



Celts in the Americas Conference, 2011

The *Celts in the Americas* conference will be held 29 June – 2 July, 2011 at Saint Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia, hosted by the Celtic Studies Department of St FX and the Centre for Cape Breton Studies at Cape Breton University.

The *Celts in the Americas* conference will offer a unique opportunity to share scholarship about the history, culture, and literature of Celtic-speaking peoples in North and South America: it will be the first academic conference devoted to this theme, with presentations about aspects of the experiences and literatures of the communities speaking Breton, Cornish, Irish Gaelic, Manx Gaelic, Scottish Gaelic, or Welsh in the Americas. One day of the conference will be devoted to examining the interactions between Celtic peoples and non-Celtic peoples in the Americas, with a special emphasis on indigenous peoples and peoples of African descent.

All conference proceedings (other than the Celtic Collection tour, banquet, sharing circle, and céilidh) will occur at the Keating Millennium Centre, directly across the street from the accommodations at Governor's Hall.

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- Centre for Cape Breton Studies, Cape Breton University
- The Office of Gaelic Affairs, Nova Scotia
- Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada

Conference Goals and Rationale

There are few centres for Celtic Studies in the Americas to date and efforts have tended to focus on the rich literary remains of the medieval period rather than the immigrant communities of the Americas. A few scholars of “New World” history and culture have acknowledged in principle the significant contributions made by Celtic-speaking peoples but most have in large measure lacked the linguistic and cultural training necessary to investigate these issues with rigour and in depth.

The identity and historical experiences of Celtic-speaking peoples in the Americas have been obscured by the monolithic label “British” (and “French” in the case of the Bretons). Despite the efforts of the British Crown to impose a single anglocentric identity upon the various peoples it claimed as subjects, the British Isles have never been a homogenous cultural entity and Celtic languages and cultures have persisted to the present, even if driven to the margins. British colonial enterprises were informed by the subjugation of Celtic nations and the complex historical relations between

Celtic immigrants and peoples of native or African ancestry often reflect the ambiguous and subordinate status of Celtic peoples. With the breakdown of imperial hegemonies and the gradual, if reluctant, appreciation of multiculturalism come new and exciting opportunities to re-evaluate the legacy of Celtic peoples in Europe and the Americas.

The massive Irish exodus during the Potato Famine (1845-52) into North America is well known: it is less well-known that an estimated 30% of these emigrants were Irish speakers. The number and distribution of other Celtic language communities in the Americas is also seldom appreciated. At the time of Confederation (1867), Scottish Gaelic was the third most spoken European language in Canada, used in settlements from Cape Breton to Vancouver. Welsh has been spoken in many communities in North America and still persists in the southern hemisphere in the former colony of Patagonia. On top of this, the western portion of Brittany was solidly Breton in speech and culture into the twentieth century and most of the “French” immigrants from that region to North America have been actually Breton speakers.

The historical and literary record offers plentiful scope for the study of Celtic-speaking peoples throughout the Americas and their interactions with various ethnic groups, although this is not reflected in the conventional literature. Linguistic and cultural diversity was perceived as politically threatening in both British and French Empires, and so until recently official institutions, including those of education, rarely provided even minimal recognition of Celtic languages and cultures. Being members of societies that had become politically and economically marginalized and stigmatized impeded the establishment of institutions representative of their own culture and deprived them the benefit of being seen as legitimate subjects of study in their own right.

The cultural and political environment has improved considerably since the late twentieth century with growing respect for multiculturalism, linguistic diversity, and the struggles of subordinated communities. The Republic of Ireland remains the only Celtic nation to have achieved full political self-determination, but the movement for devolution set in motion in the UK in 1998 has facilitated the (so-called) “Celtic fringes” to realize greater autonomy from the anglophone “centre.” This process has encouraged institutions to reflect contemporary issues of identity and culture, and enabled academic institutions to question and revise long-standing assumptions about the past imposed during the ascendancy of imperial enterprises. A flurry of scholarly activity exploring the neglected cultural legacies of Brittany, Cornwall, Ireland, Man, Scotland, and Wales has already begun to revolutionize scholarship about the history of Western Europe, although this has yet to have an impact on popular discourse or on the North American academy as a whole.

The degree to which Celtic languages are still spoken in the Americas and are subjects of personal interest and community value is not widely recognized. Besides the celebrated cases of Scottish Gaelic in eastern Nova Scotia and of Welsh in Patagonia, there are vestiges of these and other Celtic languages scattered through communities from coast to coast and speakers of Celtic languages continue to migrate to the Americas. There is significant zeal to acquire these languages and use them in a variety of contexts, as demonstrated by associated university courses, formal organizations, and informal practices. Like other so-called “heritage languages,” they continue to have a contemporary relevance to many as a means of communication, as carriers of culture and, indeed, as markers of identity in societies which allow for increasingly complex identities and the freedom to choose an eclectic set of multiple identities.

Celtic languages continue to attract the attention of policy-makers, most notably in Nova Scotia through the Office of Gaelic Affairs, but also intermittently over the years via different multicultural programs in Canada. In this regard, the Canadian Supreme Court has indicated that a commitment to multiculturalism is a fundamental unwritten principle underlying the Canadian constitution, and speakers of Celtic languages can and should be expected to contribute in a dynamic way to defining (and constantly redefining) what this implies for linguistic and cultural diversity in Canada. Cross-cultural collaboration with the indigenous peoples of the Americas and New Zealand has resulted from efforts to revitalize Celtic languages in their European homelands and immigrant communities.

Scholars working in the Americas can be facilitated by fostering connections to the burgeoning centres of study in Celtic countries, where there is growing interest in the diasporic experience. Immigrant communities have preserved aspects of the cultural legacy lost in their homelands, but they also created ongoing links through which ideas and material resources were exchanged in both directions. The social processes surrounding the migration of Celtic peoples to the Americas – economic and cultural marginalization, the immigrant experience, globalization, identity politics, etc – continue to be relevant issues on a large scale in both Europe and the Americas.

Gaelic has survived for several generations since emigration from the Scottish Highlands in eastern Nova Scotia; it is the last cohesive Celtic-speaking community in North America. The Office of Gaelic Affairs was established in 2006 to provide official recognition of and support for Gaelic in Nova Scotia. St Francis Xavier University in Antigonish has the only undergraduate Celtic Studies department in the Americas and boasts the largest archive of spoken Gaelic

recordings and texts in the New World. Within Cape Breton University in Sydney are the Centre for Cape Breton Studies, which promotes and preserves intangible cultural heritage, and the Beaton Institute, a cultural heritage archive. CBU features undergraduate programs in Gaelic, Celtic Culture, ethnomusicology and folklore, specializing in Celtic Music and Culture.

Little of the inherent potential of the vital and valuable resources to be found in Canada – documentary and material remains, living speech communities, tradition bearers, field recordings, etc – has yet been realized or even recognized. This conference will provide a forum for leading scholars to demonstrate how research on Celtic peoples in the Americas engages with major themes in the humanities: imperial narratives, race, identity politics, the struggle of subaltern peoples, the commodification of culture, etc. It will act as a catalyst for further development of North American Celtic Studies and provide connections across disciplines and models for future efforts. It will provide a rare opportunity for students to present their work and interface with a cadre of international scholars. There will also be forums in which community members of all ethnic backgrounds and conference attendees will be able to share their own personal experiences and ancestral traditions in an atmosphere of mutual interest and respect.

This is an ideal time and opportunity to realize more fully the importance of Celtic Studies in the Americas by applying the field's tools and framework to the immigrant experience and demonstrating that the historiography of the Americas has been incomplete because such materials have not been adequately taken into consideration.

Conference Schedule

All conference proceedings (other than the banquet, sharing circle, and céilidh) will occur at the Keating Millennium Centre, directly across the street from the accommodations at Governor's Hall.

Wednesday June 29: Language Survival and Revitalization

- 8:30 – 10:00 AM Registration
- 9:00 – 9:15 Welcome from Mi'kmaw leader and from Michael Newton, conference organizer
- 9:15 – 10:15 Keynote: Robert Dunbar, "Canadian Multiculturalism ... a 'Celtic' Perspective"
- 10:15 – 10:30 Tea/Coffee break
- 10:30 – 12:00 Session 1
- Helen Mórág M. McKinnon, "A Voice in the Wilderness..."
 - Catriona NicÍomhair Parsons, "'S gus an càirear anns an ùir..." ("And till I'm buried...")
 - Daniel MacInnes, "The 100,000 Nova Scotian Gaels in the 1901 Canadian census..."
- 12:00 – 1:00 Lunch
- 1:00 – 2:30 Session 2
- Room A*
- Kevin McLaughlin, "Conradh na Gaeilge ... Gaelic League of Pittsburgh: A Brief History ..."
 - Peter M. Toner, "Irish Language Survival in Canada"
 - Ian Johnson, "Reversing Language Shift: Welsh in Chubut Province, Argentina"
- Room B*
- Emily McEwan-Fujita, "... Intergenerational Gaelic Language Transmission in Nova Scotia"
 - Goiridh MacDhomhnaill, "... Successful Gaelic Language Transmission and Acquisition ..."
 - Loidaidh MacFhionghain, "A' Ghàidhlig a Dh'Ionnsaich Mo Chlann Dhomh"
- 2:30 – 2:45 Tea/Coffee break
- 2:45 – 4:15 Session 3
- Room A & B*
- Seumas Watson and Marlene Ivey, "*An Drochaid Eadarainn...*"
 - Shamus MacDonald, "Micro-toponymy in Gaelic Nova Scotia..."
 - Michael Hornsby, "Changes in the Welsh language ... lessons for Nova Scotia?"
- Room C*
- Digital Project Showcase
- 4:30 – 6:00 Sharing circle (Marjorie Desmond Oval Room, Coady West)
- 7:30 – 10:00 *Céilidh*: sharing of music and dance traditions (Marjorie Desmond Oval Room, Coady West)

