

**THE SEVENTEENTH BIENNIAL
ULSTER-AMERICAN HERITAGE
SYMPOSIUM**

25-28 JUNE, 2008

**Centre for Migration Studies
at the Ulster American Folk Park, Omagh**

‘Changing Perspectives, 1607-2007’

PROGRAMME



The Ulster-American Heritage Symposium 1976 -

- 1976 New University of Ulster, Coleraine, Northern Ireland
- 1978 University of North Carolina, Asheville, USA
- 1980 New University of Ulster, Coleraine, Northern Ireland
- 1982 Appalachian State University, Boone, North Carolina, USA
- 1984 University of Ulster, Coleraine, Northern Ireland
- 1986 Western Carolina University, Cullowhee, North Carolina, USA
- 1988 University of Ulster, Coleraine, Northern Ireland
- 1990 East Tennessee State University, Johnson, City, Tennessee, USA
- 1992 University of Ulster, Coleraine, Northern Ireland
- 1994 Museum of American Frontier Culture, Staunton, Virginia, USA
- 1996 Centre for Emigration Studies, Ulster American Folk Park, Omagh,
Northern Ireland
- 1998 Western Carolina University, Cullowhee, North Carolina, USA
- 2000 Centre for Migration Studies at the Ulster American Folk Park, Omagh,
Northern Ireland
- 2002 York County Culture and Heritage Commission, Rock Hill, South Carolina
and University of South Carolina, USA
- 2004 Centre for Migration Studies at the Ulster American Folk Park, Omagh and
Institute of Ulster-Scots Studies, University of Ulster, Magee Campus,
Northern Ireland
- 2006 East Tennessee Historical Society, Knoxville, Tennessee, USA
- 2008 Centre for Migration Studies at the Ulster American Folk Park, Omagh,
Northern Ireland

Symposium Schedule

Wednesday 25 June		
<i>Time</i>	<i>Session</i>	<i>Location</i>
9.00-5.00	Excursion to Donegal	Ramelton and Rathmullan
5.30-7.30	Registration	Strule Arts Centre, Omagh
6.00-7.30	Buffet Reception Welcome, Omagh District Council	

Thursday 26 June		
<i>Time</i>	<i>Session</i>	<i>Location</i>
8.30-9.10	Registration	Visitor Centre, UAFP
9.10	Welcome and Introduction	Assembly Room
9.30	Plenary Lecture	Assembly Room
9.30		
10.30-11.00	Tea/Coffee Break	
11.00-12.30	Parallel Session 1	Assembly Room and Library
12.30-1.15	Lunch	
1.15-2.00	Presenting Aspects of the Outdoor Museum	Mountjoy Meeting House and Campbell House
2.00-3.30	Parallel Session 2	Assembly Room and Library
3.30-4.00	Tea/Coffee Break	
4.00-5.30	Parallel Session 3	Assembly Room and Library
5.30	Plenary Lecture	Assembly Room
6.15	Walk through Outdoor Museum and Group Photo	Ulster Street
6.30 – 8.30	Book Launch and Buffet Reception	Ship Gallery

Friday 27 June		
<i>Time</i>	<i>Session</i>	<i>Location</i>
8.45-9.10	Registration	Visitor Centre, UAFP
9.10-9.30	Launch of Audio Archive	Assembly Room
9.30-11.00	Parallel Session 4	Assembly Room and Library
11.00-11.30	Tea/Coffee Break	
11.30-1.00	Parallel Session 5	Assembly Room and Library
1.00-1.45	Lunch	
1.45-2.30	Centenary Visit to Mellon Birthplace	Mellon House

2.30-3.30	Plenary Lecture	Assembly Room
3.30-4.00	Tea/Coffee Break	
4.00-5.30	Parallel Session 6	Assembly Room and Library
5.45	Whiskey Tasting Reception and Book Launch	Residential Centre
6.15-8.30	Conference Dinner	

Saturday 28 June		
<i>Time</i>	<i>Session</i>	<i>Location</i>
8.45-9.15	Registration	Visitor Centre, UAFP
9.15-9.30	Final Plenary Discussion	Assembly Room
9.30-11.00	Parallel Session 7	Assembly Room and Library
11.00-11.30	Tea/Coffee Break	
11.30-1.00	Parallel Session 8	Assembly Room and Library
1.00-1.45	Lunch	
1.45-3.15	Parallel Session 9	Assembly Room and Library
3.15-3.45	Tea/Coffee Break Book Launch	Assembly Room
3.45-5.00	Campbell Family History Presentation	Assembly Room (open to all UAFP visitors)

XVII ULSTER-AMERICAN HERITAGE SYMPOSIUM
25-28 JUNE 2008
‘Changing Perspectives, 1607-2007’

WELCOME

As Chairman of the Scotch-Irish Trust of Ulster, it is a pleasure for me to welcome you to the Centre for Migration Studies at the Ulster American Folk Park and to the Seventeenth Ulster-American Heritage Symposium. For those of you who are visiting us for the first time, I should explain that the Ulster American Folk Park and the Centre for Migration Studies have both been long-term projects of the Trust. The Folk Park was established in the bicentennial year of 1976. Such was its success that it was invited in 1998 to form part of MAGNI, the new Museums and Galleries of Northern Ireland (along with the Ulster Museum, Belfast and the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, Cultra), now known as the National Museums Northern Ireland (NMNI). The origin of the Centre for Migration Studies was in the establishment of the library collection in 1982 in partnership with the five Education and Library Boards, and the Irish Emigration Database project in 1988 in partnership with Enterprise Ulster and the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland. The Scotch-Irish Trust, having handed over responsibility for the Folk Park to the Department of Education (now Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure - DCAL), has made the Centre for Migration Studies the main focus for its support, appointing its first full-time Director in 1998. The Centre depends for its success on partnership with the five Education and Library Boards of Northern Ireland (soon to become one Northern Ireland Library Authority - NILA), both the Queen's University of Belfast and the University of Ulster, and the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI). We acknowledge the past invaluable support of Enterprise Ulster which, with unemployment at an all-time low and its immediate job well done, was wound up in 2007. On behalf of the Trust and the Centre's partners I extend a very warm welcome to you all.

Just as we were pleased to host the fifteenth meeting of the Symposium in 2004, so we look forward to this Seventeenth Symposium being equally successful if not more so. It is a cause of great satisfaction to all those involved in establishing this Symposium at the University of Ulster in 1976 that it continues and with growing importance. Our programme has much to offer and our thanks go to all who have worked to make the Symposium a continuing success, including our sponsors, especially the office of the US Consul General, Omagh District Council, the Ulster Scots Agency and the Ulster Historical Foundation which is coordinating the Saturday programme. I have only one regret: I will not be able to attend the Symposium as I was pleased to attend its recent predecessors on home soil. I am being whisked abroad for certain family celebrations, but I am assured that it will be a temporary absence and not an emigration! We hope you will enjoy your time with us. Thank you for supporting the Symposium and the realisation of its aims by your presence. May our transatlantic friendship and quest for mutual understanding go from strength to strength.

Sir Peter Froggatt
Chairman, Scotch-Irish Trust of Ulster

Aims of the Seventeenth Symposium

The Ulster-American Heritage Symposium has met every two years since 1976, alternating between co-sponsoring universities, museums and historical societies in Ulster and the United States of America. Its purpose is to encourage scholarly study and public awareness of the historical connections between Ulster and North America, including what is commonly called the Scotch-Irish or Ulster-Scots heritage. The Symposium has as its general theme the process of transatlantic emigration and settlement, and links between Ireland, Scotland, England and Wales and North America. Its approach is inter-disciplinary, including history, language and literature, archaeology, art history, geography, folklife, religion, music and museum studies.

The Seventeenth Symposium takes as its special theme ‘Changing Perspectives, 1607-2007’, extending somewhat that of the Sixteenth Symposium 2006 in Knoxville, Tennessee, ‘Three Centuries of Ulster-American History, Tradition and Shared Experience’. The idea of taking in four centuries was prompted by the four-hundredth anniversary in 2007 of the Flight of the Earls that marked the permanent departure of a key part of the remaining leadership of Gaelic Ireland, followed by a century characterised by immigration from Britain on an unprecedented scale, with all the consequences of that immigration for Irish history to the present day. One consequence of that immigration was of course an emigrant stream from Ulster to North America that started in the seventeenth century, strengthened in the eighteenth, climaxed in the nineteenth and continued in the twentieth, as illustrated by the photograph of the girl with the doll leaving Derry. In Knoxville there was a particularly stimulating new focus on one aspect of the long-term transatlantic relationship that resulted from such sustained migration: the roles and experiences of nearly 300,000 US and Canadian service personnel trained or stationed in Northern Ireland during World War II. The continuing importance of that relationship, to unionists and nationalists alike, has been particularly evident in the Northern Ireland peace process, especially with the restoration of devolved government in May 2007 and the visit of the President of the United States in June 2008. The long perspective of four centuries is the concern of *Migration in Irish History, 1607-2007* by Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin, and the perspective of the late twentieth and the early twenty-first century is the concern of Johanne Devlin Trew’s Northern Ireland Migrant Narratives Audio Archive, both of which we look forward to being launched at the Symposium.

The two-hundredth anniversary of the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 2007 stimulated new interest in this aspect of the transatlantic relationship and our first keynote speaker, Nini Rodgers, will be offering a new perspective in particular on the connection between Ulster and the Caribbean. Another anniversary concentrating minds this year at the Ulster American Folk Park is the centenary of the death of Thomas Mellon (1813-1908), whose birthplace is the nucleus from which the Folk Park has grown. James Ross Mellon II who is a great-great-grandson of Thomas Mellon, and President of the Scotch-Irish Trust of Ulster, had planned to attend the Symposium but unfortunately has been unable to do so. However, his intention itself is evidence of the persistence, strength and warmth of the transatlantic relationship,

particularly as expressed by the descendants of emigrants from Ireland in relation to the original family home. It is also evident in the biography which he commissioned of Thomas Mellon's famous son, Andrew: the author, our keynote speaker Professor David Cannadine, shows how important Thomas Mellon's *Autobiography* was for his family's continuing sense of connection with the Camp Hill cottage in Castletown, Omagh, County Tyrone, and also with Scotland. The homeland-diaspora relationship and questions of identity and family connections will be of central concern to many of the papers to be given at this Symposium, including, thanks to partnership with the Ulster Historical Foundation, exciting new perspectives on migrant family connections between Ulster and Scotland.

As well as to Scotland, the Mellon family migration story also points us to new perspectives on connections between Ulster and Canada. It was in St John New Brunswick that Thomas Mellon and his family made their first landfall before proceeding south to Pennsylvania. For the first time the Ulster-American Heritage Symposium will be giving a special focus to Canada thanks to our partnership with the Institute of Ulster Scots Studies in the University of Ulster. There will be a panel on the Irish and Ulster Diasporas in New Brunswick and a keynote lecture by Professor Peter M Toner on the *Gaeltachta* of New Brunswick, followed by the launch of *The Orange Order in Canada*, edited by Professor David Wilson.

Thomas Mellon also points us to new perspectives on the transition from the age of sail to the age of steam in the nineteenth century and its effect on the transatlantic relationship. Participants at the Symposium will also be able to view the new temporary exhibition in the Round Gallery of the Folk Park: 'The White Star Line: Crossing the wide Atlantic, 1869-1934'. Having departed from Ireland in 1818 on a sailing ship of the kind represented in the Folk Park's Ship Gallery, Thomas made his one return visit to Ireland in 1882 under steam on the White Star Line's 'Celtic'.

Once again we hope that our meeting will succeed in bringing together leading scholars in the field and in giving interested members of the public access to their scholarship in an engaging way. As Steve Ickringill, our speaker at the conference dinner, has reminded us, 'the Ulster-American connection has been made up of hundreds, thousands and by now millions of personal connections. The project of thinking, talking and writing about our theme, therefore, is uncompleted for very understandable and positively encouraging reasons!' Following the good example of the Symposium in Knoxville in 2006, we are giving a special focus to family history in the Saturday programme, when highlights will be Professor Audrey Horning's lecture on the comparative importance of a north Antrim archaeological site for Scotland, Ulster and North America, David Dobson's on Scottish records and Barry McCain's the use of DNA evidence. Once again, we look forward to this meeting of the Ulster-American Heritage Symposium taking the project a further stage forward, enriched by these changing perspectives with regard to time and space.

SYMPOSIUM ARRANGEMENTS

Registration

Delegates can register for the Symposium as follows:

Wednesday, in the Weir Café at the Strule Arts Centre, Omagh, from 5.30 to 7.30 pm
<http://www.struleartscentre.co.uk/>

Thursday, Friday, Saturday in the Visitor Centre of the Ulster-American Folk Park, before the start of the morning and afternoon sessions.

Location of Sessions

Plenary sessions will take place in the Assembly Room of the Ulster American Folk Park

Parallel sessions will take place in the Assembly Room and in the Library of the Centre for Migration Studies

Tea and coffee will be served at morning and afternoon break times in the Assembly Room and in the Library.

