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‘Frae my ain countrie’: Robert Burns in the Archive of Jean Redpath

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In March 1961, twenty-four-year-old Jean Redpath (1937–2014) moved from her native Scotland to the USA. Although she started in San Francisco, she would quickly find herself in Greenwich Village, New York and at the heart of the folk music revival that would sweep America. To this, she would bring her own repertoire of Scottish folk songs, sung in her clear and expressive mezzo-soprano with little or no instrumental accompaniment. Increasingly integral to this body of work were the songs of Robert Burns.

Redpath would spend the rest of her life living and working between the USA and Scotland, continuing to add to the range of Scottish traditional song she recorded and performed, including that of Burns, through her own research and teaching on both sides of the Atlantic. Following her death in 2014, her extensive archives were given to the Centre for Robert Burns Studies at the University of Glasgow and the Irvin Department of Rare Books and Special Collections at the University of South Carolina.

Drawing on the content of those archives, this chapter will explore Jean Redpath’s place within the folk music tradition and her relationship with the bard – the breadth and depth of her work – to better understand the nuance of his songs, the various contexts within which she recorded those songs, including a project conceived with Serge Hovey to record Burns’s entire catalogue, and the impact of her career on the placement of Burns as a central figure in both national and international folk song traditions.

Jean Redpath and the Folk Tradition

Jean Redpath was a Fife girl, born in Edinburgh on 28 April 1937 but brought up in the town of Leven, the second child and only daughter of James (Jim) and Isabella (Bluebell) Redpath. From the earliest age, music was a presence in her



life, with many musicians in her family, particularly within her own home. Her father played the hammer dulcimer and sang. Redpath felt she inherited from him her own voice, her sense of rhythm and her initial shyness as a performer.¹ This is not, however, to detract from the influence of her mother. While not as strong a voice as her husband, Bluebell ‘could hold a tune perfectly well and had an amazing repertoire of everything from kids’ songs to old Scottish songs, classic ballads and bothy ballads, Victoriana and piano-stool music to whatever came off the radio in those days [. . .] if she heard anything, it stayed with her’.² From her mother, Redpath took this power of memory, giving her the capacity for the equally expansive body of songs she would draw on throughout her own career. Despite encouragement from various quarters that ‘[y]e should dae something wi’ that lassie’s voice’, Redpath’s formal vocal teaching consisted of a single lesson at the age of sixteen, when she was deterred by the teacher presenting her with sheet music for one of those Scottish songs typically sung in a stiff and artificial manner which sounded nothing like the spoken Scots she was used to, the way in which she thought such songs should be sung.³ Consequently, Redpath never learned to read music, instead learning new material by ear, arguing that if ‘I hear a song that I admire, it’s the most natural thing in the world for me to listen, study, memorise and begin performing it [. . .] That’s simply the way it has been done with Scottish folk music for hundreds of years.’⁴

At nineteen, Redpath took up a place at the University of Edinburgh studying English language, although she would later switch to medieval studies. In her second year, she attended a talk by Hamish Henderson from the university’s School of Scottish Studies on the Scottish oral tradition and song culture. This proved a pivotal moment in Redpath’s life, introducing her to the idea of traditional song’s being a legitimate field of study, to Hamish Henderson as someone who would repeatedly open new connections for her, and to the university’s folk song society. With friends from the society, she would form her first group – The Night Hawks – initially singing at ceilidhs in friends’ houses, then in local bars for payment in beer.⁵ Redpath became increasingly disillusioned with university life; the timely arrival of an invitation from an American friend to sing at her wedding in California changed the direction of her life.

After moving to the United States, Redpath initially lived with her friend’s parents and made a living through a series of hourly-paid jobs, as well the occasional singing gig. Her professional break appears to have come when she was invited by an agent to perform in Philadelphia, Hamish Henderson having made the agent aware of her. The Philadelphia gigs would never happen, the agent having disappeared without paying previous performers or making any actual bookings for Redpath. At a loss for what to do next, she accepted a lift to New York City where she was introduced to Miki Isaacson who owned an

