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To life and love

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Stewart and Strathern have published over 50 books, over 80 book prefaces, and hundreds of articles, book chapters, and essays on their research in the Pacific (mainly Papua New Guinea [primarily in the Highlands: Hagen, Duna, Egali, and Pangia areas] and the South-West Pacific region, e.g., Samoa, Cook Islands, and Fiji); Asia (mainly Taiwan, and also including Mainland China and Inner Mongolia, and Japan); Europe (primarily Scotland, Ireland, Germany and the European Union countries in general); as well as New Zealand and Australia. Their most recent co-authored books include *Witchcraft, Sorcery, Rumors, and Gossip* (Cambridge University Press, 2004); *Kinship in Action: Self and Group* (Routledge, 2016, originally published 2011); *Peace-Making and the Imagination: Papua New Guinea Perspectives* (University of Queensland Press with Penguin Australia, 2011); *Ritual: Key Concepts in Religion* (Bloomsbury Academic Publications, 2014); *Working in the Field: Anthropological Experiences Across the World* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); *Breaking the Frames: Anthropological Conundrums* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); *Diaspora, Disasters, and the Cosmos: Rituals and Images* (Carolina Academic

Press, 2018); *Story of the Kuk UNESCO World Heritage Prehistoric Site and The Melpa, Western Highlands Province, Papua New Guinea: Pride in Place* (Angkemam Publishing House, 2018); *Sacred Revenge* (Cambridge University Press, 2019); *Language and Culture in Dialogue* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2019; and *Sustainability, Conservation and Creativity: Ethnographic Learning from Small-Scale Practices* (Routledge Publishing Focus on Environment and Sustainability Series, 2020).

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Stewart and Strathern's current research includes the new subfield of Disaster Anthropology, which they have been developing for many years. They are the Series Editors for the new *Palgrave Studies in Disaster Anthropology*. Also, the topics of Cosmological Landscapes and the Environment; Healing Practices; Ritual Studies; Political Peacemaking; Comparative Anthropological Studies of Disasters and Climatic Change; and Language, Culture, and Cognitive Science; and Scottish and Irish Studies are all research topics that they are engaged with.

Stewart and Strathern have been, respectively, Visiting Research Fellow and Visiting Professor in the Department of Anthropology, University of Durham, England. They are also Research Associates in the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies, University of Aberdeen, Scotland (2003–present), and have continuously been Visiting Research Fellows at the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan during parts of every year from 2002 to 2014 and 2015–2017 continued to work and lecture throughout Taiwan. They are affiliated faculty at the University of Glasgow, Glasgow, Scotland (2015–present). Stewart and Strathern are also Honorary Associate Professor and Honorary Professor (respectively) at the School of Culture, History, and Language, College of Asia and the

Pacific, Australian National University and at the James Cook University (The Cairns Institute—Research in Tropical Societies) in Australia.

They have served as Senior Visiting Fellows at the International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden University, The Netherlands (1998); as Research Visitor and Research Scholar (respectively), Minpaku, National Museum of Ethnology, Senri Expo Park, Osaka, Japan (2000 and again in 2014); as Visiting Scholars, Department of Anthropology, University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia (2006–2011); as visiting professors, Department of Anthropology, James Cook University, Townsville, Australia (1997–1999); and (2004–2005, and 2017–2019) as invited lecturers, over several decades, at a number of Chinese Universities: Peking University, Xiamen University, Shanghai University, Nanjing University, Fudan University (Shanghai), Minzu University (Tongliao, Inner Mongolia), Inner Mongolia Normal University (Hohhot, Inner Mongolia) and Inner Mongolia Art School (Hohhot, Inner Mongolia).

They jointly presented the 2012 DeCarle Distinguished Lectures at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand and have been Visiting Fellows at the University of Otago (2008, 2012, 2015–2016, 2018). They have been Special Advisers to the Organization for Internal Cultural Development (OICD) (2013–2016) and have served as Guest Lecturers on conflict studies, medical anthropology, and museums and ritual studies at the University of Augsburg, Germany (2014–2020).

For many years they served as Associate Editor and General Editor (respectively) for the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania book series. They currently edit three book series with Carolina Academic Press: *Ritual Studies*; *Medical Anthropology*; and *European Anthropology*; and they are the longstanding Co-Editors of the *Journal of Ritual Studies* (available through JSTOR and AtlaSerials). They also are the Series Editors for *Anthropology and Cultural History in Asia and the Indo-Pacific* with Routledge Publishing (formerly with Ashgate Publishing). They are the Founding Editors for the *Palgrave Studies in Disaster Anthropology* book series. They are on the editorial boards of the journals *Shaman* and *Religion and Society*. They are the Co-Leaders of the University of Pittsburgh's Study Abroad program *Pitt in the Pacific*, which they developed from their contacts in the Pacific, especially at the University of Otago in

Dunedin, New Zealand. Their web pages, listing publications and other scholarly activities, are: <http://www.pitt.edu/~strather/> and <http://www.StewartStrathern.pitt.edu/>.