Packed lunches will be available for collection in the Residential Centre during the lunch break.

Newspapers and Internet Access

Daily newspapers will be available in the Library. Internet access will be available to delegates in the Library before the first morning session and during the lunch break.

Bookshop

Delegates are encouraged to visit the bookshop in the Visitor Centre of the Folk Park. A selection of Ulster Historical Foundation, Federation for Ulster Local Studies and North of Ireland Family History Society publications will be on display in the Assembly Room.

Guidelines for Presenters and Chairs of Sessions

Speakers in the parallel sessions are asked to speak for twenty minutes, leaving five minutes for questions and five minutes for changeover between papers.

Each of the lecture venues will be equipped with an overhead projector, laptop and data projector. Speakers requiring technical assistance are asked to make their presentation available to the organisers the day before their presentation.

Facilities

We hope you will find all the facilities that you require available during the Symposium. In case of any difficulty please ask at the registration desk.

Catering

Wednesday: there will be a buffet reception at the Strule Arts Centre, Omagh. Information on restaurants in Omagh is included in the conference packs.

Thursday, Friday and Saturday: packed lunches will be available for collection during lunchtime in the Residential Centre. Additionally, hot meals may be purchased in the Residential Centre on Thursday and Friday and snacks may be purchased in the Coffee Shop of the Visitor Centre on Thursday, Friday and Saturday.

Thursday evening: there will be a buffet reception in the Ship Gallery.

Friday evening: the conference dinner will take place in the Residential Centre.

Car-parking

Car-parking facilities at the Ulster-American Folk Park are available inside the main gates.

Banking

There is a Bureau de Change in the Visitor Centre of the Ulster-American Folk Park, which accepts Visa and MasterCard, travellers cheques and foreign notes. There is no ATM machine on site at the Ulster-American Folk Park (nearest ATM machines are in Omagh to the south and Newtownstewart to the north).

Toilets

Toilets are located in the Visitor Centre, in the Assembly Room, in the Residential Centre, and beside the Library of the Centre for Migration Studies.

Maps

Maps of the Ulster-American Folk Park and Omagh Town are included in the conference pack.

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PROGRAMME

WEDNESDAY 25 JUNE

9.00 – 5.00	Excursion to Donegal: Ramelton and Rathmullan http://www.qub.ac.uk/cms/events/UAHS_2008.htm	
5.30–7.30	Registration: Strule Arts Centre, Omagh (opened Jan 2008) http://www.struleartscentre.co.uk/	
6.00	Buffet Reception, Strule Arts Centre, Omagh Welcome: Cllr Martin McColgan, Chairman of Omagh District Council	
Evening	‘Dine Around’, Omagh	

THURSDAY 26 JUNE

8.30	Bus departs from Silver Birch Hotel (residents only)	
8.45	Bus departs from Mellon Country Inn (residents only)	
8.30 – 9.10	Registration, Visitor Centre, Ulster American Folk Park	
9.10	WELCOME: Assembly Room Susan Elliott, US Consul General, Belfast <i>Introduction to XVII Symposium</i>	
9.30 am	PLENARY LECTURE: Assembly Room <i>Chair:</i> Brian Lambkin	
	Nini Rodgers, Queen’s University, Belfast, ‘Ramelton in the Caribbean: Presbyterians and the plantation complex, 1730 -1857’	
10.30-11.00	TEA / COFFEE	
11.00-12.30	PARALLEL SESSION 1 1A: Assembly Room Theme: New perspectives on Race and Ethnicity <i>Chair:</i> Mícheál Roe	
	Peter Gilmore, Carnegie-Mellon University, Pittsburgh, ‘When Pittsburgh’s ‘Scotch-Irish’ were ‘Irish’’	
	Violet S Johnson, Agnes Scott College, Georgia, ‘Irish in Life and Black in Death: Lessons from the Healy Family about Race, Ethnicity, Heroes and Heritage in Modern America’	
	Joseph Moore, University of North Carolina, Greensboro, ‘A Necessary Middle: Reformed Presbyterians and Moderate Stances on Slavery in the Antebellum South’	

	1B: Library Theme: Migration and the evidence of Art, Music and Song <i>Chair: Patrick Fitzgerald</i>	
	Pat Hardy, Courtauld Institute of Art and National Portrait Gallery, London 'Passage to America: Erskine Nicol's view of the nineteenth century Irish emigration experience'	
	John Moulden, Moore Institute, NUI Galway, 'Songs as a microscope: the personal, the local and the particular in traditional and popularly printed songs of emigration'	
	Warren R Hofstra, Shenandoah University, Virginia, 'The Culture of the Scots-Irish and American Country Music: The Life and Times of Patsy Cline'	
12.30-1.15	LUNCH	
1.15-2.00	Presenting Aspects of the Outdoor Museum (a) Frank Collins, Ulster American Folk Park, 'The Campbell House and the Campbell Family' (b) Trevor Miskelly, Ulster American Folk Park, 'The Mountjoy Meeting House and Religion on the Frontier'	
2.00-3.30 pm	PARALLEL SESSION 2	
	2A: Assembly Room Theme: Challenging stereotypes <i>Chair: Patrick Fitzgerald</i>	
	David T Gleeson, College of Charleston, South Carolina, 'Union of Shamrock and Thistle, North and South: The Scotch-Irish Society, 1889-1900'	
	Linde Lunney, Dictionary of Irish Biography, Royal Irish Academy, 'The need for re-examination of popular attitudes to, and beliefs about, the history of emigration from Ulster to America'	
	William Jenkins, York University, Toronto, 'Caricaturing Crisis: Ulster, the third Home Rule bill, and the political cartoons of the <i>Toronto Telegram</i> '	
	2B: Library Theme: Family Connections and Cultural Expression <i>Chair: Brian Lambkin</i>	
	Nina M Ray, Boise State University, Boise, Idaho, USA 'Family History Matters: Motivations and Behavior of Legacy Tourists of Irish, Scottish, and Scotch-Irish Heritage'	
	Michael Montgomery, University of South Carolina, 'An Appalachian Mist has descended upon Ulster'	
3.30-4.00	TEA / COFFEE BREAK	

4.00-5.30	PARALLEL SESSION 3	
	3A: Assembly Room Theme: Contemporary Approaches to the Study of the Irish and Ulster Diasporas in New Brunswick <i>Chair:</i> Johanne Devlin Trew	
	Marion Beyea and Denis Noel, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, 'Cultural Identity, and Irish Migration to New Brunswick'	
	Daniel Downes, University of New Brunswick, Saint John, 'An Inconvenient Authenticity: Mass Media, Music and Irish Cultural Identity in New Brunswick and Maine'	
	Peter G Toner, University of St Thomas, New Brunswick, "'Authentic' Identities and Hybrid Musics among the Irish in New Brunswick'	
	3B: Library Theme: New Perspectives on Migrant Neighbours <i>Chair:</i> Warren Hofstra	
	Karen J Harvey, Lock Haven University, Pennsylvania, 'Colonial Contact Points: Scotch-Irish and Native Americans in Central Pennsylvania'	
	Michael Toomey, Lincoln Memorial University, Tennessee, "'Captain Bengie will Get You!': Scotch and Scotch-Irish Descendants Among the Cherokee'	
	Elizabeth Lewis Pardoe, Northwestern University, Illinois, 'Scotch-Irish and Dutch-Palatines: Misnamed Neighbors in a 'New' World'	
5.30	PLENARY LECTURE: Assembly Room <i>Chair:</i> John Wilson, University of Ulster Peter M Toner, University of New Brunswick, Saint John, 'Confusing Identities: The <i>Gaeltachta</i> in New Brunswick, 1901'	
6.15	Walk through the Outdoor Museum Group Photograph in Ulster Street (Mr G Heaver)	
6.30	Book Launch, Reception and Barbeque , Ship Gallery, hosted by Institute of Ulster Scots Studies and Four Courts Press: <i>The Orange Order in Canada</i> edited by David Wilson	
8.30pm	Buses depart for Silver Birch Hotel and Mellon Country Inn	

FRIDAY 27 JUNE		
8.45	Bus departs from Silver Birch Hotel (residents only)	
9.00	Bus departs from Mellon Country Inn (residents only)	
8.45 – 9.10	Registration: Visitor Centre, Ulster American Folk Park	
9.10	Assembly Room Welcome: Representative of the Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure Launch of AHRC Northern Ireland Migrant Narratives Audio Archive, Johanne Devlin Trew, University of Ulster	
9.30	PARALLEL SESSION 4	
	4A: Assembly Room Theme: A Comparative Study of Ethnic Identity and Symbolic Ethnicity among Contemporary Scotch-Irish in the United States and Ulster Scots in Northern Ireland and England. <i>Chair:</i> Mícheál D Roe	
	Christopher E Lewis, University of Ulster at Magee College and Sharon Cruise, University of Chester, 'Ethnic identity among Contemporary Ulster Scots in Northern Ireland'	
	Neil Ferguson, Liverpool Hope University, 'Ethnic Identity in the Contemporary Ulster Scot Diaspora in England'	
	Mícheál D Roe, Seattle Pacific University and University of Ulster, Jordan Gutierrez and Torin Schaafsma, Seattle Pacific University, 'Symbolic Ethnicity among Contemporary Scotch-Irish in the United States'	
	4B: Library Theme: Place, Memory and Migration <i>Chair:</i> Linde Lunney	
	Ronald A Wells and Gerald Gibson, Maryville College, Tennessee, 'Historical Memory and Ulster-American Consciousness: the case of Isaac Anderson of Maryville College'	
	Kerri Huff and Julie Alexander, Appalachian Regional Studies Center, Radford University, Virginia, 'La Riviere Historic Preservation Project, Radford, Virginia: Preserving the Past to Look to the Future'	
	Susan McKnight Dougherty and Betty Scott Noble, Agnes Scott College, Georgia, 'Good Impulses of the Heart: The Legacy of Agnes Irvine Scott and the Founding of Agnes Scott College'	
11.00-11.30	TEA / COFFEE	
11.30-1.00	5A: Assembly Room Theme: Changing perspectives on Irish and Ulster identities <i>Chair:</i> Peter Gilmore	
	Turlough McConnell, US Ireland Forum, 'A New Definition of Irishness in America'	
	Andrew R Holmes, Queen's University, Belfast, 'The religion and politics of transatlantic Presbyterianism, c. 1820-1914'	
	Don MacFarlane, Independent Scholar, 'Irish Primordialism at	

	Home and Abroad, 1795-1845: A Northern Irish perspective'	
	5B: Library Theme: Trade and Migration <i>Chair:</i> Nini Rodgers	
	Trevor Parkhill, Ulster Museum "What Trades am I to put my boys to?" A Profile of the Ulster Immigrant to America at Work 1750-1920'	
	Alistair McReynolds, Institute of Ulster Scots Studies, 'Shipbuilders and Mariner-merchants in Maine: two Ulster Scots families'	
	Annesley Malley, Independent Scholar, 'Families and Fleets from Derry: the story of the main shipping dynasties'	
1.00-1.45	LUNCH	
1.45-2.30	Centenary Visit to the birth place of Thomas Mellon (1813-1908)	
2.30-3.30 pm	PLENARY LECTURE Assembly Room	
	<i>Chair:</i> David Hayton, Queen's University David Cannadine, Institute of Historical Research, University of London 'Thomas and Andrew Mellon'	
3.30-4.00	TEA / COFFEE BREAK	
4.00-5.30	PARALLEL SESSION 6	
	6A: Assembly Room Theme: Migration and Identity <i>Chair:</i> Sandra Barney	
	Richard K MacMaster, Center for Scotch-Irish Studies and University of Florida, 'The Passenger Trade, 1763-1775'	
	Bradford J Wood, Eastern Kentucky University, 'British North Carolina and Irish Atlantic-World Migration, 1720-1770'	
	E Moore Quinn, College of Charleston, South Carolina, "We're Loving in Our "Thran": Recent Expressions of Northern Irish Identity in the United States'	
	6B: Library Theme: New perspectives on Ulster and New World Whiskey <i>Chair:</i> Mícheál Roe	
	Katharine L Brown and Nancy T Sorrells, Augusta County Historical Society, Virginia, 'The Rise and Decline of Whiskey Distilling in the Scotch-Irish Counties of Augusta and Rockbridge in Virginia, 1730-1860'	
	Caneta Skelley Hankins, Center for Historic Preservation, Middle Tennessee State University, 'Tennessee's Whiskey Makers in the Nineteenth Century'	
	Richard A Straw, Radford University, Virginia, 'Images of Blue Ridge Moonshining: The Work of Photographer Earl Palmer'	

5.45	Reception, sponsored by Bushmills, and Book Launch, Residential Centre <i>Migration in Irish History, 1607-2007</i> by Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin (Palgrave Macmillan) Speaker: David Cannadine	
6.15	Conference Dinner, Residential Centre Speaker: Steve Ickringill	

