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Dissertation

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Revivalist Movements in Brittany, Ireland, Scotland and Wales around 1900: Discursive Strategies of Self-representation and Relationship to Celtic Identity

Obrozenecká hnutí v Bretani, Irsku, Skotsku a Walesu kolem roku 1900: Diskurzivní strategie sebereprezentací a vztah ke keltské identitě

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I hereby declare that I have written this dissertation independently, using only the mentioned and duly cited sources and literature, and that the work has not been used in another university study programme or to obtain the same or another academic title.

In Prague on 23 September 2024 Mgr. Martina Vacková Reiterová

Abstract

This thesis explores the formation of collective representation in the revivalist movements of Brittany, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales at the turn of the twentieth century. The study examines the self-representation of these movements by analysing their discursive and representational strategies. These findings are framed within a comparative context, exploring mutual influences and inspirations between the movements and identifying the factors that shaped their collective representations. Additionally, the research explores the role of Celtic identity in revivalist self-representation, focusing on the period when Pan-Celtic activities intensified around 1900.

The movements are examined through the periodicals of their leading societies: *Union régionaliste bretonne* (1898), the Gaelic League (*Conradh na Gaeilge*; 1893), the Highland Association (*An Comunn Gàidhealach*; 1891), and for Wales, the Welsh Language Society (*Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg*; 1885) alongside *Wales* and *Cymru* magazines edited by O.M. Edwards. The research employs qualitative discourse analysis, conducted using Atlas.ti software, and is complemented by relevant correspondence and archival materials.

The analysis identifies six key aspects of self-representation common to the movements: language, education, popular culture, history, an apolitical and loyalist stance, and the revivalist association's agenda. The research reveals that none of the movements placed Celticism at the centre of their self-representation, with attitudes towards Celtic identity varying on a spectrum, from negative in Ireland to more positive in Brittany. The comparative analysis highlights commonalities, differences, and key influences on these patterns, including the level of development of each movement, external inspirations, efforts to address deficiencies, state dynamics, and the presence of rival associations. Notably, the Welsh and Breton movements displayed stronger affinities than expected, while the Irish case often diverged. These findings underscore the need to move beyond state-centred analyses and embrace a more nuanced understanding of broader identity frameworks.

Abstrakt

Tato disertační práce zkoumá formování kolektivní reprezentace v obrozeneckých hnutích v Bretani, Irsku, Skotsku a Walesu na přelomu 19. a 20. století. Výzkum se zaměřuje na studium sebereprezentací těchto hnutí prostřednictvím analýzy jejich diskurzivních a reprezentačních strategií. Výsledky analýzy jsou pak zasazeny do komparativního rámce, který zkoumá vzájemné vlivy a inspirace mezi jednotlivými hnutími a určuje faktory, jež ovlivnily podobu kolektivní reprezentace. Kromě toho práce zkoumá roli keltské identity v sebereprezentaci obrozeneckých hnutí, přičemž se zaměřuje na období zesílení pan-keltských aktivit v odbobí kolem roku 1900.

Hnutí jsou zkoumána prostřednictvím diskurzivní analýzy periodik jejich hlavních obrozeneckých organizací: *Union régionaliste bretonne* (1898), Gaelic League (*Conradh na Gaeilge*; 1893), Highland Association (*An Comunn Gàidhealach*; 1891) a ve Walesu Welsh Language Society (*Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg*; 1885), spolu s časopisy *Wales* a *Cymru*, jejichž editorem byl O. M. Edwards. Výzkum je založen na kvalitativní analýze diskurzu provedené s pomocí softwaru Atlas.ti a je doplněn o analýzu korespondence a dalších relevantních archivních pramenů.

Výsledkem analýzy je šest hlavních aspektů sebereprezentace společných pro všechna zkoumaná hnutí: jazyk, vzdělávání, lidová kultura, historie, apolitický a loajalistický postoj a agenda obrozenecké organizace. Výzkum odhalil, že žádné z hnutí nemělo keltismus v popředí své sebereprezentace, přičemž jejich postoj vůči keltské identitě se pohyboval na škále od negativního v Irsku po pozitivní v Bretani. Komparativní analýza poukázala na hlavní společné rysy, rozdíly a klíčové faktory ovlivňující vzorce reprezentací, zahrnující úroveň rozvoje hnutí, vnější inspiraci, snahu vyrovnat se s nedostatky, postoj státu a přítomnost konkurenčních organizací. Zejména hnutí ve Walesu a Bretani vykazovala silnější vzájemné vazby, než by se očekávalo, zatímco irské hnutí často vybočovalo. Tato zjištění zdůrazňují potřebu překročit stát jako rámec výzkumu a citlivěji přistupovat k pochopení širších identitotvorných struktur.

Keywords

Discursive Strategy; Self-representation; Celtic Identity; Celticism; Pan-Celticism; Revivalist Movement; Brittany; Ireland; Scotland; Wales; Discourse analysis; Comparative study; Transnational approach; Nineteenth century.

Klíčová slova

Diskurzivní strategie; sebereprezentace; keltská identita; keltismus; pan-keltismus; obrozenecké hnutí; Bretaň; Irsko; Skotsko; Wales; diskurzivní analýza; komparativní studie; transnacionální přístup; devatenácté století.

Contents

1 Introduction[1]

1.1 Objects, Questions and Goals

> *It is of the utmost importance for us to remember that the highest culture of the world today is not national but international, and one of the thoughts, which we may find most consoling, will be that the humanism of Europe is being allowed to pervade our own spirit.*[2]

Edward Anwyl, professor of Welsh at the university in Aberystwyth, expressed in 1895 the aspiration that Welsh national culture should gain international character and recognition. However, what the professor did not fully realize at the time was that Welsh, like any other so-called national culture of the period, was already inherently international. The concept of national culture and the rise of national consciousness stem from profound social and cultural transformations in Europe of the "long" nineteenth century. These processes were, to a considerable extent, shaped or influenced by transnational activities and the dissemination of ideas across borders.[3] The adoption of these ideas and practices differed and was influenced by individual decisions and local conditions. As such, the stories of nation-building movements vary, yet they share many common traits, together forming a complex tapestry of interconnected narratives. The identity-building processes in the so-called Celtic countries were no exception. The turn of the twentieth century saw an intensification of cross-border relations between these countries, resulting in even greater entanglement of ideas. To fully understand these developments, it is necessary to avoid focusing on nation-level analysis and explanations, which overlook external influences. At the same time, one must avoid the overly distant perspective, typical of typological studies, as such approaches risk ignoring important details and local factors that also shaped the formation of collective identity. Therefore, this research adopts a comparative approach, transcending national boundaries while remaining close enough to the objects of the study to capture particularities. The result is a comparative study of four revivalist movements in Brittany, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, examined through a transnational perspective.

The primary objective of this research is to explicate the process of forming collective representation in the Celtic countries at the turn of the twentieth century, with a focus on revivalist movements. Specifically, it analyses and compares the discourse produced by their leading and most representative

[1] Proofreading revisions and assistance with language refinement were provided through the use of AI-based tools by OpenAI.
[2] Anwyl, Edward. 'Gleanings from the Study'. *Young Wales,* vol. 1, no 5 (May 1895), 111. Quotation abridged.
[3] Leerssen, Joep. 'Viral Nationalism: Romantic Intellectuals on the Move in Nineteenth-Century Europe'. *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2011, p. 257.

associations in the respective countries. The case studies of Breton, Irish, Scottish and Welsh revivalist societies and their representational strategies are placed within a comparative framework, thereby revealing the factors that influenced forms of collective representation. The research methodology comprises qualitative discourse analysis of revivalist publications, followed by a comparison of the results to deepen the understanding of the findings. Additionally, correspondence and other relevant sources have been taken into account. The main research questions can be summarized as follows: What kind of discursive and representative strategies did the revivalist societies use? What were the key differences and similarities among the societies in this respect? How did these representational strategies relate to their goals? To what extent did the revivalists influence each other, and what were the sources of inspiration?

