The Scottish Tradition Series: Impact and Community

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A RECENT buzzword in UK universities is "impact". It stresses that the work done by university departments should reach out beyond academia into wider society. The School of Scottish Studies Archives has long recognised this principle in terms of releasing material back into the community. The Scottish Tradition Series, a commercial series of audio recordings, has been key in this regard. This article will give a brief history of the Series and will look at some of the editorial principles behind it. Examples will be taken from recordings concerning the Scots song and fiddle traditions in particular. In conclusion, the article will return to the issue of impact.

The roots of the Series can be traced back to 1960, some nine years after the foundation of the department in 1951. In 1960, three LPs with accompanying booklets were produced, namely: Gaelic and Scots Folk Tales (A001/2), Gaelic and Scots Folk Songs (A003/4), and Scottish Instrumental Music (A005/6). One booklet accompanied all three discs.

For the Gaelic Folk Tales, the notes were by John MacInnes, with the selection by the late Calum Maclean, and for Scots Folk Tales, the notes were by Hamish Henderson. For Gaelic Folk Songs, the notes were by James Ross, and for Scots Folk Songs, by Hamish Henderson, with Francis Collinson contributing musical notes in both cases. Finally, Collinson was responsible for the notes for Scottish Instrumental Music.¹

The material is rich and varied: four Gaelic folktales and three from the Scots tradition appear, including "Silly Jack and the Factor", and "The Fairy Well of Shetland". The song disc includes Jeannie Robertson singing the "Battle of Harlaw", John Strachan's rendition of the bothy song, "Harrowin' Time", and the song "Jamie Raeburn" with the first verses from Jessie Murray, the Buckie fishwife, and the concluding verses from Tom Scott of the Borders. On the instrumental side, examples of fiddling, piping, jew's harp, and accordion are present. The Traveller Edith Whyte, from the North East, gives a fine rendition of "The Beggin Trade" on the song disc, the original recording being made at the 1952 People's Festival Ceilidh in Edinburgh.²

If the beggin be as good a trade As I hae heard them say, It's time that I was on the road An joggin doon the brae.

Chorus:

To the beggin I will go, will go, To the beggin I will go.

And afore that I dae ging awa I'll let my beard grow lang; And I winna pare my nails at a' For the beggars wear them lang.

¹ Additional research was undertaken by Donia Etherington.

² This song appeared as track 11 on Scottish Tradition 20, "The Carrying Stream", a compilation of material from these early discs as well as from other releases of the Series.

I'll gang tae the cobbler's, And I'll gar him mend my sheen; I'll gar him pit the sole upon, Wi a heel-ring roon abeen.

I'll gang tae the tailor's, They ca' him Maudie Gray; I'll gar him mak a coat tae me That'll hap me night and day.

And if there be a weddin, And we chance to be there, I'll rise among the weddin folk And bless the happy pair.

It's some will gie me beef an breid, And some'll gie me cheese, An oot amang the weddin folk I'll gaither bawbees.

An if I come on as weel's I'd like, It's I'll come back an tell – But gin I dinna dee that I'll keep it till mysel.

The first LP that was produced as part of the Scottish Tradition Series was *Bothy Ballads: Music of the North East.* This was issued in 1971 by Tangent Records. The originator of the Series was the ethnomusicologist Dr Peter Cooke who at that time had recently joined the department. As he explained in an interview:

It was quite clear early on that one of my briefs, partly as a result of my own conviction, but also long conversations with [the Danish scholar] Thorkild Knudsen before he left, that the best thing we could be doing in the School in terms of publication was not so much anthologies and learned articles and so on but learned sound productions, and that's why I embarked on the Scottish Tradition Series. And a certain amount

of my Scottish song fieldwork was based on the need to provide adequate material for that. So I remember, I think early in 1974, going around with Hamish [Henderson] to re-record some of the ballads that he'd recorded from singers at an earlier time ...³

The guiding principle then was that the material be presented to the public in an audio rather than a written format. This presentation is particularly vital in the case of music and song, where music transcription remains limited in what it can effectively show on the page: far more is gleaned from listening to a performance, and this has been reflected in the debates of ethnomusicologists. The emphasis of the Series overall was reflected in the sleeve-notes of the early releases: "Scottish Tradition is an integrated series of discs designed to illustrate the various aspects of Scottish Oral Tradition. Recordings are drawn from ... [the] archives ... [from] systematic collecting by the School of Scottish Studies." "Tradition" and "oral tradition" have been contested terms amongst scholars over the years. 4 The Series – by choosing what to and what not to include – conveys implicit ideas of tradition through the use of example. This is a series in which the recordings are not staged, where performances are normally unaccompanied, and where musical arrangements are usually not in place. All the hallmarks of home performance - tea-cups clinking, grandfatherclocks ticking, and even the dreaded chirps of the budgerigar (from a sound engineer's point of view!) - are here.

