist Alan Lomax, who attended and recorded the first People's Ceilidh in 1951. Benjamin Filene's (2000) enlightening study of public memory and the American folk revival analyses the manner in which Lomax, and his father John, established authenticity as a critical standard for the evaluation of folksingers. Their "cult of authenticity" (Filene, 2000: 49) stipulated that "true" folksingers were non-commercial and emotive, that they had acquired their repertory of indigenous material through oral transmission, and that they were part of a vibrant, contemporary tradition.

The influence of the Lomaxes's conception of authenticity cannot be overstated: indeed, Henderson (1980a: 14) later confirmed that his fieldwork with Lomax had convinced him of the necessity of placing "examples of authentic native singing-styles [...] within the reach of the young apprentice singers of the Revival". Moreover, like the Lomaxes, Henderson rejected Child and Sharp's notion that only fragments of folk culture survived in contemporary society: rather, he presented folksong as a vibrant, creative, living practice which remained central to everyday life. This he achieved through a performance format which privileged the (previously nameless) singers of folksongs over their collectors. Just as the "Lomaxes were the first to use "actual folk" to promote a coherent vision of America's folk music heritage" (Filene, 2000: 57), so too was Henderson the first song collector in Scotland to give a platform to the hitherto silenced "folk".

Henderson (1992: 9) later reflected on the import of the first People's Ceilidh, claiming that, "As it turned out, the first folk-song ceilidh run by the People's Festival was to be a landmark in the history of the 'folk' revival in Scotland, and its consequences are still with us". Indeed, this event fundamentally altered the nature of the relationship between traditional music and tourism, for it marked the point at which public representations of traditional music ceased to be the preserve of travel writers and song collectors, and were reclaimed by practitioners of the tradition itself. The audience changed too, for whilst cultural entrepreneurs and guidebook authors had targeted their respective wares at the literate classes, the ceilidhs were attended by young, urban, working class Scots. Moreover, although the People's Festivals were held only for three consecutive years, the cultural impact of the ceilidhs was immense.²² Although the People's Ceilidhs did not immediately lead to the formation of the Scottish folk festival movement, their ideological influence was apparent in those festivals which developed from the late 1960s onwards.

²² The People's Festivals were banned following "an outbreak of ludicrous McCarthyism in the Labour Party" (Henderson, 1992: 17)

In the years following the final People's Festival, a nascent folk festival scene emerged in the USA, which was soon mirrored on the opposite side of the Atlantic.²³ The first such event held in Scotland was the 1963 Aberdeen Folk Festival (Munro, 1996: 45). Organised by Aberdeen Folk Club, the festival was held annually during the final weekend in October. At the 1965 Aberdeen Folk Festival, the Federation of Scottish Folksong Clubs held a meeting, at which discussions took place regarding the inauguration of an annual folk festival at Blairgowrie and the founding of a body comparable to the English Folk Song and Dance Society (MacDougall, 1965: 22). Both objectives were successfully achieved, and the following year saw the establishment of the Traditional Music and Song Association (TMSA), a voluntary organisation devoted to promoting and preserving Scotland's traditional music and song (TMSA, 2003). Although a product of the folk revival, the TMSA was dedicated to maintaining Henderson's vision of providing performance opportunities for tradition bearers and for a number of years sidelined revival performers in favour of source singers (MacKinnon, 1993: 81). In 1966 the TMSA held its first folk music festival at Blairgowrie, which, according to Munro (1996: 102), was less an organised event than simply a natural extension of everyday musical activity in the region. During the fruit-picking season travellers and seasonal workers descended upon Blairgowrie, and the evenings were filled with story-telling, music and song around campfires and in pubs and fields. The TMSA's policy was therefore to take "the revival to the source" (Henderson, 1992: 2) and bring revival enthusiasts to the tradition bearers, rather than forcing traditional singers to go to revival clubs in the cities (MacNaughton, 1980: 193). The first Blairgowrie Festival therefore offered revivalists the opportunity to hear "authentic traditional singers such as Jane Turriff, Stanley Robertson, Betsy White and the veteran Border shepherd Willie Scott" (Henderson, 1992: 2).

Although clearly indebted to Henderson's original vision, the Blairgowrie Festival differed from the People's Ceilidhs in terms of the type of audience it attracted. Whereas the ceilidhs had been oriented towards audiences unfamiliar with the folk tradition, audiences

²³ The first Newport Folk Festival was held in 1959. After the 1960 event, the festival was suspended for two years and revived in 1963 (Cantwell, 1996: 296-298).

at this TMSA event were dominated by “practitioners and would-be practitioners” (Francis, 2002). Moreover, whilst the People’s Festivals had taken the singers to the audiences, the Blairgowrie Festival offered the opportunity for revivalists to hear, *in situ*, the songs of tradition bearers such as the Stewarts of Blair.

The first Blairgowrie Festival took the Irish *Fleadh Cheoil* as its model: it was a non-profit making venture, and guest performers accordingly did not receive fees.²⁴ The programme consisted of a series of officially organised concerts and ceilidhs, although from 1969 onwards the festival incorporated competitions into its programme, a development which has since become a standard feature of TMSA festivals elsewhere. The festival was held in Blairgowrie for a number of years, before moving to Kinross in 1971 (Munro, 1996: 102).

Subsequent years saw the founding of a number of regional branches of the TMSA, some of which attempted to organise festivals based on the Blairgowrie/Kinross model. In 1974, for example, there was an attempt to establish the first Western Regional TMSA festival: held in Cumbernauld, the event was poorly attended and as a result was not repeated in future years. Efforts to establish a North Eastern Regional Festival in 1976 were more successful, however: the Keith Festival, as it is otherwise known, was the first TMSA event to invite revivalists as guest artistes (SBB, 1984: 1), and has operated continually since its inception. In addition, throughout the 1970s and 1980s some other events, including the Orkney Folk Festival, the Highland Traditional Music Festival and the Newcastleton Traditional Music Festival, became affiliated to the TMSA. Appendix 3.1 provides details of those festivals organised by the TMSA.

3. Grassroots Festivals

From the 1960s onwards, folk music festivals were also being organised by voluntary committees of traditional music enthusiasts, many of whom were affiliated to particular

²⁴ *Fleadh Cheoil*: “A Festival of Music”. A festival of Irish traditional music, held annually since 1951 under the auspices of Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann.

folk clubs.²⁵ As noted previously, the first folk festival in Scotland was organised by Aberdeen Folk Club from 1963 onwards. The second of these “grassroots” festivals was established in 1968, when the Irvine Folk Club founded a folk festival which took place annually as part of Irvine’s historic Marymass Festival. Taking place over eight days, the Marymass Folk Festival became the longest folk festival in Scotland, a position which it held for some 11 years, until the establishment of the Edinburgh Folk Festival in 1979. Subsequent years saw the establishment of festivals elsewhere, including Inverness (1969), Thurso (1971), Perth (1972) and Girvan (1975), all of which were organised by their respective local folk clubs. Accordion and fiddle clubs similarly founded festivals in Newcastleton (1969) and Musselburgh (1975), while other festivals including the Shetland Folk Festival (1981) and the Orkney Folk Festival (1983) were founded by traditional music enthusiasts who were not affiliated to existing clubs. Readers are referred to Appendix 3.2 for a comprehensive list of “grassroots” folk festivals, and their respective affiliations.

In common with the TMSA events, most festivals organised by volunteer enthusiasts were designed to be a celebration of traditional music and an opportunity for musical exchange. As such, they were typically not intended as profit-making ventures. Festivals of this type were, however, somewhat more commercially orientated than their TMSA counterparts. Whereas performers at TMSA festivals did not receive remuneration for the efforts, artists who were booked to perform at grassroots festivals usually received fees (with higher fees paid to higher-profile performers). Any profits generated were reinvested in the festivals themselves. Such festivals were therefore in a financial position which allowed them to book bands for their respective concerts: groups inevitably commanded higher fees than individual singers and musicians, and therefore rarely received many engagements at folk clubs, for these had decidedly more limited budgets.

Moreover, as these festivals were not bound by the institutional arrangements and aesthetic ideology of the TMSA, they “pulled in all the various strands that contributed to

²⁵ See MacKinnon (1993) for discussion of the British folk club.

the revival" (Henderson, 1992: 2) and adopted a more liberal programming policy than the TMSA events. In particular, they did not restrict themselves to the promotion of only Scottish material, and invited guests from the rest of the UK and overseas. The Aberdeen Folk Festival, for example, booked American artists including Pete Seeger (1965) and Tom Paxton (1966).

Most folk clubs which organised festivals were cognisant of their respective events' tourism valencies, and scheduled them to capitalise upon their tourism-generating potential. The Stornoway folk club, for example, held its first folk festival in 1974, scheduling the event to coincide with the Glasgow Fair holiday, in anticipation of attracting "A mini-invasion of Glasgow Fair holidaymakers" (SBB, 1974a: 1). Furthermore, whereas the TMSA festivals were clustered in the summer months, grassroots folk festivals were often held outwith the tourism high seasons, as a means of extending their respective locations' tourist trade beyond the summer months. The Orkney Folk Festival, for example, was established in May, partly at the behest of the local tourist board, which emphasised the need to attract visitors during what was traditionally a slow time for tourism in Orkney (Orkney Folk Festival Society, 2003). So successful was the inaugural festival in generating off-season tourism that the Orkney Folk Festival Society was awarded a Certificate of Merit in the British Tourist Authority's annual "Come to Britain" awards (*Broadsheet*, 1984: 1).

4. Entrepreneurs: Tourism Folk Festivals

Thus, throughout the 1970s and 1980s folk festival organisers increasingly recognised the role their respective events could play in generating tourism. The increasing commercialisation of the folk festival scene reached new heights in 1978, with the founding of Carrbridge Ceilidh Week, the first folk festival to be organised specifically for economic and tourism purposes (see the festival flier in Appendix 3.4). The event was essentially instigated at the behest of private enterprise, as Sheila Douglas (2002) explains: "at one time it was run every year and it was really led by the local hoteliers because they thought it was a way of bringing people to Carrbridge". More specifically,

the festival was inaugurated by the village's community council as a means of extending the local area's tourist season into the third week of September. In addition, it was intended to create a distinct image for the village, and counter the feared downturn in tourism business which was anticipated to arise from the construction of a nearby by-pass (Getz, 1984: 90).

The first of these week-long festivals attracted over a hundred traditional musicians, the majority of whom agreed to perform for expenses only (*Strathspey and Badenoch Herald*, 1978). Indeed, Donald Getz (1991) notes that the community's efforts to use the festival as a means of extending the tourist season were highly successful: "It became the peak occupancy period of the year and generated substantial publicity and income for the village" (Getz, 1991: 8). In 1981 the festival generated profits of £1,800, which were invested in a number of community amenities, including the village hall and the golf course (Getz, 1984: 90). Thus, unlike those grassroots events which were organised by folk clubs and traditional music enthusiasts, Carrbridge Ceilidh Week was conceived of as a profit-making venture, one designed to generate revenue for the village itself, and stimulate tourism to the area. Indeed, the 1980 festival's advertising literature alluded to the socio-economic objectives underlying the festival, yet was careful to dissociate itself from overt commercialism, which would risk alienating its potential audience: "The week is not a wholly commercial enterprise – funds raised will assist the provision of improved facilities for the old people of the area as well as helping us to plan for next year" (Carrbridge Ceilidh Week, 1980). Although the event's profits were to be socially invested, it nonetheless remained consistent with the commodity form: the event was a product which could be bought and consumed for the purpose of generating capital.

The festival received funding from a variety of local, private sponsors, and for its first three years also received a grant from the Scottish Tourist Board (STB), a quango which

had been established under the 1969 Development of Tourism Act.²⁶ Section Four of the Act made central government funding available which the STB could use to provide financial assistance for tourism projects (Smith, 1998: 49). Carrbridge was the first of a number of folk festivals, including the Girvan Traditional Folk Festival, to receive grant funding under the STB's development remit.

The STB first used its development powers to instigate a folk festival in 1979, when it launched the Edinburgh Folk Festival. The festival was initiated in an attempt to attract visitors to Edinburgh in the "shoulder period" of March and April (Francis, 2002). It was intended to generate both international and domestic tourism, in addition to providing entertainment for residents of Edinburgh. One of the festival's progenitors, the then Promotions Officer at the STB, describes its purpose as follows: "the idea was to stimulate visits, not just from beyond Scotland, but also to get the Scottish market, and to some extent even people in Edinburgh, to visit the festival" (Sleigh, 2003). The festival was judged a success in all respects, attracting not only domestic visitors, but also tourists from Germany, the USA, Australia, Scandinavia and South Africa (Thomson, 1979: 3). Indeed, in 1980 the Edinburgh Folk Festival received a Special Commendation in the British Tourist Authority's "Come to Britain" awards (SBB, 1980: 1). John Barrow, co-editor of *Sandy Bell's Broadsheet*,²⁷ was appointed as a full-time consultant to the festival, and the event received £8,000 worth of funding in its first year (SBB, 1978: 1). STB involvement continued for the first three years of the festival, after which the organisation was handed to the festival committee, under the direction of John Barrow.

The STB's development remit was transferred to the Scottish Enterprise network in 1993, following a review of the support framework for tourism in Scotland (Smith, 1998: 49). Since that date local enterprise agencies, rather than tourist boards, have generally

²⁶ Prior to the Development of Tourism Act, tourism promotion was undertaken by town clerks or the publicity departments of municipal authorities. Generally regarded as a low-level task, little attention was paid to strategic development (Gold and Gold, 1995: 24).

²⁷ A traditional music bulletin, published fortnightly out of "Sandy Bell's", i.e. the Forrest Hill Bar in Edinburgh.

funded and organised individual folk festivals, as Appendix 3.3 demonstrates. Festivals such as Celtic Chaos (held annually in Skye) and The Land The Light The Locals (held annually in the Scottish Borders) can be described as economic entrepreneur-led, in that their respective local enterprise agencies provide the financial stimulus for their existence. Almost without exception, however, practitioners are employed to manage the artistic content of these festivals. Whilst, for example, Celtic Chaos is funded by Skye and Lochalsh Enterprise, its musical content is determined by Louise Mackenzie, a noted fiddler and tutor. Similarly, although the Both Sides of the Tweed Festival was instigated by the Scottish Borders Tourist Board (SBTB) and is funded by Scottish Enterprise Borders, it is Hector Christie, a traditional musician with ample festival organising experience, who is at the event's helm. Equally, practitioner-led festivals have attracted assistance from the economic entrepreneur sector. The current chairperson of Keith Festival is a folk music practitioner, but first became a member of the festival committee in 1976 as a representative of the local tourist board. Thus, the practitioner/ economic entrepreneur categories are not dichotomous but fluid, and individuals may occupy different categories simultaneously.

Indeed, the only festivals of this type which are managed by figures outwith the folk music tradition are the Portpatrick Folk Festival (until 2002), and Celtic Connections. The organiser of the former is an events officer, employed by the local authority to organise a number of activities in the village. The latter festival was founded in 1994, developed by the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall (GRCH)²⁸ in an attempt to fill a gap in its calendar during January, a traditionally quiet time of year. It is this commercial necessity to sell tickets which marks the festival's organisers as economic entrepreneurs, far removed from the participation level. The director of Celtic Connections is a GRCH employee, who admits to knowing little about traditional music: indeed, at the festival's inception, "It was an open secret that nobody in the hall booking the programme knew much about the traditional music scene" (Dawson Scott, 2002: 2). Celtic Connections does, however, "outsource"

²⁸ The GRCH is operated by "Glasgow Cultural Enterprises", an "arm's-length" company established by the city of Glasgow (Symon, 1998: 327).

certain elements of its concert programme to other organisations, for which musical (rather than commercial) objectives are paramount. Balnain House²⁹, for example, organised a series of educational workshops from the festival's second year onwards (Symon, 1998: 328).

Moreover, whilst local enterprise agencies have appointed paid directors for festivals such as Celtic Chaos, such waged staff are typically assisted and advised by a local committee of volunteers: as David Francis (2002) explains:

Even if on some occasions they'll have a paid director, he'll usually be under the direction of a community-based committee. Aberfeldy [Heart of Scotland Festival] would be a case in point. And that's actually another festival that was directly set up through the initiative of the local area tourist board. And they have a paid programmer and a local committee.

Portpatrick Folk Festival is organised on a similar basis. It was initially founded by the Stranraer Folk Club in 1996 simply because "we just decided we would quite like to have a festival" (Lewicka, 2002). The festival ran for two years, then lay dormant for another three, before being revived by the local authority, who were keen to capitalise upon its touristic potential. The festival is now operated by the Small Towns Initiative (funded by Scottish Enterprise Dumfries and Galloway), with advisory support from a village committee which includes a number of members of the original folk club.

5. Folk Festivals as Tourist Attractions

This overview of the players involved in the Scottish folk festival scene has demonstrated that, although the folk festival scene was initially practitioner-led, from 1978 onwards, hoteliers, tourist boards, local authorities, and enterprise agencies became involved in its

²⁹ "The Home of Highland Music": a traditional music resource, performance and tuition centre based in Inverness between 1993 and 2001.

development. Seeking to capitalise upon the economic and touristic appeal of folk festivals, economic entrepreneurs instigated new events and offered financial support to existing events. Thus, although the festival scene had initially offered practitioners the opportunity to present their music unmediated by the efforts of cultural or economic entrepreneurs, such opportunities became compromised as public and private sponsors established financial stakeholds in the majority of Scotland's folk festivals.

In addition, the involvement of an ever-widening variety of players ensured that the number of festivals taking place in Scotland during the summer months increased dramatically throughout the 1980s and 1990s: whilst just over a dozen took place in 1980 (Barrow, 1980: 203), by 1996 this figure had risen to around 60 (Munro, 1996: 7). As a result, individual events were forced to adopt various superlatives in order to distinguish themselves from their competitors. Thus, the Glenfarg Folk Feast was "guaranteed as the FIRST festival of 1990" (Scottish Folk Arts Group, 1990: 11), Shetland was "Britain's most Northerly folk festival" (Ibid., 13), while Keith was "the foremost festival of traditional music run by the TMSA" (Ibid.: 15). So diverse had the scene become that by 1990, the TMSA began to produce a festival calendar which offered comprehensive information on all Scotland's folk festivals, together with an abbreviated "tourist edition" (Ibid. 1990: 7).

In 1990 the STB conducted research into the tourism benefits generated by six Scottish folk festivals. It produced a report which concluded that tourists attending folk festivals in Scotland made an annual contribution of between £8-10 million to the economy. Tourists to folk festivals were calculated to spend some £40.80 per day during their visit, a figure which was significantly higher than the £29 per day spent by other British and overseas tourists to Scotland (Scottish Tourist Board, 1990: 10). The study therefore provided quantitative evidence of the economic benefits which folk festivals can generate for their respective destinations, yet offered little insight into why they are effective tourism generators.

From the economic entrepreneur's perspective, the folk festival's utility as a tourist attraction derives in large part from the commitment of its patrons. Scottish folk festival audiences are generally dominated by traditional music enthusiasts and practitioners (see for example, Scottish Tourist Board (1990) and Association of Festival Organisers (2003)), ensuring that they tend to attract many of the same attendees year after year. Bounded by their shared enthusiasm for traditional music, folk music audiences are geographically dispersed, yet willing to travel to participate in the opportunities for musical celebration offered by the folk festival scene. As Getz (1991: 7) observes, "special-interest" tourists such as music enthusiasts "potentially will attend events at any time of the year to satisfy their desire for special experiences. These target markets might be smaller but they are also more loyal and easily reached through targeted promotions".

The generation of repeat visits contributes towards the maximisation of visitor numbers, thus rendering the folk festival particularly attractive from a tourism perspective. Indeed, the former artistic director of the Girvan Traditional Folk Festival points to this particular aspect of the folk festival's commercial appeal:

My other big theory on tourism [...] is repeatability. With Girvan [Traditional Folk Festival], two German cyclists passed by in one of the early years, I can't remember [which], and so they've been coming for 20-odd years now, and almost every year bringing other people (Heywood, 2002a).

Heywood's anecdotal observations are supported by statistical evidence. The Association of Festival Organisers' (2003) *Report into the Impact of Folk Festivals on Cultural Tourism* established that 76% of attendees at folk festivals in England are repeat visitors: the report accordingly concluded that "once you attract a new visitor through a festival, most will keep coming back for many years" (Association of Festival Organisers, 2003: 5). The STB (1990) similarly established that 44% of audience members at Scottish folk festivals have attended the event in question in previous years. Festivals

outwith the UK reveal a similar pattern of attendance: Angus Gillespie notes specifically in relation to the American folk festival scene that “repeat visitors are the bread and butter for any festival” (Gillespie, 1987: 156).

The loyalty of the folk festival market ensures that such events can effectively combat the seasonality of the Scottish tourist industry. The Hebridean Celtic Festival, which has been held annually on the Isle of Lewis since 1996, was “designed, partly, with motives of cultural tourism in mind” (Symon, 2002: 206). By 1998 the festival was credited with extending the island’s tourist season by a week and was responsible for injecting over £250 000 into the local economy (Ibid: 201). Similarly, although the organisers of Celtic Connections claim that tourism concerns were not central to the event’s objectives, it has achieved great success in terms of combating seasonality, winning the STB’s Thistle Award for Low Season Tourism Development (Symon, 1998: 328). In 2001 the nineteen-day festival attracted over 80,000 attendances, and the expenditure of the festival’s visitors was estimated to be between £2.4 and £2.9 million (Dickie, 2002).

Tangentially related to the festival’s role as a tourist attraction is its ability to act as an image-maker for the destination in question. Given the culturally-defined nature of place (Smith, 1997: 510; Waterman, 1998a: 58), festivals can play a key role in forging place identities. Indeed, Prentice and Andersen (2003: 8) argue that “in Scotland, festivals have been integral to civic repositioning”. This is particularly true of Glasgow, where Celtic Connections, the 3-week long traditional music festival acts as the “flagship event of the city’s cultural calendar” (Symon, 1998: 325). According to the Greater Glasgow and Clyde Valley Tourist Board, the festival is instrumental in convincing tourists that Glasgow is a vibrant and culturally rich city: 91% of tourists attending the festival in 2001 expressed the view that Glasgow is a “leading city for music and the arts” (Dickie, 2002). Moreover, it enhances the city’s cultural life during what was traditionally a low season in Scottish tourism, and is estimated to inject around £2.9 million of tourist expenditure into the local economy. The festival is, claims Peter Symon (2002: 194), proof of “the usefulness of Celtic music for selling cities”.

6. Festival as Celebration, Festival as Commodity

Stanley Waterman elaborates upon the role which arts festivals may play in forging destination images, noting that "A successful festival is an important image-maker, highlighting latent tensions between festival as art and festival as enterprise" (Waterman, 1998b: 262). Waterman thus highlights the supposed conflict between festivals' artistic objectives and their tourism valencies; this has been a recurrent theme in the academic literature, as Pauline Greenhill (2001) notes. Discussing the nature of much research on festivals, Greenhill argues that "The often explicit assumption is that tourist events are spurious, inauthentic events, created not to engender a true experience of liminality and *communitas*, but to simulate it for fun and profit" (Greenhill, 2001: 9). As Greenhill suggests, such an attitude to tourist-oriented festivals incorporates a clear value judgement which deems "fun" to be of lesser social worth than "*communitas*".

Indeed, this attitude is encapsulated in the following statement from Getz, in which he expresses the concern that the adoption of commercial concerns threatens the "cultural authenticity" of festivals: "When festivals and other special events are consciously developed and promoted as tourist attractions, there is the risk that commercialisation will detract from celebration; that entertainment or spectacle will replace the inherent meanings of the celebrations" (Getz, 1998: 409). Getz's argument is problematic in that it presupposes that all festivals have some innate meaning beyond that of "entertainment or spectacle", an assumption which is somewhat misguided. There is, moreover, something of a value judgement inherent in the suggestion that "entertainment" is a quality of only limited cultural worth.

Nevertheless, a recurrent theme within the literature on festivals has been the extent to which the economic concerns of the tourism industry impact upon the celebration in question. Significant in this regard is Waterman's (1998b) discussion of the Kfar Blum festival in northern Israel. This annual festival was instigated in 1985 as a celebration of chamber music (Ibid: 254) and continued as such for almost ten years. The appointment

of a new artistic director, who wished to widen the musical scope of the event, led to a change in artistic direction. This change was welcomed by the Upper Galilee Regional Council, who were keen to harness the success of the festival for tourism purposes and accordingly wished for it to appeal to a wider audience. As Waterman (1998b: 261) recounts:

The prime concern of the Regional Council was in promoting regional tourism, and the commodification of the festival was an encouragement to pursue this interest. Well aware of the festival's success, they attempted to commandeer it to suit their own ends and give it new directions.

As new audiences were sought the musical content of the festival was altered, "and what had been an artistic celebration became a cultural commodity" (Waterman, 1998b: 253). These mediators' intervention in the festival's musical content had indeed transformed its very *raison d'être*: it was no longer simply a celebration of chamber music, but a musical event designed to attract visitors. Contrary to Waterman's assertion, however, this does not in itself constitute commodification. The festival was already a "cultural commodity" prior to the regional council's intervention: it was an event produced for, and consumed by, an audience dominated by groups of social elites. The audience composition may have changed, but the festival's status as a commodity did not. Thus, the broadening of the festival's musical scope, and the concomitant widening of its commercial appeal, was not indicative of commodification: rather, the Kfar Blum festival was subjected to the process of *commercialisation*. This can be understood as a form of popularisation, whereby the market position of the commodity is changed in order that it appeals to a wider audience.

Despite these reservations, Waterman's account provides a valuable insight into the contested position which arts festivals occupy in tourism promotion efforts. Waterman suggests that a festival's artistic objectives and its role as a tourist attraction and image-

maker may be fundamentally at variance with one another: "Today, promoting arts festivals is related to place promotion, and this encourages 'safe' art forms" (Waterman, 1998a: 54). The necessity to maximise the festival revenues, he suggests, causes festival programmers to gravitate towards the conventional rather than the artistically challenging.

Discussing Celtic music festivals in particular, Symon (2002) echoes Waterman's observations, arguing that: "Like most successful arts festivals, as Celtic music festivals take on commercial objectives they tend to become market followers rather than market leaders" (Symon, 2002: 195). The implication is that a focus on economic considerations inevitably results in musical and artistic values being compromised, as provocative musical forms are discarded in favour of those of a more pedestrian nature. According to Symon, the necessity for music festivals to succeed in financial terms often takes priority over their artistic content. The desire to break even may cause festival programmers to book popular crowd-pleasers, rather than take risks with less established acts. The result is that economic necessities take precedence over musical objectives.

Such discussions imply that the tourism valencies of festivals cause programmers to deviate from their original vision when selecting artists to perform. Bernadette Quinn (1996) develops this argument, asserting that if we are to assess the compatibility of music festivals and tourism, then it is first essential to determine the objectives of the festival in question. Festivals, she suggests, can be characterised as belonging to one of three distinct categories, depending on this particular criterion:

1. Artistically-led events, which seek to promote excellence in the arts. For such festivals, tourism is not a specific objective, but allows sufficient audience numbers to be generated to ensure the event's survival (1996: 391).
2. Events which seek to balance an artistic vision with the objective of increasing access to the arts. Such events typically target a local audience in the first instance, but evolve a tourism dimension over time (Ibid.: 392).

3. Festivals which are motivated largely by commercial objectives, designed either to benefit the festival organisation or the local tourism economy (Ibid.: 389).

Whilst Quinn's typology of music festivals is based upon a study of blues and opera festivals in Ireland, it has a certain degree of resonance for the Scottish folk festival scene. TMSA festivals are analogous to Quinn's "type 1" festivals, for as previously noted, such events strive to promote excellence in the Scottish traditional arts, and endeavour to evade the cash nexus. Whilst audiences who travel to attend TMSA festivals can indeed be defined as tourists, generating tourism is not an objective for such events. Secondly, those festivals which are organised by folk clubs and other voluntary committees of traditional musicians can be classed as "type 2" festivals, for they are somewhat wider in terms of aims, seeking to balance musical objectives with touristic concerns. Finally, festivals such as Carrbridge Ceilidh Week and Celtic Connections are comparable to Quinn's "type 3" festivals, the former being organised to financially benefit the village of Carrbridge, while the latter was instigated to generate revenue for the GRCH.

Quinn argues that the extent to which a festival successfully manages its artistic and touristic concerns is dependent upon its objectives: those which are artistically-led, she argues, are more successful in this regard, for they do not popularise their programming in order to appeal to a wider audience. Rather, it is the musical programming which takes precedence and it is this which determines the composition of the audience attracted. Commercially-oriented festivals, she argues, are far less successful in managing the competing demands of tourist objectives and artistic concerns. In such events, she claims, "the potential audience dictates the product" (Quinn, 1996: 392). The musical styles, programming, venues, and timing, for example, are all "determined by a perception of what would attract the greatest number of tourists" (Ibid.). Both the music itself, and the manner in which it is presented, are manipulated in order to conform to tourist demands.

An editorial in *The Living Tradition* in 1998 highlighted these concerns specifically in relation to the Scottish folk festival scene: "Is the festival scene in general going down hill? Some look to be concentrating more on filling pubs and attracting tourists than paying attention to the quality of the musical experience" (Heywood, 1998: 4). This statement suggests that, just as the Kfar Blum festival expanded its musical orientation in order to attract more patrons, so too are certain Scottish folk festivals compromising their "musical experience" in the search for tourist audiences. According to Quinn's logic, it is festivals with a greater tourism orientation which are likely to conform to tourist expectations in this manner.

However, whilst Quinn is correct to highlight the importance of the festival's objectives in relation to determining the compatibility of musical and touristic concerns it is necessary to refine this argument in light of the wide variety of actors involved in the promotion of any festival. It should not be assumed that each party shares the same vision for the festival in question. As Waterman's earlier example demonstrated, the regional tourism authority, and artistic director of the Kfar Blum festival had entirely different views regarding the commercial and musical direction of the festival. Thus, a variety of stakeholders may possess influence within each of Quinn's festival categories, leading to contested priorities and struggles over the festival's ownership. Power does not simply operate in a "top-down" manner; rather, it is diffuse and operates at many different levels. As a result, it is not necessarily the objectives of the festival organisers which will predominate.

7. TMSA Programming

Quinn (1996: 332) argues that "artistically-led" festivals are most successful in terms of balancing artistic, marketing and tourism concerns. TMSA festivals can be described in these terms, for they have never been promoted or organised for their tourism generating, or image-making, potential: the festivals' musical objectives are prioritised, and these determine the nature of the audience attracted. The programming policy of the TMSA festival is strongly ideological in nature, essentially devoted to cultural revitalisation. For

the earliest TMSA festivals this meant an exclusive programming policy, which permitted only source singers to be guest artistes, and admitted revivalists only as “apprentices” (Henderson, 1992: 2). As previously noted, the emergence of the People’s Ceilidhs and TMSA festivals marked a radical break in conceptions of authenticity: rejecting the amendments which collectors had inflicted upon ballad texts, the TMSA valued the individual re-shapings which were impressed upon folksongs during the process of oral transmission. Folksingers who had learnt their songs in this traditional manner were therefore deemed to be authentic.

For a tradition which ostensibly values participation (Frith, 1996: 46), such selectivity is inherently problematic for it introduces an implicit hierarchy which places greater value on source singers than those who have not acquired their musical repertoire through oral transmission. Although the Keith Festival did introduce revival performers (SBB, 1984: 1), like all TMSA festivals its programming remains restricted to the performance of only Scottish material. For some practitioners, this policy has been a source of discontent: the folksinger and broadcaster Archie Fisher, for example, argued specifically in relation to the Kinross Festival that: “I think it would be a good idea now to make it international. As it is, the ‘Scotland only’ conditions about entrance and material can be oppressively restrictive” (SBB, 1974b: 2). Thus, Fisher suggests that from a performer’s perspective this policy is unduly limiting in that it places confines on musical expression. Moreover, from a social perspective this policy is divisive, in that it discourages the participation of non-Scottish folk musicians.

Quinn would suggest that, as “type 1” festivals, TMSA events are highly unlikely to compromise their musical objectives in search of tourist audiences. Indeed, whilst their programming policy has attracted criticisms from high-profile performers such as Fisher, the TMSA festivals retain their exclusive focus on traditional Scottish material. However, whilst they seek to evade the cash nexus, TMSA events are not immune to their tourism valencies. One TMSA member argues that the organisation’s festivals are profoundly

egalitarian in ethos, yet admits that it is necessary to secure “big names” in order to attract audiences:

there's no stars. Certainly, there are some who are a great pull and a great attraction. I mean if you have Aly Bain and Phil Cunningham or something like that, they all want to get tickets for wherever they're appearing. [...] You do have some bigger names because you must. People that haven't been before, if they recognise their name[s], then they'll come along.

This statement thus contains an element of contradiction. Whilst promoting TMSA festivals' rhetoric of equality (“there's no stars”), it simultaneously alludes to the hierarchical status of performers such as Bain and Cunningham. In so doing it confirms that, whilst TMSA festivals are primarily designed to maintain the vibrancy of the Scottish folk tradition, they also conform to audience demands, inviting artists who are likely to attract a wide audience and new attendees. Although TMSA festivals are not profit-making ventures, they continue to be governed by commercial constraints, for their existence is threatened if they become loss-making ventures. Thus, despite their professed rejection of “star systems” and market-led programming, it is apparent that guests are invited not only according to their artistic merit, but also according to their commercial appeal. Unlike Quinn, however, the TMSA does not regard booking artists with wide commercial appeal, and promoting artistic excellence, as two mutually exclusive programming strategies.

8. Grassroots Programming

Since their earliest days, grassroots festivals have typically espoused a more liberal programming policy than their TMSA counterparts. For practitioners, festival programming is an articulation of personal taste, or ideological sentiment. With regard to the latter, some festivals have been devoted to promoting and preserving the music of their respective regions (e.g. The Highland Traditional Music Festival) or a particular

instrument (e.g. Fiddle 2003). Others, however, have often invited artists from both overseas and elsewhere in the UK to headline at their respective festival concerts. The American dulcimer performer, Walt Michael, for example, was booked to perform at both the Inverness Folk Festival (1982) and the Girvan Traditional Folk Festival (1982, 1984). Similarly, from 1974 onwards, the Marymass Folk Festival in Irvine adopted a programming policy directed towards international artists (SBB, 1974c: 1) and accordingly began to feature artists including Planxty (Ireland), Eugene Sands (Ireland) and An Trishell (Brittany). Adam McNaughtan (2003) argues that the international music content of these grassroots festivals was indicative of their more commercial orientation:

Steeleye Span would be at Inverness one year and Thurso the next. And obviously [...] they weren't especially Scottish [...]. But it was something that brought people from a long way away to come to that particular festival, because they had big name bands. So from that point of view, they were more commercial and more aimed at drawing [audiences].

Thus, according to McNaughtan (2003), at these festivals the musical services of high-profile performers were effectively treated as commodities which could be purchased by festival organisers in order to secure an audience for their particular event. The higher the professional status of the musician in question, the more effective they were as tourist attractions.

In noting the commercial appeal of performers from outwith Scotland, the intention is not to suggest that such festivals compromised their artistic integrity in the search for tourist audiences. For many organisers of these events, the decision to programme non-Scottish artists was less a strategy for attracting audiences than an artistic statement and a reaction against the exclusivity of TMSA programming policy. The former artistic director of the Girvan Traditional Folk Festival describes the event, which featured artists including the Irish group Planxty, as "a model of artistic quality" (Heywood, 2002b), with

programming decisions based on considerations of musical value rather than country of origin. A similar programming strategy was adopted by the Inverness Folk Festival: indeed, the presence of a relatively high number of English artists on its bill in 1975 caused Archie Fisher to jocularly label the event "The best English festival in Scotland" (MacClennan, 1975: 3). This comment prompted protests from the festival's organiser, who was keen to emphasise that criteria for booking artists were musical rather than nationalistic: "The festival is a musical event and the first prerogative, therefore, is to balance the bill musically, irrespective of nationalities" (Ibid: 3; underlining in original). In common with Heywood, he interpreted the festival's programming strategy as an artistic statement, designed to further musical excellence.

Such differing opinions regarding programming strategies highlight the illusive nature of the concept of "safe programming". As the preceding discussion regarding the Keith Festival demonstrates, Quinn's "type 1" festivals book artists of particular renown for both artistic and commercial reasons: as Francis (2002) confirms, "any festival, even the Edinburgh International Festival, puts on stuff like Wagner's Ring Cycle, both as an artistic statement but also because they know that however much it costs it's also a safe banker and allows them to put on the more obscure stuff as well". Francis thus acknowledges that although a performer or musical work possesses wide commercial appeal, this marketability does not negate their artistic worth. Contrary to the assumptions of Quinn (1996), Waterman (1998a) and Symon (2002), "artistically-led" festivals can achieve their artistic objectives through the programming of commercially successful artists.

The notion of safe programming is thus dependent upon the festival context and, in particular, the extent to which the festival adopts a commercial orientation. Independence from commercialism is a tenet greatly revered in the British folk scene (MacKinnon, 1993: 131), and practitioners accordingly endeavour to create music outwith capitalist modes of organisation. Non-profit making ventures, such as the TMSA festivals, are never accused of pedestrian programming, for their advertising discourse emphasises their ostensible

freedom from commercialism and dedication to musical revitalisation. The non-profit making nature of such events does not divorce them entirely from commercial concerns, however, for they remain under a financial obligation to attract sufficient audience numbers to break even. Programming decisions cannot therefore be entirely artistically-led, and are governed to some extent by commercial factors. It has become evident here that, despite their professed independence from the trappings of capitalism, TMSA festivals remain predisposed to engaging in programming which satisfies market demands.

Both within the academic literature and within the Scottish folk scene itself, accusations of safe programming are typically levelled at those festivals which are either partially or entirely devoted to attracting tourist audiences. It is assumed, for example, that there is the potential for grassroots festivals to compromise their artistic content in the search for tourist audiences. Similarly, because those festivals initiated by local authorities are primarily motivated by touristic and economic objectives, it is commonly assumed that they are devoid of musical objectives. For practitioners, the commercial orientation of such festivals directly opposes folk values: as a result, their programming is interpreted as a strategy to attract audiences, and is labelled "safe". Thus, in the context of the Scottish folk festival scene, accusations of safe programming reveal less about the artists invited to appear, than the economic orientation of the festival in question.

9. Entrepreneurial Programming

One of the earliest festivals to attract criticisms from practitioners for allegedly indulging in pedestrian programming was The Wilderness Festival of Music, which was instigated as a means of attracting visitors to the Ardfern Estate in Argyll. Although not specifically devoted to traditional music, it was advertised in *Sandy Bell's Broadsheet* prior to its launch in 1975. The editors praised the quality of its promotional literature, yet added the caveat that "it must be pointed out that at times the handout does read like a tourist brochure" (SBB, 1975: 2). The somewhat derogatory tone espoused here was also in evidence when the event's programme was the subject of discussion: the festival was

"taking no chances with its bill and has come up with a solidly commercial line-up which includes Alistair McDonald, The Laggan, Isla St Clair, Mike Whellans and many others" (ibid.). The festival's commercial orientation manifested itself in its programming, the editors suggested, with a selection of artists who would attract audiences rather than challenge any musical boundaries. Implicit within these observations are criticisms not of the artists *per se*, but of the festival's tourism-generating objectives (and possibly the feudal associations of its setting).

Whilst the concept of safe programming is patently problematic, many amongst the traditional music community subscribe to the notion that certain (entrepreneur-led) festivals simply cater to market demand when creating their respective line-ups. Amongst practitioners there is a significant amount of resistance to this approach and the resultant "star system" which it engenders. Some suggest, for example, that this commercial imperative to secure the services of popular musicians results in a homogenisation of the festival scene, with a handful of key performers topping the bills of various festivals throughout Scotland. As Heywood (2002a) explains, one venue in particular has become mired "in that same rut, where the only people they ever book is Aly [Bain] and Phil [Cunningham]. So Aly and Phil have become the new Andy Stewart". Thus, Heywood suggests that an aversion to financial risk and the concomitant desire to maximise revenue, leads venue promoters to book acts which are guaranteed to maximise audience numbers. For the performers, he suggests, this results in a ubiquity which is ultimately detrimental to their public profile for it causes them to be viewed by promoters as a commodity: a product which can be bought in order to sell tickets.

The programming strategy of Celtic Connections, in particular, has been the subject of criticisms given that its self-professed *raison d'être* is to "be open in January for fourteen nights when we would not have been open otherwise" (Symon, 1998: 328). The festival's programming policy is deliberately inclusive in nature, with the term "Celtic" being used to promote a wide variety of music styles, not necessarily bound to Scotland or the wider folk music tradition. The festival's director, Colin Hynd, alludes to the title's connotations

of inclusivity: "Celtic Connections, it's an umbrella term for presenting great music" (Hynd, 2003). Artists who have appeared under this Celtic umbrella include singer-songwriters such as Elvis Costello, Billy Bragg and James Taylor. For some practitioners, this inclusive style of programming is indicative of the event's commercial orientation, and is accordingly a matter of some derision. Norman Chalmers (2003) of the band Jock Tamson's Bairns, for example, bemoans the festival's perceived lack of dedication to the Scottish traditional arts:

You may hear some people, I'm one of them, who have a bit of a gripe that it doesn't really celebrate our national music, our traditional music too well. It concentrates too much on the glamorous end, the revivalists, the commercial purveyors of contemporary folk music, and it doesn't look to the roots of the tradition and how they need nurtured. [...] I really would like to see Celtic Connections, instead of cherishing the ladies, cherishing Scottish music (Chalmers, 2003).

Chalmers' final comments are a reference to the American folk group Cherish the Ladies, who played in the main auditorium of the GRCH nine times in the festival's first ten years. A combination of sold-out concerts and enthusiastic audience feedback ensures that the group are regularly invited back. For some commentators this is an example of safe programming, in that it is designed to fulfil economic objectives rather than challenge existing artistic boundaries: as Dewar (2003) argues in respect of Celtic Connections, "some artists are on every year because they pack the place out. So I think it's very commercially orientated". Indeed, GRCH has an economic obligation to fill the 2,475 seats in its main auditorium, and this, it should be noted, is a substantially larger venue than those used at other folk festivals throughout Scotland.

This is not to suggest, however, that Celtic Connections falls neatly into Quinn's category of "type 3 festivals", namely those which are motivated by economic considerations and which accordingly indulge in safe programming. As previously noted, the involvement of

other parties in festival programming may ensure that the objectives of the festival organisers do not necessarily predominate. Indeed, although Celtic Connections is essentially an economic entrepreneur-led festival, many aspects of its programme are managed by practitioners, for whom musical (rather than economic) considerations are paramount. From 1995 onwards, for example, educational workshops were organised by Balnain House and promoted by the festival (Symon, 1998: 328). A partnership programme with the TMSA has similarly resulted in the launch of The Tradition Bearer series which has taken place at The Piping Centre since 1999, featuring artists such as Karine Polwart (in 1999) and Maggie Macrae (in 2001).

Such initiatives cause Caroline Hewat (2003) to argue that “at Celtic [Connections], although obviously it has to bring in money, it spends that money on creating more opportunities”. As Celtic Connections has a higher turnover than any other folk festival in Scotland, it is in the unusual position of being able to finance musical ventures which are artistically adventurous, yet not viable in economic terms. Thus, although the financial obligations of the GRCH ensures a certain degree of “safe programming”, the musical concerns of other involved parties ensure that musical innovation and education are equally integral aspects of the festival programme. The economic objectives of the GRCH do not predominate.

10. Funding

Thus whilst Quinn’s typology of music festivals can be used to describe the various motivations of Scotland’s folk festivals, it is apparent that within each category, the competing goals of various stakeholders ensure that the agendas of the festival organisers do not necessarily prevail. In particular, a key factor which may complicate Quinn’s model is the involvement of funding bodies in the development of festivals. Both public and private funding has been a constant feature of the Scottish folk festival scene since its earliest days. Although the least commercially-oriented of all Scotland’s folk festivals, the TMSA festivals have historically received private sponsorship from local businesses. Public funding was first offered to Carrbridge and Edinburgh in the late

1970s, and throughout the 1980s increasing numbers of festivals received funding from tourism authorities and local councils. *The Scottish Folk Directory's* response to the STB's (1990) *Survey of Scottish Folk Festivals* demonstrates how common public and private sponsorship had become by 1990. The report, it claimed, would prove useful to festival organisers: "In this era of business sponsorship, it provides official statistical support which can be used in funding applications" (Scottish Folk Arts Group, 1991/92: 4). Commercial sponsorship was the norm for folk festivals, it suggested. Indeed, today the only folk festival in Scotland which does not seek commercial sponsorship or public funding is the Newcastleton Traditional Music Festival, which is financially self-sufficient as it does not invite guest artistes to perform (MacEwan, 2003).

Sources of public funding for Scottish folk festivals include the Scottish Arts Council (SAC), which invites applications from concert and festival organisers for grants which can be used "to support the cost of high quality programming" (SAC, 2003). The SAC also disburses National Lottery funds, which are intended to "support arts projects which make an important and lasting difference to the quality of life for the general public" (Ibid.). Prior to 1993, folk festivals which were seeking to maximise their tourism-generating potential were able to apply for funds from the STB. Since 1993 this remit has been the preserve of the local enterprise companies which operate under the auspices of either Scottish Enterprise or Highlands and Islands Enterprise (Smith, 1998: 47).

Sabina Maglioicco (2001: 179) comments upon the potential implications of festival funding, arguing that "the financing of the festival from outside changes the dynamics of the festival economy. Festivals are no longer under the control of locals, but part of larger regional, national and global systems". There is a certain degree of hyperbole present in Maglioicco's argument: acceptance of a financial contribution towards the operating costs of the festival does not cause the festival to be entirely removed from its conventional position "under the control of locals". Nevertheless, the significance of the power relations to which she alludes should not be dismissed, for the motivations of funders are far from altruistic. Pub proprietors, for example, may offer sponsorship to festival

committees, in anticipation of them directing festival patrons and session musicians to their respective venues: their financial investment is expected to reap some form of financial return. Equally, while local authorities may not expect to receive a cash dividend, their investment in the festival is expected to help realise some economic and/or social benefits for the local community as a whole. The financial resources of such funding bodies thus place them in a position of power relative to the festival organisers: their investment permits them some degree of influence over the festival. The organisers, conversely, are obliged to fulfil the conditions set by funding bodies if they are to receive the desired grants.

Such power relations render the issue of funding a contentious one for practitioners of a tradition which seeks to evade the trappings of capitalism. In 1980 John Barrow detected amongst folk clubs and folk festival organisers a certain reluctance to apply for funding from the SAC:

One remark passed by those not applying was that it was thought that the Arts Council exercised some form of censorship with the allocation of money, and that was not on. 'We don't want to be controlled by the Arts Council! (Barrow, 1980: 201).

As Barrow points out, such parties feared that acceptance of public funding would entail accepting SAC control over their respective enterprises. Whilst Barrow disputes this notion, there is an evident theoretical possibility that such an investment would place SAC in a position of power, permitting it some influence over the content and presentation of the festival.

The financial contributions offered to event organisers by commercial sponsors may be accompanied by particularly stringent stipulations. Although the following example is not explicitly related to the folk festival scene, it illustrates the contested priorities of musician and sponsor:

In 1996 we had this idea of community ceilidhs, ceilidhs in small communities every week, and maybe once a month you had something more central in the likes of Dumfries or something. And there was some sponsorship for those ceilidhs from Tennents, but then they started directing you to pubs because they wanted to keep the landlords sweet. So we were supposed to put a ceilidh into a pub just north of Girvan but they had a pool table in the room. [...] And we wanted to put Wolfestone into two schools in Dumfries and Kilmarnock, but it was like "oh no, it's beer we're selling". So you learn that sponsorship comes with a cost (Heywood, 2002a).

As Heywood suggests, the objectives of sponsors are not musical in nature, and therefore may not necessarily be congruent with the artistic objectives of event organisers. In this particular instance, the economic objectives of the event's sponsors resulted in ceilidhs taking places in inappropriate venues, and as a result the quality of the musical experience suffered.

Indeed, if funding is offered with a number of stipulations, this can affect the musical content of the festival itself. Celtic Connections, for example, was given funding of £10,000 in its first year from Bord Fáilte, the Irish tourism authority. The money was ring-fenced for the specific promotion of Irish musicians, and as a result the concert programme featured an inevitable preponderance of Irish artistes, including Altan, The Chieftains, Finbar Furey, Frances Black and Sharon Shannon. In this respect the festival's programming proved to be somewhat controversial, for as Hewat (2003) explains, "it caused a lot of criticism the first year because there was such an emphasis on Irish music". The festival was deemed to be catering to the demands of its funders rather than celebrating or promoting Scottish artists.

