

# Telling the story of telling the story: capturing intangible heritage storytelling on the origins of malt whisky in the Cabrach.

REID, P.H., PIRIE, E. and IRONSIDE, R.

2024

*This author accepted manuscript is deposited under a Creative Commons Attribution Non-commercial 4.0 International (CC BY-NC) licence. This means that anyone may distribute, adapt, and build upon the work for non-commercial purposes, subject to full attribution. If you wish to use this manuscript for commercial purposes, please visit [Marketplace](#).*

# ‘Telling the story of telling the story’: capturing intangible heritage storytelling on the origins of Malt Whisky in the Cabrach.

Peter H. Reid, Elliot Pirie, And Rachael Ironside

## Abstract

**Purpose** – This research explored the storytelling (collection, curation, and use) in the Cabrach, a remote Scottish glen. The aim of the research was to capture the methodological process of storytelling and curation of heritage knowledge through the lens of the Cabrach’s whisky distilling history, a central part of the area’s cultural heritage, tangible and intangible. This research was conceptualised as ‘telling the story of telling the story of the Cabrach’. It was concerned with how the history, heritage, historiography, and testimony associated with the parish could be harvested, made sense of, and subsequently used.

**Design/methodology/approach** – The study was epistemological in nature and the research was concerned with how heritage knowledge is gathered, curated, and understood. It was built around collection of knowledge through expert testimony from Colin Mackenzie and Alan Winchester, who have extensively researched aspects of life in the Cabrach. This was done using a series of theme-based but free-flowing conversational workshop involving participants and research team. Issues of trust and authority in the research team were crucial. Data were recorded, transcribed, and coded. A conceptual model for heritage storytelling in the Cabrach was developed together with a transferable version for other contexts.

**Findings** – The research was conceived around identifying the stories of the Cabrach and grouping them into cohesive narrative themes focused on the most important aspect of the glen’s history (the development of malt whisky distilling). The research showed how all crucial narratives associated with the Cabrach interconnected with that malt whisky story. It was concerned with identifying broad thematic narratives rather than the specific detailed stories themselves, but also from a methodological perspective how stories around those themes could be collected, curated, and used. It presents the outcome of ‘expert testimony’ oral history conversations and presents a conceptual model for the curation of heritage knowledge.

**Practical implications** – This paper reports on research which focused on the confluence of those issues of heritage-led regeneration, intangible cultural heritage, as well as how stories of and from, about and for, a distinctive community in North-East Scotland can be collected, curated, and displayed. It presents methodological conceptualisations as well as focused areas of results which can be used to create a strong and inclusive narrative to encapsulate the durable sense of place and support the revival of an economically viable and sustainable community.

**Social implications** – This conceptual model offers a framework with universal elements (Place, People, Perception) alongside a strong core narrative of storytelling. That core element may vary but the outer elements remain the same, with people and place being omnipresent and the need to build an emotional or visceral connection with visitors being crucial, beyond ‘telling stories’ which

might be regarded as parochial or narrowly focused. The model can inform the way communities and heritage organisations tell their stories in an authentic and proportionate manner. This can help shape and explain cultures, and identities, and support visitors' understanding of, and connection with, the places they visit and experience.

**Originality/value** – The originality lies in two principal areas, the exploration of the narratives of a singularly distinctive community – the Cabrach – which plays a disproportionately significant role in the development of malt whisky distilling in Scotland; and also in terms of the methodological approach to the collection and curation of heritage storytelling, drawing not on first-hand accounts as in conventional oral history approaches but through the expert testimony of two historical and ethnographic researchers. The value is demonstrating the creation of a conceptual model which can be transferred to other contexts.

**Keywords** heritage storytelling, knowledge curation, narratives, expert testimony, oral methodologies, malt whisky distilling

**Paper type** Research paper

## Introduction

For all the dinners are cooked; the plates and cups washed; the children sent to school and gone out into the world. Nothing remains of it all. All has vanished. No biography or history has a word to say about it. All these infinitely obscure lives remain to be recorded.  
Virginia Woolf. 1929.

Storytelling has a long history in library and information science and still longer in sacred texts, folklore, and related wisdom traditions (McDowell, 2021). Stories are techniques that enable us to organize thinking and preserve memories (Ong et al., 1986). Bassano et al (2019, p.10) outline that stories and storytelling are so essential to human life that we can be described as the “storytelling animal” (Gottschall, 2012); they help define the nature of humanity (James & Minnis, 2004; Tobin, 2006), encompass myths, legends, and folktales (Reamy, 2002), and have passed on wisdom, knowledge, and culture for thousands of years (Soule and Wilson, 2002, p.73).

Storytelling is quick, natural, clear, credible, compelling, contextual, intuitive and, especially, activating (Katuščáková, and Katuščák, (2013); Groh, 2001) and at its best creates relationships between teller, audience, subject, time, and place. Hearne (2011) describes (folkloric) stories as being “fast-moving, highly structured elemental plots” that enable recipients “to glean different emotional, socio-cultural, intellectual, spiritual, and physical connections with a tale”. Beyond traditional library and information science contexts of storytelling, the approach has, for several decades, been recognised as a narrative technique deployed in knowledge management, in a variety of organisational, sectoral, and educational settings, as a means of capturing both explicit and tacit knowledge, as well as information and emotional responses. Stories are singular and varied terms of their context, typology, purpose, content, simplicity, or complexity. (Denning, 2006; Brown et al, 2005; Snowden, 2005).

Barthes et al (1969) noted that there never existed anywhere a people without stories. And just as there never existed a people without stories, neither did there exist a place without stories. Bassano et al (2019) notes:

A sense of place is essential to human life. People like to tell stories, and people enjoy listening to storytelling. People who live in a specific place have considerable experience in that place and often develop a deep love for that place (p.11)

Sium and Ritskes (2013) note that stories vary radically according to social and geographical contexts and are fraught with tensions and contradictions. Understanding context is, therefore, key and is central to the work being reported on here. This article discusses empirical research which examined methods for storytelling in a distinctive place-based setting, the gathering, curation, and use of knowledge, as well as how place-based storytelling can be used to capture the essence and spirit of a community.

This research examined the Cabrach, an isolated glen in rural North-East Scotland, to support the work of the Cabrach Trust, a social enterprise development trust established in 2011 to rejuvenate the area, that has suffered significant depopulation within the last century. The Trust's vision is "to regenerate the Cabrach as a thriving, sustainable community with its history, heritage and place in Scottish history celebrated and shared by all" (Cabrach Trust, 2023). The aim of the research was to capture the methodological process of storytelling and curation heritage knowledge through the lens of the Cabrach's whisky distilling history, a central part of the glen's tangible and intangible cultural heritage. The story of whisky is inextricably connected with the people, landscape, culture, and geography of this part of Banffshire; it is a unique selling point both for the wider Moray-Speyside<sup>1</sup> area and, because of this important historical link, for the Cabrach itself. This research was conceptualised as 'telling the story of telling the story of the Cabrach'. It was concerned with how the history, heritage, historiography, and testimony associated with the parish could be harvested, made sense of, and subsequently presented. Although it was concerned with the identification of *what* the stories were, it was not concerned with the detail of them, rather the research focused on how they could be collected, curated, and used. In this regard, the research was attempting to make sense of ongoing change, interpreting and re-interpreting the present [by] looking at the past and the future (Dawson & Sykes, 2018, p.103).

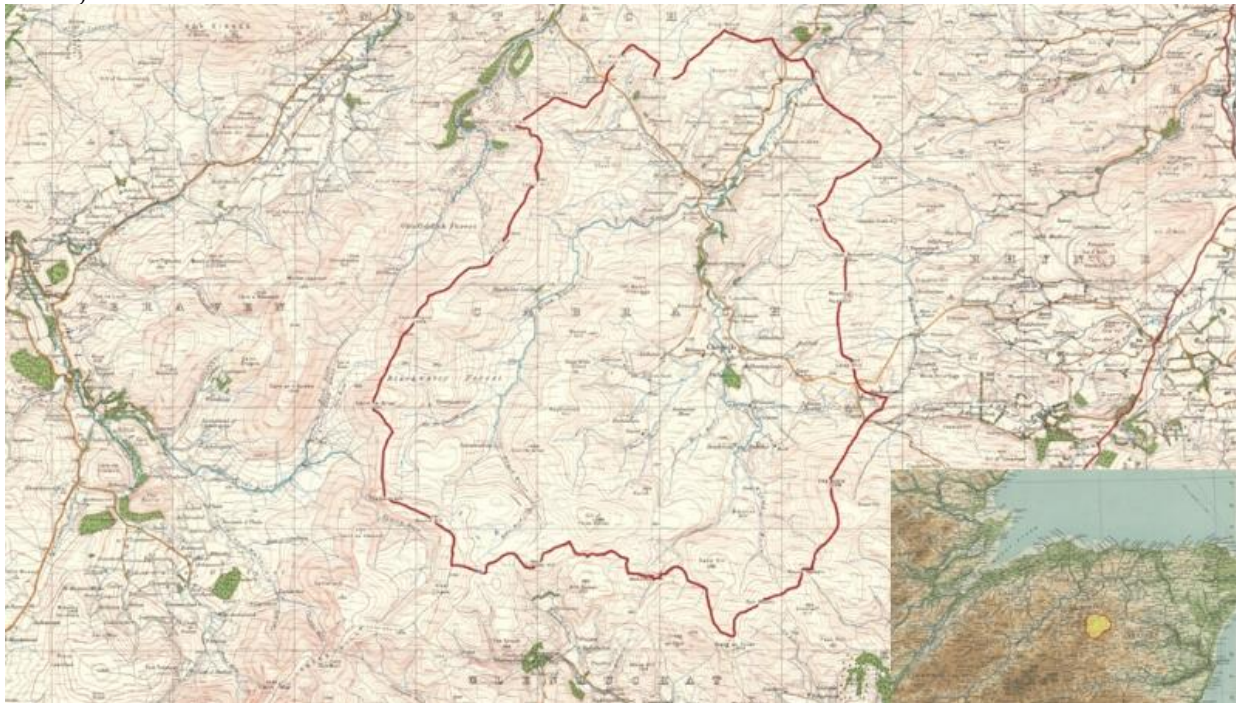
This aim was underpinned by three main elements. Firstly, to capture relevant cultural heritage stories. This was from the expert testimony of Colin Mackenzie and Alan Winchester who have, over years, researched the Cabrach diligently and particularly its role in whisky distilling; this approach of 'expert testimony' is more akin to knowledge management storytelling than conventional oral history approaches where first-hand accounts are sought (Coady, 1992). Secondly, to formulate sensitive and authentic approaches for utilising these heritage storytelling assets; and thirdly, to use this to help inform the content, exhibition, and display within the heritage centre. The centrepiece of the Trust's strategy is the creation of a new, small distillery at Inverharroch

---

<sup>1</sup> Historically, the Cabrach was located in Banffshire. This county ceased to exist in political or administrative terms following local government reorganisation in 1975. However, the identity of, and loyalty to, the old county is strong, and Banffshire continues to exist as a Lieutenancy area. In contemporary local government terms, the Cabrach is part of the Moray local authority.

which will reflect the manufacturing techniques of the early 1800s when the Cabrach *was* a heroic place with an exalted reputation for the highest quality whisky.