For some, the Series undoubtedly represents the "authentic" as far as traditional music, song and story are concerned. "Authenticity" is a complex and problematic term, but the ethnomusicologist Bonnie C. Wade states that on one level it is something that looks to the past. There is an emphasis in the Series on those who learned their material via oral tradition in the main, on grass-roots musicians, and often on those who have been untutored. Modes of transmission and issues of continuity are important. Wade also contends that "Authenticity is ... thought of as residing

³ Katherine Campbell, interview with Dr Peter Cooke, 25 April 2000, School of Scottish Studies Archives, SA2000.004.

⁴ See Finnegan (1992) for summaries relating to these issues.

in a person ... 'authenticity' resembles 'authority'". The Series has always had a focus on the tradition bearer as well as the musical item, indeed some releases focus entirely on the repertoire of one individual. Appearance on a Scottish Tradition release perhaps gives the performer a certain legitimacy as far as his or her place in the tradition is concerned.

Twenty-four releases of the Series have now been published.⁶ The main emphasis has been on music and song, but storytelling is also well represented with, for example, the double CD, "Scottish Traditional Tales". Custom and belief features too and "Wooed an Married an Aa" (on the subject of wedding traditions) contains a number of Shetland examples, including Jeemsie Laurenson's description of "The Bedding of the Bride":

And the next when midnight had struck, the ceremony of putting the bride to bed. It was aald box beds in those days, you know, built into the wall, where the door closed and opened. And they would take – the bridesmaid ... and her sisters would take this bride, take off her robes, her bridal attire, put on her nightgown and put her to bed. But before she lockit the bed door, she would close her eyes an take a stocking from her right foot, throw it like this, an close the eyes like that, and any girl – said to be single girls – that moved around, and any girl at the sock landed on was supposed to be the next bride: that was a good omen. To be a supposed to be the next bride: that was a good omen.

The list of recordings to date is as follows:

- 1. Bothy Ballads
- 2. Music from the Western Isles
- 3. Waulking Songs from Barra
- 4. Shetland Fiddle Music
- 5. The Muckle Sangs

⁵ Wade, 2004, 142.

^{6 2010} saw the re-release some of recordings previously on cassette or LP, namely *Calum & Annie Johnston: Songs, Stories and Piping from Barra* (double CD: GDTRAX9013D), *James Campbell of Kintail: Gaelic Songs* (GDTRAX 9008), and *Calum Ruadh: Bard of Skye* (GDTRAX9007).

⁷ SA1970.248.A1, James Laurenson, Fetlar, recorded by Alan Bruford.

- 6. Gaelic Psalms from Lewis
- 7. Calum Ruadh: Bard of Skye
- 8. James Campbell of Kintail: Gaelic Songs
- 9. The Fiddler and his Art
- 10. Pibroch: Pipe-Major William MacLean
- 11. Pibroch: Pipe-Major Robert Brown
- 12. Pibroch: Pipe-Major R. B. Nicol
- 13. Calum and Annie Johnston
- 14. Gaelic Stories told by Peter Morrison
- 15. Pibroch: George Moss
- 16. William Matheson
- 17. Scottish Traditional Tales
- 18. Clo Dubh Clo Donn
- 19. Seonag NicCoinnich
- 20. The Carrying Stream (compilation)
- 21. Orkney: Land, Sea and Community
- 22. Chokit on a Tattie: Children's Songs and Rhymes
- 23. Wooed an Married an Aa: Songs, Tunes and Customs
- 24. Songs and Ballads from Perthshire Field Recordings of the 1950s

