Modern Scottish Bands (1970-1990): Cash as Authenticity

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Using musical evidence and interview material, I argue that the commercialization of Scottish traditional music has shifted the emphasis from revivalist notions of authenticity in performance, to a more hybrid and commercial music. I argue that the financial needs of key performers have been underacknowledged, and a significant factor in the commercialization of Scottish traditional music. This has led to various changes in Scottish music including the change from ideologically motivated performers, playing largely horizontal and authentic tunes and songs, to a more hybridized music adopting new harmonies, rhythms and instruments. This is evidenced by the albums of the time, by the change in instrumentation, the new prevalence of composition over arrangement and the testament of professional traditional musicians. I suggest that this has led to a shift in the control of aesthetic boundaries, from the revivalist performers to the audience, who now accept, and pay for, a more diverse conception of Scottish traditional music.

> European revivals have set the stage for "a concerted performance of common culture of an old Europe restaged as new. Music became the language of European counterhistory at the end of our century" (Bohlman, 2002, p.23).

Emerging from the folk revival at the end of the 1960s, there was an awakening by young traditional musicians in Britain and Ireland to the possibility that they could make a living from their music. There were already a number of highly successful young groups of singers, and developing from their success, the instrumental revival of the late 1970s and 1980s began. This period marks the beginning of increasing globalization for Scottish traditional music, where technology, cheaper travel and digital communication began deterritorializing Scottish traditional music and forming the European and global networks that increasingly shape what traditional music is and who makes it. In the 1970s, older racially-bound, nationalist mythologies based on 19th century romantic notions of tartanry and a shared rural past began to give way to the professionalization of traditional music, set within a context of fast-paced, multi-layered, social, political and cultural change taking place in Scotland. Since the early 1990s, ethnomusicology, 'new musicology' and geography have begun to question how music is used to construct identity, ethnicity and place (e.g. Stokes, 1994), their historical mythologies (e.g.Taruskin 1997; Chapman 1992) and how music is socially meaningful as subtle performance rather than static object. In this paper I argue, using the musical evidence and interview material, that many of the musical innovations in the 1970s and 1980s were in part driven by financial motives and a need to present the music as Celtic- or Scottish-other within a more globalizing and European context. These motivations were balanced with the

aesthetic ideals of the individual performer, at a time when the aesthetics of authenticity were being transformed into a more complex network of motivations, that for the emergent professional traditional musicians, was driven in part by the needs of a touring band to play gigs and be 'on-the-road'. The principal success of the 1950s and '60s Scottish folk revival was the popularization of folk music rooted in a renewed sense of nationalism. However, this laid the foundations for the instrumental revival of the 1970s and 1980s by also educating audiences and establishing many more venues for performance throughout Britain. This made it financially viable for young traditional musicians to earn a living from their music. These changes are evidenced by the albums of the time, by the change in instrumentation, the increasing prevalence of composition over arrangement and the testament of professional traditional musicians, in particular, Archie Fisher and Brian McNeill.[1]

The 1970s was the decade in which commercialization begun to take root in Scottish traditional music and when professional touring bands became a reality. This commercialization can be evidenced in terms of the shift from acoustic to electric instrumentation, but also in terms of repertoire, harmony and rhythmic emphasis. We see through the albums of the 1970s to 1990s a gradual musical change whereby the older acoustic music hybridizes elements of popular music to produce innovations that made the touring band more financially viable. One could say that this merely represents the development of individual musicians who increasingly listened to diverse musical styles in a globalized world, but this does not represent the voices of musicians themselves who often deliberately balance the financial demands of a professional musical career alongside aesthetic ideals. It is important to note that this study does not wholly reject the motivation of musical authenticity in traditional music in favour of financial gain, but seeks to emphasise that income is a strong, and under-acknowledged force within a complicated nexus of issues which drives traditional musicians. Although music-as-economics has been a central area of enquiry in popular music, and more obliquely, in readings of world music (see Laing, 2003; Booth, and Kuhn, 1990; Taylor, 2007), the economics of indigenous European traditional musics have largely been ignored in favour of socio-political and folkloric influences. This is perhaps one result of the more ideologically-minded performers and researchers that this genre of music attracts and the historical privileging of folklore as the disciplinary 'home' for the study of European traditional musics within the academy.