An editorial in *The Living Tradition* in 1998 raised concerns about such public funding of festivals, implying that it can impact not only upon their presentation and packaging, but also upon their programming: "Are workshops the way forward or are many of them convenient ways for festival organisers to fill up the daytime or to attract funding for their valuable educational impact!" [sic] (Heywood, 1998: 4). As this statement illustrates, there is some suspicion amongst the traditional music community that certain festival organisers are programming their bills in order to conform to the vagaries of funding applications. Indeed, Heywood (2004) recounts receiving a phone call from one festival organiser "who wanted to stage a ballad competition, and she wanted some help. I said, "why are you putting on a competition", and she said "because I can get funding for it". I just said "that's not the right reason"". Heywood's contention is that competitions should not be staged unless there is some pedagogic or musical intent underlying them. Pre-emptively conforming to the conditions set by funding bodies results, he suggests, in "safe programming" which compromises the event's artistic integrity.

Quinn argues that festivals which are not originally conceived of as tourist attractions will inevitably develop a tourism imperative over time (Quinn, 1996: 388). The evidence presented here suggests that it is the availability of funding designed to maximise tourism potential which drives such festivals to adopt a tourism dimension, irrespective of their prime objectives. While grassroots festivals may not be developed with the express purposes of stimulating tourism, the exigencies of funding requirements often dictate that they are required to devote public money to increasing their proportion of visitors. Particularly significant in the Scottish context is the funding which has been offered to folk festivals by the STB (until 1993) and the Scottish Enterprise network (after 1993) with the express objective of helping such events generate further tourism activity. In 1981, for example, the STB extended financial assistance to the Girvan Traditional Folk Festival. The grant of £750 which they offered the festival committee was ring-fenced for the production of professional publicity literature. For the festival committee "this seemed like an amazing amount of money because at the time we only spent £50 on publicity" (Heywood, 2002b). This was a somewhat different usage of the funds from that planned

by the festival's organising committee. As Pete Heywood, the then artistic director of the festival explains: "Had they given us the £750 in notes, what we'd probably have done was still spent £50 on publicity and spent the extra £700 on guests. And we'd have had the same people [coming]" (ibid.). Although in Maglioicco's terms, this resulted in a partial loss of ownership over the festival, Heywood concedes that the STB's approach was one which benefited the festival more, attracting larger number of attendees and thereby increasing opportunities for musical exchange.

In addition, the STB encouraged the committee to liaise with local hoteliers in order to produce combined "ticket and accommodation" packages, which were subsequently publicised on the festival fliers (see Appendix 3.5). Visitors travelling from Northern Ireland could also take advantage of favourable rates which the festival committee had agreed with Townsend Thorensen ferries. This commercial promotion of the festival was welcomed by *Sandy Bell's Broadsheet*, which termed the festival's innovations "a shining example to some other festivals" and "attractive inducements to the potential audience" (SBB, 1981a: 1).

This example highlights the manner in which the power relations engendered by such financial transactions impact upon the representation of the festival. If the committee were to receive funding they were required to accept the STB's guidance and use the funds in the manner stipulated. In its role as economic entrepreneur, the STB was in a position to dictate that the festival should be represented in a more "professional" manner. Thus, the result was that the festival adopted some of the outward trappings of professionalism, a concept to which there is some resistance in traditional music circles (MacKinnon, 1993; Raybould *et al*, 1999: 211).

The availability of public funding is similarly being used to affect the audience composition of Shetland's traditional music events. Although both the Shetland Folk Festival and the Shetland Accordion and Fiddle Festival were widely regarded as commercial and artistic

successes before the advent of the Shetland Music Development Project³⁰, both have in recent years, received financial assistance from the Shetland Arts Trust (SAT) and the Shetland Islands Council. Moreover, in 2003, both festivals received further funding from the SAC, which was disbursed by the SAT and ring-fenced specifically “to try and increase their marketing and increase their visitor ratio that arrives in Shetland for them” (Gardner, 2003). The Shetland Folk Festival in particular has, for many years, attracted an audience dominated by local residents. In 1997, for example, it was established that some 95% of the festival's 3,500-4,000 attendees were resident within Shetland (Campbell, 1997: 9). As previously noted, festival organisers are obliged to fulfil certain stipulations set by their funders: in this case, they are obliged to, *inter alia*, maximise their respective event's tourism generating potential. In more specific terms, they were required to accept SAT's guidance regarding the development of the festival's commercial and musical direction. As Gardner (2003) explains, increasing tourist numbers and maximising opportunities for musical exchange are key aspects of the advice which SAT offers to both festivals:

They're pretty much in charge of their own devices although we do guide them as to what we want from the festival as well [... in terms of] musical content, yes, diversity, making sure they put on workshops, trying to ensure they attract as many people to Shetland as possible, involve as much of the community as possible, whether that be audience or musicians. And make sure that word “development” is always a major part of what they tend to do. So that, yes, we'll try to encourage them to be as diverse as possible with the acts they attract simply to being new ideas to Shetland, I suppose.

Gardner thus describes the control which SAT exerts over the festivals in its capacity as a financial stakeholder. This is not to suggest that the tourism objectives of SAT result in

³⁰ A project organised by Shetland Arts Trust and funded by the SAC.

the festivals' artistic integrity being compromised. It is, however, important to acknowledge the role played by funding bodies in affecting the content, presentation and commercial orientation of the event. The marketing, musical programming and content of both festivals is no longer solely the concern of their respective committees: rather, their musical content and presentation is to some extent mediated by the economic, musical and cultural concerns of their respective funding bodies. In this respect the festivals do not "represent a rare unmediated glimpse" (Waterman, 1998a: 59) into the Shetland musical community.

Quinn's typology of music festivals provides a useful introductory means of interpreting the various objectives of Scotland's folk music festivals, and their respective relationships with tourism. It has become evident, however, that within the various categories Quinn identifies, various struggles for control may take place, as the particular objectives of festival committees compete with those of local authorities, tourist boards and sponsors, and the demands of potential audiences. There is accordingly considerable fluidity between these various categories of festivals: practitioners often exert musical influence over entrepreneur-led festivals, whilst economic entrepreneurs often possess a degree of financial control over grassroots festivals.

Given this fluidity, it is unsurprising that the musical content of the festival is often the matter of some conflict between the various interest groups who are involved in its organisation. In Portpatrick, for example, many hotel proprietors hire musicians to perform in their respective hotel bars during the annual Portpatrick Folk Festival. Such an approach allows proprietors to fill their respective venues with their personal choice of music. For many festival-goers, however, it is a cause of tension as it leaves no spaces for musicians to initiate sessions (Ross and Lewicka, 2002). It thereby inhibits attendee participation, and causes dissatisfaction amongst both audiences and the festival committee. Regardless of the committee's intentions, power often falls to those with the financial resources to implement their vision for the festival.



Fig. 3.1: Session in campground, Galloway Folk Festival, September 2002.

Equally, practitioners use the commodified environment of folk festivals to engage in music-making which eludes the cash nexus. The sessions which invariably take place in the festival's campground, for example, are free of the trappings of capitalism (see Fig. 3.1). At such happenings, participants are not categorised as "performers" or "audience members", "producers" or "consumers", and the music itself is not the product of any financial transaction. Thus, within every commodified music festival, there is the potential for pockets of musical spaces which evade commodification. Similarly, musical spaces may develop which evade the ideological strictures set down by festival organisers. Although ceilidhs, concerts and competitions at TMSA festivals only permit the performance of Scottish material, such restrictions cannot be applied to every aspect of the festival: as one TMSA member notes, "anything goes in the pubs, as you can imagine, you can't control that!" The sessions which take place in the pubs transgress the ideological strictures of the TMSA rules, incorporating music which is neither

traditional in origin nor Scottish in provenance. The economic and/or ideological objectives of the festival organisers cannot permeate every aspect of the festival.

11. Conclusions

This chapter has offered an overview of the diversity of actors involved in the organisation of Scottish folk festivals, and has explored how their respective objectives and ideological stances manifest themselves in the festivals themselves. In so doing it has demonstrated that the Scottish folk revival of the late 1950s and 1960s fundamentally altered the manner in which traditional music was represented in Scottish tourism. Folk music festivals (and The People's Ceilidhs which preceded them) constituted a new regime of representation which allowed practitioners to represent the tradition themselves and thereby counter the misrepresentations which Scotland's folk music had hitherto suffered at the hands of song collectors and travel writers. The folk festival movement thus developed at the behest of practitioners, offering them the opportunities to showcase their musical wares unmediated by the influence of cultural or economic entrepreneurs. As a result, practitioners were able to propagate a new vision of musical authenticity, one which was predicated upon performers rather than musical texts. Such opportunities decreased in proportion, however, as economic entrepreneurs sought to capitalise upon the tourism valencies of folk festivals. As a result, today economic entrepreneurs have some degree of interest in every folk festival in Scotland, with the exception of the Newcastleton Traditional Music Festival.

The academic literature identifies musical programming as a key area where the motivations and ideologies of festival programmers manifest themselves: to a certain extent this is true of the Scottish folk festival scene. The objectives of the economic entrepreneur are simple: namely, to use the festival for tourism and economic regeneration purposes, and to attract the maximum number of visitors possible. Typically, the more commercial the orientation of the festival, the more liberal its programming is likely to be. This is perhaps most readily exemplified by Celtic Connections, the very title of which connotes inclusivity. The motivations underlying

practitioner-led festivals, conversely, are diverse. Exclusivity of programming tends to be practised by those events with an ideological *raison d'être* such as the revitalisation of Scottish traditional music (TMSA), the promotion of traditional music from a particular locality (e.g. The Highland Traditional Music Festival), or the promotion of excellence in a particular instrument (e.g. the Edinburgh International Harp Festival). Other grassroots folk festivals have embraced a more liberal interpretation of the festival as a forum for musical celebration, and have adopted programming strategies which are less restrictive and more international in outlook. Their choice of guest artistes is less an ideological statement, than an expression of taste and a consideration in attracting audiences.

Commentators including Quinn, Waterman and Symon have asserted that as festivals adopt commercial and touristic objectives, their musical content becomes staid as they seek to maximise visitor numbers rather than challenge musical boundaries. It has become evident, however, that the concept of "safe programming" is highly problematic and rarely discussed in any consistent sense. Although Keith Festival regularly books Aly Bain to perform, it is not accused of pandering to audience demands, for it is advertised as a non-profit making venture, devoted to musical revitalisation and preservation. If, however, festivals initiated for tourism purposes, regularly hire Bain (or artists of similar calibre) they are often criticised by practitioners for adopting a programming strategy designed only to sell tickets. In such instances, it is not the selection of musicians *per se* which is being criticised, but the commercial objectives of the festival. The folk scene espouses a discourse of freedom from commercialism, and the majority of practitioners profess the capitalist modes of musical production which permeate other genres to be alien to the folk tradition. Thus, when accusations of "tired" or "safe" programming are leveled at tourism-orientated festivals, it is not the festival's content, but its context, which is under attack.

Despite such inconsistencies, it has become evident that safe programming is a concern for many practitioners: indeed, it is an issue with particular implications for traditional music, given the genre's professed dedication to inclusivity and participation. As

Heywood's earlier comments regarding Bain and Cunningham indicate, the repeated booking of particular artistes causes them to be reified as "big names": this establishes a hierarchical structure which many practitioners argue is antithetical to the ostensibly inclusive and democratic nature of the folk music scene. Indeed, it is argued in the following chapter that the emergence of such a hierarchical structure has caused the representation of folk festivals to increasingly be negotiated by a further conception of authenticity. This new definition of authenticity is not based upon such exclusive criteria as the musical upbringing of performers; rather, it is based upon the musical context, and, in particular, the extent to which practitioners succeed in minimising the social distance between performers and audiences at festivals, and encouraging collective participation. The following chapter will accordingly explore how the management of the performer-audience relationship varies in relation to the tourism-orientation of the folk festival in question.

Chapter Four: Folk Festivals, Tourism and Participation

1. Introduction

The programme for the 1993 Edinburgh Folk Festival (1993: 1) informed its readers that “A folk festival is one of the most enjoyable ways to experience traditional music; there is no division between the musical and social sides, between performer and audience”. In so doing it claimed that the performer-audience relationship at folk music festivals is non-hierarchical in nature. This is a somewhat contentious assertion, however, particularly given that in 1993 the Edinburgh Folk Festival was the largest, the most staged and the only professionally organised folk festival in Scotland. It will be argued here that such pronouncements are indicative of the efforts commonly undertaken by folk festival organisers to deny the commodified nature of the performer-audience relationship. Such efforts may be enacted for either economic or ideological reasons. Given that participation and sociability are revered tenets of the Scottish folk music scene (MacKinnon, 1993: 57; Frith, 1996: 41), it is evidently in the commercial interests of festival organisers to promote their respective events in these terms. Denying the existence of such social divisions is key to achieving the illusion of participation. Equally, efforts may be made to minimise the social distance between performers and audiences due to a genuine ideological commitment to the folk ideals of democracy, informality and participation. Minimising such social divisions is central to facilitating collective participation.

This chapter argues that the respective ideologies of practitioner and economic entrepreneur manifest themselves not only in relation to festival programming, but also in regard to their treatment of the performer-audience relationship. Specifically, it contends that the development of the folk festival scene was accompanied by the construction of another definition of authenticity, one which was ostensibly concerned with redressing the performer-audience stratification engendered by the folk revival. A discursive formation emerged which propagated the notion that “true” folk music is innately participatory, inclusive and anti-hierarchical. As a result of such discursive practices, practitioners

frequently criticise economic entrepreneur-led festivals for their explicit staging and consequent performer-audience separation. It will be argued here, however, that whilst practitioner-led festivals may purport to dissolve such hierarchies and facilitate participation, these claims are often based on a form of collective artifice.

2. Performers and Participants

Prior to the folk revival, “the music of the people” was performed in homes, during working hours and at social occasions, and as such formed an integral part of everyday life. Folk music evolved in small communities in which musicians and audiences were from similar social backgrounds. There was little differentiation between performers and listeners, as MacKinnon (1993: 58) observes: “the intimacy of such performances settings and the nature of ‘ready performability’ would have prevented the emergence of stark separation between performers and audience”. Typically, music-making was regarded not as a profession, but as a social practice in which everyone was entitled to take part. Whilst the increasing complexity of work distribution in modern society has led to greater differentiation between musicians, audiences and intermediaries, this socially inclusive ethos continues to shape folk music mores.

The promotional literature for the inaugural National Folk Festival of Scotland bemoaned the fact that folk music had become disaggregated from its role in social life: “Traditional music is ‘music of the people’ – yet it has become somewhat divorced from everyday life in the last half century or so” (National Folk Festival, 2002a: n.p.). The reference to the “last half century or so” suggests that traditional music’s retreat from everyday life arose coterminously with the Scottish folk revival. Indeed, the folk revival gave rise to a number of tensions with which practitioners continue to struggle today: in particular, folk clubs, concerts and festivals created a performer-audience stratification, where previously there had been virtually none. As a result, practitioners invariably seek to bridge, deny or conceal this social division, and base their assessments of what constitutes “genuine” folk music on criteria such as informality, participation and an absence of hierarchy. Such conceptions of authenticity are therefore products of the folk revival and its legacy.

Within the academic literature there is a general consensus that participation is a particularly revered aspect of the traditional music scene. Simon Frith (1996: 41), for example, describes it as one of the key tenets of folk music-making: “the folk ideal”, he argues, is “the experience of collective, participatory music-making”. Niall MacKinnon (1993) similarly notes the centrality of participation to folk music concerts and festivals, arguing that audiences are typically expected to contribute something to the performance. MacKinnon cites the opinions of the folk singer Martin Carthy to this effect: “Audiences which did not [contribute] he described as ‘voyeuristic’ and he felt that for an audience to sit passively with an air of ‘now entertain me’ was alien to the folk scene” (MacKinnon, 1993: 57). The folk music audience, therefore, is expected to be involved in the performance, through singing, humming or clapping.³¹ Attentive listening is the norm. Passive consumption is not permissible for folk musicians, for it impacts upon the performance dynamic, institutionalising an audience-performer demarcation which practitioners argue is alien to the participative nature of folk music-making.

3. Folk Festival, Folk Spectacle

Within the literature on festivals, much discussion is devoted not only to the question of attendee participation, but also to the related issue of the social relations between festival attendees. Beverly Stoeltje (1992: 261), for example, highlights the concept of participation as a characteristic feature of festivals in general: she argues that festivals “are public in nature, participatory in ethos, complex in structure, and multiple in voice, scene, and purpose”. Despite the diversity of functions which festivals perform, participation is a feature common to all.

Also of significance is the festival’s role as a vehicle for sociability. Derived from the Latin *festivus* (meaning “gay”, “merry”, or “light-hearted”), the term “festival” embodies such celebratory notions as “gaiety, conviviality, cheerfulness” (Falassi, 1987: 2). Indeed, the

³¹ In so doing, however, the audience is expected to conform to certain tacit conventions: whilst for example, the audience is encouraged to join in the singing of choruses, it is less acceptable for them to join in during the performers’ renditions of individual verses.

centrality of merriment to festivity is explicit in Munro's (1996: 7) description of the average Scottish folk festival, where "The atmosphere is one of relaxed celebration". The quotation from the Edinburgh Folk Festival programme which opened this chapter similarly emphasised the festival's purported integration of conviviality and artistry ("there is no division between the musical and social sides"). As shall become evident throughout this chapter, many folk festivals in Scotland promote themselves in similar terms, promoting their devotion to both participation and conviviality as a means of attracting visitors.

Both participation and merriment are key features which distinguish the festival from the "spectacle", with its insidious associations of irregularity, "potential tastelessness and moral cacophony" (MacAloon, 1984: 246). The spectacle, John MacAloon argues, is an event or exhibition which demands to be gazed upon: "Spectacles give primacy to visual sensory and symbolic codes; they are things to be seen" (Ibid.: 243). More specifically, the spectacle requires both performers and an audience and is accordingly associated with passivity and hierarchy. In the festival, by contrast, divisions between actors and audiences are far less evident, and the emphasis is accordingly upon collective participation.

Marianne Mesnil (1987) offers a further means of conceptualising the various ways in which festivals manage the performer-audience relationship. Mesnil (1987: 191) draws a distinction between the "folklorised festival" and the "carnavalesque festival". The latter, she argues, has its origins in pre-modern times, and serves to affirm the cohesion of a designated community. The "folklorised festival", conversely, is a product of urbanised society which retains certain formal aspects of its carnivalesque counterpart. Mesnil notes that the folklorised festival is supported by an informal group rather than by a specific geographical community, thus rendering it unnecessary for it to reaffirm societal cohesion. Its primary objective is to entertain, and it accordingly acquires a "passive and 'performance' dimension" (ibid.: 191). Actors and spectators are separated by the

trappings of staging and the accent is accordingly upon individual consumption rather than collective participation.

Mesnil develops this terminology, arguing that in postindustrial societies festivals have been subjected to "folklorisation" (Ibid: 192). This process involves the rejection of collective expressions of music and other art-forms, as performers aim to project individualistic styles of delivery. In urbanised industrial society, she argues, the festival has become divorced from its original function of affirming societal cohesion, and has become solely a forum for entertainment. With individual participation thus inhibited, the festival is "a show or spectacle" (Ibid: 192). In this respect, the folklorised festival is analogous to MacAloon's earlier description of the spectacle, with its associations of spectator passivity and participant hierarchy. However, whereas the spectacle is not associated with any one particular era, the folklorised festival is a product of urbanised society.

Thus, the Scottish folk festival can be described as a folklorised festival in that it is a product of late modernity, and lacks the pre-industrial origins of the carnivalesque festival. It also differs from the carnivalesque festival in the respect that its purpose is not to reaffirm the cohesion of a specific geographical community: rather, it has been developed by practitioners to serve artistic purposes, and has also been organised by public authorities seeking to fulfill commercial objectives. However, the key factor which defines the folklorised festival is the performer-audience relationship, for it determines the extent to which festivals encourage or discourage attendee participation.

4. The Development of Performer Hierarchies

As previously noted, prior to the folk revival there was little distinction between performers and audiences. The folk revival, however, spawned both folk clubs and festivals, many of which offered musicians paid performance opportunities. Accordingly, it became increasingly possible for a small number of musicians to make their respective livings as professional folk music performers. For many practitioners, however, a tension exists

between such economic success and its attendant connotations of “celebrity” and “commercialisation”. MacKinnon observes this tension, arguing that the central contradiction of British folk music is that “a scene that has as its central organising ethos that ordinary people can make music independent of commercialisation has spawned a generation of professionals” (MacKinnon, 1993: 71). Thus, since the very beginnings of the folk festival scene, the stratification of the folk music community into “professionals” and “amateurs” has been a constant concern for many practitioners who believe that such differentiation is contrary to the folk scene’s ostensibly democratic nature. Writing in 1975, for example, Sheila Douglas alluded to the impact which she believed the development of a professional category of folk musicians was having on the scene itself:

The intrusion of the ‘star’ system from the world of show-business falsifies the perspective of a scene that should work to entirely different principles. Folk music by its very nature is amateur, informal and spontaneous [...] and everyone should feel free to participate (Douglas, 1975: 5).

Douglas thus suggests that the “star system”, with its concomitant professionalisation and hierarchy, both inhibits participation and compromises the informality of the folk music scene. Douglas’s suggestion that the folk music tradition is inherently egalitarian in ethos is of dubious veracity, as shall become evident. However, as the quotation from the programme of the 1993 Edinburgh Folk Festival demonstrates, it remains a myth to which many practitioners cling tenaciously.

Also of significance is Douglas’s assertion that a hierarchical “star system” has been forcibly impressed upon the folk scene by more commercial forms of musical entertainment, namely the “world of show-business” (Ibid.). Contrary to Douglas’s observation, the reification of key “star performers” has been a process perpetuated by practitioners themselves, in forums such as the folk club, the concert and, most notably, the folk festival.

Indeed, this was acknowledged by the folksinger Anne Neilson (1978) in her discussion of the increasing social distance between folk music performers and their audiences in the 1970s. Unlike Douglas, she argued that the emergence of this performer-audience differentiation was not an imposition from the entertainment world, but could be attributed to the actions of practitioners themselves. Speaking of the folk revival of the late 1950s, Neilson (1978: n.p.) argued that:

Division between audience and performer was seldom obvious, because everyone participated. At that stage, the emphasis was on "making a joyful noise", and everyone's contribution was welcome. Inevitably solo performers emerged from that situation, and it seems to me that we were not careful enough at the time to remind the others that the songs belonged to them too. The result is now we often have audiences wanting to be spoon-fed, instead of making their own music.

Neilson thus suggests that the Scottish folk scene of the late 1970s has more in common with the notion of spectacle, than with that of the festival. She argues that audiences mechanically consume rather than actively participate in the musical proceedings, while collective musical expressions have been sidelined in favour of "solo performers" who are feted for their individualistic styles of delivery. According to Neilson, this stratification of folk music practitioners into "audiences" and "performers" has been an entirely negative development, for it has inhibited collective participation. The *communitas* of the festival has been replaced by the passivity and hierarchy of the spectacle. The folk scene in general, she suggests, has been subjected to Mesnil's (1987) concept of folklorisation.

However, whilst Neilson attributes such passive consumption to audiences feeling that songs do not "belong" to them, it is the contention here that the commodification of folk music which has been perpetuated in festivals, folk clubs and concerts developed in

tandem with these social divisions. The degree of attendee participation is intimately related to the social distance between performers and audiences. Indeed, the degree to which individual performers are reified is a key factor determining the extent to which festivals can achieve the participatory ethos which practitioners seek. If artistes are treated as commodities whose labour power can be bought in order to attract audiences, a set of power relations is established which dictates the behaviour of both performers and attendees. Audience members who have paid to attend the musical events in question may feel that their financial investment in the event entitles them to be passive consumers, whereas the musicians are financially obliged to perform their role as producers, and entertain their audience.

5. Billing

The emergence of performer hierarchies is thus intricately bound up with the folk festival scene itself, and the commodification of musicians' labour power practised therein. Munro (1996: 45) observes that commercial pressures began to permeate the folk music scene around the time of the establishment of the Aberdeen Folk Festival in 1963. Performers who were achieving commercial success, such as The Corries and Tom Paxton, gravitated towards the concert stage, performing at concerts and festivals rather than at the considerably less lucrative folk clubs. Indeed, Paxton topped the bill at the 1966 Aberdeen Folk Festival, as its publicity flier illustrates (see Fig. 4.1). Thus, within this particular event we see a nascent "star system" emerging. Although the flier stressed that the artists were listed alphabetically, Paxton was the event's main attraction, with festival patrons compelled to buy an additional ticket if they wanted to attend his concert. Paxton was prioritised in status and was accordingly given the most prestigious concert slot. Within the festival, a performer hierarchy was established, with Paxton at the top.

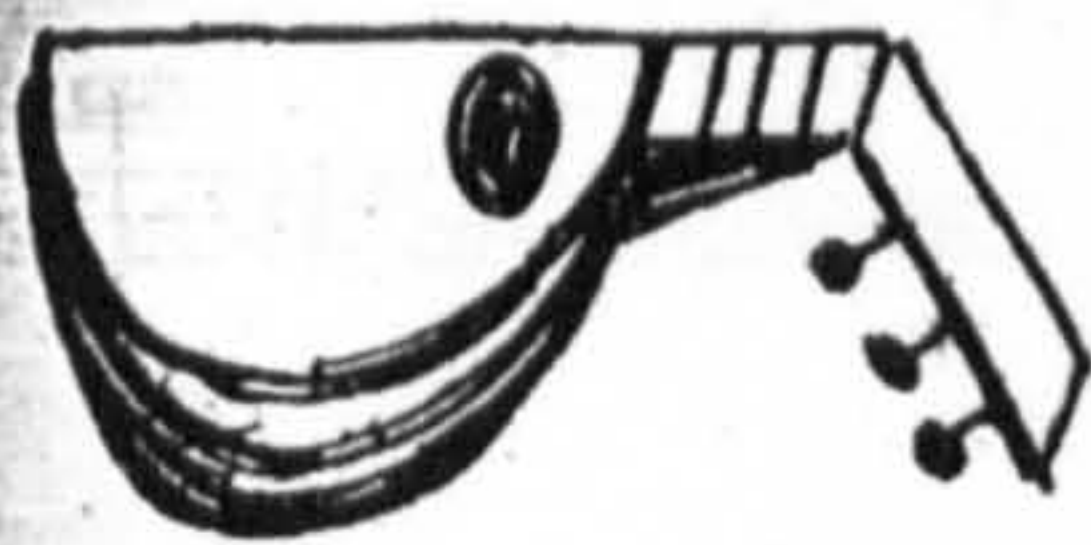
It was thus initially within "grassroots" folk festivals that performer hierarchies were first actively promoted for commercial purposes. The manner in which concert presentations were structured helped to establish such hierarchies: the festival's performers, by virtue of being booked to perform, became the event's attraction. Their names appeared on

festival fliers in order of priority, the determining criterion in this respect being the extent of their commercial success and public renown. Higher-profile musicians would perform at the festival's main (Saturday night) concert, whereas those who had achieved less public renown would appear lower down the bill.

ABERDEEN FOLK FESTIVAL 1966

FRIDAY, SATURDAY AND SUNDAY

OCTOBER 28th, 29th & 30th



★ ARTISTS (IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER)
INCLUDE MARTIN CARTHY, THE CLUTHA,
RAY & ARCHIE FISHER, DONALD & ISAAC
HIGGINS, FRED JORDAN,
THE RT. HON. JIMMY McBEATH,
GORDEANNA McCULLOCH,
JOHN McDONALD, MATT McGINN, PAT
McNULTY, TOM PAXTON, JEANNIE
ROBERTSON, COLIN ROSS, DAVY STEWART,
DAVE SWARBRICK, ROB WATT

★ **FRIDAY 28th OCTOBER**

Opening concert in Civic Arts Centre, King Street—all seats 5/-;
followed by late-licence ceilidhs (song & dance) in the Royal
Hotel — 6/6

★ **SATURDAY 29th OCTOBER**

Workshops, tale-telling session, talks AND the Chuckie-Chucking
Championship of the World (day-time); evening Music Hall
concert featuring Tom Paxton (5/-; 7/6, 8/6, 10/6, 12/6).

★ **SUNDAY 30th OCTOBER**

Traditional singers' get-together (afternoon) — all seats 5/-;
great finale ceilidhs — all seats 5/-. Both events in Royal Hotel.

**BLOCK TICKET (ALL EVENTS EXCEPT
TOM PAXTON CONCERT) £1**

Fig. 4.1: Flier, Aberdeen Folk Festival 1966.

The intensification of the commodification process was therefore related to the emergence of performer hierarchies. As musicians and groups were receiving financial remuneration, festival organisers were in a position to stipulate the required length of their performances. The patent hierarchy which this style of programming engendered was a marked departure from the more egalitarian approach espoused by the TMSA festivals. The latter offers all performers equal access to the concert stage, as McNaughtan (2003) explains:

at a commercial festival [...] the programming is different in that you will have stars playing an hour, or two half hours, or whatever, a long spot, whereas at the TMSA festivals everybody does 10, 15 minutes, usually. I mean, a concert at [Auchter]muchty would just be people doing 15 minutes spots, so that there's no sort of star system at all at the TMSA festivals.

The TMSA's approach to programming arose partly as a practical means of catering for the singers which it invited to perform, many of whom were source singers, unfamiliar with performing in a concert forum. Additionally, it arose in opposition to the hierarchies which were evolving in festivals with more commercial leanings. The "star system" of which McNaughtan speaks was in evidence at the Girvan Traditional Folk Festival, for example, as evinced by its 1988 programme which advertised the "celebrity concert" to be held on the Saturday night (Girvan Traditional Folk Festival, 1988: n.p.). Similarly, the third Perth Folk Festival, held in 1974, featured an "All-Star Concert" on the Saturday night, "presenting the cream of the festival guests" (SBB, 1974d: 1). Such notions of celebrity were anathema to the less commercially oriented TMSA festivals. Indeed, in 1973 *Sandy Bell's Broadsheet* reported on a certain "hard-line element" of the TMSA which was dismissive of Irvine's Marymass Festival, with its "star system", and described the Aberdeen Folk Festival as a "pop" event (SBB, 1973: 1).

Despite such criticisms, it is apparent that the Aberdeen Folk Festival indulged less in propagating performer hierarchies than those festivals operated by economic entrepreneurs from the late 1970s onwards. The poster which was designed to publicise the inaugural Carrbridge Ceilidh Week (Appendix 3.4) reveals much regarding this festival's more commercial orientation, and offers a striking contrast with the poster advertising the 1966 Aberdeen Folk Festival (Fig. 4.1). At Aberdeen, the invited performers are referred to as "artists", whereas at Carrbridge they are "Traditional Scottish Entertainers", a phrase which carries connotations of music-hall and a performer-audience demarcation. A more overtly stated "star system" is in evidence in the latter event. Whereas the Aberdeen Folk Festival's poster of 1966 listed guest artists alphabetically, the Carrbridge programme listed them in order of priority, with higher status musicians appearing towards the top of the bill, and local musicians listed at the bottom. Most indicative of the latter event's commercial orientation is the fact that it provides potential attendees with the relevant contact details for tourist information.

6. Star Performers

Despite the evidence here to the contrary, the cult of the star performer is typically portrayed in the media as a recent development, and one which can be attributed to the development of Quinn's (1996) "type 3" festivals, which are overtly commercial and tourism-oriented. Celtic Connections in particular has attracted some criticism from the traditional music community regarding its commercialisation and professionalisation:

Certainly there are traditionalists who are throwing their arms up in horror at such [...] modern trends - the rise of the star musician, the reliance on fixed rhythms, the change in status of the audience from active participant to passive auditor (Dawson Scott, 1995: 9).

As the preceding discussion demonstrates, the issues which Dawson Scott raises are far from "modern trends", but are intricately bound up with the development of the folk festival scene itself. The comments of Douglas (1975), Neilson (1978) and Munro (1996) have all

illustrated that the emergence of “name” performers and the increasingly passive roles adopted by traditional music audiences have been constant concerns for practitioners since the very beginnings of the folk festival movement. Nevertheless, Celtic Connections has been criticised by certain practitioners for its substantial scale and explicit staging which increases both the physical and social distance between performers and audiences, thereby inhibiting attendee participation. The passive nature of audience consumption is deemed to be a natural corollary of what Dawson Scott terms “the rise of the star musician”. As has become evident, however, Celtic Connections is not unique in commodifying the labour power of musicians, or in adopting a hierarchical style of programming which priorities the most commercially renowned performers.

Indeed, organisers of other festivals admit to booking musicians of substantial renown in order to ensure their respective events attract adequate audience numbers. Significant in this regard is the Portpatrick Folk Festival, which is funded by the local authority and managed by a paid director, who admits to knowing little about traditional music. The director explains the rationale behind her marketing and programming decisions:

I think I booked Deaf Shepherd, it must have been before Christmas [2001]. And then we could start putting out the fliers. Yes, I knew I had to get one big name. If you get one big name, then you can put it on your fliers and say “The Portpatrick Folk Festival will be on so and so, featuring Deaf Shepherd and ...” [...] So you need your big name booked a year in advance, I reckon (Ross, 2002).

Thus, according to Ross, it is essential for a festival to secure the services of “star performers” if it is to attract sufficient visitor numbers. A fellow committee member concurred with the wisdom of this approach to festival programming, observing that “It’s important to get a big name to attract people” (Lewicka, 2002). Thus, in this case, programming decisions were essentially based on commercial factors: namely, the

financial necessity to appeal to as wide a proportion of the traditional music community as possible.

Sheila Douglas (2002) expresses concerns regarding this market-led approach to festival programming, and suggests that the commercial considerations inherent in the Scottish folk festival scene have led to the reification of certain "star performers". This, she argues, is a threat to the continuance of the folk music tradition:

But it really isn't a good thing for commercial considerations to [...] be the biggest consideration in the traditional arts. [...] It tends to promote the idea that the only people that are worth anything are the big names who are top of the bill, who you go to concerts to hear. I mean, they are good, they're worth hearing, but the thing is, a tradition is not carried on by a handful of stars. It's carried on by a great mass of people being interested and enthusiastic and maybe not singing all that well.

Thus, according to Douglas, folk festivals and concerts have tended to book only the most popular, high-profile performers in an effort to secure necessary financial returns. This, she suggests, has had the effect of stratifying the folk music community itself, with certain performers accorded higher status than others. Moreover, it has increased the social distance between practitioners and non-practitioners, a development which poses a threat to the tradition's participatory ethos. Elsewhere she similarly argues that "if people start going to clubs and festivals only to hear guest artistes and not to participate themselves, then they are killing the revival" (Douglas, 1989: 19). Indeed, Wellington (2002b) echoed Douglas's concerns, observing that the predominance of a number of high-profile acts on the folk festival scene was "not how a tradition builds and it's something festival organisers have to be careful of and wary about". Festival organisers, she suggests, should resist the temptation to book only "name" acts, for the reification of a few key performers poses a threat to the vitality of the tradition.

In those festivals initiated by economic entrepreneurs, then, programming decisions are typically based on considerations of what will attract audiences. The labour power of “name” performers is commodified and reified, and as a result the audience-performer division is typically more overtly stated. As shall become evident, however, the commercial appeal of participation and sociability may force economic entrepreneurs to attempt to mask such social divisions. Conversely, practitioner-led festivals attempt to minimise (or simply conceal) the social distance between performers and audiences, for both commercial and ideological reasons. A number of policies and techniques may be introduced in order to mask or reduce such social divisions, and encourage participation. The first which shall be explored here is policy relating to performer remuneration.

7. Remuneration

TMSA festivals are unique in Scotland in that they do not pay fees to their respective performers, although the musicians may claim expenses. This policy arose in ideological opposition to “the professionalisation of the folk scene as it was developing elsewhere” (MacKinnon, 1993: 83) in the 1960s, and was therefore intended to eschew the burgeoning ethos of commercialisation. Moreover, it was intended to help achieve the organisation’s stated aim of providing a showcase for source singers. In their early days, TMSA festivals rarely booked revival performers, although the festivals themselves were very popular amongst revivalists (MacKinnon, 1993: 82). This concentration on source singers has since been relaxed, and revivalists are now regularly invited to perform at TMSA festivals, yet the no-fee policy remains in place. It has not, however, compromised the ability of the TMSA festivals to secure the services of high-profile performers, as Sheena Wellington (2002b) explains:

the TMSA festivals do not pay fees and have never paid fees. You get expenses at a TMSA festival. Now, if you are somebody of particular note you’ll actually get more expenses than somebody

else, but you do not get a fee, and yet they still get big names who will go in and do a gig at the festival just for the hell of it.

TMSA policy considers this lack of remuneration for performers to have a profound impact on the social relations between performers and audience. Attendees are aware that concert performers are not in receipt of fees, and this knowledge is deemed to change the dynamic of the performer-audience relationship. For the musician, the festival concert is less a place of work than an opportunity to play for sheer enjoyment's sake. Indeed, MacKinnon observes this impact on the event's social relations specifically in relation to the Keith Festival:

Frequently professional and semi-professional singers will agree to perform at TMSA festivals such as Keith but then this becomes a 'let-your-hair-down' type of performance. When a performer such as Aly Bain, who is internationally known and can command large fees, plays at Keith, the fact that he is not commanding a large fee is thus known and colours the performance itself. He fools around a lot, and he will readily play unrehearsed with other musicians, and the resulting relaxation in professional presentation is soaked up by the audience. [...] On this occasion, when not playing Aly Bain just stood at the bar as would anybody else (MacKinnon, 1993: 83-84).

Thus, MacKinnon argues that Keith Festival has an almost complete absence of the social divisions which pervade the commodified environments of most other folk music festivals. Indeed, this rhetoric of egalitarianism has been adopted by the festival's promotional literature, which describes it as "the friendly festival".

Despite this professed commitment towards dissolving performer hierarchies, it is apparent that the star system is indeed in operation at Keith, albeit in a different form. When Aly Bain plays for free at Keith Festival, his lack of recompense may well serve to

minimise the social distance between himself and his audience, yet, crucially, it also adds to his social capital. In effect, the star status which he enjoys elsewhere continues to be recognised and is arguably enhanced by his willingness to perform without remuneration. That commentators including MacKinnon choose to comment upon Bain, rather than on a less well-known performer, serves to highlight the deceptive nature of the festival's rhetoric of equality. Moreover, as Wellington's (2002b) earlier comments indicate, the TMSA continues to recognise certain artists as being of "particular note", and accordingly provides them with greater expenses than their less renowned counterparts. In this respect the rhetoric of egalitarianism is patently problematic.

The Newcastleton Traditional Music Festival strives further in terms of minimising social divisions, to the extent that the festival committee does not book particular artists to perform. Newcastleton has operated continuously since its inception in 1969 and publicises itself as the longest continuously running folk festival in Scotland. Originally founded by the Newcastleton Fiddle and Accordion Club, it began as a "weekend session" (MacEwan, 2003). The festival later became affiliated to the TMSA, however, and has since grown to incorporate more sessions and competitions throughout the day, and ceilidh dances on both the Friday and Saturday nights (for which Scottish country dance bands are booked to perform).

The festival's refusal to book guest musicians, and its related rejection of the cult of the star performer, are features which particularly appeal to Douglas (2002): "I like Newcastleton Festival because they didn't book guests. If you went along you took part. I mean, they're very democratic people in the Borders". Thus, for Douglas, the attraction of Newcastleton Festival lies in its egalitarian ethos. The social stratification present in other folk festivals is absent at Newcastleton, for although it has been attended by respected folk musicians, including Ray Fisher, Cilla Fisher and Robin Laing, such figures are not prioritised in status. Dave McFadzean (2002: 18) cites the words of one "regular visitor" to this effect: "It's braw here because there's nae superstars or prima donnas and everybody is just content to mix freely wi yin anither. Naebody thinks they're ony better

than anybody else". Thus, at Newcastleton, there is no audience-performer division: rather, there are simply many participants, all of whom are equally entitled to take part in the music-making. Indeed, the festival's chairman, Mac MacEwan (2003), elaborates on this point, arguing that Newcastleton attracts a higher percentage of musical participants than any other festival in Scotland:

it's a packed weekend. Bigger than any other festival, for actual participants, you know, actual people coming along to play in sessions and everything. Musicians come in from all over the place. It's mainly participatory. Most people that come in tents and caravans, at least one of them plays something, or sings. Most of them don't go in for the competitions, they're there for sessions.

Thus, whereas attendees at many other festivals are attracted by opportunity to hear the star performers who appear on the concert bill, visitors to Newcastleton are attracted by the opportunity to participate in the informal sessions which MacEwan describes as the "essence of the festival" (Ibid.). In this respect Newcastleton is arguably the most festive of Scotland's folk festivals, for without attendee participation it would not exist. The minimisation of social divisions is central to achieving this participatory ethos.

8. Selective Participation

Whilst in aesthetic terms the TMSA festivals "have been described as the quintessence of the best in the Scottish folk scene" (Munro, 1996: 49) many have latterly suffered the negative impacts of their tourism appeal. The 1990 STB report noted, for example, that "a hooligan element caused a disruption (especially at Keith and Newcastleton)" (Scottish Tourist Board, 1990: 180). Speaking of the Keith Festival, MacKinnon (1993: 84) notes:

A large number of youths are attracted by the camaraderie and street activities, including street drinking and the ready availability of alcohol. Although there is not much trouble to speak of, much of the

informal street music-making is in fact inhibited by the sheer number of youths present.

During the early to mid 1990s, Newcastleton suffered similar problems, a development which MacEwan (2003) attributes to the nature of the festival administration during that period: "the [festival] committee at the time were very much a village committee rather than a music committee. So they were more into village chat about who's going to do what and they forgot about actually inviting musicians". Publicity material was only directed at the local market, rather than at folk clubs and other folk festivals: the result was that the festival attracted an insufficient number of musicians to sustain a suitably vibrant programme of sessions. As MacEwan (2003) explains, the village committee had "lost sight of the music side. And it was starting to struggle, because the musicians weren't going because they [...] weren't being catered for. The [committee] were forgetting what the festival was for". Rather than attracting an adequate number of musical participants, the festival attracted an audience dominated by youths who were enticed by the availability of alcohol, rather than the music itself. As a result, it was "starting to turn into a beer festival" (Ibid.). In economic terms, the festival continued to benefit the village, yet in musical terms it was losing its appeal.

This example highlights the contested priorities of differing interest groups involved in the promotion of music festivals. The committee of which MacEwan speaks had no particular interest in the music which the festival purported to support, promote and represent: rather, their interest was in the financial and touristic benefits which the festival afforded the village. For the committee, audience numbers were crucial, and it mattered little where these attendees came from or what their motivations for attending were. Thus for MacEwan, when the festival was organised and represented by non-musicians, its musical content suffered as artistic considerations were disregarded in favour of overt economic objectives. Ownership of the festival was transferred from practitioners to economic entrepreneurs, and as a result both the social and musical aspects of the festival deteriorated in quality.

This example demonstrates, however, that behind the rhetoric of democracy and participation, there is a very stringent policy at work which determines exactly who is free to join in the proceedings. Although ostensibly encouraging participation, the current committee of practitioners aims to exert control over both who can take part in the festival, and the form their contributions take. At the simplest level, marketing is employed as a control measure to ensure that the correct types of participants attend. Practitioners are courted, whereas non-practitioners are discouraged from attending. Should such attempts to control the composition of the audience fail, then one possible response is to move the festival itself. The Kinross Festival, for example, was moved to Kirriemuir in 1981 following an influx of youths, and the resultant overcrowding which this engendered. Thus, although the festival's very existence is dependent upon attendees taking part in the musical proceedings, it is evident that the participation encouraged is of a discriminatory nature. Arguably, the type of contributions encouraged in grassroots and TMSA festivals are no more than "selective participation".

9. Staged Participation

In a related vein, it is apparent that attendee participation is also rigorously structured: festival organisers make considerable efforts to assure attendees that communal music-making will be integral to their respective events. As Douglas's (1975) earlier comments demonstrate, attendee participation is held to be the articulation of the folk scene's emphasis on informality and democracy. It is the contention here, however, that it is carefully staged, in that a variety of tactics are employed to ensure that (selective) participation does indeed take place.

In many respects this observation is evocative of MacKinnon's (1993) discussion regarding informality and spontaneity, and the extent to which these folk values are based on a form of subterfuge. Folk clubs, he argues, attain an illusion of informality, which is constructed through an elaborate set of conventions and tacit rules. Considerable efforts are made to minimise the social distance between invited performers and their audiences,

including the “destaging” of the performance setting. Indeed, Frith (1996: 41) notes that similar strategies are adopted by folk music festivals: “there is a constant attempt to deny the actual (commercial) separation of folk stars and folk fans”. Frith thus implies that, despite attendees’ attempts to mask the audience-performer demarcation, this social division remains profoundly marked, for it is constructed by a financial transaction. It is the outward manifestation of the commodified nature of the folk festival environment. Nevertheless, it is generally a key objective of festival organisers to minimise this division. Strategies are accordingly employed to mask the performer-audience differentiation and encourage attendee participation: thus, almost every festival has an “open stage” event, and/or a “festival club”, at which every attendee is theoretically free to perform in an informal manner.

Moreover, a particular egalitarian discourse is frequently invoked as a tool to deny the commodified nature of the folk festival environment: the advertising literature for the 2002 Both Sides of the Tweed Festival, for example, emphasised that the festival’s “intimate” atmosphere was conducive to facilitating collective participation:

[The festival] provides an intimacy that can only come from informal sessions where people, if they wish, can find it easy to break out from just being an audience member and go for it. [...] that’s the difference between a festival and a mere series of concerts where the enjoyment is largely confined to being passive (Both Sides of the Tweed, 2002: n.p.).

The rhetoric of participation was similarly in evidence in the promotional literature for the inaugural National Folk Festival of Scotland, which informed potential attendees that the festival would be profoundly democratic in nature:

At the National Folk Festival, Scotland, our guests are among the best in the world – respected by their peers and passionate to share

their music with you. Many of the guests will also be workshop leaders or give masterclasses and the demarcation between invited guest and other participants will be hazy. [...] We will encourage participation at all levels (National Folk Festival, 2002a: n.p.).

Thus, as Frith argues, the festival attempts to mask the artist-audience differentiation. The statement is inherently contradictory, however, for in so doing it stresses the professional status of its guest artistes (“among the best in the world”), thus reifying them as “name” performers. The very act of promoting their status reveals the commodity nature of the guest artistes: the opportunity to learn from famous musicians is used as a tool to entice potential audiences to buy tickets. Moreover, inherent in the insistence that participation will be encouraged at “all levels” is the acknowledgement that attendees vary in terms of their musical experience, aptitude and reputation. The implicit meaning is that professionals and amateurs alike will be encouraged to participate in the music-making. Thus, whilst the festival may espouse the rhetoric of democracy, it does not seek to erase performer hierarchies, but simply to conceal them.

Indeed, despite such protestations of egalitarianism, the performer-audience stratification manifested itself throughout the course of the festival. Guest artistes were required to lead the “Late Night Extra” sessions which took place every evening, yet for many of the festival's attendees, the professional status of the session leaders acted as a disincentive to participation. One attendee, for example, reported on the formality of these events, commenting that “I'd prefer [...] more open sessions”, a comment which implies that the sessions were not entirely equitable in terms of access. Another participant similarly requested sessions “with more scope for novice singers and musicians”. Such observations contradict the promotional literature, with its assertions that, in the Late Night Extras, “The accent will be on informality and participation”. Participation was reserved for those towards the top of the performer hierarchy. Indeed, the formality of the session setting in Fig. 4.2 provides a conspicuous contrast with the more relaxed music-making portrayed in Fig. 3.1.



Fig. 4.2. Session at the National Folk Festival of Scotland, 2002.

10. Intimacy

It is evident, therefore, that participation is a concept with substantial commercial appeal for folk festivals. In common with Both Sides of the Tweed, many festivals have publicised themselves as having such an atmosphere: the 5th Melrose Folk Festival, for example, advised potential attendees that the event was “highly participative with; singarounds, sessions, ceilidhs [and] dances” (Scottish Folk Arts Group, 1992/93: 27). Festival size is frequently invoked as a selling point in this regard, with smaller festivals claiming to possess the intimacy which is reputedly central to ensuring audience participation. Advertising materials frequently offer guarantees that the festival will attract sufficient numbers to sustain sessions, yet will not attract so many that the festival becomes an impersonal, commercial event. The fifth Penicuik Folk Festival, for example, informed potential visitors that “the emphasis is on a relatively small, friendly easy-going

weekend" (Penicuik Folk Festival, 1989: n.p.) while the 2002 Moniaive Folk Festival proclaimed itself to be "a small, friendly, family festival" (Moniaive Folk Festival, 2002: n.p.).