The time frame of the study aligns with the foundation of the Pan-Celtic Congress and the Celtic Association in 1900, both of which cultivated mutual relations between the Celtic countries by organizing shared activities and gatherings. The differing attitudes of revivalist groups in these countries towards the Pan-Celtic institutions served as a primary motivation for the research. The questions surrounding whether, and for what reasons, the revivalists employed Celtic identity in their self-representation stood at the very beginning of the project and guided the formulation of the central research questions. This research's connection to the topic of Celtic identity helps uncover the decision-making processes of the revivalist societies when confronted with the broader concept of Celticism, thereby complementing the results of the analysis. The onset of the Pan-Celtic activities in 1890s marks the approximate beginning of the studied period, although the exact coverage varies in the particular cases, according to the availability of sources for each revivalist movement. The period of study ends roughly with the outbreak of the First World War, when most revivalist activities were interrupted.

The object of the research are the revivalist societies themselves–associations of the revivalists–and the main sources are their periodicals. For each country, the aim was to select the most representative, hence most prominent or influential revivalist society of the period. Additional selection criteria included their involvement in Pan-Celtic institutions, whether positive or negative, and the existence of mutual relations between the societies or their members. For Brittany, Ireland and Scottish Highlands, this selection process was straightforward, as each country had one leading society concerned with revivalist matters. The *Union régionaliste bretonne* (*Kevrediget Broaduz Breiz*; URB), founded in 1898, was the most important and influential revivalist society in pre-war Brittany. The society got split in 1911 and the *Fédération régionaliste de Bretagne* (*Unvaniez Arvor*; FRB) was created. In Ireland, the Gaelic League (*Conradh na Gaeilge*; CNG), founded in 1893, was the leading organisation for the revival of Irish language and culture. In Scotland, the revival of Gaelic in the Highlands was led by the Highland Association (*An Comunn Gàidhealach*; ACG), established in 1891. The decision-making

process for selecting the most representative society in Wales was more complex due to the advanced and diversified nature of the Welsh revivalist movement compared to the other Celtic countries. The members of the Welsh *Gorsedd* and participants in the *Eisteddfod* were central figures in the cultural life of Welsh speaking population; however, they were not all united under one centralized body with a significant periodical. Consequently, it was decided to combine two subjects to provide the most representative sample of the revivalist discourse in Wales at the time. The first society selected was the Welsh Language Society (*Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg*; CIG, originally the Society for Utilization of Welsh language), founded in 1885. This organisation was the leading advocate for Welsh language promotion, preservation and education in Welsh-speaking areas, as well as the official representative of Wales in the Pan-Celtic institutions. A collection of its annual reports was selected for analysis. As a periodical read by the general public, the second subject chosen for discourse analysis was *Wales* and *Cymru* magazines, edited by O.M. Edwards. These publications had a significant impact on the patriotic discourse of the time, and Edwards himself is regarded as a pivotal Welsh cultural figure of the early twentieth century.

The Pan-Celtic institutions serve as a framework for this research. Although their foundation was initiated by individuals–Lord Castletown and E.E. Fournier d'Albe, both of whom resided in Ireland–they received support from revivalist enthusiasts across the Celtic countries. The Pan-Celtic Congresses marked the peak of cross-Celtic relations and offered opportunities for the exchange of ideas, as well as for the emergence of differing perspectives and rivalries. The existence of similar yet distinct bodies prompted members of revivalist societies to articulate their perceptions of themselves, their countries, and how they wished to be perceived by others. Hence, this period of increased inter-Celtic relations provides an important context for the study.

All the selected societies are representative of revivalist discourse in their respective countries and are thus comparable with each other in terms of their role and relative importance. Each society was concerned with preserving and developing vernacular language culture. Therefore, the term 'revivalist' is used throughout this dissertation to encompass all initiatives related to these aims, regardless of whether the actors conceptualized their activities as such or not. When referring to the societies, both language variants are used, with preference given to the language variant used in the society's publications. It is important to recognise that the analysis of specific revivalist societies and their periodicals cannot fully capture the complexities of the broader revivalist discourses within each Celtic country. However, while acknowledging this necessary reduction and simplification due to the scope and comparative nature of the dissertation, I am confident that the selected case studies effectively represent the central themes and key dynamics of the respective countries' revivalist movements.

As for the overall structure of the dissertation, next to the introduction, which contains detailed information on methodology, sources and applied concepts, the work is divided into three main chapters.

The second chapter (**2. Historical Context of the Research**) provides essential historical background information for the research. It focuses on context information of all the studied subjects, the revivalist societies and their cultural production. More specifically, it pays attention to the circumstances of their foundation, their goals, and contextualise their activities. In addition, it provides historical context to the development of the language and of the native culture. The last subchapter (2.5 Construction of Celtic Identity and Celticism) outlines the history of usage of Celtic terminology and its construction and adoption in the Celtic countries from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries.

The third chapter (**3. Analysis. Results and Comparison**) presents the main analytical findings and compares aspects of self-representation and discursive strategies across the movements. The introductory part of this chapter provides overall representation of the results of textual analysis and their comparison in the form of two tables. The main body of the chapter is organised into subchapters based on the six most important aspects of movements' self-representation – language, education, popular culture, history, apolitism, movement (3.1 – 3.6) – with an additional subchapter devoted to Celticism and Celtic identity as reflected in revivalist publications (3.7). Each subchapter discusses the movements individually, depending on whether the topic in question was part of their top four aspects of self-representation.

The fourth and final chapter (**4. Formation of group representation and collective discursive strategies**) identifies five main factors responsible for forming group representation and collective discursive strategies. Based on a comparison and synthesis of the results presented in the second chapter, this chapter offers an interpretation and explanation of the movements' discursive strategies and self-representation.

1.2 Theory, Concepts, and Methodology

This research is broadly situated within the field of nationalism studies. It draws significantly on the approaches of leading scholars in the study of nation-building processes, such as Anthony Smith, Benedict Anderson, Eric Hobsbawm and Miroslav Hroch. Anderson's concept of 'imagined communities' serves as a central framework for understanding Celtic revivalist movements, reflecting the idea that national identity is a socially constructed phenomenon.[4] Likewise, the work aligns with Anthony Smith's arguments about the nineteenth-century construction of nationalism, which,

[4] Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised edition, Verso, 2016.

however, drew on pre-existing historical narratives.[5] Additionally, beyond Miroslav Hroch's methodological approach (discussed in detail below), I was also inspired by his studies of national movements within small nation contexts.[6] Most influential, however, was Joep Leerssen's transnational approach, which shaped the conceptual framework of this research by transcending the limits of nation-based studies (see below). Considering the objects of analysis–Breton, Irish, Scottish and Welsh language and identity-building movements–it is not entirely accurate to categorise them strictly as either 'national' or 'regional'. Instead, the term 'revivalist' most appropriately encompasses their nature and aims. In this sense, Xosé-Manoel Núñez's notion of sub-national identities is useful here, as it avoids a rigid division between regional and national identities, acknowledging their complementary roles.[7]

The conceptual framework of this research draws on Eric Hobsbawm's concept of 'invented traditions'. Each of the revivalist movements under study engaged in some form of cultural invention, often based on a constructed sense of the past, formalised through rituals and events.[8] For example, Welsh *Eisteddfod* and *Gorsedd* (studied in the above quoted volume by Morgan Prys)[9] fulfil Hobsbawm's definition of invented traditions. They even influenced other Celtic movements by providing models for Scottish *Mòd* and Irish *Oireachtas*. The concepts of Celtism and Celtic identity themselves underwent processes of development and construction. The revivalist representations, along with the discursive strategies, are developed and constructed by the movements and other actors. Therefore, despite the criticism it has received,[10] the concept remains applicable and valuable to this research.

The general methodology applied to the set of sources is based on a comparative approach, combined with transnational methods of research. In the comparative aspect, it draws inspiration from Miroslav Hroch's typology of national movements and his recent work on comparative methods in historical research.[11] Following the basics of his approach, I selected four objects of comparison, key associations of revivalist movements in Brittany, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, focusing on their representational strategies. These objects were selected based on two main criteria: first, their involvement or

[5] Smith, Anthony D. *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach*. Routledge, 2009.
[6] Hroch, Miroslav. *V národním zájmu*. Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 1999.
[7] Núñez, Xosé-Manoel. 'Historiographical Approaches to Sub-National Identities in Europe: A Reappraisal and Some Suggestions'. *Region and State in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, edited by Joost Augusteijn and Eric Storm, Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2012, p. 17.
[8] Hobsbawm, E. J., and T. O. Ranger, editors. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press, 2012, p. 4.
[9] Morgan, Prys. 'From a Death to a View: The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period' in Hobsbawm, E. J., and T. O. Ranger, editors. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press, 2012.
[10] For instance, Burke, Peter. *The English Historical Review*, vol. 101, no. 398, 1986, pp. 316–17. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/571469. Accessed 12 August 2024.
[11] Hroch, Miroslav. *Hledání souvislostí: eseje z komparativních dějin Evropy*. Slon, 2018.

interaction with Pan-Celtic institutions, and second, their similarity in terms of goals, structure and size.[12] Detailed information on the analytical procedure is provided below. While acknowledging the mutual relations and inspirations between the objects of comparison, it remains important to incorporate the transnational perspective and consider the influence of cultural transfer within the comparison. Joep Leerssen's approach to the comparative history of cultural nationalism was a significant influence on the conceptual framework of this research.