The 1970s and 1980s are an interesting period for research into traditional music as they were the decades that established a commercial traditional music in Scotland and elsewhere; at the same time, the commodifying forces of globalization gave rise to a new commercial genre of 'world music' (specifically in the year 1987, see Stokes, 2004, p.52; Frith, 2000, p.305) and increasing access to diverse musical sounds started to change the way in which audiences heard, and performers represented, traditional music. Within this paper I first explore how the financial pressures affected the economic practicalities of touring musicians and thereafter, how they affected the musical development of the time.

Key factors in the creation of a modern Scottish commercial tradition are:

- The success of the earlier folksong revival that educated audiences through traditional song.
- The changing social climate of 1970s Britain that gave a greater voice to young people.
- The growth of folk clubs and other venues for performance in the 1950s and 60s.
- A renewed sense of nationalism within Scotland that began post-second world war and was prevalent in the Scotland of the 1970s.
- Improved technologies in PA systems which made it possible to alter instrumentation and make touring as a self-contained band possible.

Flat-floor bands and mass media audience

The 1970s saw two distinct economic strata develop for Scottish traditional musicians. The first and more common performance context for bands was the small venue gig, such as a folk club or a pub and many of the most popular traditional music groups played these venues. These have been characterized by Archie Fisher[2] as 'flat-floor venues' (fieldwork interview, 22/03/2007). These were crucial to providing a basic living to touring bands and represent the small-earning touring band, which I will term the 'flat-floor band'. Examples of these venues are the numerous folk clubs of Britain such as Stirling Folk Club or known venues abroad such as the very popular 'Passim's in Harvard square' – a favourite of touring bands in the States. Another economic level was more commercial where performers played on the television and radio on a regular basis, reaching a much larger audience, and performed live in large, music-hall venues. Archie Fisher characterizes this development in the performing community as one that moved from the altruistic and non-commercial 1960s folk revival movement, to the two-tiered strata for professional traditional musicians in the 1970s. Archie certainly fell into the latter category of professionals and cites Robin Hall and Jimmy MacGregor as crucial in providing 'a fork in the road' for folk music commercialization; whilst working in London they led the television programming of folk music (Archie Fisher, fieldwork interview, 22/03/2007). This television work and the resulting mass-audience reach helped create the two-tiered performing community of 'flat-floor' venue and medium-to-large venue performers, with a massive earning gulf between the two. Typically, flat-floor venues in Britain in the 1970s were paying between £7 to £15 per night, which for Archie was too small an income with his financial commitments at the time.[3] He began to alter his music performance and found higher paid work in the medium-to-large scale venues with Tommy Makem and Liam Clancy. This represented a significant step up in income; for example, on their 1976/77 tour Archie was earning £140 a night in addition to his accommodation, food and travel. This, however, represented a change in musical styles: playing as a backing musician in the Makem-Clancy band was closer to the popular music instrumental line-up than the more acoustic folk club duo with Alan Barty (fiddle) when they performed in flat-floor venues.

One of the leading flat-floor bands in traditional Scottish music of the 1970s and 1980s was the Battlefield Band, formed in 1969 in Glasgow and focussed around Brian McNeill (voice, strings) and Alan Reid (keyboards). They went full-time as a band in 1974 and began to tour throughout Europe, regularly earning between £7 and £10 per gig as flat-floor performers. This meant that they were forced into a constant touring schedule that demanded that they stay on the road performing to sustain even a meagre income. Through the albums of this group and their peers such as The Tannahill Weavers, The Boys of the Lough and Silly Wizard, we see changes that allowed them to play to a wider audience and to stay on the road. Firstly, these bands made use of the newly-developed small PA system, which was both affordable and easy to maintain on the road (Brian McNeill, fieldwork interview, 20/03/2007). This also allowed them to perform live with instrumental combinations that had previously not been acoustically possible, for instance Highland pipes playing with fiddle.