The Girvan Traditional Folk Festival promoted itself in a similar manner, informing audiences that the event had "built up a reputation as a friendly festival, small enough to generate the climate of the Folk Club scene and yet large enough to have a healthy fringe of informal activity" (Girvan Traditional Folk Festival, 1981: n.p). It was the "intimate atmosphere" of the festival which was, it claimed, central to the event's success and popularity. The description of the Girvan festival which appeared in the *Scottish Folk Directory* also highlighted the festival's compact nature: "With the largest concert venue holding fewer than 150 people it is almost unique in its combination of quality guests and an intimate atmosphere" (Douglas, 1985: 22). For Kjell Olsen (2002: 166) "intimacy and closeness [...] are values that, in modern Western culture, inhabit the realm of the real and authentic". For festival organisers, promises of intimacy serve to attract potential attendees, offering the prospect of a "genuine" traditional music experience which is characterised by egalitarianism, participation and minimal performer-audience demarcation.

Indeed, similar rhetoric was invoked by the Glenfarg Folk Feast, which described itself in the *Scottish Folk Directory* as "A small, intimate folk festival with a fine balance of formal and informal events, its friendly atmosphere ensures that our unique "club" feeling is never lost" (Douglas, 1984: 16). The event's atmosphere may indeed have been unique, but it is evident that the language used to describe the festival was not: Glenfarg, Girvan, Moniaive and Penicuik all equate their modest size with their friendly, "intimate", and hence participative, "club" atmosphere. So commercially appealing is an intimate, sociable atmosphere that no fewer than four festivals have adopted the epithet "the friendly festival": Newcastleton, Musselburgh Festival, Keith Festival and Port William Folk Festival, for example, have all described themselves in these very terms.

11. Locations

Writing in 1989, Douglas commented upon the locations which traditionally have been selected for folk festivals: “while most folk clubs have had an urban base, folk festivals have tended to be run in small places like Thurso, Kinross, Girvan and Keith, and more recently in scenic spots like Glencoe, Islay and Orkney” (Douglas, 1989: 20). As Douglas correctly points out, the majority of Scotland’s folk festivals are based in small towns and villages, a fact which is highly significant when considering the strategies which festivals employ in order to attract audiences. A key factor which can determine the extent to which festivals possess a suitably sociable, yet intimate, ambience is the location in question: small towns are far more conducive to creating the requisite “intimate atmosphere” than urban centres.

MacEwan (2003) highlights the importance of the festival location in his discussion of the Newcastleton Traditional Music Festival. He attributes the festival’s success to:

the geography of the place, [...] the size of the town and the atmosphere. Every back room in the [...] three pubs, two hotels, British Legion, Village Hall – they’re all, every corner is used for a session. So you might have 12 different sessions going on. And you can wander from pub to pub. [...] That’s what makes Newcastleton special.

Thus, for MacEwan, the proximity of performance venues, together with the atmosphere of conviviality which the village’s size engenders, is central to the event’s popularity. In every venue there are numerous sessions, events in which every attendee is free to participate.

The urban-rural dichotomy which Douglas identifies can partly be attributed to the tendency of urban folk clubs to hold festivals in small towns and villages which are more amenable to creating the intimate, friendly atmosphere of which Newcastleton boasts.

The Dumfries Folk Weekend is a notable example. Held between 1983 and 1992, the festival was organised by Dumfries Folk Club and held in the village of Crocketford, rather than in the club's hometown of Dumfries. Similarly, the Girvan Traditional Folk Festival was for many years organised by members of the Kilmarnock Folk Club. Thus, when representing their music in public forums such as festivals, urban practitioners have traditionally chosen to stage their music in rural locations.

In part, such decisions derive from considerations of both atmosphere and aesthetics. The Stranraer Folk Club, for example, elected to establish its folk festival in the harbour village of Portpatrick rather than in Stranraer because the former was “a lovely setting. It's ideal for a festival. It's got all the pubs fairly close together. You don't have to trail too far from one to the other for sessions. There's nowhere nice in Stranraer. Well, it doesn't lend itself to [festivals]” (Lewicka, 2002). Inherent in Lewicka's reasoning is the assumption that if visitors are to be attracted to your festival, then it is necessary to select a location which is visually appealing and appointed with the requisite amenities. In this respect Lewicka's explanation supports Douglas's allusion to the scenic nature of many folk festival locations, illustrating the latent tourism concerns which pervade the organisation of folk festivals.

Indeed, festivals which have been held in less picturesque settings have invariably been unsuccessful in terms of attracting visitors. The poor performance of the Cumbernauld TMSA festival, for example, was attributed not only to the poor levels of local support which it received, but also to the nature of the location itself. As a “new town” it lacked the scenic attractions and proximity of amenities which were deemed essential for a successful festival. The Cumbernauld experience led the TMSA chairman John Watt to suggest that a “market town” setting would be a more appropriate venue for any future festivals (SBB, 1974e: p1). Attempts to establish a Clyde Valley Folk Festival in the new town of Motherwell were similarly abortive, as the festival was not continued after its initial outing in 1982.

Such instances reveal a highly selective approach to location selection, underpinned by an ideology which suggests that the music of the “folk” is incompatible with the urban values of new towns, or city suburbs. Practitioners consciously choose to develop festivals in small, scenic towns and villages, thus rendering rurality central to the presentation of the music itself.³² In this respect, practitioners are colluding in the construction of a “folk festival rural idyll” (Symon, 1998: 325). Gillespie (1987: 158) notes that a similar pattern has developed in the USA, where folk festivals are “a stage for the folkniks to act out their life-style and their values. Rural is better than urban. Natural is better than artificial”.³³ Arguably, this preference for the rural derives in part from its economic associations: unlike urban centres, the rural has pre-industrial connotations and as such is associated with a pre-capitalist economy, an attractive quality for a music scene which endeavours to evade commercialism. In more general terms, the rural is congruent with stereotypical “folk” imagery, which encompasses associations of rusticity and the pastoral. Indeed, as Bohlman (1988: 54) notes, the urban-rural dichotomy is a persistent theme in folk discourse, having first found expression in Enlightenment and Romantic theories on folk culture, which stipulated that folk music could only be collected in remote, isolated villages.

Like its English counterpart, the National Folk Festival of Scotland is situated in an agricultural college campus, a site with evident rural and pastoral connotations. The campus’s location is central to the festival’s appeal, according to its marketing literature:

Had we been able to design our perfect festival setting, we would have found it hard to better what we have at Auchincruive. [...] It is a lovely rural campus – you can walk for a couple of miles along the

³² Indeed, the only exception in this regard is the Castlemilk Folk Festival, held annually between 1992 and 1999 in Castlemilk, a suburb on Glasgow’s south side. It should be noted, however, that this festival was extremely liberal in its programming policy, featuring pop acts including Eddi Reader and Hue and Cry. In this respect its claims to being a “folk” festival were somewhat tenuous.

³³ Gillespie defines a folknik as “a counterculture snob who sees himself as an arbiter of taste” (Gillespie, 1987: 152).

River Ayr and still be in the campus (National Folk Festival, 2002a: n.p.).

Thus, the festival's scenic location is invoked in its advertising materials as a potential enticement to tourists. A similar promotional strategy is espoused by the Both Sides of the Tweed festival, which informs attendees that "Innerleithen sits on the banks of the Tweed, circled by hills, and is the place to forget the cares of the world" (2002: n.p.). Thus, although intimately associated with an agrarian, pre-capitalist economy, the rural is paradoxically invoked to enhance the commercial success of the festival. Moreover, this marked preference for rural locations reveals something of a contradiction regarding the importance of equality in folk music discourse: in the respect that they are far less accessible than urban centres, folk festivals in rural locations arguably provide music for elites, rather than music for the people.

12. Festival Size

A number of festivals have restricted their proceedings to a single venue, as a means of creating an atmosphere which is suitably convivial, participative and, hence, authentic. The "small and friendly" Penicuik Folk Festival (2003: n.p.), for example, is held entirely in the Navaar House Hotel while the Galloway Folk Festival is staged solely in the Galloway Arms Hotel, Crocketford. The organiser of the latter festival argues that it is the "small and beautiful" (Martin, 2002) nature of the festival's scale which distinguishes it from other folk festivals.

The concentration of festival attendees into a single venue has latterly developed into the residential festival, where attendees stay together in the same accommodation. The first festival of this type to be developed in Scotland was Music in the Castle, held annually since 2000 in the Benmore Centre in Argyll. An outdoor education centre, the Benmore Centre offers festival-goers performances spaces, outdoor activities and accommodation for up to 100 people. The size of the centre therefore places evident restrictions on the

size of the festival and is central to the organisers' description of the event as an "intimate and friendly mini-festival" (Cultural Connections, 2003: n.p.).

A similar model was adopted by The National Folk Festival of Scotland, which was first held in the Scottish Agricultural College campus in Auchincruive, Ayrshire in 2002. Its publicity material claimed, erroneously, that "Having a folk festival in a campus setting is unique in Scotland" (National Folk Festival, 2002a: n.p.), and emphasised the integration of musical and social life which a residential style festival can engender: "Something special happens when people sing, eat and socialise together" (Ibid.). The campus is able to provide accommodation for up to 120 people (including guest artistes), which places an upper limit on the number of people for whom the event can cater. Again, the venue's limited capacity is linked to promises of intimacy and participation.

Such discussion implies that larger festivals and festivals based in urban centres lack the requisite intimacy to enable participation and socialising. Indeed, some years before the notion of an Edinburgh Folk Festival had been mooted, an editorial in *Sandy Bell's Broadsheet* expressed doubts regarding the suitability of Edinburgh as a setting for a folk festival: the city was, it claimed, "too big, and it would be difficult to generate a festival atmosphere" (SBB, 1976: 1). The advertising literature for the first 10-day long Edinburgh Folk Festival anticipated and sought to counter such criticisms, informing audiences that "Although there are concerts in large halls there are also small, informal venues so that the intimate atmosphere, so essential to folk music, can develop" (Edinburgh Folk Festival, 1979: 2). The creation of a Festival Club was central to ensuring the existence of opportunities for informal, spontaneous music-making. Describing the first Edinburgh Folk Festival, Ed Miller contrasted the participative nature of the sessions in the Festival Club with the "formal, big-name concerts which attracted varied non-participating audiences" (Miller, 1979: 4). Participation could only be facilitated in small venues which had an informal atmosphere: in larger venues, by contrast, the explicit staging created an audience-performer demarcation which effectively inhibited attendee participation.

A further measure which was adopted to ensure the existence of staged participation was the "clustering" of venues around a central hub. All of the venues were in close proximity to the Festival Club, thereby containing the festival within a compact geographical area and creating a setting which aimed to emulate the atmosphere of a village festival. The 7-day long Glasgow International Folk Festival adopted a similar strategy in its attempt to create an intimate festival atmosphere, confining the majority of its activities to the Glasgow Green area. Frith notes the prevalence of such dispersion in folk festival programming: "Folk festivals are more likely to be organized around a large number of small stages than one big spectacle" (Frith, 1996: 41).

The Edinburgh Folk Festival latterly came to be organised around "one big spectacle" (namely, the 2,400-seater Usher Hall), an arrangement which some claim contributed to its 1997 demise. The festival's director, David Francis, alluded to attendee dissatisfaction regarding this "folklorised" aspect of the festival programme: "I think in Edinburgh there's a strong body of opinion that says traditional music isn't primarily about spectacle, it's about participation, and any future developments will have to take that into account" (Wilson, 2000: 21). Future attempts to revive the festival would attempt to cater for this demand, he argued, and encourage audience involvement rather than passive consumption. The festival was accordingly re-branded as "Shoots and Roots" and its duration was reduced: rather than taking place over 10 days, Shoots and Roots consisted of two four-day events which were held in Easter and November. The reduction of both the festival's duration and scale were key to establishing "a new kind of intimacy", an environment which Francis describes as "the kind of atmosphere that this music works best in, for both audience and performers" (Clark, 1997a: 17).

Indeed, the only Scottish folk festival which continues to have "one big spectacle" at its centre today is Celtic Connections, with the GRCH's main auditorium (which seats 2,475 people) forming its hub. The festival has not been particularly successful in terms of generating an informal fringe of spontaneous musical activity in venues around Glasgow. Those opportunities for informal music-making which have developed have since become

strictly managed: the festival club, for example, began to be ticketed in 1998, a development which “inevitably robs it of a certain spontaneity” (Dawson Scott and Wilson, 1998: 17). Although ostensibly carried out for the purpose of meeting health and safety regulations, the tickets in 2003 cost up to £5 per person, suggesting that the organisers are not immune to its commercial potential. With this action, the one musical space in the festival which had hitherto evaded the commodification present elsewhere, effectively became commodified. At Celtic Connections, selective participation is encouraged, with access restricted to those with the requisite financial resources to take part.

13. Capacity, Tourism and Participation

In comparison to other genres, traditional music has a somewhat ambivalent relationship to tourism. Indeed, it can be a problematic notion for some folk festival organisers, for embedded in the concept of tourism is a “host and guest” dichotomy that is alien to a musical community which ostensibly prides itself on its inclusivity. Music festivals devoted to other genres invariably welcome tourism trade (Quinn, 1996), with their only restriction on tourist numbers set by the carrying capacities of their respective venues. The peculiarities of the folk music tradition, however, mean that there are upper limits on the numbers of attendees that festival committees typically wish to attract: if the event attracts too many tourists, then this poses a threat to the intimacy which even the largest festivals boast of in their advertising literature.

Indeed, when discussing the tensions which can arise between commercial success and musical experience, Pete Heywood (2002a) points to this very risk: “I feel there’s a history of strangulation in Scottish festivals. It happened at Kinross [...] you know, various things that get strangled by being too good and too popular”. As Heywood indicates, the commercial success of the Kinross Festival was ultimately detrimental to its musical offerings. In 1974, the festival attracted 3,500 visitors throughout the weekend, a figure which exceeded all previous records (SBB, 1974e: 1). The resultant overcrowding led to the festival being moved in 1981 to Kirriemuir, a more capacious venue.

Similarly, the Portpatrick Folk Festival was forced to curtail its promotional efforts after the village reached its carrying capacity during the 2002 festival, with an estimated total of some 3,000 people visiting throughout the course of the weekend. At a practical level, the village has insufficient accommodation provision to cater for such an influx of visitors. Moreover, whilst such visitor numbers may be desirable from touristic and economic perspectives, they can cause the quality of the musical experience to suffer. In this particular case, the result was overcrowding in many pubs, which in turn had a detrimental impact upon the sessions which were taking place therein. One festival committee member describes her experience of a post-concert session in one Portpatrick pub as follows: "the place was so full that [...] you couldn't move. Lots of people were standing in the foyer. It was just so loud and noisy" (Lewicka, 2002). Thus, although the publican was undoubtedly delighted with this influx of customers, from the practitioners' perspective such levels of tourism activity were ultimately disadvantageous to the festival experience. The sheer number of visitors inhibited participation in the sessions, and rendered the music-making inaudible for the majority of the pub's patrons.

Attempts to maximise attendee participation are therefore not entirely compatible with efforts to maximise tourist arrivals. Indeed, Heywood (2002b) comments upon the delicate nature of the tourism-folk festival balance: "tourism benefits the festival [but] it's not good if you end up with 98% tourists because then you're just running a zoo". Heywood thus suggests that the festival adopts a passive dimension when its audience is dominated by tourists: the festival becomes an attraction, a spectacle to be gazed upon.

14. Volunteerism

Closely related to the issue of the performer-audience relationship is the manner in which the folk scene in Scotland is organised and structured: namely, through a heavy dependence on volunteerism. Dawson Scott and Wilson (1998: 17) point to the centrality of this ethos, noting that "Amateurism and/or voluntarism are the bedrock and lifeblood of traditional music, whether it's musicians playing in the pub for fun and for free, or the unpaid committees who organise most clubs and festivals". Voluntary work at folk clubs

and festivals provides a means of eschewing the commercial considerations which typify other musical styles.

The majority of Scottish folk festivals are organised by committees comprised of folk music enthusiasts who do not receive financial remuneration for their efforts. This lack of recompense is something of which festival attendees are generally aware, and it serves to powerfully shape the nature of the relationship between the festival administration, the performers and the audience. More specifically, the culture of volunteerism is key to minimising the audience-performer separation; it is essentially the audiences who operate folk clubs and festivals. The organisers, moreover, often invite guest artistes to stay in their own homes, a gesture which is often offered for both social and money-saving reasons.

Indeed, certain festivals advertise their dependence on volunteer labour, harnessing it to impress upon audiences the strength of the festival's commitment to the music it promotes. The National Folk Festival of Scotland is typical in this regard, for its website informs readers that the festival committee previously organised the Girvan Traditional Folk Festival for 25 years (National Folk Festival, 2003: n.p.). Moreover, a number of festivals including the Newcastleton Traditional Music Festival, and the Shetland Folk Festival invite offers of assistance from potential volunteers: such schemes serve to both ease the workload of existing committee members and increase participation of those who would not ordinarily be in a financial position to attend. The economic orientation of certain festivals does not necessarily negate the necessity for volunteer labour: many artistes invited to perform at the inaugural Carrbridge Ceilidh Week, for example, voluntarily performed stewarding duties at individual events within the festival itself (Strathspey and Badenoch Herald, 1978: n.p.). The Edinburgh Folk Festival, which was essentially instigated for tourism purposes, was similarly dependent on a body of volunteers. Volunteerism then, is an articulation of the folk music world's anti-modernist ideology, and an attempt to evade the trappings of capitalism.

The economic implications of volunteerism are immense. The National Folk Festival of Scotland 2002 was served by no fewer than twenty-five volunteers. If we conservatively estimate that the work undertaken by these volunteers constitutes an average work week of 40 hours at the current minimum wage of £4.50 per hour, then this represents a minimum wage value of around £4,500. Their commercial value far exceeds this, however: 81% of tourists at the festival traveled around Scotland and/or the UK before or after the festival, and the local and national tourism economies therefore benefited enormously from the unwaged efforts of the festival's volunteers (Stevenson, 2002). Thus, in organising folk festivals such unwaged workers create demand for services and transportation, stimulate tourism activity and ultimately aid the capitalist system.

In recent years local authorities have recognised that the voluntary efforts of folk festival staff add significant surplus value to the economy, which can be more profitably managed by a structured form of commercial hierarchy. Those folk festivals which have been instigated by local authorities are accordingly managed by paid directors: Both Sides of the Tweed, Celtic Chaos, and the Portpatrick Folk Festival, for example, all engage the services of waged directors (for whom the festival is just one aspect of their remit). As previously noted, however, events such as these maintain some degree of dependence on volunteer labour. Such cooperation is central to ensuring that the community maintains some feeling of ownership over the festival, and offers practitioners some influence over its musical direction.

As demonstrated earlier, urbanisation is a product of modernity which practitioners generally reject when selecting locations for folk festivals. Professionalisation too, is a product of modernity (McKay, 1996: 39), regarding which there is some ambivalence in traditional music circles. More specifically, the professionalisation of festival organisation is problematic for a music scene which values volunteerism, seeks to evade the cash nexus and endeavours to deny the commodified nature of its social relations.

Raybould, Dignance and McCullough (1999) describe the contention caused by this process in relation to the Woodford Folk Festival, held annually in Queensland, Australia since 1987. Since its inception the festival has grown in terms of both audience size and programming, and accordingly has had to adopt more professional marketing and management strategies. Although founded by a core body of committed volunteers, it now employs year-round permanent staff (Ibid: 205). This increased professionalisation which accompanied the festival's commercial success has been the source of some discontent amongst the festival's patrons, however. As Raybould *et al* (1999: 211) explain:

The Festival's very success is seen by many as a threat to the authenticity that has brought it many dedicated repeat visitors. [...] Concerns are frequently raised by experienced "festivalites" that the Festival is losing [sic] its "character" and becoming "too professional and slick". Festival organisers see this increased professionalism as the biggest single threat facing the Festival as it struggles to maintain the folk, volunteer, and community ethos that create the authentic festival experience.

Thus, according to Raybould *et al*, the professionalisation of the festival's management strategies is incompatible with the participatory ethos of the folk music community. The appointment of paid staff has effectively commodified and reified their organisational skills: they are no longer organising the festival solely for the musical and social enjoyment which it brings. Rather, they are under a financial obligation to do so. The remuneration which they receive creates further social distance between paid staff and those unpaid volunteers.

Indeed, similar concerns have been expressed in the Scottish context, specifically in relation to Celtic Connections, a festival which is unique in Scotland in its total lack of volunteer labour. Heywood suggests that:

When you've a growing culture of professionalism, that does pose a potential threat to the volunteer ethos on which so much of the scene depends. [...] The whole notion of people mucking in for the love of it, whether they're performers or working behind the scenes, is actually a very delicate thing, which can quickly get upset once some people start getting paid (Dawson Scott and Wilson, 1998: 17).

Heywood therefore suggests that Celtic Connections may act as a role model for other festivals, causing festival volunteers to seek remuneration for their unwaged productive labour, and thereby compromising the ability of grassroots festivals to secure the voluntary services of folk enthusiasts. Such actions would effectively destroy the social relations which place volunteers in the wageless position of serving capital.

Thus far there has been no evidence to suggest that Heywood's fears have been realised. Nevertheless, Celtic Connections' lack of volunteer labour has an evident impact upon the social relations within the festival itself. Whereas the culture of volunteerism effects the minimisation of social distance in grassroots festivals, Celtic Connections' professional organisational structure serves to increase the performer/organiser division, and this marked social distance is a source of some discontent for certain of the traditional musician community. One anonymous observer is dismissive of the festival's economic orientation: "What you have to remember [...] is that this is a festival run by people whose main job is to run a concert hall, to get bums on seats. It's part of the entertainment industry, not part of the tradition" (Ibid.: 17). Thus, from a financial position Celtic Connections does not require unpaid labour. Moreover, it lacks the voluntary commitment of dedicated enthusiasts, for its very *raison d'être* differs from those festivals run by folk clubs and other practitioners of the tradition.

15. Saturation

The combined force of a seemingly expanding base of enthusiasts and volunteers, and the financial assistance of public authorities, has ensured that the number of folk festivals in Scotland has increased exponentially since the 1960s. For some practitioners this has not been an entirely positive development, however. In 2002 Hector Christie suggested that the folk festival scene in Scotland had reached "saturation point" (Christie, 2002a): there were now more festivals than folk clubs, he noted, and the sheer number of folk festivals taking place annually rendered the market a very difficult one to break into. Moreover, he argued that the festival calendar was compromised and complicated by the existence of what he termed "maverick festivals" (ibid.), one-off, amateurish events which are instigated for cultural or economic purposes, yet which are not organised with adequate research. The resultant ubiquity of folk festivals means that on any given weekend throughout the summer a number of festivals will be clashing with one another, causing evident problems for each in terms of attracting sufficient numbers of attendees.

MacEwan (2003) similarly argues that the sheer number of folk festivals being held annually within Scotland is ultimately unsustainable. In so doing he points to the commercial imperative which has led many destinations to develop such events:

This is a major problem now – what's happening is that there is more and more festivals coming in. People think they can just create a traditional music festival in a town to bring in business. And the problem with that is [...] it has got to the point in different places that there's been one or two great historic failures in festivals because they're spreading the musicians too thinly. [...] that happened at Portpatrick, [it] clashed with Melrose and Kirrie[muir] for a couple of years. And that really caused problems for getting sessions in all three places.

Thus according to MacEwan, the commercial drive to bring in an annual influx of tourists has caused a number of destinations to establish further folk festivals in what is an already crowded festival calendar. Professional musicians may welcome the increased number of paid performance opportunities such festivals offer, but for other participants the quality of the musical experience suffers as each individual event competes to attract the finite number of musicians who are willing to participate in sessions. With opportunities for free music-making, musical exchange and participation thereby limited, the festival becomes simply a series of concerts without even the illusion of a backstage.

16. Folklorisation?

Such observations suggest that the sheer size of the Scottish folk festival market is contributing to what Mesnil (1987) terms the "folklorisation" of individual festivals. The preceding discussions demonstrate, however, that folk festivals in Scotland can be categorised according to their degree of folklorisation: that is, the extent to which they encourage selective participation or passive consumption. In this respect, they can best be conceptualised as belonging on a continuum, depending on the way in which they manage the performer-audience relationship (see Fig. 4.3).

The respective ends of the continuum should be regarded as theoretical poles of experience: in reality, each festival will occupy a position on the continuum somewhere between these two extremes. Thus, towards the left-hand side of this spectrum lie the TMSA festivals: given that such events' objectives are artistic rather than economic, they seek to elude the trappings of capitalism. The festivals are not intended as profit making ventures, and are organised by committees of unpaid volunteers. Guest performers are not regarded as tourist attractions, and accordingly their labour power is not commodified. Hierarchical rankings based on fame and commercial status are ostensibly rejected, and the resultant emphasis is on increasing participation and minimising social divisions. Newcastleton Traditional Music Festival, in particular, depends upon attendee participation for its very existence.

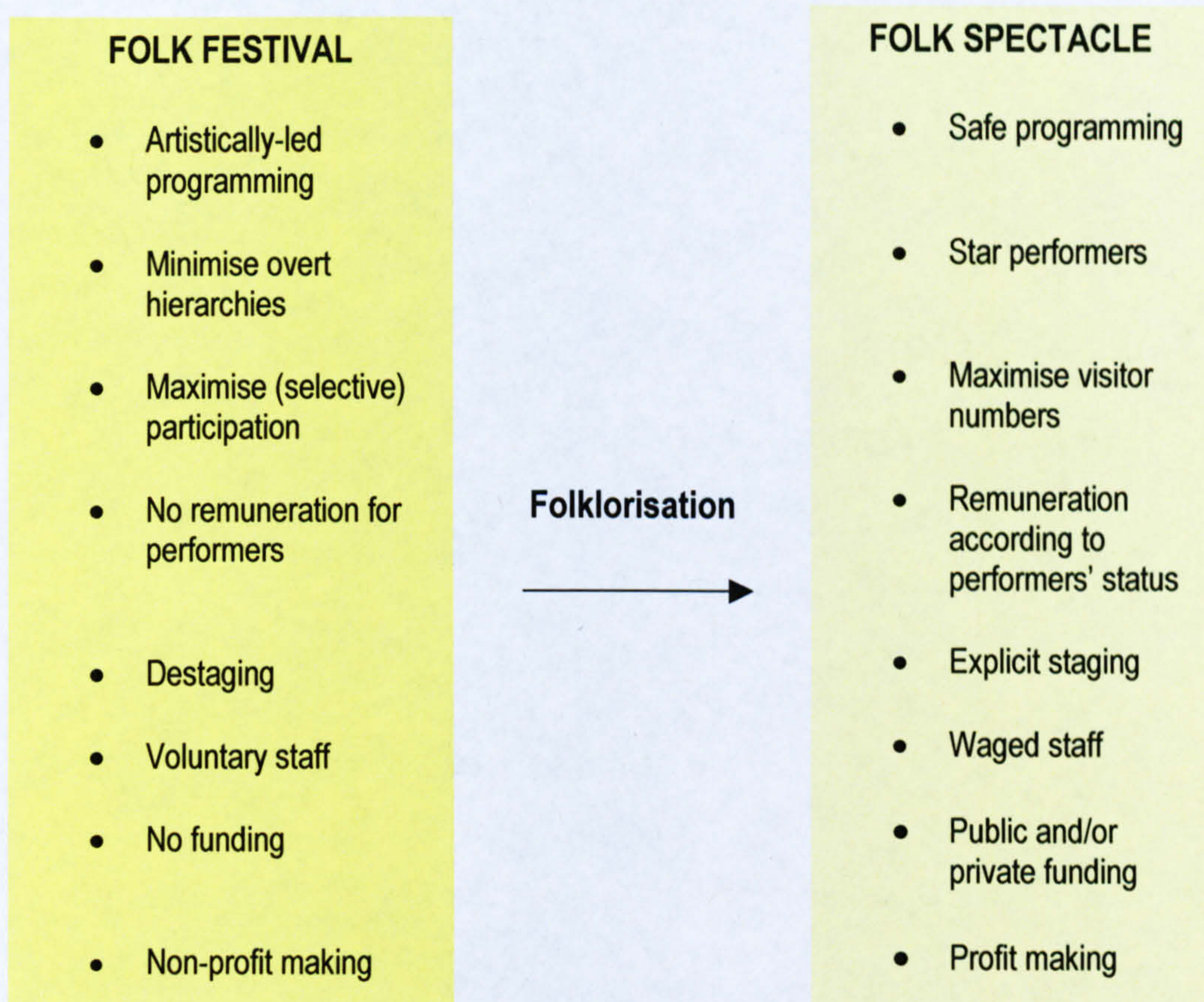


Fig. 4.3: Folk festival-spectacle continuum

Despite these laudable intentions, it has become apparent that TMSA festivals are underwritten by alternate forms of hierarchy, which prioritise practitioners over non-practitioners, source singers over revivalists, and Scottish material over other forms of traditional music. Their programming policy embodies an ideology of national chauvinism which, although intended to fulfil the laudable goal of preserving and promoting Scotland's traditional music, places evident restrictions on participation, a concept which the Scottish folk scene supposedly values. In these respects, the TMSA claims of equality and participation are somewhat tenuous, for the type of participation advanced is of a selective and structured nature.

Towards the right-hand side of this continuum are Quinn's "type 3" festivals, those events which are initiated and supported by economic entrepreneurs and developed with intentions such as stimulating tourism, enhancing the destination's image and/or

improving the cultural life of local residents. For such events, musical and artistic concerns are secondary to those of an economic nature. Although labelled festivals, they have more in common with the spectacle, or folklorised festival, in that audience passivity and hierarchical power relations are integral aspects of their design. At such festivals, the primary function of performers is to attract tourists and other attendees. The remuneration, time on stage and billing which artists receive are thus intimately related to their ability to attract audiences. Performers are listed on promotional materials in order of professional standing, whilst higher status performers receive higher billing, and a longer time on the concert stage. The commodification of performers' labour power ensures that the division between invited guests and ticket-holders is established and apparent. Such variances instil an overt hierarchy in the proceedings and opportunities for collective, participatory music-making are likely to be limited. The festival which most readily exemplifies this style is Celtic Connections: the organisation is "top-down" in nature, in that it was initiated by economic entrepreneurs who have subsequently secured the services of practitioners to manage certain aspects of the festival programme.

Falling at various points on the continuum between these two extremes are those festivals described here as grassroots initiatives. Initiated by both individuals and organisations such as folk clubs and accordion and fiddle clubs, such festivals are generally founded in order to celebrate quality traditional music and to provide a forum for active participation in the music-making. Although not designed to function as tourist events, such festivals may evolve into such as their popularity and renown increases, and as the availability of public funding causes them to extend their marketing efforts towards tourists.

17. Conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated that practitioners no longer base assessments of authenticity upon performers and their backgrounds; rather, such judgements are based upon the musical context. More specifically, in the years since the folk revival, practitioners have propagated the notion that, for a folk music festival to be authentic, it

must be participatory, convivial, informal and devoid of hierarchy. This equation of authenticity with egalitarianism is borne out of a discursive formation which developed as a reaction against the performer-audience demarcation instigated by the folk revival. The development of the folk festival scene, and the commodification practised therein, resulted in an explicit differentiation between musicians and listeners. This stratification, with its attendant notions of celebrity and hierarchy, is something with which festival organisers continue to struggle.

It has become apparent that the treatment of the performer-audience relationship varies significantly according to the tourism orientation of the folk festival in question. Those festivals organised by economic entrepreneurs are frequently criticised because of the manner in which they institutionalise and promote explicit performer hierarchies. The often commercial necessity to indulge in "safe programming" can result in the reification of key star performers, which, practitioners argue, is antithetical to the inclusive and participative nature of the folk experience. Such festivals are accordingly forced to adopt strategies which enable staged participation. There are constant attempts to mask the performer-audience demarcation, and a variety of complex strategies are employed to create the illusion of egalitarianism: festival clubs and/or open stage events are provided; compact venues are selected, at which there can be no possible provision of a green room or stage door for festival performers; and attendees are concentrated into small venues, or clusters of venues, in order to encourage socialisation. In folk festivals initiated for tourism purposes such efforts are typically undertaken as an expedient measure to enhance the festival's market appeal.

In grassroots festivals, by contrast, these very strategies are generally adopted as a result of a genuine ideological commitment to the folk values of democracy and informality. (This is not to suggest, however, that the festival organisers are immune to the commercial appeal of these qualities). In addition, lack of remuneration for festival staff (and possibly performers) in grassroots festivals serves to further minimise the differentiation between musicians, organisers and ticket-holders. A discourse of equality

is also espoused, with advertising literature informing attendees that there will be no performer-audience demarcation in the festival. Claims of participation, intimacy and conviviality are present in the publicity fliers of most practitioner-led folk festivals, yet it has been demonstrated here that such rhetoric is highly problematic in many instances. Whilst practitioners may espouse an ideology of democracy and egalitarianism, it is arguably selective, rather than collective, participation which they promote, for it is highly restrictive in terms of access. It is not desirable, for example, to attract audiences which are dominated by tourists, for their lack of familiarity with the tradition restricts their ability to take part in the music-making. Similarly, the demands of participation place upper limits on the size of the audience which can attend.

Indeed, it has become evident that the relationship between folk festivals and tourism lacks the synergy which it is commonly presumed to possess. The economic entrepreneur's desire to maximise visitor numbers is not compatible with the practitioners' objective of ensuring that attendees take part in the music-making. Grassroots folk festivals which have attracted larger audiences than anticipated have typically fallen out of favour with their regular attendees, as have those festivals which have attracted audiences dominated by non-practitioners. Those festivals organised by practitioners therefore generally gravitate towards the small-scale, and paradoxically use their limited capacity and compact size as an enticement to potential visitors.

The following two chapters demonstrate that the management of the performer-audience relationship is a similarly critical issue in other traditional music events which attract custom from the tourist market. Chapter Six illustrates, for example, that recent tourism initiatives have focused on developing sessions, for these are deemed to blur the audience-performer demarcation and are thus intimately associated with notions of authenticity. Conversely, in musical events which are staged specifically for the overseas visitor market, the presence of an audience dominated by tourists, together with the commodified nature of the environment, ensures there is an explicit performer-audience division, which no attempt is made to deny. The following chapter shall explore these

“Scottish Evenings” and the manner in which they represent Scottish traditional music to the tourist market.

Chapter Five: The Scottish Tourist Show: “Tartan Rubbish?”

1. Introduction

Those involved in the tourist industry will have sat through some toe-curlingly awful “Scottish Evenings”. These roaming-in-the-gloaming extravaganzas tend to feature girls in mini-kilts and too much make-up dancing - allegedly - the Highland Fling. The star turn is usually a portly singer who struts about a small stage wiggling his hips to swing his kilt. It often looks as if a whole hutch of white rabbits have laid down their lives to provide his sporran (Craig, 1998: 17).

This chapter will investigate how Scottish traditional music is represented in performances which are staged specifically for the tourist market, notably in the “Scottish Evenings” described above. In this statement the tour guide Maggie Craig offers a comic, if derisive, description of the average Scottish Evening. Craig’s views are not uncommon, for these tourist-oriented shows routinely attract criticism for the manner in which they represent Scotland and Scottish culture. Her comments have been echoed by the BBC television presenter Gavin Esler, who is similarly disparaging in his description of “expensive and cringemaking [...] kilted crimes against humanity” (Esler, 2000: 14). He proceeds to argue that every MSP should be forced to attend a Scottish Evening before being permitted to debate the future of Scottish tourism. There is clearly a certain amount of hyperbole present in Esler’s argument. However, the very fact that Scottish Evenings have been raised as a matter for popular debate in the media is in itself significant. When the content of musical shows for tourists is not simply debated by academics and musicians, but moves into the forum of the media, then it is apparent that what is represented in these shows is the object of substantial and legitimate public concern.

This chapter will accordingly outline the historical development of Scottish Evenings, and offer an overview of their typical musical content and format. In common with Craig and

Esler, practitioners of Scottish traditional music generally describe the Scottish Evening in pejorative terms. It will be argued here that the key reason practitioners object to Scottish Evenings is because of the entirely commodified nature of the event. Given that they are initiated and controlled by economic entrepreneurs, practitioners have only limited, if any, freedom of musical expression in such performances. This unequal set of power relations is antithetical to the ideals of democracy and equality which the traditional music community purports to espouse.

2. The Development of the Scottish Evening

The *Music in Scotland* website offers a succinct overview of the typical Scottish tourist show:³⁴

Scottish music comes in many forms. First of all there are the summer shows you will find throughout Scotland, mostly aimed at tourists. These shows host a predominance of tartan, bagpipes, highland dancing, comedy and songs of hills and heather - essentially the image many tourists have of Scotland. They follow a successful recipe made famous by the television series 'The White Heather Club' broadcast in the 1960s. Artists such as Kenneth McKellar, Peter Morrison, Will Fyfe, etc. were favourites around the music halls and still are! (Music in Scotland, 2004)

This description alludes to the historical roots of the Scottish Evening, emphasising its debt to both the television programme *The White Heather Club* (1957-1968) and to the music-hall shows which predated it. Indeed, the key components of the typical Scottish Evening which this statement identifies (the tartan garb, the bagpipes, the comic sketches and the folk-related songs) also featured in the music-hall variety shows which were popular in Scotland from the late nineteenth century onwards.

³⁴ The *Music in Scotland* website is owned and administered by Scottish musician Jim Leighton, and is dedicated towards promoting Celtic artists to a global audience.

David Francis similarly argues that the musical content, presentation and packaging of the Scottish Evening is derived from variety shows. For Francis, the Scottish Evening is:

the result of a particular kind of strand of cultural activity focussed pretty much on the entertainment business. [...] And of course the *ubermeister* of this particularly kind of kitsch vision was Harry Lauder. And I think a lot of the lesser shows would have taken their cue from that. And then moving on into the middle of the century, the live shows that presented that kind of Scottish experience took their cue from *The White Heather Club* on the telly.

According to Francis (2002), Sir Harry Lauder (1870–1950) epitomises the style of entertainment staged in Scottish music-halls in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Combining music with comedy routines, Lauder performed a number of songs which have since become staples of the present-day Scottish Evening: *I Love a Lassie* is a notable example. Indeed, Maggie Craig's earlier criticism of Scottish Evenings as "roaming in the gloaming extravaganzas" reveals the Scottish Evening's debt to the music-hall, for it borrows the title of a song popularised by Lauder.

In terms of visual presentation, too, the Scottish Evening owes much to the music-hall. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the Banchory-born fiddler James Scott Skinner (1843-1927) toured the music-halls of Scotland performing in a flamboyant style and dressed in elaborate Highland garb. From the twentieth century onwards, tartan was not only worn by individual performers, but became central to the identity of entire shows, as illustrated by the following description of shows held at the Glasgow Metropole in the 1940s and 1950s: "In its latter days the Glasgow Met was popular for its kilt-tartan-and-heather winter shows, starring the husband-wife twosome Gracie Clark and Colin Murray. These unashamedly Scottish and all tartan revues opened in mid-December and ran well into the following year" (Irving, 2003). This account demonstrates that the adoption of

tartan for performance purposes is neither a new phenomenon, nor confined to Scottish tourist shows.

The accordion, which became the leading exponent of Scottish dance music in the early twentieth century, is a further staple of the Scottish Evening which achieved prominence on the music-hall stage. Despite the demise of music-hall venues from the 1950s onwards, the accordion has retained its popularity through touring cabaret acts such as The Alexander Brothers, and the television programmes which eventually superseded the variety shows (Bruce, 2000: 83; Francis, 2002). The most famous of these was the aforementioned *White Heather Club*, a BBC Scotland TV series which featured performers such as Jimmy Shand and Moira Anderson. It was presented by Andy Stewart, who became renowned for his performances of comical songs such as *Donald Where's Your Troosers*.

Such was *The White Heather Club's* impact on the national consciousness that its title has come to be incorporated into the lexicon of insults, directed at performances which are deemed to be "tacky" or "kitsch". One respondent in *The Times*, for example, advised readers that "Scottish traditional music has moved on from the *White Heather Club* staple of derivative ceilidh music, unbearable easy-listening crooners and cheesy bagpipers" (McGonagle, 2004: 19). The phrase was also used in respect of the devolution debate, when a senior Labour MP was reported to have observed of the Scottish Executive: "They can call themselves the White Heather Club if they want, but they will never be the Scottish government" (Scottish Parliament, 2001). The implication here is that the Executive is a collection of "couthy" characters, incapable of discussing matters of any import.

The demise of the variety entertainment of the music-hall stage immediately preceded the rise of the Scottish tourist show (Bruce, 2000: 128). In the 1970s and 1980s music-halls continued to close, yet Scottish-themed cabaret style shows opened in resorts, hotels and holiday camps across the country. These shows were "aimed increasingly at visitors from

abroad, with a good dose of generic Scottish song, music and tartanry" (Bruce, 2000: 128). The Scottish Evening emerged as a new system of representation in 1972: this year saw the establishment of Scotland's two longest-running tourist shows, namely, Jamie's Scottish Evening and Scottish Showtime. The former is held at the King James Hotel in Edinburgh, whilst the latter was initially held in the Cummings Hotel, Inverness before being moved to the Spectrum Theatre (Scottish Showtime, 2003).

3. The Scottish Evening Today

Today there are innumerable musical shows across Scotland which are performed for the tourist market although in rural areas, such as Dumfries and Galloway, these performances attract locals in addition to tourists. A typical example in this regard is "Sounds Scottish", a summer show which has been taking place annually in the Old Well Theatre in Moffat since 1994. Held every week throughout the summer months, this show features pipers, singers and Highland dancers, together with a number of comedy sketches.

Several hotels in Edinburgh offer shows of similar content, which are directed expressly at the tourist market. The Quality Inn, for example, hosts a "Scottish Night" which consists of a 4-course meal of Scottish produce, together with entertainment provided by a piper and two Highland dancers. Similarly, the Carlton Highland Hotel stages "Hail Caledonia", an evening performance for tourists comprised of Scottish entertainment and cuisine; a similar Scottish Evening is also held at the George Inter-Continental. The most famous of all these evenings of Scottish themed entertainment is held at The King James Hotel, which for 30 years has been staging "Jamie's Scottish Evening", a show replete with haggis, Highland dancing and piping (see Fig. 5.1).

These shows are aimed at mass tourists, often travelling from overseas on escorted tours. Coach tour operators such as Cosmos and CIE regularly advertise Scottish Evenings as part of their tour itineraries, and it is shows such as those listed above to which clients are taken. The coach tour operator Globus, for example, informs readers of

its 2002 brochure that while in Edinburgh they shouldn't miss, "our optional Scottish evening with Highland dancers, bagpipers, and the Ceremony of the Haggis" (Cheaper Travel, 2002).



Fig. 5.1: Promotional poster for Jamie's Scottish Evening, 2004

Even in the countries of the Scottish diaspora, such performances are a staple attraction on certain coach tours: Trafalgar, for example, offers clients on its tour of New Zealand the opportunity to take part in a Scottish Evening "with bagpipes" in Dunedin (Trafalgar Tours, 2004). It would appear, therefore, that in aiming to offer clients an experience of Scottish culture, the location of the show is of less importance than its content. The music, dancing and food are deemed to conjure up some aspect of Scotland, regardless of where the performance itself takes place.

In recent years, vertical integration between coach tour operators and hotels has tightened the grip of the market on the representation of Scotland's traditional music. Throughout the 1990s Shearings Coaches acquired fifteen hotels in the Highlands of Scotland (Scotexchange, 2002). The company's coach drivers are no longer able to take customers to performances of their own choosing: rather, they are obliged to take their coach parties to those hotels owned by Shearings. The coach tour company has therefore acquired complete control over the nature of the entertainment staged in a number of the hotels to which it takes customers. In this respect, recent years have seen economic entrepreneurs acquire greater influence in determining the nature of the musical presentations to which tourists are exposed. Visitors undertaking a coach tour of Scotland experience those musical performances officially endorsed by the tour operator. Scottish Evenings are therefore corporate renderings of Scotland's musical identity.

4. Scottish Evening Performers

Sheena Wellington expresses concern about the manner in which Scottish traditional music in general has been represented to tourists:

One of the things over the years which has caused a great deal of concern is the fact that Scotland has used music to promote tourism and has tended to use it in a very kitschy and twee kind of way. We have not had sufficient regard to the quality of what we've presented to the world at large (Wellington, 2002a).

Wellington's implication here is that a selective view of Scottish music has been promoted, one which has not been particularly concerned with artistic merit. She deems Scottish Evenings to be guilty in this regard: "*People come to see the authentic and they get what goes on in certain hotels. People with accordions singing *Donald Where's Your Troosers! Oh God give me strength!**" (Wellington, 2002a; emphasis added). Scottish Evenings, she suggests, represent the Scottish folk tradition in an unfavourable light.

Most strikingly, by positioning such shows in opposition to “the authentic”, Wellington implies that they are not a “true” representation of Scotland’s musical traditions.

She emphasises, however, that the musical ability of certain of the musicians who perform at Jamie’s Scottish Evening is to be commended: “I’m not saying that the King Jamie is totally without merit, because obviously the performers are generally extremely competent. And in fact many of the performers do better work in other places”. As Wellington implies, many respected traditional musicians perform in Scottish Evenings and in less explicitly tourist-oriented traditional music spaces. Francis similarly notes that:

you’ll actually find quite a lot of musicians who would be identified in the sort of folk or traditional music scene who have experience of appearing in these kinds of things. Particularly ones from the Highlands, you know. People like Duncan Chisholm and Sarah Jane Fifield and so on, did stints in these summer shows when they were kids.

Ewan McVicar (2003) also observes that such shows act as “bread and butter work” for many practitioners of Scottish traditional music: “I know some singers who were very popular in the folk revival years ago who make a working profession out of doing the evenings for the coach parties” (McVicar, 2003). It is not therefore uncommon for practitioners to sell their skills to the economic entrepreneurs who organise these tourist-oriented events. Indeed, practitioners invariably view the Scottish Evening as a forum for making money, which allows them to finance less lucrative (yet perhaps more artistically rewarding) musical ventures.

The apparent skill and repute of many tourist show performers raises questions regarding the criteria upon which commentators, including Craig, Esler and Wellington, base their criticisms of Scottish Evenings. Wellington’s comments, in particular, suggest that it is the performance context which prevents talented practitioners from producing particularly

commendable performances therein. In order to offer some insight into this issue the following section shall consider initially the content of the performance to which Wellington refers: namely, Jamie's Scottish Evening at the King James Hotel.

5. Jamie's Scottish Evening

Together with the Inverness show, Scottish Showtime, Jamie's Scottish Evening is the longest-running tourist show; as previously noted, both have been in existence since 1972. The King James Hotel markets Jamie's Scottish Evening as an example of "the very best in Scottish entertainment" (Ulsterbus Tours, 2003). As its use of the term "entertainment" indicates, the content of this particular show is not confined to music alone. Scottish Evenings which are hosted in hotels are a distinct category of cultural performance, combining dining and entertainment. They borrow elements from other cultural practices and package them together into one show. "The Ceremony of the Haggis" is an element borrowed from the Burns Supper, while the displays of Highland dancing exhibited in the Scottish Evening are of the type performed at Highland Games.

It is testament to the show's commercial success that recordings and videos of the music performed in it are available for sale. The cover of the *Scottish Evening* album (Fig. 5.2) provides a flavour of the visual presentation employed in Scottish tourist shows. The cover artwork is typical in its use of Scottish iconography: a stag and a tartan-clad female dancer are pictured, somewhat incongruously, against the backdrop of Edinburgh Castle. As this depiction suggests, tartan is prominent in Jamie's Scottish Evening, being worn by musicians, dancers and compere alike. Indeed, the prevalence of tartan in this type of performance leads David Francis (2002) to refer to Scottish Evenings as "tartan summer shows".

The *Scottish Evening* album, which features the singers Bill Torrance and Mary Cameron, offers an indication of the typical musical content of Jamie's Scottish Evening. (Readers are referred to Appendix 5.1 for its track listing). The material performed in this show consists largely of Scottish country dance music, performed by accordion (tracks 3, 4, 5, 7

and 10, for example). The repertoires of the vocal performers are generally limited to songs of late nineteenth and early twentieth century origin, such as *Annie Laurie*, *The Dark Island* and *Over the Sea to Skye*. There are also, however, two songs by Burns, namely *A Man's A Man* and *Auld Lang Syne*. Traditional ballads, of the type which attracted tourists to Scotland from the late eighteenth century onwards, are notable by their absence. Strikingly, the fifth track is a set of solo Canadian fiddle music performed by Marie Fielding. With no explanatory commentary, however, the listener is left to presume that this particular track is emblematic of the Scottish folk tradition.