Leerssen challenges Hroch's teleological approach to studying national movements and advocates for focusing on the cultural phase of national movements as an independent, open-ended phenomenon, rather than subsuming it to the idea of an ultimately political movement aiming for a clear outcome, such as the successful formation of a nation or the achievement of independence.[13] More importantly, Leerssen emphasises the significance of close and dynamic cultural exchanges between cultural nationalisms in Europe during the nineteenth century, arguing that these movements can only be fully understood when viewed in a broader context, beyond the socio-political framework of their home country.[14] In other words, Leerssen asserts that European nationalist movements can only be properly studied through their mutual contacts.[15] The Celtic revivalist movements exemplify this idea, as their mutual relations must be considered for an accurate analysis. By applying a transnational historical perspective, rather than merely comparing and detaching the objects of study from their context, it becomes possible to uncover the factors that shaped the self-representation of social groups and to gain a better understanding of their motivations. Furthermore, this approach enables an exploration of not only the differences and similarities but also the influences and inspirations that circulated between the movements and from external sources.

The methodology for source analysis is informed by Ruth Amossy's research on representations and Catherine Bertho's study of stereotypical representations. Amossy uses discourse analysis, combining sociological and rhetorical analytical tools, as described in her book *La presentation de soi*.[16] Her method focuses on the analysis of speeches or texts, aiming to reveal how a speaker (either orally or in writing) conducts a more or less planned presentation of themselves, and how they use language to achieve various purposes. Additionally, Amossy highlights the argumentative aspect of this

[12] Although the Cornish and Manx movements participated to some extent in Pan-Celtic activities, they were significantly smaller in scale and less ambitious in their aims. Furthermore, the linguistic situation in Cornwall and the Isle of Man differed considerably from that of the other Celtic countries. It was also necessary to limit the scope of comparison in light of the practical constraints of this PhD research.

[13] Leerssen, Joep. 'Nationalism and the Cultivation of Culture'. *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 12, no. 4, 2006, p. 563.

[14] For instance, in Leerssen, Joep. 'Viral Nationalism: Romantic Intellectuals on the Move in Nineteenth-Century Europe'. *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2011, pp. 257–71.

[15] Leerssen (2006), p. 566.

[16] Amossy, Ruth. *La présentation de soi: ethos et identité verbale*. Presses universitaires de France, 2010.

presentation, wherein the speaker inevitably constructs an identity and positions themselves within the social space.[17] In her sixth chapter, " 'We': The Question of Group Identities or the Construction of a Collective Ethos", Amossy explores collective self-representation. She argues that forms of argumentation are critical for studying presentation of self, and she draws on Aristotle's rhetorical theory to show that a successful argument must be logical, reasonable, and credible to persuade an audience.[18] Another key element is the relationship between stereotypes and identity claims, as every social group forms a certain image of themselves, often in contrast to how they perceive other groups.[19] Lastly, Amossy notes that social movements need to create a collective representation that resonates with potential new members, making it essential for the movement to present itself in a way that potential supporters can identify with.[20]

Catherine Bertho, in her study on the social genesis of stereotypical images of Brittany, uses the term 'representation' in a way that helped shape the notion of self-representation used in this research.[21] For Bertho, representations are the collective images attributed to an object by external observers. In this context, studying representations involves analysing how an object—in this case, revivalist movements—is perceived by outsiders. Following this linguistic logic, the term 'self-representation' here refers to the images and representations that revivalist movements express about themselves, their country, or their inhabitants.

Based on these theoretical frameworks, four main analytical approaches were applied to the set of revivalist journals. First, the content and the topics were identified and tagged to highlight the most prominent themes covered in the journals. This process helped reveal the issues the revivalists considered essential in relation to their goals. Next, the argumentation strategies employed by the revivalists were examined to uncover their discursive techniques. Finally, I studied the attributes the revivalists associated with their country and its inhabitants, how they referred to themselves, and the qualities they ascribed to their group. Similarly, I analysed how they perceived their opponents and identified those they considered enemies of their movement or country.

Therefore, the analytical terms used for this research are: self-representation (representation and images), and discursive strategies (argumentation techniques and choice of topics). These terms complement each other and, at times, are interchangeable, thus, the term 'representational strategies' is also used as an analytical term. Discursive strategies refer to rhetorical or practical (more or less

[17] Idem, p. 9.
[18] Idem, p. 17-19.
[19] Idem, p. 46.
[20] Idem, p. 160.
[21] Bertho, Catherine. 'L'invention de la Bretagne [Genèse sociale d'un stéréotype]: Genèse sociale d'un stéréotype'. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, vol. 35, no. 1, 1980, pp. 45–62.

intentional) methods or tools employed to achieve specific goals, such as cultural independence or political autonomy.

The analysis was conducted using *Atlas.ti* software, which facilitates detailed text coding. It aids in qualitative analysis and allows for quantitative interpretation of the data. Drawing on my prior experience with similar research,[22] I created a set of tags (codes, in *Atlas.ti* terminology) to code the journal texts comprehensively while reading them. As the process evolved, additional tags were added as necessary.[23]

The final list of tags includes the following: Antiquity, Aristocracy, Arts and crafts, Borders, Celtic nations, Celticism, Countryside, Economy, Education and Science, Enemy, General news, History, Independence, Language, Law, Literature, Loyalism, Migration, Modernity, Myths, National awakening, National hero, Nature and landscape, Nostalgia, Other nations, Otherness, Pan-Celticism, Philosophy and Ethics, Politics, Popular culture, Quality of nation, Religion, Sport, Stereotype and caricature, Tourism, Unity, Us.

Tagging the journals allowed for tracking the most prominent topics and subsequently comparing the frequency of tags across journals. Using Excel reports for each tag (or combinations of tags), I selected illustrative examples and quotations for use in the analytical section.

1.3 Sources

The research is based on a discourse analysis of revivalist publications. For each movement, I selected a representative sample of journals and magazines, either published directly by the revivalist bodies or featuring contributions from key revivalist figures. The analysis of these journals is complemented by additional sources, primarily personal documents such as correspondence and lectures, found in archival collections of the relevant revivalist societies or individuals. This section describes the sources employed and explains the rationale behind their selection. A complete list of the sources can be found in the Sources section (6.1). For Irish and Scottish Gaelic texts, machine translation tools (in conjunction with a basic knowledge of both languages) were used.[24] To ensure the feasibility of the research, artistic

[22] Reiterová, Martina. *L'auto-représentation des Bretons dans le discours régionaliste entre la fin du XIXe siècle et la Première Guerre mondiale*. 2016. Charles University, Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, Eötvös Loránd, Master thesis.

[23] For instance, the tag 'Law' was introduced during the analysis of the Welsh journals, as legal matters and the concept of an independent legal system were far more prominent in the Welsh revivalist discourse than in those of other movements.

[24] The machine translation of Celtic languages is an important topic in the field, discussed most recently at the 4th Celtic Language Technology Workshop. See Proceedings of the 4th Celtic Language Technology Workshop at LREC 2022, ed. Theodorus Fransen, William Lamb and Delyth Prys (Marseille: European Language Resources Association, 2022).

texts published in the journals (such as stories, novel excerpts, poetry, and songs) were excluded from the analysis.

Brittany

For the study of Breton regionalism, the primary sources are the bulletins published by the *Union régionaliste bretonne* (URB) and the *Fédération régionaliste de Bretagne* (FRB) between 1898 and 1913. Sixteen volumes were produced during this period, with each volume consisting of several hundred pages. The first volume covers the years 1898 to 1901, followed by annual publications from 1902 to 1908, coinciding with the URB's annual congress. Between 1908 and 1912, an additional bulletin was issued after the winter or spring meetings, resulting in two bulletins per year. In 1913, the publication transitioned to a monthly magazine format. The FRB published a single volume before the First World War, covering 1911–1912. While most texts are written in French, approximately 7% are in Breton, mostly comprising artistic works such as songs and poetry.