Secondly, the need to earn cash from constant touring began to affect the Battlefield Band in terms of its members. Changing membership of the band was in part driven by financial motives; the small earnings meant that they had to be touring, and consequently this meant that they needed musicians who were prepared to live this often difficult lifestyle. In the early 1980s, the band needed to replace a member and they invited the guitarist and Northumbrian piper Ged Foley into the band. The use of Northumbrian pipes was a major departure for them but in this instance the financial need to stay on the road overtook the musical aesthetics of the group. This highlights the lack of choice that characterizes many of the decisions made by flat-floor venue bands struggling to make a living. This lack of choice was not confined to the flat-floor bands, as we can see from the decisions made by Archie Fisher to join the Makem/Clancy band as a backing musician. It was only later, in the 1980s and beyond, that the income from gigging and royalties rose high enough to allow full-time musicians to have more aesthetic control over instrumentation and repertoire. However, as we can hear from the later albums (see below), by that time, traditional music had become increasingly hybridized in order to reach a larger audience.

Hybridization and the European market

This hybridization of traditional music from imported popular music styles and economic models for touring began in the 1970s and was properly established from the early 1980s onwards. Scotland remained at the periphery of a globalizing culture in Europe, and professional performers of Scottish music marketed themselves as 'Scottish', particularly within the European touring circuit, in order to enhance their professional incomes. In this era of increasing globalization after the folk song revival, the new commercial band of traditional music was in one sense a response to the market forces that have pervaded every aspect of modern society and that have led to increasing commercialization of music-as-product.[4] However, the market has "liberated culture from geographical enclaves, providing the individual with access to representations of physically remote cultural identities" (Fischmann, 1999, p.53). And, as well as this deterritorialization of cultural identity, we see musicians

taking advantage of the complexities of globalization by deliberately marketing themselves as an 'othered' musical product. In much the same way as today's market forces have enabled African musicians to work in Europe and North America, the same can happen on an intra-continental level, with Scottish musicians being more highly valued in West-central Europe than at home. Flat-floor bands like the Battlefield Band and soloists of traditional Scottish music had to export themselves to foreign markets that were more lucrative. As an ethnographic musical other, this allowed them to charge higher fees and to brand themselves as a regionalized music (at the periphery of the New Europe), something that was particularly popular in Germany, Holland and later, America. These globalized market forces were affecting musics of many European regions and it is no surprise that they affected the music of Scottish touring bands. Bands like the Battlefield Band could market themselves as a 'Scottish' band in Germany in much the same way that Ingrid Monson has noted the effect of new musical elements in the legendary African musician Baaba Maal's music, as his touring became increasingly international (Monson, 1999, p.55).

Germany, Italy and Spain became established as the key countries for touring Scottish bands and the emergence of these foreign circuits laid the foundation for the popularization of 'Celtic' music as a popular commercial genre. That Scottish traditional music and musicians have been popular in Germany since the 1970s separates Scottish music in Germany from the more recent trend for westernized world music which is often criticised as "an attempt by the West to remould its image by localizing and diversifying itself through an association with otherness" (Erlmann, 1996, p.470). Many Germans are deeply interested in and knowledgeable about Scottish music, a phenomenon which has its roots stretching back to the beginnings of European 'national music' manifested in exported Scottish culture. Conceptions of Scottish music as natural and primitive were important on the continent and particularly prevalent from the 1760s after the publication of Ossian's poetry (Gelbart, 2007, p.66, p.73). This conscious othering of musical product for the foreign market continues to this day and can be financially motivated; as Brian McNeill describes in the deliberate introduction of the Scottish bagpipes to the Battlefield band:

> In 1979… we realised that if we were going to do it properly we needed a piper and we went away and reformed the band and got MacGillvray [Duncan MacGillvray] in, and from that point on if you like, the financial path was no less important but it was a different path, it was a question of the overheads you had to pay to stay on the road. But up until that point, 1977/78, by then we were on a very small wage internally in the band you know, £15 or £20 a week, and the economics of that were driving us. The gigs in Germany would be better paid than the gigs in England so we took every German gig we could get. The money was better there, but also we got a much more sympathetic listening in Germany, simply in terms of the eclectic places we would play.
>
> [Having a piper]…gave us more of a platform for agents to book us in places like Germany and Belgium and Holland, because the booking platform wasn't, 'here's another band for a good night out', it was, 'here's a band that's got something unique

> and Scottish'. And so, to a certain extent you were expected to conform to that but by and large, that's where our tastes lay anyway and that's what we wanted to do (Brian McNeill, fieldwork interview, 20/03/2007).

Musical Characteristics of the post-1970 commercial bands

From around 1970 we see a growth in the number of professional groups performing traditional Scottish music. Flat-floor bands in the early 1970s such as Kentigern, The Clutha, Ossian, The Battlefield Band, The Tannahill Weavers and Silly Wizard tended towards more acoustic arrangements that emphasised the on-beat. Later, more commercial bands such as Runrig, Capercaillie, Ceolbeg and others, drove the development towards electric instruments, syncopation, wider layering of the band sound and original composition. This musical development can be traced through albums from 1970 to 1990 (see references) and it mirrors a shift from ideologically-motivated to more commercially-motivated performers.

The earliest bands used the earlier folk music revivalists' aesthetics for performance and this is very evident in the recordings of the time. The first, and most noticeable musical development of the 1970s was the stricter adherence to a fixed pulse. This was brought about by the advent of accompaniment, predominately guitar from the 1960s and early 1970s; however, there was great sensitivity to the needs of singers in the more acoustic groups like The Clutha or Ossian. Secondly, in the 1970s, the earliest groups took their repertoire from the bagpipe, fiddle and Scots or Gaelic song repertoire. This was a conscious decision, sometimes commercially based, that allowed these bands to position themselves as a 'traditional' musical product, whilst adding to the instrumental revival with re-discovered authentic Scots and Gaelic tunes. Often these tunes and songs were actively re-discovered and re-interpreted from 19th- and 18th-century sources, and the bookish nature of Scots revivalists is a distinguishing characteristic in the ongoing reinvention of Scottish traditional music. In the early 1970s there was a marked emphasis on the pulse and only later did groups start experimenting with syncopation as musical hybridization took hold. There was deliberate use of Scots language which was a product of the nationalist revival ideology. In terms of accompaniment there was a move towards continental stringed instruments with a short decay such as the bouzouki, mandola and cittern. This allowed a more rhythmically punchy sound, which suited the fast traditional tunes for accompanying flute, fiddle and pipes. A key innovation in traditional music was the introduction of the bouzouki in 1960s in Ireland and later in Scotland. This was the result of package holidays to Greece and Spain by the members of the Irish group Planxty, and as their popularity spread, many more accompanists adopted these instruments. Their suitability was enhanced through the use of open tunings, which attracted some Scottish groups because of the droning effect that can be heard. Droning is a key feature in the arrangements of professional groups in the 1970s often on the concertina, fiddle or viola and this was eventually replaced with the multi-layered harmonies of the 1980s. This reflects the development from the horizontal, melodic tradition of the folksong revival to the more vertical, harmonic sound adopted from popular music. The two most obvious developments in the instrumentation of

traditional music over the last thirty years have been the widespread introduction of various bagpipes (in a group setting) and the double bass (or electric bass). Many 1970s recordings sound light to the modern ear because there is no bass.