Preface

We are pleased to revisit our work on Scotland, Ireland, and Wales and update the last two decades of our research and publications here since the publication of *Minorities and Memories: Survivals and Extinctions in Scotland and Western Europe*. (Strathern and Stewart, Carolina Academic Press, 2001). We are also very glad that this book will be a part of the European Anthropology Series. Anthropologists engage with developing historical perspectives on their work and the changing processes of social orders. The need to do so has been all the more compelling given their involvement with fieldwork in areas where there are numerous historical works available. In addition, theoretical approaches themselves have moved increasingly towards the diachronic domain as anthropologists have grappled with the analysis of processes and events arising out of the colonial and post-colonial experiences of peoples and with people's own constructions of their history and changing expressions of their identity. The resurgence of nationalism in some areas and its recontextualization under transnational and globalizing influences have added further complexities to the enterprise of writing and discussing social change. The European Union's development and outward reaching influences have impacted the United Kingdom greatly, and the 2014 Scottish referendum for independence is just one sign of the altering senses of identity and relationships between peoples. The enormous impact of the vote in 2016 to leave the European Union is still a story in the making, punctuated now by the UK's formal exit from the EU on January 31, 2020 and the beginnings of negotiation over trade deals with both the remaining countries of the EU and the world at large.

In this book we have explored some of these new parameters of the anthropological project, focusing on the topic of Scotland and historical senses of identity among its people. We began our field enquiries with an interest in the specific circumstances of tenant farmers on an estate in a part of the County of Ayrshire in the South-West of Scotland where to our knowledge no anthropologist, other than ourselves, had previously carried out ethnographic work. Because one of our interests lay in the process of succession to tenancies on estates, the work inevitably acquired a historical dimension, as we tried to trace families through time and space and to understand the wider historical settings into which their lives were set. The context of such settings also influenced the ways in which people saw themselves and experienced their identities. It soon became apparent to us that in Scotland senses of historical identity are very much bound up with ideas of relationships with England, in particular England seen as a center of state power rather than England seen in terms of individual persons or families of English descent. This perception of identity in terms of a relationship of contrast or difference (whether seen in terms of culture or power or both) seemed to be a persisting feature, its content changing historically but its locus remaining relatively fixed (see Bowie 1993: 177, quoting the earlier fundamental observations of Edwin Ardener on this point; also the Introduction by Sharon Macdonald to the volume in which Bowie's chapter appears). Such a combination of formal stability and historical changes of content again indicated to us the need for a vigorous incorporation of history into our ethnographic work.

The focus initially on tenant farmers came from the fact that Andrew Strathern's grandfather was a tenant farmer on Smiddyshaw farm in Ayrshire on the Sorn Estate. Andrew first learnt to speak in Scotland and developed a sense for the musicality of the Lowlands Scots language (Lallans). Over many decades we have continued our relationship with Scotland and our own senses of identity (Stewart, a Scottish family name dating back to pre-7th century and Strathern, thought to be a Pictish-Scottish name. The Picts date back to the Late British Iron Age).

Doing history required that we expand our ethnographic remit to take into account at least a sampling of existing primary and secondary historical materials. Such a process is open-ended and subject only to pragmatic forms of closure. We took our cues here from the existence of local historical research centers in Cumnock and Kilmarnock, two of the towns

within our research area. These proved to have good collections of local works on Ayrshire, testifying also to the keen interest in these topics on the part of Ayrshire people themselves. In 2000 we came across a similarly valuable collection of works in the Public Library in Forfar, Angus, bequeathed to it by a local enthusiast. Everywhere we went we found the same considerable interest and knowledge, sometimes based on genealogical work, sometimes on an interest in social conditions generally, sometimes on a particular element such as the game of Curling or local poetry (or both together, as we discuss in chapter 5). From this expansion of our work and the deliberate blurring of its edges, we learned that history was not only important to us in analytical terms, but was a vital and regular part of people's own contemporary lives, as Family History and Local History Societies and their publications abundantly testified.