Saturday 28 JUNE		
8.45	Bus departs from Silver Birch Hotel (residents only)	
9.00	Bus departs from Mellon Country Inn (residents only)	
8.45 – 9.15	Registration: Visitor Centre, Ulster American Folk Park	
9.15	PLENARY DISCUSSION <i>Chair:</i> Brian Lambkin ‘Ulster American Heritage Symposium XVII and XVIII: Retrospect and Prospect’	
9.30	PARALLEL SESSION 7	
	7A: Assembly Room Theme: New perspectives on gender and migration <i>Chair:</i> Karen Harvey	
	Sandra Barney, Lockhaven University of Pennsylvania, ‘Spinster, Wife, Child: Ulster Women and Immigration to New Brunswick in the 1830s’	
	Grace Toney Edwards, Radford University, Virginia, ‘Mary Draper Ingles: ‘A Donegal Woman’s Impact on Appalachian Virginia, 1747-2007’	
	Kathleen Curtis Wilson, Visiting Scholar, University of Ulster, ‘Think Function, Not Fashion: the migration story of a people and a product’	
	7B: Library Theme: Collective and Individual Migration Stories <i>Chair:</i> Patrick Fitzgerald	
	Brian Walker, Queen’s University, Belfast, ‘Irish identity and the Irish in America today: Irish Americans, Scotch Irish and others’	
	Bernard Gilliland, Independent Scholar, ‘From County Antrim to America: Samuel Ferguson’s <i>Willy Gilliland</i> ’	
	Eull Dunlop, Queen’s University and Centre for Migration Studies, and Ballymena Borough Council, ‘In and Out of Kellswater: James Foster, an Ulster-Scot abroad in 1889’	
11.00-11.30	TEA / COFFEE	
11.30-1.00	PARALLEL SESSION 8:	
	8A: Assembly Room Theme: Ulster and Scotland: New Perspectives <i>Chair:</i> Brian Trainor, Ulster Historical Foundation	
	Audrey Horning, University of Leicester, ‘The Scot’s Warning Fyre’: Excavations at Goodland, County Antrim and the legacies of 1607’	
	William Roulston, Ulster Historical Foundation ‘Researching families in Ulster from Plantation to 1798 Rebellion’	
	8B: Library Theme: Ulster, Britain and America: New Perspectives in Family History <i>Chair:</i> Ann Robinson, North of Ireland Family History Society	

	Pamela McIlveen, Ulster Historical Foundation, 'Case study of Fox family history: Belfast Jewish emigration to America'	
	Lesley Donaldson, Centre for Migration Studies at the Ulster American Folk Park, 'The Role of Immigration and Internal Migration in the Development of Belfast in the late nineteenth century'	
	Brian Mitchell, Derry Harbour Museum, 'Researching the County Derry origins of nineteenth century migrants to the Consett area of County Durham, England'	
1.00-1.45	LUNCH	
	SESSION 9: New Perspectives in Family History (continued) 9A: Assembly Room <i>Chair: William Roulston</i>	
1.45-3.15 pm	David Dobson, University of Edinburgh, 'Researching Scots-Irish roots in Scottish records, 1600-1750'	
	Barry McCain, Family History Consultant, 'Using DNA-Testing in Family History'	
	9B: Library	
	Ulster Historical Foundation, 'Family History Clinic'	
3.15-3.45	TEA / COFFEE Book Launch: <i>Flaxseed and emigrants</i> by Richard MacMaster (UHF)	
3.45-5.15	SESSION 10: Assembly Room The Campbell Family of Aghalane, Plumbridge, Co Tyrone	
	Frank Collins, Ulster American Folk Park: 'First public viewing hundreds of documents (letters, maps, deeds, affidavits, family trees) relating to the Campbell family' (Open to all visitors)	

ABSTRACTS

Sandra Barney (Lock Haven University of Pennsylvania)

Spinster, Wife, Child: Ulster Women and Immigration to New Brunswick in the 1830s

Session 7A, Saturday am

In a 1988 essay Professor Peter Toner, who has made it his life's work to document the experience of the Irish in New Brunswick, Canada, wrote that 'the Irish abroad, to many, were simply Irish.' An examination of the passenger lists of ships that carried travelers from Ulster to Saint John in the 1830s and of the 1851 census of New Brunswick, a critical primary source, would suggest that, when it came to work and wealth, all Irish were simply men. In this paper I intend to introduce gender as a category for consideration in the examination of pre-Famine Irish immigration from Ulster to Atlantic Canada. To do this I will build on the contributions of Deirdre Mageean and William Foley, who have carefully examined the passenger lists of ships arriving in Saint John from Ulster. I will also be examining existent records in Ulster, seeking to locate the communities and the families that produced the spinsters, wives, and daughters who abandoned the familiar to make new lives in Canada. My intent is to treat the North Atlantic passage as a bridge, locating these women in the world they left and in the new world they helped to create. Through this work I hope to build on the scholarship of Deborah Oxley and others who have documented the advantages Ulster women had over other Irish women and to consider why so many young females chose emigration in the decade before the Famine. By examining those factors that drove women to leave and the attractions that drew them to New Brunswick, I believe my work will help to illuminate the experience of the Ulster woman as both emigrant and immigrant.

Marion Beyea and Denis Noel (Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, Canada)

Cultural Identity, and Irish Migration to New Brunswick

Session 3A, Thursday pm

The scale and impact of Irish migration to New Brunswick during the first half of the nineteenth century was considerable, and those migrants went on to establish communities across the province and to play an important role in its development. The descendants of those original migrants from all parts of Ireland turn increasingly to archives as a means of developing and maintaining their sense of cultural identity. This paper considers the role of archival collections and archival knowledge in mediating this quest for cultural identity. The Provincial Archives of New Brunswick are the repository for an enormous range of archival material on the Irish and their experience in New Brunswick, including passenger lists, land petitions, census data, and many other documentary materials. These materials, however, are not inert, neutral, or self-evident, and archival knowledge and practices play a key role in mediating these collections in an active way.

This paper draws upon ongoing archival work which began with two exhibitions organized by the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick. The first exhibit, entitled *An Honourable Independence – Irish Immigration and Settlement in New Brunswick*,

1815-1855, illustrates the migration and settlement patterns of Irish immigrants in the province and their experiences and contributions to Canadian society. Historical photographs, documents, maps and census data, all drawn from the Provincial Archives, are used for this display. The second exhibit, entitled *In the Wake of the Dark Passage*, deals with the impact of the Great Irish Potato Famine of 1847 which led 30,000 immigrants to come to New Brunswick. This display examines the nature of shipping in the nineteenth century and the rights and treatment of passengers aboard emigrant vessels. The success of these exhibits, and the important questions that they raised, have laid the groundwork for a continuing engagement between archivists and scholars in a wide array of fields.

Katharine L Brown and Nancy T Sorrells (Augusta County Historical Society, Virginia)

The Rise and Decline of Whiskey Distilling in the Scotch-Irish Counties of Augusta and Rockbridge in Virginia, 1730-1860

Session 6B, Friday pm

The art of distilling whiskey arrived in the Valley of Virginia in the 1730s with the earliest settlers from Ulster but it may not be possible to identify the owner of the first still and whether he brought it with him from Ireland. Nonetheless, it is possible to know a great deal about the frequency of early stills and the place of their owners in the local power structure. Augusta County, formed in 1738, with the densest concentration of Ulster Scots settlers in colonial Virginia, makes an ideal study area for an examination of the place of whiskey in the society the Scotch-Irish created in the Valley of Virginia from the colonial era to the eve of the Civil War.

In those 125 years, the distillation and consumption of whiskey in Augusta and its offspring, Rockbridge County, went from widely accepted activities in the culture to practices under attack by many in the local power elite. This paper examines the rise of whiskey distillation for home consumption and for sale among neighbors in the hands of respected Scotch-Irish farmers in the colonial and revolutionary eras, and then its decline under pressure from Presbyterian Church leaders and vocal reform-minded temperance spokesmen in Virginia in the early republic.

By the outbreak of the Civil War, home and small-scale commercial distillation in Augusta and Rockbridge Counties had been sharply curtailed and production relegated to larger commercial distilleries. Consumption took place increasingly in bars and taverns and was becoming identified as a lower class, degenerate activity by large numbers of middling and elite Scotch-Irish descendants who took the pledge. Sources for this paper include estate inventories, wills, court records, session minutes of Presbyterian churches, diaries, letters, and newspapers as well as the rather modest collection of secondary literature that touches on the topic.

Frank Collins (Ulster American Folk Park, Omagh)

The Campbell House and the Campbell Family of Aghalane, Plumbridge, Co. Tyrone

Thursday pm; Saturday pm

Frank Collins is an Ulster American Folk Park guide who has been working on documents relating to the Campbell family of Aghalane near Plumbridge, Co. Tyrone, and also the Mellon and Buchanan families. The Campbell House is one of the exhibit buildings in the Outdoor Museum. On Thursday 26 June Frank will lead a short walk to the Campbell House and on to the Ulster Street where he will talk about the family papers on display there. On the afternoon of Saturday 28 June there will be a further opportunity to inspect these family papers in the Assembly Room and talk to Frank about his work.

David Dobson (University of Edinburgh)

'Researching Scots-Irish roots in Scottish records, 1600-1750'

Session 9A, Saturday pm

This lecture deals with the possibility of establishing genealogical links between the records in Ulster and in Scotland of the seventeenth century, the period when around 100,000 Scots settled in Ulster. Researchers having traced their ancestry back to Ulster of the seventeenth century may wish to make a link with Scotland from where, the evidence indicates, their family had originated. How possible is this? What sources exist in Scotland which would make such links possible? The evidence indicates that there are records in Scotland which provide positive links with the settlers in Ulster during the seventeenth century. For the majority of cases, however, the evidence may be circumstantial. Sources which do, or are highly likely, to provide family links between Scotland and Ulster are identified and examined. The task of making the link is challenging but not impossible. The lecture is based on the recent publication *Searching for Scotch-Irish Roots in Scottish Records, 1600-1750* (Baltimore, 2007).

Lesley Donaldson (Queen's University Belfast and Centre for Migration Studies)

Late nineteenth century Belfast: a study of immigration and internal migration

Session 8B, Saturday am

The migration process in the late nineteenth century is usually associated with mass emigration of poor rural migrants to America. In this period the population of Belfast grew at a rate only possible because of immigration, from England and Scotland, and internal migration from Ireland. Transatlantic emigration was often preceded by internal migration for countryside to city. This paper looks at the movement of people to Belfast and concentrates on two of the main industrial areas, East Belfast and North Belfast (between the Shankill and Crumlin Roads). Whole streets, grouped together to form three blocks each containing 2000+ inhabitants, were selected at random and the 1901 census returns for the individual households were examined.

Initial analysis of these returns reveals, *inter alia*, some marked difference in the settlement patterns, and places of birth, of those who came to Belfast in the later years of the nineteenth century. English and Scots are concentrated in east Belfast making up anywhere between 15-18% of the population, in the north however they comprised only 3-4%. There is also evidence of movement back and forth across the Irish Sea. There is also a small, but observable, number of inhabitants whose places of birth range worldwide, including Latvia, Australia, America, and parts of India. Irish-born

migrants are concentrated in the areas of the city nearest to their County of Birth, and are mainly from Counties Antrim and Down. Internal migrants from Leinster, Connaught and Munster are few and are associated with ‘whole family movement’ rather than individual migration.

Susan McKnight Dougherty and Betty Scott Noble (Agnes Scott College, Georgia)

Good Impulses of the Heart: The Legacy of Agnes Irvine Scott and the Founding of Agnes Scott College

Session 4B, Friday am

In May 1890, Colonel George Washington Scott made a \$40,000 donation to the Decatur Female Seminary near Atlanta, Georgia, and requested that the name be changed to the Agnes Scott Institute in honor of his mother. In a letter to his brother, Scott wrote: ‘In viewing my life over, one thing stands out prominent above all others and that is that I am indebted to my Mother for all the good impulses of my heart and for all my hopes for the future’.

Agnes Irvine Scott immigrated to America with her mother in 1816, at the age of 17, aboard a merchant ship from Newry. They settled in Alexandria, Pennsylvania among relatives who had immigrated earlier. Five years later, Agnes married a widower, John Scott, who had five children; she then had seven more of her own. Scanned images of letters, photographs and other primary source material help to illuminate the life and legacy of a remarkable Irish woman and her family. She died in 1877, never knowing that a grateful son would honor her memory through the founding of a school for women bearing her name. The legacy of Agnes Irvine Scott continues today as Agnes Scott College offers women from all over the world a rigorous liberal arts education based in an academic community committed to educating women to ‘think deeply, live honorably and engage the intellectual and social challenges of their times’.