apartment inhabited by a constantly shifting body of folk singers in need of a place to stay while they sought their own big breaks. Redpath became one of the residents of Isaacson's apartment, regularly participating in impromptu jam sessions with her flatmates, including Bob Dylan and Rambling Jack Elliot, and musicians such as the Greenbriar Boys who used it as rehearsal space.⁶ Within six weeks of arriving in the city, Redpath would perform at Gerde's Folk City in Greenwich Village, marking her first paid performance in New York and beginning her establishment as a key figure in the 1960s folk revival.⁷ Robert Shelton of *The New York Times*, in his hugely positive review of the performance, would particularly comment on the breadth of Redpath's repertoire of 'some 250 songs, enough to keep a ceilidh going for hours', before listing a range of song type reminiscent of Redpath's own description of her mother's repertoire – classic and bothy ballads, mouth music, drinking and love songs, children's songs and 'songs of Robbie Burns'.⁸

Shelton's description of Redpath's body of material illustrates her attitude towards traditional song and to Burns's place within it. By the mid-1970s, she had recorded seven albums. Burns is certainly present within those albums but he does not dominate, instead taking his place as a part of the landscape of traditional Scottish song.⁹ There are other songs, often the lyricist unknown, which were equally deserving of a place within her performance sets. In interview and during performances, she would emphasise her unwillingness to take requests from the audience, arguing it would narrow rather than broaden her repertoire, that she'd 'be singing "Danny Boy" and selections from "Brigadoon" [when] we have other songs to offer', songs offering a more positive representation of Scotland and its people.¹⁰

For Redpath, the folk tradition was still very much a living entity, one in which she was 'simply one more singer in a long line of female singers who have kept the traditional ballads alive'.¹¹ She was transmitting the songs, the messages, the emotions and the voices of the past to her modern audience. While her early performances saw her draw on the phrasings and arrangements of others, maturity and experience taught her to put her own mark on the songs, to add her own life story to her delivery. This was, however, always with an awareness of the weight of history behind her, the knowledge that those historic voices 'lived on, buried somewhere, in their songs', that music 'provides continuity, some kind of anchor line; contact with, not necessarily a way of life, but with the culture and values of another time'.¹² Thus, for Redpath, she had a responsibility to ensure that what was transmitted was not narrowed by public popularity to that handful of best-known or most-loved songs but that, as far as possible, the whole was preserved and transmitted. Consequently, her performances would often include requests to the audience for any additional verses or variants of songs about which she might not be aware. Songs

would be introduced with some background about where she had learned the song herself or the song's origins or variations in melody found in different areas of Scotland and their relation to American country and folk music.¹³ To facilitate this aspect of her performances, as well as writing liner notes for her albums, Redpath would undertake her own research, fascinated by the whole of Scottish song culture and preserving the stories it told. The breadth of her repertoire necessitated an equally broad-ranging research, something mirrored by the wide variety found in the archive of books, recordings and personal research materials spread across her US and Scottish homes.

The Jean Redpath Archives

During the course of her life, Redpath was the recipient of several awards and honours including honorary degrees from the universities of Stirling and St Andrews and an MBE in the 1995 Queen's Birthday Honours list. In 2009, when Scotland celebrated both its Year of Homecoming and the 250th anniversary of the birth of Robert Burns, Redpath was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Music by the University of Glasgow, in recognition of her services to Scottish music and particularly the songs and music of Robert Burns. Alongside her, receiving his own honorary degree of Doctor of Letters was G. Ross Roy, Professor of English and Comparative Literature at the University of South Carolina, in recognition of his contributions to Robert Burns scholarship. Strong research connections already existed between the University of Glasgow, home of the Centre for Robert Burns Studies (CRBS), and the University of South Carolina (USC), home of one of the largest collections of Burns-related materials outside Scotland, much of it amassed by G. Ross Roy. In 2014, these connections were further cemented on Redpath's death on 21 August. In her will, Redpath bequeathed much of the material relating to her professional life from her Scottish and US homes to CRBS and USC respectively. The cataloguing of these materials at both sites shows the contents of the two collections to be quite different from each other, yet entirely complementary and reflective of Redpath, her career and her life within the folk music tradition.