Thursday June 30: Oral Tradition, Literature, and Music

- 8:30 – 10:00 AM Registration
 9:00 – 9:15 Welcome: Mary McGillivray, Academic Vice President, St Francis Xavier University
 9:15 – 10:15 Keynote: Gearóid Ó hAllmhuráin, "... Celtic Soundscapes of North America."
 10:15 – 10:30 Tea/Coffee break
 10:30 – 11:30 Session 1
Room A
 — Chris McDonald, "Singer-Songwriters in Cape Breton"
 — Peter G. Toner, "Locating "Celtic" Music in Early 21st-Century New Brunswick"
Room B
 — Barry Shears, "It's in the Blood: The MacIntyre Pipers of Cape Breton County ..."
 — Margaret Bennett, "... Scottish Gaelic identity in Newfoundland ..."
 11:30 – 12:00 Celtic Collection library tour/exhibit (meet in lobby of Angus L. Macdonald Library)
 12:00 – 1:30 Lunch
 1:30 – 3:00 Session 2
Room A
 — Laurie Stanley-Blackwell and John D. Blackwell, "The Giant Angus MacAskill ..."
 — Tiber Falzett, "New Oralities in the Cape Breton Gàidhealtachd"
 — Iain MacPherson, "*Seanchas air astar ...* / Distance discourse ..."
Room B
 — Heather Sparling, "Tongue & Toe Twisters: ... Port-á-Beul and Dance in Cape Breton"
 — Richard MacKinnon, "UNESCO's Convention for ... Intangible Cultural Heritage ..."
 3:00 – 3:15 Tea/Coffee break
 3:15 – 4:45 Session 3
 — Anna Matheson, "The Herring as Buffoon in the folktale *Am Peata Sgadain*"
 — Natasha Sumner, "Ceudach in Cape Breton"
 — Trueman and Laurinda Matheson, "Lesser Known Early Antigonish Gaelic Bards"
 7:00 – 9:00 Banquet (Marjorie Desmond Oval Room, Coady West)

Friday July 1 (Canada Day): Cultures and Identities

- 8:30 – 10:00 AM Registration
 9:00 – 9:15 Welcome: Richard Nemesvari, Dean of Arts, St Francis Xavier University
 9:15 – 10:15 Keynote: Pawl Birt, "The Earth in the Suitcase: ... Hybrid Identities in Celtic America."
 10:15 – 10:30 Coffee break
 10:30 – 12:00 Session 1
Room A
 — Michael Linkletter, "... The Gaelic Toponymy of Prince Edward Island"
 — John Gibson, "Colonel John Gillis: Gaelic North Morar..."
Room B
 — Rhiannon Heledd Williams, "Whose Friend from the Old Country? ..."
 — Sulien Morgan, "...response of the Welsh in the United States to ... Welsh Nationalist Party..."
Room C
 — Jonathan Dembling, "Representations of Nova Scotian Gaels in Feature Films"
 — Lynda Harling Stalker, "Knitting kilt hose: Learning about Highland Dance"
 — Kenneth Nilsen, "*Bealach Cheanada: Twentieth-Century Gaeltacht Immigration to Canada*"
 12:00 (Noon) Field trip to *An Clachan Gàidhealach* / Highland Village

Saturday July 2: Subalterns and Inter-ethnic Interactions

- 8:30 – 10:00 AM Registration
 9:00 – 9:15 Welcome: Richard MacKinnon, Cape Breton University, Centre for Cape Breton Studies
 9:15 – 10:15 Keynote: Daniel Williams, "Pan-Africanism and Pan-Celticism: Language, Race, Diaspora ..."
 10:15 – 10:30 Tea/Coffee break
 10:30 – 12:00 Session 1
 — Michael Newton, "How the Highlanders Became White ..."
 — Simon Brooks, "The Autochthonous Atlantic"
 — Ernest Gilchrist, "The Fusion of Cultures: ... North Carolina's Highland Cape Fear Settlement"

12:00 – 1:00	Lunch
1:00 – 3:00	<u>Session 2</u> — Éva Guillorel, “Speaking Mi’kmaq or Gaelic? The Linguistic Policy of the Church ...” — Patricia A. McCormack, “Lewismen and Aboriginal People of the Canadian Northwest ...” — Alexander MacLennan, “The “Good Indian” Stories in <i>Mac-Talla</i> ” — Sandra Muse, “The Nikwasi Sacred Mound: Celtic Overwriting of a Cherokee Village”
3:00 – 3:15	Tea/Coffee break
3:15 – 4:15	Panel discussion Celtic Studies in the Americas: Brooks, Dunbar, Williams

Events

Sharing Circle (Wed 4:30 PM, Marjorie Desmond Oval Room, Coady West)

Our sharing circle will be open to all members of the local community and conference attendees to speak on the theme of native culture, language and identity in institutions. Participants are invited to speak from their own experience about how they feel their institutions of government and/or learning have represented and supported (or denied support of) their native language and culture, and what effect they feel that this has had on them as individuals and as a community.

Céilidh (Wed 7:30 PM, Marjorie Desmond Oval Room, Coady West)

The céilidh will be a chance for members of the local community and conference attendees to share their music and dance traditions. If you'd like to have a spot (up to 7 minutes long), please email mnewton@stfx.ca with your name so that a list can be made.

Celtic Collection Library Tour (Th 11:30 AM)

A guided tour of St Francis Xavier University's Celtic Collection and some of its most interesting, unusual, and noteworthy materials.

Banquet (Th 7:00 PM, Marjorie Desmond Oval Room, Coady West)

A buffet banquet will be served on Thursday at 7PM. The Oval Room has a capacity for 80 people; places at the banquet will be allotted to registered attendees on a first-come, first-serve basis. The buffet offers a choice of salads, entrées (poached salmon with lemon dill sauce, striploin with portobello mushroom sauce, or vegetarian pasta with grilled vegetables), desserts and coffee.

Field trip to *An Clachan Gàidhealach* / Highland Village (Fri 12:00 - 6:30 PM)

An Clachan Gàidhealach / Highland Village is a living history museum in Cape Breton whose mission is to research, collect, preserve and share the Gaelic heritage and culture of Nova Scotia and represent it accurately and vibrantly. We will be guided through buildings presenting the material culture of Scottish Gaelic immigrants in Nova Scotia and enjoy a céilidh featuring Gaelic music and dance. See <http://museum.gov.ns.ca/hv/index.html>

The StFX bus holds a maximum 52 attendees; these spaces will be allotted to registered attendees on a first-come, first-serve basis. You may come on your own if you have your own transportation.

Keynote Speakers

Paul Birt, “The Earth in the Suitcase: Unravelling Hybrid Identities in Celtic America.”

The uncertain identities inherited by those from the Celtic regions of western Europe and brought to the Americas, in particular Canada, Argentina and the United States were by definition liable to be further redefined in the context of sometimes burgeoning, sometimes ambiguous, newer national and emotional identities bought at the cost of language shift and cultural realignment. From the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, whether to Patagonia, Saskatchewan or Pennsylvania, the emphasis swiftly shifted within a generation or two through exogamy and education from old-world sets of identities whose languages became reminders of loss and dwindling beliefs to the new fluencies that spoke of certainties of identity in a new world. The official anomaly of Gaelic in Nova Scotia and Ontario and Welsh in Chubut Province became an impetus for a cultural rearguard action which continues to this day. The unlikely prospect of achieving a permanent citadel where language, religion and culture might flourish led eventually to a “treck” mentality which led at least one group of Welsh-speaking Patagonians in the early twentieth century to seek ever further afield for that new home, from Patagonia to Buenos Aires Province, to Saskatchewan and to Los Angeles. Hybridity was especially a natural consequence of smaller-scale emigration in the later twentieth century and twenty-first century. Together with a new self-consciousness amongst the descendants of older “Celtic” communities in the Americas we observe an ever-growing multifaceted set of new identities from both of these groups where linguistic survival – the mainstay of earlier endeavours – gives way to other cultural manifestations. Yet, in the complex of several identity strands in such communities, we observe increasingly an emphasis on reacquiring ancestral voices by learning the Celtic language of one’s ancestors. In some contexts this becomes the sole purveyor of a sustaining “lost” identity in the hybrid tangle of modern identities. The quest for such identities today represents a nostalgia for perceived utopic communities whilst at the same time contributing to the construction of future individualised and virtual Celtic identities of the future.

Professor Paul Birt was awarded an MA by the University of Wales, Lampeter, and a PhD by the University of Wales, Bangor. He holds the Chair of Celtic Studies at the University of Ottawa and since 1998 he has been researching the writings of the first generation of Welsh settlers in Patagonia, Argentina, from 1875 to 1900. The aim of his research is to make primary texts by Patagonian Welsh writers of the period more available and to reassess the identity shift and cultural survival reflected in their writings. The first of these texts, *Gwaith a Bynyd John Daniel Evans*, appeared in 2004.

Robert Dunbar, “Understanding Canadian Multiculturalism and Cultural Diversity in a 21st Century Context from a ‘Celtic’ Perspective.”