Daniel Downes (University of New Brunswick, Saint John, Canada)

An Inconvenient Authenticity: Mass Media, Music and Irish Cultural Identity in New Brunswick and Maine

Session 3A, Thursday pm

It is a commonplace that interdependence among nations affects regional and ‘local’ cultural life. Only in the last two decades have media and migration become so massively globalized that the public spheres created by encounters between local cultures and global media images are no longer small, marginal, and exceptional but are, rather, part of the everyday experience of an increasing number of people across the globe. Consequently cultural identities have become hybridized – unfortunately traditional musicology addresses this question by distinguishing ‘authentic’ from ‘popular’ and prejudices surround the question (Llosa 2003; 17). For example, in country music ‘evaluation and cultural positioning of country music in America, by both its critics and audience, is completely embroiled in the issue of authenticity – or the alleged lack thereof’ (Lewis 1997: 163). Similarly, it is often claimed that the commercialization of popular music is its cooption (Allegne 2000: 15). Conversely

some argue that part of the process of correcting this analytic error is to develop sophisticated processes of preservation not to encapsulate but to preserve cultural heritage (Watson 2003: 1).

There has been an internationalization of communication, economies, ideas, technology and finance (Appadurai 1990, 1996). It is impossible to assume we can encounter the vast number of global generalized communication events and yet remain untouched or unchanged by the encounter. Place, identity, and memory are sites of emerging and ongoing debate. There is a new materiality of communication – we create spaces of expression and interaction using digital technology. These spaces allow for new forms of shared experience (networked games, personal web pages, commercial and governmental websites). Further, they have the potential to foster interactions between individuals, cultures, and systems of informal and formal governance that intersect with and extend beyond the new communicative spaces (Downes 2005).

How do communities and individuals negotiate a sense of belonging and participation through mediated interactions? For example, global social movements have developed sophisticated communicative skills for sharing information, mobilizing protests, and creating new forms of protest. Less obvious is the effect that technologies have had on local cultures, ‘traditional’ groups and forms of heritage, cultural and musical activity. In particular how do such communities interact with outside communities? How are cultural forms changed as group members adopt new tools of expression? Using the examples of musical communities on New Brunswick and Maine, this paper will explore the role of mass media (recordings and radio broadcasts) in 1) providing cultural and economic opportunities for musicians and 2) providing mediated forms of cultural expression which have been used at various points on the last century to construct particular kinds of ‘Irish’ identities and notions of cultural and musical authenticity.

Eull Dunlop (Queen’s University and Centre for Migration Studies, and Ballymena Borough Council)

In and Out of Kellswater: James Foster, an Ulster-Scot abroad in 1889

Session 7B, Saturday am

This paper focuses on a single emigrant letter for the light that it sheds on the worldwide diaspora of the Kellswater community of County Antrim. A century after its dispatch from Australia, James Foster's modest document serendipitously surfaced in his and the speaker's ancestral townland of Tullynamullan, County Antrim. Inevitably occasional, yet particular in content, the letter attracts exegesis by a comparative insider which simultaneously permits larger generic reflection. The paper seeks to show how bottom-up history from one corner of Ulster can have a wider relevance.

Grace Toney Edwards (Radford University, Virginia)

Mary Draper Ingles: a Donegal Woman’s Impact on Appalachian Virginia, 1747-2007

Session 7A, Saturday am

In 1729 George and Eleanor Hardin Draper left Donegal and sailed into the port of Philadelphia, where a baby named Mary was born to them in 1733. By 1747 they had taken her and her brother John down the Great Wagon Road to settle Draper's Meadows in the New River Valley, site of present-day Blacksburg, Virginia. Legend holds that Mary Draper became the first white bride west of the Allegheny Mountains when she married Irish immigrant William Ingles around 1750. At age 22 in July 1755, Mary, a mother of two sons and expecting a third, was taken hostage by a band of Shawnee Indians who attacked the settlement, burning all the houses and killing several, including Colonel James Patton, ship captain and land developer from Limavady, Ulster. After days and miles of following the rivers, the possible birthing of a baby on the trail, and separation from her two young sons, Mary found herself in Big Bone Lick, Kentucky, on a salt-gathering expedition. From there she escaped with a female companion and followed the rivers back toward home for a grueling 800 miles and 42 days in winter.

Although her youngest children apparently perished, Tommy, the older son, was ransomed after 13 years. Mary, reunited with husband William, produced four more children during their life together. Following William's death, Mary lived alone to the age of 82 in their log cabin on the bank of the New River near Radford, Virginia. Her descendants continue to own and live on the same property today. Because this remarkable child of Donegal parents escaped her captors and followed the rivers home, Appalachian Virginia and parts far beyond have profited from the efforts and leadership over 260 years of hundreds of Mary Draper Ingles' descendants.

Neil Ferguson (Liverpool Hope University, Liverpool)

Ethnic Identity in the Contemporary Ulster Scot Diaspora in England

Session 4A, Friday am

For abstract see under Roe, Mícheál

Bernard Gilliland (Independent Scholar, Georgia)

From County Antrim to America: Samuel Ferguson's 'Willy Gilliland'

Session 7B, Saturday am

Sir Samuel Ferguson was a well-known poet in nineteenth century Ireland. W B Yeats once wrote that Ferguson 'is the greatest poet Ireland has produced'. In 1910, on the centennial anniversary of Ferguson's birth, there was a festival in Belfast that included the mayor of the city placing a brass plaque at the place of his birth on High Street in Belfast.

In this paper we will take one of Samuel Ferguson's ballads, 'Willy Gilliland', first printed in 1831, and follow the path taken by this Scottish Presbyterian Covenanter from Scotland through County Antrim in Ireland. We will visit the home that inspired at least pieces of the ballad, if not the ballad itself and we will discover the connection between Samuel Ferguson and Willy Gilliland. Finally, we will follow the descendants of Willy Gilliland and other covenanters to an eighteenth century

churchyard in Adams County, Pennsylvania. The paper is as much a pictorial journey as a written one.

Peter Gilmore (Carnegie-Mellon University, Pennsylvania)

When Pittsburgh's 'Scotch-Irish' were 'Irish'

Session 1A, Thursday am

Late nineteenth-century Pittsburgh has been associated in popular and scholarly publications with its pervasive Presbyterianism, prominent Scotch-Irish citizens and world-famous heavy industry. In the memorable phrase of historian Kerby Miller, Pittsburgh was the 'smoky citadel of Scotch-Irish enterprise'. The ranks of the city's prominent enterprisers included Thomas Mellon, an Irish-born lawyer and financier who has been described by XVII UAHS keynote speaker David Cannadine as 'a typical Ulster Scot' and 'a quintessential Scotch-Irish, middle-class Pittsburgher'. But how 'quintessential' was the Scotch-Irish identity of Thomas Mellon's nineteenth-century Pittsburgh? When did the city's Ulster Presbyterians become 'Scotch-Irish'? An examination of the record for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries reveals that Ulster-born Presbyterians settled in Pittsburgh—those who would later be known as Scotch-Irish—viewed themselves and were regarded by others mostly as 'Irish'. Further, the first expressions of Irish-American ethnicity in Pittsburgh, from St Patrick's Day observations to the earliest ethnic fraternal organizations, seem to have been largely the creation of Ulster-born Presbyterians.

This paper will first demonstrate the 'Irishness' of Pittsburgh's Scotch-Irish during the half century before the Great Famine. Next, this paper will argue that the emigration from Ulster of significant numbers of individuals influenced by, or associated with, the Society of United Irishmen helped create an Irish identity for Pittsburgh's considerable immigrant Presbyterian community and that this identity was further strengthened through the emergence of ethnic politics in Pennsylvania. Finally, the paper will propose that existence of avowedly 'Irish' fraternal organizations, dominated by socially prominent men of Ulster origin, served as a mechanism of transition from the 'people with no name' of the colonial period and the Scotch-Irish of Pittsburgh's era of industrial achievement.

David T Gleeson (College of Charleston, South Carolina)

Union of Shamrock and Thistle, North and South: The Scotch-Irish Society, 1889-1900

Session 2A, Thursday pm

Scholars such as Kerby Miller have referred to the foundation of Scotch-Irish societies in the United States in the late-nineteenth century as the creation of the 'Scotch-Irish myth'. Miller states in his magnum opus, *Emigrants and Exiles*, that 'Protestant Americans of Ulster descent sought to distinguish their "race" as separate from and superior to the native Irish'. 'Apologists as eminent as Woodrow Wilson,' Miller continues, 'alleged that certain modern traits peculiar to their Ulster Presbyterian heritage, such as "rugged individualism" and entrepreneurial acumen, had enabled Ulster colonists to achieve remarkable material success and . . . a thorough assimilation to their new environment'. This view has become the standard

one in Irish- American historiography.

However, an examination of the meetings of the Scotch-Irish Society, which thrived in the 1890s, shows that the story is a much more complicated one. Indeed, the 'Scotch-Irish' members went out of their way to express their admiration for the 'Native' Irish and insisted that they did not seek to denigrate their Catholic compatriots. The Society instead focused on American issues, especially the aftermath of the American Civil War. This issue, as well as an element of 'ethnic boosterism', are the real reasons for the Scotch-Irish Society's growth, but also its rapid demise.

In examining the real record of the Scotch-Irish Society through the words of its members and invited speakers, one can see that sectarianism was not the main focus. It will also highlight that Scotch-Irish ethnic identity was not as strong as the native Irish one. It will also provide some understanding of the recent call from popular writers such as James Webb for the resurrection of 'Scotch-Irish ethnicity'. The research for this paper has been conducted primarily in the records of the Scotch-Irish Society housed in the Historic Society of Pennsylvania and the Atlanta History Center.

Caneta Skelley Hankins (Center for Historic Preservation, Middle Tennessee State University)

Tennessee's Whiskey Makers in the Nineteenth Century

Session 6B, Friday pm

The production, distribution, and consumption of whiskey in Tennessee is traditionally linked to the influence of the scores of Scots-Irish immigrants who came into Tennessee from about 1780 to 1860. Subsequent generations of Tennesseans, whether they recognized familial ties to Ulster or not, continued to make the potent brew, legally and illegally. The primary source materials, stories, and artifacts of the legal whiskey industry in the nineteenth century and its illegal continuance in next century remain an enduring part of state's history and folklore. Additional recent examination of the topic was prompted by references to whiskey production in applications to the Tennessee Century Farm Program, which recognizes and documents farms that have remained in the same family for at least 100 years; in survey and National Register fieldwork; and in submissions to a recent statewide call for photographs and stories of barns for a forthcoming publication. Family farms that engaged in the legal manufacture of whiskey in the nineteenth century; the impact of that commodity on the local and state economy; and the causes of the decline of the industry will be the focus of this paper.

Pat Hardy (Courtauld Institute of Art and National Portrait Gallery, London)

Passage to America: Erskine Nicol's view of the nineteenth-century Irish emigration experience

Session 1B, Thursday am

In the extensive emigration of the Irish to America in the nineteenth century, the visualisation of the idea of America has often been subordinated to a discussion of

conditions in Ireland which prompted the emigration. The graphic media, specifically *The Illustrated London News*, consistently portrayed scenes of ships and harbours in Britain which were crowded with dense groups of emigrant figures, many of which were described as Irish Famine victims. America as the perceived destination for these figures was not highlighted in the pictorial narrative: it was referenced as a repository for a population unable to feed itself rather than a chosen destination.

In this paper I argue that the perception of America in visual scenes of Irish emigration in the mid-nineteenth century was more wide ranging than these engravings would suggest.

The images of Erskine Nicol (1825-1904) point to a view of America as a place of wealth creation and self-betterment. As a Scots artist working in London, Nicol's scenes of Irish life were extremely commercially popular in London and America, although criticised heavily by contemporary art critics for the first ten years of their exhibition. In images such as *Outward Bound* and *Homeward Bound* c.1854, the Irish emigrant figure is shown as having prospered from his move to America, to the extent that even his dress has become Americanised. This view of America is also consistent with other contemporaneous images by, for example, Edwin Hayes (1820-1904) and John Glen Wilson (1827-63). In considering these contrasting views of America, this paper will examine, by reference to emigrants' journals, newspapers and government material, the ideological arguments underlying these perceptions, namely the mid-nineteenth century drive to encourage emigration to the colonies, the fears of providing labour to America which was a potential trade competitor, and the importance of signalling the safety and efficiency of Britain's shipping for passengers.

Karen J Harvey (Lock Haven University, Pennsylvania)

Colonial Contact Points: Scotch-Irish and Native Americans in Central Pennsylvania
Session 3B, Thursday pm

The settlement of the Scotch-Irish in colonial Pennsylvania and their relations with the Native Americans inhabiting the areas into which they moved might be most accurately described, in the title of a 1998 collection of essays on the eastern colonial frontier, as contact points—or, rather, a series of contact points, at different times and in very different places for different reasons. There has been much important recent research into the settlement patterns of the Scotch-Irish in southeastern Pennsylvania up to the Susquehanna (for example, Patrick Griffin's *The People With No Name*), the north branch of the Susquehanna (Peter Mancall's *The Valley of Opportunity*), and western Pennsylvania, particularly in the area of Pittsburgh. There have, however, been few recent studies of central Pennsylvania in this regard, leaving the general, albeit unfortunate, impression that Scotch-Irish pushed to the Susquehanna from the east, then promptly headed west to Pittsburgh and Ohio or south through the Great Valley. Yet, after the mid-eighteenth century, many Scotch-Irish crossed the Folded Appalachians, better known as the Endless Mountains (with their endless valleys), moving into the area of the West Branch of the Susquehanna; its tributaries, particularly Bald Eagle Creek; and the adjacent Nittany valley.