The USC archive predominantly consists of paper materials relating to Redpath's professional engagements – performance contracts, running orders of songs to be performed, reviews and media coverage of performances, handwritten accounts of trips. There are letters and notes from various individuals providing her with information about various songs – different settings, additional verses or variants, new material – talking to the success of those requests she made of her audiences to assist in further broadening her repertoire. There is also substantial material relating to the recording project with Serge Hovey, as well as to plans for a *Jean Redpath Songbook* which has never made it to fruition.¹⁴

In contrast, the Scottish archive bequeathed to CRBS is more reflective of Redpath's work around and beyond her performances, arguably more reflective of her as an individual, combining the personal and professional – her wide-ranging and somewhat eclectic interests, as well as her personal research around many aspects of song culture and significant individuals within it. While Redpath spent a notable period of the year in Scotland, the differing contents of this archive also likely reflects the simple fact that this type of material is more widely available in Scotland. The collection of books, pamphlets, vinyl, cassettes, CDs, videotapes and DVDs runs to more than 1,500 items. As might be expected, a large proportion of these relate to folk and ballad traditions through the centuries, particularly in Scotland but also in England, Ireland and North America. However, there are also substantial materials on protest song, children's lullabies and playground songs, choral and classical music. There are video and audio recordings of Redpath's own performances and media appearances, and dozens of cassettes containing only melody lines for songs – as previously mentioned, her inability to read music necessitated learning by ear and these cassettes are what Redpath would use to learn new material for performance or recording, often while in the car travelling from engagement to engagement. There are considerable papers relating to her research on Caroline Oliphant, Jacobite song, preparations for teaching at traditional song summer schools at the University of Stirling, and for various television programmes recorded for different broadcasters. Many of the books have evidently been bought second-hand from various bookshops local to her Fife home, volumes which speak to her interest in the broad historical and contemporary contexts of traditional song culture.¹⁵ Across the USC- and CRBS-held archives, it is evident that, for Redpath, traditional song was both a professional and personal passion.

Among all this, there is Robert Burns. Volumes of the different editions of his songs and poems, including a complete set of George Thomson's *Select Collection of Scottish Airs*, sit alongside various commercial recordings from the likes of Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger. Copies of her own Burns recordings show the final results of the hours spent listening to those cassettes of melody lines. Handwritten and photocopied pages show Redpath undertaking her own research around the background of the songs and the songwriter. Exploring Redpath's archives across both sites allows for a unique insight into her attitude towards Burns, his songs and their performance, and song culture more widely. Such exploration makes it possible to understand the scope of her own influence on positioning Burns as a key figure in Scottish traditional song culture. Therefore, to the Burns-related aspects of Redpath's collections, and especially her own performances of the bard, the focus of this chapter now turns.

Jean Redpath Performing Burns

As previously mentioned, among the items in the USC-held Redpath Archive are papers relating to a proposed *Jean Redpath Songbook*, a project which never made it to completion.¹⁶ The pages include a suggested list of 127 songs to be included, each having a checklist recording that the text of the lyrics, the relevant score, glosses, notes and anecdotes for each song had been identified. The list also identifies which of Redpath's recordings would act as the musical source for each track and the format it was available in. Of these 127 songs, sixteen of them are Burns. All but two of these Burns tracks were to be drawn from Redpath's recordings which emerged from her projects with Serge Hovey in the United States and Donald Low in Scotland.¹⁷

The relatively small proportion of Burns's songs which Redpath planned to include in this publication is an obvious indicator of where she saw Burns within her performance repertoire – he is certainly a presence but by no means a dominant component – a position which appears not to have changed over the thirty-odd years of her professional career as a performer. The songs of Burns are part of the landscape of Scottish song culture but he does not define it or encapsulate it completely.

Yet, in looking across the body of Redpath's commercial recordings, Burns is, by far, the most frequently featured songwriter.¹⁸ Seven albums with Hovey and four with Low produced a total of 178 tracks, and almost all of her solo artist recordings featured at least one song by Burns.¹⁹ This, coupled with Redpath's own commentary, makes clear that, although she does not see him as the entirety of Scottish song culture, she regarded him highly as a writer, collector and editor of songs, and for his ability to give voice to those traditionally silenced by history. By dint of the vast body of Burns recordings within her work, whether she wanted it or not, she became an unofficial ambassador for the bard and his work in preserving and continuing Scottish folk song tradition.

