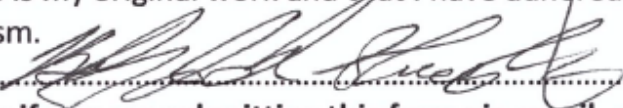




PRIFYSGOL CYMRU
Y Drindod Dewi Sant
UNIVERSITY OF WALES
Trinity Saint David

Postgraduate Dissertation coversheet & feedback form:

THIS SHEET MUST BE THE FIRST PAGE OF THE ASSIGNMENT YOU ARE SUBMITTING (DO NOT SEND AS A SEPARATE FILE)

For completion by student:		
Student Name Billy John Shrewsbury Student University Email: 1703428@student.uwtsd.ac.uk		
Module code: HPCS 7010	Student ID number: 1703428	Educational support needs: Yes/No
Dissertation title: The Celtic Influence on the Appalachian Region of the United States: Cultural Identity and diaspora		
Supervisor: Elizabeth Edwards	Word count: 19,658	
I confirm that this is my original work and that I have adhered to the University policy on plagiarism. Signed 		
Email submission: if you are submitting this form via email, please tick this box ☐ (as a substitute for your signature) to confirm that you agree to the above declaration.		
For completion by the first marker:		
Comments:		



Master's Degrees by Examination and Dissertation

Declaration Form

1. This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Name Billy John Shrewsbury

Date 27 January 2022

2. This dissertation is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts: Celtic Studies

Name Billy John Shrewsbury

Date 27 January 2022

3. This dissertation is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated.

Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references.

A bibliography is appended.

Name Billy John Shrewsbury

Date 27 January 2022

4. I hereby give consent for my dissertation, if accepted, to be available for photocopying, inter-library loan, and for deposit in the University's digital repository

Name Billy John Shrewsbury

Date 27 January 2022

Supervisor's Declaration.

I am satisfied that this work is the result of the student's own efforts.

Signed:

Date:

University of Wales: Trinity Saint David E-Thesis Deposit Agreement

Details of the Work

I would like to deposit the following item in the digital repository maintained by the University, and/or in any other repository authorized for use by the University:

Title: *The Celtic Influence on the Appalachian Region of the United States: Cultural Identity and diaspora*

This item is a product of my own research endeavours and is covered by the agreement below in which the item is referred to as “the Work”. It is identical in content to that deposited in the University Library, subject to point 4 below.

I agree that the University of Wales: Trinity Saint David may electronically store, copy or translate the Work to any approved medium or format for the purpose of future preservation and accessibility. The University is not under any obligation to reproduce or display the Work in the same formats or resolutions in which it was originally deposited.

UW: TSD Digital Repository

I understand that work deposited in the digital repository will be accessible to a wide variety of people and institutions, including automated agents and search engines via the World Wide Web.

I understand that once the Work is deposited, the item and its metadata may be incorporated into public access catalogues or services, such as national databases of electronic theses.

I agree as follows:

1. That I am the author or have the authority of the author/s to make this agreement and do hereby give the University of Wales: Trinity Saint David the right to make available the Work in the way described above.
2. That the electronic copy of the Work deposited in the digital repository and covered by this agreement, is identical in content to the paper copy of the Work deposited in the University Library, subject to point 4 below.
3. That I have exercised reasonable care to ensure that the Work is original, and to the best of my knowledge, does not breach any laws including those relating to defamation, libel and copyright.
4. That I have, in instances where the intellectual property of other authors or copyright holders is included in the Work, gained explicit permission for the inclusion of that material in the Work, and in the electronic form of the Work as accessed through the open access digital repository, or that I have identified and removed that material for which adequate permission has not been obtained and which will be inaccessible via the digital repository

5. That University of Wales: Trinity Saint David does not hold any obligation to take legal action on behalf of the Depositor, or other rights holders, in the event of a breach of intellectual property rights, or any other right, in the material deposited.
6. That I undertake to indemnify the University of Wales: Trinity Saint David against all actions, suits, proceedings, claims, demands and costs occasioned by the University in consequence of any breach of this agreement

Name: Billy John Shrewsbury

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Billy John Shrewsbury', written over a horizontal line.

Date: 27 January 2022

The Celtic Influence on the Appalachian Region of the United States
Cultural Identity and diaspora

B. John Shrewsbury
B.A., M.B.A., M.S., Ph.D.
1703428

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
Celtic Studies

University of Wales Trinity Saint David
2022

Table of Contents

List of Figures.....	3
Acknowledgements	4
Abstract.....	5
1 Introduction.....	6
1.1 Premise –The culture of the Appalachian region of the United States and Celtic influences	7
1.2 Identity.....	11
1.3 Goal and Methodology.....	13
2 Celtic Immigrations to Appalachia	14
2.1 Welsh	15
2.1.1 Legends of Madoc ap Owain Gwynedd and search for Welsh Indians.	15
2.1.2 William Penn 1681 founded Pennsylvania	17
2.1.3 Clergyman Morgan John Rhys settlement for Welsh Americans	18
2.2 Scottish.....	20
2.2.1 Scottish immigration to Carolinas in 1680s forward.	20
2.2.2 Scottish indentured servants and prisoners	22
2.3 Ireland	23
3 Diasporas and the Making of Appalachia.....	26
3.1 Britain's Diaspora.....	28
3.2 Conceptualizing and approaching Appalachia.....	30
3.3 Unraveling Appalachia's Celtic influences.	34
3.3.1 Music.....	35
3.3.2 Linguistics and Language	45
3.3.3 Cooking and Food.....	50
3.3.4 Stories, Myths, Legends, and Folk Traditions	62
3.3.5 Post-Immigration Celtic Influences	69
4 Appalachia, Celtic Diaspora, and Modern Identity	75
Bibliography	81

List of Figures

Figure 1: The Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) Map of Appalachian counties served by ARC. <<http://arc.gov/appalachian-counties-served-by-arc/>>. Designated as Public Domain per the Appalachian Regional Commission policy. <<https://www.arc.gov/arc-web-and-privacy-policy/>>

Figure 2: Gourd Fiddle made by Gene Horner in the Cumberland Mountains of Tennessee between 1850 and 1950. Image source: University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Special Collections, Local Identifier 0094_000050_000201_0001.jp2 <<https://digital.lib.utk.edu/collections/islandora/object/volvoices%3A3815>>. Physical object located at the Museum of Appalachia. Object Copyright Undetermined. Image is library archive record of object. The University of Tennessee Libraries allows the reproduction of materials from its digital collections, in compliance with United States copyright law.

Figure 3: Appalachian Dulcimer with noter and pick. Photo by B. John Shrewsbury. Dulcimer crafted by Jeffery A. Lambert of Fleming County Kentucky, USA.

Figure 4: Irish Road Bowling bowl. Photo by B. John Shrewsbury

Acknowledgements

I gratefully acknowledge all of those who helped make the completion of this dissertation possible. I would especially like to express my gratitude to Professor Jane Cartwright, who as the coordinator of the MA in Celtic Studies program at University of Wales Trinity St David, responded to my first query about the program and guided me along the way. I would also like to acknowledge Doctor Elizabeth Edwards, my supervisor for this dissertation, for her guidance and encouragement through the dissertation process as I navigated the additional obstacles many of us have been presented with in navigating the pandemic. I would also like to thank my spouse, Doctor Fernando Dorrego, for his support, encouragement, and understanding as I took time away from family life to complete this work. Most of all, I would like to dedicate this work to the memory of my parents Cilie Junior Shrewsbury and Betty Delano Henderson Shrewsbury for teaching me our Appalachian ways while instilling in me the importance of learning and assuring I had the formal education they did not have the opportunity to receive. I would also like to acknowledge my ancestors who left their native lands of the Celtic fringe, crossed the Atlantic Ocean, and made their way into Appalachia in some of the migrations discussed in this work. I would also like to acknowledge my Cherokee ancestors that were already in Appalachia and shared their home with those who came from across the sea.

Abstract

Appalachia is a distinctive cultural region within the Central and Southern part of the Appalachian Mountain Range in the Eastern region of the United States of America. This distinctiveness is largely impacted by the migration patterns by Celtic peoples from the British Isles from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. The migration to Appalachia of various groups from the Celtic fringe and their coexistence with each other and the Native Americans who inhabited the area, as well as other European immigrants, created a unique cultural hybridity that has a strong Celtic influence. This work examines the waves of immigration patterns into the early nineteenth century that helped create this distinct regional culture. It then considers some of the cultural influences of these groups on this region including music, speech patterns, food, folk traditions, and beliefs. By examining these cultural factors, this work provides a cross section of the distinctly Appalachian culture that is strongly influenced by its people's Celtic ancestry. More modern influences and dialogues between the Celtic regions in the British Isles and Appalachia are also considered. By examining these influences past and present this work presents a cultural identity of a hybrid diaspora within this region still influenced by its Celtic heritages.

1 Introduction

Appalachia is a region in the United States that was settled by several distinctive migrations, predominantly from the British Isles beginning in the late seventeenth and continuing into the early nineteenth century. This distinctiveness is largely shaped by the migration patterns of the Celtic fringe of the British Isles. The migration of the Ulster-Scots, Scots, Welsh, and Irish and their coexistence with each other and the Native Americans who inhabited the area, as well as some minor migration from continental Europe, created a unique cultural hybridity that has a strong Celtic influence. Although Appalachia sometimes gets associated with the American South, it is distinct from the rest of the American South and American society in general.¹ While some of these distinctions may seem to be fading with the current generation with migrations out of Appalachia to other regions of the United State for jobs, better communication and connectivity within the region, and more standardized education, the distinctions are still apparent. There still exist many 'old but not forgotten bonds between Appalachia and the British Isles'.² This work will examine the waves of immigration patterns into the early nineteenth century that helped create this distinct regional culture. It will then consider some of the cultural influences of these groups on this region to include music, speech patterns, food, folk traditions, and beliefs. By examining these cultural factors, the work will provide a cross section of the distinctly Appalachian culture that is strongly influenced by the cultures of its people's Celtic ancestors. Consideration will also be given to modern connections that continue to enhance the Celtic cultural connection,

¹ Richard Blaustein, *The Thistle and the Brier: Historical Links and Cultural Parallels between Scotland and Appalachia* (Jefferson: McFarland and Company, 1997), p. 53.

² Ted Olson, 'The Celtic Influence on Appalachian Music'. *The Crooked Road's Mountains of Music Homecoming: The Official Homecoming Guide*, 2016, p. 32. <<http://mtnsoufmusic.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/MOMH-ProgramGuide-FINAL-rev.pdf>>

as well as why this connection is still important to Appalachians as a mixed diaspora from the Celtic fringe of the British Isles. The cultural factors considered here will be examples of the influences. Some of the parallels will be messy due to other influences within the region and influences in the Celtic regions in the British Isles that have caused changes in the culture there since the migrations occurred. The migration patterns and history can be complex as well, so it is impossible to cover every detail in the scope of this work. Every attempt has been made to cover the major migrations needed for this study, but it should be considered a selective overview.

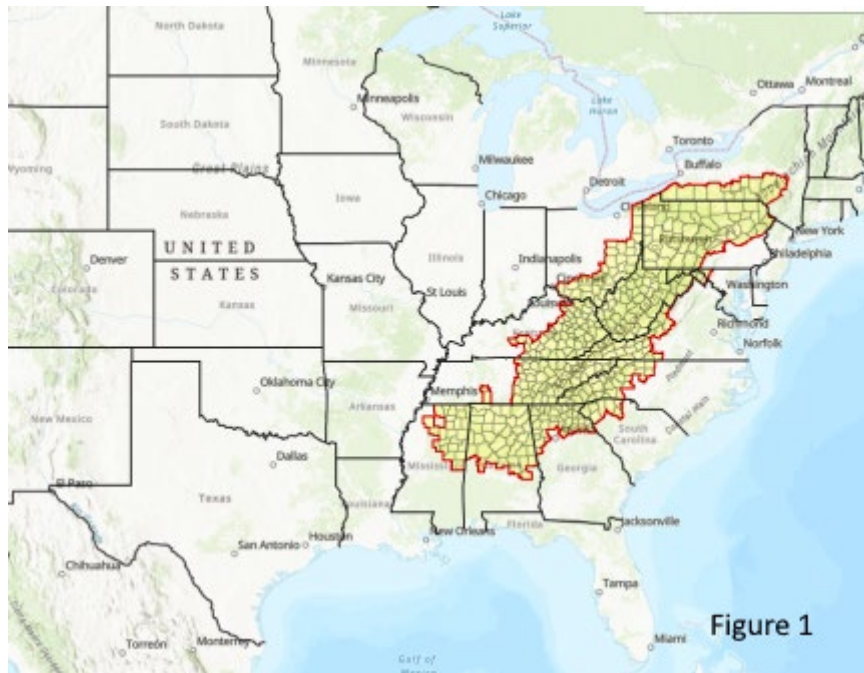
1.1 Premise –The culture of the Appalachian region of the United States and Celtic influences

Appalachia is most commonly viewed as a distinctive cultural region within a specific geographic boundary in the central and southern part of the Appalachian Mountain Range in the eastern region of the United States of America, although the exact boundaries of the region are sometimes disputed.³ It is also sometimes viewed by scholars in some fields as a 'construct' of politicians, policymakers, media, writers, and even scholars since the 1960s.⁴ Mark Sohn, an academic in Appalachian studies and a food historian, defines Appalachia more pragmatically, distinguishing it from the Southern region and culture of the United States, based on geography and climate related to foodways. For example, seafood is not common in

³ John Alexander Williams, *Appalachia: A History* (Chapel Hill: The University Of North Carolina Press, 2002), pp. 31–34., W. K. McNeil, 'Introduction', in *Appalachian Images in Folk and Popular Culture*, ed. by W. K. McNeil (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989), pp. 1–19, (p. 1)., Deborah Vansau McCauley, *Appalachian Mountain Religion: A History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), pp. 1–3. , Robert D. Michell, 'Introduction: Revisionism and Regionalism', in *Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society, and Development in the Preindustrial Era*, ed. by Robert D. Mitchell (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1991), pp. 1–22, (pp. 1–5).

⁴ Anita Puckett, 'Appalachia and the "Commons"', *Practicing Anthropology*, 36:4 (2014), 3–7, (p. 3)., Richard B. Drake, *A History of Appalachia* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2001), pp. vii–ix.

Appalachia because it is landlocked, and rice that is popular in many southern regions was not in Appalachia because it could not be grown in the climate of the mountainous region. He uses this definition for two reasons. The first is that he claims food travels and does not know political boundaries. The second reason is those boundaries have been drawn and redrawn over time.⁵



The uniqueness of the region and its people, sometimes referred to as mountaineers in the 1880s, was alluded to in writings as far back as 1824 and there was considerable attention to the isolation and uniqueness of the region throughout the nineteenth century.⁶ Blaustein notes the term 'Appalachia' as a term for the region and not just the mountain range, was first used in a U.S. Federal government report in 1935.⁷ Kephart, in his 1913 study of the region, referred to the people of this region as both as mountaineers and like Campbell, in his 1921 work on this region,

⁵ M. F. Sohn, 2005, *Appalachian Home Cooking: History, Culture, and Recipes*, (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky), p. xiii, pp. 8–9.

⁶ McNeil, 'Introduction', in *Appalachian Images*, pp. 2–3.

⁷ Blaustein, *The Thistle and the Brier*, p. 47.

as 'Southern Highlander'.⁸ The inhabitants of Appalachia were also sometimes referred to as 'hillbillies', the name having negative connotations depicting them as backwards and unsophisticated and perpetuating the concept of a culture of poverty and backwardness.⁹ Those migrating out of the region to find work between the 1940s and 1970s often discovered their speech patterns did not fit in well in the large cities in the northern part of the United States.¹⁰ I recall as a young child starting school in Florida, where my family moved after my grandfather developed black lung disease from working in the coal mines in West Virginia, being teased by other students for pronouncing the word 'wash' with a 'r' (often pronounced 'warsh' in Appalachia).

This vague sense of what Appalachia is, what its people have been called, and how they have been viewed by those outside of the region are all germane to this work which considers how and why the Celtic influence on this region has lasted in a more pronounced way than it did in the United States as a whole. As Anderson points out in his work on imagined communities, all communities larger than a village where people know each other face to face are imagined. Anderson's work asserts that communities are not distinguished by a concept of falsity or genuineness; they are distinguished by the style in which they are imagined.¹¹ In this regard the concept of Appalachia is not all that different than the concept of 'Celtic'. As Schumann notes in his work on locating Wales in Appalachian scholarship, the archaeological record of

⁸ Horace Kephart, *Our Southern Highlanders* (New York: Outing Publishing Company, 1913), pp. 16–17., John Charles Campbell, *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1921), p. 10.

⁹ Emelie K. Peine, Amy Price Azano, and Kai A. Schafft, 'Beyond Cultural and Structural Explanations of Regional Underdevelopment: Identity and Dispossession in Appalachia', *Journal of Appalachian Studies*, 26:1 (2020), 40–56 (pp. 44–50).

¹⁰ Blaustein, *The Thistle and the Brier*, p. 47.

¹¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on The Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), pp. 5–7.

Europe indicates hybridity and cultural fluidity in Celtic culture, and the ethnic identities of Celtic peoples such as the Scottish, Welsh, Irish, and Bretons have experienced being invented and reinvented many times over as different political and cultural goals were addressed. So, to further add to its complexity, this work addresses the cultural influence of one somewhat difficult to define cultural grouping, Celtic, upon a difficult to define regional culture.

While there are many complexities to the definition and cultural distinctiveness of the region, terminology relating to its people, and attitudes towards them, this thesis argues that the migration patterns of the Celtic migrations from the British Isles from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth century had a large impact on this distinctiveness.¹² The circumstances around these various migrations have also had an impact on the modern development of a Celtic American identity and the Appalachian identity politics that continue to shape the region.¹³ While it may seem an oversimplification, McDonald makes a point that is at the heart of this work when he points out that the people in the colonies from Pennsylvania south and west were primarily from what he terms the 'Celtic fringe', a term he uses for the people from the 'western and northern upland regions of England, Wales, the Scottish Highlands and Borders, the Hebrides, and Ireland'.¹⁴ This area from Pennsylvania south and west aligns with the general geographic area of Appalachia. He goes on to note that

¹² Blaustein, *The Thistle and the Brier*, pp. 7–9. William Schumann, 'Locating Wales in Appalachian Scholarship', *Journal of Appalachian Studies*, 16:1 (2010), 9–25 (pp. 9–10)., Rodger Cunningham, *Apples on the Flood: The Southern Mountain Experience* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1987), pp. xv–xvii.