One of the early bands to achieve success on a regional level (after Slobin, 1992) was the group Ossian. This was an acoustic band that formed in 1976 with Billy Jackson, John Martin, George Jackson, Billy Ross and, at a later stage, Ian MacDonald and others. Unusually, they used the Clarsach of Billy Jackson on their recordings and they featured very on-the-beat emphasis in their accompaniment and tune playing. For a good example of this listen to 'The Corncrake' on Ossian (1977). This band exemplifies the acoustic approach of the flat-floor bands of the time and the selection of repertoire drawn from the traditional wellsprings of Gaelic/Scots song and older, instrumental tunes.

A similar band of this era is The Clutha. This group, comprising Gordeanna McCulloch, Ronnie Alexander, Jimmy Anderson, Callum Allan and Erlend Voy, were highly successful, using Scottish material often derived from the archives of the Mitchell Library in Glasgow, where four of the members worked. They took considerable inspiration from the Scottish 'source singers' such as Davie Stewart, Jeannie Robertson, Lucy Stewart and Jimmy McBeath of the folk song revival. The piper Jimmy Anderson was the first to employ 'chamber pipes' or bellows-blown pipes with other instruments and this was a feature of the band, who state that they were:

> 'endeavouring to develop a Scottish style of pipe and fiddle music, totally different from the remarkable Irish idiom so much in vogue at the present time' (The Clutha, 1977, sleevenotes).

In their recording of *The Bonnie Mill Dams* (The Clutha, 1977), the arrangements are sparse, however some key ideas that characterize the early performances are noticeable: for instance, in the retreat marches played on *The Bonnie Mill Dams* (1977) they make use of parallel harmonies with the fiddle playing a third away from the pipes. This is a typical feature of many early bands in both Scotland and Ireland. The guitar accompaniment is fingerstyle and very much on-the-beat with little variance, typical of the time, while later bands employed more experimentation with syncopation in accompaniment as part of their increasing hybridization of musical styles. Much of The Clutha's material came from literary sources and is combined with stylistic traits garnered from source singers in the revival. Their strong will to uncompromising authenticity, acoustic sound, and sensitively accompanied simple melodies were typical of the 1970s. These features were gradually to be replaced in the 1980s and beyond by more commercial bands who sought increasingly large audiences and more hybrid identities.

A key band in recent Scottish music is Capercaillie, originally formed in 1984 at Oban High School; they have built a very successful recording, touring and promotion business. They went full-time in 1984 and their first album *Cascade* was released on their own label, Etive

Records. They were one of the first Scottish bands to experiment significantly with recording technologies and fuse modern sounds, particularly multi-layered harmony and percussion with melodies primarily from the Gaelic tradition. Again, as a marker of success, this band have drawn on their own compositional talents for the majority of their albums, allowing not only fresh sounds, but also adding to their royalty fees from MCPS and PRS. A typical example of this innovative sound can be heard on their groundbreaking *Delirium* album ("Here come the clearances" by Donald Shaw on Capercaillie, 1991). The band acknowledge this innovative sound as part of their own identity in publicity:

> 'Capercaillie have been credited with being the major force in bringing Celtic music to the world stage, and their unique fusion of Gaelic culture and contemporary sound has always stretched boundaries in their quest to keep the music evolving.' (From http://www.capercaillie.co.uk/theband/history/ accessed April 2007)

Capercaillie have drawn on popular music influences with the use of lush keyboard harmonies and lively percussion, both of which were key to the creation of their characteristic sound and wide appeal. By appropriating a multi-layered sound and percussion this band managed to cross genres and draw in a wide fanbase. This contributed to their financial success, with the album *Delirium* selling over 100,000 albums in the UK and recently being certified Gold.[5] On this album and others from the 1980s we can hear the increasing use of syncopation against the melody from the percussion and harmony instruments. This became increasingly widespread throughout the 1980s and 1990s, eventually developing into an exploration of harmonic structures from jazz, particularly in the last decade. As traditional music has always adopted new influences from other genres, this led to a change in the composition of traditional tunes, which can be seen in the many new compositions since the 1990s that feature greater use of syncopation and chromaticism.[6]