The Cabrach's population was dependent on hill-farming and crofting in harsh conditions, supplemented by work on local sporting estates. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it was the centre of illicit whisky distilling before the legalisation of whisky production in 1823 with the family of the Glenfiddich brand having their roots in the Cabrach. It was a small but vibrant community of around one thousand souls scattered across the glen; since then, because of the consequences of the Great War and of rural depopulation, that number has significantly declined. Only a handful of families managed to remain in the parish: the Great War effectively emptied the glen not because of the widespread slaughter of its sons but because the women, children and elderly residents were unable to remain during a series of harsh winters during the War years. (Taylor, 1914; 1920; German and Adamson, 2019). Hence the Cabrach Trust's focus to help preserve the history and rejuvenated the area.



INSERT HERE

Figure 1: Map of the Cabrach

## Literature review

### The Cabrach

The Barony of the Cabrach (from the Gaelic A' Chabrach the meaning of the name is much disputed, with 'place of timber moss' being often suggested but also 'the place of the antlers') was traditionally owned by the Dukes of Gordon who held vast land holdings in forty-nine parish across northern Scotland. Bulloch (1930) lists the extent of the (4<sup>th</sup>) Duke's holdings in 1815, including the Cabrach (p181). Many elements of the Cabrach are documented extensively in the *Transactions of the Banffshire Field Club* (1880-1939) with over fifty papers delivered on Cabrach-related topics.

The spectacular landscape of the Cabrach is caught by Tranter (1974) who speaks of travelling through 'the planted forest, which suddenly stops...and a mighty prospect of heather mountain lands opens dramatically in a vast amphitheatre' (p.31). This remote, upland landscape was singularly suitable for the illicit distilling of whisky which was 'one of the staple occupations' of inhabitants, and to which the Duke of Gordon elected to turn a blind eye (Simpson, 1992, p.169). At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Cabrach possessed, in the words of German and Adamson (2019) 'a reputation for producing whisky of the highest quality' (p.147). They noted:

The peculiar agrarian and geographical conditions of the Cabrach allowed whisky-makers to resist the enforcement of anti-smuggling laws. Illicit distilling in this region was able to thrive in ways that were more challenging for other locales (German and Adamson, p.147).

The 1823 Excise Act sanctioned the production of whisky in return for a £10 licence fee (approximately £670 in contemporary values) and set payment per gallon of proof spirit. Devine (1975) was one of the first to examine the transition from illicit distilling into a legal industry after the legalisation of whisky production 1822-23. The central thesis of his argument is that the clandestine industry eventually evolved into a legitimate one. This has been challenged by German and Adamson (2019) who, through an examination of the Cabrach specifically as one of the key expressions of the development of the whisky industry from an illegal endeavour to a legitimate industrial enterprise, suggest that the illicit distilling was deliberately split apart by entrepreneurs and landowners to establish commercial whisky production.

The parish, having been supplanted by neighbouring Speyside as the commercial centre of malt whisky production, relied increasingly on precarious farming and cattle rearing, in an ever more challenging economic environment. It was highly vulnerable to alterations in the cattle trade. Falling prices and the centralisation of markets in railway settlements in the 1870s, ruined the profitability of high-pasture farming, leading to considerable emigration from the upland steadings in the Cabrach. (Turnock, 1981, p.92). Neighbouring lands, held by the Dukes of Richmond and Gordon, were turned over to stalking before handing over their vast landholding to the Treasury in lieu of Death Duties in 1938 (following the deaths, in quick succession, of two dukes) marked a definitive change both to patterns of landownership and to sense of community.

The subsequent expansion of the hunting estate did little to stimulate the local economy and halt the exodus from the region. Undoubtedly, the eradication of illicit distilling and the failure of licensed distilling in the Cabrach started a protracted process of population decline which culminated in the significant loss of young males from the community during the two World Wars (German and Adamson, 2019, p.163).

The Great War had a significant impact not because it suffered disproportionately high casualties but because the community left behind, bereft of virtually all its able-bodied men, struggled to survive during the years of the War, and a series of harsh winters led the women, children, and the elderly to abandon their crofts and move to the surrounding villages of Dufftown, Rhynie, and Lumsden never to return. The men who did come back from the devastation of the conflict found a community equally decimated by war and a centuries old way of life destroyed. Only a handful of families managed to remain in the parish: the Great War had effectively emptied the glen (Taylor,



1920) with the Cabrach losing seventy-five percent of its population between 1861 and 1961. (Brown 2008, p.10). Today, it is a beautiful, desolate landscape, littered with abandoned crofts and farmsteads; some are roofless but many look as if they were left only recently, keys still hanging on hooks, wallpaper peeling and implements lying on tables, creating a sense that the place is haunted by the ghosts of those forced to leave. That staggering rate of depopulation resulted in a large diaspora population of 'Cabrach exiles' across the world.

## The story of stories

Stories occupy a central place in creating the narrative of humanity (Barthes, 1969, James and Minnis, 2004; Tobin, 2006), with humanity being, essentially, a storytelling creature (Gottschall, 2012); they help define the nature of humanity (James & Minnis, 2004; Tobin, 2006). Stories shape thinking and preserve collective memory (Ong, 1986) and are vehicles for the expression and transmission of knowledge, understanding, wisdom, and particularly significant in the context of this research, cultures, and cultural heritage (Reamy, 2002; Sole and Wilson, 2002). Bathes (1969), Sium and Ritskes (2013), Bassano (2019) and others, highlight the importance of stories connected with place and communities. Stories can form part of what Durkheim describes as the collective consciousness of society and are 'priceless instruments of thought which human groups have laboriously forged through the centuries and where they have accumulated the best of their intellectual capital' (Durkheim p.19). Storytelling in heritage is not merely a western construct. It is equally strong in indigenous cultures in the Americas (Shiri, Howard and Farnel, 2021), in Asia, and in Africa. In the context of the latter, Osei-Tutu (2022) has outlined meaningful methodological approaches for storytelling methodologies in oral history.

The notion of intellectual capital is one familiar in contemporary knowledge management although storytelling in library and information sciences has a longer pedigree (Boje, 1995; Boyce, 1996). Discussion in the academic record in this respect has, however, often focused on 'storytelling' as an activity and this aspect is discussed by Hearne (2011) and McDowell (2021) both rehearsing earlier, extensive bodies of LIS literature. Very extensive literature exists around storytelling, intellectual capital, and narrative or conversational techniques for knowledge management in a wide variety of business and organisational contexts.

Much less thoroughly explored is the harnessing of intellectual capital in heritage contexts despite Arsenijević, Pajić and Krstić (2021) highlighting the importance of storytelling as one of the most important techniques for active knowledge management in culture (p.1). Studies often focus on the technology to support it or the information architecture and semantic or ontological contexts such as Huang and Xu (2022) who explored linked data in the context of the knowledge management of intangible cultural heritage. However, this study sought to address and articulate the process of capturing, refining, and presenting the stories in a manner that is engaging for the lay person (the visitors) whilst retaining the authenticity and accuracy (warts and all) of the knowledge.

## Storytelling and intangible heritage

Intangible cultural heritage was recognised by UNESCO in 2003 defining it as:

Traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge, and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts. (<https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003>)

The significance of this has been noted in many spheres, including tourism, by many authors (Casey, 2013; Chen et al, 2020; Esfehiani and Albrecht, 2019; Park, 2011, Su, 2019). Mellis and Chambers (2021) note that Scotland's intangible cultural heritage sector has 'apparent dynamism ... both at an institutional and grass roots level'. They also note that the 'intangible cultural heritage of Scotland is also acknowledged as an important tourism asset, is increasingly included in portfolio strategies, and is used to promote Scotland as a destination'. (Visit Scotland, 2015). These aspects are evident in the context of Cabrach where its intangible heritage is dynamic both at institutional level (the Trust) and at grass roots level (within the community, both locally and diaspora) where the collection, curation, and use of stories of place are central to the narrative. Storytelling, within the domain of intangible cultural heritage, can often present problems around their collection, curation, use and preservation (Boswell, 2011). These issues are rehearsed by Mellis and Chambers who highlight issues around the immateriality and fragility of intangible cultural heritage more generally:

'Impermanence is interpreted as non-presence...given that intangible cultural heritage is not something ontologically invisible or unsubstantial, questions arise about its epistemological status, namely how we come to know it as being heritage' (Mellis and Chambers, 2021).

Mellis and Chambers also address how actions or performances sit within intangible cultural heritage as well as querying the genuine acceptance of oral transmission of intangible heritage, and issues of visibility and documenting it. These concepts were integral to this research project where a 'traditional process' of illicit (and briefly legal) whisky distilling is being considered alongside narrative customs and practices of a vanished community are central. This project essentially considers intangible heritage which subscribes to many of the issues identified by Mellis and Chambers, but also their notion that 'to describe it as invisible and difficult to capture justifies its documentation and therefore the will to know about'.

"Stories are our tools, our elixirs, our libraries, and histories. They nurture and feed us. Without stories, we are aimless, holding out torches against the setting sun. With them, we are less afraid, able to recognize our neighbors [sic] as fellow keepers of these tales by which we grow generation upon generation." (Rodney, 2016, [www.museweb.us/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/2-StorytellingBasics-StorytellingHandbook-v1.pdf](http://www.museweb.us/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/2-StorytellingBasics-StorytellingHandbook-v1.pdf) (26.05.2020)).