Fig. 5.2: Cover of *A Scottish Evening* album (Music Scotland, 2003).

The show therefore features a judicious balance of instrumental and vocal music, and a repertoire which is drawn from various regions in Scotland (in addition to the Scottish diaspora). Music from the North East features (e.g. *Muckin o Geordie's Byre*), as does material from the South West (e.g. *Annie Laurie*). Highland associations are present in terms of repertoire (e.g. *The Dark Island*), but also in terms of presentation, with tartan garb, piping and Highland dancing featuring prominently. The programme of this particular performance is typical of Scottish Evenings in that it makes little concession to regional distinctiveness: although the show has been held in Edinburgh for over 30 years,

it does not attempt to foreground the area's local musical traditions. Rather, it amalgamates diverse elements of Scotland's musical traditions and repertoire in order to provide visitors with a homogenous representation of Scottishness.

The video's commentary alludes to the tourism orientation of both the show and the souvenir video. The recording opens, for example, with the following welcome from Bill Torrance:

Every year tens of thousands of people come from all over the world to Scotland. [...] I'm glad you've joined us because we're going to give you a sample, not of the hills and glens, but of traditional Scots music, song and dance (*A Scottish Evening*, 1993).

This commentary presupposes that the viewer is one of these "tens of thousands" of visitors, and therefore requires no more familiarity with Scottish music than a mere "sample". Elsewhere, Torrance's observations allude to the audience composition, and its tourist-dominated nature: "You've no idea the thrill that that gives me, to hear, night after night, so many non-Scots recognising and joining in with that song, *Annie Laurie*".

One of the show's regular participants, a fiddler named Marie Fielding, argues that: "The Scottish show at Edinburgh's King James Hotel is a good quality presentation, backed up by souvenir tapes and videos – but the folkies wouldn't like it!" (Francis, 1999: 47) By using the word "folkies", Fielding indicates that a certain sector of the traditional music community does not approve of the content of these shows. (The term "fokie" is the British vernacular for the folk music enthusiast. It is akin to Gillespie's (1987: 158) aforementioned definition of the US "folknik"). Indeed, the views expressed by respondents in this study generally supported Fielding's assertion: notable in this respect is Wellington's aforementioned insinuation that tourist shows in hotels cannot satisfy visitors' purported desire for the authentic.

6. "Tartan Rubbish"?

Other respondents were similarly dismissive of the Scottish Evening concept in general. Sheila Douglas (2002), for example, argues that the performances of Scottish traditional music presented to tourists are of limited artistic worth. Traditional music events staged by the tourist industry, she contends, are hampered by a lack of musical knowledge on the part of those who organise them: "the [music's] artistic integrity is compromised by the people who work in the tourist trade who don't know about the traditional music and think they know what the tourists want, and give them tartan rubbish" (Douglas, 2002). Although not a phrase which has achieved common currency, "tartan rubbish" is clearly used in a derogatory fashion. Douglas's description of what constitutes "tartan rubbish" is strikingly similar to earlier descriptions of the typical Scottish Evening:

[tartan rubbish is] things that are just like a cartoon representation of what is Scottish. It's songs like *Donald Where's Your Troosers*, which is written to a perfectly good pipe tune. Little girls doing Highland dancing, which is meant for men. And people singing traditional songs in art song style with piano accompaniments. You know, the kilned Scottish tenor. I mean, some of them are beautiful singers, Peter Morrison and folk like that, Kenneth McKellar. But what they're doing really is [...] it's kind of staged. It's a stage representation. And you know, the tradition isn't really like that.

Thus, whilst Douglas does not offer a definition of "tartan rubbish", she does offer examples of what she considers it to be. This raises the question of whether it can indeed be defined, given that the selection of these particular examples appears to be based purely on the grounds of aesthetic judgement. Is "tartan rubbish" simply a pejorative means of dismissing musical forms she does not favour? Or do these forms indeed possess common factors which render them particularly lacking in artistic merit?

An initial response to this question might rest upon the notion of artistic context, for each of the forms cited by Douglas apparently has been divorced from its original context: a bagpipe melody has been appropriated by a singer; dances traditionally reserved for men are performed by young girls; traditionally unaccompanied folksongs are provided with piano accompaniments. The notion of an “original” moment is problematic, however (Shepherd, 2002: 193), and indeed denies the dynamic and fluid nature of (musical) culture. Scottish traditional music has long been characterised by the intermingling of its various instruments’ repertoires: in this respect, it is not entirely surprising that a pipe tune has provided the melody for *Donald Where’s Your Trousers*.

Douglas’s denigration of folksongs performed with piano accompaniments similarly reveals that her definition of “tartan rubbish” is not predicated simply upon historical validity, for this too is a musical practice with a long history; as such, it cannot be described as the product of tourism’s pernicious impact. The pages of George Thomson’s (1803) *Select Collection of Scottish Airs*, for example, are filled with traditional airs set to classical accompaniments provided by composers including Haydn, Pleyel and Kozeluch. The songs which these publications contained, together with the piano settings they were accompanied by, were performed in the drawing rooms of Edinburgh and in theatres around the country. As Henderson observes,

In the 19th century, [...] songs of this nature were the staple of countless drawing-room soirees, and they were, of course, almost invariably sung to piano accompaniments; as often as not, the singers would do their best to simulate a high-pan *bel canto* delivery (Henderson, 1995: vi).³⁵

Arguably, the fact that this mode of performance has been in existence for over two hundred years confers upon it Cohen’s (1988: 379) concept of “emergent authenticity”, the

³⁵ *Bel canto* means “beautiful singing”. It is a vocal style primarily associated with Italian opera.

process whereby relatively recent cultural innovations become accepted as authentic over time.

Douglas's earlier comments, however, indicate that practitioners consider this contextual alteration to be a corruption of the music. Indeed, whilst the practice of performing folksongs with classical settings is one with a long history, it has never achieved popularity amongst the traditional music cognoscenti. Rather, publications such as Thomson's *Select Collection* were purchased by the literate upper classes; they were not used by the "folk" whose music they ostensibly chronicled, preserved and publicised. Assessments of the inauthenticity of this musical practice are not therefore based on its historical verisimilitude: rather, given that these songs were never performed with piano accompaniments by the "folk" themselves, it is apparent that the identity of the musician transgressing the boundaries of the folk tradition is of central importance. More specifically, Douglas's "tartan rubbish" can be considered traditional music which is performed by musicians from outwith the folk tradition, who flout traditional music performance conventions.

Indeed, many performers associated with the music-hall and Scottish Evenings can be classed in these terms, having incorporated elements of their classical training into their performance of traditional material. Thus, Kenneth McKellar (described by Douglas as the prime example of the "kilted Scottish tenor"), appropriated elements of the Scottish folksong tradition for his repertoire, yet performed in the classical style in which he had been trained. Moira Anderson, a regular figure on *The White Heather Club*, was likewise a music college graduate. Given this musical background and style of delivery, neither would ever be considered part of the folk tradition, regardless of the material they perform. Similarly, Mary Campbell of Jamie's Scottish Evening performs traditional Scottish songs in a classically-trained voice, complete with the requisite vibrato: given that such a mode of performance requires years of training to achieve, it is not the style adopted by the "folk" themselves.

6.1. Markers of “Scottishness”

This concern with the identity of the person transgressing the boundaries of the folk tradition is similarly evident in Henderson’s critique of the collections of “Scotch songs” which emerged from the Victorian era. Henderson argues that “The irony is that some of the best-known of these cloying ditties turn out, on closer inspection, not to be Scottish at all – or only peripherally so” (Henderson, 1995: vi). In particular, Henderson cites the example of *The Bluebells of Scotland*, a song based on an English air and made famous by an Irish singer. Henderson argues that such songs are invariably characterised by sentimental overtones, and a reliance on an array of Scottish motifs: bluebells and heather, for example. The implication here is two-fold: firstly, that only those outwith the Scottish folk tradition would employ such tired motifs. Secondly, that songs which are not actually of Scottish origin have to convince their listeners of precisely the opposite by employing easily-recognisable symbols of “Scottishness”.

Indeed, the type of performances which Douglas gathers under the banner of “tartan rubbish” are arguably directed at audiences who are themselves not well-versed in the tradition, for the performances are saturated with Scottish iconography. Various markers are adopted in order to impress audience members with a sense of Scottishness. At the aural level, for example, commonly known Scots words, such as the ubiquitous “wee, bonnie lassie” are frequent song motifs, together with Scottish names such as Jock and Donald. Similarly, Mary Campbell’s exaggeratedly rolled “Rs” are a further caricatured signifier of Scottish pronunciation.

Relevant in this regard is Theodor Adorno’s concept of “musical kitsch” (Adorno, 1992: 16). According to Adorno, the purpose of musical kitsch in folk music is to awaken in listeners the music’s connection to a heroic, mythical past in which folksong is the product of community, collectivity and nature: “In kitsch the refrain still always preserves the memory of the collective power of music” (cited in Paddison, 1993: 27). Kitsch manages to evoke a fabled past, he argues, through the use of musical “small change”: namely, formulaic figures that have been overused to the extent that they have become

stereotypes. In this respect, the musical motifs described above conform to Adorno's description of musical small change: rhythms such as "Scotch snap" offer a stereotypical aural signifier of Scottishness, as does lyrical dependence on emblems such as hills, heather and bluebells.³⁶

Visual markers of Scottishness are also integral to the Scottish Evening. At the simplest level, the performers' costumes function as a ready signifier of Scottish identity. The "kilted Scottish tenor" to whom Douglas referred must wear Highland costume to communicate to his audience that (despite his classical-style delivery) he is singing Scottish material. The role of costume as a marker of Scottishness forms part of the wider debate about the place of tartanry in the representation of Scottish culture. For many performers of Scottish traditional music, the prevalence of tartan and kilts in the Scottish Evening is particularly contentious. As Angus Peter Campbell (1997: 9) recounts:

I cannot recall one single person from the true Gaelic tradition who ever wore a kilt to sing at the ceilidh-house in South Uist when I was wee, or to tell a story by the fire or to compose a poem for the village. The authentic tradition had nothing to do with dressing-up.

The nineteenth century re-imagining of the kilt as the national costume of Scotland is the key to Campbell's objections to the presentation of tourist shows. Indeed, it is integral to Douglas's very definition of them as "tartan rubbish". According to Campbell, musicians who wear tartan for performance purposes immediately identify themselves as being outwith the folk tradition. Instead, they mark themselves as members of the entertainment business.

Francis argues that the content of the Scottish Evening has developed with the express purpose of satisfying perceived audience demands for these markers of Scottishness:

³⁶ "Scotch snap": a semi-quaver followed by a dotted quaver. A rhythm typically found in strathspeys.

And [the Scottish Evening] obviously has a connection with traditional music in that the content of a lot of these shows is traditional dance tunes or [...] traditional songs. But the form is something that's grown up in response to a perception of what people want. Or it's been some impresario's idea, 50 or 60 years ago, of a short-hand way of expressing Scottishness (Francis, 2002).

The co-producer and director of the Inverness show *Scottish Showtime* confirms Francis's assertions, observing that: "we do have a lot of traditional things obviously. We have a lot of the usual ingredients, the piper, the dancers, which are essential to a Scottish production of any kind" (Donaldson, 2004). Thus, for Donaldson, pipers, dancers and tartan are necessary elements for any show which trades on its Scottishness. Indeed, research conducted by the STB has confirmed that bagpipes are the instrument which overseas tourists most commonly associate with Scotland (SAC/STB, 2000a: 8). The commercial orientation of *Scottish Evenings* compels their producers to satisfy such expectations.

Wellington (2002b) concurs that tourist-oriented shows are based on the premise that audience members require aural and visual signifiers of Scottish identity. Moreover, she contends that this is indeed sometimes the case:

I think there is an assumption that people need that kind of marker, you know. And some of them do. I have been entertaining groups of Americans and one of them absolutely demanded that I sing something from *Brigadoon* because that "is his favourite Scottish music" (Wellington, 2002b).

The irony here is that the tourist in question is unaware that whilst the 1950s musical *Brigadoon* is ostensibly set in Scotland, it is in fact an American production with no music

of Scottish origin. Indeed, it is one which is routinely criticised for employing the signifiers of Scottishness already discussed and, in so doing, presenting a clichéd, caricatured image of Scotland.

The result of this reliance on icons is, according to Sheena Wellington (2002b), a performance which is sentimental in its portrayal of Scottish culture. Speaking of the Scottish Evenings held in certain hotels, she argues that:

I think the problem with them is that what they give is a very soft-centred image of Scotland. It's very - what I've seen of it - it's very much the beautiful scenery, the bonny lassie kind of thing. [...] Again, it's very bland and soft centred and cosy.

Here Wellington alludes to the frequently invoked motifs which have already been discussed, suggesting that this reliance on such themes results in other aspect of the tradition being neglected. Less savoury aspects of Scottish history, such as battles, are neglected in favour of songs which extol the virtues of Highland scenery, flora and fauna. The result is that a particularly selective view of Scottish traditional culture is presented, one which is designed to be not challenging, but accessible. A "murder ballad", for example, would not be appropriate for inclusion in such a programme.

To summarise, then, the "tartan rubbish" described by Douglas can be defined as music which is deemed by those within the tradition to be lacking in artistic merit. Often performed to audiences who are unfamiliar with Scotland's heritage of traditional music, it has a consequent reliance on aural and visual markers of Scottish identity. Its proponents appropriate elements of the traditional music canon, yet flout the performance conventions of the folk tradition. As Susie Kelly (2003) argues, "although the songs are traditional songs, it's the performance of them that, to me, takes it out the tradition" (Kelly, 2003). According to many practitioners, Scottish Evenings promote "folk entertainment" rather than folk music and as such do not belong within the folk tradition.

7. Taste and Authenticity

This study has repeatedly cited the comments of practitioners such as Wellington, Douglas and Campbell, who claim that the music of the Scottish Evening is not “authentic” traditional music. The preceding discussion has demonstrated that such assessments of inauthenticity are not based on the Scottish Evening's pedigree or its degree of historical verisimilitude. Rather, these judgements of inauthenticity are an expression of taste: folk musicians frequently consider manifest preference for such tourist-oriented performances to be an expression of bad taste. Practitioners, meanwhile, consider themselves to be in the fortunate position of possessing good taste, for they are acquainted with a far wider world of traditional music than that which is presented in the Scottish Evening.

Taste is an articulation of aesthetic judgement. For Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998: 278), “good taste is cultural capital masquerading as the natural attribute of an elite”. With this statement, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett evokes Pierre Bourdieu's (1979) argument that tastes in music are an infallible indicator of social class. In particular, Bourdieu (1979: 18) argues that educational capital and social origin are directly correlated with one's tastes in music. Speaking specifically of classical music, he contends that preference for “legitimate works” prevails amongst higher social classes, namely those which are richest in educational capital. “Popular taste”, conversely, is predominant amongst lower social classes, as this “zone of taste” (Ibid.: 16) varies in inverse proportion to educational capital.

For traditional musicians, manifest preference for Scottish Evening music is an example of what Bourdieu terms “popular taste”: namely, music which has been “devalued by popularization [...] especially songs totally devoid of artistic ambition or pretension” (Bourdieu, 1979: 16). Bourdieu identifies the “music-hall” (to which the Scottish Evening is heavily indebted) as one example of a “popular entertainment” form. Popular entertainments, Bourdieu argues, are visual spectacles, comprised of “fabulous sets, glittering costumes, exciting music, lively action” (Bourdieu, 1979: 34).

The producer of Scottish Showtime proudly describes it as a “spectacle” (Donaldson, 2004). Unlike the traditional music concert, where the music itself is the main attraction, the Scottish Evening supplements music with a variety of other features: the comedy of the compere; the flamboyant costumes of the performers; and Scottish food and drink. The performance offers immediate enjoyment and demands little critical or active engagement on the part of the audience. The spectacle of the Scottish Evening is antithetical to the ostensibly inclusive, participatory folk ideal, and it is for this reason that many practitioners reject the Scottish Evening as an expression of bad taste.

Relevant in this regard is Bourdieu’s assertion that taste is illustrated through difference which is asserted negatively: “in the matter of taste, more than anywhere else, all determination is negation” (1979: 56). Indeed, many traditional music practitioners use pejorative language to separate themselves from the audiences and producers of Scottish Evenings. Typical in this respect is Dewar’s (2003) description of his plans “to take tourists to authentic traditional music, not the overdone songs and tunes you get in many Highland hotels, performed by a guy in a tartan jacket”. Dewar neglects to specify exactly what constitutes the “authentic traditional music” which he favours: rather, he simply places it in dichotomous opposition to the type of music typically performed in the Scottish Evening. Such comments confirm Martin Cloonan’s (1998: 23) observation that “taste has as much to do with revulsion as it does pleasure”. For practitioners, taste in Scottish traditional music is expressed through the rejection of “tartan rubbish”.

Bourdieu observes that “each taste feels itself to be natural – and so it almost is, being a habitus – which amounts to rejecting others as unnatural and therefore vicious” (1979: 56). Contrary to this implication, cultural preferences are not innate: rather, they are the product of one’s cultural upbringing. As a cultural construct, taste is not an absolute quality, but a learned judgement. Accordingly, objects may have assessments of good and bad taste ascribed to them simultaneously; judgements of taste reveal more about the arbiter than the object itself. Given that Scottish traditional musicians have

experienced similar musical educations and backgrounds, they invariably share similar views regarding the relative worth and artistic value of the music performed in Scottish Evenings. The issue of educational capital is crucial here, for enthusiasts of “folk entertainment” are distinguished from traditional musicians by their supposed lack of musical knowledge. In particular, tourists are commonly accused of gullibly enjoying the reputed limited musical worth of these events, because they lack the educational and cultural capital which comes from familiarity with the genuine folk tradition. Douglas (2002) claims, for example, that the musical material of Scottish Evenings enjoys such wide popularity because “people don’t know anything else”. Such claims preclude the possibility that consumers’ manifest preference for such material is informed by a wide knowledge of Scottish traditional music. Rather, practitioners invariably suggest that, in the absence of knowledge regarding Scotland’s folk music traditions, audiences unquestioningly enjoy Scottish Evenings and their associated repertoire

Similar rhetoric is used to separate the promoters who stage such events from practitioners of the “true” tradition. Dave Dewar (2003), for example, attributes the supposed poor quality of Scottish Nights to the limited musical knowledge of those hotel proprietors who stage them, and the tour operators who send guests to them: “Typical Scottish Nights in hotels in the Highlands are embarrassingly awful. The hoteliers often don’t know what good Scottish music is. The coach people don’t know either, so that’s what the tourists get”. According to Dewar, proprietors of hotels which stage Scottish Evenings lack the musical capital to make informed decisions regarding the programming of musicians. Unfamiliar with the folk music tradition, they invite “folk entertainers” whose music is familiar, accessible and undemanding. Such assertions are echoed by Douglas’s (2002) aforementioned description of “people who work in the tourist trade who don’t know about the traditional music and think they know what the tourists want, and give them tartan rubbish”.

Similarly, when discussing the “kitschy and twee” style of music which Scotland’s tourism authorities reputedly promote, Wellington (2002a) contends that “a lot of people involved

in tourism have – to date, and I think it is getting better – but they've really had no great knowledge of what Scottish music was". In particular, she argues that VisitScotland "are basically a clueless bunch with limited taste" (Ibid.), thus explicitly highlighting its staff's supposedly poor aesthetic judgement. Essentially, it is Wellington's view that such public bodies lack the musical capital to accurately represent Scotland's musical traditions. Elaborating on this theme, she argues that "the tourist board has an absolute obligation [...] to know more about the culture they are attempting to use. [...] the same is true of The British Council" (Wellington, 2002b). Attempts should be made, she argues, to cultivate the tastes of these statutory bodies, by instigating "a programme for teaching people who are in the tourism industry" about the country's musical traditions (Wellington, 2002b).

Practitioners therefore employ a particular discourse to distinguish their musical practices from those of the Scottish Evening. Typically, a series of binary oppositions are used to this end: the Scottish Evening is corporate and commercial, whereas traditional music is grassroots and non-commercial. The former is staged and professional, while the latter is informal and amateur. Finally, and most crucially, the Scottish Evening is inauthentic, whereas the traditions of practitioners are authentic.

This inauthentic/authentic dialectic must be understood in ideological terms. The effect of this language is to distinguish "folkies" from their supposedly less musically cognisant "entertainer" counterparts. Such rhetoric is essentially used to emphasise the differences between these musical forms, rather than their extensive commonalities. In stressing the supposed superiority of traditional music, this rhetoric serves to reinforce social divisions between the folk musician and the "folk entertainer". In this respect, authenticity is a necessary construction for practitioners, allowing them to create an identity for themselves, and define their place in the (musical) world. Without the supposed "inauthenticity" of Scottish Evenings, practitioners' conceptions of authenticity are devoid of meaning.

8. “Cultural Commodification” and the Scottish Evening

Margaret Sarkissian (1998) criticises the recurrent tendency for academics, musicians and audiences to discuss musical performances which are staged for tourists in pejorative terms: “we conveniently neglect mass-mediated, commercial cultural manifestations, too often characterizing them as “inauthentic”, “superficial” or “just for tourists” (Sarkissian, 1998: 87). This description of the terms in which tourist shows are commonly described is strikingly redolent of Wellington and Douglas’s comments on the content of Scottish Evenings. It is, moreover, a perspective which is reflected in the academic literature, with most ethnomusicological analyses of tourist shows being preoccupied with Greenwood’s cultural commodification thesis and the detrimental impacts which tourism is deemed to inflict upon the music in question.

The proceedings of the International Council on Traditional Music’s 1986 colloquium on the impact of tourism on traditional music (Kaepler and Lewin, 1988) are typical in this regard. Gerard Behague’s (1988) contribution, for example, contends that exposure to the tourist market has had a profoundly negative impact on Afro-Bahian traditional music in Salvador, Brazil. Behague (1988: 65-66) argues that in tourist-oriented performances, the music is subjected to alterations, such as the addition of harmonies alien to the tradition, and the loss of the singer’s traditional passages of improvisation. The result, Behague contends, is a highly stylised performance, one which is designed to conform to tourists’ expectations of what constitutes Brazilian music. Tourism, he argues, has resulted in the “simplification and impoverishment” of the tradition (Ibid.).

Whilst this final comment echoes the views of Wellington and Douglas, the preceding discussion has demonstrated that it is entirely misleading to represent the music of the Scottish Evening as traditional music which has been corrupted by tourism. Rather, it has established that the music of the Scottish Evening belongs to a tradition which has long been denigrated for its nostalgic and sentimental overtones, and its caricatured portrayal of Scottish culture. Although the variety shows of the music-hall did not begin to proliferate until the 1840s (Bruce, 2000: 7), their musical content had clear precursors in

the “Scotch songs” commonly performed on the London theatre stage and in drawing rooms around the country in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Henderson’s earlier comments exemplify the manner in which these songs are often criticised for their transgressions of the folk music tradition, their lyrical dependence on emblems of Scottishness and their consequent sentimental tone. These are all arguments which are frequently levelled at the Scottish Evening, and indeed, in terms of style, lyrics and settings, the songs of the Scottish Evening have much in common with “Scotch songs”. The musical origins of Scottish tourist shows therefore reach back to a time when tourism in Scotland was in its nascent stages.

Moreover, it would be disingenuous to imply that the musical material performed in Scottish Evenings is reserved solely for overseas tourists visiting Scotland. Rather, an examination of the sales figures for these artists reveals that there is a significant audience for this kind of material within Scotland itself. The Alexander Brothers’ 1965 single *Nobody’s Child* outsold The Beatles’ *Ticket to Ride*, while the biggest selling music video in Scotland in 2001 was The Alexander Brothers’ *Favourite Memories* (Allan, 2002: 2). The enduring popularity of the Scottish Country Dance movement, and Robbie Shepherd’s BBC Radio Scotland programmes, *The Reel Blend* and *Take the Floor*, also attest to the strong domestic demand for the style of music performed in the Scottish Evening.

Furthermore, although some Scottish Evenings (particularly those in hotels) are targeted specifically at a tourist audience, others attract a significant proportion of their audience from the local market. Whilst such performances may be saturated with markers of Scottishness as the result of a (perhaps unconscious) attempt to conform to overseas visitors’ expectations of Scottish culture, this does not deter significant numbers of Scots from attending and enjoying such shows. Tourism alone therefore cannot be held guilty for the stylised performances which result, for by their very acceptance of this portrayal of Scottish culture the domestic market too ensures their continued existence.

In addition, it has become evident that the purported consequences of "cultural commodification" are of dubious veracity. Particularly spurious is Greenwood's (1989) supposition that the commodification of cultural events causes them to lose meaning for their participants. Like authenticity, meaning is not an absolute quality: rather, it is continually negotiated and renegotiated by musicians, audiences and promoters alike. Whereas practitioners may regard Scottish Evenings simply as a forum for making money, other performers attest to their genuine enthusiasm and passion for participating in such performances. The commodified nature of a musical performance need not render the experience meaningless for either performers or audiences, as Cohen (1988: 381-382) observes:

folk musicians, who play for money to an external audience, may be excited by the opportunity to present their art and proud to display their competence. There is no reason to assume that their music lost all meaning for them, merely because they have been paid for performing it. It would be absurd to argue that all popular music is meaningless for the artists because it is commercialised.

As Cohen suggests, the literature often portrays authenticity and meaning as being incompatible with commodification. Contrary to such assumptions, many Scottish Evening performers derive a substantial degree of fulfilment from participating in such shows. This is evinced by the following statement, in which the co-producer and co-director of Scottish Showtime reveals her personal beliefs regarding the show's long-running success:

When you say to me "why has it been so popular and survived?", one of the things that people say to us is because we have a feeling for the product [...] and everybody's passionate about not only the show, but what we're singing about as well. It's a genuine thing [...] that we

are all as passionate about the show; as I think everybody should be in their field (Donaldson, 2004).

Thus, for Donaldson, the show is authentic insofar as it is meaningful for its performers. Her assessment of authenticity is based not upon criteria such as the historical validity of the performance style, or the quality of the show's repertoire. Rather, it is predicated upon the enthusiasm and "sincerity" (Taylor, 2001) of its performers.³⁷ Such observations thus directly contradict the notion that the tourist commodification of cultural events results in a loss of meaning for participants and attendees alike. For Donaldson, it is the meaning of the performance which is central to the show's economic success. Moreover, she implies that it is the meaning which participants ascribe to the show which renders it authentic.

9. Commodification, Power and Control

Accounts of musical commodification are frequently characterised by the enumeration of the various impacts wrought upon traditional music forms by the pernicious influence of tourism. The aforementioned studies by Man-young and Behague are typical in this regard. Such accounts neglect to acknowledge, however, that such changes can occur in response to internal dynamics as much as a result of external influences. Indeed, the common concentration on tourism itself as the sole agent of change is a particularly problematic aspect of the manner in which the cultural commodification thesis is often applied. The impact of tourism in this regard cannot be isolated from that of a host of other modernising forces, including globalisation, migration and urbanisation.

In addition, such studies invariably portray these impacts as occurring independently of human agency. In so doing they neglect to acknowledge that commodification is the process by which sets of social relations are established which are dictated by the terms of commerce. Accordingly, it is not tourism *per se* which imposes changes on traditional art forms: rather, it is the social relations surrounding the commodification of the tourism

product which do so. The question of how tourism impacts upon traditional music is therefore misleading and immaterial. Instead, it is far more important to investigate how the commodified nature of the tourist show affects the representation of Scottish traditional music.

The key issue which determines the manner in which Scottish music is represented in the tourist show is the set of power relations between consumers, producers and promoters. Chapters Three and Four argued respectively that those folk festivals organised by economic entrepreneurs differ from their grassroots counterparts in that they are typically more liberal in their programming policy, and they are marked by a greater performer-audience stratification. In the Scottish Evening, these tendencies reach their apotheosis: given that such performances are instigated by economic entrepreneurs, no efforts are made to bridge the performer-consumer distance, and no formal strategies are enacted to enable audience participation. It is for this reason that Douglas describes "tartan rubbish" as "kind of staged" (op. cit.). For Douglas, it is in part the formality of the stage presentation which distinguishes Scottish Evenings from the "true" folk tradition.

Donaldson's (2004) description of Scottish Showtime highlights the staged nature of the event, yet does so in a far more positive sense: "we pride ourselves on the presentation of it, it's all very professionally done. It's a very fast moving thing. It's a spectacle – people call it a spectacle". As Chapter Four established, the notion of spectacle is anathema to grassroots folk festivals, the vast majority of which encourage attendees to actively participate rather than passively spectate. According to Donaldson, however, Scottish Showtime's lavish visual display is a key element of its appeal. Maximising the social distance between performers and audience is central to achieving this effect.

Audience composition is a further factor which determines the nature of the social relations within the Scottish Evening. The tourist show's target market is entirely different

³⁷ According to John Taylor (2001: 16), the concept of sincerity "implies an interactive sharing of experience between participants within a given tourism experience".

from that of a folk festival, for the audience's make-up is controlled entirely by economic entrepreneurs. Given that Scottish Evenings are typically frequented by tourists (and coach tour parties in particular), the audience often lacks the familiarity with the repertoire which is required for active participation. The consequent social distance between musicians and customers further causes the show to become a spectacle.

As Chapter Four established, the professional management strategies which many folk festivals have been forced to adopt are often described as anathema to the tradition's volunteer ethos. Indeed, the discourse of "professionalism" used to promote Scottish Showtime further highlights the show's division from Scotland's folk music tradition. The show's website, for example, invites readers to "this fast moving professional production which has thrilled and delighted audiences from all over the world. [...] This unique SCOTTISH EVENING is a major tourist attraction with Songs and Music performed by Scotland's finest entertainers" (Scottish Showtime, 2003; capitalisation in original). There is much in this statement that marks the show's distance from those events such as folk festivals: that it advertises its professional performance values; that it publicises its particular appeal for the tourist market; and that its music and songs are performed by "entertainers" rather than by musicians.

The designation of the show as a "production" is also instructive, for it emphasises that it is not an informal performance, but a carefully stage-managed event. Scottish Showtime is produced and directed by Maggie and Bob Donaldson, who also perform in the show. It is production that distinguishes the Scottish Evening from events such as folk festivals, where the musicians themselves decide upon their musical programme and the presentation of their act. Production ensures that the performance is relatively formal in tone, with the social distance between performers and musicians carefully demarcated. Relatedly, it results in a predictable format, which makes no allowance for spontaneity. As Ewan McVicar (2003) notes in respect of the typical Scottish Evening, "it's a set programme night after night".

Caroline Hewat (2003) comments upon the centrality of production to Scottish Evenings:

It's the promoters that put on these Scottish Nights, not the musicians. The promoters choose what they want to put on and they tell people what they want, and they tell people how to dress and they tell people how long their set is, and all this kind of thing.

Issues of control and power are therefore paramount here. As Hewat implies, the commodified nature of the performer-producer relationship ensures that producers are able to stipulate what form the musical presentation should take. Musicians are obliged to conform to such strictures in order to secure future work opportunities for themselves.

Conversely, in less commercially oriented forums, folk musicians have a substantial degree of freedom in deciding upon the presentation of their tradition. Chapter Three observed that almost all folk festivals in Scotland are commodified to a certain extent, yet in such events practitioners retain some degree of control over the musical proceedings: as Heywood (2004) confirms, "It's not the job of a festival organiser to define what a particular artist does on a stage". Arguably, respect for the musician's autonomy is a guiding principle of the folk scene.

Hewat (2003) concurs, arguing that musicians who appeared at concerts in Balnain House received minimal directions: "We said to the musicians [...] "You play your music, whatever you want, whatever you're playing just now." And it was entirely up to them". Thus, the musicians are only given directions as to their time schedule. Decisions regarding programming, repertoire and performance format, are reserved for the performer.

Unlike festivals, Scottish Evenings are not operated by practitioners. Thus, the practitioners' chief objection to the Scottish Evening is that control is removed from the hands of musicians, and placed wholly in the hands of hoteliers and tour operators. In the

Scottish Evening, ownership over the representation of the tradition has been returned to economic entrepreneurs. Accordingly, the key factor which accounts for practitioners' hostility towards Scottish Evenings, are the sets of power relations involved therein. As a corporate expression of Scotland's musical identity, the nature of the musical presentation is determined entirely by economic entrepreneurs: hoteliers, tour operators, or impresarios. This unbalanced set of power relations again ensures the silencing of the "folk", for the musician has no degree of autonomy in the Scottish Evening.

10. Conclusions

The Scottish tourist show features an amalgam of elements borrowed from a number of cultural shows: the Burns Supper, Highland Games and the Scottish music-hall. Scottish Evenings are invariably criticised by members of the traditional music community for their allegedly caricatured portrayal of Scottish culture. The musical content of these shows is criticised for its transgressions of the folk music tradition. The visual presentation, moreover, is criticised for its reliance on costume in order to conform to audiences' preconceptions of Scottishness. Indeed, the majority of this study's respondents were of the opinion that the commercial concerns inherent in the tourism industry could have a profoundly negative impact on the traditional arts, and this negative impact manifested itself most evidently in the form of the Scottish Evening. This stance is remarkably redolent of the ethnomusicological approach to the study of the relationship between traditional music and tourism, which is in itself heavily dependent on Greenwood's cultural commodification thesis.

There are, however, a number of reasons to reject the commonly expressed view that the music of the Scottish Evening has been corrupted by tourism. The type of music performed in the Scottish Evening attracts a sizeable following within Scotland itself: this, presumably, is an audience which either rejects the idea that the music is caricatured, kitschy or twee, or does not consider these terms to be criticisms. Thus, whilst Scottish Evenings may foreground Scottish motifs in order to satisfy audience expectations, the demand for this type of thematic content comes to some extent from internal audiences as

well as external audiences. Moreover, although it was only in the 1970s and 1980s that the Scottish Evening began to be packaged and marketed specifically for tourist consumption, its musical content predates the rise of mass tourism to Scotland.

Ultimately, the general antipathy which practitioners hold towards Scottish Evenings derives not from the supposed impacts of tourism on traditional music: rather, it derives from the wholly commodified nature of the musical environment. The Scottish Evening remains one musical forum where performers have no degree of control over their musical presentation. Their costumes, repertoire and style are dictated entirely by economic entrepreneurs, as is the audience composition. The consequent social distance between performer and audience creates a show which is characterised by its staging and formality, qualities which are in opposition to the purported mores of the folk tradition.

Matters of aesthetic judgement have also proved central to this discussion. Despite its historical pedigree, members of the traditional music community surveyed here often expressed the view that the music performed in the Scottish Evening was not authentic. For many respondents, the use of the term "authenticity" served to legitimise their criticisms of certain cultural forms: music which they favoured was therefore described as being authentic, whereas music which they disliked was labelled inauthentic. Assessments of inauthenticity were expressions of distaste, predicated upon the Scottish Evening's staged and commodified nature. This stance reflects the background of this study's respondents, in that the majority are members of the traditional music community. Their views are far from universal, however. It is evident that what these respondents have described as "inauthentic", "kitsch" and "twee" music is immensely popular, not only in Scotland's tourist markets but also within Scotland itself.

Contrary to what some of this study's respondents have suggested, authenticity is not an innate quality which certain musical forms possess and others lack. Rather, it is a concept which has been culturally constructed. As such, its meaning proves elusive and interpretations of what constitutes the authentic are markedly personal in nature. Thus, for

Wellington, authentic traditional music is simply that which is in good taste. For Douglas, it is that which is performed in an informal, unstaged manner. For Donaldson, it is that which is performed with a passion. One person's authentic music is another person's kitsch, and vice versa.

Despite its unstable meaning, the concept of authenticity is used increasingly as a measure of artistic credibility within the traditional music community. The following chapter will elaborate on this theme, outlining the place of authenticity in recent policy on cultural tourism, and investigating how the concept has influenced a recent traditional music and tourism initiative which has been positioned in opposition to the music of Scottish Evenings.

Chapter Six: Creating the Authentic: The Traditional Music and Tourism Initiative

1. Introduction

At a cross party news conference held in June 2000 to discuss the Scottish Parliament's first debate on Scottish traditional music, Cathy Peattie MSP claimed that "traditional music is about authenticity – real people singing with real voices" (Roseanna Cunningham website, 2003). Peattie is not only a parliamentarian but also a folk singer, and as such displays a preoccupation with authenticity comparable to many of her traditional musician peers. Her statement provides little insight into what meaning she ascribes the term, however: the implication that there may be such things as "unreal people" or "unreal voices" is patently problematic.

Nevertheless, Peattie's concern with the concept of authenticity reflects Scottish Executive policy towards the promotion of both traditional music and tourism. This is most readily exemplified by *The Traditional Music and Tourism Initiative*, a three-year project which was launched in 1999 by the SAC and the STB. The initiative was intended to transform tourists' preconceptions of Scottish traditional music; in particular, it was promoted as a counterweight to the musical images of bagpipes and pipe bands (Paterson, 2002), which SAC and STB claimed had dominated overseas visitors' perceptions of Scotland's musical heritage. The music director of the SAC asserted that the initiative was not designed to promote such conventional symbols: rather, it was "about the real thing" (Knowles, 2002). This chapter argues that the prevalence of folk music sessions in the *Traditional Music and Tourism Initiative* is a manifestation of this concern with "the real". It also highlights the problematic manner in which the rhetoric of authenticity was used to promote this initiative.

2. The Traditional Music and Tourism Initiative

Prior to the publication of the SAC's *National Cultural Strategy* (Scottish Executive, 2000a) and the STB's *New Strategy for Scottish Tourism* (Scottish Executive, 2000b) numerous consultations were held with tourism industry professionals and members of Scotland's arts community. According to David Francis, the question of authenticity was an important issue for artists and musicians who participated in these various consultations. He notes, for example, that at an international conference on tourism and the arts held in Edinburgh in 1997, various practitioners of the arts expressed concerns to assembled tourism professionals regarding "questions of authenticity and identity" (Francis, 1999: 46). These were, he noted, concerns which also had been voiced at a 1995 Traditional Music Consultation. Citing Ros Halley of the SBTB, Francis argued that it was the responsibility of tourist boards to support the arts "without corrupting the unique character of local arts events" (Ibid.: 46). Harnessing events for their tourism potential, this statement suggests, risks compromising their artistic integrity, their authenticity and their very meaning.

Questions of authenticity and integrity permeate The Traditional Music and Tourism Initiative (TMTI), which emerged from this consultation process in 1999. The TMTI steering group was established in 1998: although it included a number of STB and SAC representatives, its membership was dominated by practitioners.³⁸ This advisory group established the following objective for the TMTI: "To raise the profile of traditional music within Scottish tourism and to ensure that visitors to Scotland have ready access to traditional music, thereby enforcing our musical heritage and culture, and realising the benefits for our local economy" (SAC/STB, 2000a: 3). At the simplest level, therefore, the initiative was designed to enable visitors to access musical performances more readily, thereby creating synergy between the traditional music and tourism sectors. On the

³⁸ The members were: Jim Allison (STB); Arthur Cormack (Fèisean nan Gàidheal); Elspeth Cowie (TMSA); David Francis (Shoots & Roots); David Gardner (Shetland Arts Trust); Amy Geddes/ Clare MacLaughlin (S. Lanarkshire Council); Ros Halley (SBTB); Iain Hamilton (MIDAS); Lynda Johnston (STB); Nod Knowles (SAC); Jean Urquhart (The Ceilidh Place); Sheena Wellington (Fife Council).

national scale a number of measures were taken to achieve these goals: TIC staff were provided with comprehensive listings of traditional music events throughout Scotland; a survey was conducted gauging visitors' perceptions of traditional music in Scotland; and a comparative study of the traditional music scene in Ireland was carried out.

A number of "local demonstration projects" were also gathered together under the umbrella of the TMTI. Together, SAC and STB made funding available which individual regions could apply for in order to finance individual projects in their respective areas. In the first year of the initiative projects were organised in Angus and Dundee, Dumfries and Galloway, Fife, Orkney, Ross and Cromarty, Scottish Borders and Shetland. By the end of the three-year initiative, 19 projects had been supported in 11 different areas. An initial report into the first year of the project was published in 2000 under the title *The Traditional Music and Tourism Initiative 1999-2000*, while the entire project was assessed in *A Soundtrack for Scottish Tourism 1999-2002* (SAC/VisitScotland, 2002), a report published in 2002.

3. Musical Context, Authenticity and Destination Spaces

The latter report was prepared by the folk music promoter Rob Stokes, a figure who had previously expressed somewhat strident views on the relationship between traditional music and tourism in Scotland. In the following statement, for example, Stokes criticises the Scottish Evenings of the previous chapter and suggests that tourists wish to experience informal musical events which are not organised specifically for their benefit:

educated, sophisticated, independent-minded visitors to Scotland are served up the same old heather and haggis shows on their travels unless they are lucky enough to stumble upon informal sessions or folk clubs (Clark 1997b: 17).

The pejorative tone of Stokes's comments regarding tourist-oriented shows suggests that he believes these to offer visitors a superficial, caricatured impression of Scottish musical

culture. He argues that discerning tourists wish to penetrate beyond such contrived experiences and encounter informal music-making in pubs, for the latter experience is less staged and therefore more representative of Scotland's genuine folk tradition. Indeed, his comments regarding the particular appeal of folk music sessions evoke the findings of Chapter Four, which established that practitioners value the provision of sessions in folk festivals, due to their apparent informality, intimacy and participative ethos. The TMTI similarly privileges the session; 7 of the 11 areas which received support through the TMTI organised projects which either entirely or partially comprised of establishing sessions in local venues.

Stokes's assumption that tourist shows are simply "pseudo-events" (Boorstin, 1992: 9-12), which tourists reject in favour of informal musical events, is a view which is also represented within the academic literature. Most notably, this notion is embedded within Kaley Mason's (2001) account of his search for "quintessential traditional music" in Ireland. Attending a performance in a Galway pub, which was replete with traditional musicians and flamboyantly costumed Irish step-dancers, Mason regarded the show as an enjoyable, yet thoroughly staged and commercial experience: "music was presented as a spectacle – an entertaining service that could be leisurely enjoyed for the price of a few pints" (Mason, 2001: n.p). The presence of other tourists compounded this feeling of contrivance, with Mason feeling that he had been unable to penetrate beyond the superficiality of events which catered solely to the tourist market.

In Belfast, by contrast, Mason encountered what he deemed to be a less contrived and more natural musical experience: namely, a session in a pub located in a working class area of the city. Commenting that "at no time did I sense the music was contrived for tourists" (Ibid.), Mason supports Stokes's assertion that tourists seek to overcome the superficiality of musical events contrived specifically for the tourist market. In this case, the apparent "spontaneity" (Ibid.) of the informal music making served in part to enhance Mason's perception of the event's authenticity. Other factors, including the relative absence of other tourists, the apparent lack of remuneration for the performers, together

with the indistinct division between the performers and audience, also rendered the event more meaningful: "the experience in Northern Ireland felt more genuine, more evocative, and more authentic" (Ibid.). Thus, Mason explicitly links the informality and uncommodified nature of the session to its apparent authenticity.

Mason's account confirms that authenticity is not an innate quality of music or musical performances: rather, it is a judgement predicated upon the context, or "social frame", (Ibid.) of the performance. With this discussion of the performance context we find a critical point of convergence between theories of authenticity which have emerged from sociological analyses of tourism and those which have been applied to music. In particular, MacCannell's (1999) description of front and back regions is a useful means of interpreting Mason's (2001) account. MacCannell (1999: 94) argues that tourists aim to overcome the "front regions" of the destination, namely those social spaces which are manufactured for tourist consumption. Their objective is to penetrate the "back regions", those spaces which are reserved exclusively for the host community, and from which audiences and outsiders are typically excluded. Entering such areas, it is presumed, permits tourists to experience the inner workings of the community and thereby achieve the authentic experience which they seek.

Indeed, Mason's experience exemplifies this process: the Galway pub in which he observed the "staged" musical experience can be described as a front region space, for it offered entertainment specifically targeted at the tourist market. The pub in Belfast, conversely, was frequented by residents rather than outsiders and as such was an example of a destination back region. In accordance with MacCannell's thesis, Mason (2001) deemed the music experienced in this pub to be more genuine in nature.

The division between front and back is primarily based on social relations (MacCannell, 1999: 92). In the destination's front regions, for example, the divisions between performers and audiences are evident and fixed: performers are paid to entertain, whereas audiences pay to be entertained. As was the case in Mason's Galway pub,

these social boundaries are not transgressed. In the Belfast pub, by contrast, these social structures were far less distinct, leading Mason (2001: n.p) to comment that "there was no clear division between listeners and performers". In theory this fluidity does not render the Belfast pub a back region, for according to MacCannell's definition, such regions do not permit observers such as Mason to enter. However, as MacCannell asserts, the front and back regions are ideal, if unattainable, poles of the tourist experience. Divisions between front and back are blurred rather than dichotomous, for front regions often appropriate characteristic elements of the backstage in order to enhance their touristic appeal. Social spaces in tourist settings can accordingly be identified as belonging to particular stages on a continuum:

Stage 1: The front region which tourists aim to overcome.

Stage 2: A front region which has adopted some decorative elements of the back stage.

Stage 3: A front region which has been designed to entirely resemble a back region.

Stage 4: Back regions to which outsiders are permitted ready access.

Stage 5: Back regions which are occasionally penetrated by tourists, and which receive cosmetic alteration as a result.

Stage 6: The back region to which tourists are denied access.

(cf. MacCannell, 1999: 101-102)

Rather than being deduced from empirical evidence, MacCannell's model is purely theoretical, and as a result, the particular stages which he identifies are open to charges of arbitrariness. In heuristic terms, however, the model is highly valuable. It highlights the commercial appeal inherent in manufacturing backstage areas, and the concomitant difficulty in distinguishing actual back regions from those front regions which have been constructed for tourist consumption. More specifically, MacCannell argues that whilst the tourist may seek authentic experiences, attempts to do so are invariably thwarted by the "staged authenticity" (1999: 91-107) of what is presented to tourists in those spaces which are manufactured to resemble back regions. According to MacCannell's logic, the modern tourist is condemned to only inauthentic experiences, with no means of escape.

Indeed, the tourist who is permitted to enter the Shetland Fiddlers' Society's weekly practice in the Isleburgh Community Centre in Lerwick would be forgiven for believing that they had infiltrated a back region to which outsiders are typically denied access. Rehearsals are by definition staged for the benefit of performers, rather than audiences, and information regarding where they are held is usually not available to outsiders. In this case, however, visitors are readily admitted and welcomed: the performers, moreover, are clearly not immune to the commercial potential of these practices, for they rehearse wearing Fair Isle sweaters in order to promote the islands' knitwear industry (Schei, 1988: 123). Thus, although it was originally a back region in terms of its function, it has appropriated elements of the front stage. Indeed, it is what MacCannell (1999: 101) would describe as a "stage four" region: namely, a back region which readily permits outsiders to enter.

In terms of musical events, MacCannell's thesis implies that tourists tend to favour music which is performed in an informal environment over performances which have been staged specifically for their benefit. Whereas concerts, festivals and Scottish Evenings are commercial events which tourists can readily access information about, sessions are not necessarily marketed to tourists; indeed many are not advertised at all. As Stokes's use of the phrase "stumble upon" indicates, a certain degree of serendipity is required for tourists to access events which are generally reserved for local residents: if a tourist happens upon such an event by chance, they are likely to believe they have penetrated one of the destination's back regions. Indeed, this is the very experience described by Mason in his account of the pub session he attended in Northern Ireland. The session, then, is typically cited as the epitome of the authentic traditional music experience and is accordingly deemed to be of higher artistic merit than concerts organised expressly for tourists: according to Stokes, tourists are "lucky" to find such events.

4. The Session

A more detailed discussion of the session is required, in order to further assess why it should be so intimately associated with the concept of authenticity. MacKinnon offers a succinct definition of the typical British pub session:

A session is a gathering of musicians who meet informally to play tunes. A singing session or singaround is a similar gathering of singers, though if instrumental and vocal music occur together it is normally referred to as a session (MacKinnon, 1993: 99).

The musicians who participate in sessions and singarounds often know one another and may play together on a semi-regular basis. The session is not a performance in the sense that it has no need for an audience. Indeed, even if listeners are present, session musicians typically play facing one another, rather than their observers.