¹³ Schumann, 'Locating Wales', pp. 9–11., Celeste Ray, *Highland Heritage: Scottish Americans in the American South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), pp. 1–3., Emily Satterwhite, 'That's What They're All Singing About: Appalachian Heritage, Celtic Pride, and American Nationalism at the 2003 Smithsonian Folklife Festival', *Appalachian Journal*, 32:3 (2005), 302–338 (pp. 326–329).

¹⁴ Forrest McDonald, 'Prologue', in *Cracker Culture: Celtic Ways in the Old South*, auth. Grady McWhiney (The University of Alabama Press: Tuscaloosa, 1988), pp. xxi–xlili (p. xxi).

the immigrants to the New England colonies originated in the 'lowland southeastern half of the island of Britain' ¹⁵ going on to say that until the influx of emigrants from Ireland after the Great Famine in the 1840s, three-fourths of the population of New England was from the English southern lowlands. The migration patterns that McDonald sums up in these few phrases, that have many complexities behind them, are major contributors to the distinctiveness of this region.

1.2 Identity.

Kephart, in his early twentieth-century work on Appalachia, characterized the people he referred to as mountaineers as 'marked apart from all other folks by dialect, by customs, by character, by self-conscious isolation. So true is this that they call all outsiders "furriners"'. ¹⁶ His description goes on to imply that they appear to be living in the eighteenth century as the rest of the world entered the twentieth century, somehow stuck in time and isolated from the rest of the world and its 'progress', and leery of strangers. ¹⁷ While this may seem an extreme description, parts of Appalachia into recent times have remained behind in advancement that are taken for granted by many. In the 1990s there was a government program to replace outdoor privies (termed outhouses in the United States) with indoor plumbing in Appalachia to enable older residents to age at home. ¹⁸ Another element that has persisted is a nativism that began in the mid-1800s among those labeled 'Scotch-Irish' to regain their identity. Historian Kenneth Keller asserts that after the revolutionary war, the 'Scotch-Irish' integrated into their communities and it appeared would forget their

¹⁵ Ibid., p. xxi.

¹⁶ Kephart, p. 16.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁸ James J. Callahan, Aging in Place, *Generations: Journal of the American Society on Aging*, 16:2 (1992), 5–6 (pp. 5–6).

heritage, but their rediscovery of their 'Scotch-Irishness' began as a nativistic reaction to the immigration of poor southern Irish Catholics that began around 1835. Keller notes that as various people began writing about these Scotch-Irish in relation to Appalachia in the late 1800s they did not differentiate between the people of the various immigration streams. The descendants of the Scotch-Irish of the colonial period and new emigrants from Ulster in the mid-1800s were all considered part of the same group.¹⁹ They shared a common history of being uprooted by the English and moved to Ireland, then being uprooted again for religious and political liberties or in later migrations due to crop failures, increased rents, and increasing English restrictions.²⁰

This common thread of forced migrations from political pressure, the English governments oppression, and economic need tie to a critical lens that will be used in this work to consider the Celtic influence on Appalachian culture, that is the transnational psyche of diaspora. Eric Richards argues that the migrations from the British Isles relevant to the discussion of the Appalachian region represent a diaspora. Although the migrations took place in waves and under somewhat different circumstances, the element of being uprooted and pressured or forced to migrate is a common thread in many cases. He argues that such groups maintain a conscious identity that is reinforced by the common experience of exile. Such groups, he asserts, 'exhibit a powerful urgency to maintain, revive, or invent connections with a prior home'.²¹ These theories of the diaspora are based on theories on migration and

¹⁹ Kenneth W. Keller, 'What Is Distinctive About the Scotch-Irish?', in *Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society, and Development in the Preindustrial Era*, ed. by Robert D. Mitchell (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1991), pp. 69–86, (pp. 83–85).

²⁰ Keller, 'What Is Distinctive', pp. 78–86.

²¹ Eric Richards, *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland Since 1600* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), pp. 102–103.

diasporas put forth by Vertovec and Cohen in the late 1990s through the examination of more current migrations viewing diaspora as a type of consciousness involving a state of mind and sense of identity that have dual factors. One is the experience of discrimination or exclusion and the other is a positive identification with a historical heritage.²² The separateness or isolation that Kephart describes and the nativistic traits Keller proposes make this diaspora consciousness a useful lens for examining the Celtic influence on Appalachian culture. Some of the distinctive elements of Appalachia that persist today directly tie to the Celtic areas from which its people's ancestors hail, such as the Celtic influence on Appalachian folk music²³ and some of the distinctive linguistic patterns.²⁴ Other customs are more modern imports that did not exist in the Celtic countries of origin at the time of the immigration, such as Tartans, Highland Games, and Irish Road Bowling events.²⁵ This fits with Richards' assertion maintaining, reviving, or inventing connections.

1.3 Goal and Methodology.

The overarching goal of this work is to examine the various impacts of Celtic culture on the culture of Appalachia as it has developed since the 1800s to the current day. This includes factors across the spectrum of the culture to include music, language patterns, folk tales and literature, customs, and various community activities. In

²² Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, 'Introduction', in *Migration, Diasporas, and Transnationalism*, ed. by Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 1999), pp. xviii–xix.

²³ Fiona Ritchie and Doug Orr, *Wayfaring Strangers: The Musical Voyage from Scotland and Ulster to Appalachia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014), pp. 7–61., Michael C. Scoggins, *The Scotch-Irish Influence on Country Music in the Carolinas: Border Ballads, Fiddle Tunes, and Sacred Songs* (Charleston: The History Press, 2013), pp. 24–25., Blaustein, *The Thistle and the Brier*, p. 35.

²⁴ Michael B. Montgomery, 'The Roots of Appalachian English: Scotch-Irish or British Southern?', *Journal of the Appalachian Studies Association*, 3 (1991), 177–191 (pp. 183–188).

²⁵ Ray, *Highland Heritage*, pp. xi– xix., <<https://www.wvirishroadbowling.com/>>

doing this, the migration patterns that contributed to this culture from Celtic regions and peoples will be examined in the form of an overview to provide context. Details on the links and cultural parallels will also be considered in the areas mentioned. In many cases these parallels will be between current aspects of Appalachian culture and customs during the period of heavy migrations that may not still exist in the region of origin. This may occur because of influences within the Celtic regions since the migrations that have resulted in changes in customs within the Celtic fringe of the British Isles. Appalachia was isolated from these influences. In other cases, more recent cultural aspects that have been imported since the period of migration will be discussed. The factors and motivations for the import of these elements will provide some insight into cultural identities within Appalachia today and help frame the Celtic influence on Appalachia within the perspective of a diaspora community and Vertovec and Cohen's diaspora as consciousness discussed in the previous subsection. While some mitigating influences of migrations and cultures may be mentioned within this work, they are not the primary focus and will be discussed only to provide context to other influences on the culture as it developed. In this approach this paper will consider both the Celtic influences on the culture in the Appalachian region of the United States as well as the importance of this influence to the unique regional identity of the people of this area.

2 Celtic Immigrations to Appalachia

To understand the development of the distinct regional culture of the Appalachian area of the United States, it is necessary to consider the migration patterns of people from Celtic regions to this area. Merging of the traditions of the various people of the Celtic diaspora created the unique cultural hybridity that still retains many of the

Celtic elements that influenced its development. In the context of global history, most of these migrations are relatively recent, dating from the seventeenth century onward. Despite this, the interweaving of the various elements with the traditions of the indigenous population, and other European immigrations complicate attribution. Another complication is unraveling verifiable historical facts from traditions and legend. With these complications and the various overlapping migrations, the situation can be quite complex and somewhat messy. Fully unraveling these complexities is beyond what can be given due justice within the scope of this work. The content provided here is a selective overview to provide some context for the overarching migratory influences and is not intended to be comprehensive. In what follows in this section, I outline the various migrations streams from areas of the Celtic fringe. There are complicating factors related to each of these migration streams. I attempt to cover the highlights relevant to their influence upon Appalachia from each, but this is only an overview to provide context for the main premise of this work. There are complexities to each of these migrations that are outside of the scope of this work.

2.1 Welsh

2.1.1 Legends of Madoc ap Owain Gwynedd and search for Welsh Indians.

One of the earliest accounts of the migration of Celtic people to the Appalachian region of North America likely falls into the category of legend, but is influential, nonetheless. This is the story of Madoc ap Owain Gwynedd, sometimes referred to as a prince of North Wales. The most common version of this story claims he was the youngest son of Owain ap Gruffudd ruler of Gwynedd and that he discovered the Americas in 1170, making land initially in what is now Mobile, Alabama. This

legend claims that when he returned to Wales, the country was amid wars for the succession after his father's death.²⁶ Madoc gathered friends and their families dissatisfied with the political situation and sailed west back to North America. For a time, Old Stone Fort, an ancient site in what is now the State of Tennessee in the US was attributed to Madoc and those who came with him. More recent academic work attributes the site to indigenous peoples during the Middle Woodland period between 80 and 550 CE.²⁷ Stone structures in north Alabama at DeSoto State Park, another stone fort at Fort Mountain State Park in northeast Georgia, were also attributed to Madoc. In these legends, Madoc and his group of immigrants to the new world interacted with the natives in North America and eventually became a tribe or tribes of 'white' Indians that are associated with many other legends that were used to support the story of Madoc.²⁸ This possible migration is much earlier than others that will be considered although the legend itself had some influence in the mid- to late 1500s in attempts to support British claims to parts of North America²⁹ and again in the late 1700s as John Evans embarked on an expedition to North America seeking the Welsh Indian tribe rumored to be there, likely descended from the Madoc expedition. Evans was originally to have accompanied his friend Iolo Morganwg on the expedition, but Morganwg backed out and Evans went without him.³⁰

²⁶ Gwyn A. Williams, *Madoc: The Making of a Myth* (Fakenham: Fakenham Press, 1979), pp. 68–88. John C. Hall, 'Prince Madoc and the Stubborn Persistence of a Legend.' *Alabama Heritage*, 96 (2010), 30–37 (pp. 30–37), Ben Johnson, 'The Discovery of America...by a Welsh Prince?', *History Magazine* (Online), <<https://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/HistoryofWales/The-discovery-of-America-by-Welsh-Prince/>> [accessed 12 January 2021].

²⁷ Charles H. Falkner, *The Old Stone Fort: Exploring an Archaeological Mystery* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1968), p. v, p. 9.

²⁸ Williams, *Madoc*, pp. 140–183., Hall, 'Prince Madoc', pp. 30–37., Johnson, 'The Discovery of America...by a Welsh Prince?', *History Magazine* (Online), <<https://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/HistoryofWales/The-discovery-of-America-by-Welsh-Prince/>>

²⁹ Williams, *Madoc*, pp. 38–42.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 146–147.

2.1.2 William Penn 1681 founded Pennsylvania

The earliest large-scale immigration of Welsh to North America was to an area of Appalachia that is now the State of Pennsylvania, but was originally referred to by William Penn, the man who established the settlement of the area as 'New Wales'. Penn was a Quaker, born in London and son of the English Admiral Sir William Penn, but his family was of Welsh decent.³¹ King Charles II granted the 40,000 square miles of land to Penn in 1681 as payment of a large monetary debt he owed Penn's father and for some political arrangements that assisted in Charles assuming the throne. Charles later named the colony Pennsylvania in honour of Penn the younger's father, the Admiral.³² Penn actively recruited people to immigrate to his newly acquired land in North America, especially among religious minorities,³³ at the low price of 40 shillings per hundred acres.³⁴ While this was a major inducement to many diverse people throughout the British Isles and greater Europe, the Welsh were a major and important element in the formation of Pennsylvania between 1682 and 1700.³⁵ These early Welsh immigrants were mostly Quakers. In the 1660s, the Cavalier Parliament of England passed several laws, including the Quaker Act of 1662 and the Conventicle Act of 1664, that were oppressive to Quakers, such as prohibiting public worship under penalty of fines and imprisonment. The Test Act of 1673 that disqualified religious dissenters to the Anglican church from qualifying to hold public office further intensified the persecution.³⁶ The fact that Penn was

³¹ Vivienne Sanders, *Wales, the Welsh and the Making of America* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2021), p. 20.

³² Rudolph J. Walther, 'Pennsylvania 1630–1700', *USHistory.org* website of the Independence Hall Association, <<https://www.ushistory.org/pennsylvania/pennsylvania.html>> [accessed 12 January 2021]., Williams, *Appalachia: A History*, pp. 31–34.

³³ Williams, *Appalachia: A History*, p. 32.

³⁴ Walther, pp. 31–34.

³⁵ Sanders, p. 19.

³⁶ William Gibson, 'The Limits of the Confessional State: Electoral Religion in the Reign of Charles II', *The Historical Journal*, 51:1 (2008), 27–47 (pp. 29–31).

Quaker and of Welsh ancestry and his land offer was such a low price were all major inducements to the Welsh Quakers seeking religious freedoms and economic opportunity. The religious tolerance that developed in Pennsylvania as a result of immigration of groups such as the Welsh Quakers, Mennonites, Baptists, and other persecuted minority religious groups, contributed to some of the religious values and practices that latter became viewed as typical Appalachian.³⁷

This wave of Welsh immigration slowed around 1710, but by then Pennsylvania was well established as a Welsh center and the Welsh-American population continued to grow as the first and second generation of American-born children of Welsh descent were born. In 1729 a St. David's Society was founded in Philadelphia and Welsh books were published there.³⁸ As Baptist groups split, some began to move out of Pennsylvania to other regions, some within Appalachia, others not. In 1730, one established a Welsh colony within Appalachia along the Black River in what is now North Carolina. Another group established the settlement of Welsh Neck in 1737 on the Pee Dee River in South Carolina. This movement marked the beginning of widespread assimilation of the Welsh into Appalachian culture, but also marked the beginning of the decline of the Welsh language in the region.³⁹

2.1.3 Clergyman Morgan John Rhys settlement for Welsh Americans

In 1794, another wave of immigration from Wales began. It too was largely motivated by religious persecution coupled with political and social unrest. This

³⁷ Wayland F. Dunaway, 'Early Welsh Settlers of Pennsylvania', *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic*, 12:4 (1945), 251–269 (pp. 251–252).

³⁸ Gwyn A. Williams, *The Welsh in Their History* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), pp. 53–55.

³⁹ Ronald L. Lewis, *Welsh Americans: A History of The Assimilation in the Coalfield* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), pp. 11–13.

migration began when clergyman and radical democrat Morgan John Rhys of Pontypool sought to establish a Welsh Baptist colony in Western Pennsylvania.⁴⁰ Despite Rhys being from South Wales, many of these immigrants came from North Wales, especially Caernarvon and Montgomeryshire. Prior to Rhys attempting to establish a Welsh colony in Pennsylvania, his thinking had been heavily influenced by the emerging philosophies of Iolo Morganwg and the Gwyneddigion Society. The society was a London-based Welsh organization that supported reviving the *eisteddfod* as a type of national academy and campaigned to create a Welsh nation 'conceived in liberty'.⁴¹ The Gwyneddigion Society supported Rhys's short-lived *Journal* published from 1793 to 1794. In late 1791, there was a revival of the myth of Prince Madoc prompted by a publication on the topic by Dr. John Williams. As mentioned previously, John Evans, a friend of Morganwg departed for North America in 1792, chasing the Madoc myth on a trip Morganwg originally planned to make.⁴² Morganwg's unpublished poem from 1794 expresses his sentiments on migration and against 'Church and King'. One stanza clearly expresses his feelings of immigrating to North America due to the oppression:

O Let us to some desert wild
Haste o'er the stern atlantic wave
There live with freedom self exiled
From realms where bloody Tyrants rave
and, thanking heav'n, there shall we thus
In strains of joy together Sing
"Good Lord! thou hast deliver'd us
From Pitt and Spies, from Church and King"⁴³

⁴⁰ Richards, *Britannia's Children*, pp. 102–103.

⁴¹ Williams, *The Welsh*, p. 78.

⁴² Williams, *Madoc*, p. 146

⁴³ Iolo Morganwg, 'Church and King', in *English-Language Poetry from Wales, 1789–1806*, ed. by Elizabeth Edwards (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013) p. 129.

These types of sentiments and enthusiasm for a new national home for the Welsh people, coupled with and increasing Jacobin sentiments made Rhys's Welsh liberty settlement of Beula⁴⁴ all the more appealing.⁴⁵ The enclosure movement that displaced many Welsh farmers from the moorland and subsequent collapse of corn prices at the end of the series of English wars with the French in 1815 and the depression that followed resulted in famine in Wales that pushed more Welsh to immigrate to what, by this time, was the United States. Various acts and actions of the English government over the next fifty years continued to drive waves of immigration, often led by religious leaders advocating for the preservation of Welsh language and culture. In 1865 there was a shift in the migration pattern to South America when Congregationalist preacher Michael D. Jones argued that Americanization was too powerful for Welsh culture to survive and shifted South, establishing a Welsh colony in Patagonia, Argentina.⁴⁶

2.2 Scottish

2.2.1 Scottish immigration to Carolinas in 1680s forward.

The Encyclopedia of North Carolina notes that there have been Scots individuals and families in North Carolina since the first settlement within this region and notes several Scots emigrants held positions as governors. It goes on to explain that a large group of Highlanders established a community in the Cape Fear valley of North Carolina in 1739 called the Argyll Colony since the immigrants came mostly from

⁴⁴Paul Bleyden, 'Beula', *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, 14:2(1947), pp.118–130, p.118. Note: Beula in Cambria County, Pennsylvania, was spelled without the 'h' that appears at the end of Beulah, Ceredigion, Wales.

⁴⁵ Williams, *The Welsh*, pp. 67–70.

⁴⁶ Lewis, *Welsh Americans*, pp. 11–17.

the Argyll region.⁴⁷ While Britain established a dominant presence in colonizing the eastern coastline of North America, by 1660 emigration from England slowed considerably and labor resources became a scarce commodity which encouraged trade in the kidnapping of children and other vulnerable people in British society, trade in indentured servants, and private companies promoting emigration. With this decrease in emigration from England, more people were drawn from both Highland and Lowland Scotland as well as Northern Ireland to meet the needs of the colonies.⁴⁸ The region of Appalachia known as North Carolina became the home of many of these early Scottish immigrants.