The main genres of Scottish traditional music and song are represented, e.g. fiddling, pibroch, waulking songs, Gaelic psalms, and children's songs. There also has been a focus on tradition bearers and their repertoires, e.g. Seonag NicCoinnich, and Calum and Annie Johnston. Certain geographical areas have received attention, e.g. the Western Isles, Orkney, and Shetland. The general editorship has been undertaken by various staff members over the years, namely Peter Cooke, Morag MacLeod, Mark Trewin, and Katherine Campbell. Several individuals outside the department have been involved as guest editors for recent releases. One of these was Maurice Fleming of Blairgowrie who collected from Traveller singers in Perthshire, and who was the first to make recordings of the well-known family, the Stewarts of Blair. Maurice wrote the notes to the CD entitled "Songs and Ballads from Perthshire Field Recordings of the 1950s" and was able to give his collector's perspective there. It was pleasing to have this CD come out in 2011, the year of the 60th anniversary of the Archives, since the material connected back to

its first decade. An example of one of the singers on the CD is Martha Reid of Birnam, who was well known amongst the Travellers for her knowledge of the Scottish ballads. She has also been recorded by Peter Shepheard of Fife, but has achieved less prominence as a singer than some others on the CD, such as Belle and Sheila Stewart. Her rendition of the supernatural ballad, "The Elfin Knight" (Child 2), is particularly memorable.

O fetch to me aye a Holland shirt Aye thout either needle or needle work For you'll wash it in to yon draw well Where there never was water nor one drop o dew fell.

For you'll hing it oer yon Thornhaugh bush Where there never was thorns since Adam was born And it's ho, ho the wind'll blow.

For you'll fetch to me two acres of land Between thon salt sea and thon salt sea strand For you'll ploo it up with a devil tup's horn You will sew it ower with one grain of corn And it's ho, ho the wind'll blow.

For you will ripen it up with one blink o sand You'll cut it down with a pea-hen's feather You'll stook it up by the stung of a nettle And it's ho, ho the wind'll blow.

For you'll yoke two sparrows in a matchbox An cart it home to your own farm yard And it's ho, ho the wind'll blow.

For surely when you put such task on me I'll surely put aye as hard on you You'll, how many ships sails in thy forest? How many strawberries grows on the salt sea? And it's ho, ho the wind'll blow.⁸

⁸ Track 14.

Each release of the Series has been accompanied by a contextual booklet. These typically contain photographs of informants and locations, translations from the Gaelic or a glossary of Scots words as appropriate, notes on comparative versions, biographical notes on informants, suggestions for further reading, and so on. In recent releases, the booklets have typically been of around 40 pages in length. They are central to understanding and interpreting the audio contents of the CD.

Editorial Considerations and Principles

In works where written literature is edited, a great deal of time is generally spent by scholars articulating their principles and policies, and sometimes these actually form the subject of a book in their own right in the case of literary giants, e.g. the guide for editors on the Edinburgh edition of Scott's Waverley novels.⁹ Pages can be devoted to issues such as the editing of full-stops and commas, with the overriding principle usually being to stick as closely to source as possible, with anything that has been done editorially being explained and commented on in the notes.

Oral material, when it is being transcribed into a written form, also tends to receive some discussion, with comments on dialect, on what is being transcribed, and on the overall purpose of the transcription all receiving attention in books covering ethnology, folklore and oral history, for example. The case of what happens when field recordings are themselves edited for CD release has received less attention and, with this in mind, I'll now turn to some of the editorial considerations and principles underlying the Scottish Tradition Series.

The process of selection is based on a number of factors including the significance of the material in terms of what the CD is trying to illustrate, the issue of obtaining a balance of tracks (e.g. gender, age of performer, and stylistic traits), and aesthetic considerations such as whether it would be desirable to hear the material repeatedly. We also go through a process

Hewitt and Alexander, 1996.

of obtaining permission to use the recording from both the interviewee (or a family member) and the collector. In some cases, however, we are dealing with anonymous individuals, e.g. groups of children, or people who had no descendants or other close family.