Canada is now one of the most linguistically diverse states in the developed world, and one in which about one-sixth of the population has a mother tongue other than English or French. In addition to about 50 languages spoken in First Nations communities, many dozens of languages have been brought to Canada. Recognition of this linguistic diversity in either law or policy has, however, been sporadic and limited, which has a variety of implications for Canada’s longer-term linguistic diversity. In this presentation, relevant law and policy will be explored, and the Celtic languages will be used as means of illustrating the impact of such law and policy. Celtic languages offer a particularly interesting perspective, as they are amongst the first European languages to have been brought to what is now Canada and in one case, Scottish Gaelic, has been transmitted inter-generationally (albeit now weakly) since the time of immigration.

Canada is, of course, an officially bilingual state. However, it also provides special recognition of its multicultural heritage – and of its aboriginal peoples – in a variety of ways. For example, multiculturalism is recognised in section 27 of the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and Canada’s Supreme Court has more recently noted that respect for minorities is one of four unwritten principles which underpin the Canadian Constitution as a whole. Since the 1970s, multiculturalism has been explicitly statutorily recognised in federal law. At a popular level, Canada’s embrace of multiculturalism is held up as one of many aspects of Canada’s distinctiveness vis-a-vis the USA. These developments are, however, recent, and their implications are both unclear and contested. For much of Canada’s history, policy and practice was profoundly influenced by prevailing attitudes, ideologies and approaches in Britain, and these

survived even the formal colonial break in 1931. Through an examination of the historical experience of speakers of Celtic languages in what is now Canada, and drawing on the record left by speakers of Celtic languages themselves from both the New and Old World, the nature and effects of these policies will be considered. Particular attention will be given to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1963-70), which helped to provoke debate about multiculturalism (and multilingualism) in Canada; the concerns and goals of those who advocated for recognition of multiculturalism, the extent to which their vision has influenced the subsequent development of law and policy, and the implications for speakers of Celtic languages will be critically assessed.

Professor Dunbar is a Research Professor at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig/University of the Highlands and Islands, and is Director of “Soillse,” a 7-year £5.29 million research project involving UHI, and the Universities of Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow whose focus will be public policy toward the maintenance and revitalisation of Gaelic language and culture. Professor Dunbar is one of the world’s foremost experts on law and minority language maintenance and revitalisation, language planning for minority languages, and language policy and planning for Gaelic. A Gaelic-speaking Canadian, he also did his doctorate on the Secular Poetry of John MacLean, one of the most important Gaelic poets to have emigrated to North America, and his research interests include Gaelic language, literature and culture in Canada. He is an expert of the Council of Europe and works regularly with the Secretariat for the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. He is also a Senior Non-resident Research Associate of the European Centre for Minority Issues.

Gearóid Ó hAllmhuráin, “ ‘The Stranger’s Land’: Musical Traditions and Postmodern Temptations in the Celtic Soundscapes of North America.”

Transported and nurtured by Scottish and Irish communities who settled throughout North America since the eighteenth century, Celtic music today is as much a global media commodity as it is a calling card of ethnic identity or a marker of diasporic space. This multimedia presentation will address the historic trajectory of Irish and Scottish music from the colonial peripheries of the British Isles to the rural fringes and urban centers of the New World. Encompassing a series of historical and ethnomusicological metanarratives, the lecture will critique the diachronic confluence of ethnoscapescapes, mediascapescapes, technoscapescapes, ideoscapescapes, and finanscapescapes that continue to redefine the complex relationship between the Celtic *homelands* and their *diasporic* music communities in North America.

Gearóid Ó hAllmhuráin, a native of County Clare on the west coast of Ireland and a world-renowned musician, is the inaugural holder of the Johnson Chair in Quebec and Canadian Irish Studies at Concordia University, Montreal. A graduate of University College Cork, Trinity College Dublin, and Université du Sud-Toulon-Var, France, he received a Ph.D. in Social Anthropology and Ethnomusicology from Queen’s University Belfast in 1990. Author of *A Pocket History of Irish Traditional Music* (O’Brien Press, 1998/2003) and numerous monographs on Irish music and folk culture, his work has been featured on PBS, CBC, RTE, BBC, TF1 and NPR. An internationally acclaimed music author, lecturer, producer and editor, he holds five world titles in Irish traditional music as a concertina player, uilleann piper, and former member of the Kilfenora Céilí Band, the oldest traditional ensemble in Ireland. As a professional musician, he has presented over one thousand concerts on four continents during the past thirty years. His recordings include: *Traditional Music From Clare and Beyond* (1996); *Trácin – Traditional Music from the West of Ireland* (1999); *The Independence Suite – Traditional Music from Ireland, Scotland and Cape Breton* (2004), and *Paddy Murphy: In Good Hands – Field Recordings from a Pioneer of the Irish Concertina*, published on the Celtic Crossings label.

Daniel G. Williams, “Pan-Africanism and Pan-Celticism: Language, Race and Diaspora in North America.”

This paper explores the grounds for comparison between two “pan” movements that emerged in the late nineteenth century. Much contemporary criticism emphasises the “diasporic” and “transnational” as a means of transcending the seemingly outdated categories of “race” and “ethnicity.” While generally dismissed for their romanticisation of roots and ancestry, is there now a case for returning to the diasporic and transnational dimensions that gave rise to the “pan-movements” of the late nineteenth century? What are the implications for minority identities and languages of thinking beyond the boundaries of nationhood, and what are its implications for the construction of ethnic identities in North America?

While the comparisons between Celtic and African American cultures will be seen as enabling and illuminating for some, others will see little more than a “self-aggrandising self-victimisation” on the part of the relatively economically privileged “Celts.” Drawing on historic and contemporary examples of cross-cultural comparisons the paper will explore issues of conviviality, solidarity, cultural appropriation and conflict involved in the construction of Pan-Celtic and Pan-African identities in North America.

Daniel G. Williams is Senior lecturer in English and Director of the Richard Burton Centre for Welsh Studies at Swansea University, Wales. His projects as an editor have included a special edition of *Comparative American Studies* on “The Celts and the African Americas” and *Canu Caeth*, a Welsh language collection of essays on connections between Wales and African America. His *Ethnicity and Cultural Authority: From Matthew Arnold to W. E. B. Du Bois* (Edinburgh University Press, 2006), was a *Times Literary Supplement* Book of the Year and *Transatlantic Exchange: African Americans and the Welsh* is forthcoming.

Talk Abstracts

Margaret Bennett, The Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama

“*‘Deoch-slàinte a’ chnairtear a ghluais à Albainn!'*: Generational changes and evolution of Scottish Gaelic identity in Newfoundland”

This paper is based on fieldwork recordings from 1969 to 2009 of four generations of a Newfoundland family whose Scottish Gaelic-speaking forebears emigrated from the Isle of Canna and Moidart in the first half of the 19th century. While vibrant traditions of song, music, storytelling and dance endure into the 21st century, only a few of the oldest generation speak Gaelic. Questions of identity are addressed, particularly in terms of ‘Gaelic’, ‘Highland’ and ‘Celtic’, not only as they apply to the Scottish-Newfoundlanders but also in the much wider context of all Celts in the ‘Old and New Worlds.’ Illustrated with examples from fieldwork recordings.

Simon Brooks, Ysgol y Gymraeg/School of Welsh, Prifysgol Caerdydd/Cardiff University

“The Autochthonous Atlantic”

Much has been written in Wales about Welsh affinities with Afro-American culture, and the place of the Welsh as a self-constructed and imagined “black” nation. However, the interaction between indigenous peoples in North America and the Welsh has been less well explored. Welsh interest in Native American culture largely derives from the fact that the Welsh as an autochthonous language group have seen in the various indigenous peoples of the Americas a reflection of their own story of language loss. To the extent that a Welsh theory of multiculturalism exists, it has placed great emphasis on indigenous ethnic identities.

This paper will use previously untranslated 20th century Welsh-language sources about Native Americans in North America. As it addresses indigenous culture and European colonisation in both Anglophone and Francophone Canada, the poetry of Bobi Jones and Iwan Llwyd will be of particular interest. The poets, themselves present in Canada, see themselves as part of a North American autochthonous ethnoscape in which they are both colonist and colonised.

The fact that the poetry is composed in North America is important. Literature written in Wales about the Americas treats indigenous culture as a nationalist parable for the possible fate of Welsh-speaking Wales. The Welsh-language literature of indigeneity composed in Canada however is more aware of the supplementary role of the Welsh as a European, white and privileged people. In work composed in Welsh on indigeneity on both sides of the Atlantic, the dominant theme is that of territorial language loss. In the imaginings of Welsh-language authors about the indigenous peoples of the Americas, we see the construction of what we might call the “Autochthonous Atlantic”.

Jonathan Dembling, Independent Scholar

“Representations of Nova Scotian Gaels in Feature Films”

Cinematic portrayals of Gaelic life in Nova Scotia are anything but common; however there have been a number of films produced over the last half century that purport to take place in the province’s Gaelic-speaking communities. This

paper examines the content of four feature films: *Johnny Belinda*, *Wedding in White*, *Life Classes*, and *Margaret's Museum*, with a particular focus on the latter two. It also traces the evolution of the strategic deployment of Gaelic Nova Scotia as a premodern “other”, with which modern Anglo-North American society – the real focus of these films – is contrasted. In the cases of *Johnny Belinda* and *Wedding in White*, Gaeldom is a brutish backwater where superstition and chauvinism remind the rest of “us” how far we’ve come. In contrast, *Life Classes* and *Margaret's Museum* look to the Gàidhealtachd for an alternative to the brutality and ennui of life in a world run by money and technology. In each case, the specifics of Gaelic life are passed over in favor of its symbolic value, and the few attempts to include actual spoken Gaelic or other representations of Gaelic culture are often problematic.