Here new contact points between Scotch-Irish settler and Amerind were created. These Scotch-Irish settlers, however, differed from the original settlers of southern and eastern Pennsylvania. Although some came directly from Ulster (Donegal,

Antrim, Tyrone), many were second-generation, moving into north-central Pennsylvania from the Cumberland Valley. Their interests were not primarily in trade with the Amerinds nor were they individual frontiersmen living in relative isolation. Many had purchased parcels of land from speculators in Philadelphia, and where they settled, agriculture and deposits of iron ore were primary attractions, and small, though growing, communities were formed. However, just as the Scotch-Irish settlers in this area differed from their predecessors to the south and east, so did the Native Americans whose territory they originally shared. The Shawnee and Delaware, under the watchful eye of the Six Nations, had arrived in the area from their original homes to the east and south as a result of their displacement by earlier European settlement and land treaties. Ironically, both were thus recent emigrants to the area.

This paper will explore the nature of this central Pennsylvania contact point between the predominantly Scotch-Irish settlers and the Amerinds they encountered. Recent research into European-Native American relations on the Eastern frontier has revealed cooperation, or at least attempts at amicable coexistence, as well as conflict. These relations in central Pennsylvania were no different. However, perceptions of the Amerind 'other', as reflected in contemporary accounts and records, were varied, dependent on time and place, but born of profound cultural misunderstanding. Amerinds could be tolerated, condescended to, and traded with (and sometimes romanticized), but feared and demonized during times of colonial and revolutionary warfare. It would not be until the end of the Revolutionary War and the almost total displacement of the Native American population that this contact point came to an end.

Warren R. Hofstra (Shenandoah University, Virginia)

The Culture of the Scots-Irish and American Country Music: The Life and Times of Patsy Cline

Session 1B, Thursday am

Recent literature on the Scots-Irish and the culture of peoples deriving their origins from the migration of Ulster Scots to North America in the eighteenth century asserts that American country music owes its broad appeal to the pervasiveness of this culture in America today. In other words, the style of country music and the values expressed in its lyrics are derived largely from the musical traditions of the Scots Irish. This paper explores this idea through the notable career and unsurpassed artistry of early country music artist Patsy Cline. The cultural history of Winchester, Virginia, in the 1950s, Cline's hometown community where she launched her career, will provide the setting for this examination. Deeply divided by class, race, and gender, this community held in thrall the working people with whom Cline so strongly identified. In this context country music and a Scots-Irish identity combined with extraordinary power in Cline's singing to challenge and subvert existing class and gender relations. Insofar as Patsy Cline's career is exemplary of these developments, the story of her rise to stardom in the field of country music and American pop culture more broadly brings to the fore a variety of questions concerning Scots-Irish identity and its place in American society of the mid-twentieth century.

Andrew R Holmes (Queen's University, Belfast)

The religion and politics of transatlantic Presbyterianism, c 1820-1914

Session 5A, Friday am

The relationships between Ulster Presbyterians and the development of Presbyterianism in North America in the eighteenth century have been well covered by many scholars. Attention has been devoted to a variety of themes and personalities including the timing and scale of immigration, Francis Makemie, Scots-Irish revivalism, and the exiles of 1798. By contrast, the transatlantic links between Ulster and American Presbyterians in the nineteenth century have yet to be explored in detail. This paper seeks to redress this imbalance by providing an overview of some of the religious, intellectual, and cultural connections across the Atlantic in this period. It examines the shared interest in missionary activism, ministerial education, and the process of reformation and revival that affected both groups. It also examines the tensions brought to the surface by the issue of slavery and charts Irish Presbyterian criticism of the stance taken by their American co-religionists from the 1840s to the Civil War. Finally, it shows how the perceived threat of Catholicism, in the form of the promulgation of Papal infallibility in 1870 and Irish Catholic migration to the eastern seaboard of the United States, provoked Irish and American Presbyterians to found the Alliance of Reformed Churches in 1877 and their advocacy of a distinctive Scots-Irish or Ulster-Scots identity.

Audrey Horning (University of Leicester)

'The Scot's Warning Fyre': Excavations at Goodland, County Antrim and the legacies of 1607

Session 8A, Saturday am

Although the medieval linkages between the North of Ireland and the Scottish Isles have long been acknowledged, the stories of the Scots from the Western Isles who participated in the conflicts of the 16th century (both as mercenaries and as retainers of Clan MacDonnell) and in the plantations of the 17th-century, are less well known. Renewed survey and excavation of an enigmatic settlement site perched atop a cliff above Murlough Bay in Goodland Townland, County Antrim, addresses the complex cultural and political relationships between the North of Ireland and the Scottish Isles on the eve of Plantation. While focusing upon Goodland, discussion will also consider the divergent historical legacies of the two key events of 1607, the Flight of the Earls and the English settlement of Jamestown, and the ways in which perceptions of the significance of the events obscure historical understanding yet continue to structure notions of contemporary relevance.

Kerri Huff and Julie Alexander (Appalachian Regional Studies Center, Radford University, Virginia)

La Riviere Historic Preservation Project, Radford, Virginia: Preserving the Past to Look to the Future

Session 4B, Friday am

A presentation of the preservation work being done at La Riviere, the Queen Anne style home of Captain William Ingles (1846-1920) in Radford, Virginia. Captain

Ingles designed the home himself in 1892. ‘Captain Billy’ – as he was known in the community - was a Civil War veteran, engineer, and descendant of Mary Draper Ingles. Mary Draper Ingles was one of the original settlers in the New River Valley region of Virginia. The Drapers had migrated from Donegal to America in the early 1700s before Mary’s birth to settle in Appalachia. In 1755, Mary Draper Ingles was kidnapped from her home at Draper’s Meadow and taken to Ohio by Shawnee Indians. Mary’s escape and journey home is an epic story. The Ingles family has had a long and enduring presence in the New River Valley. Unfortunately much of their story is in danger of being lost. The presentation will include an overview of the family’s history as well as the current efforts to preserve the family’s documents, books and archival materials. The road ahead requires focusing attention on protecting the physical and intellectual materials of the family so that its history continues to be an integral part of the community.

The presenters will demonstrate methods used to organize and prepare materials so that they are accessible to those interested in the family and in the regional history. In addition, while in the process of archiving and managing the family’s records, the researchers have discovered and developed connections within the community and region. The importance of these efforts will be underscored by showing the wide-ranging influence of the family as well as the amazing amount of local history unearthed in the research. Finally, the presenters will consider the importance of opening dialogue on these areas of historical interest to motivate families and communities to dig in and preserve their past for their future.

William Jenkins (York University, Toronto)

Caricaturing Crisis: Ulster, the third Home Rule Bill, and the political cartoons of the Toronto Telegram

Session 2A, Thursday pm

While the ‘diasporic nationalism’ of the Irish in the United States in the period c. 1880-1914 has been well documented, far less is known about those on the continent who opposed the idea of Home Rule for Ireland. This paper concentrates on Toronto, a key destination for Irish Protestants in the nineteenth century that became the ‘Belfast of North America’. By the early twentieth century, Protestants of Ulster birth and ancestry had established themselves at all levels of society in the city, and many were connected in some way with Orange lodges. It was among this branch of what might be termed ‘Ulster’s diaspora’ that a parallel resistance to Home Rule emerged over the period of the three bills with ideas, discourses and representations of ‘loyalism’ circulating in a way that linked Toronto to Ulster, Ireland and Britain’s empire.

This paper documents the articulation of anti-Home Rule arguments in Toronto during the passage of the third bill (1912-1914), concentrating on the role of the media and in particular the visual content of political cartoons published in the nonpartisan daily *Telegram*, owned by Orangeman and maverick Conservative John Ross Robertson. Strongly pro-empire yet dedicated to local issues, the ‘Tely’s’ coverage of the crisis in Ulster in both text and image was extensive and clearly undertaken with the local readership in mind. Its critique of Home Rule through its cartoons offers a rare North American supplement to other anti-Home Rule images

produced in Britain and Ulster during the period, though a familiar repertoire of Irish symbols and myths were often also grafted onto Toronto's 'Irish' and/or 'Ulster' personalities, connecting them directly with events in their ancestral homeland. These popular geopolitical representations also suggest that while veneration of 'the green' might well have been 'on the wane' among those of Irish Catholic birth and ancestry in early twentieth-century Toronto, there were still forces at work, not all of them connected with Orangeism, that resisted the placing of Catholics on a footing equivalent to that of the city's Protestant majority.

Violet S Johnson (Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Georgia)

Irish in Life and Black in Death: Lessons from the Healy Family about Race, Ethnicity, Heroes and Heritage in Modern America

Session 1A, Thursday am

In twenty-first century America, a nineteenth century family is at the center of a debate about heritage and racial and ethnic 'ownership' of heroes. Invoking the words of late *New York Times* book critic, Anatole Broyard—'if they can't claim you when you're alive and fighting, the hyenas try to kidnap your memory after you're dead'—critics have accused American blacks, specifically black Catholics, of trying to appropriate the *Irish American* Healy family as African Americans. Michael Morris Healy came to Macon, Georgia from Ireland in 1815. A plantation owner, he and his common-law mulatto slave wife had ten children. Raised as white, Irish Catholics, the children excelled, particularly James Augustine, who became bishop of Portland, Maine, and Patrick Francis, who became president of Georgetown University. The story of the Healy family, who passed as white, has been told, especially by James M O O'Toole in *Passing for White: Race, Religion, and the Healy Family, 1820-1920*. Therefore, I am not setting out to uncover a forgotten family. Rather, my presentation will use the Healy family story, which has already been told, to shed light on how Irish-African American relations, racial and ethnic identities, and the role of heritage in positioning groups in the American polity are discussed and debated in present-day America.

Christopher E Lewis (University of Ulster, Derry) and Sharon Cruise (University of Chester)

Ethnic identity among Contemporary Ulster Scots in Northern Ireland

Session 4A, Friday am

For abstract see under Roe, Mícheál

Linde Lunney (Dictionary of Irish Biography, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin)

The need for re-examination of popular attitudes to, and beliefs about, the history of emigration from Ulster to America

Session 2A, Thursday pm

In almost three hundred years since the first organized emigration from Ulster to America, hundreds of thousands of people have left for new lives in many places. The first section of this paper will argue that the real impact of emigration on Irish life has

never been understood by the community. The second section will suggest that in present day society in Ulster, attitudes to and beliefs about historical emigration may be adversely affected by reductionist stereotypes, mythologizing stereotypes, partly understood historiography and inaccurate analyses, and that these have added to the potentially harmful effects of historical amnesia about the extent of emigration loss. For instance, it is surely not helpful for people in Ulster to come across apparently scholarly works on emigration, which infer (or sometimes even state) that those who left to found the vastly more important nation on the western shore of the Atlantic Ocean were the brightest and best of the sending community. The message that present-day Ulster people might unconsciously assimilate is that their ancestors who remained in Ulster were the dolts and those lacking initiative. Such subliminal messages will surely adversely affect the self-confidence of individuals and society. There is even a danger that such beliefs operating at a level below awareness might affect the attitudes of some American genealogists, as they encounter distant relatives whose ancestors remained in Ireland.

The 1718 website set up by the Ulster Scots Agency was planned as part of a project to increase people's knowledge about their history and cultural roots. The third and final section of the paper will suggest similar developments and projects in which genealogists, historians and other scholars from both sides of the Atlantic can work, possibly in association with public bodies, to increase knowledge, make connections, develop a diasporic awareness, and commemorate our losses.

Don MacFarlane (Independent Scholar, Northern Ireland)

Irish Primordialism at Home and Abroad, 1795-1845: A Northern Irish perspective
Session 5A, Friday am

This paper shows how Identity Theory may be used as a historical method to study contemporaneous accounts from societies that have been in a state of conflict. A practical method has been developed by the author that permits the analysis of identification with values assimilated from other cultures and the diffusion of national identity that may result. The method may help to explain how it was that sections of a society, dominant or submissive, chose to aspire to national autonomy. The method can also show how constructions of society at the time can be placed on a scale of primordialism-situationalism. For the purposes of this paper, the reasoning and ethnosymbolism that drove aspirations during the period 1795-1845 are sampled from the Belfast Newsletter, an organ owned by the Joy family who were related to the United Irishman, Henry Joy McCracken. Another major source of contemporaneous written material that has been sampled are the PRONI papers of families such as the Achesons, Blackwoods and Armstrongs who were prominent in Northern Irish society at the time. A wide variety of other sources will also be sampled to give a more counterbalanced account that is not solely reflective of vested interests of the time. These will range from the writings of Ricardo and Pareto, who were the equivalents of modern-day gurus, to the gallows speeches of martyrs to a cause.