The quality of the original recording is a major consideration. Peter Cooke believed that the recordings made by the School of Scottish Studies should be of the highest quality possible and suitable for broadcasting and publication. Many discussions took place in this regard with Fred Kent, the School's Sound Technician at that time, who had worked in the BBC, and "post-mortems" were held on fieldwork recordings, to see what might be improved or done differently next time round. Peter Cooke cited the ethnomusicologist Klaus Wachsmann's comment as his guiding principle: "You have to aim at high quality out of respect for the musicians themselves". 10 The recording environment is often outside the field-worker's control, however, and ceilidhs or outdoor events, for example, will typically include background noise. Sometimes this material can be used, but only in an improved form. Most commercial recordings of traditional music in Scotland nowadays are subject to any number of techniques to improve the finished product, and computer technology looms large in this respect, allowing, for example, for changes of pitch of individual syllables, and for the replacement of a single word. Although the Scottish Tradition Series does not go down to the micro-level used by some commercial artists, there is nevertheless a good deal of work that goes into making the recordings more "listenable to". This is done both in our Sound Lab and by Peter Haigh, a professional sound engineer, at Pier House Studio in Edinburgh. Improvements undertaken may typically include trying to remove background noise and adjusting levels. Sometimes, where background noise is very noticeable, whole verses have to be missed out. The technique of "fade in" and "fade out" can be used to cover problematic starts and finishes. It is very common in field-recordings for performers to make a mistake and then to restart, and here the best

¹⁰ SA2000.004.

parts of the various renditions are selected. Any "mistakes", e.g. stutters or word repetitions, are edited out, so that a more fluent performance is given.

It is important to be aware that the material on the Scottish Tradition discs is close to, but not the same as, the primary source, in the sense that a good deal of editorial work may underlie the finished product. An example here is Betsy Johnston's singing of the supernatural ballad, "Tam Lin", which appears on the *Muckle Sangs*. In research for a paper on the ballad, I realised when listening to the original field-recordings that Betsy did not once manage to sing the ballad as it appears on the CD; rather, the track represents an amalgamation of various stanzas from various performances."

Impact

I'll now return to the question of impact. The Research Excellence Framework 2014, a government-led process that all UK universities must respond to, measures the quality of research output and the research environment itself.¹² It follows on from the RAE (Research Assessment Exercise) 2008, and it differs from it in the stress that is placed on impact: namely that academic research should have a broader reach than academia alone. Economic, political and social impact are emphasised, and specific questions have been put to help universities engage with the concept. These include: Through what means have people become aware of the research? What has the impact been? What evidence is there that impact has occurred?

Publication is clearly vital to the first of these questions. Central to the general public's knowledge of the Scottish Tradition Series is the fact that it has been issued on commercial record labels. These have the ability to look after marketing, sales, radio air-play, and so on, and have the overall function of making the material more accessible. The first LPs and

¹¹ Campbell, 2007.

¹² See http://www.hefce.ac.uk/research/ref/

cassettes were issued under the Tangent Records label in London, and the later cassettes and CDs by Greentrax Recordings Ltd in East Lothian. Dr Ian Green, the managing director of Greentrax, regards the Series as very important to his label in terms of its role in highlighting the traditional arts. It is worth pointing out, though, that these recordings have a small circulation, attract a specialist audience, and require financial support to be released – the Scottish Arts Council (later Creative Scotland) has been central here.

Items from the Series have received air-time on, for example, BBC Radio Scotland and Radio nan Gàidheal. In terms of education, tracks have been used to provide example material in several contexts. The Standard Grade Music Curriculum which began in the 1980s took the focus away from Classical Western repertoire in the main, to give much more of an emphasis to traditional music and to other genres. Concepts such as "Gaelic Psalm", "Scots Ballad" and "Bothy Ballad" were included, and as a result have been learned by thousands of children in Scotland. The staff-development pack for Standard Grade Music produced by Jo Miller in 1988, entitled The Music of Scotland and published by the Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum, reflected this new emphasis. It contained an accompanying cassette which included material drawn from the Series. This was also true of Traditional Scottish Songs and Music (2001), aimed at the 5-14 and Standard Grade curricula and written by Katherine Campbell and Ewan McVicar. Examples on the accompanying CD included Jeannie Robertson's ballad, "The Gypsy Laddies", and the puirt-a-beul, "Domhnall Dubh" and "Nighean Na Cailliche" sung by Seonag NicCoinnich. Items from the Series have been used for Universitylevel courses, e.g. at Edinburgh and at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland. Finally, the CD of Scots children's songs and rhymes entitled "Chokit on a Tattie" and edited by Ewan McVicar, has been of considerable interest to nursery and primary schools, due to the wealth of nonsense rhymes, skipping songs and handclapping chants that it contains.