Massey (1994) identifies social connections, relationships, and practices rather than singular representations of tradition or cultural heritage, and as noted previously, affords a more global sense of place. The use of stories as a way of exploring and explaining cultural heritage is well-established and well-recognised. All heritage assets tell stories that help to shape and explain cultures and identities: this supports tourists to enter and understand the places they are visiting; at the same time, it helps communities in memory making, and in feeling somehow socially more connected (Mutibwa, 2016). In the last two decades, a much greater emphasis has been placed on community-based or individually generated heritage (both in analogue and digital forms), often associated with notions of the 'democratization of heritage'. Despite this democratization, heritage can sometimes



be seen, as Massey notes, as an “introverted obsession” (p.168, 172) where communities focus on what they want to preserve or say rather than what others, such as visitors want to see or hear. A similar point is noted by Falcone (2020) who notes that ‘it [is] easy to lose sight of this aspect, and often residents pass in front of historical places, considering them simply as part of the usual daily landscape. (Falcone, 2020, p.141)

Co-created content possesses heritage value through the telling of stories about people, places, or events or about the visitors’ experience of them. Taylor and Gibson (2017, p.408) describe this as leading to the creation of narratives which are “more polyvocal” thus further enhancing levels of democratisation of content. However, there can also be a “disconnection between increased access and increased democracy” (Taylor and Gibson, 2017, p.409), a sentiment echoed by King et al. (2016) in stating that emphasis is placed on ‘breadth of audience and reach, rather than the quality of experience’ (p. 79). The challenge can be about adapting stories to different audiences (Tilden, 2008; Duarte, 2013) because not all audiences are the same, and some are ‘harder’ to engage with than others, especially in circumstances where the community is focused on what it wants to tell, over what people want to know or experience.

In a specifically Scottish context, the starting point for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage was *Scoping and Mapping the Intangible Cultural Heritage in Scotland* (McCleery et al, 2008) which was research undertaken by academics at Edinburgh Napier University on behalf of Museums and Galleries Scotland and the Scottish Arts Council (now Creative Scotland).

‘Cultural heritage’ exists beyond the traditional ‘homes’ of culture, such as museums, galleries, monuments, and historic buildings. Scotland’s culture encompasses the living traditions of the nation and of communities or groups within the nation, passed on from generation to generation. (Bowers, et al, 2015. p.9)

Bowers et al (2015) examined the connection between living cultures and tourism in Scotland, including another site in Banffshire, the Portsoy Salmon Bothy. They highlighted:

There is a significant opportunity in Scotland to create new tourism experiences for visitors that are based on living culture. There is an enthusiastic interest amongst interviewed stakeholders in enhancing the link between living culture and tourism. (p.29)

Grappling with this dichotomy is at the heart of the challenge facing the Cabrach Trust, balancing the desire for accurate and authentic representation of intangible cultural heritage whilst presenting this selection in a manner engaging to diverse audiences.

## Methodology

This study was epistemological in philosophy. Essentially, the research deals with the theory of knowledge and how that knowledge is gathered and understood. The research was about the shape of knowledge and its understanding; it was not, however, an exercise in oral history in the classic sense in that it did not seek to gather testimony from those who had encountered events or circumstances or experiences first-hand.

The epistemological approach was built around collection of knowledge through expert testimony from two researchers, Colin Mackenzie, and Alan Winchester, who have extensively (and in some areas exhaustively) researched aspects of life in the Cabrach. Social epistemology has paid little attention to oral historiography as a source of expert insight. (Kenyon, 2016, p45). There have been examples of epistemological examination of expert testimony in law (Walton, 2008), or in science in (Almassi, 2009a, 2009b). This approach is, of course, not without potential issues; Coady (1992) noted that expert oral historians treat testimony with a default trust, suggesting an epistemic warrant for the acceptance of testimony even when independent supporting evidence is unavailable. Expert-generated heritage storytelling is also explored by Rinallo (2020) highlighting that such experts can act as ‘gatekeepers [and] their reviews, reports and studies can be influential as they can legitimize and raise awareness about ICH elements and bearer communities’. (p.61)

The research was essentially framed in terms of being historical, looking at people and events in a cultural setting with the goal of exploring that culture in historical contexts to determine practices of narrative storytelling that best captured the spirit of the community. Mackenzie and Winchester’s work (being ingrained and active participants in the community being examined) lends a semi-ethnographic quality to *their* own work, essentially taking a close cultural lens to the study of people’s lives within their communities (Eriksson, Henttonen and Meriläinen, 2012; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019; Fetterman, 2010). Historical ethnography of this kind has been applied in several Scottish rural contexts, most notably by West (2008) in his work on his own native county of Perthshire between 1750 and 1950 and Parman (1990; 2005) in her study of the crofters of Geall in the Outer Hebrides. Her historical ethnographic work highlights the importance of conceptualisation, sense-making, storytelling, and transmission of knowledge.

The historical research undertaken by Mackenzie and Winchester had, through the deployment of traditional historical ethnographic approaches built up extensive understanding of the general community historically and its role as a progenitor of malt whisky distilling. The focus of this project was not classic oral history or archival research, but narrative enquiry as it is understood in a knowledge management or research methods contexts (Wells, 2011; Webster and Mertova, 2007). The goal was the capture of Mackenzie and Winchester’s body of research and identification of key approaches for the curation and use of the ‘stories’ they had uncovered.

## The place of literature methodologically

Although some preliminary literature searching was undertaken ahead of the project, the bulk of the literature reviewing was done during and, most particularly, beyond the data collection and analysis process as it was essentially connected with the building of theoretical approaches to the storytelling process. The project was governed by gathering data on an iterative basis, with the researchers taking a reflexive approach, facilitating, listening, observing, reflecting, building theories (particularly crucial in identifying the main themes at the start to shape the subsequent workshops) and then testing that these (interconnections) held through the story collecting workshops outlined below.

## Data collection workshops

The workshops were essentially exercises in conversational research; however, it was above or beyond traditional oral history in that it was based on expert testimony (Mackenzie and Winchester) rather than those who had first-hand experience. The first workshop was focused on the identification of themes, adopting a ‘post-it’ note approach. Oral history has, since the 1960s, become a ‘methodology of choice (and necessity) amongst scholars of the twentieth century seeking to uncover the experiences of a number of groups who had traditionally be disregarded by conventional histories. (Abram, 2016, p.4).

MEETING	DATE	PARTICIPANTS	RESEARCHERS	THEMES
Scoping Meeting	22/06/22	Colin Mackenzie (CM) Alan Winchester (AW) Sam Dowdall (SD)	Peter Reid	
Workshop 1	27/09/22	Jonathan Christie (JC) Colin Mackenzie Alan Winchester	Peter Reid Elliot Pirie	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identification of themes</li> </ul>
Workshop 2	28/10/22	Colin Mackenzie Alan Winchester	Peter Reid Elliot Pirie Rachael Ironside	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Uniqueness of the place</li> <li>• Melancholy &amp; emotions</li> <li>• Contrast</li> <li>• Landlocked island</li> </ul>
Workshop 3	28/11/22*	Colin Mackenzie Alan Winchester	Peter Reid Rachael Ironside	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sustainability</li> <li>• Critical incidents</li> <li>• People</li> </ul>
Workshop 4	17/02/23	Colin Mackenzie Alan Winchester	Peter Reid Elliot Pirie	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Curation</li> <li>• Use</li> </ul>
Summary meeting	22/02/23	Jonathan Christie Sam Dowdall	Peter Reid	
* Zoom owing to heavy snow				

Each workshop lasted approximately two-and-a-half hours. Workshops 2-4 were the in-depth conversations with Colin Mackenzie and Alan Winchester and focused on the themes identified in workshop one. These workshops were largely conversational (Albert, 2017); they were flowing and focused but with the odd tangent investigated. Probing questions were used, but sparingly, and the research team’s approach was largely to leave MacKenzie and Winchester to discuss what they wanted to talk about within the context of the thematic framework for the workshop. The research team encouraged further detail rather than challenging comments or diving deeply into specific points to ensure the conversational reminiscence or commentary was maintained. It was not the role of the researchers to ‘gather’ the stories, rather it was to create a constructive environment within which the stories could be told and allow the themes from them to emerge organically. The researchers were also cognisant of the need to focus on the broader narratives given rather than to focus on the specificity of any individual story, particularly within the first workshop where the overarching themes emerged.

It is worth noting that the ‘difficult heritage’ theme emerged but did not really reflect that term as it is widely understood; this was not particularly dark or problematic. Although there was talk of stories that might be deemed ‘tragedies’, they were not anything beyond the normal experiences of most communities. What was clearly ‘difficult’ were more recent issues of landownership and how this might affect the ability to tell stories of (and in) the wider landscape. For this reason, the

‘difficult heritage’ themes did not become one taken forward into the workshops explicitly (although ‘difficult’ or ‘uncomfortable’ issues emerged in relation to other themes).

## Data analysis

Each of the recordings was transcribed and coded manually but detailed notes were also taken during the sessions. These notes included details of particularly important things discussed at certain times but also included observations around the ‘nature’ of the discussions such as whether one topic particularly engaged or enthused, or whether it had focused on too much detail, or become tangential.

## Issues of bias and authority

The nature of the research might be expected to raise issues of bias. Both Mackenzie and Winchester are very close to the topic and know the subject thoroughly; they are authorities. Although particular interests or enthusiasm were evident in the conversations there was no discernible biases and, indeed, nothing was off-limits no matter how seemingly tangential or uncomfortable. This research drew on previous work such as Elias (1939, 1956, 1987), and Turner and Pirie (2016) around issues of ‘involvement and detachment’ and the conversational style of data collection enabled was a reflective and reflexive methodology enabling the capturing of rich personal engagement and connection whilst also being academically rigorous.

Another form of authority was the role of the principal investigator. Reid, a native of Banffshire, has studied the county extensively over thirty years and has deep knowledge of its history and the written sources related to it. This was important in gaining the trust of participants at the beginning of the project, but also in terms of understanding the nuance of the conversations and analysing the data. Occasionally, and sometimes significantly, the PI would contribute to conversation on points he knew particularly well (e.g., around discussions of landownership and the Duke of Richmond and Gordon). The authority and *involvement* of Reid and the potential of this to result in his own bias due to his attachment to the area or for specific details being under analysed due to the implicit understanding he, Mackenzie and Winchester had of the subject was mitigated by the contextual naivety or *detachment* of the other researchers, Pirie and Ironside who had no specific knowledge of the Cabrach prior to the research. This allowed their questioning to mitigate against potential bias in the research, by asking pertinent ‘so what?’ questions, probing the distinctive or uniqueness of the Cabrach and its place in whisky’s history made by the participants.