Richard K MacMaster (Center for Scotch-Irish Studies and University of Florida)

The Passenger Trade 1763-1775

Session 6A, Friday pm

R J Dickson's *Ulster Emigration to Colonial America* is and deserves to be the standard work on the subject. Can anything more be said on the subject? Based in part on evidence unavailable to Dickson, this paper will examine the transatlantic network of merchants that enabled some firms to control a substantial part of the passenger trade in the 1760s and 1770s. These mercantile networks were by no means passive shipping agents selling a passage to the Colonies as they might any other freight, but played an active part in the flow and direction of emigration. The Rev Alexander Hewat, Presbyterian minister at Charleston and South Carolina's first historian, wrote of emigration from Ulster to South Carolina in 1763-1775 that the merchants 'from avaricious motives persuaded the people to embark for Carolina, and often crammed such numbers of them into their ships that they were in danger of being stifled during the passage, and sometimes arrived in such a starved and sickly condition, that numbers of them died before they left Charleston'. Was he exaggerating or giving a fair assessment of the passenger trade in those years? At this distance in time can we expect to make such an assessment ourselves or reconstruct the way the trade operated?

Analysis of the surviving passenger lists from Philadelphia for 1768-1772 and from Charleston for 1763-1774 shed light not only on the emigrants, their age and sex distribution and family composition and comparative assets, but on the men who managed the passenger trade and their treatment of their customers. Letterbooks and other business records of merchants in the passenger trade and files of newspapers published in Belfast, Londonderry, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York and Charleston are the other major sources for this paper.

Annesley J. Malley (Independent Scholar, Londonderry)

Families and Fleets out of Derry: the story of the main shipping dynasties

Session 5B, Friday am

The port of Derry, later Londonderry, had only been developed since 1600 when the Planters came and developed the old settlement from a former monastic site to a Walled City in 1614. The City lay on the banks of the River Foyle, which was a wide river and emptied into Lough Foyle to the north. This Lough, including the river, was twenty miles from Derry to the open sea at Magilligan Point. The sailing ships here either turned east for England and Scotland and west for the Americas. As the City developed from the seventeenth century most of the trade was with England and Scotland, but, after the Siege of Derry in 1689, trade was expanded into Europe and the New Colonies in America. The records of these small sailing ships show that the owners and agents were of the merchant class then, but as money was made they became land owners as well as building large houses. Their descendants later became County stock and made their money from stocks and shares and renting land.

The nineteenth century brought a new list of ship owners, who made their money by shipping passengers to America and Canada in large sailing ships mainly built in Canada. These ship owners usually married into other shipping families and generally cooperated with their sailing arrangements. The routes chosen by these ship owners

did not generally clash with other routes and that made good business sense in a small city like Derry.

Barry R McCain (Family History Consultant)

The Use of DNA Testing in Ulster Family Research

Session 9A, Saturday pm

This paper will present an overview of the use of Y chromosome DNA testing in Ulster family history and genealogical research as well as its use in general historical research. It reviews the initial genetic Ulster family history projects and their dramatic successes and follows the growing use of DNA testing in the field which has led to the creation of The Ulster Heritage DNA Project. The McCain Family DNA Project will be presented as an archetype genetic Ulster family history project. The McCain project is of interest to Ulster history at large as it concerns the family of James McKean, the co-leader of the 1718 Ulster fleet that sailed into Boston harbour in the late summer of that year and examines a string of DNA matches that have tied together the far flung branches of this Ulster family in the Diaspora; the McCains continue to be a dynamic family and one of its branches has a member who is currently a candidate for the Presidency of the United States of America.

Pamela McIlveen (Ulster Historical Foundation, Belfast)

Case study of Fox family history: Belfast Jewish emigration to America

Session 8B, Saturday am

Herman Fox moved to Belfast from Latvia in 1886. He worked as a furniture dealer and played a pivotal role in the life of the Belfast Jewish community until his death in 1932. His sons, however, followed very different paths. While Bernard Joshua (Barney) Fox stayed in Belfast and pursued a distinguished career at the Bar, Herman's eldest son, Simon, was to leave Belfast for America - twice. Simon Isaac Fox was born in 'Russia' on 15 April 1874. He travelled with his family to Belfast but stayed only a few years before leaving for America in 1889. He was naturalised in New Haven, Connecticut, on 23 November 1895 and married in Manhattan in 1896. At a time when most emigrants quickly established permanent roots in a rapidly expanding New York Jewish community, further research revealed that Simon would leave America to return to the province of Ulster. Census records confirm Simon returned once again to Belfast with his family, only to leave for America later in the twentieth century and settle permanently in the USA. His story shows strong family connections with a growing Belfast Hebrew congregation, balanced against the economic and social circumstances which would lead him to leave Ulster a second time.

Research into the family looks at civil birth, marriage and death records, census returns, obituaries, naturalisation records and gravestone inscriptions. The research presents one family's experience of assimilation into nineteenth century Belfast and emigration to America. The lives of Simon and Barney Fox reflect the very different experiences of life in Ulster and America for Jewish emigrants and their stories shed some light on the history of immigration into Ulster and emigration to America.

Turlough McConnell (US Ireland Forum, New York)

A New Definition of Irishness in America

Session 5A, Friday am

The speaker was Executive Director of the first US Ireland Forum, which convened on November 7th and 8th in New York City. The Forum resulted from recognition of the need for a high-level conference among Irish and American leaders in business, culture and government—people for whom this special relationship is of prime economic and strategic interest. This idea seems especially timely, now that peace prevails and offers a stable backdrop for continued growth of Ireland's economy. Now that Ireland has experienced sustained economic growth, her position in the world community has changed. Ireland has always had an impact in the U S, in the number of successful Irish-Americans in all aspects of society. But the changes of recent decades require examination. The relationship between the two countries must be nurtured and strengthened in order for growth to continue. In this spirit, the inaugural US Ireland Forum was born.

The speaker, who is also a regular contributor to Irish America Magazine and the publication's Marketing Vice President, will discuss the excitement of planning this groundbreaking event, which was designed to create new partnerships for mutual success in a globalized environment. Panel discussions addressed topics such as the future of the Celtic Tiger; social capital and philanthropy; culture and education; and community in transition, with special emphasis on changing levels of migration. Underlying these topics, however, is a question of identity. James Joyce wrote about the deepest part of the Irish soul, and the journey to the core of the consciousness of his race. The question is as apt today as it was for Joyce's Stephen Daedalus seventy-five years ago. In today's thoroughly blended world, how can we hold onto anything, let alone a cultural identity? Ultimately, this new definition of Irishness is the emergent reality of the US Ireland Forum.

Alister McReynolds (Institute of Ulster Scots Studies, University of Ulster)

Shipbuilders and Mariner-merchants in Maine: two Ulster Scots families

Session 5B, Friday am

This paper will explore the story of two Ulster Scots families of humble circumstances who became mighty shipbuilders and mariner-merchants in Maine. Specifically the paper will focus on the McLellan family of Portland Maine and the Patten family of Bath in the same state. Particular focus will be placed on the parallels in their respective histories. The detail of the paper will trace how each family - Pattens and McLellans separately made their migratory voyages in the same decade – the 1720s. The narrative will pick out from the quayside crowd one Bryce McLellan, a weaver from Ballymoney County Antrim, who presented credentials from the Presbyterian session at Ballymoney County Antrim to the Congregational Church at Wells Maine on 20 August 1720. Juxtaposed with Bryce McLellan in Maine, the scenario will switch to the four Patten brothers who sailed from Londonderry to Boston sometime in the same second decade of the eighteenth century. Matthew the eldest of the four siblings headed for Maine a decade later.

Contextual analysis within the paper will provide some explanation as to how Maine proved to be such a suitable working environment for building the ships and the shipping enterprise in which both families engaged. Specific descriptions will trace Maine's tidal bays, its spacious capacity for building, its woodland (still today the most heavily wooded state in the Union), and the potential to penetrate deep inland via rivers such as the Androscoggin, the Cathance, the Muddy and the Kennebec. Also offered will be analysis of the patterns and rhythms that emerged as the emotional and social undercurrents of these two Ulster Scots family migrations. Again there are striking parallels between the Pattens and the McLellans as exemplified in the story of Hugh McLellan, a cousin of Bryce, who left Ulster for York Maine in 1733, 13 years after his cousin's original departure. Similarly two of Matthew Patten's brothers travelled up from Massachusetts to join him in Saco, Maine in 1738. This attachment to family leads to another theme which the paper will explore – the international trade which both families independently developed and their consequent transition from Mariners to Merchants. So pronounced was this achievement that it was said that the McLellans became as well known in Liverpool as they were in Portland Maine. Similarly the trade patterns of the Pattens in the 1820's between Maine/Cuba/New Orleans and Liverpool will be charted and explained and particular note made of how their ships called at Londonderry after Liverpool and picked up, from the Patten's ancestral home city, emigrant Ulster Scots bound for America. Finally the paper will look at the involvement of both Pattens and McLellans in the American Revolution and will focus in particular on the extent to which the 'Rise and Fall' of the McLellan family's fortunes was dramatically influenced by international events.

Trevor Miskelly (Ulster American Folk Park)

The Mountjoy Meeting House and Religion on the Frontier

Thursday pm

Trevor Miskelly will guide a short walk from the Visitor Centre to the Mountjoy Meeting House, which is one of the exhibit buildings in the Outdoor Museum, and explain its significance. Inside the Meeting House, he will talk about how Presbyterians from Ulster met the challenge in America of producing well-educated ministers. He will refer in particular to the famous Log College in Pennsylvania and the career of William Tennant of County Armagh and the role of his son Gilbert in the campaign against slavery.

Brian Mitchell (Harbour Museum, Derry)

Researching the County Derry origins of nineteenth century migrants to the Consett area of County Durham, England

Session 8B, Saturday am

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate the value of genealogy in researching Irish migration and the benefits of co-operation in archive linkage of sources at either end of the migration path. From its earliest days Irish migration has been a family affair. The Irish either moved with kin or moved to join kin. Many academic studies of Irish migration have demonstrated that although the decision to emigrate was influenced by economic and social conditions at home, the locations of family members who had

gone before was the major determinant of emigrant destination. Family studies, therefore, can prove very useful to the migration researcher. In partnership with the University of Durham's Department of Anthropology, Derwentside Catholic Family History Society is researching information to be included in a book focusing on the Irish people who came to the Consett area of North West Durham from 1840s to the turn of the century.

By linking information from census returns and local parish registers, the Durham project team have been attempting to identify the place of origin of Irish migrants. At best records at the English end, such as census returns and local parish registers, identify a county of birth; but frequently the only place of birth information given in various English census returns was 'Ireland'. However, owing to Ireland's network of county-based genealogy centres (see www.irish-roots.net) which have computerised many historical sources for their local areas, research in Ireland has become realistic if you only know the county of origin of your ancestor. The Durham project was able to identify a small number of Consett families with County Derry origins, such as Boyle, McCartney, McGee, McGonigle and Mullen. An examination of the database of Derry Genealogy Centre, which has the potential to identify parish and even townland origins, in this case, illustrates that County Derry migrants to the Consett area of County Durham tended to originate in the neighbourhood of Magherafelt in south Derry.

Michael Montgomery (University of South Carolina)

An Appalachian Mist Has Descended upon Ulster

Session 2B, Thursday pm

For a century, perhaps even since Frederick Jackson Turner articulated his famous "frontier thesis" in 1891, facets of American back-country culture have been ascribed to the settlement of Ulster emigrants (collectively known as the "Scotch-Irish") in the eighteenth century. These include speech, vernacular architecture, and many others. Although in the popular mind the roots of Appalachian culture, especially its speech, have far more often been labeled "Elizabethan", the Scotch-Irish view of the region's heritage came into its own with Fischer's *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (1989). In Ulster one of the earliest articulations of the idea was Estyn Evans' essay "Cultural Relics of the Ulster-Scots in the Old West of North America" (1965). In recent years the Old World moorings of the Appalachian psyche have been increasingly sought in Ireland and Scotland (as seen in the 2005 three-part PBS series *The Appalachians*).

As if to reinforce trans-Atlantic such connections has been in Ulster an association of hall-mark elements of Appalachian cultural expression with traditional culture back home, especially in music (country, bluegrass, etc.) and dance (clogging). Not only is the term *hillbilly* widely believed brought by Ulster emigrants, but the "free and untrammelled" figure of the "hillbilly" is claimed as a quintessentially expressive of the old country. When asked why a spin-off of his group dubbed itself the TransAtlantic Hillbilly Band in 2006, Willie Drennan, impresario of the Ulster-Scots Fowk Orchestra declared: "The term "hillbilly" here conjures up images of rustic spirited people with "thran" attitudes. The stereotypical north American hillbilly and hillbilys in County Antrim are identical in the way they look, their lifestyle, and in

their attitudes. Their use of language is more or less the same, the only difference being in accent.

This paper explores the celebration in Ulster, particularly through the medium of “Ulster-Scots” festivals, of cultural expressions perceived to be distinctly Appalachian. When and how did this phenomenon begin and how has it evolved? What functions does it play in identity formation in Ulster today? What type of imagined community or communities does it signify and affirm?