For additional context, these bulletins were complemented by François Jaffrennou's personal archives, housed at the *Archives départementales du Finistère* in Quimper. I also drew on Jaffrennou's firsthand account of the Breton movement's origins in his *La Genèse d'un Mouvement*.[25] Personal archives of prominent figures from the *mouvement breton*, stored at the *Centre de recherche bretonne et celtique* at the *Université de Bretagne Occidentale* in Brest, were also consulted, although they were used only sparingly due to time and space constraints.[26]

Ireland

The analysis of the Irish movement focuses on the *An Claidheamh Soluis* (ACS), the primary publication of *Conradh na Gaeilge*. As indicated by its subtitle, 'the Gaelic League Weekly,' it was published weekly, with each issue containing up to 20 pages (reduced to 10 pages when it changed to a newspaper tabloid format in 1904). The analysis covers issues from 1899 to 1913. In light of the magazine's extensive content, adjustments were made during the analysis. From 1905 onwards, I concentrated primarily on the 'An Claidheamh Soluis' column, which contained the most relevant material for this research, along with other articles dealing with revivalist issues. Due to the practical scope of the project, most articles written in Irish were omitted from the analysis, with the exception of those in the main column. Since Gaelic script was used in the printed Irish texts, text recognition and machine translation were not possible, so these texts were manually transcribed and translated with the help of translation tools.

[25] Jaffrennou, François. *La Genèse d'un Mouvement : Articles, Doctrines et Discours 1898-1911*. Impr. du 'Peuple', 1912.

[26] The archives will be utilised for an extended study of the Breton case in an upcoming publication on Celtic history, edited by Caoimhín De Barra, currently in preparation.

Given the volume of texts analysed, which is comparable to the amount examined for the Scottish part of the study, I am confident that these compromises did not significantly impact the overall findings. However, I anticipate that future advancements in Irish text recognition tools will allow for more systematic analysis and potentially enhance the results of this research.[27]

The analysis of *An Claidheamh Soluis* was supplemented by relevant *Gaelic League pamphlets*, a series of shorter texts (speeches, lectures, manifestos, etc.) published by *Conradh* from approximately 1898 to the 1930s. The National Library of Ireland holds a collection of these pamphlets, bound in around 15 volumes for the pre-1914 period. These were not systematically analysed due to their volume, but several were cited for illustrative purposes. Lastly, correspondence from Lord Castletown's archival collection was used to shed light on the motivations behind certain tendencies within the *Conradh*, helping to explain key developments in the movement.

Scotland

The Scottish part of the research rests on a discourse analysis of *An Deo-Gréine* (ADG), the official magazine of *An Comunn Gaidhealach*. The analysis covers the magazine from its foundation in 1905 to 1914 (a total of ten volumes). Published monthly, each issue contained up to 15 pages (approximately 200 pages per volume). The texts were published in both English and Gaelic, with the ratio of English to Gaelic texts approximately 2:1.[28] The Gaelic texts were digitized using specialized software and translated via machine translation tools. The overall analysis of the magazine was feasible (in contrast with the Irish *An Claidheamh Soluis*) due to its lower publication frequency and the use of Latin script in Gaelic texts, enabling automatic recognition and translation.

Archival research was conducted primarily at the National Library of Scotland (NLS), with the most important material being the *An Comunn Gàidhealach* Archive, which includes the minutes of its Executive Council, providing insight into the society's decision-making processes. Additionally, personal papers from Malcolm MacFarlane, an early editor of *An Deo-Gréine* and an important member of *An Comunn*, were examined. Other relevant archives, such as the University of Edinburgh's Carmichael-Watson Collection and Prof. Donald Mackinnon's collection, were also consulted, although they were less useful for this particular research.

Wales

The selection of primary sources for the Welsh case was the most challenging due to the more advanced and diversified nature of the Welsh revivalist movement compared to its counterparts in

[27] See the discussion on potential future research developments in chapter 5 Conclusion, p. 146.
[28] For more information on the content of the magazine, see 2.3 *Comunn na Gaidhealach* (Scotland).

other Celtic countries. To provide a comprehensive view of the Welsh revivalist discourse, three publication collections were selected. The first source comprises reports and programming documents from *Cymdeitas Yr Iaith Gymraeg* (Welsh Language Society, originally the Society for Utilization of Welsh language). As the leading organisation focused on Welsh language issues and education, *Cymdeithas* members were closely connected to the *Gorsedd*, the organisers of the *Eisteddfod*, and most importantly, *Cymdeithas* was the official representative of Wales in the *Celtic Association* and the *Pan-Celtic Congress*.[29] A collection of Cymdeithas publications from 1888 to 1912, stored at the National Library of Wales (NLW), consisting of 10 volumes, was used for analysis.

Secondly, the periodicals *Cymru* and *Wales*, edited by O. M. Edwards, were selected due to their significant influence on the Welsh public discourse of the time.[30] Both language variants were chosen to provide a representative sample in both Welsh and English. Additionally, these magazines were selected for their cultural focus, offering a balance to the more practical orientation of *Cymdeithas*. A limited number of issues were analysed for feasibility. For *Wales* magazine, a collection of 35 issues, dating from 1894 to 1896, was systematically analysed.[31] As for *Cymru*, a total of 15 volumes, dating from 1900 to 1906 and complemented by the first volume (1891), were also systematically analysed.[32] The time range was divided between the two to avoid overlap, although the availability of digitized sources also influenced this decision.

Regarding other complementary sources, the manuscript fonds of the NLW were studied;[33] however, only a few materials are referenced in the analytical part of the dissertation.

Other Sources

In the historical context section of the dissertation, digitized primary sources were consulted and quoted for illustrative purposes, along with excerpts from literary works, such as those by Balzac. Additionally, sources connected to the Celtic Association and the Pan-Celtic Congress were examined and incorporated. Most of these materials, including printed sources, were located in the personal archives of individuals involved in Pan-Celtic activities, with the most significant being the personal

[29] See 2.4 Welsh Revivalist Culture and its History.
[30] See 2.4 Welsh Revivalist Culture and its History.
[31] Available in a digitized form on the website of NLW, "Welsh Journals." *National Library Of Wales*, online, https://journals.library.wales/browse/2187889.
[32] Available in a digitized form on the website of NLW, "Welsh Journals." *National Library Of Wales*, online, https://journals.library.wales/browse/1356250, and the first issue on "Cymru." *Internet Archive*, online, https://archive.org/details/cymru___00caer.
[33] Namely, the papers of David Rhys Philips, E.T. John, Dr. Robert Roberts, and others. Due to time constraints and the NLW's restrictions on photographing material, many sources were described and commented on, but cannot be quoted directly.

papers of Lord Castletown housed in the National Library of Ireland. A few issues of the Pan-Celtic monthly magazine, *Celtia*, were also reviewed.

1.4 Literature Review

The secondary literature used as a source of information and inspiration for this dissertation can be broadly divided into two sections. Firstly, I describe the literature by scholars who have dealt with Celtic identity, Celtic transnational culture, and its impact on the cultural history of the Celtic countries. Secondly, I reference the key works on nationalist and regionalist identity movements in the individual countries, along with related topics addressed in the dissertation. This literature review does not present an exhaustive list of works covering these subjects; instead, it highlights those extensively used in the completion of the dissertation. When specific works were not especially important, only the most modern scholarly literature from the 1990s onwards is cited.