## Results and discussion

The project was framed around identifying the stories of the Cabrach and grouping them into cohesive themes, around the most important aspect of the glen’s history, its role in the development of malt whisky distilling. The research was concerned with how other crucial narratives associated with the Cabrach interconnected with that malt whisky story. It was concerned with identifying those broad thematic narratives rather than the specific detailed stories themselves, but also how stories around those themes could be collected, curated, and used. The following considers the conversations around the principal aspects for discussion identified in the first workshop before

moving on to outline the construction of the conceptual model, that encapsulates the ‘story of the Cabrach’, whilst simultaneously demonstrating how to ‘tell the story of telling the story’.

## Malt Whisky: an ‘authentic’ story

At the heart of the Cabrach’s narrative is its place in the historical development of malt whisky distilling; this has been examined extensively by German and Adamson who discuss how the ‘peculiar agrarian and geographical conditions’ (p147) protected the producers of whisky before its manufacture was legalised in 1822/23. Across the Cabrach and neighbouring Glenrinnies and Glenlivet, it was estimated that there were around 400 illicit stills (Excise Report, 1825, p.569) at the time the industry was put on a statutory footing. The Cabrach produced whisky which ‘enjoyed an exalted reputation’ (German and Adamson, p148) with almost every household having a private, concealed still and the art of distilling was passed on from one generation to another. Landowners benefited from this and turned a benign eye to the illicit production, smuggling and sale of whisky. The 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Gordon (1743-1827) was the principal landowner in the Cabrach and something of an old roué with scant regard for legal niceties or governmental interference on his estates.

The story of illicit distilling is one which runs through the history of the Cabrach but so too is the fact that it was neighbouring districts such as Glenlivet and most particularly Speyside itself which capitalised on the legalised trade while the Cabrach itself did not. However, the Cabrach is indisputably one of the progenitors of malt whisky distilling not least because the Grant family which established the celebrated Glenfiddich distillery and brand had their roots in the Cabrach. The genealogy of their family, like the genealogy of malt whisky itself, traces back to the Cabrach. The vicissitudes which the glen has faced are now being addressed by the work of the Cabrach Trust which has as its goal the desire to stimulate an economic, social, and cultural renaissance of the glen.

The Cabrach’s place in the lineage of malt whisky is central to the entire approach of the Trust and it was, therefore, the central story in this research around which the other themes revolve. The landscape and topography of the Cabrach, the people and the community, and the visceral or emotional aspects all bisect in and through that story of whisky distilling. The Cabrach has the capacity to present an authentic narrative about malt whisky because its geography possessed the attributes needed for its production, the hardy and self-reliant people had the skills – carefully nurtured and passed on from generation to generation – to make it, and the genuine authenticity of a place which exudes a rugged but poignantly sad beauty provokes a strong emotional reaction.

## The Landscape

Whilst whisky distilling was the central and over-arching theme, the initial workshop, where topics for discussion were identified, dwelt heavily on issues of landscape. This was often in connection with the conditions (noted above) which made the district singularly suitable for illicit or concealed distilling, but also because of the innate distinctiveness of the topography and geography itself. These themes emerged strongly throughout the research:

The Cabrach is a place of juxtaposition – harsh & peaceful, storms and stillness, togetherness, and isolation (JC).

This comment was interesting because the landscape, geographical and meteorological aspects also act as metaphors for the community of the Cabrach and for the lives led there. This sense of the community and its activities being intrinsically linked to, and bound by, that landscape was a prevailing narrative across the workshops. The geography of the Cabrach became the enduring feature on which other aspects of the glen's story hinged. The terrain, the subsistence farming, the plentiful supply of water, the isolation and remoteness of the landscape, shaped the activities of the glen and its people, most notably in creating near-perfect conditions for the development of illicit distilling and in acting as one of the progenitors (certainly unknowingly at the time) of what has become Scotland's most famous product.

One element that is often evident from story collection projects about local heritage is that people who belong to or are closely connected with a particular location can possess a heightened view of it as 'special' or 'unique' or 'distinctive'. This was evident in the discussions with phrases such as 'incredibly unique' (JC) or possessing a 'mystical reputation' (CM) being used. This was an insightful observation because, in the consciousness of people in North-East Scotland, the Cabrach does have a 'mythical' quality, largely because of its rugged landscape and relative isolation, the harshness of its climate, and because of the poignancy of the story of its depopulation. However, it is probably fair to observe that 'mythical' reputation' or the 'allure and atmosphere' (JC) are both best understood in local or regional contexts rather than more widely. Capturing or, to use a distilling analogy, 'bottling this' is for visitors to understand, sense and 'feel' it, is, therefore, why this story gathering and curating project was necessary. Despite this qualification, participants went further:

'The uniqueness of the place and its setting is really important. It's really unique across Scotland, not just the North-East, and we need to show that'. (AW)

'It is the microcosm of the complete [whisky] story... its unique, with a beginning, middle and defined end when it petered out'. (CM).

'[Cabrach is] the microcosm of a complete story, beginning, middle and end' (CM). This notion was picked up in a later workshop when it was observed that the Cabrach represented the 'first part' of the authentic story of whisky production:

The three ages of whisky are within twenty miles: the early story here in Cabrach, the middle in Dufftown and the future at Macallan<sup>2</sup> (CW)

Distinctiveness or uniqueness is, of course, often cited by people in relation to their own well-understood communities and locations. This is an under-explored phenomenon in the academic record. Many places can be said to have this in the eyes of the beholders; it is harder to convey that more widely to audiences that have perhaps little or no understanding of place, as noted by the observations on 'mythical' or 'atmospheric' above, begging the question that if *everything* is unique, is *anything* unique? Throughout discussions, the research team introduced the 'so what?' question,

---

<sup>2</sup> A reference to the Macallan distillery at Easter Elchies near Aberlour on Speyside which is a state-of-the-art facility and was RIBA building of the year in 2019 for its architecture and design.



partly playing the role of a devil's advocate and partly seeking reasoning and explanation for statements.

The phrase 'a landlocked island' (JC) was coined early on and struck a chord with the other participants: 'it has an island feel' (AW). This was amplified by discussion around themes such as 'separateness' and 'isolation' from neighbouring communities which are only a few miles away as the crow flies. The concept emerged strongly with the fact of there being only three entry points (from Glass to the north, Rhynie to the east, and Dufftown to the west) into the Cabrach. Although other routes had existed, over the hills, these have been the main gateways.

"Cabrach in old days had many more 'little' roads so it was (technically) less isolated.... But it was always easier to go *round* it than through it. It was bypassed. It was an isolated place. So, they created their *own* community and their *own* stories". (CM)

The 'landlocked island' re-emerged at various points, and it was evident that this concept had strong resonance in capturing the way the community viewed itself, how it shaped the community and, indeed, also the mentality of the people. These ideas of separation and isolation were, additionally, strongly advantageous for the inhabitants of the glen during the time illicit distilling was widespread and set up conditions for that to prosper and perhaps also for licit distilling to fail when more accessible, less harsh places could overtly produce malt whisky. The challenges of landscape, together with issues associated with landownership, subsistence farming in harsh conditions and the fact that distilling had become lucrative industries for the communities surrounding the Cabrach but not for the district itself were also strongly present in the identification of the narratives for the glen.

### **Storytelling case study: Hidden stills and hidden stories**

The nature of the Cabrach's landscapes lends itself to the idea of 'discovering hidden tales and this plays and important part in the heritage interpretation and storytelling as the Trust develops its exhibitions and narrative. As with all elements of principal themes for interpretation and storytelling in the Cabrach, these overlap.

Illicit whisky stills can be found across the north of Scotland, but they were particularly common in the Cabrach for reasons of geography and the skill of the inhabitants in producing high quality whisky. These illicit stills are hard to identify in the wider landscape unless one understands what you are looking for; they are tucked away next to burns and streams in the hill.

The landscape is littered with transient bothies and stills which were part of the [distilling] process. The landscape is the story, and the story has to be told in the landscape, out there, not just in a visitor centre. (CM).

It is 'a place you can get lost in' (AW) and that sense is both literal and metaphorical, and the idea of 'getting lost' was linked to ideas of atmosphere, an intangible but visceral reaction, which was mentioned on a number of occasions as being distinctive of the Cabrach:

I actually went last week with a Canadian visitor to see a whisky bothy. It was failing light. It was misty. But, my goodness, you got the atmospheric feel of the Cabrach, which is so much about the place of it. You sensed the adversity of the place. (AW)

This observation is instructive because the landscape, the atmosphere, the sense of adversity, the remoteness, are seen as integral to the experience of visiting but also to the authenticity of telling exploring the lineage of whisky distilling.

National Environment Advisor Matt Ritchie said:

“They are difficult to spot, but once you know what you are looking for, you can find them tucked away next to burns in the hills. When the Excise Act changed in 1823 and smaller distilleries became legal, the illicit distillers came down off the hills and set up in farmsteads like Blackmiddens. Consequently, the nondescript buildings can be much harder to identify, and this is what makes this first ever dig so exciting” (Ritchie, 2019; quoted <https://www.scotsman.com/regions/secrets-of-whisky-smuggling-country-to-be-revealed-at-site-of-ancient-distillery-548253>)

However, despite the fact that farms like this were famous for their fine quality spirit, whisky production at Blackmiddens stopped just eight years after it began, and the farm fell into ruin.

The hidden stills of the Cabrach are a unique part of the culture of the community. They are endlessly fascinating as the workshops demonstrated. They are a cornerstone of storytelling interpretation for the intrinsically unique nature of them, the fascination they generate in the psyche of visitors, and perhaps most transferably, because it affords the opportunity of creative reimagining of heritage interpretation (through digital means) in the wider landscape, away from a fixed ‘visitor’ or ‘heritage’ centre.