Work on history in turn made it clear to us that small localities of the kind where we began working were also very much part of wider histories. Their stories and the poignancy of these stories depended in fact on an awareness of these wider contexts. So it was that we decided, for example, that the story of Scotland's South-West could not be separated from that of other parts of what from 1801 onwards became known as the United Kingdom; and that parts of the story of the South-West led naturally to the discussion of Ulster or Northern Ireland and hence also to Ireland as a whole; while issues to do with language and identity in Scotland could well be compared with analogous, though different, issues in Wales. Within Scotland itself, as we traveled north in 2000 in order to gain glimpses of life in Perth and Kinross, Angus, Sutherland, Caithness, and the Orkneys, we came increasingly upon an earlier phase of history which was of considerable interest to people in a way we had not found in Ayrshire: the question of the Picts and their relationship to the idea of Scotland. We found the Picts and their intricately incised standing stones to be a major focus for a series of quite new Museums and Heritage Centers set up from Perth northwards. The Picts, seemingly "extinguished" by their absorption into the Kingdom of the "Scots" from the 9th century c.e. onwards, were making a big comeback in people's imaginations of national identity. Over the decades we have traveled widely in Scotland and Ireland and learnt of the connections between these neighbors in terms of language (Ulster-Scots [Ullans] and Irish [Gaelic]), music (piping) and shared sensibilities.

New imaginings of identity and emplacement in landscapes do not arise by chance. To a great extent they flourish in the context of changed overall political circumstances. We relate this renewed interest in the Picts partly to the process of devolution in Scotland and the inauguration of a new Scottish Parliament there in 1999. After discussing a number of issues local to Ayrshire and Perthshire/Angus, therefore, we have taken a more extensive look at the question of Scots nationhood in a chapter whose title derives from the work of the sociologist David McCrone (1992), “Scotland—A Stateless Nation?” We set our answer, for the past and the present, firmly into the context of relationships with England and the patchy process of the incorporation of Scotland into a sense of “British” identity, now countered by a less muted assertion of “Scottish” identity as such. We are also interested here (chapter 7) and elsewhere in the book in notions and perceptions of Scotland’s place in Western Europe, with particular reference to the European Union. The formal departure of the UK from the EU has led to a renewal of interest in Scotland in the idea of Independence for Scotland, potentially to be followed by an effort to rejoin the EU, since a majority of voters in Scotland voted to remain in the EU in the 2016 referendum.

The plan of the book is as follows: an introductory chapter explores some of the concepts of identity that underlie the book’s overall perspectives, especially the idea of multiple identities and how identities change over time. Two further chapters discuss the local setting of our study in Ayrshire, concentrating on tenant farmers and on landlord-tenant relationships, followed by a chapter examining some identity issues that are salient for the tenant farmers we know today. Chapters five and six look at an important aesthetic dimension of self-expression, seen historically: the game of Curling and traditions of poetry that go with it; and the evocation of ideas of landscape and place in poetry generally. We draw here on the work of many people, including the work of the notable Angus poet, Violet Jacob, whose work has received less notice than some other poets, and the more highly recognized poet Robert Burns and the traditions surrounding the poetry of his age. We also argue, for Curling, that it was in the past an important constitutive part of relations between Lairds and their tenants.

Chapters eight and nine broaden the geographical and historical perspective by sketching issues to do with identity in Wales (centered greatly

on language) and in Ireland, chiefly Northern Ireland, tracing these issues back to the time of the Ulster “Plantation” of Lowland Scots from the South-West by King James VI and I in the early 1600s. Not only is this history highly relevant to the situation in Northern Ireland today: it also reveals the reasons for the ambivalent sense of relations of the Lowland Scots with the “Irish Question” over time and today, as Graham Walker’s (1995) study shows.

From these two comparative chapters we return to a very general issue which emerges throughout the book, the issue of language and national identity. Here we make brief use of some examples from outside of Scotland, viz. Catalonia and Brittany, although our major focus is on Scotland itself and the question of the Lowland Scots language. We conclude here that, somewhat paradoxically, Lowland Scots is well adapted to take a place in Scotland as a form of non-exclusive national language, partly because of its degrees of similarity with English. In this regard we contrast it with Welsh. The Welsh language provides for a clear boundary of difference with English, but this is a severe problem for a nation-in-the-making that is so intertwined with England.

Finally, we present two chapters on themes of compelling interest in different parts of Scotland: the Picts and the Covenanters. We explore these themes both historically and in terms of their symbolic role in the expression of nationhood today. Two further short chapters examine emergent issues from our work: horizons and diasporas, the extension of identities beyond the borders of the nation; and the difficulties of writing historical ethnography. We take the opportunity in the present book to provide more of our own field materials and to explore historical changes that are shaping Scotland, Ireland, and the United Kingdom within the Europe of today and how this will impact future generations, in terms of ideas of community, place, history, and identity.