Redpath emphasised how '[Burns] could come up with poetry bordering on the heroic, then write something so immediate, so tender, so emotional, and frequently expressed from the woman's point of view – something you don't find many late-nineteenth [sic] century writers doing. You don't find many of them doing it yet,' something which 'frequently fascinated' her.²⁰

More importantly for Redpath, however, is Burns's status as 'one of the first dedicated, educated, discriminating collectors of traditional songs. With his own songs he was trying to preserve a whole national music. He didn't ever make up a tune, they were all traditional.' Burns's secret lay in his ability to recognise 'the strength of existing songs'; he 'had the perception and ear to collect, which of course, he is not given much credit for'.²¹ This lack of credit

received by Burns for his role as collector and preserver of song was an ongoing issue for Redpath, having regularly railed against the perception of Burns as nothing but a poet, typically commenting 'Robert Burns believed he would be remembered most of all for his songs [. . .] It infuriates me when Burns songs are presented as poetry. He wrote twice as many songs as poems.'²² Recognising Burns as a songwriter and collector is also to acknowledge the purpose of these activities, Redpath arguing that she did not consider that 'his primary aim was to produce a song that was immediately singable so much as to preserve what was already there, to keep traditional music intact'.²³

A fascination with keeping intact the music which Burns had collected had also driven more than twenty years of research by American composer and arranger Serge Hovey. During this time, Hovey undertook to identify and reunite with the lyrics the original tunes Burns had selected for those songs he had written or edited, predominantly for James Johnson or George Thomson. This resulted in *The Robert Burns Song Book*, lyrics and musical arrangements for 324 songs, with accompanying notes emerging from Hovey's extensive personal research.²⁴

Through Hovey's connection with Hamish Henderson, the same Edinburgh scholar-collector who had encouraged the young Redpath in her interests in traditional music, Hovey and Redpath would be introduced in 1972. With Hovey's scores for small musical ensembles and Redpath's vocal interpretations, the pair would record a total of seven albums of these new arrangements of Burns's songs.²⁵ Redpath's involvement with this project in developing her understanding of Burns's role in preserving Scottish song culture appears to have promoted her own desire to emphasise the importance in performing his music to preserve his own contributions.²⁶ She was, for example, 'appalled' to see a documentary which used both 'Auld Lang Syne' and 'A Red, Red Rose' but neither played to the melody that Burns indicated should be used, asserting that 'if somebody is going to make a documentary of the sort that is going to be seen by a wide audience then the facts ought to be checked'.²⁷ Consequently, having an artist of Redpath's calibre sing the songs of Burns to the tunes assigned by Burns, and a wider range of songs than was generally seen in performance, enhanced their standing within the traditional song community, leading to further and wider performance by other artists.²⁸

By her own acknowledgement, the making of the Hovey albums was not 'part of my recording career that I remember with any real pleasure or satisfaction'.²⁹ This arose from the recording of the tracks in layers, initially Redpath with piano accompaniment, with Hovey adding strings and wind sections in later sessions. Not being able to hear the whole arrangement at the time of recording her own vocal left Redpath with 'no opportunity to connect with and react to the other instruments', having to imagine where they would take

over from her in musical breaks, particularly in Hovey's 'tendency to wait for three bars before the delivery of the punch line in the song', something she felt went 'against every instinct'.³⁰ While this process did result in a completed album, there are songs on the Hovey albums she never sang again.

Following Hovey's death in 1989, and emerging from her work on traditional song summer schools at the University of Stirling in the 1980s, Redpath would collaborate with a very different partner for her next major Burns project. This time, Donald Low, Professor of English Studies at Stirling and respected Burns scholar, would provide the stimulus. In a work which parallels, but was independent of, the work of Hovey, Low had produced a scholarly edition of the words and music of Burns's songs, with extensive notes on each.³¹ To accompany this, Redpath recorded a series of four albums.³² Unlike the Hovey project, this was never intended to be a completist recording of all the songs, but simply a selection of what might be considered representative of the breadth of style and material that Burns contributed to the Scottish song tradition, focusing particularly on the songs included in James Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum*. Consequently, by her own admission '[m]y final choice of songs for the cassettes were purely personal and somewhat arbitrary in that I was guided by melody as much as anything else'.³³ This connection with the music, the link between the emotion and the melody, is central to Redpath's approach to Burns's songs (and her wider repertoire). In contrast to the Hovey albums, those recorded with Low and as a solo artist, as well as her live performances, are far simpler in both arrangement and in approaches to recording, 'knowing full well that I am going to sing the material either unaccompanied or with only guitar in performance'.³⁴ This comes in part from her belief that 'an unaccompanied song is the ideal outlet for very strong emotion [. . .] some of these settings that Burns came up with raises the goosebumps right up the back of my legs. Marvellous stuff'.³⁵ The Low albums, for example, were recorded in a small church in the Trossachs, because it had good acoustics, and in Low's own living room.³⁶ Recording her own albums was similarly relaxed; she tried out arrangements to see how they felt and rerecorded as necessary.³⁷ The Low project and her own recordings are, however, united in intention with the Hovey project to 'get the hell away from this poorly printed, high-color picture postcard version of the hard-drinking elbow-in-the-ribs womanizer Scot. Robert Burns was an incredibly talented, deep-thinking, well-rounded, hard-working, hard playing product of his time'.³⁸