The primary source of both factual and conceptual inspiration for this research is *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, first published in 1983. The studies on Highland and Welsh cultural history and identity by Hugh Trevor-Roper[34] and Prys Morgan[35] have been particularly influential in shaping the research on Welsh and Scottish national identities of the time, shedding light on the processes of their formation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Around the same period, Philip O'Leary was the first to examine the transnational dimensions of Celtic revivalist culture, analysing the connections and mutual influences between Irish and Scottish Gaelic revivalist movements in the late nineteenth century.[36]

In the 1990s, the relationship between identity formation and Celtic identity became a focus of scholarly interest. This interest culminated in the 1996 publication of *Celticism*, a collective volume edited by Terence Brown. Joep Leerssen contributes to this volume, articulating his thoughts on the nature of Celtic identity and arguing that it was established in the Celtic countries largely through external influence—an opinion that gained broad acceptance in the academic community.[37] The intellectual roots of Celticism and Celtic identity were further explored by Colin Kidd in his work *British Identities before Nationalism*, where he examines the origins and history of these terms.[38] Celtic studies in the 1990s were characterised by a period of "Celtoscepticism," during which scholars

[34] Trevor-Roper, Hugh. 'The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland' in Hobsbawm, E. J., and T. O. Ranger, editors. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press, 2012.
[35] Morgan, Prys. 'From a Death to a View: The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period' in Hobsbawm, E. J., and T. O. Ranger, editors. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press, 2012.
[36] O'Leary, Philip. '"Children of the Same Mother": Gaelic Relations with the Other Celtic Revival Movements 1882-1916'. *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium.*, vol. 1986, no. 6, pp. 101–30.
[37] Brown, Terence, editor. *Celticism*. Rodopi, 1996.
[38] Kidd, Colin. *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600–1800*. Cambridge University Press, 1999.

questioned the artificial nature of the terms "Celtic" and "Celts."[39] The efforts to rehabilitate the usage of the terms in academic research culminated ten years later in an extensive and unique project: a five-volume encyclopaedia of Celtic cultural history, published in 2006 and edited by John Koch, originating from the University of Wales. As the editor describes it, the project is "a major long-term undertaking which synthesizes fresh research in all areas" of "Celtic countries and their languages, literatures, archaeology, history, folklore, and mythology".[40] The encyclopaedia adopts a transnational approach, using a cross-referential system to connect individual articles and topics, helping to uncover relationships between the cultural expressions of the revivalist movements studied in this dissertation.

Building on Philip O'Leary's work, Coimhín De Barra revisits the study of inter-Celtic relations in the period leading up to the First World War. His 2018 publication, *The Coming of the Celts, AD 1860*, explores the connections and mutual perceptions between Irish and Welsh revivalist movements of the era.[41] Marion Löffler has, as first, most extensively contributed to the study of Pan-Celticism, exploring its origins and impact on cultural history in Wales through a series of publications.[42] However, a comprehensive examination of the Pan-Celtic Congress and the Celtic Association was not undertaken until 2017, when Christina Murphy-Macinta completed her dissertation at Brandeis University.[43] Her work details the origins, operations, and involvement of significant figures in these organisations and serves as a valuable source of information on the Pan-Celticism in general.

The body of literature on revivalist movements during the studied period is, without doubt, extensive. The same holds true for the secondary sources used in this dissertation, whether as inspiration or as a source of information on specific national or regional contexts. Early research that deeply influenced the analysis comes from Catherine Bertho, whose studies of the representation of Brittany and Breton regionalist identity were pioneering.[44] She was the first to explore the stereotypical images assigned to Brittany and how these shaped public perceptions of the region and its people. Bertho's research was

[39] One of the most significant publications representing this approach is the work of Chapman, Malcolm. *The Celts: The Construction of a Myth.* 5. [print.], Macmillan [u.a.], 1997.
[40] Koch, John T., editor. *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia*. ABC-CLIO, 2006.
[41] De Barra, Caoimhín. *The Coming of the Celts, AD 1860: Celtic Nationalism in Ireland and Wales*. University of Notre Dame Press, 2018.
[42] Löffler, Marion. 'Der Pankeltismus Vor Dem Ersten Weltkrieg Im Europäischen Kontext'. Poppe, Erich (Ed.) *Keltologie Heute, Themen Und Fragestellungen*, vol. 2004, Nodus Publikationen, pp. 271–89; Löffler, Marion. 'Pan-Celticism around 1900'. Rieckhoff, Sabine (ed.) *Celtes et Gaulois dans l'histoire, l'historiographie et l'idéologie moderne. Actes de la table ronde des 16 et 17 juin 2005 à Leipzig,* Glux-en-Glenne, 2006; Löffler, Marion. *'A Book of Mad Celts': John Wickens and the Celtic Congress of Caernarfon 1904*. Gomer, 2000.
[43] Murphy-Macinta, Christina. *Pan-Celtic Nationalism at the Fin de Siècle: A History of the Celtic Association, 1898-1911*. 2017. Brandeis University, PhD dissertation.
[44] Bertho, Catherine. *La naissance des stéréotypes régionaux en Bretagne au XIXe siècle*. 1979. Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, PhD dissertation; Bertho, Catherine. 'L'invention de la Bretagne [Genèse sociale d'un stéréotype]: Genèse sociale d'un stéréotype'. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, vol. 35, no. 1, 1980, pp. 45–62.

a key inspiration for this project, particularly in the formulation of its initial questions. Staying with Brittany, André Yann Denis's 1992 book provides a general overview of the Breton movement's history before the First World War.[45] Philippe Le Stum, in his 1998 work *Le néo-druidisme en Bretagne: origine, naissance et développement, 1890-1914*, offers a detailed view of the cultural aspects of the movement, particularly its neo-bardic and neo-druidic activities.[46] Georges Cadiou's *Emsav, dictionnaire critique, historique et biographique* takes a more encyclopaedic approach, compiling a dictionary of key personalities and aspects of the Breton movement from the nineteenth century to the present day.[47]

For the Irish revivalist movement, a wealth of literature exists. Only the most important works cited in this dissertation are summarised here. General facts about the Irish language revival are drawn from Robert Kee's *The Green Flag: A History of Irish Nationalism*, published in 2000.[48] A more specific and critical study on the Gaelic League's relations with the founders of the Abbey Theatre is found in J.P. Mathews's *Revival: The Abbey Theatre, Sinn Féin, the Gaelic League and the Co-Operative Movement*.[49] Most recently, Timothy McMahon's *Grand Opportunity: The Gaelic Revival and Irish Society, 1893–1910* explores the goals, representation, and operations of the Irish revival and has contributed greatly to both the factual basis and interpretive framework of this dissertation.[50]

Turning to Scottish Gaelic revivalism, Frank Thompson's book, published by *An Comunn Gaidhealach* in 1992 to mark its centenary, is an invaluable source of information on history of the association.[51] Thompson's access to *An Comunn*'s archives, which were not widely available at the time, makes this work particularly useful.[52] For a long time, one of the most important publications for researchers of Gaelic culture has been *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland* by Derick Thomson.[53] Presented in an encyclopaedic format, it provides readers with explanations of key terms in Gaelic language culture, including their historical significance. However, in my view, Wilson McLeod's *Gaelic in Scotland: Policies,*

[45] Denis, André Yann. *Histoire du mouvement breton*. La Pensée universelle, 1992.
[46] Le Stum, Philippe. *Le néo-druidisme en Bretagne : origine, naissance et développement, 1890-1914*. Éd. 'Ouest-France', 1998.
[47] Cadiou, Georges. *Emsav, dictionnaire critique, historique et biographique : le mouvement breton de A à Z du XIXe siècle à nos jours*. Éd. Coop Breizh, 2013.
[48] Kee, Robert. *The Green Flag: A History of Irish Nationalism*. Penguin, 2000.
[49] Mathews, Patrick Joseph. *Revival: The Abbey Theatre, Sinn Féin, the Gaelic League and the Co-Operative Movement*. Cork University Press, 2003.
[50] McMahon, Timothy G. *Grand Opportunity: The Gaelic Revival and Irish Society, 1893 - 1910*. Syracuse University Press, 2008.
[51] Thompson, Frank. *History of an Comunn Gaidhealach: The First Hundred (1891-1991): Centenary of An Comunn Gaidhealach*. An Comunn Gaidhealach, 1992.
[52] The archive of *An Comunn Gaidhealach* is currently accessible for study at the National Library of Scotland. However, it was only recently properly catalogued (after my research visit to the NLS in 2019), making Thompson's book a particularly valuable contribution and source for research on the Scottish Gaelic revival.
[53] Thomson, Derick S. *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland*. Gairm, 1994.