Allied to this, a series of key timelines were identified associated with the development of malt whisky distilling more generally and with the Cabrach as a community more specifically. The timeline included the legalisation of distilling 1822/23, the arrival of the railway, the Great War, and significant changes in landownership as in 1938. This latter element was amplified in discussions at a number of points as the role of the Dukes of Gordon, and later of Richmond and Gordon, as landowners was emphasised:

‘The dukes were important.’ (AW)

‘The dukes and their factors are crucial; they are the backbone of our timeline.’ (CM)

The ‘mythical’ qualities mentioned above are perhaps in the consciousness of people in the region because the Cabrach is associated with depopulation, resulting in a landscape that speaks of abandonment. There is also a prevailing narrative about the impact of the Great War. During the First World War, the young men went off to fight. There exists a somewhat inaccurate narrative to this. The Cabrach has been described as ‘the biggest war memorial in Europe’<sup>3</sup>. It is true that the

---

<sup>3</sup> We give no reference for this because although much quoted the originator of this phrase has not been identified; this was a topic of some considerable discussion in one of the workshops with AW and CM both making the same observation.

community was decimated as a consequence of the First World War, but not because of disproportionately high casualties but because bereft of able-bodied men and in response to two harsh winters the women and elderly left in the glen could not cope. However, a narrative of abandonment because of war losses has been overlaid on the glen in a not entirely accurate way. This perhaps contributes to the 'mythical qualities' and also, certainly, provokes strong interest in the people who once lived there and a visceral reaction to that abandonment narrative.

## The People

This article opens with a quote from Virginia Woolf which laments that so many human stories go unrecorded. Yet the study of everyday lives of 'ordinary' people provides rich insight and, in the words of the original 1937, Mass Observation project (<http://www.massobs.org.uk/>) creates an 'anthropology of ourselves'. Such ideas were seized on in the post Second World War period with oral history as discussed earlier. These techniques place people and their experiences at the heart of the narrative and their stories as an opportunity to explore wider economic, social, or cultural events.

People, as a theme, emerged clearly in the initial workshop although it remained amorphous, veering between a generalised discussion about the obvious importance of the past inhabitants of the community to highly specific discussions of individuals. Striking the right balance between these two forms of discussion is often a challenge in communities seeking to narrate their own heritage with a competition between well-documented outliers and the more 'normal' or 'standard' lives or experiences of individuals. This was highlighted:

'You're often only getting a snapshot of what life was like, we've got a very limited number of sources [in which] these stories appear in. We're only getting limited numbers, bits and pieces, aspects of life being talked about'. (CM)

Nevertheless, the story of the inhabitants generally and individuals in particular was identified as central to the storytelling narrative. This focused around three principal themes: (1) the lives of the people in the glen and their role in illicit and legal distilling; (2) their knowledge and skills (principally but not exclusively in whisky production) and (3) how the diaspora from the Cabrach spread that knowledge elsewhere; and how those two elements combined to place the people of the Cabrach as progenitors of the wider malt whisky story.

German and Adamson note that 'retrospectively, illicit distillers and smugglers have been portrayed sympathetically, if not altogether romantically.' (p.150). They were often seen as heroic and subversive, lawbreakers representing a long tradition of Highland disaffection. Perhaps they were, but undeniably they also possessed real skill and knowledge. This can be seen by both the distilling process which led to a product that enjoyed an 'exalted reputation' but also because of their innate ability to do this under the noses of the excisemen:

'They knew where to locate the stills out of sight; the locals would know how to get there but it would have appeared inaccessible at best or non-existent to any exciseman'. (CM)

An important aspect identified in the initial workshop was the hidden stories and in particular revealing the role that women played in the distilling process, in both the illicit and legal eras.

‘The women ruled the roost. They were central to it.’ (AW)

Discussion of this included particular individuals from the past such as Elizabeth Smith who inherited the still at Blackmiddens to more recent ones such as Janet Sheed Roberts (1901-2012) who was born in the Cabrach and was both the last surviving granddaughter of William Grant, founder of Glenfiddich, and Scotland’s oldest woman at the time of her death.

### ***Storytelling case study: Blackmiddens***

The 1823 Excise Act encouraged hitherto illicit distillers down from the hills, leading to the establishment of small-scale farm distilleries such as Blackmiddens which operated between 1825 and 1833. From 1827, the ‘lost’ distillery of Blackmiddens (located towards the eastern end of the Cabrach) was renamed Buck (after the hill which dominates the entire Cabrach). This still was operated by a tenant farmer, James Smith, and then by his wife Elizabeth.

For generations local farmers secretly distilled whisky and smuggled it away under the noses of the excisemen. After the Excise Act small-scale whisky production became a profitable and legal endeavour. Blackmiddens was one of the first farms to take advantage of this. The Blackmiddens distillery would have had a small still with a capacity of only 40 gallons (180 litres), compared to a typical modern pot still, which might hold thousands of litres.

The story of James and Elizabeth Smith is particularly potent in heritage values because they are ‘typical’ characters from the Cabrach, tenant farmers also undertaking high quality whisky distilling but their activities and their characters are well-documented. In terms of the presentation of the stories of distilling to twenty-first century audiences, the Smiths of Blackmiddens have an added element of authenticity, namely that of diversity in that it was Elizabeth who took over running the distillery and therefore assists in bringing out more strongly the sometime lost role and voice of women in industrial heritage.

The distillery, like many in the Cabrach was short-lived (operating between 1825 and 1833) and it has been speculated that there were issues with a lack of fresh water in the locality and its susceptibility to crop failure (which therefore overlaps this story with landscape features). Later the Sharp family became tenants at Blackmiddens. At the time of archaeological excavations of Blackmiddens in 2019, Joan Harvey, whose great-great-uncle, James Sharp, was tenant farmer at Blackmiddens, and a leader of the smugglers, spoke about the extent of illegal whisky distillation and smuggling in Cabrach:

‘I was always told that my great-great-uncle was the head of the gang at the time,’ she said. ‘We were the “freebooters” who took the whisky to Aberdeen to sell in the pubs. Stories about their adventures were passed down by my family. Apparently, my great-great-grandfather had a white stallion and, when the excisemen were billeted locally, he would ride his white horse, alerting everyone that the excisemen were there, so that the whisky smugglers could go to ground. The ‘freebooters’ used imaginative tactics to outwit the excisemen, she added. I was also told that, one time, the excisemen

were trying to catch the smugglers and had set up barricades all around Aberdeen. My great-great-uncle hired a horse-drawn hearse and loaded the coffin with whisky. When he reached the excisemen, they all took off their hats as a mark of respect for the dead – and the whisky went through.’ (Woodard, 2019).

Such stories abound and although there may be elements of mythology in their descent through the generations, the Cabrach is a place of many secrets and of stories which demonstrate its unique place as a gateway ancestor for malt whisky production in Scotland. Moreover, however, this type of story, rooted in people and place with elements unlike anywhere else are compelling for twenty-first century visitors. The Blackmiddens stories afford the Cabrach Trust the opportunity both to tell a very personal story of one family’s move from illicit to legal distilling, the role of women in the community generally and in whisky production more particularly. It also affords the opportunity to take heritage interpretation out of the proposed visitor centre and to tell stories in the wider landscape through digital means.

The potential of an individual being used as a storyteller about illicit distilling has been recognised. The ‘Moray Great Places’ project identified an ‘Illicit Stiller’ as one of the cast of characters that it felt could encapsulate the area and be used as a vehicle for storytelling. Although ‘Moray Great Places’ was poorly conceived, it was correct that the character of an ‘illicit stiller’ is a compelling vehicle by which generalised stories of people and their role in distilling can be used in heritage contexts. The final workshop focused on how the stories might be translated into heritage assets in the visitor centre but also, crucially, out in the landscape and terrain of the wider Cabrach. Inevitably, the use of app-based technology was discussed:

Let’s use digital in the landscape...use of projections, QR codes on gate posts etc. It’s heritage stories in the landscape, like Cateran Ecomuseum<sup>4</sup> does there need to be an app that can tell the story in the landscape like they do. (CM)

## The Visceral

In the initial workshop, the board with ‘emotional’ filled up first, and very quickly. This is perhaps not surprising, given the backstory of the Cabrach, the ethereal qualities of the landscape, and the close association that participants have with the parish, and its past, present, and future. Melancholy is a potent emotion in deserted Scottish glens (Hunter, 2019) and it is rarely an uncomplicated response because of multiple layers of complexity which often shroud the facts. Landscape, agricultural ‘improvements’, callous landowners, and many other factors have often combined to lead to the abandonment of communities such as the Cabrach, making telling such stories difficult and sometimes conflictingly ambiguous. Speaking of Strath Brora, Hunter notes that he finds it extraordinary how the Countess of Sutherland wrote of the abandonment of the community:

‘As if it’s an act of God that the place was devastated and in ruins, but it was that way because she and her husband had ordered it to be’. (Hunter, 2019.)

---

<sup>4</sup> A reference to the Cateran Ecomuseum in Perth and Kinross (<https://cateranecomuseum.co.uk/>). Discussion here also related to Timespan Museum in Helmsdale, Sutherland, where in both cases the wider landscape is valued as much as the heritage centre and museum.

A similar sense of ‘devastation’ was evident in the Cabrach: ‘how did this come to pass’ (AW). The emotional aspects of the Cabrach were connected strongly with the people surviving heroically against the odds, particularly valiantly maintaining a thriving community in a harsh environment. Many of the stories identified by Mackenzie and Winchester were emotional ones, associated with notions of hardship and adversity, linked back to the harsh landscape of the Cabrach, and to the subsistence lives of its inhabitants:

‘There are records of adults, children and animals all being buried in the snow and dying during harsh winters. McHardy for example’. (CM)

‘Taylor’s diary speaks of a farmer whose cow was ill. Many only had one cow. Goshen only had one cow. The farmer fed it whisky to make it try to survive’. (AW)

Whisky inevitably remained a common theme in these stories as the omnipresent nature of the spirit in the community in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries:

‘Travellers plied a child with whisky. The following morning the child was dead. It suggests that whisky was indeed free flowing. But there’s very limited information on this story but it is repeatedly alluded to vaguely’. (CM)

As is sometimes the case in local heritage storytelling there may have been an element of ‘urban myth’ in some of these. Although the one above is based on a newspaper report, others such as the Cabrach being ‘the biggest war memorial in Europe’ are unreferenced narratives that have entered community mythology, noted Mackenzie. Although local history storytelling often has a grain-of-truth in the fundamental narrative even if the precise details have been mythologised or misremembered. There is a strong narrative around the way in which residents of the Cabrach ‘heroically’ outwitted the excisemen and pursued their illicit whisky distilling. There is often a strongly emotional and romantic response to past, and essentially small-scale illegality, by which real and mythical outlaw heroes are romanticised, sentimentalised, sanitised (Seal, 2011) or even lionised or idealised, especially if their misdemeanours were not catastrophically criminal.