The interplay – the similarities and differences – between these three key aspects of Redpath's work with Burns's songs – the Hovey arrangements, the Low recordings and her own interpretations – are perhaps best appreciated

in looking at the presentation of the same song across each of these contexts. This is not as immediately easy as it might seem. Redpath's extensive repertoire of songs coupled with her attempts not to repeatedly record the same material, and the broad remits of both the Hovey and Low recording projects, means that fewer than two dozen songs can be found in all three bodies of work.

One such song is 'A Red, Red Rose'. As well as being one of the few tracks that appears in both the Hovey and Low projects, and in Redpath's own commercial recordings, it is the only such track which also appeared on the list for inclusion in *The Jean Redpath Song Book*. The Hovey arrangement is relatively simple instrumentally, Redpath accompanied by piano and cello as she sings the melody known as 'Major Graham', the tune indicated by Burns.³⁹ Redpath's vocal is simple and straightforward, the only real ornamentation being a long 7-second sustain on the final 'love'.⁴⁰

Likewise, the Low recording is sung to 'Major Graham', although this time Redpath sings unaccompanied.⁴¹ Apart from accompaniment, the most notable difference between this and the Hovey recording is the track length. Allowing time for the instrumental intro and outro on the Hovey track, Redpath sings for around one-and-a-half minutes. In contrast, the Low track runs just over two minutes in length, the entirety of which is Redpath's vocal; that long sustain in the Hovey track is nearly half the length in the Low, and Redpath manages more than a quick intake of breath between phrases. Combined, this gives the Low track an appreciably slower tempo which, for the listener, enhances the melancholic longing of the lyrics, the sorrow of the narrative voice being separated from their love.

Perhaps the closest Redpath ever came to her *Jean Redpath Song Book* is her album entitled *By Request*. Released in 2004, it consists of twenty-five tracks of songs she knew would have been the most frequently requested had she allowed such a thing. 'Red, Red Rose' is included on the album as the Low arrangement.⁴² Likewise, she indicates in her notes for the *Jean Redpath Song Book* that it is the Low arrangement that should be used there. The contrast in the Hovey and Low recordings seems, in part, to be down to the fact that Hovey had already scored his arrangement by the time he was introduced to Redpath, so there was an element of singing what the composer wanted. In contrast, she had more creative input for the Low recording, resulting in her recording a track which better reflects her own personal sense of the 'right' presentation of the song, a presentation which is more akin to that intended by Burns in terms of the pacing and phrasing and, therefore, the message and emotion conveyed by the combination of melody and lyric. In doing so, she works to ensure that Burns's contribution to song culture is preserved.