This immigration was largely due to changes occurring in the economic and social structures in the Highlands as well as some religious issues. Links to family in Ulster due to the Protestant colonization of Ulster as part of the English Crown's attempts to subjugate Ireland further, and the hiring out by Highland chieftains as mercenaries called 'redshanks' to Gaelic chieftains in Ireland forged stronger connections with the events occurring in Ireland. With increasing rent demands of the middle class by the chieftains / landholders, many were inspired by the Ulster Scots they were in communication with to leave for America.⁴⁹

A second wave came in 1767, larger than the first. By this time many of chieftains had devolved into little more than landlords who used their power to exploit their

⁴⁷ Robert J. Cain, 'Scottish Settlers', in *Encyclopedia of North Carolina* Online Edition, ed. by William S. Powell (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), <<https://www.ncpedia.org/scottish-settlers>>. Note: W. S. Powell, the editor of this work, was professor of history emeritus at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill., and author or editor of many reference books about the state of North Carolina. The work was published in association with the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Library.

⁴⁸ Richards, *Britannia's Children*, pp. 67–69.

⁴⁹ Michael Newton, 'The History of Highland Settlements of the Cape Fear', *The Argyll Colony Plus: The Journal of the North Carolina Scottish Heritage Society* (Online), 2006, <<https://theargyllcolonyplus.org/history/>> [accessed 12 January 2021]., Fussell M. Chalker, 'Highland Scots in the Georgia Lowlands', *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 60:1 (1976), 35–42 (pp. 35–37).

tenants. Economic conditions were poor throughout all of Britain during this period, as has been previously mentioned, but the landlords in Scotland had greater powers over tenants and could even force them to leave their homes. This second wave of immigrants came from the larger area around Argyll and included people from the islands of Arran, Jura, Islay, and Gigha. The immigration to this colony continued into the early 1800s.

2.2.2 Scottish indentured servants and prisoners

There were other groups of Scots that immigrated from Scotland during this early period that are often not mentioned by the chronicles of town histories that look proudly back at their founding by the adventurous ancestors who came to America for a better life. As was mentioned earlier regarding immigrants from Wales, beginning around 1650, the colonies needed labor resources. In the mid-1600s, Scotland began shipping its 'undesirables' (drifters, abducted servants, and hapless youth) to Virginia to meet the need for workers on plantations and often sold as slaves or indentured servants.⁵⁰ Dobson, in his supplement for the years 1607 through 1707 to his early work encompassing 1612–1783, which lists names of colonists and how and when they arrived in North America, claims the majority of Scots who settled on the North American mainland during the seventeenth century were prisoners banished by England to plantation work.⁵¹ With Cromwell's defeat of the Scots at the Battles of Preston, Dumbar, and Worchester, there were problems with housing so many prisoners of war. Many of these were shipped to the colonies in America as workers. Some were shipped to New England and sold as slaves for a

⁵⁰ Bruce P. Lenman, 'Lusty Beggars, Dissolute Women, Sorners, Gypsies, and Vagabonds for Virginia', *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* 27:2 (2005), pp. 64–69, (pp. 64–67).

⁵¹ David Dobson, *The Original Scots Colonists of Early America: Supplement 1607–1707* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1998), pp. v–vi.

specific period of service after which they would be freed. Others were shipped to the English sugar islands in the West Indies, and others were shipped to Virginia.⁵² With the precedent set, the city council of Edinburgh began shipping its beggars, vagabonds, and others it did not see as fit to remain in the kingdom, and allowed entrepreneurs like Captain James Gibson of the Phoenix of Leith seeking profit, to find volunteers among the poor classes in Edinburgh and nearby communities, offering those willing to go food and clothing for their service as bondsmen and women. By the 1670s, the Scots Privy Council, who operated in the name of Charles II, had a system for shipping off political prisoners and other dissenters who might be seen as rebels to the English monarchy to Virginia on the next available ship. This continued into the early 1700s.⁵³ By the time the Jacobite rebellions began, the practice of banishing those who opposed the crown was well established. In 1715, Jacobite rebels were sent to the West Indies and South Carolina where they were sold for 30 pounds per person to serve as laborers. After the final defeat of the Jacobites in 1745, more were dispatched to serve in the plantation areas of the colonies.⁵⁴

2.3 Ireland

When discussing the Scottish Immigration to Appalachia and its influence, it is often difficult to separate it from the term often used in America, Scotch-Irish, or sometimes corrected to Scots-Irish. The terms are not precise descriptors and

⁵² Aaron S. Fogleman, 'From Slaves, Convicts, and Servants to Free Passengers: The Transformation of Immigration in the Era of the American Revolution', *The Journal of American History*, 85:1(1998), pp. 43-76 (p. 46)., James Davie Butler, 'British Convicts Shipped to American Colonies', *The American Historical Review*, 2:1 (1896), pp. 12-33 (pp. 12-16)., Lenman, 'Lusty Beggars, Dissolute Women', pp. 64-66.

⁵³ Butler, 'British Convicts', pp. 12-16., Lenman, 'Lusty Beggars, Dissolute Women', pp. 65-67.

⁵⁴ Richards, *Britannia's Children*, pp. 82-83.

sometimes are discussed as being analogous to the term Ulster-Scots. As Landsman notes 'some immigrant groups that historians have labeled as Scots-Irish never lived in Ireland but came directly from Scotland'.⁵⁵

As early as the 1620s, there was already established trade to the colonies from ports in the south of Ireland such as Cork and Kinsale, primarily to ports such as Chesapeake, Virginia. Ireland also did not escape the privateers attempting to recruit migrants for a supposed better life in Virginia. By the mid-1600s, there were Irish, who had been recently defeated by the English, those dispossessed, and some exiled arriving in the colonies. Most of these early arrivals were of Catholic background but many converted to Protestantism as servants of Protestant families. Some, like the O'Mores who had lost their land in Offaly, anglicized their names, and became Protestant to seek position in the new land. Immediate descendants of the Mores became colonial governors in South Carolina.⁵⁶

While these early Irish immigrants to the American colonies were establishing themselves there, a new group who would later be known by some as the Ulster-Scots was just starting to form as a unique group. Under James I's (James VI of Scotland) rule, border Scots were relocated into the Ulster region of Ireland to help deal with the issues of the rebellious Irish. The region was a mostly agrarian and landlord-tenant society developed among the immigrants with a steady stream of new immigration from Scotland and constant conflicts with the native Irish. The mostly Presbyterian population also faced religious hostilities from the Anglican

⁵⁵ Ned C. Landsman, *Scotland and Its First American Colony, 1683–1765* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 8.

⁵⁶ Kieran Quinlan, *Strange Kin: Ireland and the American South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005), pp. 21–27.

state and were even forced to pay tithes to the Church of Ireland. They also faced many of the same economic issues and problems with poor harvests previously mentioned in the discussion of Scottish and Welsh immigrants. From the 1680s and throughout the 1700s until the American Revolution, approximately 250,000 Ulster-Scots came to North America. After the revolution, another 500,000 came, with the peak between the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815) and the potato famine (1845). Most came in through Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, but dispersed depending on their skills. Many of the farmers settled all along the Appalachian Mountain region while artisans sought out the larger cities.⁵⁷

Simply using the term Ulster-Scots makes it sound like this was just another part of the Scottish immigration, but it was more complex than that. This group did not call themselves Scottish, nor did the people who were already settled in the region. They were known as 'The Irish'.⁵⁸ The name Scotch-Irish was not used until the later migration of post potato famine Irish Catholics began in order to distinguish the two groups.⁵⁹ This still poses a problem for historians, since both groups called themselves Irish in the beginning and, after nearly 100 years in Ireland, the immigrants from Ulster considered themselves Irish. Unraveling the histories can be difficult. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, family histories became muddled over time, and the term became even more generic. Forrest McDonald argues in his prologue to Grady McWhiney's work *Cracker Culture*, that due to various migrations in the Ulster region centuries preceding the migration to North

⁵⁷ H. Tyler Blethen and Curtis W. Wood, Jr., 'Introduction' in *Ulster and North America: Transatlantic Perspectives on the Scotch-Irish*, ed. by H. Tyler Blethen and Curtis W. Wood, Jr. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1997), pp. 1–14, (pp. 2–4).

⁵⁸ Williams, *Appalachia: A History*, pp. 43.

⁵⁹ Karen F. McCarthy, *The Other Irish: The Scots-Irish Rascals Who Made America* (New York: Sterling: 2011), p. ix.

America, they were not purely descendants of lowland settlers to Ulster plantations, but members of a traditional Gaelic (or Norse Gaelic) society who had been moving back and forth between Ulster and the Highlands and Islands for nearly a thousand years'.⁶⁰

The timing, size, and duration of the migrations were major factors on the impact this specific migration had on Appalachia. Land prices were going up in southeastern Pennsylvania due to an influx of Germans that began around the same time as the migrations from Ulster, which drove those immigrating from Ireland further into the backlands of the region, encroaching further on land that was still inhabited by the indigenous population. The migration also continued up to and after the American Revolution into the first two decades of the 1800s. The German and many other migrations halted for the most part just before the revolution. Those immigrating spread further into Western Pennsylvania and the Upper Ohio Valley region made up of Southeastern Pennsylvania, the Great Valley of Virginia, and the Carolina Piedmont region. This area is one of the cultural hearths of Appalachia.⁶¹

3 Diasporas and the Making of Appalachia

People from the British Isles have migrated to many places across the globe over the last four hundred years and established communities on several continents. There were immigrants that were part of some of the migratory movements discussed in the previous section that ended up in parts of North America outside of Appalachia. Given this, the factors that lead to cultural identities within Appalachia today and

⁶⁰ McDonald, 'Prologue', in *Cracker Culture*, (pp. xli–xliii).

⁶¹ Williams, *Appalachia: A History*, 42–44.

even why Appalachia can be considered as a distinctive region and culture need to be given some context here and requires some consideration before the specific influences of Celtic cultures can be examined. This will be done from the perspective of viewing the immigrations and subsequent history of this region and its people as diaspora communities that blended to form what is thought of today as Appalachian culture. In doing this, a broader view of diaspora will be used. This view will be similar to that taken by Stuart Hall in his work on *Cultural Identity and Diaspora* when he said 'the diaspora experience as I intend it here is defined, not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of "identity" which lives with and through, not despite, differences; by *hybridity*'.⁶² While his experiences are somewhat different from those discussed here, with his focus on Afro-Caribbean people in the wake of British colonialism and the post-colonial experience, the *hybridity* he describes has many elements that are transferable in what he calls the 'New World' presence — America, as the beginning of diaspora, diversity, and hybridity as well as the desire to return to lost origins.⁶³ This hybridity and returning to origins will be important as this work attempts to unravel the threads of Celtic cultures that have influenced Appalachian culture in the past and continue to influence it today. It will also be important to keep Vertovec and Cohen's concept of diaspora as a type of consciousness and sense of identity discussed in section 1.2 of this work. Their theories on the experience of discrimination or exclusion and the positive identification with a historical heritage

⁶² Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', in *Migration, Diasporas, and Transnationalism*, ed. by Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 1999), pp. 299–314, (p. 312).

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 312–314.

as contributors to the need for an identity consciousness within people of diaspora is an important lens for viewing the Celtic influence in the culture of Appalachia.⁶⁴

This section will discuss Britain's diaspora and the commonalities of the various immigrations discussed in the previous section. This will be followed by examining the concept of Appalachia as a distinctive regional culture. Once these two elements have been considered, providing a foundation for considering cultural elements, specific elements of the culture that are links to Celtic regions will be discussed. These elements will include specific examples of music, language, food, stories, myths, and beliefs. Most of these connections are historical, but some consideration will also be given to modern ties between Appalachia and Celtic regions of the British Isles.

3.1 Britain's Diaspora

Richards, in his book *Britannia's Children* makes the point that using the term 'British diaspora' is 'anachronistic'⁶⁵ in the sense that at the time these migrations began, a sense of being 'British' did not exist. He attributes the term to King James VI / I of Scotland and England but asserts that at the time of the union of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales in the 1600s, the term meant nothing to the people of the regions and even less to those on the islands. It was clear the early Welsh settlers came in hopes of maintaining their cultural identity and had a sense of being Welsh. As noted previously, when William Penn established the settlement for Welsh immigration in what is now known as the State of Pennsylvania, his proposed name was New Wales.⁶⁶ Also discussed was Morgan John Rhys's attempt in the 1790s to

⁶⁴ Vertovec, 'Introduction', in *Migration, Diasporas*, pp. xviii–xix.

⁶⁵ Richards, *Britannia's Children*, p. 9.

⁶⁶ Sanders, *Wales, the Welsh*, pp. 20.

found 'a new *Gwalya*, or homeland, in the American backcountry'⁶⁷ that eventually became the 'Beulah Land' colony that he established in Cambria County, Pennsylvania. In the 1830s, The Reverend Samuel Roberts of Llanbrynmair, Montgomeryshire, Wales, made the proclamation that 'only by immigrating to the United States could Welsh farmers become landowners and preserve the Welsh language and culture'.⁶⁸

Similar motivations, although more politico-religious, brought many of the early Scottish immigrants as early as the 1680s. Many Scottish Presbyterians who were facing religious persecution saw it as their only option. The Carolinas became one of the primary destinations due to the support of Anthony Ashley Cooper, the 1st Earl of Shaftesbury's involvement as a proprietor of the Carolinas and champion of the Covenanters within the English House of Lords. The Covenanters, a group within the Scottish Presbyterians, planned and organized the emigration movement. Charles II gave his approval of the venture in hopes of it draining Scotland of dissenters of his religious policies.⁶⁹ Several of the other groups that migrated discussed in section two of this work had much less choice of their migration than the few mentioned here. So, while specific situations were different, there were several similarities that align with Vertovec and Cohen's diasporas as consciousness model⁷⁰ they specifically apply to contemporary transnational communities. The groups migrating typically had an experience of discrimination or exclusion. In the case of Appalachia, this is a dual exclusion. Many of those immigrating were from groups facing

⁶⁷ Lewis, *Welsh Americans*, p. 16.

⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 16–17.

⁶⁹ David Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607–1785* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994) pp. 63–65.

⁷⁰ Vertovec, 'Introduction', in *Migration, Diasporas*, pp. xviii–xix.

discrimination in their native lands for ethnic, political, cultural, religious, or economic reasons as previously noted. They also typically had a positive identification with their historical heritage, such as the Welsh with culture and language, or the Scottish and several other groups with their religious convictions and sense of identification with the land from whence they came.

Even the Protestant-Irish from Ulster felt it necessary to distinguish themselves from the other Irish immigrants when a large influx of Catholic-Irish occurred by taking on the label 'Scotch-Irish' in the 1840s when prior to that they had simply identified as Irish.⁷¹ This corresponds with Vertovec and Cohen's 'dual or paradoxical nature' they describe in discussing diasporas as consciousness that leads to a sense of awareness of multi-localities that creates the need to conceptually connect with others who share the same roots both in the new locale and the point of origin, which provides for a set of malleable identities.⁷² It is also important to keep in mind in considering this diaspora that, as Stuart Hall proposed when looking at the Afro-Caribbean diaspora in Britain, the diaspora identity is not defined by purity, but 'by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of "identity" which lives with and through, not despite, differences; by *hybridity*'.⁷³

3.2 Conceptualizing and approaching Appalachia

Just as the actual boundaries of Appalachia are somewhat disputed, the concept of Appalachia as a unique cultural region is not without diverse opinions. As Distinguished Professor of History at the University of Kentucky R. D. Eller asserted

⁷¹ Blethen, 'Introduction' from Ulster, pp. 1–2.

⁷² Vertovec, 'Introduction', in *Migration, Diasporas*, p. xviii.,

⁷³ Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', p. 312.

forty years ago, 'the belief that time and geography somehow set the southern mountains off from the rest of the American experience has been part of our understanding of Appalachia for almost a hundred years.'⁷⁴ He goes on to note that magazine writers exploited the literary image of Appalachia starting as early as the 1870s and that between the 1870s and the 1890s, there were more than 200 travel articles and short stories published depicting the mountain people of Appalachia as everything from backward, rude, and sometimes violent, to romantic, living their lives for generations isolated from mainstream American life.⁷⁵ Over time, the various people who attempted to describe Appalachia as a homogeneous novelty, existing set apart from time and the rest of the United States and the world, only added to the confusion of the concept of Appalachia. As they attempted to understand a pure concept of Appalachia, they made unraveling the culture of Appalachia more complex and contributed to the disputes.

Shapiro notes in one of his works on the region, that the work is 'not a history of Appalachia. It is a history of the idea of Appalachia, and hence of the invention of Appalachia'.⁷⁶ At first it may seem Shapiro may be arguing that Appalachia does not exist as a distinctive region, but this is far from the case. He asserts that the concept of Appalachia came about because of the post American Civil War consciousness about the nature of American civilization as a unified and homogeneous national entity. He argues that since the existence of this 'strange land and peculiar people' could not be understood within this unified American framework that people began

⁷⁴ Ronald D. Eller, *Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers: Industrialization of the Appalachian South, 1880–1930* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1981), p. xv.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. xvi–xvii., Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', pp. 22–226.

⁷⁶ Henry D. Shapiro, *Appalachia on Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870–1929* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1978). p. ix.

to attempt to construct explanations for Appalachian otherness. He notes that this was particularly challenging since the normal methods of explaining such 'deviance' from the norm such as geographic and ethnic differences could not be applied. These people were mostly white, Protestant, native-born Americans living close to the rest of American civilization, yet they were somehow different.⁷⁷ Shapiro points out that there have been multiples ways of dealing with this 'cognitive dissonance' Appalachia has caused in the American consciousness. He describes four approaches.⁷⁸

One method is to use metaphor to contain the dissonance. He notes phrases used by others who have written about the area such as 'our contemporary ancestors' or 'our Southern Highlanders' as examples.⁷⁹ Another is to destroy dissonance by reconceptualization. The most frequent method for doing this within the context of Appalachia is by changing the perception of dissonant by redefining American civilization as regionalist and pluralist rather than nationalistic.⁸⁰ A third method is to eliminate the dissonance by making the region consistent with the concept of American National Identity.⁸¹ Examples of this are government interventions such as *The Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965* which established the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) to oversee economic development programs in the Appalachia region, the 'War on Poverty', and private assistance programs launched during the 1960s.⁸² This is analogous to a type of internal

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. x–xiii.

⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. xvi–xviii.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. xvi.

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. xvi–xvii.

⁸¹ Ibid., pp. xvi–xvii.

⁸² *Appalachia: A Report by the President's Appalachian Regional Commission*, 1964, (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1964), pp. 31–56., Ronald D. Eller, *Uneven Ground: Appalachia Since 1945* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2008), pp. 1–7.

colonialism where the rest of the country attempts to impose its beliefs and culture as the correct ones upon a region with less power and perceived as backwards.