### ***Storytelling case-study: Goshen***

As has been rehearsed in the discussion of the Blackmiddens case-study, characters, such as a virtual ‘illicit stiller’ may well come in to their own and this is a recommendation for the Trust as it moves to implement heritage curation and interpretation. One such very real example of the ‘illicit stiller’ is that of James Smith ‘Goshen’ (1807-1892) of Craigdorney;

‘A poor soul caught smuggling’ (AW)

Goshen was a celebrated illicit distiller long after production of whisky had been legalised. He was arrested and tried in 1888. Goshen as a character emerged in almost every workshop and this is testimony to the powerfulness of his story as well as the value of telling it. This is particularly interesting in the context of wider storytelling approaches (in multiple contexts from heritage to organisational). Gabriel (1995, 2000, 2017) and others have identified storytelling archetypes and the notion of the valiant little champion (or even the ‘trickster’ or the ‘loveable rogue’) ‘a poor soul



caught smuggling' who overcomes authority and dies celebrated is a potent and enduring element in effective storytelling, narrative, and myth.

This inherent 'romance' or 'visceral' response is evident in the case of James Smith 'Goshen' whose illegally distilled whisky was highly regarded. A prominent public figure had sampled Goshen's dram whilst dining at nearby Beldorney Castle. Later he regaled the story in an after-dinner speech in London; unfortunately, a senior official in the Excise Department was present and made it his mission to find the man responsible for illegally distilling 'whisky of a quality unrivalled by anything for sale in the whole of London' (Glass, 2023). Goshen was arrested and tried. In the absence of any credible defence, Goshen's lawyer portrayed him as a feeble old man in poor circumstances and it was largely due to these extenuating circumstances that he got off with a £10 fine. He died four years later, a legend in his own lifetime.

AW described him as 'a poor soul' showing that the narrative of this story is very much the melancholy romance of an old man of modest means trying to survive, a story of the little guy up against the power of the authorities. The story of Goshen does provoke an emotional reaction. It is interesting to note, however, that although the story of Goshen came up frequently, he is claimed also by the neighbouring parish of Glass to the north of the Cabrach, reinforcing the observation that the Cabrach's boundaries are 'indistinct' (CM). Although a seemingly trivial observation, the Goshen story is as much one that Glass has ownership of, as the Cabrach does. Such instances of frighteningly indistinct boundaries can raise issues associated with ownership of stories and even to perceptions of perceived exploitation.

Goshen is one of the characters who brings the story of the Cabrach's illicit distilling alive. He is representative of the long generations of natives who produced high quality whisky. He is also a particularly empathetic figure because of his age and circumstances. He represents that notion of the 'little guy' up against authority. He is a character, in heritage interpretation terms, that visitors can engage with on a visceral as well as educational level. Goshen is one of the key stories for the Cabrach. He needs to be brought alive in both analogue and digital fashions as part of the exhibitions and interpretations. The source material around him is extensive enough for this to be done in creative ways (both in terms of the written word and in terms of artefacts). This is a universal theme of stories in the Cabrach (e.g. also evident in connection with Blackmiddens) whereby digital technologies (via Apps or QR codes) can be deployed to give visitors a wider experience *in situ* out in the glen.

Tolia-Kelly, Waterton, and Watson (2017) have spoken about the 'value, power and politics of affect and emotion' and how these shape experiences of heritage sites and landscapes, our relationship with the past, as well as scholarship about these issues. The affective, emotion, visceral element was strongly evident throughout the research and has, implicitly, been observed in the topic discussed above most notably around the majesty of the rugged landscape and that strong sense of a place abandoned. The sense is that the Cabrach has to be *experienced* or *felt* not just passively seen or read about was a prevailing theme in the workshops and is evident to anyone who visits the glen. Visceral or keenly felt emotional and cultural markers are to be found everywhere and they are strongly

evident in the Cabrach as in other parts of North-East Scotland (Reid, 2023; Hood and Reid, 2018; Davidson and Reid, 2021).

Other strongly felt responses were evident in discussion surround the heroic response of ‘underdogs’ (AW & JC) ‘prevailing against issues of landownership, against legislative shifts, against the weather, against industrialisation’ (CW). Surviving against adversity and resilience in particular were recurring themes in the workshops:

‘It is a moving story, both past and the story going forward’ (CM)

‘It is about cultural stories – not just whisky and history – and how the community moves forward. We [Cabrach Trust] are leading on a community agenda of development, a social enterprise like no other, a multi-million-pound enterprise for a distillery and, therefore, ultimately sustainable. It’s all about renewal and sustainability’. (JC)

What the conversations in the workshops revealed was the singular importance of the narratives that encapsulated the community of the Cabrach and its distinctive story. The Cabrach is a community with a rich heritage at the heart of which is the narrative of its place in the story of malt whisky distilling. In genealogical parlance, the Cabrach can be said to be a ‘gateway ancestor’ in the lineage of the development of malt whisky from an illicit household activity to a global business. The story of distilling the core of the narrative for the Cabrach but it is combined with its challenging geography and landscape and the poignant tenacity of its people. Equally important, however, is the need – as with all heritage storytelling – to *make connections* with people exploring that heritage through the visceral, the emotional, the keenly-felt, the affective.

The data gathered in the workshops and report here makes clear that these emotional factors and connections are readily available central tenets to how the Cabrach’s story can best be told. Jonathan Christie, CEO of Cabrach Trust spoke of the distillery development and the trust’s activities being ‘a social enterprise like no other’ and its activities matter because the survival and future sustainability of the Cabrach’s fragile community matters. The stories of Cabrach’s past play, therefore, a hugely significant role in the future of the community. These are issues that many communities wrestle with, sustainable development, heritage-led regeneration, sympathetic, respectful, and authentic use of its past to create and support its future.

The stories themselves matter in terms of their informational content, their capacity to present an authentic picture of people, places, events are important; and beneath the surface of the material reported here lies a wealth of rich material which can be utilised. However, equally important is the methodological approach to heritage storytelling in terms of the process of collection (through word-of-mouth or oral and folkloric traditions) as well as through diligent archival research to bring credibility and authenticity, and in terms of how they are collected, curated, and used. The Cabrach is rich in history and indeed there is a surfeit of material; and too much is as big a problem as too little.

## Conceptual heritage storytelling model

Both the scoping meeting and the first workshop highlighted the parameters of the research as well as identified the key elements in the story of Cabrach. These could perhaps have been predicted beforehand but, in both meetings, it was important to have these emerge from the experts we worked with and, most particularly, to understand the inter-connections that they saw between these aspects. As noted above, there is, if anything, a surfeit of material around the various aspects of the Cabrach’s heritage. The workshops were free-flowing thematic discussions, gathering the ‘skeleton of a story’ rather than going into minute detail of archive material to substantiate or corroborate the ‘facts’ or to present ‘a finished product’ for the way in which the story might be used. The focus was on the main thrust of what it told us about the Cabrach, why it was interesting, or distinctive, or unique, how it connected to other parts of the wider narrative, and how it might be curated and used by the Cabrach Trust as it develops both distillery and visitor experience.

These latter elements, curation, and use, were also the primary focus of the final workshop with CM and AW and the last meeting with JC and SD. The following conceptual model was developed both as a means of articulating the stages of the project – working through the three key elements of (1) Collection, (2) Curation, and (3) Use, whilst simultaneously grouping together the principal story segments into three broad but interconnected groups (a) the Landscape, (b) the People, (c) the Visceral. At the heart of it was the authentic place the Cabrach has in the story of the development of malt whisky. This is the central, defining theme; it is the distinctive narrative of both the Cabrach as place and the Cabrach Trust rejuvenating it.

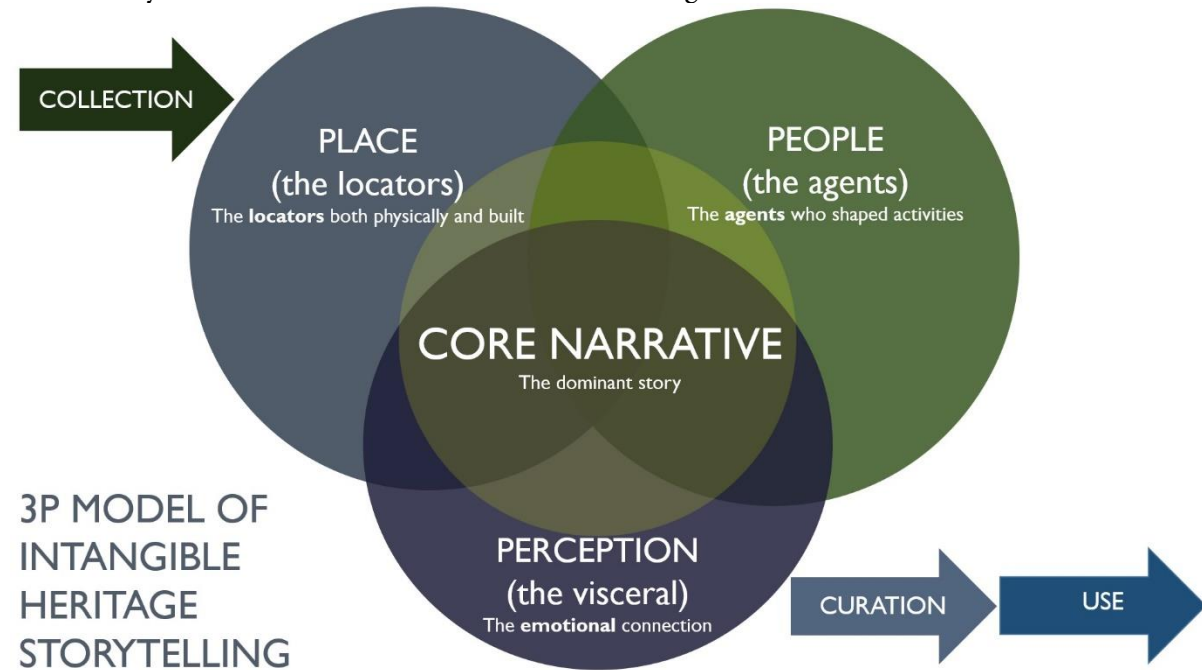


INSERT HERE

Figure 2: Conceptual model developed for storytelling in the Cabrach.