The same can be said of another lyric usually sung with a mismatched melody: 'Auld Lang Syne'. It is best known sung to the melody printed by George Thomson in his *Select Collection of Scottish Airs* in 1799. This, however, was a melody selected by Thomson, whereas Burns had indicated the melody as published by James Johnson in his *Scots Musical Museum*. It is the melody published by Johnson that Redpath sings in both the Hovey and Low recordings. Whereas the first volume of Hovey recordings was driven by what Hovey had already scored, 'Auld Lang Syne' did not appear until the second volume, by which point Redpath likely had more creative input. Consequently, the Hovey arrangement of 'Auld Lang Syne' is simply Redpath's vocal, unaccompanied by any instrumental arrangement.⁴³ Thus, as with 'Red, Red Rose', it is Redpath's voice alone that does the work of conveying the message and emotion of Burns's lyric. Although similar to the popular tune, the melody indicated by Burns has a more melancholic tone, adding to the sense of longing for days gone by and friendships lost that the song recollects. For Redpath, the closing notes of the song, which fall in pitch rather than rise as with the popular tune, create a sense of 'unfinished business' more apt to the subject matter.⁴⁴ That sense that Redpath had more involvement in arranging the song, and thus that it represents something closer to that 'right' presentation, is made more certain when turning to the Low recording.⁴⁵ Again, Redpath sings unaccompanied but, in contrast to the 'Red, Red Rose' recordings, both the Hovey and Low tracks are near identical in length, pointing to Redpath performing in a manner she feels comfortable and natural, and fitting with the sentiment of the song. Again, there is little vocal ornamentation, Redpath allowing the simplicity of the melody in combination with the lyric to do the work. This cuts to the core of her attitude to traditional music and its performance – '[a]s a performer you have to have a belief that what you are doing is worth listening to [. . .] that the songs you are singing have something to say'.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, Redpath recognises what she calls '[t]he whole spectre of, basically, people want[ing] to hear what is familiar', that 'they don't want to know what the original was'.⁴⁷ She recounts performing 'Auld Lang Syne' to Burns's chosen melody at an event and being physically removed from the microphone by an audience member with the admonition that 'that's the wrang tune'.⁴⁸ And so, she would still perform 'Auld Lang Syne' to the popular tune but ensure that Burns's legacy was maintained by singing his lyrics, not substitutes such as 'my dear' for 'my Jo' or insertions of 'days of' before 'auld lang syne', and emphasise the Scots words and pronunciations.⁴⁹ For Redpath, even though the tune might not be what Burns intended, she was determined that the lyric remain so, protecting and preserving not just Burns's contribution in the form of his words but the inherent Scottishness of them, and their contribution to the wider character of traditional Scottish song culture.

Jean Redpath's Legacy

In no small part due to her extensive coverage of Burns's output, those 250 songs in Redpath's repertoire that Robert Shelton identified in 1961 grew to more than a thousand by the time of her death. She never stopped gathering and learning new material, and she never stopped seeking to move Burns away from 'the poorly printed, high-color picture postcard version' of popular culture.

In a similar manner, in Neat's documentary, *The Tree of Liberty*, Hamish Henderson asks 'How is it possible to rescue this poor, painted, cosmeticized cadaver of a dead poet from the ghastly mess which he is laid in? Can it be done?'⁵⁰ Fortunately, his answer was a positive one and that 'the key is the song' with the combination of Serge Hovey and Jean Redpath resulting in 'Burns the songwriter en route for liberation'.⁵¹

For Redpath, however, it seems not to have been the liberation of Burns the songwriter that was her priority but the liberation of the songs themselves. She was emphatic that he received the credit he was due, the recognition that he was more than just a poet, but equally, if not more, emphatic that it was *what* was written rather than who wrote it that mattered. In the same way that Burns did not consider many of the songs attributed to him as 'his' but as things he collected to ensure their preservation and protection, Redpath never considered herself a 'Burnsian' but simply a singer of traditional Scottish songs which happened to include those written and collected by Burns. The narrowing of public understanding of the extent of Burns's contribution to the field almost gives a sense of Redpath's vast array of Burns recordings being a re-collecting of those songs, seeking to preserve and protect 'a treasure of beautiful traditional song [that] was hidden and scrambled and needed to be brought back to life' in the same way Burns first did more than two centuries previously.⁵²

Redpath's work with Hovey and Low, and her own recordings and performances popularised Burns's songs and opened the door for the many subsequent 'Best of' recordings available from a diverse range of artists. In traditional music performances, Burns has moved from being barely heard to a standard feature. Consequently, Redpath was, and arguably remains, at the forefront of the preservation of Burns as a songwriter but also of his and his songs' place within the great tradition of Scottish folk music and song culture.