Tiber F.M. Falzett, University of Edinburgh

“New Oralities in the Cape Breton Gàidhealtachd: The Nature of Fieldwork in the Twenty-First Century”

This paper will focus on new and emerging trends in ethnographic fieldwork, namely from recording verbal art texts to conversational narratives on local tradition or seanchas, due in part to shifts in local knowledge extant within the Cape Breton Gàidhealtachd in the Scottish Gaelic language (Falzett 2010). The current generation of first-language speakers are fully capable of illuminating and further contextualising our understanding of transmission and the creation of communal identity through local cultural forms of expression.

Almost twenty-five years since the First North American Congress of Celtic Studies and its panel “The Celts in North America” in 1986, this paper intends to reexamine the preliminary discussions offered at the time by Dr. John Shaw (1988) and Professor Kenneth Nilssen (1988) on conducting fieldwork concerning the living Celtic language traditions of this continent a quarter of a century later. Portions of personal fieldwork along with supplementary fieldnotes will be employed to demonstrate the importance of such research not only within the discipline of Celtic Studies but as an area of enquiry that is equally important to furthering current theory in the field of cultural anthropology.

John G. Gibson, Independent Scholar

“Colonel John Gillis: Gaelic North Morar before and during the great emigrations”

Through the short biography of an unusual infantry officer in the 2nd Somersets, Colonel John Gillis, CB (c.1778-1836), I consider the importance of the Canadian Gàidhealtachdan in Cape Breton and eastern Ontario to understanding pre-Victorian Highland North Morar society. This work involves a) the study of seldom-read archival material in Edinburgh dealing with the period of greatest emigrations of Gaels from North Morar; b) an examination of the repeated idea that North Morar was a “nursery” for the British army; c) new ideas about formal education there; and c) a re-assessment of the commonly-held belief that the Frasers of Lovat were all kindly landlords. This work is presented in the light of a modern Scottish retrospective socio-geographical study of the land-use in North Morar from c.1840 and shows the inadequacy of study of a once-populous Highland community/country without knowledge obtainable uniquely from the diaspora Gàidhealtachdan in what had been British North America.

Ernest Gilchrist, Independent Scholar

“The Fusion of Cultures: The Hybridization of North Carolina’s Highland Cape Fear Settlement”

The Thistle, the most notable immigrant ship to bring Highlanders from Argyllshire, Scotland, to the shores of eastern North Carolina, landed in Wilmington in 1739 and formed the Argyll Colony, 90 miles inland. This Gaelic settlement provided one strand of several cultures which contributed to the hybrid character of the region. As I argue in my new book, *Fusion of Cultures: The Spirit of ArgyllAmerica Revealed*, this melding of peoples can be a model, not only for the American South, but for all of the Americas. I have defined “ArgyllAmerica” as a dually defined hybrid reflecting the multicultural relationships developed by the various peoples in the Upper Cape Fear River Valley and Sandhills from the 18th century to the present. I will focus in particular on Cameron Hill, a Presbyterian church founded by the descendants of Scottish Highlanders where my paternal grandfather and great grandfather lie buried in unmarked graves in the “black section” of the cemetery; the amazing life and influence of Paul Green, Pulitzer Prize-winning playwright, poet and humanitarian; and the spiritual beginnings of Campbell University (formerly Buies Creek Academy) founder and first President, James Archibald Campbell.

Discussed from the perspective of a descendant of Gaelic-speaking African Americans, this talk will be presented in a manner that is respectful of the legacy of the Argyll Colony and other peoples, i.e., descendants of Highlanders and Native American Indians who shared the same region. The fusion of these cultures created a peculiar spirit once agrarian in nature, whose influence is also transferable to more populous areas of the United States like Atlanta, Georgia and Charlotte, North Carolina. Underscored in this talk is the point that the development of the history and culture of “ArgyllAmerica” cannot be credited to one group of people only, but must shed light on the fact that its uniqueness was and still is today a reciprocal relationship.

Éva Guillourel, Centre Interuniversitaire d'Études Québécoises, Université Laval, Québec

“Speaking Mi'kmaq or Gaelic? The Linguistic Policy of the Church towards Catholic Missionaries sent to the Maritime Provinces (17th-19th centuries)”

Since the seventeenth century, learning Amerindian languages has been at the heart of the strategy of French missionaries to evangelize Mi'kmaq communities in Eastern Canada. However, after Acadia was definitively ceded to the British in the eighteenth century, the growing presence of English and Gaelic speakers in New-Brunswick and Nova Scotia has deeply influenced the linguistic policy of the Catholic Church. In this politically tense situation, the purpose of the Church of Quebec was to preserve Catholicism from Protestant activism. More and more, Catholic missionaries claimed that learning Mi'kmaq had become less important than having English and Gaelic-speaking priests to serve Scottish and Irish communities. Moreover, the role played by some educated people to defend Mi'kmaq communities against anglicization is influenced by their own experience as native Irish speakers forced to learn English in Ireland before moving to America. The letters exchanged between French missionaries on the field and the Archdiocese of Quebec are a precious source to better understand how the linguistic policy of the Church towards vernacular languages in Eastern Canada evolved between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries.

Lynda Harling Stalker, St. Francis Xavier University

“Knitting kilt hose: Learning about Highland Dance in Northeastern Nova Scotia”

The image of the Highland dancer, a young lass dressed in a kilt and ghillies doing the fling, is a ubiquitous symbol of “Scottishness” in Northeastern Nova Scotia. This paper sets out to explore how the author learned about Highland dance and its problematic relationship to Gaelic culture through knitting kilt hose for her daughter. It will look at the social history of the dance, the dance's connection to wool and knitting, and its prominence in Northeastern Nova Scotia. The question put forth is whether or not the celebration of Celtic heritage, as exemplified by Highland dance, is an inclusive exercise or one that puts up barriers to those who not only come from away but who identify with Gaelic-speaking communities.

Michael Hornsby, Dept of Celtic languages and literature, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland

“Changes in the Welsh language in the 21st century: Any lessons for Gaelic in Nova Scotia?”

Harri Webb's poem *Colli Iaith* (1974) refers to, ‘colli iaith a cholli urddas ... ac yn eu lle cael bratiaith fas’ (‘losing language and losing dignity ... and in their place, acquiring a shallow, debased language’). The view that Welsh is somehow ‘deteriorating’ into a ‘shallow, debased language’ is shared by some popular commentators, such as Roderick (2009) who considers that the language spoken by children in Welsh-medium schools is ‘rhwyng rhyw fath o Gymraeg ddeheuol safonol a'r hyn yr oedd pobol arfer dilorni fel “Rhydfeleneg”’ (‘between some sort of standard southern Welsh and that which people used to denigrate as “Rhydfelen Welsh”’, Rhydfelen being one of the first Welsh-medium secondary schools in the Cardiff area). It is also a view taken by some academics, such as Jenkins (2001: 64) who comments on the passive nature of students' linguistic ability who have been educated through the medium of Welsh: ‘There are disturbing signs that pupils from English-speaking homes who attend bilingual schools never bother to use Welsh outside school premises or on leaving school.’ This situation will be illustrated through reference to a television series broadcast in Wales in the 1990s and 2000s and from associated novels and other publications, and while the language used is obviously scripted, it does display the main features associated with this new variety.

The second half of the paper draws on the work of Coupland and Aldridge (2009), Roberts (2009), Morris (2010) and Newcombe (2007) in particular to discuss the sociolinguistic implications of these changes and to investigate the claim

that such changes are indicative of language demise. By way of conclusion, the lessons from the Welsh experience will be used to draw out comparisons with the revitalisation of Gaelic in Nova Scotia (Dunbar 2008; McIntyre 2009) and to examine the potential mismatch between revitalisers' expectations and actual linguistic output.

Ian Johnson, Independent Scholar

“Reversing Language Shift: Exploring motivations of Welsh language learners in the Chubut Province, Argentina”

This paper investigates the motivations of Welsh language learners in the Chubut Province as to why they are attending language classes and participating in Welsh language revitalisation schemes. Using data collected in focus groups with Welsh learners in Gaiman, Trelew, Dolavon and Esquel, a wide range of motivations are described by participants as to why they are learning Welsh.

These reasons can be grouped into egocentric and exocentric motivations. Egocentric motivations are those which are internalised, for example, a desire to reclaim family linguistic heritage, while exocentric motivations include external benefits such as improved employment prospects. Statistical research conducted amongst French learners in Canada suggests that although both motivations are necessary for a language to thrive, language learners in minority settings with strong egocentric motivations are more likely to be successful in achieving their goals.

The paper explores the reasons given for Welsh language learning in the Chubut Province placing them in their sociological and sociolinguistic context. It concludes by welcoming some of the changes that have taken place in normalising Welsh language use in the Chubut Province, especially amongst young people. However, it expresses wider concern that some aims of Welsh language revitalisation may not be successful as they do not coincide with the motivations expressed by Welsh language learners, and questions whether decreasing numbers of adult learners of Welsh in the Chubut Province participating in formal language learning settings reflect this disconnect between the aims of the Welsh Language Teaching Project and the expressed motivations of language learners.