While all of these have been applied to the dissonance that Appalachia creates in the American consciousness, the method Shapiro proposes that is most relevant to this work is by explaining the differences away as products of isolation from the rest of the nation, or the ethnic or cultural heritage of the region's original settlers.⁸³ These two concepts, isolation and cultural heritage, work together. The isolation contributes to the maintaining of ethnic and cultural heritage as a distinctive identity as a diasporic people developed. There are two major approaches related to Appalachia that are taken here. The first is the 'Celtic Thesis.' This is the approach that focuses mostly on the Scotch-Irish immigration to the region, perceived as Celtic versus the more Anglo-Saxon immigration to the northern and coastal British colonies. It focuses on the persistence of agricultural practices like the tending of livestock animals, whiskey making, and language peculiarities. The other approach is an adaptation of this that views Appalachian culture as a 'Periphery Culture' or 'Atlantic Culture' of what could be termed the fringe. The beginnings of the development of this culture may date back as far as the twelfth century in the Lowlands of Scotland but include people from Northern England and West into Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. This is set in opposition to the culture from the center of England down to London and across to the southeast of England, which is termed 'Western Civilization' in this paradigm.⁸⁴

⁸³ Ibid, pp. xvi–xvii.

⁸⁴ Richard B. Drake, *A History of Appalachia*, pp. 20–23, Cunningham, *Apples on the Flood*, pp. 1–20.

As this work approaches Appalachia in light of the Celtic influences upon its culture, Shapiro's approach of addressing its differences as the products of isolation from the rest of the nation and cultural heritage is useful. It addresses both isolation of the region and the ethnic or cultural heritage of the region's original settlers. In section two of this work, an overview of the major immigration patterns of people from Celtic regions has already been discussed. Since the 'Celtic Thesis' approach and 'Periphery Culture' both include Celtic peoples immigrating to the region, there is no need for debate over which approach is most valid for the purpose of this work.⁸⁵ In discussion of the approach in relation to the concept of diaspora, it has also been noted that, while Celtic influences will be considered, within the diaspora there is some hybridity that has transformed some of these influences to appear a bit different in Appalachia than the culture from which they were derived. So, it does not matter if we consider a 'Celtic Thesis' or a 'Periphery Culture' approach. The Celtic element exists in both. Purity is not the goal and hybridity is openly acknowledged.

3.3 Unraveling Appalachia's Celtic influences.

Previously in this work, *hybridity* was mentioned in connection with diaspora that came to the Appalachian region from various parts of the British Isles. In examining Appalachian culture and attempting to identify the Celtic threads within the hybrid tapestry of the culture in this mountain region, some elements might be easily discernible as from one Celtic region or another. Others will be identifiable as coming from a Celtic influence, but it may be impossible to determine the specific origin due to mixing that occurred long before the peoples who brought this

⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. xvi–xvii.

influence sailed across the Atlantic. Others will have changed enough from the original state due to either other cultural influences outside of the Celtic world or adaptations that occurred to make them relevant to the new lives of these people as they made their new homes across the sea. In some cases, new threads will be interwoven with the old. In doing this, it does not matter whether we think of this as a 'Celtic Thesis' approach or a 'Periphery Culture' approach. This work is focused on the Celtic influences in the culture that contribute to the unique identity of the Celtic diaspora of Appalachia while acknowledging the hybridity introduced by other influences because of being a people in diaspora.

3.3.1 Music

In a program guide for *The Crooked Road's Mountains of Music Homecoming Festival* in 2016, cultural historian and lecturer in Appalachian Studies and Bluegrass, Old-Time, and Country Music Studies at East Tennessee State University, Ted Olson, explains the significance and relevance of a performance by the John Doyle Trio from Dublin, Ireland, at the Mountains of Music Homecoming festival. In this brief article, he refers to the 'old but not forgotten bonds between Appalachia and the British Isles' ⁸⁶ explaining that artists like this one are included in the festival to acknowledge the significant impact of Celtic traditions on Appalachian music due to the fact that 'more than half of the settlers that emigrated to Appalachia came from Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, and that the Celtic influence constitutes the single-most dynamic ethnic influence upon Appalachian music'.⁸⁷ The Celtic influences can be found in Appalachian ballads, folk tunes, dance music, and sacred songs.⁸⁸ While

⁸⁶ Olson, 'The Celtic Influence on Appalachian Music', p. 32.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 32.

⁸⁸ Scoggins, *The Scotch-Irish Influence*, pp. 33–37, pp. 39–41, pp. 53–59, pp. 77–81.

music in Appalachia, particularly beginning in the twentieth century, was also influenced by African American styles and popular music making its way across North America, the traditional Appalachian folk music from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that remains popular today is firmly rooted in ballads, hymns, folk tunes, and dance music from these early settlers from the British Isles.⁸⁹ This section will examine this early music and attempt to capture and preserve these traditions. By examining them, we can both understand the sources and some of the changes that occurred in this diaspora culture and how this region kept these traditional songs alive that were very much a part of their identity, while adapting them to their current situation. In the second part of this section, the instruments used are also considered, both those that were brought with the early settlers, and those they created to fit their circumstance.

3.3.1.1 Ballads, folk tunes, dance music, and sacred songs

Much of what we know of the ballads and folk songs in as close to their original form as possible in Appalachia can be attributed to those known colloquially in Appalachia as 'songcatchers'.⁹⁰ One of the most successful of these was Cecil Sharp in collaboration with Maud Karpeles. Between 1916 and 1918 they traveled through the mountains of Appalachia collecting songs and ballads, with Sharp recording the melodies and Karpeles the words. In these travels, they had found a largely undisturbed seam of ballad history. Sharp noted that the isolation of the settlers of Appalachia deep in the hills resulted in a place in which the music was better

⁸⁹ Lawrence Burnett, 'Ethnic and Multicultural Perspectives: Homegrown: Programming Ideas and Study Resources for Ethnic and Cultural Musical Traditions of the United States: Part Two: Shaker Music, and Southern Appalachian Traditional and Old Time Music', *Choral Journal*, 47:1 (2006), 42–43 (p. 42).

⁹⁰ Ritchie, *Wayfaring Strangers*, pp. 192–208.

preserved than it was in the old countries of origin.⁹¹ One recount published in an Anthology of American Songs from 1927 quotes Sharp as having said 'I'd like to build a wall around these mountains and let the mountain people alone. The only distinctive culture in America is here. These people live. They sustain themselves on the meanest food. They are not interested in eating, but they have time to sing ballads'.⁹² The songs as they existed in Appalachia, since it had been isolated from influences that had reshaped many of the ballads in Scotland, Ireland, and Northern England, were preserved in an older form.⁹³ Sharp, whose previous work as an English folklorist focused on the traditional music of Somerset and Devonshire, was inspired by two others. The first was Professor Francis James Child, who published English and Scottish Ballads as part of the British Poets Series between 1857 and 1859 and later went on to publish five volumes of English and Scottish ballads titled *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* from works collected throughout Scotland and England, although some of the songs have Irish origins.⁹⁴

The second was Olive Dame Campbell, who had done some research on old folk songs that had survived in Appalachia and published *Songs and Ballads of the Appalachians* in 1915.⁹⁵ Campbell's work was what drew Sharp's attention to Appalachia. Child's work provided the basis for tying the Appalachian ballads to their places of origin. Sharp asserted that the education level in the Appalachian region helped keep the traditional music intact. He argued that the transmission of this traditional music was made possible because the folk musicians, being

⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 192–194.

⁹² Carl Sandburg, *The American Songbag* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1927), p. 306.

⁹³ Ritchie, *Wayfaring Strangers*, pp. 193–194.

⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 176–179.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 192.

'unlettered', possessed better retentive memory, giving them the ability to memorize the songs from their predecessors with a high degree of accuracy.⁹⁶ In 1932, Sharp published his work *English Songs from the Southern Appalachians*. The work was edited by Maud Karpeles. This book is misnamed, according to work done on the origins of the Child's Ballads that Sharp found in the Appalachian region, by Professor Tom Burton and colleagues at East Tennessee State University. They found that 42% of the Child's ballads included in Sharp's work were actually of Scottish or Ulster origin.⁹⁷ Other researchers have reported slightly different, but similarly high proportions as being of Scottish origins.⁹⁸

While Sharp is one of the best-known of the 'songcatchers' during the early part of the twentieth century in Appalachia, there were others. In 1961, John Jacob Niles published *The Ballad Book of John Jacob Niles*. The interesting thing about this book is that he did the field work for the book during the 1920s and 1930s and published other books on Appalachian music during that time. He did not publish the ballad book until later in life.⁹⁹ In his introduction to the book, he notes that this book specifically is based on a small portion of the notes from his fieldwork only selected after he 'was able to identify it with similar items in Child's collection'¹⁰⁰ which Niles refers to as folklore classics, which he goes on to explain are ballads whose Old World origin is clearly established.

⁹⁶ Scoggins, *The Scotch-Irish Influence*, p. 36.

⁹⁷ Ritchie, *Wayfaring Strangers*, p. 180.

⁹⁸ H. Tyler Blethen, 'The Transmission of Scottish Culture to the Southern Back Country', *Journal of the Appalachian Studies Association*, 6 (1994), pp. 59–72 (p. 68).

⁹⁹ Ron Pen, 'Introduction to the New Edition', in *The Ballad Book of John Jacob Niles*, Revised Edition, auth. John Jacob Niles, (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2000), pp. xx–xxi.

¹⁰⁰ John Jacob Niles, *The Ballad Book of John Jacob Niles* (New York: Bramhall House, 1960), p. xv.

Of course, all music in Appalachia is not rooted in these ballads. People who were part of various religious movements that came from parts of Britain were mentioned in the section of this work that provided an overview of migrations. The traditions within these movements also had an impact on music in Appalachia. The long tradition of harmony singing in Wales, described as far back as 1200 CE by Gerald of Wales passed into the Christian hymns of Methodists and Baptists who immigrated into areas of Appalachia such as Pennsylvania, North and South Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky.¹⁰¹ This harmony type of singing that was unaccompanied became very popular in this region in both white and African American congregations during the nineteenth century and was very different from the traditional hymnodies of the Anglican, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic churches and became a distinct element of the hymnody among many churches in this region. This type of singing evolved into a style known as shape-note singing. It was called this because a notation system was developed for people who did not read music. This system used geometric shapes to represent the vocal scale (fa-so-la-mi) rather than actual notations corresponding to specific notes.¹⁰² Shape-note tune books were developed.

Through analysis of songs found in various editions of these tune books, musicologists have traced the origins of some of these tunes. Many of the melodies that are seen as original tunes applied to these hymns in Appalachia have far older roots. Many of these had Scottish, Irish, or Welsh origins, demonstrating the blending of the musical backgrounds in Appalachia. One example is the hymn

¹⁰¹ Scoggins, *The Scotch-Irish Influence*. p. 80.

¹⁰² Scoggins, *The Scotch-Irish Influence*, pp. 80–90. Tallmadge, W. H., 1975, *Baptist Monophonic and Heterophonic Hymnody in Southern Appalachia*, Anuario Interamericano de Investigacion Musical, Austin: The University of Texas Press, vol 11, pp. 107–112

'March On, O Souls, With Strength' which was paired up with the Scottish folk tune 'Arthur's Seat' in the nineteenth century by Baptists in Appalachia. A more well-known hymn, 'Amazing Grace' was paired up with a tune 'New Britain' by William Walker in the 1835 shape-note song book called *Southern Harmony*. It is suspected that the tune is an amalgamation of two older tunes, one Welsh and the other Irish or Scotch-Irish in origin. New Britain was the name of a township in Pennsylvania which was part of the original settlement of that area of Pennsylvania by Welsh Baptists around 1720. It should also be noted that Walker was from the South Carolina area of Appalachia and that his father's family were Welsh Baptists and his mother's family were Scotch-Irish Baptists.¹⁰³ The song 'Amazing Grace' 'set to the tune "New Britain" is now part of the repertoire of almost every gospel, country, and bluegrass musician in America'.¹⁰⁴

The tune 'New Britain' provides an example of how different but somewhat similar tunes from two different Celtic regions were blended to create a new turn that was distinctly Appalachian, but this is not the only blending that occurred. While Sharp and others worked to link Appalachian music to its roots in the British Isles, Appalachia, like other diaspora communities, also had its own voice and other influences. Some ballads lined up very well with Child's Ballads. Others may exhibit elements borrowed from old melodies but tracing them to a distinct source is sometimes fruitless.¹⁰⁵ Still others were influenced by other elements such as that of African American musical traditions in Appalachia.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Scoggins, *The Scotch-Irish Influence*, pp. 88–89.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 90.

¹⁰⁵ Ritchie, *Wayfaring Strangers*, pp. 176–180.

¹⁰⁶ Ritchie, *Wayfaring Strangers*, p. 197 Satterwhite, 'That's What They're All Singing About', pp. 308–310.

3.3.1.2 Instruments in Appalachia

We also see this blending and creation of something new in the instruments found in early Appalachian music. Of all the instruments used in early Appalachian folk music, the fiddle was dominant and the only instrument that made it to Appalachia from the British Isles with any significant use¹⁰⁷ but other instruments unique to Appalachia were developed that complemented the fiddle. There were several reasons for this. One was the popularity of dance and how well fiddle music fit with dancing. The American square dance was very popular in Appalachia. Sharp likened these dances to Scottish Country dancing, Caledonian dance, and quadrilles.¹⁰⁸ My own observation participating in Cèilidh dance at the Iona Village Hall, on the Isle of Iona, Scotland, in 2008 and having participated in square dances in the US, was that they were very similar. Other than the geographic location, I saw no significant difference in the two. As was the case with the ballads previously discussed, many of these dance songs were old British folk tunes. For example, the popular Appalachian tune ‘Bile’¹⁰⁹ ‘Them Cabbage Down’ is an old British folk tune known as ‘The Keel Row’ and the Appalachian tune ‘Soldier’s Joy’ is a derivation of an ancient Morris dance tune.¹¹⁰ Another reason for the lack of other European instruments was that few came over as people migrated since often people brought only the essentials for survival with them. Another factor may have been the prejudice of the English crown

¹⁰⁷ Scoggins, *The Scotch-Irish Influence*, p. 59.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 58–59.

¹⁰⁹ Bile is Boil in the Appalachian dialect.

¹¹⁰ Joan Moser, ‘Notes on Dancing, Music, and the Musical Instruments’ in *Songs of the Carolina Charter Colonists 1663–1763*, ed. by Arthur Palmer Hudson (Raleigh: The Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1962), pp. 67–70, (pp. 68–69)., Scoggins, *The Scotch-Irish Influence*, pp. 58–59.

to instruments like bagpipes and harps that were more traditionally Celtic than the fiddle.¹¹¹ Many of the bagpipe tunes migrated to the fiddle in Appalachia.¹¹²

This lack of other instruments led to some of the innovation and the unique instruments found in Appalachian folk music. Some of the skilled woodworkers and musicians settling in Appalachia began making their own instruments, some adaptations of those they remembered and some unique. One such instrument was the gourd fiddle.

Gourds were first introduced to the colonists by the Native American Indians in the region. They grew the gourds by training the neck as it grew to the shape needed. A gourd intended as a water dipper was hung to grow curved as it developed, a gourd for a fiddle was grown to have a straight neck. When they matured, they were dried, hollowed out and cut as needed to the purpose they were grown for. A gourd for a fiddle would have homemade tuning pegs added and strings were then attached.¹¹³



The banjo is another popular instrument in Appalachian and American Country music that is unique to Appalachia but was borrowed from another immigrant group, Africans who were brought over to the plantations as slaves and made their way into Appalachia. The predecessor to the banjo was a West African instrument that had a

¹¹¹ Scoggins, *The Scotch-Irish Influence*, pp. 58–59.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 61.

¹¹³ Moser, 'Notes on Dancing', pp. 69–70.

long pole as the neck that was attached to a gourd. Three or four strings were attached from the bottom of the gourd to the top of the neck made of hair, hemp, or catgut. It evolved into the round base with a skin stretched over it similar to a large tambourine without the jingles or a bodhrán with a flat fretted neck, tuning pegs, and strings attached from the bottom of the flat drumhead to the pegs at the top of the neck. By the early nineteenth century, black banjo players in Appalachia and white fiddle players were influencing each other's music and the banjo was adopted by the Scotch-Irish whites in Appalachia along with some of the African playing style so the traditional Celtic tunes were enhanced by the African stumming style on the banjo known as thumping, creating a uniquely Appalachian sound with both Celtic and African elements.¹¹⁴

A third instrument unique to Appalachia, the Appalachian Dulcimer, sometimes called the Mountain Dulcimer, has somewhat unclear origins. In 1958, folklorist Charles Seeger described the dulcimer in the following way:

'The Appalachian dulcimer, dulcimore or dulcymore, is known to folklorists as an instrument in fairly general use since 1900, and probably for some time before that, by musically nonliterate rural and small-town people in the mountains and foothills of southeastern United States, stretching from southern Pennsylvania to northern Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, taking in West Virginia, the western counties of Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas, and the eastern parts of Kentucky and Tennessee. It is a fretted cordophone, in my experience usually a little less than a meter long, from 120 to 200 mm. at its widest and about eighty to 100 mm. in diameter'.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Ritchie, *Wayfaring Strangers*, pp. 218–221., Satterwhite, 'That's What They're All Singing About', pp. 310–311.

¹¹⁵ Charles Seeger, 'The Appalachian Dulcimer', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 71:279 (1958), 40–51, (p. 40).



In his work, Seeger attempted to draw correlations between the German Zither and the Appalachian Dulcimer, even mentioning an example of a dulcimer that is catalogued as an eighteenth-century German zither exhibited in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art.¹¹⁶ Since the time of Seeger's work seven Appalachian Dulcimers have been found resembling this displayed item enough that comparisons have revealed they were all probably made by the same person in a workshop in Huntington, West Virginia. By piecing together incomplete labels from the various samples, the artisan labeled these items as American Dulcimers, and they were probably made between 1863 and 1880.¹¹⁷ It should be noted that this instrument is a distinctly different instrument from a hammered dulcimer. Seeger also used the testimony of Sharp and Karpeles, stating that dulcimers were rarely found when conducting their interviews to discount any influences from the British Isles for the instrument. Seeger had not talked with Jean Ritchie, a dulcimer player from a line of dulcimer players from Appalachia or he would have understood why they did not see them. In an interview with Fiona Ritchie in 2008, Jean Ritchie recalled a conversation she had with Maud Karpeles when they were collecting songs in her area. She recounted telling her that dulcimers were all around and Karpeles being

¹¹⁶ Seeger, 'The Appalachian Dulcimer', p. 45.