Although the division between front and back region is primarily predicated on social divisions, it is sometimes compounded by physical factors (MacCannell, 1999: 92). Indeed, architectural arrangements are often also invoked to contribute to the back region atmosphere of the session. Musicians are invariably drawn to pubs which have back rooms or small bars (MacKinnon, 1993: 102), in order to create a physical boundary between themselves and others present who are not actively participating in the session.

As MacKinnon (1993: 103) notes, the session is designed to be “the antithesis of staging”. Unlike concerts, the session is not a staged event in the sense that musicians are typically not booked to perform at it. Moreover, the music is played in an extempore fashion, without sheet music. A key feature of the session is therefore its informality: this, together with spontaneity, is a quality which MacKinnon (1993: 103) argues is “greatly revered in folk music”. Indeed, it is the supposed spontaneity of sessions that contributes to their back region mystique. Although many sessions are regular events which are

publicised in advance, many others are simply impromptu happenings, or are organised on a word-of-mouth basis.

Caroline Hewat (2003) discusses the particular appeal which she believes sessions hold for tourists in general, and for overseas visitors in particular:

at Balnain [House], we had regular session nights in the Cellar Bar. And the amounts of tourists that visited and actually got involved in the sessions was extraordinary. And because it was a session, because it was informal, they felt that they could sing a song from their local culture and then someone would play a tune from the Highlands, and it was a real swapping and sharing of cultures. And then we'd all end up singing together something that everybody knew! And they would really feel warmly welcomed into the heart of Scotland.

Thus, according to Hewat, the informality of the session permits visitors to participate in the music-making. With its apparently egalitarian ethos, the session effectively blurs the distinction between hosts and guests. The social relations which pervade staged events are erased. The previous chapter demonstrated that in Scottish Evenings there are evident divisions between the performers selling their wares, the audience who pay to listen, and the event promoters who dictate how the show is presented. In the session, conversely, divisions between audience and performers are fluid: musicians are free to play, or sit back and listen, as they see fit. Lack of musical ability need not be a barrier to participation: indeed, even listeners who clap in time with the music are arguably becoming part of the performance. It is this theoretical equity of access which renders the session a prime example of visitor admission to the backstage. For this reason, traditional musicians often consider the session to be a more authentic representation of Scottish traditional music than that which is performed on a concert stage. Rather than

being a musical pseudo-event, the session is conceived of as a back region happening, an event which is not manufactured for the benefit of visitors.

Indeed, speaking of the Scottish Borders folk music festival, *The Land The Light The Locals*, MacEwan (2003) argues that sessions were particularly popular with overseas visitors because of their informal atmosphere, and their blurring of the audience-performer stratification:

The Land The Light The Locals was bringing in huge numbers of Dutch and German people who liked the music. And they thought the sessions were great because they were so informal and they were sitting there next to the people that were playing and it was less [a] concert-type thing. And they were very appreciative, and the musicians loved playing for that.

With this statement MacEwan alludes to a certain ambivalence regarding the supposed formality of traditional music concerts. Sessions, he suggests, are preferable to concerts because of their apparent lack of staging. Indeed, this view is a common one throughout the traditional music community in Britain: as MacKinnon observes, “the tussle between staging and informality” is “a central tension of the whole folk scene” (MacKinnon, 1993: 81). Furthermore, as MacEwan points out, it is not only tourists who favour the session over the concert: in this case the musicians also particularly enjoyed the experience because of the enthusiastic reactions they received from other participants.

A further reason for the particular appeal of the session is that the music performed therein is not mediated by the aesthetic demands of an event promoter: rather, it is the musicians who determine what music is played and how their tradition is represented. Given this autonomy, there is a widely held perception amongst musicians that the music-making which takes place in sessions is often of higher quality than that performed on a concert stage. Untrammelled by the strictures of the staged music event, musicians are

free to experiment musically, to engage in musical exchange and to play for enjoyment, rather than for any financial recompense. As MacKinnon observes, "it is in such informal settings as opposed to staged performances that many practitioners believe that the 'real' music is able to reach its heights" (MacKinnon, 1993: 103).

MacKinnon therefore links the informality of the performance context to the supposed "real" nature of the music produced within that context. Moreover, he points to the perceived connection between authenticity and quality: it is invariably presumed that "real" music is, by definition, high quality music. This pervasive notion has been noted by Peter Kivy (1995). Arguing that the term authentic has virtually become a synonym for good, Kivy observes that: "But the continual use of "authentic" [...] has had an effect on musical discourse that is so profound as to have made it apparently unthinkable for a performance to be inauthentic and good, or authentic and bad" (Kivy, 1995: 2). Indeed, the previous chapter demonstrated that many Scottish traditional musicians practise this equation of authenticity and quality. Moreover, for economic entrepreneurs such as VisitScotland, espousing a discourse of authenticity has clear commercial benefits, in that it communicates to consumers the high quality of the TMTI "product".

5. Cultural Selection and the TMTI

The creative direction of the TMTI was guided by those members of the steering group who were practitioners. In this respect, the TMTI was an opportunity for members of Scotland's traditional music community to reclaim some degree of ownership over the representation of their tradition. As the previous chapter revealed, many traditional musicians have expressed disquiet regarding the manner in which tourism authorities and operators have represented traditional music in Scotland's domestic and international markets. The initiative was therefore viewed by many on the steering group as an opportunity to rectify historical misrepresentations of Scotland's traditional music, as is apparent in Arthur Cormack's (2003) description of some TMTI meetings:

Five years ago, when it was still the Scottish Tourist Board, at the very first meeting we had, [...] Tom Buncle, who was the chief executive at the time, came along. And at that time they were promoting Scotland using an Irish song. And of course that's the first thing we all said to him [...] "one of the first things you have to do is actually start using Scottish music in your advertising, you know". And he took the point, but then two years later they were still running an advertising campaign promoting Scotland, but using someone playing the Uilleann pipes. I kind of challenged somebody on that at the time and they said "Well, it's bagpipes". "Well, it's not, it's Uilleann pipes and they're Irish. They're not Scottish. They're very much an Irish instrument and anybody who knows anything about piping will recognise them as an Irish instrument. So it's not really doing any favours for Scottish music".

For musicians such as Cormack, VisitScotland was little qualified to represent the musical traditions of Scotland: indeed, its record in doing so was strikingly poor, even to the extent of unwittingly using music which was not of Scottish origin. Cormack attributes such misrepresentations to a lack of musical expertise on VisitScotland's behalf: he implies that the national tourism authority lacked the educational and musical capital to adequately promote Scottish music for tourism purposes.

The TMTI sought to rectify this lacuna, and therefore offered practitioners their first opportunity to advise VisitScotland on its use of music in promotional campaigns. As this particular example demonstrates, however, regardless of the amount of consultation undertaken, it is ultimately still a body exogenous to the Scottish musical tradition which determines how that tradition is to be portrayed in Scotland's tourist markets. As the provider of the initiative's financial stimulus, VisitScotland retained ultimate control over the representation of Scotland's traditional music.

Cormack (2003) elaborates on the content of the working group meetings, observing that the TMTI allowed the traditional music community to determine which aspects of Scotland's musical traditions should be foregrounded, and which should receive lesser emphasis in future promotional campaigns:

we could say to [VisitScotland] [...] "it's time you stopped punting this whole idea that the only Scottish music you're going to hear is from bagpipers wearing big furry bonnets". And they took that on board right away, they didn't really have a problem with that [...]. But that was certainly one of the aims of the whole initiative was to try and change the way people look at traditional music as well, because that's actually a very false image. You're much more likely to see traditional musicians playing in an informal basis, or even in a formal environment, certainly not dressed up in tartan, you know.

The Highland bagpipes, an instrument which most musicians in the working group deemed to have received undue prominence in tourism literature over the years, were therefore to be sidelined in favour of what Cormack terms a less "false" image of Scotland's musical traditions. In advocating such a stance, the musicians on the working group were effectively practising a politics of cultural selection, one which was informed by a discourse of authenticity. Naturally, the musical image which they sought to promote was allied their own professional musical interests. It is significant that there was no piper on the TMTI steering group.

This selective view of Scotland's musical traditions was to become the TMTI's entire rationale and ethos. The second report, *A Soundtrack for Scottish Tourism*, was launched at a series of "road show" seminars held in five destinations throughout Scotland.³⁹ At one such seminar (Moffat; 7th February, 2002), Carolyn Paterson of the

³⁹ The seminars were held in February 2002 in Inverness, Lerwick, Dundee, Glasgow and Moffat.

SAC described the TMTI as an attempt to change overseas visitors' expectations of Scottish traditional music. The research study which was carried out as part of the TMTI had established that tourists' perceptions of Scottish traditional music were dominated by what she described as "conventional symbols" (Paterson, 2002), namely bagpipes, pipe bands and ceilidh bands (SAC/STB, 2000a: 8). The TMTI was therefore not intended to promote the "tartan and haggis" image associated with these symbols (Paterson, 2002), she argued: rather, it was designed to counter such perceptions, and promote a more "realistic" (ibid.) image of Scottish music.

This attempt to downplay piping and tartan imagery in tourism promotion was therefore publicised by the TMTI's progenitors as a means of offering tourists a more authentic experience of Scotland's musical culture. Nod Knowles, Music Director of the SAC, proclaimed the TMTI to be about the "*real thing*, not the shortbread tin image" of Scottish music (Knowles, 2002; emphasis added), thus implying that "shortbread tin" music, with all its pejorative overtones, cannot be considered real music. A SAC press release similarly welcomed the publication of the *Soundtrack for Scottish Tourism*, claiming that traditional musicians and the tourism industry could both benefit from "the resurgence of interest in *authentic* Scottish music" (SAC, 2002: n.p; emphasis added), although it neglected to elaborate on the nature or provenance of this "resurgence of interest". Moreover, like Knowles, it neglected to specify what constitutes "authentic" Scottish music: it was simply set in dichotomous opposition to the supposedly false image exemplified by the tartan-clad piper and the "tartan rubbish" of the Scottish Evening. Taste, again, was expressed through negation.

The Soundtrack for Scottish Tourism foregrounded the TMTI's concern with authenticity, when paraphrasing the words of Allan Wilson MSP at the launch of Dumfries and Galloway's More Music Live! initiative: "Visitors were discerning, recognised good when they saw it, and good meant 'authentic'. Traditional music could provide that authenticity, he concluded" (SAC/VisitScotland, 2002: 6). Wilson explicitly equated authenticity with quality, thereby bolstering Kivy's (1995) contention that "authentic" has become a

synonym for "good" in musical criticism. The result of such rhetoric was that the TMTI's ethos of authenticity virtually became a marketing tool designed to assure consumers of the project's high quality. In an effort to confer this valuable air of authenticity upon the initiative, certain aspects of Scotland's musical traditions (piping, most notably) were bypassed in favour of events which, as has been demonstrated, are intimately associated with the concept of authenticity: namely, traditional music sessions.

6. Sessions and the TMTI

The TMTI had grown, it was claimed, out of a realisation that more could be done to promote traditional music for tourism purposes (SAC/STB, 2000a: 3). For one of the steering group members, however, the project's genesis could be attributed to more prosaic factors:

The focus for development of the Scottish Traditional Music and Tourism Initiative [...] came about because Tom Buncle (the Chief Executive of the Scottish Tourist Board at the time) went on holiday to Ireland and returned inspired by the level of cultural activity going on (Halley, 2002).

The chief executive of VisitScotland had been impressed by Ireland's healthy traditional music and tourism scene and accordingly intended for Scotland to emulate its example. Indeed, the influence of the Irish experience is evident throughout the TMTI, with the cover of the first report even featuring a musician playing the bodhran, a quintessentially Irish traditional instrument (see Appendix 6.1). Moreover, a fundamental component of the initiative consisted of a research trip to Ireland, undertaken by Shetland's Music Development Officer, Davie Gardner, in order to assess how Scotland may develop a similarly vibrant traditional music and tourism scene. The report attributed Ireland's success in generating tourism through traditional music to its healthy network of pub sessions:

Bord Failte (The Irish Tourist Board) recognise that Irish traditional music is one of the 'top three' reasons why visitors choose to holiday in Ireland. [...] The traditional music scene is well organised in Ireland, primarily through the efforts of pubs themselves who are aware of the potential financial gain to be made from music. [...] The music played in pubs and bars is generally of such high quality that people do not have to go to concert halls to see Irish traditional music (SAC/STB, 2000a: 6).

Indeed, Moya Kneafsey (2003) comments upon the vibrancy of the Irish session scene, observing that some 1500 pub sessions are estimated to take place weekly throughout the country. In North Mayo, in particular, sessions and tourism enjoy what she terms a "symbiotic relationship" (Kneafsey, 2003: 31), in that visitors constitute the most sizeable and enthusiastic audiences for local traditional music events, while musicians "provide a seemingly authentic cultural experience for the tourists" (2003: 32). Abigail Gilmore similarly notes the extent to which proprietors of Irish pubs use music as a tourist attraction: "landlords advertise sessions sometimes nightly to draw in tourists. These are usually manufactured sessions in that musicians are employed, via payment in either cash or kind (free drinks, accommodation), to recreate the informal gatherings of yesteryear" (Gilmore, 1998: 205). Gilmore argues that such manufactured sessions are becoming increasingly popular throughout Ireland, while "purist" sessions (which are not paid for) are declining in comparison (ibid.: 206; see also Connell and Gibson, 2003: 247).

Much of the TMTI appears to be an attempt to emulate the synergistic nature of the Irish experience. The TMTI fails to recognise the problematic nature of the term "session", however. Unlike Gilmore (1998) and Kneafsey (2003), it neglects to distinguish between the Irish music "session" and the Irish music "gig": the former is not mediated by a financial transaction, whereas the latter is akin to Gilmore's (1998: 205) "manufactured session", in that it is a commodified event.

An examination of the projects which the TMTI supported reveals a preponderance of events which are termed "sessions", but which were marked by a financial transaction. As previously noted, 7 of the 11 local authority areas which participated in the TMTI organised sessions in their respective regions. Ninety-six such events were organised in pubs and hotels throughout Orkney in the summer 2001 season, for example: the result was that music was available somewhere in the Isles 6 nights per week over a 12-week period (Orkney Tourist Board, 2001: 2). Similar projects were arranged in Angus, Arran, Dumfries and Galloway, Fife, Ross-shire and Shetland. This predominance of manufactured sessions had the indirect (but desired) effect of excluding the Highland bagpipes from the TMTI, these being an instrument not amenable to indoor performance.



Fig. 6.1: Cover of *A Soundtrack for Scottish Tourism*

The imagery present in the first TMTI report and the *Soundtrack for Scottish Tourism* demonstrate this change of emphasis. In both reports, musicians are pictured performing in pubs, presumably in the sessions which were organised as part of many of the "local demonstration projects" (see Fig. 6.1). The musicians have been photographed *in situ*, a

means of visual representation which arguably embodies greater verisimilitude than the cover artwork of the *A Scottish Evening* album (Fig. 5.2), where various icons of Scottishness were superimposed upon one another. Indeed, those staples of the Scottish tourist brochure - tartan, kilts and bagpipers - are notable by their absence from the two TMTI reports.

Also of significance are the criteria used to determine which particular pilot projects should receive financial support through the TMTI. These criteria were decided upon through discussion with the initiative's advisory board (Paterson, 2002) and are alluded to as follows in *The Soundtrack for Scottish Tourism*:

In selecting projects to support, the Initiative has acknowledged that visitors like to feel they have happened upon a 'normal' facet of life in Scotland, rather than bespoke entertainment.

This approach is aligned with VisitScotland market research suggesting that today's tourists [...] value 'authenticity' (SAC/VisitScotland, 2002: 3).

This statement makes explicit the connection between authenticity and an absence of staging; in common with MacCannell, it presumes that tourists do not wish to be entertained by musical events which are organised specifically for their benefit. An evident irony which emerges from this enterprise, however, is the fact that the TMTI is in itself an exercise in creating "bespoke entertainment" for tourists.

As this study's respondents included a number of members of the TMTI steering group, it has been possible to gain further insight into the reasons for the selection of criteria which favoured session-oriented projects. One particularly prosaic reason is the relatively modest costs which sessions entail. Ros Halley (2002) explains that in the TMTI, the standard method for organising a session involved paying only one musician who was then required to encourage others to also participate. Halley and MacEwan originally

conceived of this strategy as a means of organising sessions for the aforementioned festival, The Land The Light The Locals.⁴⁰ As MacEwan (2003) explains:

We came up with this idea of an anchor, or a host, for sessions [...] who's coordinating the session to make sure there's going to be enough musicians there. So the idea was to give each musician the chance to host a session and they could bring in who they wanted. [...] And they got £60, and £20 worth of drink vouchers.

The cost of organising a session is therefore significantly cheaper than that of organising a concert, a factor which has evident appeal for venue proprietors and funding agencies. In a similarly commercial vein, Cormack attributes the focus on sessions to an acknowledgement that "in the short term if you were trying to get people to have access to traditional music then perhaps the best way was through a session" (Cormack, 2003). As sessions are free to attend, they do not entail any financial barriers to participation. Moreover, given that most professional musicians cannot be hired for a £60 fee, such events offer paid performance opportunities for amateur musicians. In the words of Sheena Wellington (2002b), "the idea of sessions is that it encourages local musicians". Such series of sessions are deemed to be influential in enhancing networking opportunities and thereby fostering a sense of community amongst local musicians.

Gardner (2003) interprets the prevalence of sessions in the TMTI as a response to tourist demand and as a means of increasing tourist satisfaction. In more ideological terms, however, he does make an explicit connection between the informality of the session and the authenticity which tourists supposedly seek. Speaking specifically of Shetland, he observes that:

⁴⁰ The Land The Light The Locals was established in 1998, one year before the launch of the TMTI.

[sessions were] just something that was there, something that we saw was authentic and something that the tourists said “yes, that's what I'm looking for [...] what I really want to do is see you guys playing your fiddles down the pub in an informal setting”.

Francis (2002) develops the theme of informality in his discussion of the session-oriented nature of many of the TMTI projects. He points to the particular appeal of happening upon events which are not designed or marketed for tourist consumption:

I think in their heart of hearts tourist people know that visitors often have the best experience when they stumble on something local and quite exclusive, accidentally. You know, if you came across a village dance or that kind of thing, it's not something that's been hyped up, it's not something that you're necessarily prepared for. But in the best of these circumstances when you go to something like that and you're just accepted as part of the company, that's often when people have the best time. And I think that what a lot of these events are trying to do is almost recreate that experience. But of course you can't.

Thus, Francis's “village hall” is a classic example of MacCannell's back region, a social space reserved for locals and from which visitors are generally excluded. It is the type of space and experience which is deemed to inspire the tourist gaze. Acceptance into such an environment, it is assumed, will satisfy tourists' desire for an experience of genuine Scottish culture. According to Francis, it is this ethos which informs many of the projects in the TMTI. As his final caveat suggests, however, there are inherent difficulties in attempting to manufacture such experiences for tourists. In order to establish the precise nature of these difficulties it will first be apposite to offer a detailed overview of two of the session-oriented projects which were launched under the auspices of the TMTI.

6.1 Dumfries and Galloway: More Music Live!

Typical in this regard is the project organised in Dumfries and Galloway in 2001 (in the final year of the TMTI). This initiative, More Music Live!, involved the programming of 72 sessions in pubs and hotels around the region. The project was launched in Ecclefechan on 29th August 2001, with an event compered by Sheena Wellington and opened by the Scottish Executive's then Minister for Culture and Tourism, Allan Wilson. Organised by Dumfries and Galloway Arts Association (DGAA) and marketed by Dumfries and Galloway Tourist Board (DGTB), this initiative was intended to "increase visitor awareness of traditional music and to ensure that visitors had ready access to traditional music during a visit to Dumfries and Galloway thus enhancing their visitor experience and encouraging a return visit" (Dumfries and Galloway Arts Association, 2001b: 2).

The original intention was that visitors to the region would be able to find music somewhere in the region on every night of the week (Dumfries and Galloway Arts Association, 2001a: n.p.). Fliers advertising the programme of sessions were compiled by DGTB and distributed to venues, tourist information centres and DGTB members throughout the region. Like the TMTI report, the More Music Live! fliers featured photos of local musicians performing in pub sessions (See Fig. 6.2).

In touristic and economic terms the initiative was highly successful, with 88% of audiences reporting that such events would encourage them to make a return visit to the region. The response from venue proprietors was similarly positive, for the average rise in takings on session nights was 29%. Musicians also responded favourably to the initiative, with all who participated agreeing that the initiative should be continued in the future (Dumfries and Galloway Arts Association, 2001b). Indeed, so successful was the project that it secured 3 year funding from an EU community regeneration fund in order to continue following the end of the TMTI.



Fig. 6.2: More Music Live! 2003 flier
 (N.B. The '2002' at the top of the flier is a typographical error).

From 2002 onwards, the More Music Live! publicity material adopted a subtitle: *Real Music, Real Close*. The “real close” element of this slogan derives from DGTB’s *Area Tourism Strategy 2001-2006* (Dumfries and Galloway Tourist Board, 2001), which stated that Dumfries and Galloway should be promoted to domestic visitors as an accessible destination for short breaks. The “real music” element is an explicit indication of the project’s concern with authenticity.

In 2003, however, More Music Live! incorporated ceilidhs into its programme: this is a somewhat singular inclusion for a project which self-consciously promotes its ethos of authenticity, for the modern day ceilidh is arguably an invented tradition. In the Western Isles and Highlands of Scotland the term ceilidh traditionally referred to a “visit”, that is a social gathering in a neighbourhood house, at which music and songs were performed (Feintuch, 2002: 8). As Flett and Flett (1964: 39) note, however, “in most districts of the

Highlands such informal ceilidhs are now things of the past". Since the First World War this understanding of the ceilidh as a domestic social event has waned, and throughout Scotland it has been reinterpreted to mean a public event at which traditional dances are performed to the accompaniment of a ceilidh band.

Thus, with its relatively recent origins, the type of ceilidh which More Music Live! promotes does not conform to any essentialist interpretation of authenticity. Moreover, as events with necessarily strict music and dance conventions, ceilidhs cannot lay claim to the informality or spontaneity which supposedly confer an air of authenticity upon the session. Whilst one could argue that the Scottish ceilidh has acquired "emergent authenticity" (Cohen, 1988: 379), it is apparent that its inclusion in this programme problematises the project's claim to historical authenticity.

Indeed, this development is perhaps indicative of Urry's (2002) notion that the very concept of authenticity is jeopardised under the condition of postmodernity; it remains an eminently appealing, yet ultimately elusive concept, and the tourist is deemed to be aware of this dichotomy. McCrone, Morris and Kiely (1999: 9) develop this argument specifically in relation to the Scottish context, noting that "it is even possible to acknowledge pastiche while believing in it. Somehow, simulacra pretences, presented as the real, for example the Scottish ceilidh experience, have the power to overcome our cynicism". For McCrone *et al*, the type of ceilidh promoted under the auspices of More Music Live! is nothing more than Baudrillard's simulacrum: a perfect replica of an original event that never existed.

Susie Kelly (2003), the project's coordinator, discusses the reasons for incorporating a previously separate series of ceilidhs into the More Music Live! session programme:

this year it's the two projects from last year amalgamated as well. Because there was the Winter Welcome Ceilidh Circuit, and the Traditional Music and Tourism last time. And we decided it should all be the one thing, so there's a lot of ceilidhs and things mixed in as

well. And ceilidhs, I think, are good for tourism. That's the kind of thing that tourists like – [adopts American accent] “authentic Scottish dances”.

Thus, in her final statement, Kelly points to not only the perceived touristic demand for the real, but also to the socially constructed nature of that authenticity. Whilst the More Music Live! ceilidhs may have little claim to historical verisimilitude, they are authentic insofar as they are experienced by visitors. It is the authenticity of the subject's experience which matters.

6.2 Shetland: Simmerin' Sessions

In Shetland, a number of traditional music promotions were carried out under the auspices of the TMTI. In 1999, a three-month market research study was conducted to assess ways of raising the profile of Shetland's traditional music. As a result of this project, a promotional video was produced which showcased some of Shetland's musicians, and various music sessions were organised. These projects were informed by a concern with the “real”, as Davie Gardner explains:

And all we tried to do is say “There's another side to Scotland”. There's a much more realistic, non-plastic side to Scotland. You know, a much more genuine and authentic side. I suppose authentic is the key word really. And although we had to arrange things it's only managing what's there rather than creating something that's not (Gardner, 2003).

The events which Gardner arranged and managed were sessions, which were collectively marketed under the umbrella title “Simmerin' Sessions”. The three-month research project which was carried out in 1999 had concluded that visitors to Shetland presumed that, because of the islands' reputation for fiddling, sessions would be readily available. Around 70% of visitors reported that they had difficulty locating sessions, however, a fact

which Gardner (2003) attributes to the then fragmented nature of the folk music scene on Shetland: he argues that at that time “sessions happened spontaneously, concerts were few and far between”. While music-making was occurring, it was confined to the destination’s back regions. It was a practice indulged in by, and for, locals, which visitors had no means of accessing.

In an attempt to eradicate such visitor dissatisfaction, some 48 music sessions were organised in pubs throughout the islands in the year 2000. These sessions were “seeded”: that is, musicians were paid to ensure the sessions took place on a specified date and time, at a particular venue. With the sessions thus guaranteed to happen, they were advertised at both the local and the national level. In economic and touristic terms the entire project was so successful that it won one of VisitScotland’s Thistle Awards for Tourism. Visitor dissatisfaction regarding the paucity of traditional music events was eradicated, and although the project initially required funding of £3,500 (SAC/VisitScotland, 2002: 18), it became financially self-sustaining, as venue proprietors realised the economic benefits which sessions could generate.

Sessions were also provided in less conventional settings: namely, on P&O ferries to Shetland, and also on cruise liners which stopped in Lerwick. They were also organised in hotels frequented by coach parties, although, as Gardner notes, these were later transferred to pubs, due to tourist demand: “we also targeted coach parties. A lot of coach parties come into Shetland. We targeted their hotels, although they now prefer to go into the pubs, and see the music happen in *what they think* is natural surroundings” (Gardner, 2003; emphasis added). As Gardner’s final statement suggests, a pub may not necessarily be a more “natural” setting for a session than a hotel, yet tourists believe this to be the case. The venue was accordingly changed to increase tourist satisfaction and conform to tourist expectations.

Indeed, Shetland’s provision of traditional music sessions in general offers an example of the music (or the musical context, at least) being altered in order to satisfy tourist

expectations. As the previous chapter noted in relation to the Scottish Evening, changing music to conform to tourist preconceptions is a practice which has been condemned by musicians and academics alike. As the case of Shetland's Simmerin' Sessions demonstrates, however, changing music or the music setting is clearly suitable when tourists' expectations are deemed acceptable; that is, when their conceptions of what constitutes a high quality, authentic musical experience are aligned with the views of those who promote the music. Indeed, Gardner confirms this to be the case, explaining that if the market research had demonstrated that tourists wanted to hear pipes, then this particular desire would not have been catered to: "if they'd [the tourists] turned round and said "we're expecting bagpipes" then half the country would have [...] said "stuff that – you're not coming here"". Thus, conforming to tourists' expectations was in this case judged acceptable only because tourists were in search of sessions, musical events which by their very nature associated with informality, musical quality and hence, authenticity.

The end product therefore differs somewhat from that of Dumfries and Galloway, where the demands of the tourists were privileged over questions of historical validity and taste, and considerations of the backstage. More Music Live! evolved in response to tourist demands for ceilidh bands, one of the three "conventional symbols" (Paterson, 2002) from which the TMTI sought to divert tourists' interest. In Shetland, by contrast, tourist demand was satisfied because it was congruent with the demands of practitioners and economic entrepreneurs. Despite the differences in their musical contents, both initiatives were patently demand-oriented, in that they endeavoured to satisfy tourists' preconceptions of their respective musical traditions.

7. Constructing Back Regions

To what extent can sessions which are planned, publicised and paid for claim to offer visitors an authentic experience of Scottish musical culture? Francis's earlier comment confirmed that many TMTI initiatives were intended to create the illusion that tourists had stumbled upon a back region happening. With his final statement, however, he

suggested that this was impossible to achieve, that such attempts to create musical back regions for tourists are inherently contradictory in nature.

Indeed, evidence of the staged nature of the event can easily be detected. Any illusion that the visitor has stumbled upon a back region event is dashed when they are asked to complete a questionnaire rating their enjoyment of the session, a procedure which occurred at many of the events organised under the auspices of the TMTI. Audiences at the Arran Sessions had an especially slight chance of avoiding this indicator of the event's staged quality, for each venue's funding was withheld until proprietors returned questionnaires which had been completed by attendees (Boyle, 2002). Moreover, the content of the questionnaire would enlighten participants as to the tourism-oriented nature of the event: respondents were required to provide information regarding their demographic characteristics and place of residence, and answer questions such as "Would this kind of event encourage a return visit?" (Dumfries and Galloway Arts Association, 2001b: appendix 6). Thus, although intended to give the impression of being informal, spontaneous happenings, the manner in which observers and participants were surveyed highlighted the staged quality which such encounters retain.

Indeed, attempts to promote sessions for tourism purposes are fraught with challenges, not least of which is the fact that a session is, almost by definition, an impromptu occurrence. Initiatives including More Music Live! and Simmerin' Sessions produced programmes, detailing the locations, dates and times of the various events, together with the names of musicians and artists booked to appear. Some 40% of attendees at Orkney's "Rolling in the Isles" initiative found out about the sessions through the project's publicity material, and as such were aware that the sessions were planned rather than impromptu events (Orkney Tourist Board, 2001: 4). Moreover, such publicity highlights the contrived nature of the event and renders the musicians (rather than the session) the attraction. The very scheduling of a session is inherently contradictory in nature, for an event which is programmed cannot be spontaneous. Such publicity is essential for the successful commodification of the session, however, for as Gilmore astutely observes in

the context of Irish music sessions, “the desired spontaneity is not reliable enough for tourist trade” (Gilmore, 1998: 206).

8. Commodification of the Session

In her discussion of traditional music and tourism in North Mayo, Ireland, Kneafsey (2003) argues that the “gigs”, or manufactured sessions, which take place throughout the summer months manage to “retain characteristics which defy commodification” (2003: 36). The particular characteristics which Kneafsey cites are: the absence of a profit motive, on the part of the musicians; the lack of public systems which regulate the session; and the fact that the sessions are neither mass produced nor mass consumed. It is, however, spurious to suggest that profit-making objectives, public systems of regulation and mass production are pre-requisites of commodification. (As Chapter Three established, the non-profit making nature of TMSA and grassroots folk festivals does not negate their commodified nature). Indeed, Kneafsey’s claims are indicative of confusion with the concept of commercialisation.

If we are to conceptualise commodification as the process by which social relations become marked by the terms of commerce, then it is apparent that this can occur at any scale, not simply at the level of mass production. Commodification has certainly occurred in relation to the TMTI, for without the requisite funding, none of the TMTI sessions would have happened. When MacKinnon published his critique of the British folk scene in 1993, sessions and singarounds were distinct from concerts in that they were “not mediated by any financial transaction whatsoever” (MacKinnon, 1993: 132). In the attempt to create imitation back regions, however, this distinction has been erased. It is the seed money paid to the “anchor” musicians which acts as the stimulus for the session and which alters its rationale for existence. Commodification ensures that music is no longer played simply for its use-value, but is given an explicit exchange-value.

The staged and commodified nature of the session manifests itself most clearly with regard to the social relations of power between the sessions’ various participants. Due to

their financial investment in the session, funders are able to make demands of the musicians which they would not be able to if the musicians were receiving no financial remuneration for their efforts. At a more general level, the venue proprietor who provides the seed money may be able to choose which musicians he wishes to anchor the session in his venue. Venues which participated in the Dumfries and Galloway More Music Live! initiative, for example, were able to select their desired session performers from a "Musical Menu" (a list which detailed participating groups' members, instrumentation and musical style). This is a luxury which the host of a genuinely *ad hoc* event would not enjoy. More specifically, the proprietor is able to stipulate where the musicians should be seated, what tunes they should play and the volume at which they should perform. Whilst this may not necessarily act as a source of conflict, it does highlight the changes wrought upon the session by the commodification process.

Meanwhile, the session becomes a place of work for the musician who is booked to appear and it is no longer an "opportunity to let one's hair down", as MacKinnon (1993: 115) conceived of it. Indeed, the anchor musicians are obliged to perform professionally in order to secure work for themselves in the future. The session is thus transformed from a musical happening free of the trappings of capitalism into one which can be bought and sold.

Commodification also transforms the relationships between the anchor musicians and passive observers. As previously noted, the session has traditionally been understood as an event at which divisions between audience and performers are minimal, with observers welcomed and positively encouraged to participate in the music-making. When particular musicians are booked to instigate, and hence guarantee, a session, this changes the very dynamics of the session itself: in particular, the social divisions which characterise the staged event are reinstated. The "anchor" becomes a performer, rather than one of many participants. While other attendees are still able to participate in the music-making, the anchor, by virtue of his paid post, is responsible for directing the musical direction and content of the session.

Similarly, the commodification of the session creates audiences, a social grouping which is, by definition, excluded from back regions. The fact that particular musicians have been hired to lead the session can intimidate others and thus deter them from contributing. As a result, they become audience members rather than participants.

Indeed, this stratification of social relations was a notable feature of the sessions which took place at Common Ground, a week-long traditional arts summer school, first held in 2002 in conjunction with the National Folk Festival of Scotland. Scheduled after each evening concert was a "Late Night Extra": these were sessions with particular themes (e.g. Songs of the Sea, We Shall Overcome, Revival Songs) which specific musicians were booked to instigate. The selection of specific themes and musicians for these events rendered them particularly devoid of spontaneity: participants would be discouraged from singing a bothy ballad in the "Songs of the Sea" session, for example, while it would similarly be inappropriate to perform a sea shanty in a "Blues" Session. As Chapter Four noted, a number of participants were disillusioned by the patently staged nature of these events: one participant suggested that the festival should have "more than one session in the evening – it felt like there was only one very structured one happening each night". Another similarly suggested that the organisers should encourage "impromptu informal song sessions". Indeed, that the sessions were led by professional musicians acted as a barrier to participation for many.

The implication for the sessions which were staged under the auspices of the TMTI is evident: when particular musicians are booked to lead sessions, they become performers, and the session ceases to be defined by its informality and equity of access. Audiences are created, a group which, according to MacKinnon, the session does not require. The session, in effect, adopts many of the elements of staging associated with the concert and loses its essential defining features.

9. From Commodification to Authenticity

As previously noted, this thesis does not subscribe to the notion that commodification destroys the inherent authenticity of cultural products. On the contrary, the degree to which the TMTI has spawned further sessions throughout Scotland highlights the spurious nature of this claim. The two concepts are intimately connected, however, for the commodification process enables the construction of different conceptions of authenticity. The ability to define and promote a particular vision of authenticity is an expression of power. Thus, debates regarding the apparent legitimacy or otherwise of musical forms are immaterial and subjective. Rather, it is the power relations involved in the struggle to define the "real" which are significant.

In this particular instance, the practitioners on the steering group regarded genuine Scottish traditional music as something which was already in existence in the destination's back regions, and which tourists simply needed help to access. Whilst SAC and VisitScotland ostensibly subscribed to the notion that informal sessions were innately authentic, a closer examination reveals that they regard the concept in somewhat different terms: more specifically, they regard authenticity as something which can be manufactured for commercial gain. The SAC/STB (2000b) report, *Culture and Tourism in Scotland*, for example, advises practitioners of the arts on elements of "good practice". Authenticity, it suggests, is one such element which should be cultivated to maximise tourist satisfaction: "authenticity and regional distinctiveness are important assets in giving visitors an insight into the culture of the country, and your area in particular" (SAC/STB, 2000b: 16). The implication here is evident. Like the other elements of good practice which the report cites (marketing and the fostering of community involvement, for example) authenticity is deemed to be a factor which practitioners can strive to develop. Thus, whilst practitioners regarded authentic musical experiences as something which could be found, for the SAC and VisitScotland they were something which could be created. Given that the SAC and VisitScotland's financial resources afforded them ultimate control over the TMTI, this was the interpretation of authenticity which became dominant.

Indeed, there was a clear commercial intent behind SAC and VisitScotland's rhetoric; if we accept Kivy's argument that authenticity is equated with quality, then the SAC and VisitScotland had an evident material interest in convincing the listening public that the musical product of the TMTI was indeed "real", and hence "good". The actions of VisitScotland suggest that economic entrepreneurs possess a superficial concern with authenticity: the concept is useful in that it satisfies tourist demand, and thereby generates economic capital. In this particular case, the TMTI was patently intended to target a particular type of tourist: namely, the "educated, sophisticated, independent-minded visitor" described by Stokes (Clark, 1997b: 17). Given that a key objective of Dumfries and Galloway's More Music Live! project was to increase tourist length of stay, marketing efforts were directed at tourists who travel independently, for these types of visitors are at liberty to adjust the length of their holiday, and are likely to have a higher than average per-trip expenditure. In contrast, audiences at the "tartan and haggis" shows described by Stokes are often undertaking coach tours, and therefore do not have the requisite flexibility to extend their trip.

10. The TMTI legacy

The TMTI came to an end in 2002, although some regional initiatives, including Dumfries and Galloway's More Music Live! and the Angus Folk Sessions continued to develop and grow despite the TMTI's demise. Indeed, its influence has been dramatic, with many areas of Scotland initiating projects which closely resemble those pilot projects supported by the TMTI. In the Scottish Borders in 2001, for example, a programme entitled Season of Sessions was organised by JAM, a Borders-based music charity. Financed by Scottish Enterprise Borders, Season of Sessions was a three-month series which ensured that visitors could find a traditional music session on every night of the week (bar Sunday) throughout the summer months. So successful were the sessions that the initiative was repeated in 2002 with financial assistance from Lloyds TSB bank.

Similarly, in Skye and Lochalsh, the Talisker Summer Sessions were organised by the traditional music development agency An Drochaid ("The Bridge"). Funded by Skye and Lochalsh Enterprise and managed by Fèisean nan Gàidheal, An Drochaid was established in 2001 in order to promote and encourage traditional music throughout Skye and Lochalsh. As part of this remit, it established a programme of sessions (sponsored by the Skye-based Talisker distillery) which took place for ten weeks throughout the summer in 2003 and 2004. During this period, for 6 nights of every week, two sessions took place: one on the Isle of Skye, and one in Lochalsh. Funding was given to the participating venues, which were then charged with booking two anchor musicians for each session. Fliers advertising the resultant sessions were then sent to a database of some 600 traditional music enthusiasts, as well as B&B and hotel proprietors throughout the area. The director of this programme, Louise MacKenzie describes the rationale behind the sessions as follows:

A lot of tourists love to see people in kilts and they love tartan, and that's fantastic if that's what they like. But it's also nice to have the *real option* as well, where there's traditional Scottish tunes being played or Gaelic singing. That's a *real taste* of what Scotland is (MacKenzie, 2003; emphasis added).

This observation confirms that the Talisker Summer Sessions were motivated by the same objectives as the TMTI: namely, the prospect of offering visitors a genuine experience of Scottish musical culture.

Moreover, following the example of The Land The Light The Locals and the TMTI, the scheduling and commodification of sessions has become increasingly common at folk festivals. In 1993 MacKinnon (1993: 104) observed that the programming of sessions at folk festivals was common, and further noted the contradiction inherent in scheduling and advertising these seemingly impromptu events. As Chapter Four revealed, attendees value the participation opportunities which sessions afford, and festival organisers

therefore have a vested material interest in ensuring that sessions take place at their respective events. Since the launch of the TMTI, this commercial imperative has compelled certain festival organisers to guarantee the existence of sessions through financial means: in 2003, for example, the organisers of the Heart of Scotland Festival paid tutors from the Glasgow Fiddle Workshop to lead sessions at their event (McGrail, 2004: 24). In economic entrepreneur-led festivals, then, the commodification of the session is increasingly becoming the norm.

The development has been a source of conflict at some folk festivals, however. Their low investment requirement coupled with their potential to generate considerable economic returns confers a great deal of commercial appeal upon sessions, an appeal to which pub hotel proprietors are clearly not immune. As MacEwan (2003) explains:

some towns are now actually paying bands to play in the pubs so the locals and everything think "oh this is a great festival" because there's music in the pubs and everything. But it's the pubs that are paying for it, outside the control of the [festival] committee. [...] The pubs go down their own road and put on whatever music they want.

Indeed, Chapter Three noted that this occurs during the Portpatrick Folk Festival, where many hotel proprietors hire musicians to lead sessions in their respective bars. Control over the festival's musical content thereby passes to the pub and hotel owners who are in a financial position to guarantee the services of local musicians.

Moreover, the impact of the TMTI has been such that payment for session musicians has become the norm for many pubs throughout Scotland. The commodification of the session has become institutionalised. Indeed, musicians are increasingly expressing discontent regarding what they view as the paltry nature of the financial payments on offer. The following statement from Caroline Hewat is notable in this regard: speaking specifically of the organisers of the TMTI, Hewat argued that:

But they need to put the money into it as well. It doesn't come cheap. And they're still expecting people to go and sit in the corner of a pub and sing Gaelic songs for 4 hours for 50 quid. And people won't do that. People will say "No I'm sorry I'm not doing that. That's just [...] not good enough". So it's a great initiative but it needs to be financially supported (Hewat, 2003).

MacEwan similarly suggests that the remuneration offered to session musicians is so derisory as to be exploitative:

traditional musicians feel like they're being even more used, because they're [...] not involved in what's happening, [they are] just there as performers. And not being paid for it really. £60 for a session is just a joke [...]. It's just a token.

Thus, despite his role in devising the "anchor" system for The Land The Light the Locals, MacEwan expresses a certain ambivalence regarding the commodification of the session. Firstly, he implies that musicians deserve to be rewarded more substantially for their efforts. Equally, however, he expresses concern about the financial transaction involved, acknowledging that some musicians feel unease regarding the manner in which the TMTI has ensured the alienation of their labour.

Indeed, the involvement of financial transactions in the organisation of sessions has resulted in a displacement of power between musicians and entrepreneurs. Previously, practitioners controlled the session; their existence was solely dependent upon the ability to produce music. The commodification of the session, however, has placed economic entrepreneurs in a position of control over the representation of Scottish traditional music: as the Portpatrick Folk Festival example illustrates, economic entrepreneurs have the

financial power to arrange whatever music they like, regardless of its congruence with the festival's ethos.

11. Conclusions

As both musicians and tourists alike have particular reasons to favour the session as a forum for traditional music-making, venue proprietors have an evident vested interest in hosting such events. Indeed, the TMTI is testament to the economic benefits which sessions may afford the venues in which they are held. The impact of the TMTI has been such that a musical event which has hitherto eluded commodification has since become commodified. This has had profound impacts on the form of the session, changing the dynamics of the social relations within the event itself, and essentially transforming it from a back region occurrence to one which possesses merely the illusion of informality and spontaneity.

These observations do not necessarily render the music-making which takes place any less meaningful or enjoyable for the participants, however. Indeed, the commodification of the session has had evident economic benefits for hundreds of amateur musicians, providing them with paid employment opportunities that otherwise would not have existed. In cultural terms, moreover, the organisation of such sessions had had beneficial impacts on the musical lives of local communities. The sessions which were organised in both Dumfries and Galloway and the Scottish Borders have generated further sessions and have offered local musicians the opportunity to make contacts with other performers in their respective regions. In this sense, they have served to stimulate further music-making in many communities.

Thus, the intention here is not to suggest that the commodification of the session has been a negative development. Rather, it is to highlight the problematic nature of much of the rhetoric used to promote these traditional music initiatives. The TMTI working group decided that certain musical forms should be sidelined in favour of those which more closely reflected their own musical interests. In so doing they practised a politics of

cultural selection which was justified by its self-conscious concern with authenticity. Musical authenticity was not sought and promoted for its supposed innate value, however. Rather, there was a clear commercial intent behind these pronouncements.

The TMTI was described by its proponents as a more authentic - and hence a superior - representation of Scottish traditional music than that which had historically been promoted by the tourism authorities. Yet this constant equation of authenticity with quality is inherently problematic. The superior musical value which the TMTI events were reputed to possess was not predicated on the status of the musicians themselves (for all of the participants were amateurs). Rather, it was based on the presumption that the session is, by definition, a more authentic forum for traditional music-making. As has become evident, however, this is a highly problematic claim in relation to those sessions which were organised as part of the TMTI. The manner in which these events were commodified robbed them of their spontaneity and compromised their informality, the very qualities which have traditionally caused the session to be so closely associated with authenticity. The session, in effect, became staged.

Finally, it is apposite to highlight the significance of the regional basis upon which the TMTI was organised. Rather than attempting to construct and promote a national expression of Scottish musical identity, the progenitors of the TMTI encouraged the promotion of regional musical forms and activities. It is argued here that this is indicative of a wider trend in the representation of Scottish traditional music. Practitioners and entrepreneurs are increasingly attempting to disassociate themselves from the commercial connotations of national and transnational expressions of musical identity. As a result, a new conception of authenticity is emerging in tourist-oriented representations of Scottish traditional music: specifically, practitioners are increasingly predicating assessments of authenticity upon the distinctiveness of local musical traditions. The development of this trend shall be explored in the following chapter.

Chapter Seven: Tourism and the Construction of Regional Musical Identities

1. Introduction

Local forms must be encouraged and supported. The Borders, the Highlands, the Islands, the North East – the music they each produce has distinctive characteristics while retaining a common element that is unmistakably Scottish.

Alex Fergusson MSP, 21st June 2000 (Roseanna Cunningham website, 2003).

At the press conference held following the Scottish Parliament's first debate on traditional music, Alex Fergusson MSP advocated the promotion of regional musical traditions. Different areas of Scotland, he claimed, possessed distinctive forms of folk music which deserved to be financially supported and advanced. In this respect his comments evoke the findings of Chapter Two, which demonstrated that by the 1950s, the combined efforts of travel writers and song collectors had ensured that the three regions cited by Fergusson had acquired particular musical identities which had become firmly entrenched in the tourism literature: the Highlands were associated with bagpipes and Gaelic musical culture, while both the borderland and the North East had developed reputations as centres of Scottish balladry.

This chapter will accordingly investigate how individual regions in Scotland have latterly aimed to foster their own particular musical identities for tourism purposes. In particular, it will examine the CDs which a number of practitioners and tourism authorities have recently produced in attempts to convince tourists of the distinctive nature of their regional musical traditions: specifically, it focuses upon recordings which have been manufactured for this purpose in the Scottish Borders, Dumfries and Galloway, Skye and Lochalsh and

Lochaber.⁴¹ The increasing prevalence of such locally-defined expressions is attributed to practitioners' disaffection with corporate productions of musical identities, particularly those of a national nature (e.g. Scottish Evenings) and those which are transnational in scope (e.g. appellations such as "Celtic music"). The construction of a new paradigmatic conception of the "real" has proved central to this process; authenticity is increasingly being invoked by practitioners as a marker of local distinctiveness.

2. A Sense of Place: From the National to the Local

The preceding chapters have demonstrated that traditional music events can function as significant tourist attractions, attracting many of the same attendees year after year and effectively combating the seasonal nature of the Scottish tourism market. At a wider, more conceptual level, however, music has a further role to play in generating tourism: specifically, it can contribute to, and even create, what cultural geographers term "a sense of place" (Carney, 1998: 3; Cohen, 1994: 129; Waterman, 1998a: 58), namely the quality which renders a place distinct from other locations. As Sara Cohen (1997: 77) observes, "music regularly informs place image, influencing the ways in which people identify, categorise and represent places". From a tourism perspective, music's ability to generate a sense of place is highly significant, for it can be successfully harnessed to distinguish a destination from its competitors. Cohen (1997), for example, outlines the manner in which Liverpool's tourism economy has benefited from the city's association with the musical phenomenon of "Merseybeat", and the music of the Beatles in particular. New Orleans has similarly developed a successful tourism economy based in large part upon its musical heritage of jazz music: since the 1940s, the city has been marketed as the "birthplace of jazz" (Atkinson, 1997: 95). The indigenous musical traditions of both cities function as a signifier of place, differentiating them from their respective competitors.

⁴¹A substantial number of record companies and communities in Scotland have latterly released CDs featuring the music and musicians of their respective areas: notable examples include *Glencairn and Shinnel Folk* (Moniaive, Dumfries and Galloway), *The Hear and Now* (HAIL: Highlands and Islands Labels) and *Borderers: Ballads, Songs and Tunes from the Scottish Borders* (Kylloe Records). This discussion, however, is restricted to those projects which are concerned specifically with stimulating tourism activity and generating a sense of place for their respective destinations.