Michael Linkletter, Saint Francis Xavier University

“*An t-Eilean Fada: Eilean Eòin 's Eilean a' Phrionnsa: The Gaelic Toponymy of Prince Edward Island*”

Highland Settlers came to Prince Edward Island in large numbers beginning in the late eighteenth century and continuing into the nineteenth. Even today their descendants are reckoned the largest ethnic group in the province. Because of the decline in the language over the past century, however, very few place names now in use on the Island reveal an origin that reflects the historical strength of the Gaelic community there. This paper will discuss the use of Gaelic place names in PEI historically and will rely on evidence from early Gaelic books and newspapers as well as the oral tradition. The Gaelic term for PEI itself will also be a significant point of discussion..

Goirdh MacDhomhnaill, Comunn Gàidhlig is Eachdraidh a' Bhràigh

“*Cuimhnich gur i an ite as àirde 'na do churraic! A Learner's/Instructor's/Parent's Perspective on Successful Gaelic Language Transmission and Acquisition in 21st Century Nova Scotia*”

As someone who grew up in a traditional Gaelic community (Bràigh na h-Aibhneadh, Cape Breton) and began learning Gaelic over two decades ago, Goirdh mac Alasdair Dhùghaill has seen the good and the bad in Gaelic language transmission. This lecture gives a simple overview of what may be very valuable to us in Gaeldom, and indeed to other minority language communities, in what is to be found in language revitalization theories and practices of some other linguistic groups that seem to be successful. Much is to be learned as well from our own tradition where transmission always occurred naturally in the homes and communities through interaction, history, songs, sayings, prayers, stories and *sgenlachdan*. We need to resurrect the *taigh-céiliidh!* The majority of what Goirdh has learned about what works best and what doesn't in language intergenerational transmission and instruction comes from being the parent of a nine year old native Gaelic speaker being raised in a strongly English-language dominant setting. This lecture will be presented in Gaelic and English.

Shamus MacDonald, Independent Scholar

“Micro-toponymy in Gaelic Nova Scotia: Some Examples from Central Cape Breton”

In recent years, Gaelic-English highways signs have been erected at a number of important locations in Eastern Nova Scotia. Typically associated with major geographic features, such as villages and towns, the names they represent can be considered keystones within a larger, but lesser known, complex of Gaelic place names in the province. Closely connected to their local environment, Gaelic speakers gave place names to much of the natural and built landscape they encountered in their daily lives, including small features such as brooks, hills, springs and bridges. Employed for generations, but relevant only within a small geographic area, such names were common but rarely recorded or made official. Today however, they can provide important information about settlement patterns and local genealogy. Adjuncts to the oral narrative tradition, they may also recall traditional activities and perpetuate local stories. Taken as a whole, the presence of these place names demonstrates the extent to which a sense of Gaelic identity was imprinted on parts of the province. This paper examines micro-toponymy in Gaelic Nova Scotia by examining the Gaelic place names of Iona and Christmas Island in Central Cape Breton. Video and audio recordings featuring local tradition bearers will be used to illustrate.

Lodaidh MacFhionghain / Lewis MacKinnon, Oifis Iomairtean na Gàidhlig / Nova Scotia Office of Gaelic Affairs

“A’ Ghàidhlig a Dh’Ionnsaich Mo Chlann Dhomh”

Tha iomadach fiosraiche a sgrìobhar is a bhruidhnear air cìomar a thogas clann cànan. Chan e rud ealant’ a théid a mhothachadh ’s a’ phàipear ghoirid seo. O chionn ghoirid fhuair mi fhìn is mo bhean an deagh fhortan dithist bhràithrean a thoirt a-staigh dhan teaghlach againn mar dhaltan. O’n a thàinig an dithist ghillean seo ’nar beatha, thòisich mi air a’ Ghàidhlig a chur ’uca cho tric is a ’s urrainn dhomh. An dà-rìribh, ’s e Gàidhlig an t-suidheachaidh a bhios sinn a’ cleachdadh.

Bidh am pàipear seo a’ cur sùil air cìomar a théid a’ Ghàidhlig a thoirt dhan chloinn againn is na modhannan a chuireas mi gu feum gus a thogas iad a’ Ghàidhlig is gus a chuireas iad gu feum i. Aig ceann a’ ghnòthaich, seallaidh am pàipear seo cìomar tha suidheachadh ann an aon teaghlach far a bheil pàrant a’ fiachainn ris a’ Ghàidhlig a thoirt dhan chloinn. Ged nach e rud ealant’ a th’ann, thathas adhartas a’ dèanadh. Cuiridh am pàipear feairt air a’ seo gu h-àraid is dearbhaidh am pàipear seo gun gabhadh seo dèanadh ann an teaghaichean eile.

Daniel MacInnes, Saint Francis Xavier University

“The one hundred thousand Nova Scotian Gaels in the 1901 Canadian census: Why did they disappear so quickly?”

In his seminal article on Gaelic in Nova Scotia published in 1936, the late John Lorne Campbell states: “In 1931 the Gaelic language was included in linguistic section of the Canadian Census for the first time, and the number of Gaelic speakers so recorded was made public in 1935. According to this census there were 32,000 Gaelic speakers in Canada in 1931 of whom 29,000 were born in the Dominion ... 24,000 ... were living in Nova Scotia.” In successive decades since Campbell, scholars (Charles Dunn, Ray Maclean and Doug Campbell, Stephen Hornsby, Jonathan Dembling, Michael Kennedy) have revisited the issue of the extent of Gaelic use and its decline in Cape Breton. More recently the 100,000 Gaels in the Census of 1901 has become a touchstone for marking the apogee of Gaelic usage in the extended Cape Breton Gàidhealtachd.

This paper first explores the quantitative dimension: was the reputed count correct? It then proceeds to the substantive issue of decline. Frequently, the combination of enforced English and the absence of Gaelic medium education has been blamed. This paper asks questions about the experience of the Gael. What role did emigration, and industrialization play in the bilingual Gaels’ acceptance of modernization? How was this collective metanoia conditioned by the earlier Victorian embrace of the “reconstructed” Gael, the ongoing emergence of a Scottish/British elite in Canada, the growing infrastructure ties to both local and distant industrialization, and the embrace of social liberalism over the pervasive parochial Jansenistic / Calvinistic interpretation of one’s existence? Was the rejection of Gaelic a mere predilection asserted by one’s gender and level of education or did it speak to something far more universal? Was it yet another in a continuing series of utilitarian repudiations of a rural way of life?

Richard MacKinnon, Cape Breton University

“UNESCO’s Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, Digitization and Gaelic Culture in Cape Breton Island”

UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, initiated in 2003, defines intangible cultural heritage (ICH) as 'the practices, representations, expressions, as well as the knowledge and skills, that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage.' As of January 11, 2011, 133 countries have signed this international treaty; Canada, however, is not a party to the convention. The purposes of UNESCO's Convention are "(a) to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage; (b) to ensure respect for the intangible cultural heritage of the communities, groups and individuals concerned; (c) to raise awareness at the local, national and international levels of the importance of the intangible cultural heritage, and of ensuring mutual appreciation thereof; (d) to provide for international cooperation and assistance." The convention seeks to provide and update inventories of a region's ICH, develop representative lists and to identify the ICH of a country or region that is in need of urgent safeguarding.

In some countries that have signed the convention important research projects have been undertaken. Such research focuses on documenting, reviving and revitalizing, educating and safeguarding of traditional practices, as well as the inter-generational transmission of traditions. These are all pertinent issues for Gaelic culture scholars around the world. This paper closely examines this international convention and its implications for Gaelic Culture in eastern Canada. Further, the paper discusses a number of community-based Gaelic ICH research projects supported by the Centre for Cape Breton Studies at CBU.

Alexander MacLennan, Carleton University

"The "Good Indian" Stories in *Mac-Talla*"

Mac-Talla was the world's longest running Gaelic newspaper and is a valuable source for modern researchers looking for insight into an authentic Gaelic point-of-view at a time when there was still a strong monoglot population in Canada. Over its existence three similar stories about "good Indians" appeared in it. The stories all involved an "Indian" being rebuffed in his hour of need by a non-"Indian" neighbour and the "Indian" not reacting in an anger or in a violent way but in an exemplary Christian manner. These stories are likely translations of American stories in a long running tradition going back to Fenimore Cooper about noble vanishing "Indians". The original English-speaking audience would have understood how to read them and would have been reassured in their prejudices against a soon-to-be extinct "other". The Gaels had no such stories in their tradition and would have understood them in a different way (and the translator may have helped in this interpretation). These stories read in Gaelic like an attempt to use the predicament of a similar but different people to touch on delicate issues that would have been difficult to discuss among a group that still had a strong tribal view of the world coupled with a traditional heroic/warrior image of themselves. The unwillingness of Highlanders to see themselves as weak, disrespected, and at threat in a world that had fundamentally changed since the golden age of the clans long crippled any constructive efforts to define out-dated and unhelpful attitudes that prevented them from working together as a united people to preserve their language and culture. There is much evidence in *Mac-Talla* of a people intellectually attempting to come to grips with the inexorable forces threatening their identity and trying to formulate what their response should be.

Iain MacPherson, University of Ulster

"*Seanchas air astar: òrain is naidheachdan às 'Machraichean Mòra' Chanada / Distance discourse: songs and anecdotes from the 'Great Plains' of Canada*"

This paper draws on research work undertaken through the project 'Displaced Poets: Migrant Writing from the Margins in a Scottish Gaelic Context: 1780 –1930 and beyond', University of Ulster, which traces the colonial and postcolonial discourse in the written and transcribed record of Scottish Gaelic song-poems of emigration and immigration from the beginning of the Highland Clearances to the inter-war years of the twentieth century which an especial focus on the Canadian prairie provinces and to a lesser degree British Columbia.