¹¹⁷ L. Allen Smith, 'Toward a Reconstruction of the Development of the Appalachian Dulcimer: What the Instruments Suggest', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 93:370 (1980), 385–396 (pp. 386–387).

confused. She mentioned the new churches coming into the area being very much against frivolous things like playing instruments, so people kept their dulcimers 'behind the Davenport or something' so they would not be seen by visitors.¹¹⁸ While some research has been done on its origins and speculations made, there is very little conclusive evidence to identify a direct ancestor to this instrument. Jean Ritchie may sum up the origins of this unique Appalachian instrument in *The Dulcimer Book* when she says:

'Where then did the Appalachian plucked dulcimer come from? I believe it came from many places, just as our songs did. I believe none or not many of the early settlers of our mountains brought instruments from the old countries, being too poor, or their loads too heavy on the long voyage and subsequent journey into the rough mountains. So, like the songs, the folk instruments came remembered in the mind and heart, and when at last there was time to shave down a piece of wood and give form to this memory, the "new" instrument began to emerge, simplified and adapted to its stark environment'.¹¹⁹

Her words very much resonate with the concept of diaspora previously presented in which there is some hybridity that has transformed some of these influences to appear a bit different in Appalachia than the culture from which they were derived. As Ritchie says, 'new', 'simplified', 'adapted to its environment'.

3.3.2 Linguistics and Language

In the previous section, the word *Bile* in the song title 'Bile Them Cabbage Down' was footnoted, explain to the reader that this was an Appalachian word meaning 'boil'. The Appalachian dialect has many distinctive speech patterns, words, and even

¹¹⁸ Ritchie, *Wayfaring Strangers*, p. 165.

¹¹⁹ Jean Ritchie, *The Dulcimer Book* (New York: Oak Publications, 1963), p. 14.

grammatical constructions that set it apart from other parts of the US. Part of this distinctiveness is rooted in the language and speech patterns of the immigrant populations that settled in Appalachia. As has been previously established, people from the Celtic fringes of the British Isles made up a large part of this population, but little has been done to research the origins of this distinctiveness. Until somewhat recently, this distinctiveness was often used to shame and instill a sense of cultural inferiority due to the differences between standard American English as imposed by the colonializing education system and the vernacular language. One example of this is a defining event that happened in the life of Cratis Williams, one of the early figures in the Appalachian studies movement. Williams speaks of telling a story in class when he was fourteen. He said the phrase 'Hit was a-gittin' way up in the day' only to be asked several times to repeat himself as several of the girls from town, not the country children, laughed at him. Eventually the teacher informed him the word was 'it' not 'hit'.¹²⁰ The word 'hit' is commonly used, especially at the beginning of a sentence as an alternative to the word 'it' in Appalachia. It was a middle English form into the sixteenth century but after the sixteenth century was found mainly only in Scotland.¹²¹ This section will discuss the work that has been done in this area to determine the source of some of these speech patterns. Speech is important in this work not only as another Celtic cultural connection, but because it demonstrates a uniqueness of this diaspora group that is both a source of its separation and its identity.

¹²⁰ Blaustein, *The Thistle and the Brier*, pp. 137–139.

¹²¹ Michael B. Montgomery, 'The Contributions of Joseph Sargent Hall to Appalachian Studies', *Journal of the Appalachian Studies Association*, 6 (1994), 89–98 (pp. 89–90).

While some of the uniqueness of language has begun to change in recent years with the pervasiveness of radio, television, and the internet, and the colonizing impact of the national education criteria, language in Appalachia was very distinctive and it still maintains some of its distinctiveness. In the 1990s, sociologists and linguists claimed that as long as there is a regional consciousness in the South, southerners will maintain their distinctive speech as part of their regional consciousness.¹²² Appalachia is included in this area referred to as the South. For regional linguistic purposes, what is termed southern speech is divided into two regions. The Lower South includes the Atlantic coastal plain southward from Virginia and extends along the Gulf Coast to Texas. The Upper South includes the Piedmont and the Southern Appalachians from western Virginia and West Virginia southward and southwestward to South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. While there are some variations within each of these regions the two regions are much more distinctly different from each other.¹²³ There are several hypotheses for these differences. In relation to this work, the most relevant is migration patterns. In the Lower South, many of the first white settlers from the British Isles were from London and nearby counties, so very much southern England. The Upper South had more migration from Scotland, Northern England, and Northern Ireland.¹²⁴

Given this, there has been a lot of conjecture about the origins of Appalachian speech based on immigration patterns, folklore, music, and other secondary evidence for the contribution of various immigrant groups to Appalachia, to surmise where the dialect draws its origin. Little has been done to systematically connect the regional

¹²² Michael B. Montgomery, 'The Southern Accent—Alive and Well', *Southern Cultures*, 1993, 47–64 (p. 49–50).

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

versions of English from the British Isles at the time of migration to Appalachian speech. In a survey of the literature on this topic, the only work found that offered any linguistic support to origins was that of Michael B. Montgomery. All other works found referencing specific origins backed up with a linguistic study as support cited Montgomery's work as the source for this. His work relies heavily on the field work on speech in Appalachia conducted by the now deceased researcher Joseph Sargent Hall. Hall began field work capturing stories, speech, and singing in Appalachia in the late 1930s which he used in his Ph.D. dissertation on the phonetics of Smoky Mountain English. The work was published as a monograph by the American Dialect Society and remains the most complete study on the pronunciation of a variety of Appalachian speech. Hall continued working in the field the rest of his life. Montgomery and Hall were collaborating on a dictionary of Smoky Mountain Speech when Hall died in 1992.¹²⁵ The 710-page work was finally published in 2004 under both names by the University of Tennessee Press.

Montgomery begins this work by summarizing the relevant prior work in the field of Appalachian studies regarding migrations, culture, and other anecdotal evidence for conjecture of origins, noting various commentators labeling the Appalachian dialect as 'British', 'Elizabethan English', and 'Scotch-Irish'. He explains that cultural historians and folklorists have made progress in documenting the diffusion of cultural patterns within Appalachia but have not done so for language patterns. He notes several reasons for this including lack of research and the fact significant attempts have not been made to sort out the major strands that are woven together in Appalachian English. He notes a primary reason for this failure is a lack of

¹²⁵ Montgomery, 'The Contributions of Joseph Sargent Hall', pp. 89–90.

knowledge of the resources available on the speech and language from the relevant regions at the time of migration, especially the dialects of English that were spoken in Scotland and Northern Ireland. He asserts this is why many American researchers believe that 'Appalachian English is more Elizabethan than it is'.¹²⁶

The methodology Montgomery used in his work to analyze Appalachian speech in an attempt to determine origins is based on grammar rather than vocabulary and pronunciation. He asserted grammar has been proven to be more deeply rooted in languages and therefore slower to change than vocabulary and pronunciation.¹²⁷ In his work, he examined forty grammatical features that he determined to be characteristic Appalachian grammatical features because their use was either limited to Appalachia or occurred in Appalachia to a significantly higher degree than in other parts of the United States. He did the same to designate grammar as either Scotch-Irish or Southern British. He designated a grammatical feature as Scotch-Irish if it was limited to Ulster or could be traced to Scotland but not England. The feature was designated as Southern English if it could be traced to England but did not occur in either Ulster or Scotland. Of the forty distinctive Appalachian features, seventeen are Scotch-Irish and only four are southern British. Thirteen were general British, meaning they were found in both segments. Six were of uncertain origin, meaning they could not be found in any of the reference sources on language from the British Isles. From this he concluded that Scotch-Irish contributed more to the distinctiveness of Appalachia English than Southern English while there were many

¹²⁶ Montgomery, 'The Roots of Appalachian English' pp. 183–188.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 181.

grammatical features present in Appalachian English that were shared by both groups at the time of the migrations.¹²⁸

It should be noted that there have been no studies done that have examined English language features that may have been distinctive to Welsh emigrants to Appalachia, even though, as previously discussed, Welsh emigrants were part of the mix of peoples settling Appalachia from the beginning of the immigration period. This may be due to the loss of the Welsh language within a few generations in smaller communities such as those that make up most of the insular regions of Appalachia. Lewis notes in his work on assimilation of the Welsh within the American coalfields that the language survived longest in larger settlements where Welsh language institutions could survive. He also notes that, even with Welsh migrating into the United States in the 1800s only about one quarter of the Welsh or Welsh descendants spoke Welsh by 1890 and the numbers were declining quickly.¹²⁹

3.3.3 Cooking and Food

Food, like music and language, can provide valuable insight into communities. Unlike ballads, whose sources can be traced with some degree of certainty, with food there is no definitive proof of the origin of a specific type of food or recipe in most cases. However, by examining the history of the migrations to the Appalachian region it is well established where the majority of those settling the region came from. Coupled with the similarities in foods from the British Isles and within Appalachian culture, we can establish some insights that suggest the continued

¹²⁸ Ibid., pp. 182–184.

¹²⁹ Lewis, *Welsh Americans*, p. 132–135.

existence of strong cultural links. For the purpose of this work, examining food can provide some insight into the communities and culture of the Appalachian region of the US specific to Celtic origins, as well as understanding of the integration of food traditions from the British Isles with other traditions and adaptation to food sources available by this Celtic diaspora group.

While food itself is obviously a basic biological need, in the academic discipline of food studies, some assert that the examination of food and food choices of a person or group can provide valuable insights about migration, assimilation or resistance to it, and personal and group identity.¹³⁰ As Brown and Brown noted in their 2001 work discussing food as an empowering voice for Appalachian women during the outmigration process, positive food stories of Appalachia is a recent development, rather than stories that defined the 'Scots-Irish as a crude people whose lack of basic sanitation standards would forbid the average traveler to dine with them'¹³¹. They go on to explain that scholarship in addressing food as central to cultural identity is moving forward. They note the ongoing battles in the academe over the validity of the studies of food as material culture and food as folkways. However, they also mention a few scholars who are exploring food as a medium for Southern and Appalachian history and the favor food studies has gained in numerous university presses.¹³² In surveying current literature related to food studies in Appalachia, there is a great diversity in the topics considered, including gender issues, race, class, food

¹³⁰ Jeff Miller and Jonathan Deutsch, *Food Studies: An Introduction to Research Methods* (Oxford: Berg, 2009) pp. 6–8.

¹³¹ Joyce Compton Brown and Les Brown, 'The Discourse of Food as Cultural Translation and Empowering Voice in Appalachian Women during the Outmigration Process', *Journal of Appalachian Studies*, 7:2 (2001), 315–329 (p. 317).

¹³² *Ibid.*, pp. 316–318.

scarcity, and cultural identity.¹³³ In recent years people interested in heritage, artisan, and food cultures, including food journalists, scholars, and chefs have become interested in Appalachia. In 2014, for the first time, chefs, scholars, farmers, and citizens of Appalachia interested in preserving the food culture gathered for the first Appalachian Food Summit at Hindman Settlement School in Kentucky.¹³⁴

Appalachian cookbooks with commentaries and histories about the region and anecdotal stories about some of the recipes are being published that are reminiscent of the work of the song catchers of the last century discussed in the section of this work about music. While I was unable to find any work that focuses on the specific origin of Appalachian foods and recipes, both academic sources and cookbooks focus on culture coming out of the recent interest in Appalachian food do offer some insights on how the influence peoples migrating from Celtic regions and traditions brought with them have impacted cooking and food in Appalachia and in some cases are woven into the cultural identity of the region. Both academic and non-academic sources will be referenced here in discussing food and cooking in Appalachia, including cookbooks, to establish the connections between Appalachian food and its Celtic origins as well as the cultural relevance this has to the Celtic diaspora of Appalachia.

¹³³ Brown, 'The Discourse of Food, pp. 316–319., Kathryn Cardarelli, Emily DeWitt, Rachel Gillespie, Heather Norman-Burgdolf, Natalie Jones, and Janet Tietyen Mullins, 'We're, Like, the Most Unhealthy People in the Country: Using an Equity Lens to Reduce Barriers to Healthy Food Access in Rural Appalachia'. *Preventing Chronic Disease*, 17 (2020), 1–10 (pp. 1–6)., Angela M. Chapman and Harold A. Perkins, 'Malign and Benign Neglect: A Local Food System and the Myth of Sustainable Redevelopment in Appalachia Ohio', *Agriculture and Human Values*, 37:1 (2020), 113–127 (pp. 113–115)., Maria Hale, Trent Ipock, Ian Kirkpatrick, Christopher McCloud, Emma Parrish, Laura Schaffer, and Lynn Moss Sanders, 'Roots, Seeds, and Branches: A Conversation about Foodways Research with Elizabeth Engelhardt', *Appalachian Journal*, 46:1/2 (2018), 32–50 (pp. 33–36).

¹³⁴ Elizabeth S. D. Engelhardt, 'Beyond Grits and Gravy: Appalachian Chicken and Waffles: Countering Southern Food Fetishism', *Southern Cultures*, 21:1 (2015), 73–83 (pp. 76–77).

John Tullock, a native of Appalachia who teaches classes on food gardening for the University of Tennessee Gardens, discusses in his book on Appalachian cooking some of the Irish and Scotch-Irish influence on food in Appalachia and argues that Appalachian foodways came to America with the Scotch-Irish. He notes that foods like fish, shellfish, dairy, and potatoes dominated early Irish cuisine, while Scottish cuisine was made up of cooked meats, broths, smoked fish, and from the 1500s on, heavy sauces that Mary, Queen of Scots, imported from the French. Tullock also notes that early exploration, prior to the migrations brought wheat, coffee, lemons, spices, and teas into the food common to the Irish and Scottish. He explains that the settlers brought salt, vegetable seeds, and some fruit trees to this isolated region, and supplemented their diet by hunting local game, fish from the freshwater streams, and nuts and greens that grew wild in the area.¹³⁵ He continues to discuss the assertion by John Egerton of the Southern Foodways Alliance, an institute that is part of the University of Mississippi, that the distinctive foods of the region were developed by the coupling of what these settlers brought with them with corn from the Native Americans and the livestock pigs that had already been introduced by early Spanish explorers.¹³⁶

Ronni Lundy, an author of another cookbook in this recipe collector genre of work, like Tullock, grew up in the region. She also spent time working as an editor with Egerton at the Southern Foodway Alliance. In the first chapter of her work, she recounts some of the food history, and settlement history couched in the narrative of

¹³⁵ John Tullock, *Appalachian Cooking: New and Traditional Recipes* (New York: The Countryman Press, 2018), pp. xiii–xv.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xv.

her trip to Staunton, Virginia, to explore the origins of the Appalachian foodways and her visit to the Frontier Culture Museum in Staunton. She describes the working homesteads that are there representing typical Appalachian farms from 1740, 1820, and 1850 as well as homesteads typical of England in the 1600s as well as Ireland, Germany, and West Africa in the 1700s. She mentions briefly the indentured servants from Britain that were previously discussed in more detail in the immigrations section of this work as well as the Ulster Irish referred to more commonly in the US as Scotch-Irish who began immigrating about 1718, and as she notes, became the majority of the mountain population.¹³⁷ She anecdotally mentions discovering that her favorite chair for sitting to string beans and prepare apples, the cane-bottomed 'setting' chair common to Appalachia has its roots in the Sógán chairs of Ireland.¹³⁸ She also describes the Irish homestead and the historical information they had on the food and medicinal herbs from Ireland as well as the common practice of the tenant farmers getting the pig's feet, tail, ears, and maybe some side bacon, while the landowner got the better parts. She saw similarities in the foods and herbs she was familiar with in Appalachia. It should also be noted that the parts of the pig she mentioned are commonly eaten or used as seasoning in Appalachian cooking. She also describes her experience with the Scottish Kale Garden at the museum and discovering kale and dandelion were both brought to Appalachia and used for eating greens.¹³⁹

Unlike Tullock, Lundy does mention other influences on Appalachia foodways including the small German immigration influences as well as the African influences from the free blacks that settled in the region as well as other smaller groups of

¹³⁷ Ronni Lundy, *Victuals: An Appalachian Journey, With Recipes* (New York: Clarkson Potter Publishers, 2016), pp. 26–33.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

European immigrants that came in the early part of the twentieth century.¹⁴⁰ Lundy, like the song catchers who collected ballads, includes some commentary on each recipe and its origin. In her book, she has a recipe for Colcannon, a fairly common Irish dish. The recipe in her book is based on the dish as served at Main Street Meats, a restaurant and butchery in Chattanooga, Tennessee. She reflects upon discovering the dish in Appalachia and explains it helped her understand why her mother always insisted on serving mashed potatoes when she cooked kale and putting them together on the fork when eating them with a piece of green onion. She says her mother's way of eating these together was 'the Irish in us' ¹⁴¹ demonstrating her own identification as an Appalachian and Irish.

Mark Sohn's work in the area of Appalachian food differs from those previously discussed. First, he is not a native of Appalachia. He came to the region from Oregon as a Professor of Educational Psychology at Pikeville College in Kentucky where he started teaching a course in Appalachian studies in 1978.¹⁴² While his most detailed work in this area appears at first to be a cookbook, it has far more content on history and culture of the region related to food than it does recipes and is more academic in nature. In his works, he defines the region of study based on geography and climate related to foodways, categorizes the foods that are most important in the region with clear explanations of the methodology, and then describes the distinctiveness of the region and the differences between Appalachian food and Southern United States food in general, also noting the areas of overlap. The most pertinent part of his work for this current work is his discussion of the British connection. He notes that both

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 33–35.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 63.

¹⁴² Mark F. Sohn, *Appalachian Home Cooking: History, Culture, and Recipes* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2005), p. xiii, pp. 8–9.

ingredients and recipes are important for cultural understanding, while noting the most common foods he sees as a link between Appalachia and the British Isles, moonshine, buttermilk, potatoes, biscuits (a type of bread in the US), and apple pie.¹⁴³ He briefly describes the connection each has.