Movements, Ideologies, published more recently, has taken its place as the most important work on the subject.[54] McLeod provides a detailed and concise overview of the history of Gaelic language policies from the beginnings of the Gaelic revival to the present day. For a broader history of the national movement in Scotland, I have drawn on T.M. Devine's *The Scottish Nation, 1700–2007*.[55]

The Welsh portion of the research relies heavily on *A Social History of the Welsh Language*, edited by Geraint H. Jenkins, a unique series that covers all aspects of the Welsh language's development, including the efforts to revive Welsh language culture.[56] For context on the search for Welsh national identity, I used Kenneth Morgan's *Rebirth of a Nation*.[57] Specific topics, such as the origins of *Eisteddfod* culture, are covered in a series edited by Geraint Jenkins on Iolo Morganwg, which traces the history of neo-druidism in Welsh culture, a key element in later Pan-Celtic activities.[58] Marion Löffler's *Literary and Historical Legacy of Iolo Morganwg (1826–1926)* turned out to be particularly important for this research.[59]

Finally, the *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe*, edited by Joep Leerssen, has proven to be an excellent resource for information on the revivalist movements studied here.[60] The first volume contains biographical articles on key figures involved in these movements, while the second volume includes chapters dedicated to different forms of "romantic nationalism," including a chapter on the Celtic revival. The project is exceptional not only for its scale but also for its transnational approach to the study of nationalist identities.

[54] McLeod, Wilson. *Gaelic in Scotland: Policies, Movements, Ideologies*. Edinburgh University Press, 2020.
[55] Devine, T. M. *The Scottish Nation, 1700-2007*. Penguin, 2006.
[56] The most important of the series for this dissertation are: Jenkins, Geraint H. *Language and Community in the Nineteenth Century*. University of Wales Press, 1998, and Jenkins, Geraint H., editor. *The Welsh Language and Its Social Domains, 1801-1911*. University of Wales Press, 2000.
[57] Morgan, Kenneth O. *Rebirth of a Nation. Wales 1880-1980.* Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1981.
[58] Jenkins, Geraint H., editor. *Iolo Morganwg and the Romantic Tradition in Wales*. University of Wales Press, 2005-2012.
[59] Löffler Marion. *The Literary and Historical Legacy of Iolo Morganwg (1826-1926)*. University of Wales Press, 2007.
[60] Leerssen, Joep, et al., editors. *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe*. Amsterdam University Press, 2018.

2 Historical Context of the Research

This chapter provides the historical background relevant to the present research, focusing on the contexts surrounding the revivalist societies and their cultural output. It examines the circumstances under which these societies were founded, their objectives, and places their activities within a broader historical framework. Additionally, it offers insights into the development of language and native culture, where such contexts are crucial for interpreting the results of the analysis. The final subchapter outlines the historical background of the use of the term *Celtic*, shedding light on the processes that shaped its construction and adoption across Celtic countries from the 16th to the 19th century.

2.1 *Union régionaliste breton* (Brittany)[61]

Breton regionalism emerged in the late nineteenth century as a response to the strong centralisation imposed by the French state. It is considered part of the *mouvement breton*, known as *Emsav*.[62] In general, this term refers to various initiatives and organisations that oppose the cultural, economic, social and administrative marginalisation of Bretons within France, often incorporating a political dimension.[63] In scholarly circles, most authors distinguish three main phases in the history of the Breton movement: the first extends from the nineteenth century to the beginning of the First World War, the second concludes with the German occupation, and the third begins in the aftermath of the Second World War and continues to the present day.[64]

The first phase began with the foundation of the *Union régionaliste breton* (URB) in 1898 and ended with the outbreak of the First World War. Some authors view the URB as the origin of the entire Breton movement,[65] as it was among the first initiatives to advocate autonomy for Brittany not only in the cultural sphere but also in administrative and economic matters.[66] This period represents a type of Breton regionalist discourse often described as conservative by several scholars.[67] It began with the unification of Breton regionalist initiatives under the URB and ended with the movement's

[61] Part of this subchapter was published in Reiterová, Martina. ' „Základní kameny" Bretonského regionalismu. Jeho vznik a vývoj do roku 1914'. *Historická sociologie*, vol. 2018, no. 2, Dec. 2018, pp. 101–17.
[62] *Emsav* means "the rise" or "the uprising" and is a term that broadly corresponds to the *mouvement breton*, encompassing all Breton cultural initiatives, whether regionalist, autonomist, or pro-independence (Cornette, Joël. *Histoire de la Bretagne et des Bretons. Tome 2*. Éd. du Seuil, 2008, p. 453).
[63] Alain Croix, Jean-Christophe Cassard, Jean-René Le Quéau *et al*., *Dictionnaire d'histoire de Bretagne*, Morlaix, Skol Vreizh, 2008, p. 520.
[64] Cadiou, Georges. *Emsav. Dictionnaire critique, historique et biographique*. Spézet, Coop Breizh, 2013, p. 8.
[65] Cornette (2008), p. 295.
[66] Denis (1992), p. 79.
[67] Cornette (2008), p. 453; Bertho (1979), p. 489; Le Gall, Yvon. 'Le régionalisme breton : Le Marquis de l'Estourbeillon et l'Union régionaliste bretonne' in Gérard Chianea and Robert Chagny (eds). *Le département, hier, aujourd'hui, demain : De la province à la région, de la centralisation à la décentralisation*. Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 1994, p. 401.

interruption by the war, after which Breton regionalism diversified. Notably, the post-war period saw the rise of a new Breton movement, which has been characterised as more independentist or even nationalist, epitomised by *Breiz Atao*.[68]

The Union began to form in the 1890s, building on a foundation of literary and cultural agitation, as was common in other parts of France at the time. The URB officially established in August 1898 in Morlaix (Lower Brittany), where "prominent figures from the Breton literary world met in the meeting room of the Hôtel-de-Ville".[69] The society's goals, as outlined in the first issue of its bulletin, were to protect and promote Brittany's regional, political, literary, agricultural, and business interests and to act as "a barrier against the invasion of Parisianism, and a base for building administrative decentralisation and the relative autonomy of the provinces".[70] To accomplish these aims, the URB formed four key sections, each led by an elected president: 1) Economic and Scientific Section; 2) History and Literature Section; 3) Breton Language and Literature Section; 4) Fine Arts Section.[71]

While the URB did not seek full independence, it advocated for regional autonomy within the framework of the French state, believing that "only through decentralisation" could they reclaim "moral autonomy, consisting of absolute respect for [their] traditions and freedoms" to which they believed they had "undeniable rights".[72] At its height, the URB had several hundred members (around 700). Among its most prominent figures were Anatole Le Braz, its first president, who was succeeded in 1903 by the Marquis de l'Estourbeillon, the *Union*'s leading figure until his death in 1946. Other key members included singer Théodore Botrel, Jean Choleau (head of the economic section), Taldir Jaffrennou, Francis Even, François Vallée (leaders of the Breton Gorsedd, a neo-Bardic and neo-Druidic organisation), Charles Le Goffic, a renowned literary figure, and many others.

The URB's primary activities included an annual congress, held each year in a different Breton town. In 1907, the regionalists introduced another regular annual event, the "Assises d'hiver" (also known as the "Assises de printemps"). After each of these gatherings, the *Union* published a bulletin reporting on the proceedings and featuring full transcripts of the speeches. These bulletins serve as the main source for the discourse analysis. The bulletins were intended for URB members, to keep them informed of the movement's progress, particularly in cases of absenteeism from events. However,

[68] The *Breiz Atao* ('Bretagne toujours', 'Brittany always') was the name of a magazine published between 1919 and 1939, and generally it is a term used for Breton movement of the interwar period (Cadiou [2013], p. 50).
[69] "(…) des notabilités et des illustrations du monde littéraire breton se réunissaient dans la salle des séances de l'Hôtel-de-Ville." *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Morlaix.-Vannes.-Guingamp.-Quimperlé de 1898 à 1901*, Saint Brieuc, 1902, p. 9.
[70] "(…) une barrière contre l'envahissement du parisianisme, et une base solide pour y appuyer l'édifice de la décentralisation administrative et de l'autonomie relative des provinces (…)", Idem., p. 12.
[71] *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès d'Auray de 1902,* Saint-Brieuc, 1903, p. 7.
[72] *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Gourin 1904,* Redon, 1905, p. 38.

the bulletins primarily targeted a broader Breton audience, including expatriates and emigrants. Based on the content, it is clear that the authors also sought to address other groups, including both supporters and opponents. In short, the bulletins were the main link between the URB and the public. Historian Catherine Bertho notes that the bulletins were most likely read by the city's literate middle classes.[73]

Regarding the history of the URB during the period studied, a notable event was the split of some of its members in 1911, who went on to establish the *Fédération régionaliste de Bretagne* (FRB). In the FRB's first bulletin, three main reasons for the split were suggested: the "introduction of worldly elements alien to the Breton and regionalist cause (...)," the authoritarianism of President de l'Estourbeillon, and a "new presidential entourage" that viewed regionalist activities as mere entertainment.[74] Taldir Jaffrennou, in his account of the early Breton movement, suggested that the division was between the Marquis de l'Estourbeillon, the aristocracy, and the Bretons of Paris or Upper Brittany (URB) on one side, and the Breton-speaking regionalists of Lower Brittany, the bards, and the low-clericals on the other (FRB).[75] The sources also suggest that neo-Bardic and neo-Druidic activities may have been another point of contention between the URB and FRB.