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Notes

1. Jean Redpath and Mark Brownrigg, *Giving Voice to Traditional Song: Jean Redpath's Autobiography, as told to Mark Brownrigg* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2018), p. 12.
2. Redpath and Brownrigg, *Giving Voice*, p. 12.
3. Redpath and Brownrigg, *Giving Voice*, p. 14.
4. Pete Heywood, 'Jean Redpath, 28 April 1937 – 21 August 2014', *The Living Tradition*, Issue 104 (Dec. 2014/Jan. 2015), p. 11.
5. Redpath and Brownrigg, *Giving Voice*, p. 23; The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'ceilidh' as 'In Scotland and Ireland: (a) an evening visit, a friendly social call; (b) a session of traditional music, storytelling, or dancing', a far less formal affair than modern organised events which are advertised under the same banner.
6. Dylan's music shows a strong Scottish folk influence, recognised in 2004 by the University of St Andrews when it conferred on Dylan an honorary degree of Doctor of Music, and in 2008 by Dylan himself when he identified Burns's song 'A Red, Red Rose' as the lyric which had had the most impact on his life. Pete Heywood, in his obituary of Redpath (see note 4) commented that '[t]here is little doubt Jean had a significant influence on that aspect of Dylan's music' (p. 10).
7. Although Redpath would later comment this folk revival reached 'enormous fad proportions [...] it really was a fad, it had nothing to do with a folk revival after a certain stage'. (Interview with Jean Redpath, date unknown, cassette labelled 'Jean Redpath at Edinburgh and Abroad', CRBS Jean Redpath Archive).
8. Robert Shelton, review of Redpath performance in *The New York Times* (16 November 1961), cited in Thomas Keith, 'Jean Redpath, The Accidental Burnsian', *Burns Chronicle*, 2017, p. 73.
9. Of the ninety-five songs across the seven albums, ten were written or collected by Burns.

10. Roger Catlin, 'Redpath stresses broad repertoire', *The Hartford Courant*, 8 June 1987, n.p.; Archie Mackenzie, 'People We Meet: Jean Redpath', *Scottish World* (Winter 1993), p. 72.
11. Redpath and Brownrigg, *Giving Voice*, p. 78.
12. Redpath and Brownrigg, *Giving Voice*, p. 79; Jean Redpath, 'The Question: Why is Folk Music So Popular in New England?', *New England Folk Almanac* 4:3 (1994), p. 3.
13. Catlin, 'Redpath stresses broad repertoire'.
14. Further details of the University of South Carolina's Jean Redpath Archive, including finding aid are available at https://sc.edu/about/offices_and_divisions/university_libraries/browse/irvin_dept_special_collections/collections/jean_redpath_archive.php
15. Further details of the Centre for Robert Burns Studies' Jean Redpath Archive, including finding aid are available at <https://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/research/researchcentresandnetworks/robertburnsstudies/ourresearch/jeanredpatharchive/>
16. Notes for *The Jean Redpath Song Book*, USC Jean Redpath Archive, Box 3.
17. The two tracks not drawn from these recordings were 'Hallowe'en', to be taken from her album *Leaving the Land* (Philo PH1131; 1990), and 'Rantin' Dog the Daddie o't', to come from *My Ain Countrie* (Folk-Legacy Records FSS-49; 1973). 'Hallowe'en' does not appear in either the Hovey or Low recordings, while 'Rantin' Dog the Daddie o't' appears in the Low recordings but as part of a medley with other tracks.
18. Complete details of Redpath's commercial recordings, including track listings, can be found as an appendix to Redpath and Brownrigg, *Giving Voice*, pp. 195–214.
19. Impressively, across the 178 tracks recorded in the Hovey and Low projects, 156 different songs are represented. Those songs which do appear in both projects' recordings often feature in different arrangements. This very much reflects Redpath's desire not to repeatedly record the same material (Redpath, 'Synopsis of Recordings' (n.d.), USC Jean Redpath Archive, Box 2).
20. David Scott Skipper, 'Jean Redpath Staples: Burns and Traditional Music', *The Scottish-American* (Jan.-Feb. 1989) (Part One: p. 3) and (Mar.-Apr. 1989) (Part Two: p. 3).
21. Skipper, 'Jean Redpath Staples', Part Two, p. 3.
22. Skipper, 'Jean Redpath Staples', Part Two, p. 3.
23. Scott Alarik, 'Redpath is kept busy by a Scottish poet', *The Boston Globe*, 21 January 1988, p. 85.
24. Esther Hovey, 'The Genesis of Serge Hovey's *The Robert Burns Song Book*', *Burns Chronicle* (1999), p. 141; following Hovey's death, his wife and son