The band Runrig formed in April 1973 and remain one of the most successful groups in traditional music. Focussed around the brothers Rory and Calum MacDonald with Blair Douglas and Robert MacDonald, a year later they were joined by their lead singer and front man, Donnie Munro. Originally a dance band, they soon transformed into a concert band, taking part in many festivals and concerts. Significantly, this is one of the only bands in Scotland that were writing contemporary songs in Gaelic. The song-writing was always a primary focus of this band and they recorded many traditional Gaelic songs in a modern idiom. They adopted the popular model of guitar, bass and drums whilst occasionally incorporating traditional instruments such as pipes and accordion. Their first major success in national chart terms was 'Once in a Lifetime', from the live album *The Cutter and the Clan* (1987). The album *Searchlight* (1989) opened the band up to a much wider audience and reached number 11 in the UK album chart, selling 60,000 copies in its first week. Here is a clear demonstration of what was to become a trend in modern commercial bands: firstly, the importance of original composition in determining a successful band, and secondly, the economic needs of the band influencing musical aesthetics. In Runrig's case, they were asked by their record company to include more English-language songs on their albums in order to boost sales,

and having done this, they were criticised by their Gaelteachd fanbase who resented this shift from all-Gaelic albums (such as the Runrig *Play Gaelic* (1978)) to linguistically-mixed songs (see Hedgeland, 1990).

By the 1980s there was a faster adoption of new musical ideas and it is noticeable throughout the recent history of traditional music in Scotland that the most successful bands have been those that have appropriated many of the popular music signifiers, and thus increasingly, as Slobin (1992) has pointed out, this blurs the lines between popular and traditional music. We also see a rejection of the earlier term 'folk music' and its associations with socialist-nationalist identity of the 1950s and 60s revival, and its replacement with the more neutral term 'traditional music' amongst the performing community.[7] The groups discussed here began placing the emphasis on their musical product and the widespread use of the terms 'traditional musicians' and 'traditional music' replaced 'folk music/ians'. This shift in terminology, combined with the greater adoption of the musical ideas from other genres, reflects the move towards representations of Scottish traditional music as an aesthetic construction rather than one that is geographically bounded. The issue is further complicated by the notion of 'Celtic music' (see Porter, 1998; Wilkinson, 2003) which is a term derided by traditional musicians both in Scotland and in Ireland as noted by Reiss (2003) in his distinction between 'Celtic music' as a commercial category, and 'traditional music' as participatory music. Thus, if one considers The Battlefield Band, Runrig or Capercaillie as performing traditional music, we need to extend our understanding of traditional music beyond participatory music, or 'community as music' (McCann, 2001, p.97), and understand that the 'traditional' in *traditional music* does not simply refer to notions of authentic repertoire, nationalism, shared participation in pub sessions, or the amateur, but now incorporates global markets, royalties, press packs, othered musical products and complex issues of intellectual property and copyright. This commodification and deterritorialization blurs once clear boundaries with popular and art music and throws greater responsibility for the aesthetic boundaries of traditional music onto the listener. It is now those who listen to, 'musick', or hear, traditional music, who can shape the boundaries of this music and determine how it is used, opening up many more pluralist conceptions of tradition, effectively undermining essentialist readings of authenticity and demanding cross-genre understandings of music from critics and musicologists.

Conclusion

The interdependence of musical repertoire with national identity that initially characterized the folk song revival has been reformulated by globalization and the economic pressures on professional musicians. I do not argue, however, that cash has complete dominance over aesthetics for today's musicians, but merely point out that financial motivations have had a significant effect upon Scottish traditional music since the 1970s, alongside other factors such as cheaper travel, technological developments and socio-cultural change. This has led to rapid change in the musical characteristics, culminating in the thriving commercial and professional Scottish traditional music scene of today. We have seen how regional musics have greater