2.2 *Conradh na Gaeilge* (Ireland)

Conradh na Gaeilge (Gaelic League) was established in 1893 by Douglas Hyde, Eoin MacNeil, David Comyn and others.[76] The society's aims were twofold: 1) the preservation of Irish as the national language of Ireland and the extension of its use as a spoken tongue, and 2) the study and publication of existing Gaelic literature alongside the cultivation of a modern Irish-language.[77] Initially, the primary activity of the League was organising Irish language courses, which rapidly expanded. By 1904, the Gaelic League was administering nearly 600 Irish language classes throughout Ireland, attracting learners from all social strata.[78] The situation of the Irish language was unique, as its sudden decline during the Famine (1845–1847) set it apart from the more gradual language loss seen in other Celtic-speaking regions. Drawing inspiration from Welsh *Eisteddfod*, the Gaelic League established an annual competition for Irish language culture in 1897, called *Oireachtas*. The organisers strategically scheduled the first *Oireachtas* to coincide with *Feis Ceoil*, a national festival of Irish music and dance.[79]

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[73] Bertho (1979), p. 485-489.
[74] "introduction d'élements mondains étrangers à la cause bretonne et régionaliste (...)", "nouvel entourage présidentiel", *Bulletin de la Fédération régionaliste de la Bretagne*, Keraez, 1912, p. 3.
[75] Jaffrennou, François. *La Genèse d'un Mouvement : Articles, Doctrines et Discours 1898-1911*. Impr. du 'Peuple', 1912, p. 191.
[76] Leerssen (2018), vol. 2, p. 1107.
[77] Koch, John T., editor. *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia*. ABC-CLIO, 2006, p. 478.
[78] Koch (2006), p. 479.
[79] Koch (2006), p. 738.

Originally, *Oireachtas* focused on competitions in folklore, dramatic sketches, and recitations, with literary categories added later.[80] So-called *Feiseanna* were first level, local cultural festivals held throughout the year, culminating in the national *Oireachtas*.[81] By 1903, an informal ranking system was in place, allowing winners of local *feiseanna* to advance to higher levels, ultimately competing at the national *Oireachtas*. In 1905, *Conradh na Gaeilge* took steps to stop the use of the term *feis* for events not organised by them,[82] an important point in the context of competition between *Conradh* and other Irish bodies with similar objectives.

Another key aspect of *Conradh na Gaeilge* was its volunteer-based structure, which contributed to its somewhat disorganised character, especially during the 1890s. After the establishment of the original Dublin branch, members in other major Irish cities (Cork, Galway, and Belfast) began forming local branches from 1894 onwards, referred to in Irish as *craobh* (plural *craobhacha*).[83] In the development of both organisations, differences emerge between *Conradh* and Scottish *An Comunn Gaidhealach*. Unlike *Conradh*, which allowed branches to form organically, *An Comunn Gaidhealach* centralised its activities from the outset, aiming to maintain control over all branches established in Scotland. The branch system used by *An Comunn* was likely inspired by the *craobhacha* system in Ireland, but Scottish Gaelic revivalists coordinated the creation of branches more deliberately, contrasting with the more spontaneous development of *Conradh*'s branch network. While the *craobhacha* recognised the authority of the central body, they operated with significant independence until 1899, when the national executive committee, *Coiste Gnótha*, was established. The different *craobhacha* were answerable to the annual congress, *Ard-Fheis*, through the executive committee, and gradually, *Conradh* got essentially centralized in Dublin, as representatives from the capital were more likely to attend its meetings. *Conradh* became more organised with the professionalisation of its executive staff in 1902, though local officers remained volunteers and often failed to meet their responsibilities. The society reached its peak between 1906 and 1908, with nearly 700 branches across Ireland, as well as branches within the Irish diaspora. However, membership numbers fluctuated significantly.[84] In general, *Conradh*, as the main representative of the language movement in Ireland, attracted members from across the political and religious spectrum. However, its claims of being "non-political" and "non-sectarian" were not always accurate, [85] as the results of the discourse analysis in this dissertation demonstrate.[86]

[80] Koch (2006), p. 479.
[81] Leerssen (2018), p. 1123.
[82] Koch (2006), p. 738.
[83] McMahon (2008), chap 1., subtitle "The World that They Knew".
[84] McMahon (2008), chap 1., subtitle "The World that They Knew".
[85] McMahon (2008), chap 1., subtitle "We Were Really Building up a Nation".
[86] See 3.6 Movement, Ireland.

Before *Conradh na Gaeilge*, the other major cultural nationalist body in Ireland was the *Gaelic Athletic Association* (GAA; *Cumann Lúthchleas Gael*), founded in 1884. As the name suggests, the GAA focused on sports, aiming to counter the dominance of English sports. Its policy forbade members from participating in "foreign games" such as cricket, rugby, soccer, and hockey.[87] The GAA institutionalised and formalised original Irish sports like hurling and Gaelic football. Although the Irish language was not its primary concern, the GAA's Catholic and rural character helped it reach a mass audience and spread the idea of national identity across the island, playing a complementary role to *Conradh*.[88] Another society with similar aims was the *Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language* (SPIL; *Cumann Buan-Choimeádta na Gaeilge*), founded in 1876 by Carmelite priest John Nolan.[89] SPIL primarily focused on ensuring Irish was taught in Irish-speaking areas and supported modern Irish-language literary production.[90] It shared with *Conradh* a particular focus on Irish-language education, discussed further in this subchapter. Internal divisions led to SPIL's split in 1879, with Dublin-based ex-members founding the Gaelic Union. In 1882, the Gaelic Union established a journal, *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge* (The Gaelic Journal), which was taken over by *Conradh* in 1894 and published until 1909.[91]

The simultaneous emergence of *Conradh na Gaeilge* and other similar organisations between 1893 and 1911 is no coincidence. This can be explained by the relative powerlessness of constitutional politics during that period, following the defeat of the second Home Rule Bill. Mathews categorises these organisations as self-help initiatives. In addition to *Conradh*, this includes the *National Literary Society* (founded in 1892) and the *Irish Literary Theatre* (1899), both established by William Butler Yeats.[92] Yeats appointed Douglas Hyde as president of the *National Literary Society*, where Hyde delivered his famous speech "The Necessity of De-Anglicising Ireland," later published by *Conradh* as part of its pamphlet series.[93] The *National Literary Society* aimed to restore native Irish culture by establishing a high cultural centre in Ireland, preventing the local bourgeoisie from exclusively absorbing English literary culture. The main objective was to publish and make available the literature, folklore and legends of Ireland to its people.[94] Though this goal overlapped with that of *Conradh*, there were significant differences. Yeats believed Irish culture could be restored even if the Irish language disappeared, whereas Hyde saw the vernacular language as essential to the re-establishment of Irish

[87] Leerssen (2018), p. 1121.
[88] Koch (2006), p. 776-777.
[89] McMahon (2008), chap 2., subtitle "Clerical Attitudes toward Irish in the Nineteenth Century".
[90] Koch (2006), p. 512.
[91] McMahon (2008), chap 2., subtitle "Clerical Attitudes toward Irish in the Nineteenth Century"; Koch (2006), p. 512.
[92] Mathews (2003), p. 8-10.
[93] Koch (2006), p. 574.
[94] Mathews (2003), p. 13-14.

national culture.[95] The *National Literary Society* was more elitist than *Conradh* and, unlike the latter, did not manage to mobilise the general public.[96]