- prepared parts of his research, some 155 songs published in two volumes of *The Robert Burns Songbook*, 2 vols (Fenton, MO: Mel Bay Publications, 1999 and 2001).
25. The project was estimated to run ultimately to twenty to twenty-four albums, covering all 324 songs of Burns. The pace of recording was restricted, as is often the case, by the availability of time on the part of Redpath and financial support for the inherent costs; it was also affected by the ongoing functional deterioration of Hovey as a result of amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS, also known as Lou Gehrig's disease). Neat's documentary, *The Tree of Liberty* (1988; Everallin Limited) demonstrates how Hovey and Redpath worked with the support of Hovey's wife and son to keep the project going despite this adversity. By the time of Hovey's death in 1989, six albums had been recorded while a seventh, which had been scored, was recorded in 1990. The seven albums are now available on four CDs from Philo Records (Vols 1 and 2: PH1187; Vols 3 and 4: PH1188; Vols 5 and 6: PH1189; Vol 7: PH1126).
 26. Keith, 'Jean Redpath, The Accidental Burnsian', p. 75.
 27. Jean Redpath and unknown interviewer, 'Transcript of an Interview Recorded on 31 October and 2 November 1986', 22pp. (p. 21), USC Jean Redpath Archive, Box 4.
 28. Keith, 'Jean Redpath, The Accidental Burnsian', p. 76.
 29. Redpath and Brownrigg, *Giving Voice*, p. 105.
 30. Redpath and Brownrigg, *Giving Voice*, p. 105.
 31. Donald Low, *The Songs of Robert Burns* (London: Routledge, 1993).
 32. Originally released as four albums on cassette, the Low recordings are now available as three CDs from Jean Redpath Records (Vol. 1: JR-103; Vol. 2: JR-104; Vol. 3: JR-105).
 33. Jean Redpath, 'Synopsis of Recordings' (n.d.), USC Jean Redpath Archive, Box 2.
 34. Redpath, 'Transcript of an Interview', p. 10.
 35. Neat, *The Tree of Liberty*, 1988.
 36. Redpath and Brownrigg, *Giving Voice*, p. 134.
 37. Redpath and Brownrigg, *Giving Voice*, p. 104.
 38. Alarik, 'Redpath is kept busy', 1988.
 39. The song is now probably better known sung to the tune 'Low Down on the Broom'.
 40. Jean Redpath, 'A Red, Red Rose', *The Songs of Robert Burns: Vols 1&2*, Track 12 (Philo: PH 1887, 1996).
 41. Jean Redpath, 'A Red, Red Rose', *Songs of Robert Burns: Vol. 3*, Track 1 (Jean Redpath Records: JR-105, 1997).

42. In keeping with her attitude throughout her career, despite the proportion of Burns material in her recordings, *By Request* shows him only as a piece within a wider landscape of Scottish traditional music.
43. Jean Redpath, 'Auld Lang Syne', *The Songs of Robert Burns: Vols 1&2*, Track 21 (Philo: PH 1887, 1996).
44. Interview with Jean Redpath, date unknown, cassette labelled 'Jean Redpath at Edinburgh and Abroad', CRBS Jean Redpath Archive.
45. Jean Redpath, 'Auld Lang Syne', *Songs of Robert Burns: Vol. 3*, Track 20 (Jean Redpath Records: JR-105, 1997)
46. Heywood obituary, p. 11.
47. Interview with Jean Redpath (n.d.), cassette labelled 'Jean Redpath at Edinburgh and Abroad', CRBS Jean Redpath Archive.
48. Mackenzie, 'People We Meet'. In another interview, Redpath continued this anecdote by recounting how she soldiered on singing to Burns's melody despite everyone else singing the popular tune (Interview with Jean Redpath (n.d.), cassette recording, Radio Clyde, CRBS Jean Redpath Archive).
49. Jean Redpath, 'The World of Robert Burns: Sanders Theatre, Cambridge, 20 January 1995', cassette recording, 2 cassettes, CRBS Jean Redpath Archive; despite her many years in the US, Jean never lost her Fife accent.
50. Neat, *The Tree of Liberty*, 1988.
51. Neat, *The Tree of Liberty*, 1988.
52. Skipper, 'Jean Redpath Staples', Part One, p. 3.