Traditional music events, such as sessions, concerts and folk festivals, can help generate a sense of place, yet this is contingent upon the tourist being fortunate enough to encounter such performances. Furthermore, musical events offer economic entrepreneurs only limited control over the image which is presented therein: as Chapter Three argued, a festival may be devoted to the music of a particular instrument or region, yet it is virtually impossible to ensure that performers do not deviate from this particular focus. In contrast to the live performance, media technologies, such as CDs, videos and the Internet, allow entrepreneurs to dictate the nature of the musical image which is promoted to tourists. This prospect of securing control over the region's musical identity has prompted a number of regional tourism authorities to support the productions of CDs targeted at the tourist market.

Practitioners, by contrast, have initiated such efforts in response to what they perceive as the inadequate provision of music recordings in shops frequented by overseas visitors to Scotland. In particular, the gift shops of Tourist Information Centres (TICs) are frequently criticised for stocking musical recordings which present a very selective view of Scottish traditional music. The comments of Cathy Peattie MSP are instructive in this regard; in November 1999, Peattie addressed the Education, Culture and Sport Committee on the National Cultural Strategy, and spoke of the music sold in such venues in the most derogatory of terms:

It makes my blood boil when I visit tourist information centres, woollen mill shops and other such places and find that the music available there is of the heather and haggis, granny's Heiland hame variety. I cringe at that; people visit Scotland and enjoy traditional music, yet it is hard to find in the shops (Peattie, 2003, Appendix A: n.p.).

Peattie's description of "heather and haggis, granny's Heiland hame" music echoes much of the rhetoric used by practitioners to deride the music performed in the Scottish Evenings of Chapter Five. According to Peattie, TICs and other tourist-oriented retail venues stock recordings of this type to the exclusion of all other varieties of traditional music. Indeed, the TICs of several different ATBs have their musical stock supplied by Highlander Music, a company which specialises in the production and distribution of recordings by ceilidh bands, massed pipe bands and variety show performers (Highlander Music, 2003). Accordingly, an examination of the stock of many TICs reveals a preponderance of such recordings, together with "Scottish" and "Celtic"-themed compilation albums. It is apparent that when ATBs are bound to one particular supplier this precludes regional variation in the provision of their musical stock.

A further implication of this arrangement is that "Scottish Evening" recordings benefit from distribution networks which elude the majority of Scotland's traditional musicians. As MacEwan (2003) explains in respect of the Scottish Borders:

A lot of the musicians round here find it absolutely incredible that you've got maybe 10 recording artists in the Borders - well-known recording artists who have made CDs and who sell them very easily - and you can't get them into tourist information centres, because there's a contract to sell tartan tat and nothing else. [...] you go in there and there's nothing but Andy Stewart, Tartan Lads, Alexander Brothers, massed pipe bands of such and such. Really bad music.

The derogatory tone of MacEwan's description of "tartan tat" is echoed by an article in *The Shetland Times*, which is similarly dismissive of the music videos typically shown in the "woollen mill shops" described by Peattie:

On many of the main tourist routes (around Scotland at least) you stand a sporting chance of finding yourself in the clutches of The

Woollen Mill. [...] Then there's the piped music. [...] The scenery on screen may be appealing, in a diminutive sort of way, but far too often the artiste responsible for the actual music is, to put it tactfully, a few branches short of the top of the talent tree. [...] In defence of the Mills, there isn't a huge choice on video, and what there is sells, pretty much regardless of quality (*Shetland Times*, 2003: n.p.).

Regardless of the veracity of claims regarding the supposed poor quality of such forms, it is apparent that the music sold in gift shops is a selective representation of the Scottish folk music tradition. The individual supply contracts which ATBs negotiate not only prevent the promotion of local musicians, but also ensure that TICs present a relatively homogenous view of Scotland's musical identity; the musical recordings on offer in an Inverness TIC, for example, will be largely the same as those sold in a Gretna Green TIC. Just as the content of a Scottish Evening varies little according to the region (or country) in which it is held, so too does the musical stock of the TIC make little concession to regional musical traditions. It shares with the Scottish Evening the unenviable task of trying to unite a diverse body of musical traditions under the umbrella of Scottishness.

The homogeneity of this image is increasingly being challenged, however. Hitherto dominant representations of Scotland's musical traditions are facing competition from a variety of sources. As Chapter Six outlined, practitioners are increasingly being called to offer guidance on Scottish Executive policy on the promotion of traditional music and tourism, a development which has resulted in the sidelining of popular musical symbols, most notably the bagpipes. Thus, Scottish Executive policy has latterly begun to advocate the promotion not of "Scottish traditional music" *per se*, but of Scotland's regional musical traditions. This policy manifests itself notably in the TMTI, which alluded to the unique qualities of Scotland's various musical traditions: "These pilot projects reflected the type of traditional music events that existed in each area and therefore were not identical" (SAC/STB, 2000a: 5). Indeed, Gardner (2003) confirms that there was a general consensus amongst steering group members that the TMTI should not promote

“this sort of pan-Scottish idea” exemplified by “the tartan and shortbread scenario”. Elaine Murray MSP (the then Deputy Minister for Tourism, Culture and Sport) commended the TMTI’s local demonstration projects for foregrounding the distinctive aspects of their respective local traditions, and attributed its success to the fact that the individual projects “reflected local circumstances” (Murray, 2002).

Practitioners are not only channelling their influence through the machinations of the state, however. The SAC has disbursed more public funding for the traditional arts since 2002, when Nod Knowles announced that “traditional music absolutely [had] pride of place” in SAC’s new music strategy (Bruce, 2002: 1). The resultant “democratisation of cultural life” (McKay, 1994: 276) has allowed practitioners to challenge the monopoly which Scottish Evening music enjoys in TICs, and in the recorded music market in general. Moreover, systems of representations such as CDs, videos and the Internet are increasingly affording practitioners the opportunities to produce musical accounts of places and regions which are more varied than those already available to tourists.

3. Musical Identities under Postmodernity

Ian McKay’s (1994) description of tourism promotion in Nova Scotia offers a parallel which may be employed to interpret these developments in the relationship between traditional music and tourism in Scotland. McKay (1994) concludes *The Quest of the Folk* by discussing the status of the region’s heritage of folk imagery and balladry in the postmodern era. He argues that the postmodern condition intensifies tourist demand for folk imagery, with its attendant notions of rusticity, simplicity, authenticity and the rural: “The “Folk” motif will probably become more and more important as the cultural contradictions of late capitalism intensify” (McKay, 1994: 278). McKay observes that, since the 1970s, Nova Scotia’s marketing literature has increasingly adopted folk imagery as a means of distinguishing the province from its competitors in the globalised tourism industry (ibid.: 280). Equally, however, alternative narratives of Nova Scotian identity are emerging from cultural producers who are increasingly dissatisfied with such officially sanctioned versions of the province’s cultural identity. Thus, under the postmodern

condition, the status of the “folk” in Nova Scotia’s tourism promotion efforts is somewhat ambivalent, for it is simultaneously being both enthusiastically embraced and challenged.

McKay’s account has much in common with the status of Scottish traditional music in the postmodern tourism economy. As Chapter Six illustrated, folk music traditions have latterly been increasingly invoked to distinguish Scotland from the standardisation and homogenisation associated with the successful commodification of the tourist product (Watson and Kopachevsky, 1994: 655). Simultaneously, however, alternative narratives of Scotland’s traditional music are emerging which are not defined by the territorial boundaries of the nation, but by both local and transnational geographical areas. The emergence of both localised and deterritorialised musical expressions may appear initially to be “somewhat paradoxical” (to borrow the expression which McKay (1994: 276) uses to describe the increasing commodification, and contestation, of Nova Scotia’s “folk” imagery). It is argued throughout this chapter, however, that these tendencies are intimately related, in that both are emblematic of the postmodern rejection of musical identities which are bound up with the nation.

Before developing this argument, it will first be apposite to offer a brief overview of the terms “postmodernism” and “postmodernity”.⁴² Postmodernism is less a unified philosophical theory than a collection of ideas which seek to account not only for material changes which have occurred in the world since the 1970s, but also for new ways of interpreting the world which have developed since this time. According to such notions, the postmodern moment (or condition) is a period during which radical social, cultural, economic, technological and political changes are taking place. Postmodernity - the lived experience of postmodernism - is associated with a number of attributes, including: a rejection of master narratives and mega-theories (Lyotard, 1984); an emphasis on the language and symbols of discourse; the celebration of ephemerality and transience; a state of hyper-reality, in which images are more powerful than the “real” (Baudrillard,

⁴² Readers seeking a comprehensive insight into the condition of postmodernity are referred to writers including Harvey (1990) and Jameson (1991).

1983); a rejection of the “high/ low” culture dichotomy (Jameson, 1991); timelessness caused by the substitution of spatial for temporal coordinates; and the emergence of multiple, conflicting identities.

As Keith Hollinshead (2002) argues, many ideas associated with the postmodern condition can have considerable application to studies of tourism and the interpretation of history and heritage. One particular attribute which is of relevance to this discussion is the replacement of master narratives and identities of nation states with smaller, more locally-oriented narratives and identities. Several postmodernist critics have identified factors which are causing hitherto accepted, unified identities and histories to disintegrate and be replaced by those of a more locally-situated, contingent nature. Baudrillard (1981), for example, anticipates this development in his discussion of the ownership of knowledge, and the concept of dislocation. Asserting that meanings are separated from their respective images under the postmodern condition, Baudrillard argues that knowledge is no longer the preserve of particular institutions and bodies. The postmodern condition renders it more difficult for governments and academia to retain their influence in determining the “appropriate” interpretations of a nation’s history and identity. Hollinshead (2002: 175) concurs with this estimation, observing that one attribute associated with postmodernity is the nation’s gradual loss of control over the culture of its citizenry, and the resultant tendency for individuals to reclaim, articulate and mediate their culture, heritage and identity. A natural corollary of this tendency is “that the proportion of ‘vernacular’, ‘local’ and ‘populist’ accounts of history and heritage in currency will rise *vis-à-vis* standard elitist accounts” (Hollinshead, 2002: 187).

In a related vein, critics of postmodernity recognise that all representations of history and cultural identities are mediated, and hence can never achieve neutrality. Fredric Jameson (1991), for example, observes that histories are only available in the form of narratives. According to Jameson, histories and identities require representation, mediation and encoding in narrative form. This recognition of the non-neutrality of

historical accounts has further contributed towards the emergence of competing views of histories, identities and traditions.

The implication is that, under the postmodern condition, universal histories are increasingly being supplanted by local and more explicitly contingent histories. This trend is outlined by Francois Lyotard, who views postmodernism as a critique of the “grand narratives” (such as national histories) which uphold all societal belief systems and ideologies. Indeed, Lyotard defines postmodernism simply as “incredulity towards meta-narratives” (1984: xxiv), especially that of progress and its variants deriving from the Enlightenment. He argues that whilst such meta-narratives attempt to impose order on social organisations and spaces, they can do more than simply mask their inherent inconsistencies and contradictions. Rejecting these meta-narratives, postmodernism favours smaller, more locally-oriented narratives which make no claims to universality or stability.

These observations have substantial implications for heritage and tourism interpretation. Officially sanctioned narratives of history no longer retain their predominance in the postmodern world, as individuals and other interested parties achieve the means to promote alternate, competing accounts. Such groupings are increasingly hostile to political systems and societies which attempt to promote homogeneity; accordingly, they seek to subvert rhetorics of uniformity propagated by institutions such as the nation state and academia (Hollinshead, 2002: 191). Indeed, these very trends are evident in McKay’s (1994) aforementioned account of the contested status of folk imagery in late twentieth century Nova Scotia; the state no longer retains its monopoly in determining the province’s historical and cultural identity. Recognising that the province’s folk identity is not an objective reality, but a mediated construction, a number of writers have produced accounts of their experiences of Nova Scotia which reveal a substantial disparity with its public image. In Nova Scotia and elsewhere, grand narrative accounts of history and identity are being contested by a variety of competing accounts, which are more locally-oriented and based in the lived experiences of people and communities.

These attributes of postmodernity have considerable implications not only for tourism representation, but also for the construction of musical identities. Postmodern discourse implies that hitherto accepted musical identities are increasingly being eroded as practitioners acquire the means to represent and mediate music on their own terms. Indeed, George Lipsitz (1994) points to the increasingly fragmented nature of cultural - and in particular, musical - identities under the postmodern condition. He argues that increasingly rapid flows of transnational capital are subverting hitherto established identities: new networks of communication are being forged whilst new identities are being embraced (Lipsitz, 1994: 153). "Master narratives of the nation state" (Ibid.: 32) are increasingly being challenged by cultural expressions which are rooted in the experiences of people and communities. Such musical expressions are analogous to new social movements, in that they are concerned with the lived experiences of ordinary people, they are locally based and territorially defined, and reject those national musical identities which are endorsed and propagated by the nation state. In this respect, postmodern expressions of musical identities offer alternatives to those which have achieved credence through the efforts of nation building or the economic successes of free market capitalism.

Such discussion therefore suggests that corporate accounts of Scottish musical identity, such as the music peddled in the Scottish Evening and the TIC, are increasingly being complemented and challenged by alternative versions. Musical representations are becoming more eclectic and multidimensional as various interest groups and individuals offer competing accounts of Scotland's musical traditions. Relatedly, postmodern discourse casts doubts on the continuing potency of those regional musical identities which were promoted by cultural entrepreneurs from the Romantic era onwards. It was noted in Chapter Two that these musical identities were bourgeois constructs, created for upper class consumption. Unlike the more recent expressions to be discussed here, they were not created by practitioners of the tradition. To what extent, then, have these musical representations of Scotland's regions maintained their touristic influence in this

age of increasingly democratised access to the means of cultural production? In order to answer this question, it will be apposite to examine two projects which have emerged recently from the Scottish Borders.

4. The Ballads Trail

Chapter Two demonstrated that, from the early nineteenth century onwards, the borderland in general, and the Yarrow Valley in particular, was represented in the travel literature as the heartland of Scottish balladry. Following the publication of Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* in 1802-1803, cultural entrepreneurs and travel writers alike subscribed to the notion that the area was a "land of minstrelsy". Discourse on postmodernity suggests that such established musical identities are increasingly being eroded, as government bodies and other powerful groupings lose the ability to construct the histories and identities of their respective territories. Initial investigations suggest, however, that the statutory tourism authority of the Scottish Borders region continues to espouse and promote this two-hundred year old musical identity. The Scottish Borders Tourist Board's (SBTB) website, for example, notably claims that the region "is said to be more sung in ballad than any other place on the face of the earth even Ancient Greece!" (Scottish Borders Tourist Board, 2003). This assertion has recently been challenged in the academic literature, which today regards Aberdeenshire, rather than the Scottish Borders, as the most fertile area of balladry in Scotland (Henderson, 1992: 23; Buchan, 1997: 5). In this respect, the Scottish Borders' claim that it is more "sung in ballad" than anywhere else in the world, is increasingly being questioned.

This claim is also intriguing in commercial terms, causing one to wonder why a region's reputed fame in the field of traditional balladry should possess any substantial degree of commercial appeal today. With its Romantic associations, it appears somewhat anachronistic as a tourism marketing tool and far from an enticement for potential tourists. The SBTB clearly disagrees, however, for in the year 2000 it developed *The Ballads Trail*, a 100-mile driving route designed to introduce visitors to sites associated with the region's heritage of traditional song. It is apparent, however, that this project

does differ significantly from earlier musical representations of the region in one major respect, namely, in regard to its geographical coverage: it is governed by the territorial boundaries of the Scottish Borders region, and does not extend to the wider borderland in which Scott collected. To reiterate, “the Scottish Borders” is used here to refer to the present-day local authority region, while the wider area which had its balladry collected and published by Scott is referred to as “the borderland”.

As demonstrated in Chapter Two, the combined force of Scott’s *Minstrelsy*, commercial guidebooks and travel accounts ensured that, from the early nineteenth century onwards, a number of ballad sites became established stops for visitors touring the borderland. Together, these locations combined to create an early form of tourist trail, which although not formally signposted with route markers, became established relatively quickly because of its basis in Scott’s *Minstrelsy*. This informal trail was effectively formalised in the year 2000 with the launch of *The Ballads Trail*, a SBTB initiative targeted at visitors touring the region by car. Together with five other car trails, it was launched under the auspices of the “Land of Creativity”, a year-long SBTB project designed to mark the millennium.⁴³ Funding of £300 000 was secured and three staff were employed by the SBTB to deliver a year-long series of events which showcased the cultural life of the region (Christie, 2002b).

The six tourist trails are distinctive in not being marked through the customary mode of road signage. Rather, tourists can buy booklets from the region’s TICs which contain directions and advice for following the trail, together with commentary on individual sites (see Figure 7.1, which portrays the route map). *The Ballads Trails* is distinct from the other five routes, however, in that it has been produced in both pamphlet and cassette form. The cassette’s commentary is provided by the broadcaster Billy Kay and local historian Walter Elliott; their conversations introduce listeners to the legend and lore associated with particular sites and their related ballads, and are interspersed with

⁴³ The other five trails are: The Sir Walter Scott Trail; Poets of the Scottish Borders; The John Buchan Trail; Berwickshire Car Trail “Mysteries of the Merse”; and The James Hogg Trail.

excerpts from the ballads and songs in question, performed mainly by musicians from the Scottish Borders. Readers are referred to Appendix 7.1 for the track listing.



Fig. 7.1. *The Ballads Trail* map

One implication of the route's cassette-based nature is the element of virtuality which it affords *The Ballads Trail*. One does not actually need to travel to the Scottish Borders in order to participate in the trail: rather, simply by listening to the tape one may be transported there, in a virtual sense at least. A tourist trail themed according to its musical heritage is particularly notable in this respect, for it capitalises upon music's unique ability to conjure a sense of place. As Mark DeWitt notes "For music to serve as

an index for a place, no physical experience aside from hearing the music is necessary for an association to be created" (DeWitt, 1999b: 62). Thus, in tourism terms, the potency of music lies in its ability to evoke another time or place. In this respect, the ballads of the Scottish Borders are a valuable tourism asset, conferring upon the region the distinct sense of place so necessary to succeed in the increasingly homogenised tourism marketplace.

This element of virtuality is particularly pertinent given that *The Ballads Trail* cassette was developed into *Ballads of the Borderland*, a four-part radio series which was broadcast on BBC Radio Scotland during the Christmas season, 2001. The programme was so enthusiastically received that it was repeated the following summer (MacDonald, 2003). With these broadcasts, the Scottish Borders' reputation as the heartland of Scotland's traditional balladry was disseminated to a far wider audience than the region's tourist market. The region's ballad associations were promoted not only within Scotland itself, but were also publicised to an international audience, via the Internet.

While the medium and the accompanying commentary may differ, the connection between *The Ballad Trail* cassette and Scott's *Minstrelsy* is evident. Whereas Victorian tourists travelled with a copy of Scott's collection in hand, a cassette encourages contemporary tourists to visit many of the same sites. Indeed, the trail booklet informs the reader that Scott's "'Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border' is the main source of the following trail" (Elliot, 2000: 3). In this respect the musical image of the Borders has changed little in the last two hundred years. In the cassette's commentary Walter Elliot even acknowledges the influence of Scott's *Minstrelsy* in generating tourism to the region, observing that: "Sir Walter Scott, by popularising Scottish history [...] helped create the Scottish tourist industry. People started from places like Europe to places like here to see the scenes where ballads were set".

This statement does, however, point to a fundamental difference between *The Ballads Trail* and Scott's *Minstrelsy*. Whereas the *Minstrelsy* enticed tourists to the region, *The*

Ballads Trail is designed to provide entertainment once they have arrived. Scott's *Minstrelsy* was rather more scholarly in orientation and as such attracted members of the literate classes, who were fascinated by the ballads' portrayal of the legend and lore associated with the borderland. *The Ballads Trail*, conversely, is not simply educational in intent: Sarah MacDonald (2003), the project co-ordinator, describes its purpose as follows:

I think it was inspirational, possibly. [...] Yes [it was] educational, in the [respect] that The Land of Creativity was all about trying to highlight not just to the tourists, but locally as well, what the land was they were living in. So again, there was that educational aspect. Yes, enjoyment, because the whole idea was to prove [...] the enjoyment of what we have locally. But again, it's the inspiration, it's the pride and the passion of the Borders.

Intended to inform, entertain and celebrate the history and landscape of the Scottish Borders, *The Ballads Trail* differs in tone from Scott's collection. *The Ballads Trail* cassette and booklet are popular in orientation and, as such, more vernacular in terms of tenor. They offer a more colloquial counterpoint to Scott's established version of the area's musical heritage, thereby supporting Hollinshead's (2002: 187) observation that, under the postmodern condition, standard accounts of history are being challenged by more populist, idiomatic accounts.

There are fundamental differences, too, in the status afforded to the ballads. For many nineteenth century visitors, the ballads were simply literary artefacts which provided evidence of the Borderers' archaic beliefs. Scott, and successive generations of collectors, believed that in collecting the ballads they were preserving the last relics of a dying tradition (Cowan, 2000: 12). *The Ballads Trail's* approach is altogether different, however, portraying the ballads as a vibrant musical practice rather than as the last remnants of a moribund body of literature. In the cassette's commentary, for example,

Allan Massie disputes Margaret Laidlaw's famous threat that the ballads would "never be sung mair", arguing that this is "wrong of course, because they still are [sung]".⁴⁴ The musical excerpts bolster Massie's claim, providing evidence that musicians continue to perform the ballads. Thus, whilst *The Ballads Trail* is patently predicated upon Scott's version of the borderland's musical heritage, it fundamentally reinterprets his account, portraying the ballads not as relics of a dying literature, but as part of a flourishing musical tradition.

4.1 Locations and Route

The Ballads Trail also reinterprets the geographical confines of the land of minstrelsy. It would be an evident impossibility to introduce the tourist to the Scottish Borders' entire repertoire of traditional balladry and to all the sites reputed to be associated with particular ballads. In conjunction with Walter Elliot, Sarah MacDonald therefore demarcated a specific route and foregrounded a number of ballad scenes as being of particular interest. In terms of locations, the trail features many of the ballad scenes which proved popular with tourists from the early nineteenth century onwards. Thus, the Yarrow Valley, with its numerous ballad associations, is a designated stop on the trail. The Eildon Tree Stone is highlighted for its connections with *Thomas the Rhymer* (Ch.37), while Carlinrigg Kirkyard is noted as the final resting place of the eponymous reiver of the ballad *Johnie Armstrang*.

One of the ballads which *The Ballads Trail* recommends, *The Battle of Philliphaugh* (Ch.203), has historically found little favour amongst travellers. Speaking of the battle itself, William Angus opined that "The ballad written upon the event is, with a few exceptions, a fair record of the facts, but it has no poetic merit" (Angus, 1894: 147). Eyre-Todd (1900: 98) similarly termed it "a bald Covenanting ballad", his use of the term "bald" indicating that it is plain and lacking in musical and literary interest. Moreover, whilst

⁴⁴ Margaret Laidlaw, the mother of Scott's collaborator, James Hogg, famously berated Scott for his publication and treatment of the ballads: "There was never ane o my sangs prentit till ye prentit them yourself, and ye hae spoilt them awethegither. They were made for singing an no for reading: but ye hae broken the charm noo, an they'll never be sung mair" (Henderson, 1992: 23).

Menzies' (1900) guide to the Yarrow Valley is saturated with ballad references, it describes the Battle of Philliphaugh, yet does not mention that the battle is commemorated in a ballad of the same name. *The Battle of Philliphaugh*, it would appear, is a ballad which historically held little resonance for travellers to the borderland.

Travellers frequently had similar reactions to the ballads associated with Hermitage Castle, another site featured on *The Ballads Trail*. Upon reaching the castle Madge Elder (1963: 71) was little impressed by its ballad connections, claiming that "Leyden's ballad *Lord Soulis* is not particularly good and *Bartram's Dirge*, accepted by Scott as genuine, is believed to be Surtees' own". In his account of Hermitage Castle, Stephen Oliver was similarly dismissive of Leyden's composition, terming it an "indifferent ballad" (Oliver, 1835: 168).

The inclusion of such scenes on the route appears all the more inexplicable when one considers the exclusion of other ballad locations. The scenes of many aforementioned ballads which historically proved popular with travellers are not included on *The Ballads Trail*. *Fair Helen of Kirconnell*, *The Lochmaben Harper* and *The Lads of Wamphray* are notable examples, all of which are situated a short distance outwith the Scottish Borders, in the neighbouring region of Dumfries and Galloway. For such ballads, geographical location, rather than artistic merit, accounts for their exclusion from *The Ballads Trail*. Ballad locations which would involve a detour from the trail's almost circular route are not suitable for inclusion, as are sites which lie outwith the political boundaries of the Scottish Borders region.

However, ballads, and the tales with which they are associated, predate and consequently transgress these spatial confines. The ballad of *Johnie Armstrang*, most notably, is associated with sites on both sides of the border between Dumfries and Galloway and the Scottish Borders. For patrons of *The Ballads Trail*, however, it is only Johnie Armstrang's memorial stone in Carlinrigg Kirkyard which is highlighted: his home, Gilnockie Tower, is not mentioned because it is situated in Dumfriesshire. *The Ballads*

Trail only recounts the tale of Johnie Armstrang insofar as it relates to the Scottish Borders. As a narrative of borderland history, and as a representation of musical heritage, *The Ballads Trail* is censored by the confines of contemporary political boundaries.

The result of this conformance to local authority boundaries is that a number of sites featured in *The Ballads Trail* have no musical associations. Indeed, of the 24 landmarks identified on *The Ballads Trail* map, only 11 have explicit connections to particular ballads. Some of the remaining 13 landmarks have tangential ballad connections, in that they are connected to the lives and works of Sir Walter Scott or James Hogg: Abbotsford, Branxholme Castle, and Tibbie Shiel's Inn are all recommended for these reasons. Visitors are also exhorted to visit sites of historic interest including Ferniehirst Castle, the ancestral home of the Kerr family, and Mary Queen of Scots House in Jedburgh. For these particular landmarks, their fortuitous locations, rather than their associations, lead them to be mentioned on the trail's literature.

Thus, to some degree *The Ballads Trail* is route-led rather than destination-led. MacDonald (2003) confirms that this is the case, recounting that her "remit for the car trails was to cover the whole of the Borders" and *The Ballads Trail* was designed to perform this role in the southern part of the region. Being a tourism initiative, *The Ballads Trail's* fundamental imperative is not to introduce tourists to every ballad location in the Scottish Borders: rather, it is to distribute tourist expenditure throughout a specific geographical area. The result is a representation of the region's body of traditional song which is edited by commercial considerations and political borders.

4.2 Land of Minstrelsy?

Scott's promotion of the borderland as a land of song has proved commercially beneficial to the Scottish Borders region, in that it has allowed this local authority area to be musically branded. Two hundred years after the publication of the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, Scott's established account of the borderland's musical heritage retains

some degree of credence, acting as the very basis for *The Ballads Trail*. Due to the time constraints of the cassette, *The Ballads Trail* cannot purport to offer a comprehensive insight into the ballad traditions of the Scottish Borders and accordingly presents a selective view of Scott's collection. In so doing it constitutes a selective representation of an already selective representation of Scottish Borders musical heritage. The politics of cultural selection underlying *The Ballads Trail* are, however, guided by entirely different principles than those of Scott's. Whereas Scott's politics of cultural selection were governed by the aesthetic ideology of Romanticism, those of *The Ballads Trail* are governed by political and financial factors.

At the simplest level this means that the route of the trail has been determined according to geographical, rather than aesthetic or artistic, decisions. Local authority boundaries are the fundamental factor governing which ballads the trail includes and excludes. Although many of Scott's "Border ballads" have their respective localities outwith the Scottish Borders, the SBTB has a vested interest in keeping visitors within the boundaries of its particular region. As a result, it cannot afford to adopt Scott's more liberal interpretation of the phrase "Scottish Border". By virtue of its very name, the Scottish Borders has been able to capitalise upon the appeal of the Border ballads, in effect claiming them entirely as its own. The musical identities of Scott's borderland and the Scottish Borders region have been conflated.

The processes of cultural selection which underlie this particular case have substantial implications for tourism representation. In this instance, political boundaries, and their concomitant institutions, funding arrangements and policies, have combined to impose an artificial division upon a musical canon. An approach to representation which is driven by heritage itself, rather than pre-defined geographical areas, would perhaps be more aesthetically rewarding and comprehensive. Such an approach is, however, fundamentally hindered by the institutional arrangements for tourism in Scotland, the regional structure of which results in representations of cultural heritage which are edited along political lines.

This case does, moreover, highlight the disjuncture between marketing musical heritage and marketing musical tradition. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (1995: 369) definition of "heritage" is instructive in this regard: "Heritage [...] is the transvaluation of the obsolete, the mistaken, the outmoded, the dead, and the defunct. Heritage is created through a process of exhibition (as knowledge, as performance, as museum display)". According to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, heritage is created when elements of the past are transformed through being displayed in exhibition form. In the case of *The Ballads Trail*, the exhibition takes the form of a tourist trail. The project aims to impress upon listeners the vitality of ballad singing, yet is dependent upon the trappings of modernity (a cassette and a car) to do so. The result is a new cultural production which borrows from the past.

As an example of musical heritage, it is entirely possible that this representation of the Scottish Borders does not entirely accord with the experience of those musicians living within the region. The comments of Mac MacEwan are enlightening in this respect. While he welcomed the idea of *The Ballads Trail* in principle, MacEwan (2003) was initially unaware of the project itself. He claimed, moreover, that: "I'd guarantee that none of the musicians [in the Borders] know anything about this. Or I might be wrong. [...] But generally I tend to know and hear what's going on within the Borders musically". Thus, according to MacEwan, *The Ballads Trail* project did not involve the wider folk music community of the Scottish Borders. Similarly, despite the stated intention that all Land of Creativity projects were targeted at both visitors and residents, *The Ballads Trail* has reputedly achieved little recognition amongst the region's traditional musicians. With its route – and hence its content – being determined by the commercial considerations of the SBTB, and the personal preferences of historian Walter Elliot, *The Ballads Trail* constitutes another instance of balladry being commodified for tourism purposes by those outwith the folk music tradition.

Despite the insistence in the cassette's commentary that ballads continue to be sung in the Scottish Borders, it is notable that patrons of *The Ballads Trail* are not directed to venues where they might have the opportunity to hear such ballads being performed.

MacEwan confirms that there are few, if any opportunities to hear Border ballads being sung anywhere in the region, a state of affairs which he attributes to there being “only about three people in the whole world [who] can sing a Border ballad” (Ibid.). Despite the patent hyperbole in this statement, his meaning is evident: namely, that the singing of such ballads is a practice engaged in by a limited number of folk music practitioners. Indeed, of the 46 sessions (described in the previous chapter) which were organised in pubs and hotels throughout the Scottish Borders in October and November 2002, only one of the events listed was specifically devoted to this genre.⁴⁵ Moreover, although a Border ballad competition is held annually at the Newcastleton Traditional Music Festival, MacEwan (2003) emphasises that the festival “is probably the only one in the world to have a Border ballad competition because it’s quite specialised”. The tourist who enjoys listening to *The Ballads Trail* cassette had therefore no more than two guaranteed opportunities in 2002 to listen to such ballads *in situ*. As a result, it is the Scottish Borders’ musical heritage, rather than its musical activity, which this project seeks to promote.

The degree to which *The Ballads Trail* has been accepted as a reasonable reflection of Scottish Borders’ musical culture can also be measured by the extent to which it has been challenged by other representations of the region’s music. Prevailing discourse on postmodernity suggests that identities and representations of heritage are becoming more contested, diverse and fragmented; standard accounts of history and heritage are being challenged by a variety of competing accounts, which tend to be more popular and vernacular in nature (Hollinshead, 2002: 187). Indeed, as has already been observed, *The Ballads Trail* can be understood as a more colloquial and accessible version of Scott’s established account of the region’s musical heritage. More strikingly, Hollinshead suggests that under the condition of postmodernity, standard versions of history and heritage are inclined to find themselves in competition with a variety of accounts. A far wider array of individuals, organisations and interest groups now have the means to

⁴⁵ Friday 11th October, 2002: Cobbles Inn, Kelso, Border Ballad singing competition at Kelso Folk Club

disseminate their own narratives of heritage and to decide which aspects of heritage they wish to promote. As a result, "single historical accounts are likely to be superseded by multiple, different accounts" (Hollinshead, 2002: 186). Thus, postmodern discourse suggests that Scott's land of minstrelsy is a musical identity which is now likely to be contested and perhaps supplanted by other musical expressions.

5. REAL

Indeed, an alternate perspective on the region's traditional music can be found within the Land of Creativity project itself, for also launched under the auspices of this initiative was a CD named *REAL*. Subtitled "*The Scottish Borders: Where the Traditional Meets the Unexpected*", *REAL* was intended as a vehicle to showcase the musical traditions of the Scottish Borders. The CD was launched in November 2000 and is sold at TICs throughout the region. In common with all Land of Creativity projects, however, the CD is targeted not only at those visiting the region, but also those who live there. Readers are referred to Appendix 7.2 for the relevant track listing.

The CD was devised by Hector Christie, one of the three members of the Land of Creativity team. Having founded the Melrose Folk Festival in 1988 and organised it for 10 years, Christie was described as "a man of respect in Scottish folk circles" in the online magazine *Freefolk* (Harris, 2000). The article praised SBTB for having the "good sense" (ibid.) to appoint such an eminent member of Scotland's traditional music community, implying that only a folk music practitioner can successfully execute such a project. Thus, although ostensibly a tourist board initiative, the CD was co-ordinated by a traditional musician, a fact which distinguishes it from *The Ballads Trail* and raises questions regarding the impact which the identity of the cultural producer has on the nature of the musical representation produced.

Christie apparently rejects the region's long-standing cultural identity, which has its roots in Scott's *Minstrelsy*. In particular, he argues that writers, artists and musicians have tended to represent the Scottish Borders in a one-dimensional manner, concentrating on

its legends and ballads and representing it a land of freebooters, fairies, minstrels and wizards:

Such has been the concentration on the past that the place was in danger of being seen from outwith as a Brigadoon or theme park type of place. I felt this was perpetuated by writers who succumbed to the temptation to take the lazy way out, and just keep on churning out the same old tried and trusted stuff instead of taking a fresh look at our area (Chisholm, 2000: 18).

Thus, according to Christie, successive generations of cultural producers have presented a particularly selective view of the region's musical heritage, one which has incessantly focused upon the balladry, folklore and tales first promoted by Scott. This tendency was most recently perpetuated by Andrew Greig's (1999) novel *When they Lay Bare*, the plot of which is based upon the ballads *Barbara Allen* (Ch.84) and *The Twa Corbies* (Ch.26). The novel was adapted into an opera by composer Mark Sheridan for the 2003 Celtic Connections festival, thus further perpetuating the image of the Scottish Borders as a land of minstrelsy.

Moreover, Christie suggests that the contemporary musical repertory and practices of the Scottish Borders have been neglected in tourism promotion in favour of its resilient image as the heartland of Scottish balladry. With *REAL*, Christie therefore sought to counter this imbalance, stressing that the CD is "not about historical, romantic, Thomas the Rhymer stuff" (Christie, 2002b), a description which could certainly be applied to *The Ballads Trail*. In this respect *REAL* aims to subvert this hitherto dominant representation of the Scottish Borders' musical identity. As a product of the millennium, Christie viewed *REAL* not only as an opportunity to reflect on the region's past, but also as an opportunity to look towards its future. So successful was Christie at communicating the CD's ethos, that its launch was announced in *The Scotsman* under the headline *New CD Sings a Different Song of the Borders* (Chisholm, 2000: 18). *REAL*, it suggested, offered a fresh

perspective on the region, one which was wholly removed from the historical focus propagated by cultural products such as *The Ballads Trail*.

The very title of the CD (which, according to Christie “was no accident”) reveals much about its ethos. Making use of the same pun as *Scotland the Real*, the title is patently intended to connote authenticity. The approach taken is in many ways informed by Christie’s concerns about the nature of Scottish tourism promotion in general, which he claims “is divorced from the real” (Christie, 2002b). *REAL*, by contrast, is intended to be “about the antithesis of naff, theme-park kind of tourism” (ibid.).

Such comments may appear initially somewhat difficult to reconcile with much discourse on postmodernity, which dictates that distinctions such as “true/false” and “real/imaginary” are increasingly redundant. The content of the CD does, however, offer a means to understanding Christie’s personal conception of authenticity. Although his particular politics of cultural selection appears generally to have been intuitive rather than determined by strict criteria, it was evidently underpinned by the desire to foreground some less famous music which has emerged from the region:

it could be dead easy to do an album of Borders music tomorrow. I mean, if you say to somebody, “Name me 3 Borders tunes”, they’ll say *Jock o Hazeldean*, *The Low Rolling Hills of the Borders* and something else, *Lock the Door Lariston*, or something. These are the ones that are really well known. But I thought, “I wonder what else is going on? [...] there’s bound to be a wealth of good material that isnae so well known (Christie, 2002b).

Thus, according to Christie, it would be “dead easy” to compile an album of Scottish Borders’ traditional music simply because of the high familiarity which much of the region’s repertoire enjoys. The respective examples he cites - an “imitation” ballad by Scott, a song by Matt McGinn, and a James Hogg song (which features on *The Ballads*

Trail) - are pieces which he deems to be representative of this body of well-known music. His intention, therefore, was to counter such familiar representations of Scottish Borders music and thereby subvert consumers' expectations of what such an album would contain. Thus, for Christie, the subversion of musical stereotypes is central to achieving a "real" representation of the region's musical culture.

Given Christie's professed desire not to perpetuate popular representations of Scottish Borders musical heritage, it is unsurprising that Border balladry is represented by only one track: namely, Jackie Jennett's rendition of *Drooned in Yarrow*, a recording which also finds its way onto *The Ballads Trail* cassette. According to Christie (2002), however, this particular ballad is one which "naebody really records", a statement which again reveals his desire to showcase the less familiar components of the region's musical heritage. Moreover, it is "a cracker [...] best track on there" (Christie, 2002b), an admission which suggests that his personal interpretation of musical excellence is one of the key criteria determining what is included and excluded from the CD.

Indeed, the elision of musical quality with authenticity is a pervasive theme throughout the CD. Although the majority of the seventeen tracks were recorded specifically for the *REAL* project, there are four which are taken from existing recordings: namely, Archie Fisher's *Broom of Cowdenknowes*; John Watt's *Eyemouth Disaster*, John Wright's *Wail o' Flodden* and Rod Paterson's *Willie Wastle*. These are all tracks which Christie (2002b) describes as "songs that I knew were already in existence that couldnae be bettered", a statement which indicates that his preoccupation with the "real" has manifested itself as a concern with musical quality.

In terms of musical content, the emphasis firmly on the "traditional" rather than the "unexpected". The latter element is represented by two specially commissioned works which address contemporary topics, namely the mass redundancies caused by the closure of a local factory (The Nat Kings: *There for the Taking*), and the projected re-opening of the Borders railways (The Waverley Line Dance Band: *When the Railways*

Return). To a certain extent, then, the project's concern is with foregrounding news events which are of significance to the local community: for example, Christie (2002b) describes *When The Railways Return*, as "about life in the Borders". In accordance with postmodern discourse, this suggests that musical accounts are becoming more involved with the lived experiences of ordinary people and communities. Equally, it adds credence to the notion that expressions of musical identity are becoming more locally-oriented, and that individuals are increasingly harnessing the means to challenge standard, officially sanctioned accounts of particular regions' cultural identities.

In a similar vein, *The Death of Tibbie Tamson* was specially commissioned by Christie in an attempt to raise awareness of a less well-known incident in Borders history. Composed and performed by Phamie Gow, the piece is inspired by the tale of Tibbie Tamson, a poverty-stricken Selkirk woman, who committed suicide in the 1770s after being ostracised by the local community and threatened with the prospect of jail because she had stolen a loaf of bread. According to Christie, this was "a story that should be known". The CD was therefore targeted not only at tourists but also at residents of the Scottish Borders who were unfamiliar with such aspects of the region's history. Thus, *REAL* seeks to disseminate those "little narratives" of Scottish Borders history which had been erased from standard accounts of the region's historical identity. In this respect, *REAL* accords with discourse on postmodernity, in that it dispenses with established, universal historical accounts, in favour of locally-oriented histories which are concerned with the experiences of ordinary people.

Christie's desire to subvert musical stereotypes also manifested itself through his selection of performers: the traditional songs which feature on *REAL* were performed by musicians who were hitherto unfamiliar with the tracks in question. The rationale for selecting such performers was that they would be able to offer fresh perspectives on the songs in question, rather than conforming to established modes of traditional song performance. As the liner notes detail, "one objective was to use respected artistes at times challenging them to step outside their normal repertoires when necessary, where it

was thought their treatment would enhance certain material” (Christie, 2000: n.p.). Established renditions were therefore rejected in favour of performances which challenge traditional modes of performance. Thus, it is not only through the musical material itself, but also through the performance of that material, that Christie seeks to confront established preconceptions of Scottish Borders music.

The choice of performers is also striking in that a number of the featured musicians are not from the Scottish Borders. In many respects the selection of performers was governed by personal preferences rather than place of residence, with Christie (2002b) confirming that he had asked a number of his “favourite singers” to perform songs of his own choosing. Media reports alluded to the status of performers involved, with a review in *The Living Tradition* reporting that the inclusion of “well-established artists such as Heather Heywood, Brian Miller and Alison McMorland [...gives] a virtual guarantee of quality which is certainly fulfilled” (Brown, 2001: n.p.). *The Scotsman* similarly reported that the CD featured “some of the most respected singers and musicians in Scotland” (Chisholm, 2000: 18).

Indeed, reviews of the CD were uniformly positive. The *Border Telegraph* (2000: n.p.) welcomed its launch, claiming that it was “guaranteed to provide a lasting legacy of [The Land of Creativity’s] success”. Publications which are oriented towards the folk music community were also full of praise for the album: the aforementioned *Living Tradition* review described it as “a fine collection of Border songs which is well worth getting” (Brown, 2001: n.p.). The *Freefolk* review was similarly laudatory, praising the “grand job” which Christie had done in compiling the album and concluding that “It sounds like all’s well in the Scottish Borders” (Harris, 2002: n.p.). Moreover, *REAL* has “sold out at three folk festivals every year” (Christie, 2002b), suggesting that the CD has been positively received by traditional music enthusiasts, tourists and critics alike.

However, whilst such reviews provide assurances regarding the quality of the compilation, they provide little indication of the extent to which it is deemed to be a fitting

representation of Scottish Borders' musical culture. More instructive in this regard are the comments of one Scottish Borders musician who enjoyed the CD on a purely aesthetic level, yet retained doubts regarding the degree to which it reflected the musical culture of the Borders. In particular, the relative absence of musicians from the region prompted the observation that *REAL* "doesn't really represent what's going on in the Borders". For this respondent, then, there is a striking difference between what is represented in *REAL* and the music which is performed in pubs, concerts and festivals throughout the region. A tourist who visits the Scottish Borders is unlikely to be able to hear many of the musicians who appear on the album, simply because they are based outwith the region. Likewise, the visitor to the region is unlikely to be able to hear the specially-commissioned and newly-composed works which appear on the CD because they have not had sufficient time to enter into the folk canon. Thus, *REAL* is less a celebration of the region's musical activity, than its musical heritage.

Balladry therefore occupies an ambivalent position in the tourism promotion efforts of the Scottish Borders, a position analogous to the status of McKay's (1994) "folk" in late 20th century Nova Scotia. Just as the latter's folk imagery is being simultaneously embraced and contested, so too is the Scottish Borders' heritage of balladry being both harnessed for tourism purposes and challenged by alternate musical expressions. Furthermore, whilst *The Ballads Trail* is patently predicated upon Scott's *Minstrelsy*, it represents a fundamental reinterpretation of the latter, for it presents balladry as a living musical tradition rather than as a moribund literary movement. In addition, it redefines the geographical scope of Border balladry, confining it to present day local authority boundaries rather than the wider area covered by Scott. In these respects, tourist-oriented musical representations of the Scottish Borders support the postmodern contention that standard accounts of heritage are increasingly being questioned, and confronted by alternative accounts which are more vernacular in nature.

6. Sang o the Solway

Come with us on a song-filled, music-filled, poetry-filled journey through Dumfries and Galloway (Track 1, *Sang o the Solway*).

A key point to emerge from the preceding discussion concerns the extent to which hitherto accepted musical identities are being renegotiated in accordance with the political boundaries of contemporary local authority areas. This process has substantial implications for the regions which neighbour the Scottish Borders, for much of their respective territories historically formed part of Scott's borderland. The region of Dumfries and Galloway is particularly notable in this regard. Chapter Two demonstrated that in the travel literature of the nineteenth century Dumfriesshire was intimately associated with ballads such as fair *Helen of Kirconnell* and *Johnie Armstrang*. By the early twentieth century, the county had acquired a somewhat more amorphous musical identity, trading variously on its associations with reiving ballads, love songs and the works of Burns. The musical associations of the Galloway area, conversely, featured little in the travel literature, generally confined to Burns songs such as *Scots Wha Hae*.

The regional council of Dumfries and Galloway was established in 1975. How have the resultant political boundaries impacted upon the representation of these two counties' respective musical identities? The preceding discussion regarding the Scottish Borders suggests that those local musical expressions produced with state support will be bounded by the local authority's political borders and will accordingly redefine the geographical scope of established musical identities. Indeed, such trends are apparent in the CD *Sang o the Solway*, which was launched in 2000 in an initial attempt to promote a distinct image of Dumfries and Galloway's musical traditions. (See Appendix 7.3 for the track listing). This particular recording was commissioned and released by the Dumfries and Galloway Arts Association (DGAA), an independent arts development agency which is funded by Dumfries and Galloway Council and the SAC.

The initial stimulus from the project came from the Castlebay Duo, two musicians based in Maine, USA. After visiting Dumfries and Galloway, one member of the duo (Julia Lane) was inspired to write an instrumental work entitled *The Galloway Suite*. At the behest of the DGAA, some of this work was incorporated into a “cycle of songs, music and poems” which claimed to capture “the essence of South West Scotland’s heritage and culture” (*Sang o the Solway*, 2000: liner notes). The result is a CD which showcases “the area’s music and music that was written about the area” (Kelly, 2003). With regard to the latter, the CD features both traditional songs and “contemporary music written in traditional style” (ibid.). Nine of the tracks were written by the Castlebay Duo (Lane and Gosbee), while tracks by songwriters living in Dumfries and Galloway also feature. In terms of the more traditional aspect, the CD features songs by poets and songwriters based in the region, including Burns, Allan Cunningham and William Nicholson, in addition to songs collected in Dumfries and Galloway by the vocal group Stravaig (see Appendix 7.3).

Thus, in common with *REAL*, the CD features material which has thematic connections to the region, with subject matter ranging from the west of the region (*Whithorn*) to the east (*Caerlaverock*). In contrast to *REAL*, however, the recording features both amateur and professional musicians who live within the region. Professional musicians took charge of the CD’s musical direction, in addition to tutoring the three community vocal groups which took part in the recording. This emphasis on the involvement of the local populace leads DGAA’s Traditional Music Development Officer to describe *Sang o the Solway* as “a community project” (Kelly, 2003).

Sang o the Solway features a scripted narration which is pervaded by an aura of nostalgia, a quality which Jameson (2001: 19) argues is a key tenet of the postmodern experience. In particular, Jameson contends that nostalgia is a stylistic feature common to many postmodern artistic expressions, and symbolises efforts to appropriate idealised pasts which have long since been lost. Such a tone is evident in the CD’s opening narrative, which informs listeners that throughout the recording:

There'll be echoes of things long past and not so long past, sounds of yesterday as well as today's familiar noises. And there will run through it a tribute to those things of Galloway which are as steadfast as the land itself: its beauty, its climate, its hospitality, its couthy folk, its yarns and legends. All the colour and relief of that magnificent quilted land at Scotland's tip, bordered from Gretna to Whithorn by the silver fringes of the Solway (Track 1).

Such rhetoric thus draws a link between the music of the region and its topography and people. It establishes the tone of the CD, emphasising that its focus is all that is positive about the region. (This rhetoric wanders into the realm of the absurd, however, with its suggestion that the region benefits from a "steadfast" climate). Moreover, whilst there is a tokenistic nod to the present ("today's familiar noises"), the narrative essentially prioritises the past, implying that it was not only an older, but also a better time. Elsewhere, this tone is intensified, as the script expresses fondness for what it implies is a lost golden age: "a generation back Scots families were so close knit that the grandmother of the family was affectionately known as the "auld mither"" (Track 3). The patent implication is that this superior age has since been lost: it suggests that, because families are no longer so close, such terms of affection have effectively become redundant.