Moonshine in Appalachia is an unaged whiskey distilled primarily from fermenting corn. Sohn explains that the early settlers from Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and England replaced the oats and barley they used in their native lands with corn, which was more readily available in Appalachia.¹⁴⁴ Joseph Dabney, an Appalachian native, in his 1975 work on the history of moonshine credits the Scotch-Irish with bringing corn whiskey making to America. He goes on to explain that during the Ulster colonization by the Scottish, the English parliament enacted excise laws against spirits (distilled alcohol) to raise money to aid King Charles' efforts to suppress civil war.¹⁴⁵ Sohn asserts that for the Scots- Irish whiskey making was linked to freedom and that when they came to Appalachia in search of freedom, they brought their knowledge of whiskey making with them.¹⁴⁶ While eventually moonshine in Appalachia became synonymous with unaged corn whiskey, both Dabney and Sohn explain that in the early days of the settlement of Appalachia, whiskey was made with almost every imaginable crop, including fruits such as pears, peaches, apples, grapes, elderberries, and pumpkins and that even parsnips were used for whiskey making.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ Ibid., pp. 3–9.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁴⁵ Joseph Earl Dabney, *Mountain Spirits: A Chronicle of Corn Whiskey from King James' Ulster Plantation to America's Appalachians and the Moonshine Life* (Ashville: Bright Mountain Books, 1974), pp. 33–37.

¹⁴⁶ Sohn, *Appalachian Home Cooking*, p. 9.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 9, Dabney, *Mountain Spirits*, pp. 42–57.

Sohn bases his theory of the connection with buttermilk between Appalachia and Ireland, due to the fact that the Irish, for much of their history before the migration periods to America, were a pastoral people who kept goats, cows, and sheep, and could practically subsist on milk from their herds, making curds, creams, cheese, and butter from it and drinking fresh milk as well as sour, clotted, and buttermilk. He explains that the early Appalachian settlers valued milk and milk products in this same way and that having milk available was the difference between life and death for their children. He further explains that the tradition of keeping livestock for milk persisted until the 1950s when electricity became available in rural homes and milk could be purchased and kept. I will note here that some continued to keep cows or other livestock after the 1950s and that my family still had a cow in the early 1980s. Sohn goes on to explain that some mountain people drink buttermilk while eating soup beans or other traditional foods. He explains that others crumbled cornbread into buttermilk.¹⁴⁸ Buttermilk and cornbread was one of my father's favorite foods. Sohn's third food connection between Appalachia and the British Isles is potatoes, which in Appalachia are known as Irish potatoes. This is the standard white potato that the English, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish eat baked, boiled, or fried. They are a basic staple in the Appalachian diet. Many grow them in their gardens or, more recently, buy them in 5-, 10-, 25-, or 50-pound bags. He notes a general Appalachian expression to support his argument for the importance of potatoes: 'A meal is hardly worth coming home for if potatoes are not on the table.'¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Sohn, *Appalachian Home Cooking*, pp. 9–10.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10.

Like potatoes, biscuits are another staple in the Appalachian diet. Biscuits in Appalachia are not the sweet that is known by the same name in the British Isles. A biscuit is a quick bread made with baking powder or baking soda and are served all day long in Appalachia. Sohn notes that the ingredients are almost identical to the Irish scone except biscuits are typically shaped round rather than triangular.¹⁵⁰ I will also add that biscuits in Appalachia typically do not include raisins or any other dried fruit in them. They may be served with preserves, jams, honey, sorghum, or just butter or they may also be served with some type of flour-based gravy poured over them. The flour-based gravy is another food element in Appalachia that Sohn sees as a connection to the British Isles. There are numerous types of flour-based gravies in Appalachia. Sohn notes the more common ones as sausage gravy, brown gravy, tomato gravy, and chocolate gravy.¹⁵¹

Another similarity that Sohn sees as implying a connection is the Appalachian breakfast and breakfast fare in the British Isles. He describes these as being much heartier than breakfasts in continental Europe. He references Mary Kinsella's *An Irish Farmhouse Cookbook*, that describes an Irish breakfast as consisting of rashers, sausages, eggs, porridge, and grilled tomatoes. He compares this to a traditional Appalachian breakfast that he says typically consists of eggs, biscuits and gravy, pork chops, bacon, fried potatoes, fried apples, and sliced tomatoes.¹⁵² I should note that this typical breakfast may vary depending on what is available. In my family, pork chops were rarely served for breakfast. Sausage was often the second meat and

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 11

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 10.

was often also used to make the gravy for the biscuits. Fried potatoes were always part of breakfast.

Before providing the details of the connections above, Sohn clearly states that the similarities suggest links between Appalachia and the British Isles. As was mentioned at the beginning of this section, providing definitive proof in this area is not possible; Sohn's assumptions regarding the source of these foodways are the most reasonable explanation of their source. The importance of this is tied to identity for the region. Later in his work, Sohn makes some important points about some of these traditions. In a general discussion on breakfast in Appalachia, he acknowledges how modern times have impacted even the strongest held traditions. He describes how concerns about health, different work schedules, and demands of modern life have even made their way into Appalachia. This has caused the old-style hearty breakfast traditions to slip from the daily routine. But he also argues that memories have grown and that on holidays and weekends, many Appalachians still find a way to make time for their traditional breakfasts.¹⁵³

Sohn's work also acknowledges the Scotch-Irish and others from the British Isles are not the only influences on the foodways of the Appalachia. One of the other main influences he mentions is the Native-American influence, which included corn that became a major staple for everything from cornbread to corn whiskey as previously discussed.¹⁵⁴ This is yet another example of the people in diaspora bringing the

¹⁵³ Ibid., pp. 24–25.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 11–14.

traditions of the lands they left together with the resources available and traditions of the new lands to create something distinct, yet still being rooted in their origin.

Another interesting example of this merging of something from the old land and new related to Appalachia is the case of the ramp. The ramp is another staple in Appalachian cuisine and symbol of Appalachian identity that got the attention of the culinary pop-culture circuit and since has become endangered due to overharvesting.¹⁵⁵ Ramps are a species of Allium plant (*Allium tricoccum*). It is likely they entered the diet of early Appalachian settlers because those from Scotland and Ireland would have been familiar with collecting and eating a close relative of this plant, *Allium ursinum*, commonly known as wild garlic, ramsons, or wild cowleek.¹⁵⁶ Ramps are one of the first greens to appear from dormancy in the spring in the woodlands of Appalachia, so for the early settlers who had spent winter living on dried beans and meat, the high vitamin C content was important to prevent scurvy and it was common for both the indigenous Cherokee and the settlers to use the plant as a spring tonic as well as a food source.¹⁵⁷ The ramp is important to the investigation of Appalachian foodways not only because it was an indigenous replacement in Appalachia for a food source the Scottish and Irish settlers were already familiar with, but because it was gathered, cleaned, consumed, and celebrated in a way that it has become a source of identity in the region. The practices around the ramp create a type of meaning for the communities in

¹⁵⁵ Lily Dougherty-Johnson, 'Ramps Are All the Rage. They're Also on Their Way to Being Endangered', *Edible East End Online Edition*, 12 June 2019, <<https://www.edibleeastend.com/2019/06/12/ramps-are-all-the-rage-theyre-also-on-their-way-to-being-endangered/>> [accessed 12 January 2021].

¹⁵⁶ Bridgette Rivers, Robert Oliver, and Lynn Resler, 'Pungent Provisions: The Ramp and Appalachian Identity', *Material Culture*, 46:1 (2014), 1–24 (p. 5).

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Appalachia that translate into an element of regional identity.¹⁵⁸ While enthusiasm for ramps started out of necessity and survival, communities in Appalachia now use it to bring communities together and even as something to benefit communities economically. *West Virginia Explorer Magazine* listed seventeen ramp festivals in the state occurring during the April/May ramp harvesting season.¹⁵⁹ Similar festivals are held in other areas of Appalachia, particularly in North Carolina and Tennessee.¹⁶⁰

In Rivers, et al. food study on the ramp in Appalachian identity, they explore the ramp as a historic food source that was a replacement for a similar food source from the place of origin of the settlers in Appalachia. They also explore how the common experience of harvesting this food as communities as well as how the consuming of them created a unique cultural identifier for those who relied on them for subsistence. This occurred because the ramps have a distinctive smell. In their research, they found that people had shared experience of facing discrimination in school and other places because of the lingering smell from eating ramps. This shared experience contributed to ramps becoming more than just a food source, but a symbol of their communal and regional history.¹⁶¹ These experiences of discrimination and exclusion from members of the community align well with the elements of diaspora put forth by Vertovec and Cohen as discussed in section 1.2 of

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁵⁹ 'WV Ramp Dinners and Festivals', *West Virginia Explorer Magazine* Online, <<https://wvexplorer.com/recreation/agritourism/ramp-dinners-festivals/>> [accessed 12 January 2021].

¹⁶⁰ See websites for various ramp festivals: <<http://ramptrampfestival.com/>>, <<https://www.flagpond.com/festival/ramp/fest.htm>>, <<https://tennesseerivervalleygeotourism.org/entries/ballplay-ruritan-ramp-festival/a184d908-dc81-4474-bb09-4e17229708de>>, <<https://northeasttennessee.org/event/ramp-festival/>>, <<https://visitncsmokies.com/event/91st-annual-ramp-festival/>>, <<https://blueridgecountry.com/events/annual-ramp-festival/>>., <<https://festivalnet.com/4846/Waynesville-North-Carolina/Festivals/Waynesville-Ramp-Festival>>.

¹⁶¹ Rivers, 'Pungent Provisions', pp. 4–10.

this paper and are a contributor to the overall Appalachian identity through something as simple as a common food source. While all the foods discussed here are part of the shared community experience and set Appalachia apart to some degree from those outside of the region, ramps, due to the unique nature of the shared experience, provide a distinctiveness that both has an element of familiarity from which the settlers of the region hailed, but also provides a shared experience of separating the community from others that adds cohesion to the community identity of this diaspora group.

3.3.4 Stories, Myths, Legends, and Folk Traditions

Like the examination of music and food, analysis of the stories, myths, legends, and folk traditions of a cultural group can provide valuable information about their origins and the cultural elements retained from those origins that contribute to the identity of the new culture. Peter Stevenson of the Wales Appalachia Project¹⁶² in his book on folktales from Welsh America says, 'Folktales in all cultures carry memories of migration'.¹⁶³ This section will examine the folktales, stories, myths, and traditions that tie Appalachia to Celtic regions and discuss how these contribute to the identity and ongoing connection this diaspora culture has with various Celtic regions.

Stevenson's work makes a good starting point to discuss these Celtic Appalachian ties. In 2016, Stevenson began working on several projects that explored migration through storytelling. In 2019, he curated an exhibition of Welsh and Appalachian

¹⁶² Peter Stevenson, 'Wales' International Storytelling, *Beyond the Border*, October 2021, <<https://beyondtheborder.com/peter-stevenson-october-2021/>> [accessed 12 January 2021].

¹⁶³ Peter Stevenson, *The Moon-Eyed People: Folk Tales from Welsh America* (Brimscombe Port Stroud: The History Press, 2019), p. 11.

folk art in Morgantown, West Virginia. Morgantown was founded as a Welsh settlement. The exhibit was also shown at the Aberystwyth Storytelling Festival and is scheduled to come back to West Virginia for a festival in Welch, which was settled as a Welsh coal baron's town in Appalachia.¹⁶⁴ In the introduction to his book, which also came out of the project, Stevenson tells of the migration of Welsh settlers to Appalachia, starting in Pennsylvania, and migrating into West Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee. He discusses the people they met along the way, including the Native-Americans¹⁶⁵ of the Shawnee and Cherokee tribes, as well as the descendants of Africans who had been brought over as slaves. In doing so, he points to some of the similarity of myths such as the *yunwi tsunsdi*, the little people of Cherokee myth, and the *tylwyth teg* of the Welsh, commenting that folktales 'migrate across geographical, political, and imaginary boundaries with no need for passports, hidden in the minds of explorers and refugees'.¹⁶⁶ He also mentions commonalities like baking soda as a cure-all from both Wales and Appalachia, used by his own mother for belly aches, rubbed into cuts, and spooned into cakes, noting how the 'granny women' of Appalachia swore by it also for similar applications.¹⁶⁷ His final paragraph of the introduction to his collection of stories sums up the relationship he sees between Wales and Appalachia well when he states 'the stories here tell of the past and present migrations of people between and within Wales and America' going on to explain that while he is not Appalachian, or Cherokee, or Affrilachian (Appalachian of African descent), the stories of these groups are intertwined with the folk history of Wales. He goes on to express that

¹⁶⁴ Stevenson, 'Wales' International Storytelling.

¹⁶⁵ Stevenson, *The Moon-Eyed People*, pp. 10–13.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

they are the tales of both grannies and grandchildren of mixed blood.¹⁶⁸ In expressing this in this way, Stevenson captures the essence of the work by Stuart Hall on *Cultural Identity and Diaspora* discussed at the beginning of section three of this thesis by describing a diaspora group that is not pure but has a concept of identity that lives through differences and by its hybridity.¹⁶⁹

While Stevenson's work makes a good starting point for this discussion, his commentary on the things he discovered in gathering tales of Appalachia connecting Appalachia to Wales very much exemplifies the hybridity aspect important to understanding the Celtic-Appalachian relationship that is the focus of this work. He was not the first story collector to come to the region. Storytellers collect stories, and many of the stories, myths, and folk traditions of Appalachia have been handed down for generations and have been shared with those coming into the region over time. One collector who came into the region in the 1940s was Ruth Ann Musick. She came to West Virginia to teach at Fairmont State University and began collecting folktales then, eventually publishing her collection.¹⁷⁰ The introduction to her work, *West Virginia Folktales from Europe*, explains that the most dominant cultural folkloric traditions in West Virginia and most of Southern Appalachia are from 'Anglo-Celtic' and some Germanic influence, but goes on to discuss that the industrial revolution beginning in the mid-1800s through 1900 brought immigrants from other parts of Europe including Poland, Hungary, and Italy.¹⁷¹ While her work contains stories from all these areas, for the purpose of this work the focus will be on

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁶⁹ Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', p. 312.

¹⁷⁰ Ruth Ann Musick, *Green Hills of Magic: West Virginia Folktales from Europe* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1970), p. xvii.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., pp. xviii–xix.

the stories of Celtic origins. Of the nine Celtic stories in the collection, she attributes eight to Ireland.¹⁷² Surprisingly, the one that she attributes as English with a question mark is called Smart Mrs. McCool and is a version of the Finn McCool (Fionn mac Cumhaill) story when his wife dressed him as a baby to trick the Scottish giant Benandonner. In this version of the story, the other giant's name is Cucullian, possibly derived from the Cú Chulainn myth, demonstrating clearly how things get changed in the oral storytelling tradition. Many of the folktales the Ulster Scots brought with them to Appalachia were hero tales deriving from the Irish Finn and Cú Chulainn Cycles.¹⁷³ Of the eight stories in the collection, two start off saying that the tale occurs in Ireland. Four specifically mention leprechauns. Two of the stories start by saying they are about the storyteller's ancestor. In one story, the main characters are aided by the 'wee' people. In the story in which the 'wee' people are mentioned, cornmeal is used for making bread. Since cornmeal would have been used by those in Appalachia, but not back in Ireland, this story has clearly been modified in the oral tradition. In one story the only clue to its origin as Irish is the surname of the main character, McKenna. The other surnames in the story are all also Irish names.¹⁷⁴

Ted Olson, in his work on Blue Ridge folk life asserts that these stories of the supernatural in the Blue Ridge Mountains reflected the Old-World folk beliefs brought into the region by those who settled there.¹⁷⁵ The Blue Ridge Mountains region is a subregion of the Appalachian Mountains that covers most of the cultural area of the United States known as Appalachia. Stories like those captured by

¹⁷² Musick, *Green Hills of Magic*, pp. 281–297.

¹⁷³ Blethen, 'The Transmission of Scottish', p. 69.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 16, 26–30, 123–124, 154–164, 192–196.

¹⁷⁵ Ted Olson, *Blue Ridge Folklife* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1998), p. 74.

Musick were passed down through generations as a part of ordinary life, passing on folk beliefs and traditions. Olson relays the way this was described to him by storyteller Donald Davis, who explains that he was never aware of hearing stories growing up because there was not a time that was specifically set aside for it. Stories just came out in everyday life and anything going on throughout the day might result in a story being told.¹⁷⁶ These stories might have been told for various reasons including trying to grasp the meaning of human existence or coming to terms with death¹⁷⁷, which in many cases may have been the original purpose, but as with the example of the Mrs. McCool story and the story of help from the 'wee folk' that mentions cornmeal, they may have changed and adapted to meet the current need, changes in cultural references, or through the natural process of oral tradition. Some, as Olson points out in his discussion of proverbs, changed because of the need of the immigrant people to assimilate in an area controlled by and politically dominated by people of English descent. Many proverbs of non-English cultures were altered considerably or shortened. He uses the Appalachian proverb 'True love is the weft of life' as an example. The proverb in its original Scots dialect was longer: 'True love is the weft of life, but it whiles comes through a sorrowfu' shuttle'.¹⁷⁸

While there were many ways such as those just described in which stories and folk traditions adapted to fit in, there were others that remained very much the same as they were in the old country. Many of these traditions were closely held secrets within communities, not shared with outlanders so have never been documented in academic studies. In recent times, some of these folk practices have come into more

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 73.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 74.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 71–72.

public awareness as they have fallen out of common practice and people who are aware of the stories from their family have left communities and discuss them as old ways no longer observed, although there may be places where some of these traditions are still kept. One such tradition that has come more into the public awareness, though not a widespread awareness, is the practice of sin-eaters in Appalachia. The first written record of sin-eaters was made by John Aubrey in 1686. He recorded observing the ritual once in Beaumaris and claimed that it was practiced all over the counties in North Wales. In the ritual, various foods and drink are placed on the chest of the deceased and the sin-eater ate them, taking on themselves the sins of the deceased.¹⁷⁹ There are other accounts, including one from a letter dated 1714, describing the ritual as it was practiced 'in Shropshire, in those villages adjoining to Wales'.¹⁸⁰ James Gary Jones, Professor Emeritus of History from Glenville State College, edited a collection of ghost stories from Appalachia. The first story in the collection is about a 'traveler' who is tricked into serving as a sin-eater for a somewhat unscrupulous young man's funeral by the man's family. In the story, it is an old ritual known in the community, but the custom has not been practiced in a while given the community did not have a sin-eater.¹⁸¹ In the preface to his collection, Jones explains that the affinity for ghosts was brought to Appalachia by the settlers to the region from the British Isles and that their descendants of the isolated region have preserved that legacy. He goes on to explain that descendants of those who settled in other parts of the United States during the early period of colonization are less fortunate because they did not preserve such a heritage. He explains that the inhabitants of Appalachia, while preserving these stories have also

¹⁷⁹ E. Sidney Hartland, 'The Sin-Eater', *Folklore*, 3:2 (1892), 145–157 (pp. 145–146).