This model is transferable to other places and communities where one crucial, central strand can be isolated as being the ‘core of the narrative’ of heritage storytelling and the other ‘significant’ factors circle around it. This adds to the dichotomous conversation of uniqueness and its role in the collection, curation, and use in intangible heritage storytelling. Arguably all communities, at a

fundamental level, have their claim of uniqueness and do have genuinely ‘different’ stories, their larger narrative will often draw many parallels with other similar communities, albeit with the dominant, central, story changing, it can be argued that the broader issues of the **Place** (the locators) the **People** (the agents) and the **Perception** (the visceral), and their respective connections to the central story will form the core tenets of the stories being told.



INSERT HERE

Figure 3: 3P Conceptual model for intangible heritage storytelling.

Within our own study, two of the three Ps are better represented with the synonyms of ‘landscape’ and ‘visceral’ due to the specificity of the discussions, both of which still, are within their respective hierarchical ‘place’ and ‘perception’ domains. By adopting and adapting this conceptual model to their own intangible heritage storytelling pursuits, others will be able to capture the essence of the stories of other communities with equally distinctive histories and people. Overarching all of these thematic story-related elements must be the need to be authentic and respectful in the more mechanistic parts of the process, the collection, curation, and above all, use of the stories.

This conceptual model offers other communities and heritage organisations a framework with universally held elements (Place, People, Perception) surrounding a strong single narrative of storytelling. The central, core element may vary but the outer elements remain the same, people and place are omnipresent and the need to build *connection* (the Perception) being crucial. This model can, therefore, mitigate Massey’s (1994) observations about introverted obsessions where communities focus on what they want to preserve or say rather than what others, such as visitors want to see or hear.

The telling of stories has been described as “elixirs” which “nurture and feed us” (Rodney, 2016) and deployment of the 3P model can shape and inform the way in which communities and heritage organisations tell their stories in an authentic and proportionate manner. In doing so this can help shape and explain cultures, and identities, as well as support visitors’ understanding of, and

connection with, the places they have gone to see and experience. In this respect, the model offers two principal ways of informing practice. Firstly, within the context of the Cabrach itself, it enables stories to be assessed against it to inform how the heritage of the glen is told to visitors. The 3P model, emergent from and responsive to, the Cabrach's unique context will facilitate the selection of the 'best' or 'most informative' or 'most appropriate' stories with which to showcase the distinctive whisky heritage of the area. Secondly, the model is of wider applicability beyond Cabrach; it affords other such development trusts (where cultural heritage is often also a vehicle for social and economic regeneration) to assess the critical factors that best represent their community and its story. It is a model best suited to such organisations that have a rich and diverse heritage, and a plethora of stories but which are essentially starting with a blank canvas. The authors are keen to test the applicability of the Cabrach model in other contexts beyond this research.

## Conclusions

This research set out to identify how stories associated with a particularly distinctive community could be collected, curated, and used. What is clear, however, is that the depth of stories, historical, fact-based, folkloric or legend in the Cabrach, is extensive. There is rich material; perhaps it is too rich, with too much colour, verve, and detail. This was why the research was required; to build a model around which stories could be gathered conceptually, to provide focus and to make interconnections across the aspects which define 'the spirit of the Cabrach'.

The prevailing narrative of the Cabrach and of the development trust is that of malt whisky. As our approach, and the results show, that is the golden thread that runs through the storytelling. In tourism terms, that is the 'draw' for this region, with more than fifty distilleries in the greater Speyside region. Not only is it the golden thread of the Cabrach's story but it is also simple common-sense; that is why a large proportion of visitors come to the area.

The research was built around conversations eliciting expert testimony from Mackenzie and Winchester who, through rigorous investigations, have established themselves as the authorities on the district and its role in the history of whisky distilling. Not all heritage storytelling initiatives are fortunate enough to have such specialist witnesses, although many do. It is clear, however, that the narratives visitors will experience when they come to the Cabrach have to be 'selected highlights' built around these key elements. The balance of involvement and emotion, against objectivity and detachment, is critical in presenting the story in an engaging yet unbiased manner, and it is through this balance that the research can state that: the story of the Cabrach is one of a distinctive landscape and a hardy people that play a (potentially disproportionate) role in the story of the development of malt whisky distilling. The multiple layers of stories had to be 'distilled' down to core elements which, in addition to whisky, involved centring the narratives around people, landscape and that important sense of visceral reaction or emotional connection.

The Cabrach Trust and the wider community (for it is their stories) can become the repository for this material, which can be used selectively and effectively to engage visitors with the spirit of the place. There is a danger, of course, in any community-based heritage storytelling to attempt to document everything exhaustively which is unobtainable and unrealistic. The use of the stories is now in the hands of the Cabrach Trust as they take forward their plans for the new distillery and

visitors' centre. As has been mentioned, the model also offers wider applicability in other contexts and can be tested in circumstances elsewhere. Further research around the model may well also focus on the nature of retelling stories, how the shift in both the telling and the cognitive understanding of the recipients, as well as around issues associated with their ownership and use.

## References

- Abram, L. (2016), *Oral History Theory*, Routledge, Abingdon, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.
- Albert, S. (2017), *Conversation Analysis*. Routledge, London.
- Almassi, B. (2009a), "Conflicting expert testimony and the search for gravitational waves", *Philosophy of Science*, Vol. 76, No. pp.570–584.
- Almassi, B. 2009b. "Trust in expert testimony: Eddington's 1919 eclipse expedition and the British response to general relativity". *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science Part B*, Vol. 40, No. 1, pp.57–67.
- Arsenijević, O. Pajić, S. Krstić S. (2021), "Storytelling as an element of knowledge management in cultural heritage", *International Journal of Economics and Law*, No. 32 (November), pp.1-10.
- Barthes, R., Brémond, C., Destreri, L. D. G., & Fabbri, P. (1969), *L'analisi del racconto*. V. Bompiani, Milan.
- Bassano, C. Barlie, S. Piciocchi, P. Spohrer, J.C. Iandolo, F. Fisk, R. (2019). "Storytelling about places: Tourism marketing in the digital age", *Cities*, Vol. 87, April, pp.10-20.
- Boje, D.M. (1995), "Stories of the Storytelling Organization: A Postmodern Analysis of Disney As "Tamara-Land", *Academy of Management Journal*, Vol. 38, No.4, pp.997-1035.
- Boswell, R. (2011), "Challenges to Sustaining Intangible Cultural Heritage", *Heritage & Society*, Vol.4 No.1, pp.119-124.
- Bowers, J. Gamble, J.R. Lambie, E. McCleery, A. McCleery, A. and Wardrop, K. (2015) *Living Culture and Tourism in Scotland*. Edinburgh, Napier University.
- Boyce, M.E. (1996), "Organizational story and storytelling: a critical review", *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, Vol. 9 No. 5, pp. 5-26.
- Brown, J.S. Denning, S. Groh, K. Prusak, L. (2005). *Storytelling in organizations: why storytelling is transforming twenty-first century organizations and management*. Elsevier-Butteworth-Heineman, Oxford.
- Brown, N., (2008), *Cabrach Moray: A Baseline Study*. Highlands and Islands Enterprise, Inverness, p. 10.
- Bulloch, J.M. (1930). "The Duke of Gordon's Kingdom, 1815". In *Transactions of the Banffshire Field Club* 1930, pp.171-193 available at [https://banffshirefieldclub.org.uk/PDFs/BOOK\\_11/Banffshire\\_Field\\_Club\\_Transactions\\_1925-1930\\_-\\_1930\\_Duke\\_of\\_Gordon's\\_Kingdom\\_in\\_1815\\_WM.pdf](https://banffshirefieldclub.org.uk/PDFs/BOOK_11/Banffshire_Field_Club_Transactions_1925-1930_-_1930_Duke_of_Gordon's_Kingdom_in_1815_WM.pdf) (accessed 18 May 2023).



Cabrach Trust (2023) (available at [www.cabrachtrust.org](http://www.cabrachtrust.org) (accessed 29 May 2023).

Coady, C. A. J. (1992), *Testimony: A philosophical study*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Casey, S. (2013), "Okinawan heritage and its polyvalent appropriations", *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 42, pp.130-150.

Chen, Z. Suntikul, W. King, B. (2020), "Constructing an intangible cultural heritage experiencescape: The case of the feast of the Drunken Dragon (Macau)", *Tourism Management Perspectives*, Vol. 34 (2020), Article 100659

Davidson A. and Reid, P.H. (2021), "Digital storytelling and participatory local heritage through the creation of an online moving image archive: a case-study of Fraserburgh on Film". *Journal of Documentation*, Vol. 88 No. 2, pp.389-415.

Dawson, P. and Sykes, C. (2018), "Concepts of Time and Temporality in the Storytelling and Sensemaking Literatures: A Review and Critique", *International Journal of Management Reviews*, Vol. 21 No. 1, pp.97-114.

Denning, S. (2006), "Effective storytelling: Strategic business narrative technique", *Strategy & Leadership*, Vol. 3 No. 1, pp.42-48.

Devine, T.M. (1975), 'The Rise and Fall of Illicit Whisky-Making in Northern Scotland, c. 1780-1840', *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 54, pp.155-77.

Duarte, N. (2013), *Resonate; present virtual stories that transform audiences*. Hoboken NJ, John Wiley & Sons.

Durkheim, É. *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. The Free Press, New York (available at [https://monoskop.org/images/a/a2/Durkheim\\_Emile\\_The\\_Elementary\\_Forms\\_of\\_Religious\\_life\\_1995.pdf](https://monoskop.org/images/a/a2/Durkheim_Emile_The_Elementary_Forms_of_Religious_life_1995.pdf) (accessed 18 May 2023).

Elias, N. (1939), *The Civilizing Process*, Blackwell, Oxford

Elias, N. (1956), 'Problems of Involvement and Detachment', *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.7, No.3, pp.226-252.

Elias, N. (1987), *Involvement and Detachment*' Oxford: Blackwell

Eriksson, P. Henttonen, E. and Meriläinen, S. (2012), "Ethnography field notes and reflexivity" In Naidoo, L. (ed). *An ethnography of global landscapes and corridors*, InTech, Rijeka.

Esfehani, M.H., & Albrecht, J. (2019), "Planning for Intangible Cultural Heritage in Tourism: Challenges and Implications", *Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research*, Vol. 43 No. 7, pp.980-1001.