This tone confirms Jameson's (1991: 19) contention that nostalgia is emblematic of attempts to recapture a missing past or lost reality. More specifically, Jameson considers nostalgia to be the lens through which representations of history and heritage are typically mediated; history, he argues, is no longer merely represented, but is connoted using fantasised, stylised symbols of "pastness". This is apparent in the narrative spoken over *Whithorn*, which describes the sights and sounds which can be encountered on a fictional walk throughout the Galloway countryside. The following excerpt is typical in its privileging of the historic and archaic:

It is springtime and we walk, well-shod, along a Galloway road with the great blue arc of the sky above us, and the breeze at our back. An old Celtic blessing springs to mind. [...] And by stone kirks, the headstones are writ large with family histories. Past farm names at road ends, names able to be traced back to the older tongues, the Scots and the Gaelic (Track 10).

Thus, the listener is taken on a virtual tour of a nameless road within a region which is described in the most romantic and nostalgic of terms. In creating this simulated journey, the narrative relies on a number of verbal signifiers of "pastness": the ancient "Celtic blessing"; family genealogies; and the Gaelic language, which has not been spoken in Galloway for some 300 years. The necessity to mention the state of the virtual tourist's footwear further adds to the anachronistic tone of the journey. Thus, the script is not concerned with describing a particular historical period as such: rather, it portrays an idealised, eternal past age, which avoids the specificities of historical time. The result is a musical identity which is something akin to Baudrillard's concept of the simulacrum: it represents a fantasised past which never existed.

Through such rhetoric, *Sang o the Solway* portrays Dumfries and Galloway as a rural, fertile region inhabited by pastoral, bucolic folk. The urban, the industrial, technology, and all other such trappings of modernity, are erased from the image promoted: the simulated journey mentioned above is not marred by the presence of cars or pollution, for example. Rather, the past is converted into a utopia. In this sense, *Sang o the Solway* tends strongly towards essentialism in its description of the region. (Indeed, even the CD liner notes inform listeners that the project "has been the result of collaboration between a number of artists who have *captured the essence* of the region's heritage and culture").⁴⁶ It appears preoccupied with identifying the genuine life-blood of the region's folk music culture, those songs and scenes which have remained untainted by modernity. In this

⁴⁶ Emphasis added.

respect, the CD is not simply a neutral chronicle of the region's musical culture: rather, it is a nostalgic representation, which attributes the area's musical fertility to its past, and evades its connections to the present. This evocation of pastness is similarly present in terms of the musical content: unlike *REAL*, the focus is entirely on traditional music. When music of more recent origin is included, it is ostensibly traditional in style, in that is performed acoustically with no amplification.

Despite this repeated invoking of an ahistorical past, it is apparent that *Sang o the Solway* is dependent upon the commodity production, technology and cultural flows of late capitalism for its very existence: these factors enable the mass production and dissemination of the CD. Indeed, this project encapsulates two seemingly oppositional elements of the postmodern condition. It tends towards localism in its expression of musical identity, with both its content and performers drawn from a pre-defined geographical area. Conversely, its production embodies elements of the global postmodern predicament. In particular, the project's genesis arose from the internationalised circuits of communication which have permitted the establishment of new, more diverse social relationships. It is the global tourism industry which allowed The Castlebay Duo to travel to Dumfries and Galloway and find musical inspiration therein.

Moreover, *Sang o the Solway* was developed into a format for live performance: its premiere took place in Kirkcudbright in September 2001, and it was also performed at Glasgow's Celtic Connections festival in 2002. Plans to tour the show in the USA did, however, have to be abandoned after the project's funding was withdrawn following the terrorist attacks of September 11th 2001 (Kelly, 2003). Despite the abortive nature of these plans, it is apparent that *Sang o the Solway* was conceived as more than simply a CD: it was also envisaged as a touring show, one which could bring a simulated musical journey throughout Dumfries and Galloway to audiences throughout the world.

7. An Drochaid CD Sampler

A further local authority-sponsored expression of musical identity emerged from Skye and Lochalsh in March 2002, when An Drochaid, the Skye and Lochalsh Traditional Music Project, released a CD featuring some 16 artists from the local area. An Drochaid received financial support from Skye and Lochalsh Enterprise, SAC and the Highland Council in order to produce the CD. The project was initiated and funded by economic entrepreneurs, but was managed by practitioners, for (as noted in Chapter Three) An Drochaid is co-ordinated by the fiddler Louise MacKenzie, together with support from Fèisean nan Gàidheal.

The purpose of the An Drochaid CD sampler is described as follows: "The aim of the CD is not only to promote the wealth of talent we have in the area but will also look to attract visitors to capture a live traditional music experience in the area" (An Drochaid, 2002: 2). In this respect, the purpose of the CD is somewhat wider in scope than that behind *REAL*. Its intention is not to only to showcase the traditional music emerging from the area, but also to help promote the album sales of individual artists. In common with all these other projects, however, it is also intended to invest the region with a distinct sense of place. According to Louise MacKenzie, the music which tourists hear on a visit to Skye and Lochalsh is rarely the indigenous music of the area:

One of the great banes of my life is when I walk into a hotel in Broadford for example, and hear country and western being played! Or the Bee Gees. I think they should be playing traditional music from the area, or just traditional music (MacKenzie, 2003).

In an attempt to rectify this situation, An Drochaid produced 1000 CDs which featured songs and music donated by local traditional musicians; artists who had released CDs were invited to contribute individual tracks which featured on their own albums. Given that these practitioners selected the featured tracks, the An Drochaid CD is unique in that it does not constitute an attempt to construct a pre-determined musical image. With

regard to the selection of musical material, this particular project is arguably the most democratic of all those investigated here. The selection of artists was somewhat less democratic, however, in that it was restricted to those with recording contracts or with access to the means of recording production. In this respect, the choice of musicians was driven less by considerations of personal aesthetics than by economics.

Moreover, in attempting to promote Skye and Lochalsh's musical identity, An Drochaid has prioritised the provenance of the musicians over that of the musical material: the artists were selected because they lived within, or originate from, a specific local authority area. There was no requirement for the musicians involved to donate a musical track which had associations with Skye and Lochalsh, and there is accordingly little focus on the particular repertoire of the region. Untrammelled by the requirement to adhere to a historical canon, the CD does offer visitors some degree of congruity between the professed musical identity and actual musical activity of the region. Unlike *REAL*, there is the possibility that visitors may be able to experience live performances by the CD sampler's featured artists whilst they are on holiday in Skye and Lochalsh.

In contrast to the other regional projects outlined here, the An Drochaid CDs were not made available for sale: rather, they were distributed free-of-charge to every pub and hotel in the Skye and Lochalsh region, in order to encourage them to play traditional music in their respective businesses. As MacKenzie (2003) explains, "we thought, if we give them a free CD there's no excuse for them not to play something". The project was thus intended to ensure that traditional music becomes part of the tourist's environment during their visit: in this respect, the CD is something akin to "muzak", designed to permeate the listener's subconscious and encourage consumption. In particular, it is anticipated that visitors who enjoy hearing the music will either seek out live traditional music events, or will buy the albums of featured artists. Whilst no empirical study has been conducted to measure the project's success in this regard, anecdotal evidence attests to its efficacy:

somebody in a restaurant sitting there might ask the waiter what the music is, and they might say 'Well that's the Peatbog Faeries' and they might go the next day and buy the CD. And there is some evidence to suggest that that happens you know. I certainly know that the local music shop here used to very regularly have people coming in saying "Oh we heard this music in a restaurant or in the B&B and we were wondering if we could buy the CD" (Cormack, 2003).

Thus, the social context in which tourists hear the music is manipulated in order to ensure that the correct place association is made in their minds. This exercise exemplifies Jameson's (1991: 299) description of the postmodern spatialisation of music: "you no longer offer a musical object for contemplation and gustation: you wire up the context and make space musical around the consumer". As Jameson indicates, musical events demand not only participation, but also concentration. In traditional music performances in particular, the listening subject is required to offer emotional and intellectual involvement with the performance, in accordance with accepted folk mores (as described in Chapter Four). Both the gaze and the auditory capacity of the audience are involved in the consumption process.

The An Drochaid CD sampler, however, fundamentally alters the nature of the relationship between musician and listener. The tourist is no longer required to gaze upon the musical production, or even to engage in active listening: rather, they are merely required to allow background music to permeate their subconscious, thereby encouraging them to seek out and consume more music of a similar ilk. In this respect, the function performed by the An Drochaid CD sampler confirms Jameson's (2001: 49) observation that postmodernity is characterised by the extension of capital into hitherto uncommodified areas. In Skye and Lochalsh the tourists' subconscious has become commodified in the attempt to create a symbiotic relationship between traditional music and tourism.

The An Drochaid CD sampler shares much in common with *REAL* and *Sang o the Solway* in that each of these projects were managed by practitioners yet were commissioned and funded by economic entrepreneurs, an arrangement which has evident implications for their geographical frames of reference. In each case, the projects' territorial boundaries were set not by musical considerations, but by political factors. The musical and geographical boundaries of each correspond to those of the local authority area which provided funding for the project.

Having studied a number of projects which are politically, rather than musically, motivated it will be apposite to explore one which transcends the strictures of political boundaries and is driven instead by the search for what John Lovering (1998: 47) terms "a local musical space": namely, "a territory in which a 'community of musical taste' identifiable to its participants emerges and is sustained by an apparatus of creation, production, and consumption". Local musical spaces, such as Liverpool's Merseybeat, are not defined by political borders but by the distinctiveness of their musical traditions.

8. *The Highlands and Islands Series*

In May 2003 *The Living Tradition* magazine welcomed the launch of a new tourism venture which aimed to showcase the traditional music of the Highlands:

Now a new company based in Ardnamurchan is aiming to market the surrounding area as a destination rich, not just in visitor attractions such as fantastic scenery, history [...] and wildlife, including golden eagles, but in a real living musical tradition too (*The Living Tradition*, 2003: 28).

The company in question is Miraculous Productions, an organisation which was established by the singer, harpist and broadcaster Mary Ann Kennedy, together with Nick Turner of the Watercolour recording studio in Ardgour. The project to which *The Living*

Tradition article referred is entitled *The Highlands and Islands Series*, a set of enhanced CDs and radio programmes, each of which introduces the listener to the music and stories of different areas in the Highlands. The first CD in *The Highlands and Islands Series* was launched in March 2003. Entitled *Volume 1: Loch Sheil*, the CD was recorded upon a boat trip down Loch Sheil in Ardnamurchan in October 2002, and was broadcast in programme format on BBC Radio Scotland in March 2003. The subsequent four releases are anticipated to be titled as follows: *Volume Two: MacLeod's Tables, the North West of the Isle of Skye*; *Volume Three: The Shetland Islands*; *Volume Four: Isle of Tiree*; and, *Volume Five: South Uist*.

As Nick Turner (2003) reveals, the rationale for selecting these particular locations was underwritten by both practical and musical considerations: "we have a lot of contacts with people in these specific areas but also they have a particular kernel of musicians working there that create enough of a nucleus for them to have this own sort of distinct feel". Referring to the "distinct feel" of the musical communities recorded in these CDs, Turner indicates that these areas have been selected because they possess identifiable musical identities. Miraculous Productions have therefore selected areas which may not enjoy such wide public awareness as Merseybeat, but which are recognised and identified by their respective practitioners as "local musical spaces".

In terms of musical content, the emphasis in *Volume 1: Loch Sheil* is largely on instrumental music, with the majority of performers featured drawn from the Lochaber area. As Turner (2003) recounts, "we were using musicians and songs and tunes specific to an area, by and large". Local identity was thus asserted through the provenance of both musical material and performers. In this respect, the approach taken differs from that espoused by *REAL*, which priorities the origin of the music over that of the musicians in its attempts to construct a distinct Scottish Borders musical identity.

Storytelling also features prominently on *Volume 1: Loch Sheil*, with the piper and fiddler Charlie MacFarlane offering stories relating to local landmarks and scenic attractions.

Thus, the project eschews officially sanctioned accounts of the area's history in favour of popular, folkloric narratives which have emanated from the local community itself. *The Highlands and Islands Series*, then, is less an established, standard account of Scottish musical identity, than an expression of the musical experiences of a local community. This association between music, place and society is central to the project's ethos and rationale. In this respect *Volume 1: Loch Sheil* exemplifies Lipsitz's (1994: 32) description of postmodern expressions of musical identity which are "based in the experiences of people and communities, rather than on the master narratives of the nation state. They foreground questions of cultural and social identity".

Indeed, a particular concern with the area's musical identity is apparent in both the scripted narration spoken by Kennedy and the unscripted dialogue which takes place between various local musicians. Much of the dialogue strives to convince listeners of the uniqueness of the area's folk music. Musical pieces are interspersed with stories, poems and excerpts of conversations, many of which focus upon the distinctiveness of the local musical traditions, together with the peculiar relationship between music and place in the Lochaber area. For instance, when Mary Ann Kennedy asks, "What's different about a session here compared to anywhere else?", Ingrid Henderson replies:

Even if they're not tunes you know, it's a style you know. There's a swing to it, there's a certain movement to it [...]. Charlie's such a fantastic character, Angus Grant is such a fantastic character, Fearcher was exactly the same. They were very strong characters, they kept the music strong, but also outside they're synonymous with music in Lochaber. People know them, they know their style (*Volume One: Loch Sheil: "Sessions" MP3*).

Similarly, when speaking of one particular musician, the late Fearcher MacRae, Henderson notes that "his style is so particularly West Highlands and Lochaber" (Track 17). In common with these observations, much of the dialogue attributes the unique

qualities of the area's traditional music to the enthusiasm and talent of a handful of specific individuals. Relatedly, many of the conversations featured on the CD aim to convince listeners of the innate musicality of the area's inhabitants: as one respondent recounts:

I'm very fortunate living in an area that's just steeped in fabulous musicians. It's a great privilege to be amongst the folk. And wherever you go it's very much a part of the daily conversations, the daily life. People, rather than saying, "Did you hear what happened?", they'll say "Did you hear this tune?" [Laughs]. And there'll be music sprouting from everywhere (Track 7).

In addition to the frequent refrain of musical excellence, much of the dialogue is - like that of *Sang o the Solway* - informed by an aura of nostalgia. Describing the route taken by the MV Sileas boat, Kennedy informs listeners that it offers passengers "the same service that the first steamers offered a hundred years ago" (Kennedy, track 7). The project's promotional materials trade explicitly on the appeal of nostalgia, using rhetoric that is arguably as romantic as the image of Scotland promoted in the *Scottish Evening*:

Buried in the nostalgia of the Scottish Highlands, the wild west of Moidart and Ardnamurchan can lay strong claim to reality – its fame rests with Jacobite ties, a unique natural history and a world-class musical export. [...] Take a journey [...] to the heart of a place filled with music, stories and song of the finest quality (*Volume One: Loch Sheil*, 2002: liner notes).

This statement appears not only on the CD's promotional materials, but also on its liner notes and as a voiceover on the CD itself. The result is the repeated affirmation of not only the project's nostalgic ethos, but also its concern with both musical quality and authenticity. However, with its problematic implication that there are places which have

little or no connection with “reality”, this particular statement provides little insight into what authenticity means in this particular context.

Nevertheless, it is apparent that in terms of rationale and mission, *The Highlands and Islands Series* has much in common with *REAL*, with issues of taste, musical excellence and authenticity featuring heavily in the CDs' promotional literature and content. Even the subtitle of *Volume 1: Loch Sheil (The Real Music, Songs and Stories of the Scottish Highlands)* emphasises the project's concern with authenticity. Indeed, Turner and Kennedy describe the “reality” of the boat trip as the very stimulus for the entire project. As Turner (2003) recounts:

the whole thing started as taking this particular trip and just really enjoying it. And enjoying it because it had so much goodness in it, not because it was snazzy or not because it was clever, but because there was a real message in the way they took people down the loch and talked about the area which they loved.

Turner thus claims that the boat trip's particular appeal lay in the apparent “sincerity” (Taylor, 2001) of its personnel. The enthusiasm and local knowledge of the boat operators, combined with the apparently unstaged nature of the trip, inspired the recording, for these qualities were emblematic of what Turner and Kennedy deem to be authentic. Indeed, expressions of authenticity similarly underlie Kennedy's description of the project's purpose: “We wanted to celebrate Highland musicians and the people, places and stories that surround them – the *real* heart and soul of the music – and *that real deal aspect* gives the area a special attraction to visitors too” (The Living Tradition, 2003: 29; emphasis added). Thus, in common with MacCannell (1999), Kennedy presumes that the promise of a genuine, meaningful experience entices tourists to a particular destination.

Elaborating upon this theme, the project's progenitors describe the series as a means of transforming tourists' preconceptions of Highland music. Turner (2003) argues that:

we wanted to have a very, very accurate and detailed programme rather than the sort of tartan and heather approach, which has – I think it's fair to say – blighted most peoples', most outsiders', opinions of certainly Scottish music, and Highland music therein.

Turner's reference to "the tartan and heather approach" is a comment upon the style of music presented in the Scottish Evenings described in Chapter Five. Implicit in Turner's comments is the assumption that such performances have dominated tourists' preconceptions of Scottish traditional music, and have done so in an entirely negative fashion. In common with *REAL*, *The Highlands and Islands Series* was promoted as a counterweight to such "sickly stuff" (ibid.), offering tourists an alternative perspective on Scottish musical culture. In being described as "accurate and detailed" it is reputed to offer listeners a more sophisticated version of Scotland's musical culture, one with a higher degree of verisimilitude than the average Scottish Evening. Again, the concepts of quality and authenticity are not defined: rather, they are simply defined in contrast to the Scottish Evening. Indeed, Turner admits that the only type of recording which influenced *The Highlands and Islands Series* was that typically sold to tourists: "we didn't do much market research in terms of what other projects were available. Other than what we see in the gift shops every day" (Turner, 2003). *The Highlands and Islands Series* is thus positioned in diametrical opposition to those CDs sold in TICs and other souvenir shops.

Turner (2003) describes *The Highlands and Islands Series* not only as a tourism venture, but also as an "export product". The company's plans include developing *Volume 1: Loch Sheil* into a live performance which will tour both nationally and internationally. Moreover, plans exist for the radio programme to be sold to stations in the USA, Canada, New Zealand and Australia. Unlike products such as *REAL* and *The Ballads Trail*, which are intended to be sold only upon the arrival of tourists at the destination, *The Highlands and*

Islands Series is designed to entice overseas visitors to the area: "rather than wait for people to arrive and sell it to them, the idea is to sell it as a mainstream product that will interest people in coming to the area" (Turner, 2003). In this respect *The Highlands and Islands Series* exemplifies the time-space collapse symptomatic of the postmodern condition. Regardless of where they live, potential visitors can use the interactive CD-Rom and Internet to see the sights and hear the music, sounds and people of the Loch Sheil boat trip. From anywhere in the world, people can take a virtual tour of Loch Sheil. Although a localised expression of musical identity, attempts to promote the musical distinctiveness of the region are therefore dependent upon the distribution strategies of the global media network.

Indeed, this project is unique in being the first tourist-oriented musical initiative to involve the use of enhanced CDs. The interactive CD-Rom includes additional photos from the boat trip, excerpts of further stories and conversations, and a link to the Miraculous Productions website, which includes information about the history of the loch. In the respect that it is digital and interactive, *The Highlands and Islands Series* exemplifies the postmodern approach to media communications. The mode of consumption is no longer the product of the performer-audience dynamic: rather, it is controlled entirely by the listener.

9. From the Local to the Transnational

The preceding discussion has outlined a trend in Scottish tourism promotion which prioritises the local musical identity over the national. Musical identities, it has been argued, are becoming more diverse, numerous and contested. Expressions of national musical identity are increasingly being supplanted by localised musical expressions, which are rooted in the particular experiences of the communities and the places from which they emerge. It has become evident, moreover, that many practitioners use a series of dialectical oppositions to contrast local musical expressions with those corporate accounts performed in hotels and sold in the gift shops of TICs and other tourist-oriented

outlets. Typical in this regard are oppositions such as authentic/contrived, amateur/professional, informal/staged and local/national.

The degree to which practitioners ascribe claims of authenticity to their expressions of local musical identities runs somewhat counter to the postmodern position, whereby history and authenticity have disintegrated, having been replaced by the celebration of surface appearances and the instantaneous. McKay, for example, claims that the category of authenticity is increasingly redundant under the postmodern condition: “postmodernity erodes the distinction between [...] the original and the copy, the spurious and the real” (McKay, 1994: 283). Much discourse on postmodernity therefore informs us that there is no authenticity and that images have supplanted reality. Despite the claims of theorists such as McKay (Ibid.) and Urry (2002: 91), it has become evident here that authenticity is a rhetorical device which carries considerable ideological significance for practitioners of Scottish traditional music. It is used in dialectical opposition to dominant corporate narratives of Scottish music and is used to describe locally-oriented expressions of musical identity, most notably *REAL* and *Volume 1: Loch Sheil*. The observations of Martin Stokes (1994a: 6-7) are relevant in this regard:

Authenticity is definitely not a property of music, musicians and their relations to an audience. [...] we should see ‘authenticity’ is [sic] a discursive trope of great persuasive power. It focuses a way of talking about music, a way of saying to outsiders and insiders alike ‘this is what is really significant about this music’, ‘this is the music that makes us different from other people’.

For Stokes, then, the rubric of authenticity is intimately linked to notions of distinctiveness: national, regional, local and otherwise. Indeed, it has become evident that practitioners are increasingly viewing “Scottish traditional music” as a redundant category which incorporates too much diversity to serve any useful semantic function. In this respect, expressions of musical identity which are guided by considerations of local

distinctiveness, rather than by the boundaries of the nation, are invariably deemed to possess a “real” quality.

Moreover, the preceding discussion, regarding the increasing significance of localism in musical expressions, appears initially to contradict a dominant strand of musical discourse, which focuses on the extent to which musical forms are undergoing acculturation and becoming internationalised under the postmodern condition. Max Peter Baumann (2001: 9) most notably asserts that musical identities are becoming increasingly deterritorialised as a result of globalisation. More specifically, he argues that identification labels based on concepts of “the nation” will increasingly come to be supplanted by transnational labels, such as “Pacific” or “Latin American” (Baumann, 2001: 18). The numerous “world music” festivals which take place internationally are testament to this phenomenon, he observes. Indeed, recent years have seen the development of a number of transnational musical identities, which cross the borders of nation states. “World music” is perhaps the most high-profile example of such a transnational musical identity, but others including “roots music”, “Celtic music” and “Latin music” are also prominent in the global music market.

In seeking to explain this trend, many commentators have been drawn to a certain strand of postmodern discourse, which focuses on the globalisation of cultures, races, images, capital and products, and the resultant “global village” which this process is said to have created. According to the logic of the “information age”, the increasingly rapid dissemination of information and images across national boundaries is being accompanied by a sense of the erosion of national, cultural and linguistic identities. Meyrowitz (1985), most notably, argues that electronic media have caused the collapse of space and time, obscuring traditional distinctions between individuals, groups and places. This, he asserts, has caused a homogenisation of identities and places and has led to “no sense of place” (Meyrowitz, 1985: 307).

Stokes (1994a: 21) describes this process's purported impact on musical experiences, arguing that the postmodern "disintegration [of history and authenticity] is frequently held to effect a significant 'delocalisation' of the experience of listening". Indeed, musical performances no longer need to be heard *in situ*: rather, they can be recorded, multiplied and distributed in order that consumers all over the world may listen to the same event repeatedly. According to such logic, the emergence of internationalised musical identities is symptomatic of the homogenisation and standardisation associated with globalisation.

Indeed, the phenomenon of globalisation has had profound impacts on the worldwide distribution, production and consumption of music. The transnational nature of musical distribution can largely be attributed to the structure of the international record industry, which is essentially an oligopoly dominated by five multinational companies (Cohen, 1994: 130; Connell and Gibson, 2003: 62). Record companies are often forced to deny and disguise the national and/or regional associations of their respective products in order to compete successfully in the globalised music market. This has caused the disintegration of national musical identities within the industry: a discourse of transnationalism has evolved, with labels such as "world music" and "roots music" achieving heightened commercial appeal.

The transnational musical identity under which Scottish traditional music is most readily subsumed is that of "Celtic music". According to Symon (2003: 258), this musical category first emerged in America in the late 1980s, and began to be adopted within Scotland in the 1990s. Indeed, Chapter Three noted that the term "Celtic" has become increasingly prevalent in the titles of Scottish folk music festivals which have been developed since the early 1990s. The theme of Celticity has proved particularly attractive to festivals which are instigated as tourist attractions, for the all-encompassing nature of the term "Celtic" permits significant latitude in terms of artistic programming, thereby allowing such events to appeal to as wide a potential audience as possible.

Thus, under the condition of postmodernity, the relationship between Scottish traditional and tourism is undergoing two seemingly divergent trends: as individual areas construct local musical identities in order to invest their respective localities with a distinct sense of place, festivals and events are increasingly adopting a discourse of Celticity in order to enhance their market appeal and generate tourism activity. National conceptions of Scottish traditional music are being challenged by both localised and transnational expressions of musical identity.

This apparent opposition between the local and the transnational is a microcosm of contemporary debate on globalisation, which is characterised by what Arjun Appadurai terms a central “tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization” (1990: 1). In attempting to reconcile these two positions, Appadurai stipulates that neither the nation state nor the free market can adequately account for the vagaries of the global cultural economy. He argues that the new global cultural economy should therefore be cognitively mapped not in terms of continents or countries, but in terms of “postmodern landscapes”. This theoretical model helps conceptualise the manner in which musical identities are being negotiated and constructed in the era of postmodernity. Appadurai (1990: 6) argues that there are five key dimensions of “global cultural flow”:

1. Ethnoscapes: movements of large numbers of people, including tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, military forces etc..
2. Technoscapes: the global configuration of technology, and its movement across international boundaries.
3. Finanscapes: the global movements of capital through mechanisms such as currency markets, stock exchanges and commodity speculations.
4. Mediascapes: the distribution networks of newspapers, magazines, television stations, film production studios etc., and the images of the world constructed therein.
5. Ideoscapes: the political and ideological imagery constructed by states and by movements which endeavour to capture state power.

Appadurai's structural model of the global cultural economy may be usefully employed to account for the recent rise in localised expressions of musical identities. It should be emphasised, however, that these five dimensions are not absolute forces which exist independently of human agency: rather, they are the products of human actions. The ethnoscape, for example, is produced through the movement of peoples. It is within the ethnoscape that projects such as *Sang o the Solway* and *Volume 1: Loch Sheil* tour the world in a live performance format. The ethnoscape similarly lies at the origin of the *Sang o the Solway* project, for it allowed the CD's progenitors to travel to Dumfries and Galloway and make contacts with musicians living within the region.

Moreover, funded by the global finanscape, the technoscape has permitted the production and dissemination of thousands of CDs and videos including those discussed here. In the mediascape these products are distributed to audiences of potential tourists, permitting versions of *The Ballads Trail* and *The Highlands and Islands Series* to be broadcast nationally on the radio, and globally via the Internet. In this manner, potential tourists all over the world may experience simulated tours of Scotland, and its various musical identities. It is within the ideoscape that dominant representations of Scottish traditional music are challenged by these more locally-oriented narratives. The cumulative effect of these five dimensions of global cultural flow is that people may inhabit many different places at the same time.

These postmodern landscapes do not only permit the development and dissemination of local musical identities, however. Both Baumann (2001) and Scott Reiss (2003) use Appadurai's model as an interpretive tool for explaining the rise of transnational musical identities (world music and Celtic music, respectively). As Reiss (2003: 16) argues, the "virtual community" of Celtic music is constructed through the sounds and images of the mediascape, which "then congeal in the ideoscape through which Celtic music is constructed" (ibid.: 162).

It is apparent, therefore, that these five dimensions of global cultural flows are the very mechanisms which permit the emergence of both localised and globalised musical expressions, and the consequent erosion of established musical identities. Whilst Meyrowitz contends that the time-space collapse associated with electronic media has resulted in “no sense of place”, it is apparent that this is not its only impact: equally, the global mediascape allows practitioners to disseminate localised musical expressions which invest their respective localities with a distinct sense of place. In this respect, the localism and transnationalism of musical identities in Scottish tourism are best conceptualised as part of the same movement. Cohen (1994: 132-133) concurs with this notion, arguing that:

place and placelessness, the particular and the universal, are part of the same process. The globalisation of cultural forms has been accompanied by a localisation of cultural identity and claims to authenticity, resulting in a tension or dialectic between the two trends.

Although, as Cohen suggests, both trends are interrelated, their apparent diametrical opposition can act as a source of conflict, with some practitioners rejecting the application of transnational musical labels to their particular traditions. If authenticity is a marker of local distinctiveness for practitioners, then it is apparent that transnational musical labels lack the geographical specificity necessary to merit the “authentic” label. Indeed, the following discussion demonstrates that the application of the “Celtic” label to Scottish musical traditions has been a source of tension for some practitioners.

9.1 Celtic Music

Celtic music is generally interpreted as that which is either rooted in, or inspired by, the traditional musics of countries including Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, and regions including the Isle of Man, Brittany, Cornwall and Galicia. In the world of music sales, however, Irish traditional music has become most closely associated with the Celtic label

(Symon, 2003: 258) and it accordingly features most prominently in the "Celtic" sections of record stores throughout the world (Thornton, 2000: 24). Indeed, Symon (2003: 258) observes that throughout much of the 1980s, the term "Celtic" was generally supposed to be synonymous with "Irish", particularly in the North American market. For some Scottish traditional musicians, this perceived dominance of Irish music ensures that the Celtic category does little to advance the cause of Scottish traditional music. As Arthur Cormack (2003) argues:

I would rather see our own music as being distinctive from Celtic music. I wouldn't want it all just to be seen as Celtic music because I think there's a huge sort of danger then that Irish music will dominate Celtic music, as it seems to do at the moment.

In contrast to Cormack, Symon (2003: 258) argues that by the mid-1990s "the national began to become displaced by the transnational as a point of reference in the reception of Celtic music" (Symon, 2003: 258). The term ceased to be associated solely with Ireland, as its popular interpretation extended to encompass not only Scotland and Wales, but also regions such as Cornwall, the Isle of Man, Brittany, Galicia and, occasionally, Asturias (Reiss, 2003: 161). This, claims Symon, was accompanied by the development of a series of tensions between Irish and Scottish musics, between Gaelic, Scots and English language forms, and also between "the different worlds of music and dance encompassed by the label "Scottish"" (Ibid.). Arguably Cormack's comments are indicative of the still-potent nature of such tensions. If we are to accept that the phrase "Scottish traditional music" does not adequately connote the wide variety of musical forms which it encompasses, then it is apparent that the phrase "Celtic music" is even less descriptive in this regard.

Indeed, as Amy Hale and Shannon Thornton (2000: 104) observe, "As a music category, 'Celtic' is often viewed by musicians as too vague and too closely associated with commercial marketing strategies to hold any musical value". The comments of many of

this study's respondents confirm Hale and Thornton's observation: Francis (2003), for example, commented that "I don't and have never defined myself as a Celtic musician, or what I play as Celtic music. It's a marketing term really and it's quite useful I suppose in some ways". Francis's allusion to the commercial connotations of the category is extremely pertinent here, for it was noted in Chapter Three that those folk music festivals which employ the term "Celtic" in their titles are generally organised by economic entrepreneurs for tourism and/or economic regeneration purposes. For festivals such as Celtic Connections the term functions as a marketing umbrella under which a policy of inclusive and popular programming can be pursued. Thus, for festival organisers and tourism marketers, the utility of the term lies in its inclusiveness.

Increasing deterritorialisation, which Appadurai (1990) identifies as one of the key forces of the contemporary world, can also help explain the worldwide appeal of the Celtic music brand. The overseas movements of populations from purportedly Celtic regions has resulted in a "Celtic diaspora", which seeks cultural contact with its constructed homeland. North America, in particular, has proved a lucrative market for music production companies and tourism marketers aiming to engage with consumers who are seeking identification with their imagined Celtic homelands (Thornton, 2000; Hale and Thornton, 2000). In the absence of an established body of Celtic music, an "imagined canon" (Bohlman, 1989: 111) has been constructed in the global ideoscape.

Shannon Thornton (2000: 21) elaborates upon the marketable nature of the Celtic category, observing that, "As a modern idea imposed from without, Celtic music has been taken up by those with an interest in expanding the earning potential of traditional music". Thornton thus asserts that this terminology has been forced upon traditional musicians by economic entrepreneurs, who appreciate its commercial and touristic potential and are untroubled by its dubious historical validity. It is too simplistic, however, to suggest that musicians are simply passive pawns in this process: the comments of Sheila Douglas (2002) are instructive in this regard:

And of course the thing now is to be "Celtic". Well, it's a fashion. Like any fashion it'll come and go. [...] it's a commercial gimmick. Now what's happening here [at the RSAMD] is, these students want to earn their living performing, so what's the quickest way to get on the telly? Form a group and give it a Gaelic name.

Douglas therefore argues that Scottish musicians with no cultural, historic or linguistic connections to Gaeldom, are adopting the trappings of Celticity for increased media exposure, and subsequent commercial gain. In this respect, the re-imagining of Scottish traditional music as "Celtic" is not only a corporate effort, but is also a process in which practitioners collude. Practitioners who reject the validity of Celtic as a musical category regularly participate in Celtic-themed projects which sustain the term's potency. If practitioners were to refuse to participate in Celtic festivals, or to contribute to Celtic music compilations, then the term would lose its effectiveness as a marketing tool.

10. Conclusions

I'm using the term "tradition" although I'm well aware – as I'm sure everyone else is - that there's no such thing as *the* tradition in Scotland. There's quite a lot of different ones (Marshalsay, 2003).

With this statement, Karen Marshalsay articulated a sentiment which is common amongst Scotland's folk music practitioners: namely, that the phrase "the Scottish musical tradition" does not adequately signify the diversity of musical forms which it encompasses. The phrase, she suggests, connotes an image of musical homogeneity, rather than reflecting the great range of Scotland's various folk music forms. Indeed, it is for this reason that practitioners tend not to bestow the accolade of authenticity upon events such as Scottish Evenings, which mask notions of local and regional distinctiveness in favour of national expressions of musical identity.

A number of factors have ensured that this practitioner-instigated movement towards localism in folk music expression has latterly been given a public platform in the field of tourism representation. Firstly, practitioners are increasingly assuming the roles of economic entrepreneurs, achieving positions in enterprise agencies and tourist boards which have allowed them to produce musical accounts of their respective local authority areas. Secondly, practitioners have latterly been employed to guide the cultural tourism policies of statutory bodies including SAC and VisitScotland, both of which have accordingly espoused a rhetoric of authenticity and local distinctiveness. Finally, the increasing democratisation of cultural life in recent years has seen initial attempts by practitioners to produce accounts of musical spaces which transgress the political boundaries of local authority areas.

These factors have enabled practitioners to challenge corporate expressions of Scottish musical identity, and subvert those established by cultural entrepreneurs from the Romantic era onwards. Particularly significant in the latter regard is *The Ballads Trail*, which offers a striking example of an established account of a region's musical heritage being reinterpreted in more colloquial and accessible terms. Equally, however, this representation is challenged by *REAL*, which questions the validity of the region's established canon of Border balladry. Such findings evoke Hollinshead's (2002) description of history and heritage interpretation in the postmodern condition: master narratives of history and heritage are being questioned, he argues, and replaced by a variety of accounts, which are more populist, dialectical and localised in nature (Ibid: 186-187). Hollinshead's observations have substantial resonance in the Scottish context, for it has become evident here that various individuals and groupings are challenging officially sanctioned narratives of Scottish musical identity with competing representations of locally-oriented musical traditions.

Such trends are wholly beneficial for regional tourism economies, given that localised expressions of musical identity can be effectively used to invest destinations with a particular sense of place. In the Scottish context, productions of musical heritage, rather

than musical activity, are generally harnessed for this purpose, for these allow producers to control the musical image promoted to tourists. The music is removed from its performance context, and is transformed into an entirely new production: a simulated tour, a tourist trail, or background music, to cite some of the examples studied here. Indeed, the recurrent theme throughout the preceding discussion has been the diversity of approaches adopted by practitioners using media technologies to promote the particular musical identities of their respective localities. CDs or videos may be sold *in situ* as souvenirs designed to convince tourists of the quality and uniqueness of the destination's folk music heritage. Alternatively, CDs, performances and programmes may be exported or broadcast overseas in order to entice potential tourists to visit the area in question. Finally, musical recordings may function as background music in those businesses frequented by tourists.

Moreover, it has become evident that musical identities do not simply reflect existing cultural identities and spatial territories. Nor are they simply in existence, waiting to be discovered. Instead, they are actively constructed through a process of cultural selection. Approaches to the construction of regional musical identities are far from uniform, however: it has become apparent that several variables may be employed in order to create a distinct sense of musical place. The first variable is the musicians' place of residence: with the exception of *REAL*, all the projects outlined here featured only musicians who lived in the areas in question. The second is the provenance of musical material: with the exception of the An Drochaid CD sampler, each project studied here featured either traditional music drawn from the area's historic repertoire, or contemporary music inspired by the area. Thirdly, a discourse of authenticity may inform the project's ethos, or feature explicitly in its narrative or marketing literature: for projects including *REAL* and *Volume 1: Loch Sheil* this rhetoric functions as a marker of local distinctiveness. Finally, the CD may be adapted into a live performance format in order that audiences around the world may experience a simulated journey through the destination in question: this strategy was notably employed by both *Sang o the Solway* and *Volume 1: Loch Sheil*.

The evidence presented here suggests that those musical identities constructed by practitioners tend to employ all of these variables. *Volume 1: Loch Sheil* most notably employs both musicians and musical material from the region which it represents, together with an insistence on the distinctiveness, quality and authenticity of that area's musical traditions. Conversely, those which are constructed by economic entrepreneurs will employ fewer of these variables, perhaps even relying on only one. For the An Drochaid CD Sampler, for example, it is only the provenance of the musicians which is of any significance. It is therefore impossible to identify any single approach which is common to all expressions of local musical identity: indeed, it is this very diversity of strategies which is emblematic of the postmodern condition. Musical identities are increasingly being questioned, contested and redefined, as are the means by which they are being renegotiated and constructed.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Scottish traditional music occupies a somewhat ambivalent place in tourism representation. Widespread disaffection with corporate expressions of national musical identity has led not only to the emergence of numerous localised representations of Scotland's musical traditions, but also to the increasing prevalence of transnational musical identities. Unlike their localised counterparts, deterritorialised musical labels such as "Celtic" lack the geographical specificity required to invest destinations with a sense of place. They possess patently commercial connotations, however, for they are frequently ascribed to music festivals attempting to attract tourist audiences. Amongst practitioners there is considerable tension between these two seemingly divergent movements, yet it has become apparent that they are intrinsically linked rather than diametrically opposed: the global is dependent upon local expressions of musical identity for its constituent parts, just as the local is dependent upon global systems of distribution for its dissemination. We may accordingly speculate that as the tourist gaze intensifies under the postmodern condition, so too these trends will be exacerbated.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions

1. *Every Pub Should Have One*

I do a lot of travel writing and I come in contact with people who come here from other parts of the world, and they're always telling me how disappointed they are that they never, ever get a taste of Scottish music. One group that I met from North Carolina had been haunted by Frank Sinatra and Dean Martin wherever they went. And they could not understand why, when you go to Ireland, you always encounter music, [but] you come to Scotland, and you're looking for music as part of the experience, and just not getting it anywhere (Temple, 2004a).

In the above statement, the freelance journalist and travel writer Loudon Temple argues that tourists to Scotland have difficulty finding high quality traditional music. In order to rectify this perceived paucity of traditional music provision, Temple encouraged Greentrax Recordings to produce a CD sampler which could be distributed free-of-charge to publicans and hoteliers who expressed an interest in playing more traditional music in their respective venues. This CD, entitled *Every Pub Should Have One (EPSHO)*, was released by Greentrax Recordings in February 2004, and distributed to 150 venues throughout Scotland. The recording was received so enthusiastically that its organisers intend to release seven more similar recordings, two of which will be produced by Lismor Recordings. In addition, in April 2004 Temple, Greentrax and the brewing company McEwan's announced a collaborative promotional campaign, which established live folk music sessions in 100 pubs throughout Scotland (See Figs. 8.1 and 8.2). Plans also exist to develop a website featuring the details of venues participating in the McEwan's Sessions, in order to increase tourists' exposure to Scottish traditional music (Ferguson, 2004: n.p.).

MCEWAN'S SESSIONS
PRESENTS

CAPERCAILLE
10th June & 11th June ... Celebrating 20 years of contemporary Celtic music £15.00

CROFT No.5
15th June Intoxicating, intense and deeply groovy £12.50

SKIPINNISH
19th June Uncompromising and refreshing authenticity £12.50

VATERSAY BOYS
25th June No holds barred highland fling £12.50

PEAT BOG FAERIES
26th June The future of Celtic dance music £12.50

ALL SHOWS START 8.00PM AT ORANMOR

TICKETS FROM 08700 132652 OR ONLINE FROM SECXTRA.COM*

PLUS FREE PUB SESSIONS AT THESE LEGENDARY LOCALS

ARISAIG
SAT 12TH JUNE MICHAEL VASS BAND
SAT 19TH, 26TH JUNE ANGUS LYON & RUARIDH CAMPBELL
9.00PM - 11.00PM

THE LISMORE
SUN 13TH, 20TH & 27TH JUNE ANGUS LYON & RUARIDH CAMPBELL
3.00PM - 6.00PM

BEN NEVIS
THURS 17TH & 24TH JUNE ANGUS LYON & RUARIDH CAMPBELL
9.00PM - 11.00PM

BREL
WED 16TH JUNE FINE - FRIDAY
THURS 24TH JUNE HEATHER MACLEOD
8.00PM - 10.00PM

www.visitscotland.com/mcewanssessions

Fig. 8.1: McEwan's Sessions Flier, June 2004.

MCEWAN'S SESSIONS presents
LIVE TRADITIONAL SCOTTISH MUSIC

at the Hole i' the Wa' Inn, Dumfries
Every Saturday Afternoon, 2 p.m.-5 p.m.

Saturday, 15th May
DONALD LINDSAY BAND

Saturday, 29th May and June 26th
THE MIKE VASS BAND

All Welcome - No Charge
McEwan's The Legend In Your Local

Fig. 8.2: McEwan's Sessions Flier, May 2004.

This particular project provides a most fitting opening to this concluding chapter, for it represents the culmination of many of the trends outlined in the preceding discussion. For instance, like the Traditional Music and Tourism Initiative, *EPSHO* is an attempt to emulate the Irish experience. This is evinced by Temple's description of a group of Italian tourists who went "to Ireland and heard traditional music just about everywhere they went. They couldn't understand why they weren't able to hear the Scottish equivalent here" (Adams, 2004: 16). *EPSHO* and the McEwan's Sessions are intended to remedy this situation, ensuring that tourists to Scotland encounter a traditional music scene with a vibrancy comparable to that which is perceived to exist in Ireland. The initiatives therefore aim to introduce traditional music into what practitioners generally regard as the

most natural space for traditional music-making: that is, the pub. According to Rob Adams in *The Herald*, the planned website will let “tourists know where to find the *real* Scottish music experience” (Adams, 2004: 16; emphasis added), a comment which foregrounds the project’s ethos of authenticity.

Moreover, the *raison d’être* of *EPSHO* is very similar to that of the An Drochaid CD sampler discussed in Chapter Seven, in that it represents an effort to generate a specific sense of place.⁴⁷ *EPSHO* is similarly motivated by the authoritarian notion that visitors to Scotland should be exposed only to Scotland’s indigenous musics. Echoing Louise Mackenzie’s aforementioned complaints regarding hotels which play country and western music, the director of Greentrax Recordings claimed that:

There’s nothing worse than going into a top hotel or restaurant and hearing awful canned music, or the likes of Abba, Dean Martin or Frank Sinatra. It puts our country to shame because, along with Ireland, we probably have the best traditional musicians in the world (Ian Green: quoted in Ferguson, 2004: n.p.).

Thus, like the An Drochaid CD sampler, *EPSHO* aims to manipulate the musical experience of tourists, ensuring that the music which they hear is the country’s indigenous music. In so doing, it further perpetuates the commodification of the tourists’ subconscious.

Finally, *EPSHO* is unique in the respect that it is the only musical tourism project which combines the efforts of economic entrepreneurs, cultural entrepreneurs, and practitioners. Both the traditional musicians and the record companies who are participating in the project will anticipate benefiting in commercial terms from the increased exposure which this project will afford their recordings. The participating pubs will similarly expect to

⁴⁷ The most notable difference in this respect is that *EPSHO* is a nationwide project, in contrast to the regionally-defined nature of the An Drochaid CD sampler.

benefit financially from their support of the initiative, attracting more customers in general, and more tourists in particular. Moreover, the *EPSHO* project exemplifies the manner in which commercial sponsorship wrests control over the music's representation from practitioners. In this particular instance, the performance venue is selected not by the musicians, but by the sponsor, for the session venues are restricted to those pubs which sell McEwan's products.

Loudon Temple performs the role of cultural entrepreneur, in that he is manipulating the tourism representation of Scottish traditional music for ideological, rather than economic, reasons. In selecting the 15 tracks from Greentrax's catalogue which were included on the CD, Temple performed an editing role somewhat akin to that exercised by Scott *et al.* Indeed, Temple's editing efforts appear to have been informed by the desire to foreground young, fashionable acts such as Shooglenifty and the Peatbog Faeries, and thereby "get away from the tartan thing", exemplified by *The White Heather Club* described in Chapter Five (Temple, 2004b).

2. Agents of Representation

By examining the representation (rather than the consumption) of traditional music, this study has addressed a significant lacuna in the tourism literature. As Stokes (1999: 144) observes, "we very seldom hear about reflections from relevant participants themselves [...] What do they say about how they are being mediated and represented or about how they themselves choose to represent things in particular ways and not in others?" This thesis has focused upon the politics of representation: that is, the way in which representation is invested with power. Accordingly, it has identified the various agents who have mediated and represented Scotland's traditional music, and highlighted their objectives, motivations and ideological stances. Identifying and analysing the dynamic manner in which power circulates between these groups is central to understanding how traditional music has been portrayed to tourist audiences.

It has been established that three main types of actor have represented Scotland's traditional music to tourist audiences: namely, economic entrepreneurs, cultural entrepreneurs and practitioners. Chapter Two demonstrated that, throughout the eighteenth century, touristic representations of Scottish traditional music were mediated by cultural entrepreneurs. In attempts to salvage the last remnants of folk traditions, antiquarians such as Percy chronicled folksong and balladry from Scotland and elsewhere in the union. Travellers similarly explored Scotland in the spirit of exploration and salvage, and in so doing left documentary evidence of Scotland's musical traditions. From the early nineteenth century onwards, however, economic entrepreneurs became increasingly involved in Scottish tourism representation, through the production of commercially-oriented guidebooks.

The combined effect of these actors' representation was that, until the mid-twentieth century, the "folk" themselves were erased from touristic representations of traditional music. This exclusion can be attributed to both structural and ideological factors. The fundamental factor in the former category was that folk music practitioners did not have access to publishing, the key medium for communicating with a tourist audience throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth and much of the twentieth century. The commodification of Scottish folksong ensured that collectors, rather than singers, of traditional music received recognition in the travel literature. With regard to more ideological reasons, Romantic and anti-modern impulses compelled travel writers to portray folk music as a relic of Scotland's past, rather than as a vibrant performance genre. Accordingly, they rarely alluded to the contemporary performance of traditional music, and thereby omitted the folk from representations of Scotland's folk music.

The folk revival of the late 1950s remedied this situation, for it resulted in a displacement of power in the relations between the three agents of tourism representation. Spearheaded by Hamish Henderson (a figure who fulfils the role of both practitioner and cultural entrepreneur), the folk revival ensured that touristic representations of traditional music were no longer confined to the pages of travel accounts, but extended into the

realm of performance. The folk festival emerged as a new system of representation, which was dependent not upon the ability to publish, but on the ability to produce music.

As a largely practitioner-led movement, the folk revival initially eschewed the commercial potential of its folk festivals: TMSA festivals, most notably, initiated a policy of not paying guest artistes, which they have maintained until the present day. Nevertheless, from a tourism perspective, the attractions of the festival movement were substantial: folk festivals require relatively little seed funding, they consistently generate repeat visits and thereby effectively combat the seasonality of the Scottish tourism market. From the late 1970s, onwards, therefore, economic entrepreneurs began to claim some degree of ownership over the representation of Scotland's musical traditions, through the organisation of events such as Carrbridge Ceilidh Week and the Edinburgh International Folk Festival. In addition, practitioner-led festivals increasingly became controlled by economic entrepreneurs, as they began to accept sponsorship from tourism authorities and private businesses. Economic entrepreneurs also gained control over the representation of Scotland's musical traditions through the production of Scottish Evenings, which developed roughly contemporaneously with the folk festival movement. Organised chiefly by hoteliers and impresarios, these tourist-oriented shows have remained essentially corporate accounts of Scotland's musical identity.