Combined with this close-reading of Western Canadian Gaelic texts, which are found in both the pro and contra registers regarding the debate on the merits of emigration or the lack thereof, the paper also focuses attention on disparate and previously unrecorded (or unpublished) Gaelic songs and anecdotes collected by the writer in the first half of the 1990s in Alberta among the surviving members of the prairie pioneering Gaelic-speaking community which had seen its genesis, in this particular instance, in the 1922/23 planned emigrations from the Western Isles to the Indian

School in Red Deer, Alberta. By the 1990s, the remaining members of this community, children at the time of the emigration, or born shortly afterwards in Canada, were typically in their 70s and 80s, (with one in her 90s) when recorded by the writer.

And so, the paper proposes to excavate this rich vein of a little studied Canadian Gaidhealtachd in the part of the country which had seen both a pre and post Confederation Gaelic-speaking presence (from 1780s and the Gaels of the North-West Company to the Selkirk settlers in the Red River country from the second decade of the nineteenth century up to the 1880s planned emigration schemes such as those at Saltcoats, etc, not to mention the Canadian-born Maritime Gaels and their work forays ‘out west’).

By referencing the pro-emigration publication from 1907 *Machraichean Mòra Chanada* in the title, the paper also aims to disentangle the rhetoric of Dominion governments’ drive to populate the prairie provinces from the lived experiences of the Gaelic speaking settlers, both positive and negative, evidenced in the *seanchas* (storytelling/rhetoric/discourse) the writer intends to use as his primary source material.

Anna Matheson, University of Cambridge / Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

“The Herring as Buffoon in the folktale *Am Peata Sgadain*”

Among the tales collected last century from Angus Cù MacDonald of Mabou, Cape Breton, is the seemingly odd story of a fisherman who caught a herring and retained it for years as a pet until it accidentally slipped off a bridge and fell into a brook. This story is classified as a “humorous tale,” the apparent punch line being that the herring drowned when returned to the water. But for many unfamiliar with such herring tales, it is difficult to grasp the hilarity of the plot.

In this paper, aided by a medieval description of the herring in the ninth-century Irish text known as *Cormac’s Glossary* (*Sanas Cormaic*), as well as by insight gained from modern terms for herring such as the Welsh penwaig, whose etymology reflects traditional perceptions of this fish, I will explain the joke contained in our tale.

Trueman and Laurinda Matheson, Saint Francis Xavier University

“Lesser Known Early Antigonish Gaelic Bards”

Antigonish County maintains today a rich Highland heritage which it celebrates every year in the longest continuously-run Highland Games in North America. However, it has taken second fiddle to Cape Breton when viewed as a home of a strong Gaelic culture and bards. Names such as the Bard MacLean, Keppoch Bard and the Ridge MacDonalds do come to mind but this is just a small fraction of the number of bards to be found on Cape Breton Island. However, early in the history of Antigonish there were a number of bards of the highest quality who came to this county. This talk will touch on a few of them – Iain am Piobaire, Dònull Gobha, Iain Boid and others – and will show that as rich a Gaelic tradition existed in this county as in any on Cape Breton.

Patricia A. McCormack, University of Alberta

“Lewismen and Aboriginal People of the Canadian Northwest – the *Talamb Fuar*”

Men from the Island of Lewis began to work in the Canadian fur trade in the late 18th century, thereby playing a foundational role in the later development of the Canadian nation-state and its Métis people. As a group, they have been little thought about in either Canada or Lewis. Some of the early Lewis immigrants to the British colonies along the eastern seaboard of North America eventually found their way into the fur trade run by Montreal companies, especially after 1763, when Quebec became a British possession and the fur trade was reconstituted by Highland Scots. Beginning c.1810, the Hudson’s Bay Company began recruiting men directly from Lewis, as a location secondary to the Company’s main recruiting center in Stromness, in the Orkney Islands. Recruitment from Lewis intensified after 1821, and many men signed contracts with the HBC to travel to the *Talamb Fuar* for a fixed period as wage laborers. While they were not emigrants, some of them did end up staying in Canada or the Northwest following the end of their formal employment, becoming “freemen.” Many - probably most - of those who remained contributed to the developing Métis population in the Northwest. The men who returned home to Lewis brought with them income they used to buy crofts and improve their situations both financially and socially. A few of these men brought home their Native wives and children and were

concentrated at Tolsta and Borve, in the northern end of the island. These families were assimilated into the Lewis population.

Chris McDonald, Cape Breton University

“Singer-Songwriters in Cape Breton: Marking Ground Between Celtic and Popular”

Cape Breton Island has a lively Celtic traditional music scene and independent pop-rock scene. Lying somewhere in between is the category of performer – the singer-songwriter – that has supplied many of Cape Breton’s most renowned musical acts. This paper looks at the history of singer-songwriters in Cape Breton from the 1970s to the 2000s, focusing on how many of the most successful performers find ways to connect traditional Celtic idioms (which have a strong sense of geographical place) to a very loose and open construction of genre. This allows the singer-songwriter to fit in commercially across a number of categories – folk, adult contemporary, rock and country – while retaining a very specific geographic identity tied to the island and all that it represents. Drawing on notions of de-territorialization and re-territorialization, the paper examines the use of the word “Celtic” to describe many of these artists, since it seems to play a role in the “emplacement” of the singer-songwriter while still allowing for generic ambiguity. The paper looks to the music and careers of John Allan Cameron, Rita MacNeil, Alistair MacGillivray, JP Cormier, Gordie Sampson, Aselin Debison, as well as family-based groups such as the Rankin Family, the Barra MacNeils and the Cottars, as key components of this history. Cape Breton’s popular music has often been overlooked in favour of its fiddle and folksong traditions, and this paper provides some much needed attention to the former.

Emily McEwan-Fujita, Saint Mary’s University

“A Sociolinguistic Overview of Intergenerational Gaelic Language Transmission in Nova Scotia”

This paper provides an overview of the intergenerational transmission of Gaelic in Nova Scotia from a sociolinguistic and ethnographic perspective. The research of Elizabeth Mertz in the late 1970s and early 1980s is reviewed, together with its conclusions about why transmission of Gaelic from parents to children in the home on a community-wide basis ceased relatively suddenly in Cape Breton in the 1930s-1940s. The resulting characteristics of the early 21st century Nova Scotia Gàidhealtachd are reviewed and the state of Nova Scotia Gaelic language shift is assessed using Fishman’s GIDS (Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale). Known cases in which Gaelic has been and is still being transmitted within the home in the Maritimes in the 21st century are reviewed for their sociolinguistic characteristics and insights. Finally, recommendations are made according to Fishman’s GIDS and my own research findings for the particular applied efforts needed to revitalize intergenerational transmission and thus reverse Gaelic language shift in Nova Scotia.

Helen Móróg M. McKinnon (née Leland), Independent Scholar

“A Voice in the Wilderness: A modern tale of Gaelic isolation and perseverance in an Anglo-Franco Canadian province”

The continued existence of the Scottish Gaelic Language in Canada is dependent upon the ongoing support of groups of Gaelic speakers, influential individuals, academic institutions and enlightened branches of governments. There is strength in numbers and where a sufficient critical mass of the above elements exist, a culture and its language may flourish.

This paper will narrate a personal history of struggle and success of a family disconnected from the Gaelic Diaspora yet surrounded by all the iconic elements of Scottish Culture in New Brunswick. It will include a description of early childhood in a Gaelic speaking household. This particular household’s native Gaelic speaking mother was a war bride from Stornoway, Isle of Lewis whereas the father, a multi-linguist, was a fluent speaker although he was a learner of the Gaelic. His two passions outside his family and church were helping to preserve both the Gaelic and Maliseet languages, which were during his adult life, in peril of becoming extinct. The family also included the author, a sister and a younger brother. A synopsis will show the family and the author’s personal success in dealing with the powerful prejudice of the school system and its attempt to deny students of different cultural backgrounds, the right to a chosen education because of apparent negative consequences at school. Music, a powerful tool, will be woven into this author’s presentation with examples of how music is used, to potent success through teaching. Projects undertaken by the author, her father, the late Lloyd George Leland, will be introduced through anecdotes, to show what they felt was a challenge yet a boon to the preservation and spreading of a minority language in danger of becoming extinct.

This paper will endeavour to show, through the presenter's own personal linguistic history, that the preservation of a culture through its language, is not only possible, but, despite great odds and challenges, a worthy and fulfilling life's work. It is an imperative that language be preserved; for if a language dies, its culture vanishes also.

Kevin McLaughlin, Saint Francis Xavier University

“*Conradh na Gaeilge, Craobh Bhaile Pitt*/The Gaelic League of Pittsburgh: A Brief History of Irish Language Preservation Efforts in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania”

The Gaelic League (*Conradh na Gaeilge*) was founded in Ireland in 1893 by Dr. Douglas Hyde (Dubhghlas de hÍde) and others. From the beginning, one of the League's primary functions has been to preserve and promote the Irish Language (*An Ghaeilge*) through participation in, and the sponsoring of, educational and cultural activities. Irish immigrants, throughout the twentieth century, brought the Irish Language, as well as their native music, dancing and sports traditions to the United States. The Gaelic League was founded in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania in the 1970's to preserve the language in this New World setting. Unlike other American cities such as Boston or New York, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania is not usually perceived as being a leading center for the Celtic Cultural Renaissance. The predominant white ethnic stereotype is that of an eastern or southern European milieu. Nevertheless, the Gaelic League has kept the Irish language very much to the foreground among the Irish-American community in Pittsburgh. This is a very brief historical sketch of Pittsburgh's Gaelic League and its efforts to promote and preserve an immigrant language in the United States.