*Excise Report Twelfth report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the collection and management of the revenue arising in Ireland, Scotland; &c. Excise: Scotland. Receipts, payments and accounts; new distillery law; illicit distillation; establishments; glass duties*, House of Commons Papers, 14, 390 (1825), p.569.

Falcone, P. (2020). "Heritage Storytelling". In Queiros, A., *Examining a New Paradigm of Heritage With Philosophy, Economy, and Education*, IGI Global, Hershey PA, pp.42-157.

Fetterman, D. (2010), *A guide to conducting ethnographic research: a review of ethnography: step-by-step*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Sage, Los Angeles.

Gabriel, Y. (1995), "The unmanaged organization: Stories, fantasies and subjectivity". *Organization Studies* 16(3): 477–501.

Gabriel, Y. (2000) *Storytelling in Organizations, Facts, Fictions, and Fantasies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gabriel, Y. (2017) "Stories and narratives". In: Cassel C, Cunliffe AL, Grandy G (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Business and Management Research Methods*. London: SAGE, pp. 63–81.

German, K. and Adamson, G. (2019), "Distilling in the Cabrach, c. 1800-1850: the illicit origins of the Scotch whisky industry", *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 39.2, 2019, pp.146–165.

Glass Community Association, (2023). *Glass Remembered: Goshen's Story*. (available at <https://glasscommunityassociation.org/glass-remembered-goshens-story/>) (accessed 30 May 2023).

Gottschall, J. (2012), *The storytelling animal: how stories make us human*, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, Boston.

Groh, K, (2001) "What are the potential benefits of storytelling?" [online]. <http://www.creatingthe21stcentury.org/Intro6-benefits-story.html> (content no longer available; see Katusčáková, M and Katusčák, M. (2013).

Hammersley and Atkinson, (2019), *Ethnography: principles in practice*, Routledge, Abindgon.

Hearne, B. (2011), "Folklore in children's literature: Contents and discontent"s. In S. Wolf, K. Coats, P. Enciso, & C. Jenkins (Eds.), *Handbook of research on children's and young adult Literature 2*. Routledge, New York and London, pp.209-233.

Hood, C. and Reid, P.H. (2018), "Social media as a vehicle for user engagement with local history: a case study in the north-east of Scotland". *Journal of Documentation*, Vol. 74 No. 4, pp.741-762.

Huang, Z. Xu, T. (2022), "Research on Knowledge Management of Intangible Cultural Heritage Based on Linked Data", *Mobile Information Systems*, Vol. 2022, 14 pages, available at <https://www.hindawi.com/journals/misy/2022/3384391/> (accessed 18 May 2023).

Hunter, J. (2019), "We can undo the Clearances and re-people the Highlands", available at <https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/17575584.can-undo-clearances-re-people-highlands-says-professor-jim-hunter/> (accessed 16 May 2023).

James, C. H., & Minnis, W. C. (2004), "Organizational storytelling: It makes sense". *Business Horizons*, Vol. 47, No. 4, pp.23–32.

Katuščáková, M and Katuščák, M. (2013). "The Effectiveness of Storytelling in Transferring Different Types of Knowledge", in Janiūnaitė, B. Pundziene, A. and Petraite, M. ECKM 2013: Proceedings of the 14th European Conference on Knowledge Management, Kaunas 5-6 September 2013. Academic Conferences, Reading, pp.341-349, [Quoting Groh, K, (2001) "What are the potential benefits of storytelling?" [online]. <http://www.creatingthe21stcentury.org/Intro6-benefits-tory.html> (content no longer available)]

Kenyon, T. (2016), "Oral History and The Epistemology of Testimony", *Social Epistemology*, Vol. 30 No. 1, pp.45-66.

King, L. Stark, J.F. and Cooke, P. (2016), "Experiencing the Digital World: The Cultural Value of Digital Engagement with Heritage", *Heritage & Society*, Vol.9 No.1, pp.76-101.

McDowell, K. (2021), "Storytelling wisdom: story, information and DIKW" *Journal of Association for Information Science and Technology (JASSIST)*, 72, pp.1222-1233.

Massey, D. (1994), *Space, Place and Gender*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis pp.146-155.

Mellis, C. and Chambers, D. (2021), "he construction of intangible cultural heritage: a Foucauldian critique", *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 89 July, 103206.

Mutibwa, D.H. (2016), "Memory, storytelling and the digital archive: Revitalizing community and regional identities in the virtual age", *International Journal of Media & Cultural Politics*, Vol, 12 No. 1, pp.7-26.

Ong, W. J. Calanchi, A. & Loretelli, R. (1986). *Oralità e scrittura: le tecnologie della parola. Il mulino*. Park, 2011;

Osei-Tutu, A. A. Z. (2022). Developing African oral traditional storytelling as a framework for studying with African peoples. *Qualitative Research*, . <https://doi.org/10.1177/14687941221082263>

Park, H. (2011), "Shared national memory as intangible heritage: Re-imagining two Koreas as one nation", *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 38 No. 2, pp.520-540.

Parman, S. (1990), *Scottish crofters: a historical ethnography of a Celtic village*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.

Parman, S. (2005), *Scottish crofters colloquium*, available at [www.jiscmail.ac.uk/cgi-bin/webadmin?A2=highlands;bd8acdfe.05](http://www.jiscmail.ac.uk/cgi-bin/webadmin?A2=highlands;bd8acdfe.05) (accessed 18 May 2023).

Reamy, T. (2002), "Imparting knowledge through storytelling", *KM World*, Vol. 11 No. 7, available at <https://www.kmworld.com/Articles/Editorial/Features/Imparting-knowledge-through-storytelling-Part-1-of-a-two-part-article-9358.aspx>, (accessed 18 May 2023).

Reid, P.H. (2023), "The spik o the place': dialect and its place in the folkloric cultures and traditions in North-East Scotland". In *Folklore, People and Place: International Perspectives on Tourism and Tradition in Storied Places* (ed. J. Hunter and R. Ironside), Routledge, London.

Rinallo, D. (2020), "Heritage storytelling, community empowerment and sustainable development", *Правоведение [Provovedenie]* Vol.64 No. 1, pp. 57-67.

Ritchie, M.(2019), quoted in "Secrets of whisky smuggling country to be revealed at site of ancient distillery", *The Scotsman*, 12 April. Available at <https://www.scotsman.com/regions/secrets-of-whisky-smuggling-country-to-be-revealed-at-site-of-ancient-distillery-548253>)

Rodney, S. (2016), *Storytelling Handbook. The Basic of Storytelling*, 4, available at [https://museumonmainstreet.org/sites/default/files/complete\\_toolkit\\_v2.1.pdf](https://museumonmainstreet.org/sites/default/files/complete_toolkit_v2.1.pdf) (accessed 18 May 2023).

Seal, G. (2011), *Outlaw heroes in myth and history*, Anthem Press, London.

Shiri, A., Howard, D. and Farnel, S. (2022), "Indigenous Digital Storytelling: Digital Interfaces Supporting Cultural Heritage Preservation and Access". *International Information and Library Review*, 54(2), pp. 93-114

Simpson, E. (1992). *Discovering Banff, Moray and Nairn*. John Donald, Edinburgh.

Sium, A. and Ritskes, E. (2013), "Speaking truth to power: Indigenous storytelling as an act of living resistance", *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, Vol. 21 No. 1, pp.i-x.

Snowden, D. (2005), "From atomism to networks in social systems" *The Learning Organization*, Vol 12, No. 6, pp.552-562.

Soule, D. & Wilson, D. (2002), *Storytelling in organisations: the power and traps of using stories to share knowledge in organizations*. LILA, Harvard, Graduate School of Education, pp.73-92.

Su, J. (2019), "Understanding the changing intangible cultural heritage in tourism commodification: The music player's perspective from Lijiang China", *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, Vol. 17 No. 3, pp.247-268

Taylor, J. (1914), *The Cabrach* (Banff); Aberdeen University Library (hereafter AUL), Duff House/ Earls of Fife [sic] Papers, MS 3175/1375/2 'Observations on the distilleries submitted by the farmers to the consideration of the heritors of Banffshire', n.d. (for quote).

Taylor, J. (1920). *Cabrach Feerings*. (ed Janet Anderson). Banffshire Journals, Banff.

Taylor, J. and Gibson, L.K. (2017), "Digitisation, digital interaction and social media: embedded barriers to democratic heritage". *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol.23 No.5, pp.408-420.

Tobin, P. (2006). Teaching IT through storytelling. Proceedings of The Conference on Information Technology in Tertiary Education, 18-20 September, Pretoria, South Africa.

Tolia-Kelly, D.P. Waterton, E. and Watson, S. (eds), (2017), *Heritage, Affect and Emotion*. Routledge, Abingdon. Series: Critical Studies in Heritage, Emotion and Affect

Tilden, F. (2008), *Interpreting our heritage*, 4<sup>th</sup> Ed. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill

- Tranter, N. (1974), *The Queen's Scotland: the Northeast*. Hodder and Stoughton, London.
- Turnock, D. (1981), "The retreat of settlement in the Grampian Uplands", *Northern Scotland*, 4, p. 92.
- Turner, D. and Pirie, E. (2016), "Problems of involvement and detachment: a critical approach to research live event experiences". In Lamond, I.R. and Platt, L. *Critical event studies: approaches to research*. London: Palgrave Macmillan [online], pages 17-35.
- Visit Scotland, (2015), Scotland the perfect stage. Scotland's event strategy 2015-25. Available at <http://www.eventscotland.org/assets/show/4658> (accessed 18 May 2023)
- Walton, D. (2008), *Witness testimony evidence: Argumentation, artificial intelligence, and law*. Cambridge: University Press, Cambridge.
- Webster, L. and Mertova, P. (2007), *Using narrative inquiry as a research method*. Routledge, New York and London.
- Well, K. (2011). *Narrative Inquiry*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- West, G.J. (2008), *An historical ethnography of rural Perthshire, 1750-1950: farm, family and neighbourhood*, Edwin Mellen Press, New York.
- Woodard, R. (2019). 'Lost whiskies of the Cabrach. *Scottish Whisky*. Available at <https://scotchwhisky.com/magazine/features/26092/the-lost-whiskies-of-the-cabrach/>
- Woolf, V. (2020), *A room of one's own*. Penguin, London.