Certain CDs have been important at community level, and I'd like to look briefly at *The Fiddler and his Art, Scottish Tradition 9* in this regard. The CD includes performers from Shetland, Orkney, the Western Isles,

and the North East. It highlights the playing styles from these heartlands of the instrument, and enables listeners to make aural comparisons and musicians to imitate stylistic nuances. Geographical styles of fiddle playing, like distinctive local dialects, are important markers of identity, differentiating one area from another. The CD helps to raise awareness of the place of fiddling in community life, and highlights the richness of a "local" musical culture. Quite often, listeners hear people that they know (or knew), or perhaps are related to, and this is frequently a source of pride.

The community musician rather than the commercial artist is very much to the fore, and here Ruth Finnegan's concept of "the hidden musicians" may usefully be applied.¹³ Finnegan conducted her study in the English New Town of Milton Keynes, and found that much musical activity was in evidence across the various genres - classical, rock, jazz – through orchestras, rock groups, sessions, and so on. On the surface, though, Milton Keynes did not appear to be a place that held the promise of much musical activity. It is this same non-professional, community musician that forms the backbone of much of the Series. One example here is Pat Shearer, the son of a Stronsay farmer, who spent some time in the Merchant Navy before coming back to work his father's farm, and then later ran a taxi business. Pat is accompanied on the recording by David Linklater on electric piano. The notes in the booklet tell us: "These two musicians enjoy playing together, usually at home, for Pat Shearer's occupations have given him few opportunities to play for dances. He describes himself as a 'fireside fiddler". 14 Here then, we have an example of a "house fiddler" rather than a dance musician. The track highlights the important place of music in the home, a theme discussed by Gary West in a chapter in the Compendium of Scottish Ethnology. 15 Pat plays "The Stronsay Waltz" and "Jock Halcrow" on the CD, drawn originally from a 1985 field-recording by Peter Cooke. The booklet tells us that these two tunes were well known to Orkney fiddlers. The first was composed by J. Chalmers and "there is

¹³ Finnegan, 2007.

¹⁴ Booklet, p. 8.

¹⁵ West, 2006.

some doubt about the authorship of the [second] ... It was in the repertory of Jock Halcrow and his dance band and in time the tune not only acquired his name but it also came to be thought that he was the composer. Its style suggests it could have originated in any part of the British Isles but Pat Shearer's ornamentation gives it a decidedly Orcadian character." 16

In addition to highlighting a community's repertoire, some of the material on the Series reflects in a tangible way the context of the performance. On the Shetland Fiddling CD, for example, the noise of feet stamping and of "hoochs and cries" can be heard in the track featuring croft dancing on the Island of Yell, where the performers are Willy B. Henderson and Bobby Jamieson.¹⁷

I'd now like to turn to two examples where we can see a very direct influence of the Series on individual musicians. John MacDonald's performance of "The Rovin Ploughboy" appears on the *Muckle Sangs* CD (track 2b), and Hamish Henderson tells in the accompanying notes how he came across it:

In the Spring of 1952, while on a collecting tour in the Turriff area of Aberdeenshire, I was given the name of John MacDonald of Pitgaveny, Elgin, my informant assuring me that he knew many old songs. Not long after, I met Mr MacDonald for the first time. He is a mole-catcher and rat-catcher by profession: in addition, he runs a flourishing local concert party, and is well known as a performer on the melodeon.

Among the first of his songs to be tape-recorded for the School's sound archive was The Rovin Ploughboy, which he had listed among his favourites – he declared that it had "a lovely air", which indeed it has.

The song text runs:

Come saddle tae me my aul' gray mare, Come saddle tae me my pony O,

¹⁶ A5 booklet which accompanies the CD, p. 8.

¹⁷ Track 1, "Soldier's Joy / Deil Among the Tailors".

An I'll tak the road and I'll go far away After ma rovin ploughboy O.

Chorus:

Ploughboy O, ploughboy O, I'll follow the rovin ploughboy O.

Last night I lay on a fine feather-bed, Sheets and blankets sae cosy O; This night I maun lie on a cold barn-shed, Wrappit in the arms of ma ploughboy O.

A champion ploughman ma Geordie O, Cups and medals and prizes O, On bonnie Deveronside there are none to compare Wi ma jolly rovin ploughboy O.

So fare ye well tae aul Huntly toon, Fare ye well Drumdelgie O. For noo I'm on the road an I'm goin far away After ma rovin ploughboy O.