Joseph Moore (University of North Carolina, Greensboro)

A Necessary Middle: Reformed Presbyterians and Moderate Stances on Slavery in the Antebellum South

Session 1A, Thursday am

Creating classifications in history has become a tricky business. Such is the case when encountering responses to the slave question in the antebellum United States. As William Freehling recently observed in *The Road to Disunion*, fire-eating pro-slavery secessionists were long in the minority in the South. More prominently placed were pro-slavery moderates, who can be broadly defined as those southerners who justified slavery but, to varying degrees and with various proposals, sought to moderate the extremes of the institution, with one eye toward a long and gradual road to its outliving its utility. Americans were drawn to the moderate pro-slavery position for a variety of motives. Juxtaposed to this diversity, the historical scholarship typically agrees on one central point: those in the moderate pro-slavery category embraced moderate rhetoric for its practical and conciliatory opportunities. Moderation on the slave question was a product of tension between the prudential and the principled in which the prudential always came first.

Rev Dr William Hemphill, a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian born, raised, and employed his entire adult life in antebellum South, complicates the story of pro-slavery moderates by illustrating the diversity amongst moderate pro-slavery proponents. In the case of William Hemphill and an entire community of his followers in the Carolina backcountry, moderate stances were for principled, not practical concerns. They recreated a textual community that was as much seventeenth century Atlantic as it was nineteenth century American, and from this community ethos centered on the sacred text came the restrictions within which they could moderate the slave question.

John Moulden (Moore Institute, National University of Ireland, Galway)

Songs as a microscope: the personal, the local and the particular in traditional and popularly printed songs of emigration

Session 1B, Thursday am

Songs of emigration generally describe emigrant experience in stereotype. Notwithstanding this, most of the elements of the experience of migrants to North America from Ireland can be identified in songs, and their use, to introduce the subject to children, or to enable them to more readily understand and remember, has been pioneered. Song quotations are used by historians as chapter headings but it is unusual for historians to question songs *in extenso*, an exception being Kerby Millar in the final chapter of *Emigrants and Exiles*. Even here, the songs are drawn from

general sources and few of them have any particular personal or geographical application. However, recent research shows that impressions, of the nature of the corpus of emigrant songs, derive from a skewed evidence base.

Almost all the popular printed songs preserved in libraries were printed in three centres, Belfast, Cork and Dublin. In them, the story of emigration is told in the general terms outlined above. Yet some songs from oral tradition dwell on the special experience of one person, from a particular place, who departs in a particular way at a specified time. It now appears that much more than has been realised of the popular printing of songs in nineteenth-century Ireland was carried on locally, to local commission and for local circulation, but that little has survived in comparison with the product of the city based trade. Like traditional songs, the songs on these local sheets are precisely located (even at sub-townland level) and deal with the experience of one person, or a group from that place.

This presentation will examine some 'songs of particularity' and share a fresh perspective on Irish emigrant songs and their expression of the nature of the knowledge and expectations of nineteenth-century migrants from the north of Ireland to North America.

Elizabeth Lewis Pardoe (Northwestern University, Illinois)

Scotch-Irish and Dutch-Palatines: Misnamed Neighbors in a 'New' World

Session 3B, Thursday pm

Immigrants from Northeastern Ireland and Southwestern Germany populated the so-called backcountry of British North America from Maine to Georgia. These two groups shared a great deal in common. Both had theological roots in the 'second' or 'radical' Reformation of the 1570s. Both came from regions of Europe where radical Protestants lived cheek by jowl with counter-Reformation Catholics. Both emigrated from the periphery of contemporary European empires: British and Holy Roman. Both landed on Atlantic shores as indentured servants hopeful of rising to land-holding independence.

The Southwestern Germans came first to Penn's Woods as that colony's model minority. Adherents of the German radical Reformation's penchant for pacifism they seemed ideal settlers for a Quaker colony. When Queen Anne searched for a labor source to make tar in colonial New York, poor 'Palatines' tired of the Catholic threat again offered a safely Protestant population for the task at hand. By the mid-eighteenth century the burgeoning 'Dutch' (meaning Deutsch) amalgam, could not agree with one another - let alone their many colonies and the crown as they spread ever further in search of the land, which they believed had been promised them and Native Americans believed had never been William Penn's, Queen Anne's, or any other European's to give. Into this mix came a multitude of migrants from Ulster. These Celtic Calvinists had never foresworn violence as means to a just end. The just end they had in mind was free-held land unchallenged by colonial taxes or native warriors. The misnamed neighbors spread through the mountains and valleys of the colonial backcountry as the French and their Indian allies vowed to hold the line. The backcountry became a frontier racked by incursions across geographic and cultural boundaries, and the new world began to seem much like the old.

Trevor Parkhill (Ulster Museum, Belfast)

'What Trades am I to put my boys to?' A Profile of the Ulster Immigrant to America at Work, 1750-1920

Session 5B, Friday am

Much of the emphasis in emigration studies in the last generation has been on the cultural, ethnic and political assimilation of Ulster and Irish immigrants to their new world. Not since Dennis Clark's study *The Irish in Philadelphia* (Temple University Press Pa, 1973) has there been an appropriate consideration of the Irish immigrant work experience and even Clarke's chapter, ('Working to Live' *op cit* pp 65-87) was a necessarily prescribed account, focusing on the nineteenth-century story in one city. This paper will seek to revisit this imbalance by outlining, in more detail than has generally been the case, an account of the work that male and, more obliquely, female immigrants found on entry to Colonial America in the generation prior to the War of Independence and then, subsequently, in the United States and Canada until the 1920s.

The most consistent sources are the letters of the immigrants themselves. The paper will seek to look at the extent to which the migrant's educational and literary background in Ulster prepared him not only for but also for adaptability to work. This applies particularly to their readiness to move in search of work, an additional factor in the diaspora experience. On the American side, there is evidence in newspapers, particularly as reported by Ruth-Ann Harris (*Missing Friends*, 1989) in her extracts from the *Boston Pilot* from 1830. For the eighteenth century, Marianne Wokeck's work on indentured servants (*Trade in Strangers*, 2001) independent research in the *Delaware Gazette* etc provides useful information on the areas of employment that earlier immigrants found. As the title indicates, the great burden of the evidence speaks only of the male experience; the research between now and June 2008 will aim to elicit evidence of women in work other than 'service' work.

E Moore Quinn (College of Charleston, South Carolina)

'We're Loving in Our "Thran"': Recent Expressions of Northern Irish Identity in the United States

Session 6A, Friday pm

Of late, anthropologists working on the subject of performance demonstrate that contextual features of time, space, economics and politics may serve as catalysts for the reconfiguring of identity. They acknowledge that 'texts' – oral, written, musical, etc. – can be liberated from traditional meanings and imbued with new ones. Although not totally independent from former understandings, the new 'texts' appear to benefit contemporary cultural and social exigencies and are often deployed to reconfigure identity. This process is known as entextualization. In June and July of 2007, the Smithsonian Institute's Folk Life Festival celebrated its thirtieth year on the National Mall in Washington, D.C. The folk culture of Northern Ireland was one of two main features, giving presenters the opportunity to prepare representational narratives appropriate for an international audience. In this paper, I examine the Smithsonian 2007 Folk Life Festival in terms of the social, cultural,

political and economic changes taking place in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. I argue that demonstrations of traditional crafts, lectures, concerts, etc. served as vehicles for members of the Northern Ireland community to present themselves and their homeland in a new light. This research is part of a larger project on the nature of changing identities in Northern Ireland. Ongoing fieldwork is underway and will continue during the summer of 2008.

Nina M Ray (Boise State University, Idaho)

Family History Matters: motivations and behavior of legacy tourists of Irish, Scottish and Scotch-Irish Heritage

Session 2B, Thursday pm

The European Union refers to tourism as ‘the world’s largest industry’ (e.g., Agenda 2010, 1998). In 2000, 698 million people worldwide traveled to a foreign country, spending more US\$ 478 billion (Economic Impacts of Tourism, 2002). The World Tourism Organization predicts world tourism growth to continue in 2007 at a rate of about four percent (2007 to be Fourth Year of Sustained Growth, 2006). Nicholls, Vogt, and Jun (2004) identify specific types of heritage tourism including legacy tourism (travel related to genealogical endeavors, McCain and Ray, 2003). For many tourists, what they have learned ‘to understand as history’ is their own family history. In the North of Ireland, the Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure is sponsoring a ‘comprehensive examination of genealogy-related services’ recognizing the ‘role of family history in promoting tourism’ (Mackenzie, Slater, and Roberts, 2004).

Three years of data gathering has yielded over five hundred respondents indicating their motivations for searching for information on their ancestors. Many of these respondents have traveled to sites associated with their ancestors. These respondents include those who have attended lectures by the Ulster Historical Foundation and who visited displays at the Smithsonian Folklife Festival with a focus on Northern Ireland, delegates at a previous Ulster-American Heritage Symposium, and those who attended several Scottish Highland Games during the summer of 2007 in the U.S. and participated in a Clan tour to Scotland. In addition, more general events were surveyed (such as a Family History Conference sponsored by the Indiana Historical Society) and other communities are included (such as attendees at a Basque Studies Conference). Compilations of results will be presented regarding the top motivations for research and travel to find ancestral roots by all groups, as well as any differences displayed by those who have Ulster-specific interest.

Nini Rodgers (Queen’s University, Belfast)

Ramelton in the Caribbean: Presbyterians and the plantation complex, 1730 -1857

Plenary, Thursday 9.30am

In 1801 Samuel Watt left Ramelton to take up a position as a clerk in a commission agency in Bridgetown, Barbados. The firm belonged to the Hall brothers also of Ramelton. On arrival on the island Samuel discovered others from his hometown: an elderly planter named Delargy, the doctor’s son (now a soldier in the garrison) and a one-time slave ship crewman, the one eyed Shiel. This paper will examine the lure of the Caribbean for Ulster emigrants, showing how intended sojourners often stayed as

settlers. While those who did return on gains made from the slaves and sugar economy, they were usually replaced by younger family members from home. On the American mainland Ulster emigrants also played a part in opening up the southern low country to plantation agriculture. The Wileys arrived with West Indian finance and expertise, relocating their plantation from St Kitts to Savannah, Georgia. The Witherspoon family left County Down in 1734 for South Carolina as poor weaver/ farmers and by the 1750s had emerged as substantial slave owners and indigo planters. The son of a Ramelton emigrant, James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, was elected U.S. President in 1857. His Scotch Irish contacts in the southern states influenced him in his failed struggle to prevent the Civil War.

**Mícheál D Roe (Seattle Pacific University and University of Ulster, Coleraine),
Jordan Gutierrez and Torin Schaafsma (Seattle Pacific University)**

Symbolic Ethnicity among Contemporary Scotch-Irish in the United States

Session 4A, Friday am

‘...people both of Ulster and in the United States of America are becoming much more aware of who they are whether the term used to describe them is Ulster-Scot, Scotch-Irish, or indeed Scots-Irish, all of which essentially refer to the one people – Scots who settled the northern part of Ireland in the province of Ulster.’ So wrote George Patton, Chief Executive of the Ulster-Scots Agency, in the June 2007 *The Ulster-Scot*, but what are the contents and meanings of social or ethnic identities for these groups? How do they persist across multiple generations and acculturation experiences? What social and psychological functions do they fill, and what is the role of choice? In a world where ethnic identity and ethnic memories are considered among primary causes for continuing ethnic violence, a better understanding of their maintenance and reproduction has more than simple theoretical significance (see Cairns & Roe, 2003).

The newly enfranchised Northern Ireland Executive charged in its 2007 draft programme for government that ‘...all embrace the opportunity to create a better future, based on tolerance and respect for cultural diversity,’ and contributing to that cultural mix is a heightened investment in Ulster Scots identity of many Ulster Protestants with Scottish roots and their diasporas in the UK. This present study attempts to understand this renewed interest in Ulster-Scots language, culture, and history by many Northern Irish Protestants, and how their motivations may differ from compatriots for whom Scottish heritage serves little more purpose than distinguishing them from the *other community*.

Focusing on Ulster-Scots ‘cousins’ in the United States the present study of contemporary Scotch-Irish is the third in a series. The first study examined Scotch-Irish social identities and attitudes toward political and social solutions to Northern Ireland’s political violence (Roe & Dunlap, 2002). The second study utilized U S national data bases to assess personal characteristics and practices, and political and social attitudes of representative samples of Scotch-Irish (Roe & Brown, 2004). Where the first two studies were quantitative in nature, this third study applies a qualitative methodology to explore the meaning and function of Scotch-Irish identity using the theoretical construct of *symbolic ethnicity* (see Byron, 1999; Gans 1979; Waters, 1990).