The materials in each chapter are updated and expanded to the point of 2020 including discussions of Brexit (a portmanteau of “British” and “exit” for a process of withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union) and the concerns that surround this issue. Much of our work and writing for this book has been conducted from our Angkemam House A & B in Catrine, Ayrshire, Scotland, and in Ireland from our base in Carnowen, County Donegal, Ireland.

The present volume, then, incorporates the materials from our earlier publication, *Minorities and Memories* (2000) with updates in places as appropriate. Many of the topics remain largely unchanged. The two massive changes we have already mentioned, the vote for Brexit and moves in Scotland towards Independence are closely linked, since the majority of Scottish voters wished to remain in the European Union, and this has given impetus to the post-Brexit idea of a new referendum on Independence for Scotland. Previously, the slim majority vote in favor of remaining within the UK had been based on the assumption that the whole UK would stay within the European Union of nations. With Brexit, this understanding no longer held and an impetus for Independence returned. All political tendencies, however, have been placed further under stress by the emergence in 2020 of the coronavirus pandemic, with its massive effects on health resources, especially the National Health Service which covers all of the UK. Hospitals and clinics have been subject to grave pressures and distribution of the vaccines which have been rushed into creation by the crisis has raised logistics problems. “Lock-downs” have severely restricted mobility and hampered economic activity. Government policies have entered into every phase of life, including internal and international travel and stringent quarantine regulations. Regional differences have been sharpened, for example in terms of cross border travel between England and Scotland. Only farmers seem less affected since they are needed as producers of food and can still move about in their farm areas to maintain essential work. Urban dwellers do not have this liberty.

Huge arenas of change of the kind noted here can be counterbalanced with substantial areas of continuity. The chapters here reveal many such continuities, while harbingers of change are always also present, as history and the present fold into each other over time. Our front cover of this book shows a section of track known locally as the Old Howford Road near to Catrine in Ayrshire. The back cover to this book shows the authors in a favorite field area marked by a forest lake and distant mountains. Both images are from our Stewart / Strathern Photographic Archive.

Acknowledgments

We would like to record our very warm thanks to everyone who helped us with information, whether documentary or verbal, that has assisted us in shaping our text here. We cannot list everyone here individually, but we would like to mention in particular some of those whose local expertise made the greatest input into our work. We want to thank Miss Elizabeth Sharp (Auntie Betty, now deceased) for accommodation and hospitality in Catrine in 1996 and 1997 and her many conversations over the years until her death. We thank Terry Harrison and Margaret Templeton and David Templeton (now deceased) of Mauchline for sharing their special knowledge on historical photographs and genealogies. Special thanks also go to Yvonne and Matt Mitchell of Whattriggs farm near Galston and to Jean and Brian Ruffhead of Arnbog, Perthshire (now at Arndene in Angus), for accommodation and also many interesting conversations over the years. We thank also William Fleming of Sorn; Mrs. Margaret Smith and her sister (Jan Robertson), also of Sorn village; and Henry and Lucinda Norris of Gilmilnscroft, Sorn. In addition we extend our thanks to libraries and archivists in Catrine, Galston, and Forfar, at the Scottish Record Office in Edinburgh, the Baird Institute in Cumnock, and the Dick Institute in Kilmarnock, and also at the Ayrshire County Archives, for help over the years. The Innerpeffray Library by the river Earn in Perth and Kinross is a wonderful collection and helpful to many a person. For particular information and also general perspectives we thank Mr. and Mrs. Lindsay Clark (both deceased now), Mr. Sam Anderson (now deceased) and Mr. Sandy Anderson his son, Mr. and Mrs. Mungo

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During our research we visited many heritage centres and museums, and we would particularly like to mention here those at Meigle in Perthshire, Rosemarkie (Groam House) near Inverness, and also the Carsphairn Heritage Centre in Dumfries and Galloway where we had some of our early conversations on farming and heritage issues. While we were in the Orkneys, and elsewhere, we received much kind attention from custodians at sites looked after by Historic Scotland, such as at the Broch of Gurness. We also thank the custodian at the Fossil Centre in Burray for efforts to find language materials on the Norn, which is currently being revived in the Orkneys; and Heather Balderstone of Birsay for help with travel logistics and accommodation.

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In intellectual terms we want to record here our debt to the work of Dr. John Strawhorn on Ayrshire history, and to the work of many other local historians like him, such as James Mair, whom we have not met but whose work we have read with profit. In terms of general historical work we also want to record here how much we learned from the writings of Norman Davies on "the isles" in general, and of Tom Devine on Scotland in particular. We have tried from time to time to relate their historical findings to anthropological themes, drawing on our knowledge of societal changes in the Pacific region where we also work. All photographs in this book are from the Stewart/Strathern Archive, and most were taken by ourselves on our field visits.

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Scotland, Ireland, and Wales