The lyrics and tune were clearly appreciated by the group "Malinky" who used them for their version of the song which appears on the CD entitled "3 Ravens". Although incorporating accompaniment, as well as introductory and concluding instrumental arrangements which serve to elongate the performance, not to mention a female lead singer – Karine Polwart –Malinky still adhere closely to their original source.

The second example I'd like to discuss is where a musician borrows from the actual source material to create a new composition. The late Martyn Bennett used with very good effect a sample of the voice of Calum Ruadh, Bard of Skye, in a track called "Why?" on his CD entitled "Grit", along with material from other tradition bearers.¹⁸ It is interesting that the

^{18 &}quot;Grit" (track 6); see further, http://www.martynbennett.com/album_05_grit_01.

bard's speaking voice – which one might describe as itself "musical" – is selected. This can be heard at the very start of Bennett's composition and again towards the end. Calum Ruadh's original track was called "The Old Home", and the field recording was made by the Danish ethnomusicologist, Thorkild Knudsen. This Scottish Tradition CD is a creative work in its own right particularly in terms of "The Fairy Song" where Knudsen overlays two separate performances of the bard's voice to create a stereo effect.

The sample on "Grit" was used with the knowledge and consent of family members and of the School of Scottish Studies Archives, and the source of the material was documented in Bennett's CD notes. This is perhaps a model of how traditional material should be handled. However, there have been cases from across the globe where material from recordings made by ethnomusicologists has been sampled on an unauthorised basis, and this problem has been discussed by Valdimar Hafstein and others. ²⁰ Needless to say, this is a sensitive issue where offence can easily be caused to source musicians or to their communities, with issues of remuneration and intellectual property rights being prominent.

Conclusion

The ethos of the Scottish Tradition Series since its inception has been to bring the material held in the Archives to a wider audience, including teachers, schoolchildren and musicians. It has helped to raise awareness of geographical difference with regard to Scottish traditional music and song. It has also helped to give recognition to the non-commercial artist, to the community or home musician. Recently, however, the Archives have moved into a new era in which much of the material is available online through the Tobar an Dualchais website. Anyone with internet access, anywhere in the world, can listen to it free of charge. Against this background the question might legitimately be raised: What function

¹⁹ Booklet, p. 18.

²⁰ See Hafstein, 2004.

^{2.1} www.tobarandualchais.co.uk

does the Scottish Tradition Series now serve? I would argue that there are three main reasons why its relevance persists, namely synthesis, context, and aesthetic experience. The CDs are compiled by editors with a deep knowledge of the oral traditions they are discussing and who devote much time to selecting significant material and to commenting on it. When the material is synthesised to make up a particular CD, we begin to see the traits of a particular tradition or perhaps of a particular repertoire. The booklets help us to understand the overall context of the performances and these typically include illustrations, linguistic aids, biographies of performers, comparative examples of songs or tunes, and a bibliography. The audio material on the web exists in a relatively unedited form, but with the CD recordings, the aesthetic experience is important, and some tracks have been subjected to considerable editorial improvement in order to enhance the experience for listeners.

It seems fitting to conclude with the concept of 'cultural equity' espoused by the American scholar Alan Lomax who made a vast collection of field recordings from many cultures of the world.²² Some of Lomax's recordings feature on the Scottish Tradition Series, e.g. "Chokit on a Tattie". In an article entitled "Appeal for Cultural Equity" published in 1977 he proposed:

All cultures need their share of the airtime electronic communication can afford. When country folk or tribal peoples hear or view their own traditions in the big media, projected with the authority generally reserved for the output of large urban centers, and when they hear their traditions taught to their own children, something magical occurs. They see that their expressive style is as good as that of others, and, if they have equal communicational facilities, they will continue it.²³

²² See Szwed, 2010 and the Association for Cultural Equity, http://culturalequity.org/ Certain of the Rounder Records releases focus on Lomax's work in Scotland, e.g. Jeannie Robertson: The Queen Among the Heather; Singing in the Streets: Scottish Children's Songs; and Folk Songs of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales: 1951 Edinburgh People's Festival Ceilidh.

²³ Cohen, 2003, 289.

Many of the points he raises still hold true today. The recordings have a double impact. They both bring back the fruits of fieldwork to the source communities and give audiences outside those communities a heightened awareness of diverse cultural traditions.

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