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

¹⁸¹ James Gay Jones, *The Wayfaring Sin-Eater and Other Tales of Appalachia* (Parsons: McClain Printing Company, 1983), pp. 1–35.

added to them from their own experience. He claims these stories preserved, added to, and newly created to be the source of his collection of mountain lore. In Jones's story of the sin-eater, the patriarch of the family is named Angus McCord. In the story, the family claims the tradition was brought with them when their family immigrated there from Scotland. While Jones's account is a ghost story, it is based on a tradition that was and may still be practiced in Appalachia.

It has not been possible to locate any academic sources documenting sin-eaters in Appalachia. I knew of their existence in Appalachia from stories within my own family. I was surprised when I found a published source acknowledging their existence in the region. While not academic, it is a recent newspaper article from a local newspaper in Eastern Kentucky which is in the heart of the Appalachian region. The article starts by explaining that many beliefs and traditions in Appalachian culture are viewed as strange by the mainstream. It goes on to explain the custom of the sin-eater, detailing that they would come wearing a dark cloak and hood and eat a meal placed on the corpse. The article goes on to explain that sin-eaters were paid a small sum of money for their services, noting that in Appalachia the sin-eater is usually an anonymous member of the community who lived a regular life in the community while keeping his identity as a sin-eater secret. The author also notes that sin-eating persisted in North Carolina, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Virginia through the 1950s with some accounts alleging the practice has occurred in some remote areas within the last decade.¹⁸² I was disappointed not to see any sources, or an author listed for the article, but after reflecting on the nature of the article and the

¹⁸² 'Sin-Eating in Appalachia', *The Booneville Sentinel* (Online edition), 26 September 2021, <https://www.nolangroupmedia.com/booneville_sentinel/sin-eating-in-appalachia/article_7ceae066-1f1c-11ec-bd7b-f743d8b9bf97.html> [accessed 12 January 2021].

fact it was published within Appalachia, it was not surprising. While the newspaper corporation that owns the publication may be able to withstand any backlash from publishing an article detailing such a practice, sources or a writer in the community might face repercussions from some members of the community for publicly speaking about them. Such folk traditions are often regarded as things not shared with outlanders.

From the simple uses of baking soda and the belief in the little people, to stories passed down and shared with collectors, and even in the more secretive traditions of the people of Appalachia discussed here, the memory of where these people came from has been handed down and embedded in the cultural identity of the region. As mentioned, some stories and traditions have been adapted to the new place. Some have changed. Some may have even fallen out of practice but have not been forgotten. What remains for this hybridized people of Celtic diaspora is a sense of who they are as a group, and where they came from.

3.3.5 Post-Immigration Celtic Influences

The sense of who they are and where they came from mentioned at the end of the previous section is an important factor to the Celtic influences upon this diaspora group when considering post-immigration influences from Celtic regions in the British Isles. So far the discussion has focused primarily on traditions the immigrants from Celtic regions brought with them and passed down to their descendants, although Peter Stevenson's Wales Appalachia Project was briefly mentioned in the previous section. In this project, Stevenson looks at Appalachian tales and the similarities he has found with Welsh folklore and traditions, such as the 'little

people', and 'granny women' as well as other similarities such as the shared history with the coal industry and strong mountain culture both areas have. In the material art displays and storytelling events held in both Appalachia and Wales as part of this project the similarities are highlighted. Stevenson has taken Welsh tales and used Appalachian storytelling techniques to relay the story, providing an event that provides a fusion of cultures that already have a shared history.¹⁸³ This interest in West Virginia in such an event begs the question 'What other dialogue exists between Appalachia and Celtic parts of the British Isles and how is that impacting Appalachian culture today'? In this section, some of these more modern influences and activities will be addressed.

In August of 1956, the first annual Highland Games were held at Grandfather Mountain, North Carolina, on the 211th anniversary of the Jacobite Rebellion in Scotland in 1745. The organizers of the games based them on the Braemar Gathering held in Braemar, Scotland. This event was the first event of this type held in the region and was attended by over 10,000 people.¹⁸⁴ In recent years, this event is attended by between 30,000 and 40,000 people annually.¹⁸⁵ There are also now at least thirty-one Highland games or festivals held annually within Appalachia.¹⁸⁶ In addition to the interests in Scottish Highland games since the middle of the 1900s in

¹⁸³ Caitlin Tan, 'Art Exhibit Explores Appalachia's Connection to Wales', *West Virginia Public Broadcasting Website*, 22 May 2019, <<https://www.wvpublic.org/news/2019-05-22/art-exhibit-explores-appalachias-connection-to-wales>> [accessed 12 January 2021].

¹⁸⁴ Nicholas Graham, 'August 1956: Grandfather Mountain Highland Games', *North Carolina Miscellany (Online)*, August 2007, <<https://blogs.lib.unc.edu/ncm/category/this-month-in-n-c-history/august/>> [accessed 12 January 2021].

¹⁸⁵ Jesse Helms, 'Grandfather Mountain Highland Games', *Local Legacies: Celebrating Community Roots, The American Folklife Center of the Library of Congress* (online), <<http://memory.loc.gov/diglib/legacies/loc.afc.afc-legacies.200002907/default.html>> [accessed 12 January 2021].

¹⁸⁶ Highland Games and Festivals website listing of US Events: <<http://highlandgamesandfestivals.com/u-s-events/>>

Appalachia, there is also an interest in Scottish tartans. Franklin, North Carolina, is home of the Tartan Museum. On their website, they claim to be a one-of-a-kind museum and the only tartan museum in the United States claiming this is because there are more people in North Carolina with Celtic heritage than anywhere in the world.¹⁸⁷ The museum is a Non-Profit organization (501c3), the American equivalent of a Charity Organization in the UK. It was founded by the Scottish Tartans Society established in Scotland in 1963 with the goal of serving Scottish heritage communities in the United States.¹⁸⁸ On their fact page, after stating that more people in the US wear kilts on a regular basis than in Scotland, they discuss the high concentration of Scottish descendants and state that North Carolina has more residents of Scottish heritage than any other state in the United States, going on to mention the many descendants of Scotch-Irish in the mountains of western North Carolina¹⁸⁹, but never explaining the lowland origin of most of those called Scotch-Irish and the fact lowland Scots did not traditionally wear highland dress, including tartans. They explain that their location sits between the 'two of the largest and most prestigious gatherings of Scottish families in North America'¹⁹⁰ referring to the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games in Linville, North Carolina, and the Stone Mountain Highland Games and Gathering of the Clans in Stone Mountain, Georgia. Like Stevenson's Welsh storytelling festival, these types of events create ongoing connections between Appalachia and Celtic regions.

¹⁸⁷ The Scottish Tartan Museum Website <<http://www.scottishtartans.org/>> [accessed 12 January 2021].

¹⁸⁸ The Scottish Tartan Museum Website About Us Page <<http://www.scottishtartans.org/museum/aboutus.html>> [accessed 12 January 2021].

¹⁸⁹ The Scottish Tartan Museum Website FAQ Page <<http://www.scottishtartans.org/museum/faq.html>> [accessed 12 January 2021].

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

To begin to unravel why Scottish in Appalachia in more modern times have adopted the more Highland tradition, it might be worth looking at the history of the modern Scottish kilt. The modern kilt did not come about until the early part of the Industrial Revolution in Scotland and was the creation of an English Quaker named Thomas Rawlinson. It came out of the need for a less cumbersome garment than the traditional belted plaid and long tunic worn by the workers in his iron foundry in Inverness. By separating the 'skirt' from the top of the plaid and having the pleats sewn in place it was less cumbersome for the foundry workers.¹⁹¹ While they gained popularity quickly, after the defeat of Bonnie Prince Charlie at Culloden, the Disarming Act of 1746 prohibited displays of Scottish national symbols, including kilts. Later, a group of Scottish officers of loyalist Highland regiments petitioned the House of Commons to repeal the prohibitions in 1782. At some point, the traditional Highland costume became a de facto symbol of Scottish national identity.¹⁹² This has become the stereotype for what Scottish is and a symbol of Scottish heritage.

Another current tradition in Appalachia that is a new or renewed tradition from Celtic regions is Irish Road Bowling. The game is played with a 28-ounce steel ball.¹⁹³ The earliest accounts of the game in



Figure 4

¹⁹¹ Blaustein, *The Thistle and the Brier*, p. 61.

¹⁹² Ibid., pp. 59–61.

¹⁹³ West Virginia Irish Road Bowling Association Website Rules and Terms Page <www.wvirb.com/rules-and-terms/>[accessed 12 January 2021].

Ireland are from Ulster are at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Some accounts indicate it was played by the Scots immigrants to Ulster and not by the native Irish or those of mixed Irish and Scottish heritage. There are accounts of a version of the game in Scotland, called *lang bowlis*, as early as 1496. It also existed in the North American colonies as early as the 1720s with accounts that it was popular among Scottish and Scotch-Irish settlers but was believed to have died out by the end of the nineteenth century in North America.¹⁹⁴

The West Virginia Irish Road Bowling Association (WVIRBA) attributes the beginnings of road bowling in their area of Appalachia to troops on both sides of the American Civil War that were Irish-born or descendants of earlier Irish immigrants. What is now the state of West Virginia was originally the western part of the Commonwealth of Virginia. West Virginia split off when Virginia seceded from the United States (the Union) during the American Civil War (1861–1865). During the war, there were Union army forts and Confederate Army troops within close proximity to the town of Ireland, West Virginia. Troops in the area included Mulligan's Irish Brigade, made up of Irish immigrants to Chicago, a northern city outside of Appalachia and the 10th Ohio formed from Irish militia from Cincinnati, a city just at the edge of the Appalachian region. The WVIRBA asserts that these troops played the sport on the roads in the area during their time there.¹⁹⁵ Whether this is true or speculation is anyone's guess, but this is what they claim as part of their history for the sport. What is known is that in 1995, the sport was revived in

¹⁹⁴ Fintan Lane, *Long Bullets: A History of Road Bowling in Ireland*, (Ardfield: Galley Head Press, 2005), pp. 13–16.

¹⁹⁵ West Virginia Irish Road Bowling Association Website History of Irish Road Bowling Page <<http://www.wvirb.com/history-of-irish-road-bowling/>> [accessed 12 January 2021].

Ireland, West Virginia,¹⁹⁶ and has spread throughout the state and to other areas of Appalachia and beyond. In 2018, the Wheeling Hibernians Ohio Valley Championship in Wheeling, West Virginia, had 851 bowlers compete, making it the largest Irish Road Bowling team tournament up to that date in the world.¹⁹⁷ They exceeded that number in 2019 with over 1000 bowlers competing.¹⁹⁸ Unfortunately, all twenty competitions in West Virginia were canceled in 2020 due to the pandemic. As discussed throughout this paper, especially in the section on immigration, the early Celtic immigrants to Appalachia were made up of Welsh, Scottish immigrants from both the Highlands and Lowlands, a group known in America as the Scotch-Irish, that were primarily of Scottish ancestry whose families migrated to Ulster, Ireland first, then to America, with some mixing of the Scots and Irish. Some were of mixed Scottish and Irish descent. While these groups made up the majority of the population in this region¹⁹⁹, as mentioned in the discussion of Musick's story collecting, industrialization and coal mining brought people from other areas of Europe. There were indigenous tribes in the area, primarily Cherokee who were found throughout the southern Appalachian region and had lived there for more than a thousand years.²⁰⁰ Some intermarriage occurred between them and the settlers in the region. There were also people of African descent whose ancestors were brought to North America to work as slaves and made their way into the mountains of Appalachia. Even with the mixing of influences, events and connections such as

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ West Virginia Irish Road Bowling Association Website Wheeling Hibernians Ohio Valley Championship 2019 <www.wvirb.com/event/wheeling-hibernians-ohio-valley-championship/> [accessed 12 January 2021].

¹⁹⁸ West Virginia Irish Road Bowling Association Website Wheeling Hibernians Ohio Valley Championship 2021: <www.wvirb.com/event/wheeling-aoh-ohio-valley-championship/> [accessed 12 January 2021].

¹⁹⁹ Grady McWhiney, *Cracker Culture: Celtic Ways in the Old South* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1988), p. xiii.

²⁰⁰ Barbara R. Duncan and Brett H. Riggs, *Cherokee Heritage Trails Guidebook* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), p.30.

those discussed are still important to people in Appalachia and contribute to its modern identity.

4 Appalachia, Celtic Diaspora, and Modern Identity

So far in this work, the concept of Appalachian culture as a hybrid of the Celtic diaspora and other immigrants and natives was proposed. An overview of the migrations that brought the Celtic fringe from the British Isles was also presented. Some of the factors that influenced the migrations were also presented, although the full socio-political climate for each point of origin is well beyond the scope of this work. Finally, elements on music, language, and food, as well as stories, myths, and beliefs that link Appalachians and their culture to the cultures and traditions of their Celtic ancestors were presented along with a few modern imports. This section will address why these elements still exist in the culture, why that is important, why the Celtic identity is important as part of Appalachian identity, and why there still exist many 'old but not forgotten bonds between Appalachia and the British Isles'²⁰¹ This section will use the concepts of diaspora previously discussed along with the overview of the history and cultural aspects of Appalachia presented in this work, coupled with concepts of identity in order to present some insights into the relationship Appalachia has with its Celtic roots.

As a community with a strong diaspora consciousness as discussed in section one of this work and elsewhere, Appalachia not only has ties to this identity, but many commonalities in experience that tie Appalachia to that identity. One of the traumas to the Scottish psyche in the British Isles that has been discussed regarding Scottish literature and the Scottish experience is the divided language with 'Received' English

²⁰¹ Olson, 'The Celtic Influence on Appalachian Music', p. 32.

being treated as the respectable medium for intelligent discourse while the value of Gaelic and Scots have for the most part been displaced.²⁰² In this work, the distinctive language of the Appalachian region was discussed in relation to the connection to the English spoken in the Ulster region of Ireland and parts of Scotland. Some examples were provided of Appalachian speakers being ridiculed by classmates. As missionaries and educators came from outside the region, many in Appalachia were taught their version of English was not only incorrect, but implied ignorance.²⁰³ These tie into the importance of identity. In 1960s, Eric Erikson proposed the idea of psychosocial identity. He proposed that 'Psychosocial identity is necessary as the anchoring of man's transient existence in the here and the now'.²⁰⁴ Several working in the field of Appalachian studies specifically addressing identity use Erickson's work as a foundation for discussing individual and regional identity in relation to Appalachia.²⁰⁵

Cunningham explores this concept of identity as an academic in Appalachian studies and an insider to the Appalachian experience in his work, *Apples on The Flood*. In the introduction to this work, he starts by explaining that while 'it is commonplace that the people of Appalachia are mainly "Celts" and largely of "Scotch Irish" origin'²⁰⁶ this has had little attention from serious scholars recently. While his work was published in 1987, it still holds true that this is not the main focus of a large

²⁰² Ibid., pp. 67–69, Cunningham, *Apples on the Flood*, pp. 133–149.

²⁰³ Blaustein, *The Thistle and the Brier*, pp. 65–67, pp. 137–139, Cunningham, *Apples on the Flood*, pp. 109–110,

²⁰⁴ Erik H. Erikson, *Identity, Youth, And Crisis* (New York: Norton Press, 1968), p. 42.

²⁰⁵ Cunningham, *Apples on the Flood*, p. 47., Ester E. Gottlieb, 'Appalachian Self-Fashioning: Regional Identities and Cultural Models', *Discourses: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 22:3 (2001), 341–359 (p. 341)., David E. Whisnant, 'Ethnicity and the Recovery of Regional Identity in Appalachia: Thoughts Upon Entering the Zone of Occult Instability', *Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 56:1 (1973), 124–138 (p. 124).

²⁰⁶ Cunningham, *Apples on the Flood*, p. xi.

amount of academic work. He argues for the importance of this work, noting that another scholar in the field of Appalachian studies had dismissed the importance of this until he realized the significance of events in the British Isles that contributed to the immigrations to Appalachia such as the Highland Clearances.²⁰⁷ He sees the clearances as just one aspect of the overall picture and notes that even with the Scotch-Irish descendants of Scottish-Lowlanders, there have been at least eight hundred years of shared cultural experiences of colonialism and allied forms of domination and alienation that have created patterns of 'individual learned responses and ego-structures, existing on a high level of abstraction'²⁰⁸ that creates a shared psychological heredity. The basic premise that Cunningham supports throughout his work implies that the suppression of Celtic traditions by those in political power or having dominance over the Celtic fringe impacted the people settling in Appalachia and still has great influence on the Appalachia psyche. He expands on psychological theory of the divided self, proposed by Scottish psychologist R. D. Laing in researching schizophrenia. He aligns Laing's concept of being-for-ones-self and being-for-the-other with the situation of the self-sufficient Appalachian and the infantilization of Appalachians and their ancestors by outside forces including broader American images of Appalachia and government interventions.²⁰⁹

Blaustein, also a native Appalachian and academic makes similar assertions about what he terms 'feelings of divided identity'.²¹⁰ He presents the theory that the basic assumption that the advancing core cultures, in this case some homogeneous United States culture, will inevitably displace the peripheral culture, in this case

²⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. xi–xii.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., p. xii.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 132–156.

²¹⁰ Blaustein, *The Thistle and the Brier*, p. 71.

Appalachian culture, is what initiates romanticized cultural revivals, but argues that 'before such revivals can occur, their leaders must resolve their feelings of divided identity.'²¹¹ Some of the events discussed in this work can be seen as examples of a type of revival, such as the festival celebrating the smelly ramp that previously identified people as the poor mountain fringe, or Highland games and Irish road bowling in Appalachia, leading to a possible conclusion that part of the resolution of this divided identity is rooted in the strong sense of Celtic identity in Appalachia. Both Cunningham and Blaustein make some compelling points throughout their works that, without either explicitly saying it, align some of what has occurred in the development of Appalachian identity since the 1960s with Celtic revival movements from the period of Macpherson and Morganwg to more modern Scottish identity movements from the 1970s until the respective dates of their works. Chapman, discussing the Gaelic Vision in Scottish culture, says 'The Highlands have long been derided as the barbarous antithesis of southern civilization and sophistication, but they at the same time become the location of all the virtues that civilization has felt itself to lack'.²¹² Folk revivalism, festivals, and romanticizing of Appalachia, while at the same time treating Appalachia and Appalachians as a 'strange land and peculiar people' as discussed with Shapiro's cognitive dissonance to the American National Identity,²¹³ seems to have some similarities.

Very recent work on Appalachian identity by Ester Gottlieb, that focuses less on the historic and more on exploring current Appalachian identities by exploring narratives such as interviews with graduate students at West Virginia University who were

²¹¹ Ibid., p. 71.