Sulien Morgan, Centre for Welsh American Studies, School of Welsh, Cardiff University

“The response of the Welsh in the United States to the formation of the Welsh Nationalist Party, Plaid Cymru”

The formation of Plaid Cymru in 1925 heralded a political movement which called for the creation of a self governing and Welsh-speaking Wales. Receiving a lukewarm response in Wales, partly due to its eccentric leader Saunders Lewis, Plaid Cymru struggled for support for its cause in Wales. However, the American Welsh prided themselves on being more patriotically Welsh than the people of Wales. So how did they receive the new political party?

Using the two Welsh-American newspapers *Y Drych* and *The Druid* as sources, this paper aims to explore the reaction of both newspapers and their audience to the formation and activities of Plaid Cymru from its founding in 1925 up until the Second World War.

Sandra Muse, McMaster University

“The Nikwasi Sacred Mound: Celtic Overwriting of a Cherokee Village”

Franklin, North Carolina can be viewed as a microcosm of the troubled and conflicted history of Gaelic and Indigenous relations in the early days of the United States. It is a modern, yet quaint town nestled in the heart of the Great Smoky Mountains in the southern United States which draws upon its history of Scottish and Scots-Irish settlement of this original Cherokee land. Franklin was literally built on top of the ancient Cherokee middle town of Nikwasi, where many early Scots first met Cherokee people and earned their trust, becoming traders amongst the tribal villages and often marrying Cherokee women. Sitting in the center of Main Street is the Nikwasi Mound, the sacred centerpiece of that ancient Cherokee middle town, which is protected by federal historical designation.

The Eastern Cherokee reservation is less than a half hour away, and modern-day Cherokees can only stand and look at this sacred mound through a fence, a mound where spiritual ceremonies had always taken place. Meanwhile, a few blocks away stands the local Masonic lodge which bears the name of Junaluska, a Cherokee warrior who saved the life of then-General Andrew Jackson, who later committed wide-scale genocide upon the southeastern tribes. Franklin is also home to North America's one and only Tartan Museum, which recently opened a special exhibit based on the Cherokee Nation and the early Scottish immigrants. Given the fact that the English army could not have finally beaten the Cherokee in the Battle of Nikwasi in 1760 had it not been for their Highland warriors, many of whom had been Jacobites, thus victims of the Clearances and the subsequent transportations, how do we rectify this overwriting and sometimes appropriation of Cherokee culture and history by the newcomers who were Indigenous peoples themselves?

Michael Newton, Saint Francis Xavier University

“How the Highlanders Became White: The Introduction of Race Consciousness to Gaelic Literature and Culture”

Highlanders had already been exposed to cultural and linguistic oppression in Scotland for several generations before finding themselves once again in an anglocentric environment in North America. Although this historical experience provided the ability to identify with other subalterns or join forces with them, this was only one of many options available. Some Gaels considered resistance to anglocentric hegemony a less advantageous route than capitulation and earning the racial dividends of “whiteness.”

Scottish Gaels were one of numerous immigrant groups to North America whose claim of whiteness was marginal or contested. Ethnic groups acquired “white” status in North America not by changing the pigmentation of their skin, but by accommodating the expectations of “white society” and inscribing themselves within it. These two mutually reinforcing processes – growing access to privilege and the shifting of ethnic definitions – were not accidental but intentional manipulations of socially constructed hierarchies and boundaries. It clearly would have been impossible for Gaels to demolish the myths of racialism; it was more feasible, and more advantageous, to instead transform it in their favour.

This talk will examine texts which introduced the concepts and rhetoric of racialism to Scottish Gaels, especially through periodicals, or reflect the penetration of these ideas, from the mid-nineteenth century to the First World War. Amongst other things, it can be demonstrated that particular culture-brokers made conspicuous public claims about Highland affinities to “Anglo-Saxon”/British Imperial/“white” society and distance from the peoples of Africa, Ireland, and indigenous America in an effort to clear the path to privilege.

Kenneth Nilsen, Saint Francis Xavier University

“Bealach Cheanada: Twentieth-Century Gaeltacht Immigration to Canada”

Evidence for Irish speakers in Canada goes back to the early days of British settlement in Newfoundland. During the course of the nineteenth century Irish speakers continued to settle in the Maritime Provinces and further west in Québec and Ontario although evidence for their presence is sparse. Statements such as this one by Scottish-born George M. Douglas, who was the doctor at the quarantine station on Grosse-Île, Québec in 1846 are quite rare, “The number who annually land on our shores varies from 20,000 to 35,000 – and one year the number reached to 52,000. Rather more than 3/5ths of these are from the South and West of Ireland, a great proportion of whom speak in no other language than Erse.”

As this paper will show, emigration to Canada from the Gaeltacht, particularly from Connemara continued into the twentieth century. The paper will first use Irish government statistics, Canadian census records, ships’ passengers list and other written sources to delineate a pattern of Irish Gaelic speakers emigrating to Canada. The paper will then supplement this material with the details of oral accounts of individuals who emigrated to Canada in the 1920s-1950s, indicating why they came to Canada, where they settled, what occupations they followed and how long they stayed in Canada. The paper will conclude with a brief selection of video clips of individuals discussing Gaeltacht emigration to Canada.

Catriona NicÌomhair Parsons, Oifis Iomairtean na Gàidhlig, Alba Nuadh

“’S gus an càirear anns an ùir mi/ Cha chuir mi cùl ri mo Ghàidhlig!” (“And till I’m buried in the earth/ I will not turn my back on my Gaelic!”)

’S e a th’ anns an òraid seo sùil a-staigh air mar a ghléidh Gàidheil na h-Albann Nuaidhe a’ Ghàidhlig’s a dualchas an aghaidh iomadh chnap-starraidh; agus air na dh’fhaodas ionnsachadh bho ’n eisimplear seo a thaobh ath-bheòthachadh cànan. Thèid mìn-chunntas de bheachdachadh a dhèanamh air na thachair a thaobh na Gàidhlig ’s na deicheadan eadar làithean *MhicTalla* agus an diugh; agus mu dheireadh air na nithean a bu riataich do ghléidheadh na cànan.

This talk will take an inside look at how Nova Scotia Gaels preserved the Gaelic and its culture in the face of many impediments; and at what may be learned from this example about language (re-)vitalization. What occurred concerning Gaelic in the decades between the days of *MacTalla* and the present will be considered briefly, concluding with a contemplation of the elements most necessary to its preservation.

Barry Shears, Independent Scholar

“It’s in the Blood: The MacIntyre Pipers of Cape Breton County, 1828-2010”

The past decade has seen unparalleled research into the history, music and playing styles of Highland pipers both in Scotland and the New World Gàidhealtachd. The collapse of the Highland clan system in Scotland in the second half of the eighteenth century led to significant emigration of Gaels from Scotland to the Canadian Maritimes. Included in the estimated 50,000 Scottish immigrants who came to Nova Scotia were almost 80 pipers. These musicians came to Nova Scotia for a variety of reasons and were representatives of both the tacksman and tenant class. The tacksman or middle class pipers included the John Roy MacKay of Gairloch, piper to MacKenzie of Gairloch; Kenneth Chisholm, piper to Chisholm of Strathglas, Robert MacIntyre, piper to both MacDonald of Clan Ranald and Robertson MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart; several sons and grandsons of Rory MacNeil, the Laird of Barra’s early eighteenth century piper; and MacDonald of Glenalladale’s piper and bard, John MacGillivray. In addition there were dozens of lesser known pipers, representative of old Highland families who also left Scotland for Nova Scotia, and these included Campbell, Carmichael, Gillis, MacDonald, Nicholson, MacKinnon, MacMillan and MacIntyre.

Included in this rich immigrant tradition of piping were four ‘piping’ MacIntyre families who left South Uist for Cape Breton County between the years 1820 and 1836. They settled in the small farming communities of North side East Bay, Boisdale, Canoe Lake and French Road. Here they continued in their role as community pipers, playing for step-dances, weddings and funerals. In the days before electronic amplification the volume of the Highland bagpipe made it an ideal instrument for outdoor gatherings and made the Highland piper a popular purveyor of dance music. Piping was critically important to these families and in keeping with tradition the art of playing the bagpipes was passed on orally from one generation to the next. This practice was so successful that over forty descendants of these four MacIntyre families were pipers. One family, the French Road MacIntyres, has maintained a tradition of bagpipe playing to the present day, while piping eventually died out in the other three families. However the French Road MacIntyres did not escape the changes brought on by 20th century literate Scottish piping or the influences of the military establishment, and during the second half of the 20th century their performance style moved closer to the Scottish model.

This paper will examine the early origins of the MacIntyre pipers in Perthshire, the emigration from South Uist to Cape Breton, the transition from an oral musical tradition to a written one in the twentieth century and some of the contributions various members of these MacIntyre families have made to piping in Nova Scotia, through their influences as dance players and teachers. Samples of field recordings and old photographs will be used to enhance the presentation.