The three research teams are currently in the midst of data collection applying parallel methodologies in their respective national settings. Narrative responses are being sought on the broad categories of personally *being* Ulster-Scot or Scotch-Irish, Ulster-Scot or Scotch-Irish in family settings, and understandings of Ulster-Scot or Scotch-Irish culture and history. Samples include adults of Scotch-Irish or Ulster-Scots roots who identify with this heritage. In addition to sampling as widely as possible, the research teams are also attempting to sample multiple generations within family groups.

William Roulston (Ulster Historical Foundation, Belfast)

'Researching families in Ulster from Plantation to 1798 Rebellion'

Session 8A, Saturday am

As anyone who has attempted to search for their ancestors knows, finding out much information about them before 1800 is far from easy. The loss of so many records in the destruction of the Public Record Office of Ireland in 1922, coupled with less systematic record keeping presents problems that are not easy to overcome. Nonetheless there is a large body of information out there that can be utilised by historical and genealogical researchers. The purpose of this presentation is to provide some direction as to the main genealogical sources that can be utilised in searching for ancestors from the seventeenth and eighteenth century. For example, there are over 200 churches in Ulster with records surviving from before 1800. In addition there are some 250 collections of landed estate papers dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth century. A number of census substitutes survive. The talk will also consider records relating to the Ulster Plantation and the settlements of the early seventeenth century.

Richard A Straw (Radford University, Virginia)

Images of Blue Ridge Moonshining: The Work of Photographer Earl Palmer

Session 6B, Friday pm

One of the most indelible images of the Appalachian people is that of mountaineer as moonshiner. The image of the copper still tucked neatly into a hillside with a cold crisp mountain stream running swiftly nearby is as much a part of American folklore as the ballad singing mother with her youngsters gathered around her skirts while she rocks and churns butter. Conventional wisdom and both popular and scholarly literature associates the whiskey-making traditions first found on the frontier in America with the spirits-loving Scotch-Irish immigrants who brought their skills and techniques with them and who then adapted their Old World concoction to the circumstances of life in the Appalachian back country during the mid eighteenth century. In this paper I will examine the cultural connection between making whiskey in Ulster and the moonshine tradition in Appalachia and the American South. The paper will consist of two parts: I will review the origins and varieties of the moonshiner stereotype in Appalachia and compare it with the perceptions of whiskey and whiskey-making culture in Ulster; secondly, I will analyze the historical literature on the role of whiskey-making in Appalachian culture and the validity of

the Ulster cultural connection thesis. Specific topics that will be covered include: the presentation of whiskey-making in song, literature, poetry, and folklore; the reputations of moonshine in both Appalachia and Ulster; legal battles against moonshine; and the frontier drinking traditions of Germans in Appalachia. The presentation will be illustrated with a number of historic photographs.

Peter G Toner (University of St Thomas, New Brunswick)

'Authentic' Identities and Hybrid Musics among the Irish in New Brunswick

Session 3A, Thursday pm

For decades in anthropology and ethnomusicology, cultures were viewed as bounded wholes that were relatively discrete, an interpretive position that has gradually eroded as scholars from a wide range of disciplines have come to terms with the impact of globalization on societies around the world. In ethnomusicological studies of 'world music', musical hybridity—the blending of musical traditions—has become an important focus of analytical attention as postcolonial musical forms find their way into the global musical marketplace. The fact of musical hybridity is so pervasive, in fact, that some scholars have posited that 'hybridity is the new authenticity'. Nonetheless, the fact of musical hybridity coexists with discourses of authenticity which continue to influence cultural practices in their own way.

This tension between hybridity and authenticity finds unique forms of expression among New Brunswickers of Irish descent. Irish music was an important influence on musical practices from the nineteenth century until today; however, in New Brunswick's profoundly intercultural environment, Irish musical forms were combined and recombined with Acadian, Scottish, New England, and other musical influences to produce hybridized forms which are now known as 'Celtic' or, more generically, 'folk'. This musical hybridity, however, exists in a state of dynamic tension with popular discourses about 'authentic' Irish, Scottish, Cape Breton, or a range of other identities. Musicians and audiences retain a sense of authenticity in terms of their cultural identities, but have to rely upon hybridized musical forms to help enact those identities. Thus, a Miramichi kitchen party, a New England-style contra dance, an Ulster-Scots-style square dance, and a Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann pub session all draw upon very similar musical repertoires and styles to enact identities which are imagined as distinctive. In this paper, I will consider the construction of Irish cultural identities in New Brunswick and their relationship to Irish-influenced, but nonetheless hybridized, musical forms.

Peter M Toner (University of New Brunswick, Saint John)

Confusing Identities: The Gaeltachta in New Brunswick, 1901

Plenary, Thursday 5.30 pm

The Canadian Census of 1901 was the first to ask 'What language did you first learn in childhood and still speak today?' Even though the high point of Irish immigration to New Brunswick had been fifty years previous, that census contains evidence that the Irish language survived as a living language in several communities, and was under-reported on a wide scale. Even more significantly, this evidence also indicates that the Ireland out of which the bulk of the immigrants to New Brunswick came,

prior to the Famine, had not yet experienced the politicisation involving the cultural heritage of the Irish language which would take place later in the nineteenth century.

Michael Toomey (Lincoln Memorial University, Tennessee)

'Captain Bengie will Get You!': Scotch and Scotch-Irish Descendants Among the Cherokee

Session 3B, Thursday pm

On the frontiers of Southern Appalachia in the last decades of the eighteenth century, settlers were constantly alert to the possibility of Indian attacks. Among the warriors most feared was a red-headed Cherokee named Bob Bengie. In fact, it is said that mothers often admonished their children that they had better be good, or else 'Bob Bengie will get you!' The presence of Bengie and others like him among the Cherokee challenges the favored view of the Scotch-Irish as eager settlers who were willing to live on the extreme frontier, despite the constant threat of Indian attacks. Indeed, it was this willingness to advance the frontier that allegedly endeared the Scotch-Irish to speculators and colonial officials alike. As one contemporary observer suggested, the land-hungry Scotch-Irish might provoke hostilities by encroaching onto Native American land, but they had demonstrated in the past that they were up to the task of defending themselves.

At the same time, traders, British army officers, refugee Tories, and 'enlightened' colonists who believed that intermarriage would reduce hostilities by 'civilizing' the Native Americans, could all be found living in Cherokee towns as the husbands of Cherokee women. Scotch and Scotch-Irish traders accounted for most of these marriages. The children who were born to such unions often assumed leadership roles and were actively engaged in hostilities between the Cherokee and the advancing settlers. Later, when military resistance was no longer feasible, the Cherokee fought to maintain their lands and identity through a remarkable process of assimilation, and the Scotch and Scotch-Irish descendants among the Cherokee once again played an important role. Thus, from the 1780s through the 1830s, while Scotch-Irish settlers moved ever further down the Great Valley, Scotch and Scotch-Irish descendants among the Cherokee waged an ongoing struggle to prevent that expansion. They sometimes fought militarily and at other times culturally, but their struggle reminds us that the distinction between ethnic groups on the Appalachian frontier was not always clear.

Brian Walker (Queen's University, Belfast)

Irish identity and the Irish in America today: Irish Americans, Scotch Irish and others

Session 7B, Saturday am

Who are they, where are they and why are they? It is well known that a very large number of people in the USA today claim an Irish background. A figure of forty million Americans with Irish ancestry is often quoted. But who exactly are these people? Two groups, the Scotch-Irish and Irish Americans, are viewed as the principal components of this Irish section. Where do we find these people in contemporary America? Can we still distinguish today the different components of this very important part of the Irish diaspora? What are the ways in which their Irish identity is

felt and expressed? In this brief paper, attention will focus on information from opinion polls, census returns and other material in order to cast some preliminary light on these intriguing questions about Irish identity in America today.

Ronald A Wells and Gerald Gibson (Maryville College, Tennessee)

Historical Memory and Ulster-American Consciousness: The Case of Isaac Anderson of Maryville College

Session 4B, Friday am

Isaac Anderson was born in Virginia in 1780, in family whose roots were in County Down, Northern Ireland. As a young man he moved with his family to East Tennessee. Later ordained as a Presbyterian clergyman, he took the pastorate of a historically important church – The New Providence Presbyterian Church – in Maryville, Tennessee. He soon became convinced of the need for intellectual and spiritual leadership for the new communities developing in what was then called ‘the southwest.’ He tried to get clergy graduates from Princeton to come west, but he was unsuccessful, so he felt called to train new leaders locally. That choice in 1819 began an educational institution that was to become Maryville College.

The theme in Anderson’s life as educational pioneer to be explored in this paper is the role of rhetoric formed in Northern Ireland and its impact in America. The theme of ‘No Surrender’ – a phrase that has rallied Protestants (some say dysfunctionally) for three centuries – was also important in the intellectual and spiritual development of Isaac Anderson. He grew up with stories told him by his grandmother, Mary Shannon McCampbell, of how four of Isaac’s great-grandparents were involved in The Siege of Londonderry. This historical memory was important in forming the character of Isaac Anderson, in that the guiding insight for his life was never to give up on his principles. In East Tennessee during the first half of the nineteenth century, the principles which this educational pioneer would not surrender were the often-unpopular causes of temperance, rights for Native Americans and abolition of slavery.

What we have, then, in the case of Isaac Anderson is indeed the transit of culture from North Ireland to Appalachia. The ideas and the rhetoric first generated in Ulster continued to legitimate behavior in Tennessee, but in ways that might surprise us. One scholar has said that Anderson’s life was dedicated to ‘disinterested benevolence.’ That, rather than the Ulster custom of pitting Protestants and Catholics against each other, would seem to be a worthy vocation for an ethic of ‘No Surrender’.

Kathleen Curtis Wilson (University of Ulster, Coleraine)

Think Function, Not Fashion. The migration of a people and a product

Session 7A, Saturday am

In the twenty-first century, linen is best known for clothing apparel but for much of its history, linen was an industrial fabric used in the construction of automobiles, ships, airplanes, and dirigible balloons. During World War I, the Sopwith Camel was the most successful fighter aircraft in the history of the British Royal Air Force. The outer skin of the airplane was covered in lightweight unbleached Irish linen and coated with cellulose or nitrate dope to shrink the fabric to drum tautness. Bullet holes were

covered with a square inch of frayed linen, brushed with a coat of dope, and the plane was back in the air within an hour.

From 1870 to 1914, the island of Ireland was the undisputed center of linen production in the world. Farmers relied on durability and water repellent properties of linen for feed and seed bags. Architects chose coated linen paper for ink drawings and renderings for clients, cartographers drew maps on linen fabric and linen paper, flag makers used linen, and professional artists continue to paint on linen canvas because of its strength and archival integrity. The United States and many other countries mix strong, crisp linen with cotton to make paper money. In 2007 unlined linen fire hose tube is still approved for fire fighting and linen is the favored fabric for pool/billiard cue handles because it absorbs the sweat from hands. Linen was once the preferred yarn for hand sewing the uppers on the enormously popular 'penny' loafers. In 2008, globalization of a product often occurs in a faceless, electronic blink of an eye. With Internet, phone, fax available to nearly every consumer in the world, marketing strategies are innovative and changing daily, techniques unimaginable to manufacturers only a few years ago. How did Irish linen become a worldwide brand name long before the high-tech age? This presentation will discuss how real people once established the image of an island culture and its people while peddling a national product on an international scale.

Bradford J Wood (Eastern Kentucky University)

British North Carolina and Irish Atlantic-World Migration, 1720-1770

Session 6A, Friday pm

Scholarship focusing on transatlantic connections between Ireland and America tends to focus on the largest, most well-documented groups of migrants. The practical advantages of this approach are obvious, and historians now know a great deal about eighteenth-century Ulster migrants to Pennsylvania or about later Irish migrants who went to northeastern cities in the nineteenth century, for example. The disadvantage of this approach is that it makes it easy to overlook many of the disparate, complex, and often almost un-recorded movements of Atlantic World migrants from Ulster and other locations. Ulster migration across the Atlantic in the eighteenth century typically involved movements of relatively small numbers of people into populations where sheer numbers made them a marginal rather than dominant presence.

Some of these more elusive and marginalized Ulster migrants settled along the Atlantic in the tidewater area of North Carolina. Many of them arrived because of the influence of North Carolina land speculator and royal governor Arthur Dobbs of Carrickfergus. These settlers have received little scholarly attention, partly because North Carolina is often dismissed as an underdeveloped and isolated colony, and partly because they succeeded in establishing themselves as a small part of the local population without unusual difficulty and without much controversy. This paper combines evidence from the Dobbs Papers, the broad history of the North Carolina colony, and an intensive analysis of local records dealing with settlers in two counties to provide the first careful investigation of the experience of these migrants. Along those lines, it strives to reconceptualize these settlers as highly adaptable, cosmopolitan inhabitants of the Atlantic World that cannot be understood in exclusively Irish or American terms. Ultimately, the small, inconspicuous Irish

population of the colonial North Carolina tidewater can shed light on the dynamics of Atlantic World migration and on the transatlantic connections between Ulster and North America.

LOGOS TO GO MIDDLE BACK COVER

[US Consul General; Omagh District Council; Ulster Scots Agency]

BOTTOM BACK COVER

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