²¹² Malcolm C. Chapman, *The Gaelic Vision in Scottish Culture* (London: Croom Helm, 1978), p. 13.

²¹³ Shapiro, *Appalachia on Our Mind*, pp. xvi–xviii.

native Appalachians, also indicates this division in identity between what the subject knows about being Appalachian and how they think they are perceived.²¹⁴ When looking at how Appalachians perceived they are viewed by outsiders, words such as hillbillies, hicks, poor, uneducated, toothless, inbred, and shoeless were common.²¹⁵ In examining how Appalachians viewed themselves, they placed importance on concepts such as home or place, people especially family (kin), and memories and shared experience. Attachments to place were strongly based on cultural continuity including knowledge of the past as well as their life in the present.²¹⁶ This work on identity, although it shows there is a marked difference between the way Appalachians think they are perceived, and their own self-perception does not focus on the conflictedness presented in Cunningham's work. Gottlieb asserts that when the individuals in her study 'encounter the diverse experiences of "mainstream America", they notice the differences and "romanticize" the local'.²¹⁷ The overall regional identity reflects a longing for the past, strong attachments to regional landscape, and a strong sense of community.²¹⁸

In section one the concept of diaspora was presented, noting that although the migrations took place in waves and under different circumstances, the element of being uprooted and pressured or forced to migrate is a common feature in many cases, and that such circumstances cause groups to maintain a conscious identity that is reinforced by the common experience of exile. Richards was quoted as saying that under such conditions, groups 'exhibit a powerful urgency to maintain, revive, or

²¹⁴ Gottlieb, 'Appalachian Self-Fashioning', pp. 347–353.

²¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 351–353.

²¹⁶ Ibid., p. 347.

²¹⁷ Ibid., p. 355.

²¹⁸ Ibid., p. 355.

invent connections with a prior home'.²¹⁹ These theories of the diaspora are based on theories on migration and diasporas put forth by Vertovec and Cohen that view diaspora as a type of consciousness involving a state of mind and sense of identity that have dual factors, the experience of discrimination or exclusion and a positive identification with a historical heritage.²²⁰ Throughout this work, there is discrimination towards the immigrants to Appalachia, many times, both in their native land and in North America. The continued discrimination or sense of isolation or separateness for their descendants in Appalachia was also established. At the same time, these groups, or as time progressed, this hybrid group, also shows a positive identification with their historical heritage, both pre- and post-immigration. While not every nuance and detail could be covered in this work, the details presented here suggest that Appalachia is a regional diaspora of hybrid Celts from various parts of the Celtic fringe that have a strong internal identity and connection to their geographic region and to their Celtic roots that have compelled them to keep those connections alive in their own cultural identity and even reestablish connections to the places their ancestors departed.

²¹⁹ Richards, *Britannia's Children*, pp. 7–9.

²²⁰ Vertovec, 'Introduction', in *Migration, Diasporas*, pp. xviii–xix.

Bibliography

Printed Primary Sources

- Morgannwg, Iolo, 'Church and King', in *English-Language Poetry from Wales, 1789–1806*, ed. by Elizabeth Edwards (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013) p. 129
- Ritchie, Jean, *The Dulcimer Book* (New York: Oak Publications, 1963)

Secondary Sources

- Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on The Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983)
- Blaustein, Richard, *The Thistle and the Brier: Historical Links and Cultural Parallels Between Scotland and Appalachia* (Jefferson: McFarland and Company, 1997)
- Blethen, H. Tyler, and Curtis W. Wood, Jr., 'Introduction' in *Ulster and North America: Transatlantic Perspectives on the Scotch-Irish*, ed. by H. Tyler Blethen and Curtis W. Wood, Jr. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1997)
- Blethen, H. Tyler, 'The Transmission of Scottish Culture to the Southern Back Country', *Journal of the Appalachian Studies Association*, 6 (1994), 59–72
- Brown, Joyce Compton and Les Brown, 'The Discourse of Food as Cultural Translation and Empowering Voice in Appalachian Women during the Outmigration Process', *Journal of Appalachian Studies*, 7:2 (2001), 315–329
- Burnett, Lawrence, 'Ethnic and Multicultural Perspectives: Homegrown: Programming Ideas and Study Resources for Ethnic and Cultural Musical Traditions of the United States: Part Two: Shaker Music, and Southern Appalachian Traditional and Old Time Music', *Choral Journal*, 47:1 (2006), 42–43
- Butler, James Davie, 'British Convicts Shipped to American Colonies', *The American Historical Review*, 2:1 (1896), pp. 12–33
- Cain, Robert J., 'Scottish Settlers', in *Encyclopedia of North Carolina Online Edition*, ed. by William S. Powell (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), <<https://www.ncpedia.org/scottish-settlers>> [accessed 12 January 2022]
- Callahan, James J., 'Aging in Place', *Generations: Journal of the American Society on Aging*, 16:2 (1992), 5–6
- Campbell, John Charles, *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1921)
- Cardarelli, Kathryn, Emily DeWitt, Rachel Gillespie, Heather Norman-Burgdolf, Natalie Jones, and Janet Tietzen Mullins, 'We're, Like, the Most Unhealthy People in the Country: Using an Equity Lens to Reduce Barriers to Healthy Food Access in Rural Appalachia'. *Preventing Chronic Disease*, 17 (2020), 1–10
- Chalker, Fussell M., 'Highland Scots in The Georgia Lowlands', *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 60:1 (1976), 35–42

- Chapman, Angela M. and Harold A. Perkins, 'Malign and Benign Neglect: A Local Food System and the Myth of Sustainable Redevelopment in Appalachia Ohio', *Agriculture and Human Values*, 37:1 (2020), 113–127
- Chapman, Malcolm C., *The Gaelic Vision in Scottish Culture* (London: Croom Helm, 1978)
- Cunningham, Rodger, *Apples on the Flood: The Southern Mountain Experience* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1987)
- Dabney, Joseph Earl, *Mountain Spirits: A Chronicle of Corn Whiskey from King James' Ulster Plantation to America's Appalachians and the Moonshine Life* (Asheville: Bright Mountain Books, 1974)
- Dobson, David, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607–1785* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994)
- Dobson, David, *The Original Scots Colonists of Early America: Supplement 1607–1707* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1998)
- Dougherty-Johnson, Lily, 'Ramps Are All the Rage. They're Also on Their Way to Being Endangered', Edible East End Online Edition, 12 June 2019, <https://www.edibleeastend.com/2019/06/12/ramps-are-all-the-rage-theyre-also-on-their-way-to-being-endangered/> [accessed 12 January 2022]
- Drake, Richard B., *A History of Appalachia* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2001)
- Dunaway, Wayland F., 'Early Welsh Settlers of Pennsylvania', *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic*, 12:4 (1945), 251–269
- Duncan, Barbara R. and Brett H. Riggs, *Cherokee Heritage Trails Guidebook* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003)
- Eller, Ronald D., *Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers: Industrialization of the Appalachian South, 1880–1930* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1981)
- Eller, Ronald D., *Uneven Ground: Appalachia Since 1945* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2008)
- Engelhardt, Elizabeth S. D., 'Beyond Grits and Gravy: Appalachian Chicken and Waffles: Countering Southern Food Fetishism', *Southern Cultures*, 21:1 (2015), 73–83
- Erikson, Erik H., *Identity, Youth, And Crisis* (New York: Norton Press, 1968)
- Falkner, Charles H., *The Old Stone Fort: Exploring an Archaeological Mystery* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1968)
- Fogleman, Aaron S., 'From Slaves, Convicts, and Servants to Free Passengers: The Transformation of Immigration in the Era of the American Revolution', *The Journal of American History*, 85:1 (1998), pp. 43–76.
- Gibson, William, 'The Limits of the Confessional State: Electoral Religion in the Reign of Charles II', *The Historical Journal*, 51:1 (2008), 27–47
- Gottlieb, Ester E., 'Appalachian Self-Fashioning: Regional Identities and Cultural Models', *Discourses: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 22:3 (2001), 341–359
- Graham, Nicholas, 'August 1956: Grandfather Mountain Highland Games', North Carolina Miscellany (Online), August 2007, <https://blogs.lib.unc.edu/nmc/category/this-month-in-n-c-history/august/> [accessed 12 January 2022]
- Hale, Maria, Trent Ipock, Ian Kirkpatrick, Christopher McCloud, Emma Parrish, Laura Schaffer, and Lynn Moss Sanders, 'Roots, Seeds, and Branches: A

- Conversation about Foodways Research with Elizabeth Engelhardt', *Appalachian Journal*, 46:1/2 (2018), 32–50
- Hall, John C., 'Prince Madoc and the Stubborn Persistence of a Legend', *Alabama Heritage*, 96 (2010), 30–37
- Hall, Stuart, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', in *Migration, Diasporas, and Transnationalism*, ed. by Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 1999), 299–314
- Hartland, E. Sidney, 'The Sin-Eater', *Folklore*, 3:2 (1892), 145–157
- Helms, Jesse, 'Grandfather Mountain Highland Games', *Local Legacies: Celebrating Community Roots*, The American Folklife Center of the Library of Congress (online), <<http://memory.loc.gov/diglib/legacies/loc.afc.afc-legacies.200002907/default.html>> [accessed 12 January 2022]
- Johnson, Ben, 'The Discovery of America...by a Welsh Prince?', *History Magazine* (Online), <<https://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/HistoryofWales/The-discovery-of-America-by-Welsh-Prince/>> [accessed 12 January 2022]
- Jones, James Gay, *The Wayfaring Sin-Eater and Other Tales of Appalachia* (Parsons: McClain Printing Company, 1983)
- Keller, Kenneth W., 'What Is Distinctive About the Scotch-Irish?', in *Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society, and Development in the Preindustrial Era*, ed. by Robert D. Mitchell (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 69–86
- Kephart, Horace, *Our Southern Highlanders* (New York: Outing Publishing Company, 1913)
- Landsman, Ned C., *Scotland and Its First American Colony, 1683–1765* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985)
- Lane, Fintan, *Long Bullets: A History of Road Bowling in Ireland*, (Ardfield: Galley Head Press, 2005)
- Lenman, Bruce P., 'Lusty Beggars, Dissolute Women, Sorners, Gypsies, and Vagabonds for Virginia', *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* 27:2(2005), 64–69
- Lewis, Ronald L., *Welsh Americans: A History of The Assimilation in the Coalfield* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008)
- Lundy, Ronni, *Victuals: An Appalachian Journey, with Recipes* (New York: Clarkson Potter Publishers, 2016)
- McCarthy, Karen F., *The Other Irish: The Scots-Irish Rascals Who Made America* (New York: Sterling: 2011)
- McCauley, Deborah Vansau, *Appalachian Mountain Religion: A History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995)
- McDonald, Forrest, 'Prologue', in *Cracker Culture: Celtic Ways in the Old South*, auth. Grady McWhiney (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press:1988), pp. xli–xliii
- McNeil, W. K., 'Introduction', in *Appalachian Images in Folk and Popular Culture*, ed. by W. K. McNeil (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989), pp. 1–19
- McWhiney, Grady *Cracker Culture: Celtic Ways in the Old South* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1988)
- Michell, Robert D., 'Introduction: Revisionism and Regionalism', in *Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society, and Development in the Preindustrial Era*, ed. by Robert D. Mitchell (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 1–22
- Miller, Jeff, and Jonathan Deutsch, *Food Studies: An Introduction to Research Methods* (Oxford: Berg, 2009)

- Montgomery, Michael B., and Joseph S. Hall, *Dictionary of Smoky Mountain English* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2004)
- Montgomery, Michael B., 'The Contributions of Joseph Sargent Hall to Appalachian Studies', *Journal of the Appalachian Studies Association*, 6 (1994), 89–98
- Montgomery, Michael B., 'The Roots of Appalachian English: Scotch-Irish or British Southern?', *Journal of the Appalachian Studies Association*, 3 (1991), 177–191
- Montgomery, Michael B., 'The Southern Accent—Alive and Well', *Southern Cultures*, 1993, 47–64
- Moser, Joan, 'Notes on Dancing, Music, and the Musical Instruments' in *Songs of the Carolina Charter Colonists 1663–1763*, ed. by Arthur Palmer Hudson (Raleigh: The Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1962), 67–70
- Musick, Ruth Ann, *Green Hills of Magic: West Virginia Folktales from Europe* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1970)
- Newton, Michael, 'The History of Highland Settlements of the Cape Fear', The Argyll Colony Plus: The Journal of the North Carolina Scottish Heritage Society (Online), 2006, <<https://theargyllcolonyplus.org/history/>> [accessed 12 January 2022]
- Niles, John Jacob, *The Ballad Book of John Jacob Niles* (New York: Bramhall House, 1960)
- Olson, Ted, *Blue Ridge Folklife* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1998)
- Olson, Ted, The Celtic Influence on Appalachian Music. The Crooked Road's Mountains of Music Homecoming: The Official Homecoming Guide, 2016, p. 32 <<http://mtnsofmusic.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/MOMH-ProgramGuide-FINAL-rev.pdf>> [accessed 12 January 2022]
- Peine, Emelie K., Amy Price Azano and Kai A. Schafft, 'Beyond Cultural and Structural Explanations of Regional Underdevelopment: Identity and Dispossession in Appalachia', *Journal of Appalachian Studies*, 26:1 (2020), 40–56
- Pen, Ron, 'Introduction to the New Edition', in *The Ballad Book of John Jacob Niles*, Revised Edition, auth. John Jacob Niles, (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2000), pp. xx–xxi
- Puckett, Anita, 'Appalachia and the "Commons"', *Practicing Anthropology*, 36:4 (2014), 3–7.
- Quinlan, Kieran, *Strange Kin: Ireland and the American South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005)
- Ray, Celeste, *Highland Heritage: Scottish Americans in the American South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001)
- Richards, Eric, *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland since 1600* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004)
- Richie, Fiona, and Doug Orr, *Wayfaring Strangers: The Musical Voyage from Scotland and Ulster to Appalachia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014).
- Rivers, Bridgette, Robert Oliver, and Lynn Resler. 'Pungent Provisions: The Ramp and Appalachian Identity', *Material Culture*, 46:1 (2014), 1–24
- Sandburg, Carl, *The American Songbag* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1927)
- Sanders, Vivienne, *Wales, the Welsh and the Making of America* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2021)

- Satterwhite, Emily, 'That's What They're All Singing About: Appalachian Heritage, Celtic Pride, and American Nationalism at the 2003 Smithsonian Folklife Festival', *Appalachian Journal*, 32:3 (2005), 302–338
- Schumann, William, 'Locating Wales in Appalachian Scholarship', *Journal of Appalachian Studies*, 16:1 (2010), 9–25
- Scoggins, Michael C., *The Scotch-Irish Influence on Country Music in the Carolinas: Border Ballads, Fiddle Tunes, and Sacred Songs* (Charleston: The History Press, 2013)
- Seeger, Charles, 'The Appalachian Dulcimer', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 71:279 (1958), 40–51
- Shapiro, Henry D., *Appalachia on Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870–1929* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1978)
- 'Sin-Eating in Appalachia', The Booneville Sentinel (Online edition), 26 September 2021, <https://www.nolangroupmedia.com/booneville_sentinel/sin-eating-in-appalachia/article_7ceae066-1f1c-11ec-bd7b-f743d8b9bf97.html> [accessed 12 January 2022]
- Smith, L. Allen, 'Toward a Reconstruction of the Development of the Appalachian Dulcimer: What the Instruments Suggest', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 93:370 (1980), 385–396
- Sohn, Mark F., *Appalachian Home Cooking: History, Culture, and Recipes* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2005)
- Stevenson, Peter, *The Moon-Eyed People: Folk Tales from Welsh America* (Brimscombe Port Stroud: The History Press, 2019)
- Stevenson, Peter, 'Wales' International Storytelling, Beyond the Border, October 2021, <<https://beyondtheborder.com/peter-stevenson-october-2021/>> [accessed 12 January 2022]
- Tan, Caitlin, 'Art Exhibit Explores Appalachia's Connection to Wales', West Virginia Public Broadcasting Website, 22 May 2019, <<https://www.wvpublic.org/news/2019-05-22/art-exhibit-explores-appalachias-connection-to-wales>> [accessed 12 January 2022]
- The Scottish Tartan Museum Website About Us Page <<http://www.scottishtartans.org/museum/aboutus.html>> [accessed 12 January 2022]
- The Scottish Tartan Museum Website FAQ Page <<http://www.scottishtartans.org/museum/faq.html>> [accessed 12 January 2022]
- The Scottish Tartan Museum Website <http://www.scottishtartans.org/> [accessed 12 January 2022]
- Tulloch, John, *Appalachian Cooking: New and Traditional Recipes* (New York: The Countryman Press, 2018)
- Vertovec, S. and Robin Cohen, 'Introduction', in *Migration, Diasporas, and Transnationalism*, ed. by Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 1999), pp. xviii–xix
- Walther, Rudolph J., Pennsylvania 1630–1700, USHistory.org website of the Independence Hall Association, <<https://www.ushistory.org/pennsylvania/pennsylvania.html>> [accessed 12 January 2022]

- 'WV Ramp Dinners and Festivals', *West Virginia Explorer Magazine* (Online), <<https://wvexplorer.com/recreation/agritourism/ramp-dinners-festivals/>> [accessed 12 January 2022]
- West Virginia Irish Road Bowling Association Website History of Irish Road Bowling Page: <<http://www.wvirb.com/history-of-irish-road-bowling/>> [accessed 12 January 2022]
- West Virginia Irish Road Bowling Association Website Rules and Terms Page <www.wvirb.com/rules-and-terms/> [accessed 12 January 2022]
- West Virginia Irish Road Bowling Association Website Wheeling Hibernians Ohio Valley Championship 2019 <www.wvirb.com/event/wheeling-hibernians-ohio-valley-championship/> [accessed 12 January 2022]
- West Virginia Irish Road Bowling Association Website Wheeling Hibernians Ohio Valley Championship 2021 <www.wvirb.com/event/wheeling-aoh-ohio-valley-championship/> [accessed 12 January 2022]
- Whisnant, David E., 'Ethnicity and the Recovery of Regional Identity in Appalachia: Thoughts upon Entering the Zone of Occult Instability', *Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 56:1 (1973), 124–138
- Williams, Gwyn A., *Madoc: The Making of a Myth* (Fakenham: Fakenham Press, 1979).
- Williams, Gwyn A., *The Welsh in Their History* (London: Croom Helm, 1982)
- Williams, John Alexander, *Appalachia: A History* (Chapel Hill: The University Of North Carolina Press, 2002)