economic value in locales where they can be represented as the other—Scots as regional other in central Europe; Baaba Maal as intercontinental other in Paris—and how the economic value that this brings affects the instrumentation and repertoire of the represented regional music. There has been a definite move towards aesthetic ideals of popular music, leading to the widespread adoption of syncopation, layered harmony, the double bass, original composition, greater use of jazz harmonies and English-language songs. Traditional music has gone global, thanks to the market and technological developments such as the small PA system, touring, the internet and digital communication, and this is reflected in the scholarly change towards greater emphasis on cultural identity within anthropology and ethnomusicology, as cultural identity moves from being geographically-bound to more ephemeral constructions (see for example, Cooley, 2005, p.165; Kearney, 1995, pp.556-7). However, these forces that were beginning in the 1970s have disengaged Scottish traditional music from its dependence upon a socialist-nationalist ideology and shifted these sounds into new contexts that are more directly dependant upon communities of musicians that are financially *and* aesthetically driven.

Endnotes

1 Semi-structured fieldwork interviews for this research were recorded using a minidisc recorder with Archie Fisher on the 22/03/2007 at the BBC canteen, Queen Margaret Drive, Glasgow, and also with Brian McNeill on the 20/03/2007 at the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama. These semi-structured interviews were based upon more informal conversational explorations of the issues raised in this article with various musicians and audience members of the 1970s and '80s during late 2006 and 2007. Furthermore, the author's participation as a professional Scottish traditional musician provided the motivation, and fieldwork basis, for this paper.

2 Archie Fisher is an internationally respected singer with a successful career in Scottish traditional music of over forty years.

3 Interestingly, Archie Fisher specifically recalls being paid £7.10 to perform in 1976 at the Stirling folk club and, performing there again in 2006, the *door fee* was £7.50, whilst his performance fee was a lot higher.

4 As is discussed elsewhere (Benjamin, 1973; Manuel, 1991; Taylor, 2007) we see how digitalization and technology are leading to a greater democratization of musical communities. This is having massive ramifications for the production, transmission and consumption of traditional musics.

5 See http://www.capercaillie.co.uk/discography/releases/delirium/ accessed April 2007.

6 For example, tunes like *Simon Thoumire's Jig, The Road to Errogie* (Adam Sutherland) etc.

7 For further ethnographic evidence of this gradual shift of label from 'folk music/ian' to 'traditional music/ian' see Watson 2005.

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Discography

The Battlefield Band

1977 *Battlefield Band*, Temple Records, COMD2055.
1980 *Home is where the Van is*, Temple Records, COMD2006.
1982 *There's a Buzz*, Temple Records, COMD2007.
1986 *On the Rise,* Temple Records, COMD2009.

Capercaillie

1984 *Cascade*, Etive Records, ERLP333.
1987 *Crosswinds,* Green Linnet, SIF1077.
1988 *The Blood is Strong,* Grampian Television Music, GPN1001.
1989 *Sidewalk*, Green Linnet SIF1094.
1991 *Delirium*, Survival, ZD75113.
1992 *Get Out*, Survival, LC3484.
1993 *Secret People*, Survival, SURCD017.
1995 *To the Moon,* Survival, SURCD019.
2000 *Nàdurra*, Survival, SURCD025.

Ceolbeg

1984 *Ceolbeg*, Last Track Records, (LP), [Dundee?].

The Clutha

1977 *The Bonnie Mill Dams*, Topic Records, (Topic LP 12TS330).

Phil Cunningham

1984 *Airs & Graces*, REL Records Ltd., (LP).

Ossian

1977 *Ossian*, Springthyme (LP).
1984 *Borders*, Iona (LP).

Runrig

1978 *Play Gaelic*, Neptune (LP).

1985 *Heartland,* Ridge Records (LP).
1987 *The Cutter and the Clan*, Ridge Records (LP).
1989 *Searchlight*, Chrysalis (LP).

Silly Wizard

1979, *So many partings*, Highway Records (LP).
1985, *Live in America*, REL Records (LP).