In an attempt to lessen the market dominance of Scottish Evenings, practitioners have latterly influenced public policy on traditional music and tourism. As a result, tourism authorities within Scotland have organised sessions throughout their respective regions, and some ATBs have supported the production of CDs which seek to express their regional identities in musical terms. As Chapters Six and Seven demonstrated, both types of initiative are positioned in dichotomous opposition to the supposed "tartan and haggis" image which the Scottish Evening promotes, and are surrounded by a self-conscious concern with authenticity.

3. Authenticity

A further key contribution made by this thesis is its treatment of the concept of authenticity. The evidence presented here supports Cohen's (1988) contention that authenticity is not an innate quality, but a socially constructed concept, assessments of which vary according to the societal group and generation in question. This study does not, therefore, seek to offer an exhaustive overview of all possible interpretations of authenticity. Indeed, it has established that to attempt to do so is fundamentally misguided, for assessments of authenticity must be understood in a context-specific manner, and from the perspective of the agent representing the music.

Economic entrepreneurs have typically only adopted a concern with authenticity as an expedient measure, and have accordingly subscribed to those definitions offered by cultural entrepreneurs and practitioners. Most notable in this regard is STB/VisitScotland's new-found concern with authenticity, which manifested itself in the TMTI only after market research had established that the majority of visitors to Scotland claimed to value "authenticity". Similarly, VisitScotland's support of *EPSHO* was predicated, in part, on the notion that it would fulfil manifest touristic demand for the real. VisitScotland's senior press officer welcomed the project, observing that:

Clearly, there is a desire from visitors to hear *authentic and high quality* Scottish music played in our pubs and this is what we should be providing. It's encouraging that the industry themselves recognise this and are working to find the right solution (Hi-Arts, 2004: n.p.; emphasis added).

Tourism authorities therefore espouse a rhetoric of authenticity, not for its purported inherent worth, but as a convenient means to satisfy tourist demand. If VisitScotland market research had not demonstrated significant touristic desire for the authentic, it is questionable whether *EPSHO* would have received such enthusiastic support from Scotland's tourism authority. The financial resources of economic entrepreneurs provide

them with the power to propagate definitions of the “real”, yet their devotion to authenticity is valuable insofar as it helps generate capital.

Conversely, for practitioners and cultural entrepreneurs assessments of authenticity are typically expressions of taste which are articulated through negation. The following statement from Loudon Temple exemplifies this tendency, for it contrasts “great music” with that which is supposedly in poor taste:

I spoke to one publican and he was adamant he did not wish to turn his place into a “White Heather Club”. That kind of summed it up and indicated he just didn’t have any inclination of the rich variety of great music that is being played these days (Hi-Arts, 2004: n.p.).

Temple thus suggests that this particular publican is typical in his limited familiarity with Scotland’s folk music traditions. In this respect, *EPSHO* can be regarded as an exercise in refining the tastes of Scotland’s publicans, together with those of their customers. Indeed, Temple confirms this to be the case, arguing that “[publicans] need to be introduced to the music because, unless they encounter it by chance, they won’t know how good it is” (Adams, 2004: 16).

Given that taste is a learned judgement rather than an innate instinct, it is allied to the ideological stance and educational background of the arbiter. Thus, although the tourism promotion of Scottish traditional music has always been negotiated by authenticity, different interpretations of the concept have been espoused at various times by different actors. Each differing construal of authenticity is the product of a set of particular historical and cultural circumstances. In this particular study, four generic categories of authenticity have been identified.

3.1. Authenticity of Text

The earliest definition of authenticity to permeate touristic representations of Scottish traditional music emerged from nineteenth century discursive formations of cultural nationalism. The cultural entrepreneurs who initially represented Scotland's music to a tourist audience espoused an essentialist conception of authenticity which fulfilled an ideological devotion to romanticised notions regarding the nature of folk music. The editorial efforts of Percy and Scott were motivated by the possibility of restoring the "original" and "genuine" essences of ballads, which they believed had been composed by ancient minstrels, before being tainted by oral transmission and recomposition. Stewart (1991: 105) argues that their editorial practices caused a "crisis in authenticity", yet in so doing she espouses a contemporary interpretation of authenticity, one which uses textual fidelity and historical verisimilitude as critical standards. For Scott and Percy, however, the process of oral transmission corrupted the inherent authenticity of ballads, and their editorial efforts were accordingly directed towards restoring them to their original format.

Such collectors' efforts to manufacture textual authenticity were highly influential, for the imitative tendencies of Scottish travel literature ensured that their improved and amended ballad texts were frequently cited in commercial guidebooks. The economic entrepreneurs who wrote and published these books unquestioningly reprinted Scott's amended ballads together with his Romantic-hued commentary. Indeed, for guidebook authors there was no reason to dispute Scott's interpretation of authenticity, for his bowdlerised, amended lyrics satisfied their bourgeois readerships' demands for elegant, refined minstrelsy.

3.2. Authenticity of Performer

The folk revival, which developed from the late 1950s onwards, resulted in a new regime of representation. In particular, the People's Ceilidhs were motivated by the prospect of offering audiences the opportunity to hear folksong and balladry which was unmediated by the editorial practices of cultural entrepreneurs such as Percy and Scott. The ceilidhs, and the folk festivals which followed them, thereby established folksong as a performance

genre rather than a body of literary artefacts. Traditional music was no longer represented as a dying literary practice which had to be sanitised for public consumption, but as a vibrant, living tradition.

The representation of traditional music was therefore negotiated by a new concept of authenticity, one which was predicated upon the performer rather than the musical text. The background and musical upbringing of the practitioner became the key criteria when assessing musical authenticity. In particular, source singers, who were born and brought up in musical communities, were promoted as “genuine” practitioners. The corollary of this judgement was that those who acquired their musical knowledge through the folk revival could not be regarded as authentic. This exclusive interpretation of authenticity was not particularly long-lived, however, for its restrictive and hierarchical nature was in direct opposition to the folk scene’s purported reverence of democracy and egalitarianism.

3.3. Authenticity of Context

The folk revival instigated a considerable rupture in folk mores, causing a division between music and social life: the normal context for music-making was no longer the home, but folk festivals, clubs and concerts. As a growing stratification developed between “performers” and “audiences”, the folk revival produced a further definition of authenticity, one which was concerned with bridging this division. Practitioners came to regard musical context as the key criteria which determined judgements of authenticity: of particular significance in this regard is the degree to which festivals, concerts and other musical events succeed in minimising the performer-audience separation, and enabling audience participation. As Chapter Four demonstrated, practitioners ostensibly value informality and spontaneity, and accordingly criticise the explicit staging and hierarchical programming associated with those festivals operated by economic entrepreneurs.

Practitioner-led festivals, by contrast, typically espouse a rhetoric of egalitarianism and adopt a variety of strategies to enable staged participation: small, compact (and invariably

rural) festival locations are selected, while a culture of volunteerism further lessens the social distance between organisers, musicians and audiences. Moreover, at certain folk festivals (such as the Heart of Scotland Festival and The National Folk Festival of Scotland), musicians are hired to lead sessions, thereby ensuring that informal music-making takes place. Indeed, this concern with minimising the performer-audience stratification also informed the sessions which were organised under the auspices of the TMTI. As Chapter Six demonstrated, however, there are apparent contradictions inherent in commodifying, and thereby staging, such purportedly informal events.

3.4. Authenticity of Locality

Chapter Seven highlighted a connection between the geographical scope of musical expressions, and the judgements of authenticity which are ascribed to them. Informed by the notion that Scotland is home to a variety of musical traditions, rather than one homogenous musical tradition, practitioners have latterly advocated the celebration of that diversity. In particular, traditional musicians promulgate the notion that local distinctiveness is intimately connected to the concept of authenticity. Accordingly, localised expressions of musical identity are often promoted by their progenitors as more authentic renderings of Scottish traditional music. The very title of *REAL* exemplifies this argument in a particularly explicit manner. Economic entrepreneurs (and ATBs, most notably) have supported these efforts not specifically for any aesthetic or cultural purpose, but because they are keen to realise the tourism benefits that music can generate through creating a regional sense of place.

In common with other conceptions of authenticity, this interpretation is the product of a particular set of social and cultural circumstances. More specifically, it has emerged as a counterweight to the discourse of transnationalism which has latterly emerged within the global music industry. Practitioners are frequently critical of transnational expressions of musical identity (for example, “world music” and “Celtic music”) because they suspect that such epithets are borne out of the commercial imperative to attract as wide a potential audience as possible. It is for this reason that practitioners frequently view the

programming policies of events such as Celtic Connections with scepticism. Celtic Festivals which attempt to promote transnational musical identities, and Scottish Evenings which attempt to communicate national musical identities, are almost without exception corporate expressions of musical identity. For practitioners, they are inauthentic insofar as they attempt to impose unity on an innately heterogeneous musical practice.

4. Commodification

Following Cleaver (1979), this study has defined commodification as the process by which sets of social relations, which are unmarked by the terms of commerce, are transformed into relationships of buying and selling. In so doing it has established that many studies of music and tourism are informed by a spurious notion of what constitutes commodification. (Waterman's aforementioned confusion of commercialisation and commodification is typical in this regard). In particular, ethnomusicological analyses are invariably informed by Greenwood's cultural commodification thesis, and as such, tend to portray tourism as a pernicious agent of change which imposes ineluctable impacts on vulnerable traditional arts forms. The very title of Kaeppler and Lewin's (1988) collection, *Come Mek Me Hol' Yu Han: the Impact of Tourism on Traditional Music*, exemplifies this reductive stance. Contributions by Behague and Man-young attribute the changes which appear in traditional musics to tourism, rather than to any human agency. They make no reference to the power relations between audiences, musicians, promoters which lead to such changes, yet these very relationships constitute the process of commodification.⁴⁸

Moreover, ethnomusicological studies are often premised upon the idealistic notion that traditional art forms existed in some pure, unadulterated state, before the advent of

⁴⁸ Equally problematic and idealistic is VisitScotland's claim that music and tourism enjoy a symbiotic relationship. The *Soundtrack for Scottish Tourism*, for example, declared that traditional music and tourism are "natural bedfellows" (SAC/VisitScotland, 2002: 29). Traditional music provides quality entertainment for visitors, it implies, while the tourism industry enhances performance opportunities for musicians, while providing them with enthusiastic audiences. This assertion is idealistic, however, because it represents music and tourism as two entities which exist independently of human agency, rather than as the products of human action.

tourism. It has become apparent, however, that in Scotland the commodification of traditional music arose contemporaneously with the growth of tourism representation, for both processes were enabled by the development of publishing. Thus, since tourism in Scotland was in its nascent stages, the representation of Scottish traditional music has always undergone changes in order to satisfy the demands of its tourist audiences: guidebook authors invented spurious origin myths in relation to particular songs; collectors bowdlerised indelicate song texts to satisfy demands for elegant verses; folk festival organisers have adopted professional marketing strategies in order to attract tourists; and, more recently, the TMTI manufactured spaces for informal music-making.

As a result, there is often a considerable disjuncture between the representation and the actual experience of traditional music. For example, Chapter Three demonstrated that whilst TMSA festivals adopt a discourse of egalitarianism, they continue to implement alternate forms of hierarchies in their treatment of performers. Similarly, in Chapter Four it was argued that, whilst practitioner-led festivals invariably espouse a discourse of participation in order to attract audiences, the types of input allowed are selective and structured. In a similar vein, Chapter Six illustrated that the TMTI has performed an inherently contradictory exercise, in promoting the supposed spontaneity and informality of events which have been scheduled and commodified. In each instance, problematic rhetoric has been espoused in order to fulfil either ideological or commercial purposes, and the result has been considerable dissonance between the representation, and the presentation of the musical experience in question.

Mackinnon asserted that traditional music in Britain is characterised by its eschewal of commodification (Mackinnon, 1993: 68, 132). It has become evident, here, however, that this assertion is unconvincingly romantic, for whilst individual spaces within folk festivals may elude commodification, public traditional music events are consistently commodified to some extent. It is therefore not the commodification of folk music to which practitioners object: rather, it is the power relations associated with commodification which prove problematic. In particular, the commodification of musical events is unacceptable when it

is practised by economic entrepreneurs, and practitioners retain no autonomy over the musical presentation. It is this unequal set of power relations which underpins practitioners' key objections to the Scottish Evening: practitioners object to such tourism-oriented performances, not because tourism is deemed to impact negatively on the music, but because they invariably have little or no control over the nature of their musical presentation.

The term "cultural commodification" has acquired pejorative connotations in the tourism literature. This study has demonstrated, however, that the commodification of musical culture need not be detrimental. Contrary to this frequent assumption, commodification of musical events can work positively for practitioners, providing them with paid work, increasing their networking opportunities and strengthening the vitality of their tradition. Indeed, we are witnessing an apparent intensification of the commodification process, as practitioners claim control over the means of musical production, and influence governmental policy on cultural tourism. The recent result has been the commodification of what have hitherto been areas of common cultural property (sessions most notably), a consequence which is wholly consistent with Jameson's (1991) interpretation of postmodernity.

5. Conclusions

To return to the *EPSHO* project which was described at the opening of this chapter, it is apparent that it exemplifies and combines many of the individual approaches to musical representation which have been outlined throughout this study: it seeks to minimise the social distance between musicians and tourists; it perpetuates the commodification of sessions; it uses traditional music in a manner akin to muzak; and it is informed by an ethos of authenticity, one which is equated with quality. This thesis has argued that tourist-oriented representations of Scottish folk music have always been informed by a variety of notions of authenticity, and *EPSHO* demonstrates that these considerations continue to guide the creative direction of musical tourism initiatives.

This continuing concern with musical authenticity directly opposes much contemporary discourse on “post-tourism”, which argues that tourism representation has dispensed with the meaningful and the real, and instead favours the superficial and the hyperreal. Contrary to such accounts, authenticity continues to be artistically important for both traditional musicians and cultural entrepreneurs, and economically important for tourism promoters. As practitioners continue to reclaim ownership over the representation of traditional music, it would appear that considerations of the “real” will become increasingly important in determining how Scottish traditional music is promoted to tourist audiences. Indeed, should those postmodern predictions of a widespread rejection of authenticity be realised, there will be a genuine “crisis of authenticity” in the tourist representation of Scottish traditional music.

Appendix 1.1

Information regarding respondents

Name	Institution	Position
Christie, Hector	SBTB	Director of the Both Sides of the Tweed Festival
Cormack, Arthur	Fèisean nan Gàidheal.	Director
Dewar, Dave	Cultural Connections	Organiser of Music in the Castle
Donaldson, Maggie	Scottish Showtime	Co-producer and co-director
Douglas, Sheila	RSAMD	Former editor of <i>The Scottish Folk Directory</i> ; Former organiser of Perth Folk Festival
Francis, David	Stoneyport Agency	Former director of Edinburgh Folk Festival
Gardner, Davie	Shetland Music Development Project	Shetland Music Development Officer
Halley, Ros	Formerly of SBTB	Organiser of The Land The Light The Locals
Hewat, Caroline	TMSA	TMSA Regional Organiser; former assistant manager of Balnain House
Heywood, Pete	The Living Tradition	Director of National Folk Festival of Scotland; former director of Girvan Traditional Folk Festival
Kelly, Susie	DGAA	Traditional Music Development Officer
Lewicka, Pat	Stranraer Folk Club	Co-organiser of Portpatrick Folk Festival (1996-97)
MacDonald, Sarah	SBTB	Land of Creativity project co-ordinator
MacEwan, Mac	Newcastleton Traditional Music Festival	Chairman
Mackenzie, Louise	An Drochaid	Traditional Music Co-ordinator
Martin, Phyllis	Galloway Folk Festival	Organiser
McNaughtan, Adam		Folksinger, collector
Ross, Jean	Small Towns Initiative	Project officer; director of Portpatrick Folk Festival, 2001/2
Sleigh, Judith	Tourism Scotland	Former promotions officer, STB.

Turner, Nick	Miraculous Productions	Co-director; producer of <i>The Highlands and Islands Series</i>
Wellington, Sheena	Fife Council	Former Traditional Arts Development Officer

Appendix 2.1

The Banks of Nith

Robert Burns

The Thames flows proudly to the sea,
Where royal cities stately stand;
But sweeter flows the Nith to me,
Where Cummins ance had high command.
When shall I see that honor'd land,
That winding stream I love so dear!
Must wayward Fortune's adverse hand
For ever, ever keep me here.

How lovely, Nith, thy fruitful vales,
Where bounding hawthorns gayly bloom;
And sweetly spread thy sloping dales,
Where lambkins wanton through the broom!
Tho' wandering, now, must be my doom,
Far from thy bonie banks and braes,
May there my latest hours consume
Amang the friends of early days!

Appendix 2.2

Annie Laurie

Lady John Scott

Maxwelton's braes are bonnie
Where early fa's the dew
And 'twas there that Annie Laurie
Gave me her promise true.
Gave me her promise true
Which ne'er forgot will be
And for bonnie Annie Laurie
I'd lay me doon and dee.

Her brow is like the snowdrift
Her throat is like the swan
Her face it is the fairest
That e'er the sun shone on.
That e'er the sun shone on
And dark blue is her e'e
And for bonnie Annie Laurie
I'd lay me doon and dee.

Like dew on th'gowan lying
Is th' fa' o' her fairy feet
And like the winds in summer sighing
Her voice is low and sweet.
Her voice is low and sweet
And she's a' the world to me
And for bonnie Annie Laurie
I'd lay me doon and dee.

Appendix 3.1

TMSA Folk Festivals

Name	Dates	Organisers	Description	Month
Blairgowrie	1966-1970	Eastern Regional Branch	"an informal gathering of performers"	Aug.
Cumbernauld	1974	Western Regional branch		
Keith Festival	1976 - present	North Eastern Regional Branch	"the friendly festival"	Jun.
Kinross Festival	1971 - 1981	Eastern Regional Branch	"the trendy place to go" (SBB, 1974e: 1)	Aug.
Kirriemuir Festival	1982-present	Eastern Regional Branch	"A friendly traditional Scottish music festival" (TMSA 2003)	Aug/ Sep.

Appendix 3.2

Grassroots Folk Festivals

This list has been compiled from sources including *Sandy Bell's Broadsheet*, *The Scottish Folk Directory*, *Chapbook*, *The Living Tradition*, the *TMSA Festival Calendar* and various websites. Whilst comprehensive, this list cannot purport to be exhaustive, as there is no central source of information regarding folk festivals.

* = Affiliated to TMSA

Name	Dates	Organisers	Description	Month
Aberdeen Folk Festival	1963 – 1995	Aberdeen Folk Club	"Scotland's folk event of the year"	Oct.
Aberfeldy Folk Festival	1972-1975	Aberfeldy Folk Club	"all the performers [will be] mucking in to create a true festival atmosphere" (SBB, 1974f: 1)	Jun.
Argyll Folk Festival	1981	Argyll Folk Club	"an attempt [...] to attract people from outside to the wild beauty of the country" (SBB, 1981b: 1)	May
Arran Festival of Folk	1989 – 2003	Arran Folk Club		Jun.
Auchtermuchty Festival Traditional Music Weekend*	1981-present	Auchtermuchty Festival Society	"The traditional music weekend run by the local branch concludes the Community Festival" (TMSA 2003)	Aug.
Badenoch Folk Festival (Newtonmore)	1985 - 1987	Volunteers		May
Ballachulish Festival	1992-1994	Volunteers		Jun.
Blairgowrie Live! Folk Arts Festival	1986-1995	Blairgowrie Folk Festival Society	"Perthshire's Small Friendly Festival"	Aug.
Castlemilk Folk Festival	1992 - 1999	C Sharp Music Factory (Volunteers)		Nov.

Corgarrff-Strathdon Ceilidh Weekend	1984 - 1987	Volunteers	Successor to Rosehall Ceilidh Weekend	Jul.
Crawfordjohn Spring Fling*	1999 - present	Volunteers	"Two day celebration of local culture" (TMSA, 2003)	Mar.
Denholm Folk Festival	2004 -	Denholm Folk Club	Developed from Denholm Folk Day	Nov.
Doon Valley Folk Festival	1996-1997	Volunteers		Sep.
Doune and Dunblane Fling	1994 - present	Dunblane Folk Club	"A friendly festival in a lovely setting"	May
Dumfries Folk Weekend	1983 - 1992	Dumfries Folksong Club/ DGAA	Part of the Dumfries and Galloway Arts Festival (1980 - present)	Jun.
Dunbar Belhaven Best Traditional Music Festival*	1990 - present	Volunteers	"Informal, friendly weekend" (TMSA, 2003)	Sep.
Edinburgh International Harp Festival	1981 - present	The Clarsach Society	An "extravaganza of harp performances and tuition"	Apr.
Falkirk Folk Festival	1980 - 1983	Burns Folk Club		Nov.
Fiddle 2003	1986 - present	The Scots Fiddle Festival Ltd.	"A whole weekend of non-stop fiddle music for everyone"	Nov.
Front of Bennachie Folk Festival (Inverurie)	1984 - 1987		"Concert based on North East Tradition" (Douglas, 1985: 23)	May
Galloway Folk Festival	1996 - present	Dalbeattie Folk Club	"Small traditional festival" (TMSA, 2003)	Sep.
Gatehouse of Fleet Friendly Family Folk Festival	1995 - 2001	Volunteers	"The programme is designed by a village community group of volunteers to appeal to family units"	Apr.
Girvan Traditional Folk Festival	1975- present	Kilmarnock Folk Club + volunteers.	"one of the friendliest and most popular Folk Music festivals in Scotland."	May
Glasgow International Folk Festival	1980 - 1997 (not 1985)	Volunteers	"This is a big festival" (Douglas, 1984: 18).	Jul.

Glasgow Tryst	1985-1994	Volunteers	"A celebration of traditional music, song and dance in and around the Merchant City"	Nov.
Glencoe and Loch Leven Folk Festival	1987 - 1992	Volunteers		May
Glenfarg Folk Feast	1978 - present	Glenfarg Village Folk Club	"A small, intimate folk festival with a fine balance of formal and informal events" (Douglas, 1984: 6)	Apr.
Hebridean Celtic Festival	1996 - present	Volunteers	"one of the best festivals on the international circuit" (TMSA, 2003)	Jul.
Highland Traditional Music Festival*	1981-present	Dingwall Folk Club	"We showcase the vast array of musical talent emerging in the Highlands at present" (Scottish Folk Arts Group, 1990: 15)	Jun/ Jul.
Innerleithen Folk Festival	2003 - present	Volunteers		Aug.
Inverness Folk Festival	1969 - 1998	Inverness Folk Club		Apr.
Isle of Bute International Folk Festival*	1992 - present	Danny Kyle	"one of Scotland's most exciting happenings"	Jul.
Killin Folk Festival	1995 - 2003	Danny Kyle		Jun.
Linlithgow Folk Festival	1998 - present	Linlithgow Folk Festival Association	"Friendly festival ... all welcome" (TMSA, 2003)	Sep.
Lomond Folk Festival	2000 - present	Volunteers		Jul/ Aug.
Lossiemouth Folk Festival*	1984 - present	Lossiemouth Folk Club	"a friendly come-all-ye gathering"	Jul.
Marymass Folk Festival	1968-present	Irvine Folk Club		Aug.
Melrose Folk Festival	1988 - 1997	Melrose Folk Club	"the festival has steadily gained a reputation as a singers' festival"	Sep.
Milnathort Ceilidh Weekend	1991 - present	Volunteers	"Crackin' Ceilidh Weekend"	Mar.

Moffat Folk Festival	2001-2003	Volunteers		Apr.
Moniaive Folk Festival	2002-present	Volunteers		May
Music in the Castle	2000 - present	Cultural Connections/ volunteers	"An intimate, friendly festival" (TMSA, 2003)	Apr.
Musselburgh Festival	1976-present	Musselburgh Fiddle and Accordion Club	"the friendly festival"	Mar.
National Folk Festival of Scotland	2002 - present	(mainly ex-Girvan) volunteers	"will seek to present the tradition bearers of our culture in a setting that will be inspirational"	Aug.
Newcastleton Traditional Music Festival*	1970 - present	Fiddle and Accordion Club	"The friendly festival" (TMSA, 2003)	Jul.
Orkney Folk Festival *	1983 - present	Orkney Folk Festival Society		May
Penicuik Folk Festival*	1985 – present.	Penicuik Folk Club	"a relatively small, friendly, easy-going weekend"	Oct.
Perth Folk Festival	1972 - 1974	Sheila Douglas	"plenty of good crack to go around" (SBB, 1974g: 1)	May
Port William Folk Festival	1996 - 2001	Volunteers	"the friendly festival"	Apr.
Portpatrick Folk Festival	1996-1997	Stranraer Folk Club		Sep.
Rosehall Ceilidh Weekend	1978 – 1982	Volunteers	"Small, informal and friendly"	Jul.
Shetland Accordion and Fiddle Festival	1988 – present	Shetland Accordion and Fiddle Club		Oct.
Shetland Folk Festival	1981 – present	Volunteers: Shetland Folk Festival Society	"this is a community festival and the concerts and dances are taking place in the rural communities as well as in [...] Lerwick"	May
Skye Folk Festival	1981 - 1985	Volunteers		Aug.
Speyfest	1996 – present	Volunteers	"A Celtic Festival of traditional music, arts and crafts"	Aug.

St Andrews Folk Festival	1976 - 1982	Volunteers	"good music and entertainment for the weekend"	Oct.
Stonehaven Folk Festival	1989 – present	Stonehaven Folk Club		Jul.
Stornoway Folk Festival	1974 - 1988	Stornoway Folk Club	"the biggest event to hit these shores since the Vikings" (SBB, 1974a: 1)	Jul.
Strathaven Folk Festival	1990 – 1992	Volunteers	"a fun-filled weekend of music, song and humour with an international flavour"	Jun.
Strichen Festival: The Buchan Heritage	1985 - present	Volunteers	"Celebration of the richness of north east culture"	May
The Gathering (Inverness)	1999-2000	Balnain House/ volunteers		Apr.
The Rhinns of Islay Celtic Festival	1988 - 1992	Volunteers	"Scotland's Pan-Celtic Celebration"	
Thurso Folk Festival	1970 - 1984	Thurso Folk Club		Jul.
Tinto Folk in the Field	1996 – 2002	Volunteers		Sep.
Wick Festival	1977 - 1982	Volunteers	"A festival of poetry, folk and jazz"	Jul./ Aug.

Appendix 3.3

Economic Entrepreneur-led Folk Festivals

Name	Dates	Organisers	Description	Month
Both Sides of the Tweed	2000 - present	Scottish Borders Enterprise/ SBTB	"began in Kelso in 2002 as a 'one-off', to commemorate Millennium year"	Oct.
Carrbridge Ceilidh Week	1978 - 1987	Village committee	"funds raised will assist in the provision of improved facilities for the old people of the area"	Sep.
Celtic Connections	1994 – present	GRCH		Jan.
Celtic Chaos	2000 - present	An Drochaid (funded by Skye and Lochalsh Enterprise)		Sep.
Clyde Valley Folk Festival	1982	Clyde Valley Tourist Board	"A Festival of Fun for all the family!"	Oct.
Continental Ceilidh	1998	Continental Ceilidh Ltd. (Company sponsored by local authority)	"a tourism and economic development initiative" (<i>The Living Tradition</i> , 1998: 14).	Jul.
Dundee Folk Festival	1988 – 1997	Dundee Repertory Theatre		Jul.
Edinburgh Folk Festival	1979- 1997	STB Involvement for first 3 years/ Volunteer committee	"originally intended to draw visitors to Edinburgh in [...] March, April" (Francis, 2002)	Apr.
Fair Isle Folk Festival	2002	Shetland Music Development		July
Heart of Scotland Festival (Aberfeldy)	1998 - present	Perthshire Tourist Board. Director and local committee	"Autumnal festival bringing together Scots, Irish and Celtic arts, music and performers" (TMSA, 2003)	Sep.

Portpatrick Folk Festival	2000 - present	Small Towns Initiative	"Friendly festival in beautiful Harbour village" (TMSA, 2003)	Sep.
The Land The Light The Locals	1998 - present	SBTB		Dec/ Jan.
Wilderness Festival of Music	1975	Ardfern Estate		Jul.

Carrbridge Ceilidh Week (1978) Festival Flier.

1113 19.14



One of the largest gatherings of Traditional Scottish Entertainers ever staged in the Scottish Highlands.

Carrbridge — located near Aviemore is the ideal setting for a week packed with the kind of music that has played such an important part in Scottish life — and still does today!

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SPECIAL ATTRACTIONS

HEAVE A WELLIE COMPETITION (Sponsored by Black Heart Rum).

PIPES ON THE OLD CARRBRIDGE (every evening at 6.30 p.m.).

'REAL ALE' ON SALE (late licenses applied for).

RESIDENT ARTIST **BILL BARCLAY**

Plus a host of the best entertainers in the field.

Lizzie & Maggie Cruikshanks of Edinburgh, Jimmy Macgregor of Perth, Sheila & Andy Douglas of Scone, Andy Ramage of Glenfarg, "Two and a Bit" of Stirling, Charlie Menzie of Ardgay, Dabe Goulder of Ulveston, "Stewarts of Blair" from Blairgowrie, Robbie Shepherd of Bridge of Don, Alex Green of Udney, Florence & Mackie Burns of Aberdeen, Grantown on Spey Fiddle & Accordion Club, Alex Grant of Fort William, The Trampies of Aviemore, Colin MacPherson of Kilmarnock, The Rosehall Ceilidh Band of Rosehall, The Dundee Accordion & Fiddle Club of Dundee, Pipe Major Ian Fraser of Carrbridge, Linda Anderson of Carrbridge, Patricia Mitchell of Carrbridge, Anne Ross of Carrbridge, Andy Stirling of Carrbridge, Robert & Sandra of Carrbridge, Betty & Martha Grant of Nethy Bridge, Anne Burns of Nethy Bridge, David MacGillvray of Boat of Garten.

Rowanlea Bowl for Fiddling, Alastair MacIntyre Trophy for Accordion, Landmark Trophy for Solo Singing (female), Glenfarclas Trophy for Solo Singing (male), Stuan House Trophy for Folk Singing (group), Trophy for the most promising young artist.

Competition details

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INVERNESS-SHIRE

Accommodation bookings and further details of programme from THE TOURIST OFFICE

CARRBRIDGE
INVERNESS-SHIRE
Telephone: Carrbridge 630

Appendix 3.5

Girvan Traditional Folk Festival (1981) Festival Flier

INCLUSIVE WEEKENDS

As a holiday town, Girvan offers a wide choice of accommodation from Guest Houses to Hotels. The Festival organisers have arranged special rates for accommodation and Festival tickets. As well as saving money you will also save time and trouble. Book your accommodation and your tickets will be waiting for you when you arrive at your hotel.

To book these special packages, apply to:-

The Hotel of your choice,
or The Tourist Information Centre,
Bridge Street, Girvan, Tel. 0465 2060

Please state clearly the type of accommodation required (single, double or family room) for which nights and choice of hotel or guest house.

Please make cheques payable to the hotel or guest house.

The Hotel will confirm your booking, in the event of your choice of hotel being fully booked the nearest alternative will be offered. Special rates will apply for children. Please reserve your children's accommodation when you book, and pay for the extra accommodation during your holiday. There is no ticket charge for children when booked with the packages. If you are travelling to the Festival and expect to arrive late will you please indicate an expected arrival time to the hotel.

WHAT YOU GET

PACKAGE 'A'

- * Two nights accommodation plus breakfasts.
- * A weekend ticket for all Festival Events.
- * V.A.T.

PACKAGE 'B'

- * As above but with three nights accommodation.

The terms quoted for each hotel or guest house are inclusive of all the items listed above.

Name and Address	Package A	Package B	Dinner
The Cranford Hotel, Dalrymple Street, Tel. 2764	£18.00	£23.00	£2.50
Craigdhu Guest House, Louisa Drive, Tel. 3490	£18.00	£23.00	£2.50
The Fountain Guest House, 2 The Avenue, Tel. 2112	£18.00	£20.00	£2.50
Greystones Guest House, Henrietta Street, Tel. 2152	£18.00	£23.00	£2.50
Kings Arms Hotel, Dalrymple Street, Tel. 3322	£38.00 Single Room £27.00 Double Room per person £31.00 Double with Fr. Bathroom per person	£52.00 Single Room £37.00 Double Room per person £43.00 Double with Fr. Bathroom per person	£6.00
Mansfield Private Hotel, The Avenue, Tel. 4268	£18.00	£20.00	£2.50
Queens Hotel, Montgomery Street, Tel. 3670	£18.00	£20.00	
Rosedale Private Hotel, Louisa Drive, Tel. 2038	£18.00	£23.00	£2.50
The Royal Hotel, Montgomery Street, Tel. 4203	£18.00	£23.00	
The Sands Private Hotel, Louisa Drive, Tel. 2178	£18.00	£23.00	£2.50
The Southfield Hotel, The Avenue, Tel. 4222	£22.00	£30.00	£1.00
Thistlecreek Guest House, Louisa Drive, Tel. 2137	£18.00	£23.00	£2.50

If you arrive at the Festival without pre-booked accommodation you may book this direct or via the Tourist Information Centre, Bridge Street, Girvan. Special rates for accommodation only apply however when booked as part of the Festival Accommodation and Ticket package.

The Girvan Festival, situated in the South West of Scotland is conveniently situated for visitors from England and Ireland. From England the journey from the M6 is through pleasant open countryside and for Irish visitors the coastal route from Stranraer or Cairnryan is particularly convenient.

Approximate mileages from Girvan:

Abertewn	198
Birmingham	267
Bristol	346
Carlisle	114
Edinburgh	93
Glasgow	54
Liverpool	234
London	397
Manchester	231
Newcastle upon Tyne	171
Stranraer	30
Cairnryan	25

NORTHERN IRELAND PACKAGES

For visitors from Northern Ireland we have negotiated special ferry rates with Townsend Thoresen. You may book the whole package through them, including ferry costs. They can also offer extra special rates for group travel. For details contact:-

Townsend Thoresen Holidays, Murrayfield Shopping Centre, Larne, Co. Antrim. Tel: Larne 4400.

If you are coming to the Festival as part of a holiday, you may be interested in other Folk Music venues in the West of Scotland.

Monday	Glasgow Royal Infirmary Folk Club	
Tuesday	Dumfries Folk Club	The Tarn O' Shanter, Queensberry Street
Wednesday	Irvine Folk Club	Eglinton Arms
	East Kilbride Folk Club	Forum Bar
Thursday	Kilmarnock Folk Club	The Auld House, Titchfield Street.
	The Star Folk Club	Carlton Place, Glasgow
Sunday	Strathaven Folk Club	The Sun Hotel

Further details of local events will be available during the Festival.

The Festival acknowledges support from the Scottish Tourist Board, Kyle and Carrick District Council, Girvan Tourist Association and Scottish Arts Council.

Printed by The Contour Press Ltd., 8 Parkhouse Street, Av.

The Seventh GIRVAN TRADITIONAL FOLK FESTIVAL

1st, 2nd, 3rd May 1981

INCLUSIVE PACKAGES

WEEKENDS from £16.00



ALY BAIN OF THE BOYS OF THE LOUGH

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SEAN CANNON	CHARLIE SOANE
ALASTAIR McDONALD	SETANTA
HEATHER HEYWOOD	TAM CATS BAND
KATE HARRIGAN	ROGER DOBSONS BAND
GIRVAN PIPE BANDS	DUMFRIES FOLK CLUB

EVENTS

Ceilidhs, Concerts, Ceilidh Dances, Competitions, Children's Events and Informal Music and Song Sessions.

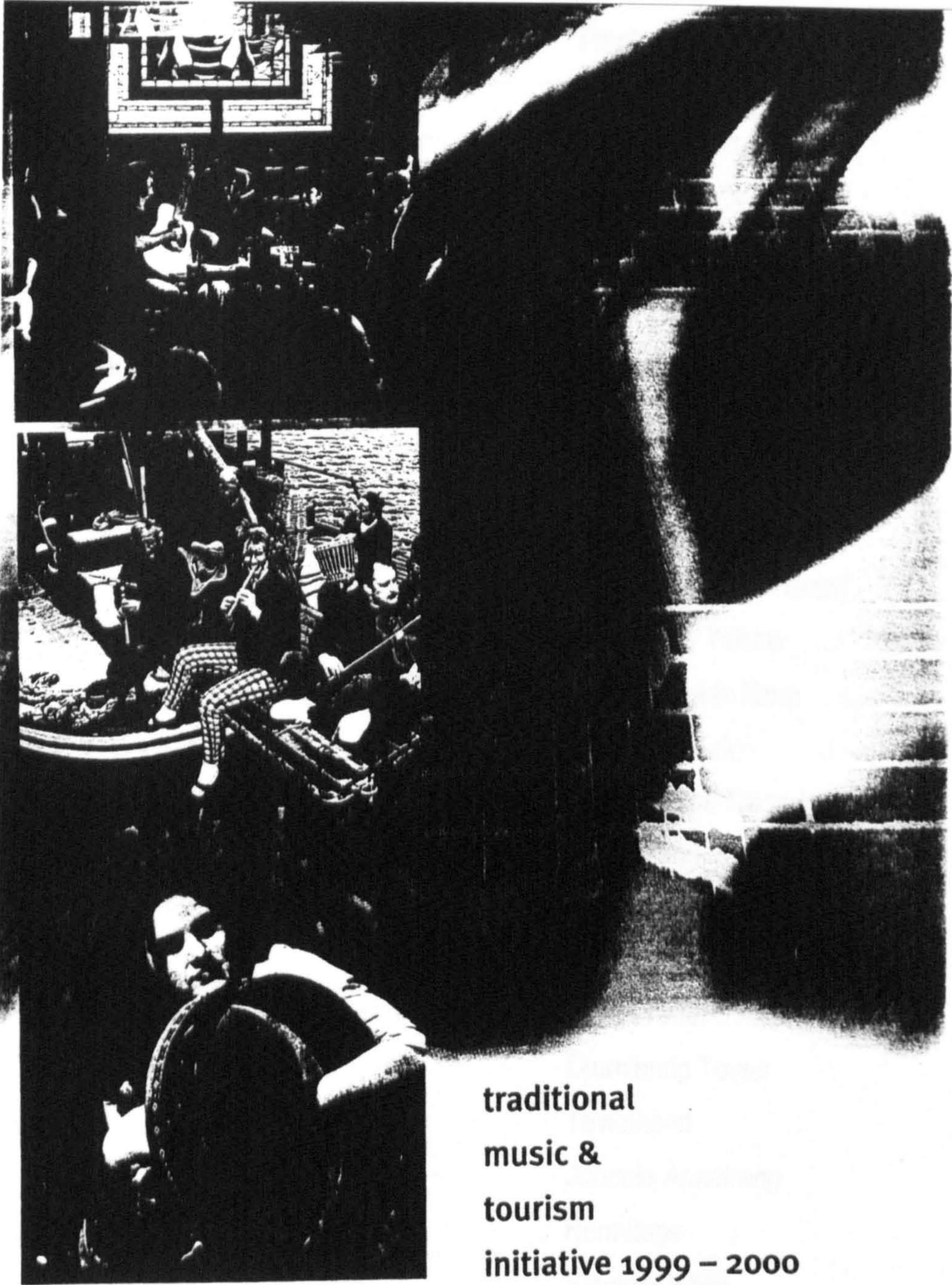
Appendix 5.1

A Scottish Evening

Track Listing

1. *O'er the Sea, Lad Wi' the Plaidie, Troy's Wedding, Highland Laddie*
2. *Over the Sea to Skye*
3. *The Muckin' o' Geordie's Byre, Glasgow Gaelic Club, The Fairy Dance, Ken Muir's Up and Awa*
4. *Mairi's Wedding*
5. *MacKilmoyles Reel, Turkey in the Straw, Mitton's Breakdown, The Blue Mountain Reel*
6. *Annie Laurie*
7. *The Laird o' Drumblair, The Mason's Apron*
8. *Mid Lothian Pipe Band, Earl of Earl, Battle of the Somme, The Scottish Horse*
9. *Loch Maree*
10. *Victoria Hornpipe, The Poppy Leaf, Kirk's Hornpipe*
11. *Dashing White Sergeant, The Rose Tree, My Love She's But a Lassie Yet*
12. *Saturday Dance*
13. *Cock o' the North, Drum Solo, Amazing Grace, Gillie Callum, Scotland the Brave*
14. *The Dark Island*
15. *Lovat Scouts, Roaring Jelly, My Home, De'il Amang the Tailors*
16. *Land for all Seasons*
17. *Loch Lomond*
18. *A Man's a Man, Will Ye No Come Back Again, Auld Lang Syne*

Cover of Traditional Music and Tourism Initiative 1999-2000



**traditional
music &
tourism
initiative 1999 – 2000**

Appendix 7.1

The Ballads Trail

Track Listing

Artist/commentator	Track title
1. Dialogue	The Eildon Tree Stone
2. Elspeth Smellie & John McNairn	<i>Thomas the Rhymer</i>
3. Dialogue	The Road to Abbotsford
4. Dialogue	Sir Walter's Courtroom
5. Dialogue	Philiphaugh
6. Dialogue	Tamlane's Well
7. Dialogue	The Road to Ettrick
8. Elspeth Smellie	<i>Tam Lin</i>
9. Dialogue	Yarrow Stone
10. John McNairn	<i>Dowie Houms of Yarrow</i>
11. Jackie Jennett	<i>Drooned in Yarrow</i>
12. Dialogue	Craig Douglas Farm
13. Dialogue	St. Mary's Kirk
14. John Nichol	<i>The Douglas Tragedy</i>
15. Dialogue	Henderland Tower
16. Elspeth Smellie	<i>Border Widow's Lament</i>
17. Dialogue	Harden
18. John Nichol	<i>Jamie Telfer o the Fair Dodhead</i>
19. Dialogue	Drumlanrig Tower
20. Dialogue	Teviothead
21. Archie Fisher	<i>Johnnie Armstrang</i>
22. Dialogue	Hermitage
23. John Nichol	<i>Kinmont Willie</i>
24. John McNairn	<i>Lock the Door Lariston</i>
25. Dialogue	Jedburgh
26. Archie Fisher	<i>The Mosstrooper's Lament</i>

Appendix 7.2

REAL

Track Listing

Artist	Track title
1. Heritage	<i>Tell Tae Me</i>
2. Heather Heywood	<i>Braw Lads on Yarrow Braes</i>
3. Brian Miller	<i>Mosstrooper's Lament</i>
4. Alison McMorland	<i>Cloudberry Day</i>
5. John Wright	<i>Wail o'Flodden</i>
6. Elsa LeMaitre	<i>Ettrick</i>
7. Rod Paterson	<i>Willie Wastle</i>
8. Jackie Jennett	<i>Drooned in Yarrow</i>
9. Phamie Gow	<i>The Death of Tibbie Tamson</i>
10. Gavin Livingstone	<i>Love is a Dizziness</i>
11. Carolyn Robson	<i>Scarborough Settler's Lament</i>
12. John Watt and Davey Stewart	<i>Eyemouth Disaster/ Boatie Rows</i>
13. Archie Fisher	<i>The Broom o 'the Cowdenknowes</i>
14. Peter Livingstone	<i>Toon o'Kelso</i>
15. Matt Seattle & McFalls Chamber	<i>Autumn in Yetholm</i>
16. The Nat Kings	<i>There for the Taking</i>
17. The Waverley Line Dance Band	<i>When the Railways Return</i>

Appendix 7.3

Sang o the Solway

Track Listing

Composer	Track title
1. Lane and Gosbee	<i>Bonnie Hills and Dales</i>
2. James Mathewson	<i>Gallowa'</i>
3. Traditional	<i>Katie Morrison</i>
4. Lionel McClelland	<i>Sawney Bean</i>
5. Traditional	<i>Lizzie Lindsay</i>
6. Lane and Gosbee	<i>Caerlaverock</i>
7. William Nicholson	<i>Braes O' Gallowa'</i>
8. Dave Cargen	<i>The Green Hills O' Annandale</i>
9. Robert Burns	<i>Willie Brew'd a Peck O' Maut</i>
10. Traditional	<i>Celtic Blessing</i>
Lane and Gosbee	<i>Whithorn</i>
11. Traditional	<i>Jock O' Po'dean</i>
12. Traditional	<i>Dinvinn Ploo'in Match</i>
13. Traditional	<i>Hairst Time</i>
14. Traditional	<i>Stumpy</i>
15. Robert Burns	<i>Whistle and I'll Come to You My Lad</i>
16. Traditional	<i>Pier O' Leith</i>
17. Traditional	<i>Irish Boy</i>
18. Lane and Gosbee	<i>Border Widow's Lament, Topsy Kye, Border Reivers' Reel</i>
19. Lionel McClelland	<i>Jim Laurie</i>
20. Traditional	<i>Rise Jock Rise</i>
21. Lane and Gosbee	<i>Flounder Tramping Polka</i>
22. Lane and Gosbee	<i>Solway Fishermen</i>
23. Lane and Gosbee	<i>My Love Across the Water</i>
24. Allan Cunningham	<i>Ain Countrie</i>

Appendix 7.4

An Drochaid CD Sampler

Track Listing

Artist	Track title
1. Dàimh	<i>Go Jerry! – Jerry's Pipe Jig/ Slàinte Do Mhàu/ Donella Beaton/ Munera De Casu</i>
2. Anne Martin and Ingrid Henderson	<i>Ailein Dunn</i>
3. Cliar	<i>Clo Mhic Mhìcheil/ Blue Bonnets</i>
4. Dr. Angus Macdonald	<i>Bu Deonach Leam Tilleadh/ The Sister's Reel/ Matt Molloy's Reel/ The Cape Breton Fiddlers' Welcome to Shetland</i>
5. Arthur Cormack	<i>Oran Beinn Li</i>
6. Archie and Farquhar	<i>Ally Bally/ Helwick Street Kitchen Party</i>
7. Christine Primrose	<i>An Till Mise Chaidh</i>
8. Steve Gwyn Davies	<i>An Ubhal As Airde</i>
9. Iain MacFadyen	<i>Mac'n'Irish/ Mrs Nell Macgregor/ Rose Among the Heather/ Jessie from Coulacs/ Paddy on the Railroad/ Devil in the Kitchen</i>
10. Donnie Munro	<i>Garden Boy</i>
11. Blair Douglas	<i>Nelson Mandela's Welcome to the City of Glasgow</i>
12. The Incredible Fling Band	<i>Rocky Road to Dublin/ Langstrom's Pony</i>
13. Coisir Gaidhlig An-T-Strath	<i>An Gille Guanach</i>
14. Skye Scene Highland Ceilidh	<i>Cumha Mhicruimein/ The Curlew/ The Geese in the Bog/ The Boys of Ballymore</i>
15. Peatbog Faeries	<i>The Manali Beetle (f.f.f.f.)</i>

16. Mary Strachan

Dean Cadalan Samhach

17. The Scottish Stepdance Company

Finale – Waiting for the Federals/

Macfadden's Reel/ Am Muileann Dubh

Appendix 7.5

Volume 1: Loch Sheil

Track Listing

Artist	Track title
1. Miraculous	<i>Introduction</i>
2. MacDonald/ MacFarlane	<i>The Steamboat/ Thomond Bridge</i>
3. Charlie MacFarlane	<i>Paradise on Earth</i>
4. Hoogie	<i>Sileas</i>
5. Iain MacFarlane	<i>Stags at the Glenuig dance</i>
6. Cliar	<i>Clo Mhic Ille Mhicheil/ Blue Bonnets</i>
7. Jim Michie	<i>Skipper of the Sileas</i>
8. MacDonald/MacFarlane	<i>The Northern Lass Set</i>
9. Blazin Fiddles	<i>Lochaber Gathering</i>
10. Charlie	<i>Irishman's Bay</i>
11. Cliar	<i>The Harpie's Set</i>
12. Duncan MacFarlane	<i>Twitchers on the Loch</i>
13. Charlie	<i>MacAllister</i>
14. Jim Hunter	<i>Sanctuary</i>
15. Margaret MacLellan	<i>Ri Taobh Loch Seile (Beside Loch Shiel)</i>
16.	<i>Catching the Apples</i>
17. Ingrid Henderson	<i>Musical Slippers</i>
18. Charlie	<i>The Politician</i>
19. Jim Hunter & Brian McAlpine	<i>Watercolour</i>
20. Charlie	<i>The Green Isle</i>
21. Dàimh	<i>Goat Island</i>

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