Heather Sparling, Cape Breton University

“Tongue & Toe Twisters: The Relationship between *Port-à-Beul* and Dance in Cape Breton”

Port-à-beul is often defined as “vocal music for dancing,” but what kind of dancing? In Cape Breton today, it is often assumed to accompany step dancing, a solo form of extemporized dance claimed to have come from Scotland but which was unknown there for a period of time until its recent revival. However, historical sources indicate that port-à-beul was not limited to the accompaniment of step dancing on either side of the Atlantic. Neither was it limited to public performance contexts; in fact, port-à-beul as dance accompaniment probably occurred most often in domestic environments. For example, women, who were historically excluded from performing as instrumental soloists, would sing port-à-beul at home to accompany their children’s dancing. Likewise, children would sing port-à-beul to accompany their own dancing. Today, puirt-à-beul is rarely performed to accompany dancing except in staged “historical reconstructions” of dancing accompanied by song, usually at concerts designed to educate an audience about Gaelic cultural traditions. Port-a-beul’s domestic history is therefore not often apparent. In this paper, I draw on both historical and ethnographic data to explore the relationship between port-à-beul and various forms of dance with a particular emphasis on Cape Breton.

Laurie Stanley-Blackwell and John D. Blackwell, Saint Francis Xavier University

“The Giant Angus MacAskill and Enshrining “The Mighty Scot” ”

Even in the 21st century, stories about the extraordinary physical prowess of Cape Breton’s Giant MacAskill (1825-1863) continue to exert a timeless fascination. Today, two museums, the Giant MacAskill Museum in Englishtown, Cape Breton and the Giant MacAskill Museum in Dunvegan, Skye, celebrate MacAskill’s feats as a heroic spectacle of superior

size and strength, and present him as an icon of Scottish physical strength. Wearing this mantle, MacAskill has served a double agenda by simultaneously marketing a public heritage of “tartanism” and celebrating the family honour of the Giant MacAskill Heirs Association; a conflation of the pride of ethnicity and lineage.

However, despite the popularity of these tourist sites, the storytelling tradition in Cape Breton offers a wider scope of folk narratives which celebrate the role of strength as a cultural marker among Cape Breton’s Scots. These folk history-tellings reject the ethic of individual performance epitomized by the enshrined MacAskill and alternatively relate the stories of community strong men as more authoritative emanations of their culture. In this sense, Cape Breton’s tradition bearers have not been “passive recipients of official memory” nor has MacAskill supplanted their history. In most cases, tradition bearers prefer the multiple and more personalized and localized variants of stories of feats of strength. These are not meant to diminish the significance of MacAskill’s achievements but to represent the broader vernacular landscape of memory in Cape Breton..

Natasha Sumner, Harvard University

“Ceudach in Cape Breton”

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Gaelic speaking Scottish settlers poured into Cape Breton to form Canada’s largest and most resilient Scottish Gaelic community. Amid new surroundings, it was through their cultural heritage – their stories and their songs – that these immigrant Scots preserved their identity during the harsh early years of settlement and beyond. The tales that took pride of place, as in Scotland, were Fenian and hero-tales, and the reciter of Fenian lore was ever a welcome céilidh guest. One such tale in particular merits close examination by reason of its great popularity among Islanders to a very late date. Three different Cape Breton versions were collected of it during the last century, at a time in which the attenuation of the tradition had made the collection of hero tales difficult. This tale has been classified in each instance as a variant of the well-known Fenian story of ‘Ceudach,’ although the Fenian connection has not always been maintained. This paper will compare these tales with published variants from Scotland in order to shed some light on the nature of their composition and draw out unique features of the Cape Breton versions.

Peter G. Toner, St. Thomas University

“Locating “Celtic” Music in Early 21st-Century New Brunswick”

Global musical forms are always made meaningful in local contexts, and there is no doubt that “Celtic” music is a global musical form: transported along with Irish and Scottish migrants to the four corners of the earth, transfigured during the mid-20th century folk revival, and commodified and marketed under the auspices of the World Music industry as the 20th century gave way to the 21st. The meanings of these traditions, however, cannot be read in a unitary way. In New Brunswick, despite considerable Scottish and then Irish migration during the 18th and 19th centuries, Celtic musics were not maintained as “pure” forms – possibly because of the lack of continuing immigration after the mid-19th century. Instead, Celtic musics seem to have given way to and combined with emerging mass-mediated genres like old-time and country. The mid-20th century folk revival was fueled in New Brunswick by persisting Celtic cultural identities and the influence of Celtic music from other parts of Atlantic Canada, leading to today’s “second life” of Celtic music in the province.

This paper will examine Celtic musics in New Brunswick as everyday practice grounded in local experience, rather than as cultural heritage indexically related to well-defined migrant groups. This requires a recognition of the “inventedness” of musical traditions, the selectiveness and contingency of cultural identities, and the diverse and overlapping musical “worlds” of which identifiably “Celtic” musics are only one shifting and sometimes ambiguous part. Although we may be forced to modify hopeful notions of the persistence of these musics in their diasporic contexts, we are repaid with a deeper understanding of the complex ways in which cultural identities are mediated musically.

Peter M. Toner, University of New Brunswick

“Irish Language Survival in Canada: many questions, few answers”

For most of my professional career, I have seldom strayed far from the study of the Irish in my native Province of New Brunswick. Previous research has called into question and dismissed many “beliefs” about the Irish, in New Brunswick as well as elsewhere. Since I had known a number of Irish speakers who had been born in New Brunswick had steered

my interest in that direction, but there was no hard evidence until the census of 1901 was released. Initial examination of that census produced evidence which flew in the face of established wisdom, making a systematic study imperative. I covered the Maritimes, and small bits of Quebec and Ontario before a collapse in health put an end to my work. But what I had discovered put an end to the established wisdom in my mind, and also called into question the standard portrait of the Irish society which had produced this effect in Eastern Canada.

Perhaps on a small scale, nonetheless Irish was still a living language in Eastern Canada at the beginning of the 20th Century. This cannot be explained unless the social history of Ireland as it has been written is reconsidered in the light of this evidence. The durability of the Irish language in Canada must also be explained, as well as its relationship to that other form of Gaelic spoken by neighbours from a Scots background. The questions raised by this evidence are at least as intriguing as many of the potential answers.

Seumas Watson, Nova Scotia Highland Village Museum and Marlene Ivey, NSCAD University

“*An Drochaid Eadarainn*: Prototyping An Online Social Space for the Nova Scotia Gaelic Community – Concept, Content Parameters & Design”

The creation of an online social space designed to simulate living Gaelic culture is the focus of this paper. *An Drochaid Eadarainn* (The Bridge Between Us), is a prototype that explores the potential for virtual experience to reflect the social reality of living Gaelic culture. *An Drochaid Eadarainn*'s aim, through socially directed technology, is to create an on-line *caidreabb* (Gaelic fellowship opportunity) framed in virtual expressions of Nova Scotian Gaelic culture.

An Drochaid Eadarainn has evolved from *Stòras a' Bhaile*, a Gaelic immersion folkways program held at Nova Scotia Highland Village, Iona. *An Drochaid Eadarainn* is a technological extension of this event. It includes the capacity to incorporate and advance the use of previously established digital resources for Gaelic Nova Scotia such as *Sruth nan Gàidheal*, hosted by St. Francis Xavier University.

The *An Drochaid Eadarainn* prototype seeks to emulate the vertical, inter and intra-generational transmissions of Gaelic language and culture as social phenomena at local levels. Innovative applications of technology to Gaelic renewal in Nova Scotia, may also hold beneficial applications for other cultural-linguistic groups facing similar challenges from issues of maintenance and development.

An Drochaid Eadarainn philosophy rests on the tenet that sustaining a living Gaelic culture is dependent on the internal criteria of its continuum models. Examples of these models are found in the passing on of oral literature such as songs and stories. From this perspective, transmission of living culture inside the *An Drochaid Eadarainn* web portal takes place, not in a pedagogical sense, but rather in an environment informed by immersive social expression maintained through group participation and interaction.

This paper will unfold the concept, content and design development of the project that is rooted in participatory principles and purposefully facilitates inter-activity as a method for developing and disseminating cultural identity through authentic language based cultural content.

Rhiannon Heledd Williams, Department of Welsh, Bangor University

“Whose Friend from the Old Country? William Rowlands and the Establishment of *Y Cyfaill o'r Hen Wlad*”

Y Cyfaill o'r Hen Wlad (1838-1933) (The Friend from the Old Country) was the first Welsh-language periodical to succeed in the United States, and one of the longest lasting within the Welsh-American press. This paper looks at the strategies employed by its founder and first editor, William Rowlands, examining ways in which he created a literary sphere which appealed to Welsh-speaking Americans and supported the ways in which they were engaged in the processes of creating Welsh-language American culture. Looking specifically at religion, politics, language, literature and culture through a variety of narratives gives us a broad sense of the double-faceted Welsh-American identity in this period.

Although the monthly journal was considered to serve the Calvinistic Methodist denomination, it also contained a variety of news, education and cultural endeavours that strived to appeal to the nation as a whole. It also provided an

open forum for discussion of social, political and cultural realms in their native tongue, ensuring they remain a distinct nation against the new backdrop of the United States.

Immigrants from this minority nation created a new identity, as they entrenched themselves in their adopted landscape as American citizens, whilst maintaining a strong connection with the Old World and its values. This 'transatlantic' connection was maintained through the aid of frequent correspondence and an array of literary contributions carried back and forth between both countries. These narratives combined portray a colourful insight into the migrants' experiences of settlement, along with the features they considered central to the articulation of their multifarious national identity.