The *Irish Literary Theatre*, like the *National Literary Society*, aimed to present Irish vernacular culture to the people, countering English theatrical productions, which were seen as imperialist. The new theatre sought to enrich national culture, stimulate intellectual debate, and foster a positive image of the Irish nation. Drama became the dominant cultural discourse in early twentieth-century Ireland.[97] With a new theatre building, W.B. Yeats, Lady Augusta Gregory, and Edward Martyn developed Irish drama in English, again causing friction with Hyde's *Conradh na Gaeilge*.[98] *Conradh* rejected the assumption that Irish was a dying language and based its entire existence on the belief that Irish national culture could only be restored through the Irish language.[99] In relation to the topic of this dissertation, it is crucial to highlight the nature of Yeats's work and that of those in his literary circle. Their aesthetic was deeply influenced by fin de siècle symbolism, mysticism, and spirituality, which ultimately led them to adopt Celtic mythology as a primary source of inspiration.[100] With the division between English and Irish cultural awakening along the line between *Conradh na Gaeilge* and the *National Literary Theatre*, the Celtic aspect was adopted by the English-language movement represented by the latter, and *Conradh* thus naturally struggled with its acceptance.[101]

The main source for this research is *Conradh*'s *An Claidheamh Soluis* ("The sword of light"), a bilingual weekly journal established by *Conradh* in 1899.[102] Before this, Conradh had already taken over the Gaelic Union's magazine, *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge* ("Irish journal"). In 1900, *An Claidheamh Soluis* merged with *Fáinne an Lae* ("The dawn"), which *Conradh* had also taken over.[103] *An Claidheamh Soluis* became *Conradh*'s main propaganda tool and contributed significantly to the revival of Irish literature, particularly during Patrick Pearse's tenure as editor (1903–1909). In the interwar period, the journal had undergone several changes, including its name,[104] and it was eventually discontinued in 1932.[105]

[95] Mathews (2003), p. 14.
[96] Leerssen (2018), p. 1107.
[97] Mathews (2003), p. 22.
[98] Koch (2006), p. 981.
[99] Matthews (2003), p. 23.
[100] Leerssen (2018), p. 1105.
[101] See 3.7 Celticism and Celtic Identity, Ireland.
[102] For more detailed information on the analysis of the journal, see 1.3. Sources.
[103] Koch (2006), p. 479.
[104] In 1918, it was renamed *Fáinne an Lae agus an Claidheamh Soluis*. From 1919 until 1922, it was known as *Misneach* ("courage"), before reverting to *Fáinne an Lae agus an Claidheamh Soluis.* After 1926, its final title became *An Claidheamh Soluis agus Fáinne an Lae* [Koch (2006, p. 451].
[105] Koch (2006), p. 451.

An Claidheamh Soluis was also intended to serve as an Irish-language medium for learners, allowing them to practise their skills individually or in groups.[106]

One of Conradh's key agendas was reforming the education system, specifically integrating Irish into national curricula. The National School system, established in 1831, excluded Irish school curricula. For most of the nineteenth century, Irish was absent from general education discourse, even in the *Gaeltachtaí*, Irish-speaking areas. The Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language and its successor, the Gaelic Union, led campaigns to introduce Irish in schools, particularly in *Gaeltachtaí*. These efforts resulted in Irish being permitted as an examination subject in secondary schools and as an extra-fee subject in primary education (1878 and 1879). In 1883, Irish was allowed in Gaeltacht schools as the language of instruction, "as an aid to the elucidation of English", again thanks to Gaelic Union's efforts. *Conradh na Gaeilge* continued and intensified campaigns for bilingual education, frequently comparing Irish education to the Welsh system.[107] *Conradh*'s goal was to integrate Irish into regular school hours in primary schools and introduce it as a medium of instruction in Gaeltacht schools.[108] In 1904, the Commission of National Education approved a bilingual programme of instruction, a topic extensively covered in *An Claidheam Soluis*, especially by Patrick Pearse, the strongest supporting voice for Irish education at the time.[109]

Like Scottish *An Comunn Gaidhealach*, education became a politicized issue for *Conradh*. According to Brian Ó Conchubhair, *Conradh*'s politicization increased after the Great War.[110] His research on Irish speakers and *Conradh* members in the British army suggests that, when debating the war in *An Claidheamh Soluis*, the enemy was not Germany, but the imperialism of both Germany and the United Kingdom, as well as their cultures and language.[111] However, Douglas Hyde had already resigned as a president of *Conradh* in 1915, citing as reasons its increased radicalisation and political involvement.[112]

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[106] In regular reports from the various branches of the League, words of appreciation frequently appeared, praising *An Claidheamh Soluis* as an excellent resource for teaching the Irish language. Irish language literature was generally neither widely available nor affordable, and the League criticized the influx of cheap, low-quality English-language literature flooding the Irish market (see, for instance, 'Debasing literature: its Antidote', *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Aibreán 29, 1899, p. 104-105.)

[107] Leerssen (2018), p. 1124.

[108] Koch (2006), p. 479.

[109] Leerssen (2018), p. 1125.

[110] Conchubhair, Brian Ó. 'Capturing the Trenches of Language: World War One, the Irish Language and the Gaelic League'. *Modernist Cultures*, vol. 13, no. 3, 2018, p. 383, 387.

[111] Idem, p. 388.

[112] Koch (2006), p. 479.

2.3 *Comunn na Gaidhealach* (Scotland)[113]

An Comunn Gaidhealach was founded in 1891 in Oban, a town situated in the Highlands, on the western coast of the Scottish mainland. In contrast to earlier Gaelic societies, which were antiquarian and more city-based in nature,[114] *An Comunn* aimed to serve a broader, more popular audience. The organisation addressed Gaelic language issues, set practical objectives, and adopted a more popular and less academic outlook.[115] From today's perspective, *An Comunn* is considered by far the most important Gaelic organisation. Before the creation of the society, which for a long time was the only one dedicated solely to promoting the Gaelic language and culture,[116] Oban already hosted another Gaelic cultural body. It was the *Lorne Ossianic Society* which held Highland games organised by the Landowners of Argyllshire.[117] However, these gatherings were restricted to the local aristocracy, prompting the decision to create a new society with objectives similar to the Welsh *Gorsedd*.[118] The social composition of the newly established *An Commun* ranged from the highest aristocracy to the upper middle class, although the society relied on the patronage of its wealthier members.[119] Despite its stated aim of including all Highlanders,[120] the society retained an elitist character.[121]

As outlined in *An Commun*'s founding *Manifesto*, its five primary objectives were 1) to promote Gaelic literature, music, and home industries, 2) to encourage teaching of Gaelic in Highlands schools, 3) to hold an annual festival and competition in the Gaelic language, 4) to regularly publish a volume featuring winning compositions, and 5) to raise funds for achieving these objectives.[122] At the time, the movement did not define itself as "revivalist", as the editor of *An Deò-Ghréine* in 1906 stated that

[113] This subchapter was partially published in Vacková Reiterová, Martina. 'Scottish Gaelic Movement and Celtic Identity: *An Comunn Gaidhealach* at the Turn of the Twentieth Century'. *International Review of Scottish Studies*, vol. 48, no. 2, Dec. 2023, pp. 94–123.

[114] For an overview of the Gaelic cultural societies and the general context of the Gaelic movement during this period, see Wilson McLeod, 'Foundations, 1872–1918' in *Gaelic in Scotland*, pp. 56-111.

[115] Murchison, T.M. 'Story of An Comunn'. *An Gaidheal*, vol. L, 1955, p. 22.

[116] Koch (2006), p. 471.

[117] The *Lorne Ossianic Society*, established in 1872, gained prominence through the Highland Games it organised each winter. These games became highly popular and drew attention to the cultural activities in Oban. The society ceased to exist in the 1880s, and some of its former members contributed to the establishment of *An Comunn*. (Murchison [1955], p. 15).

[118] Interestingly, the idea of holding an event similar to the Welsh *Eisteddfod* originated not in the Highlands, but in Edinburgh newspapers. A Scottish visitor to the *Eisteddfod* proposed the creation of such a festival in the Highlands. According to Murchison, editor of *An Gaidheal* in the 1950s, the visitor was Professor Masson, who held the Chair of English Literature at Edinburgh University at the time (Murchison [1955], p. 22).

[119] Thompson (1992), p.11-16.

[120] "It is hoped that every one [*sic*] sympathising with the objects of the Association […] will […] do their best to induce others to join, and by every means in their power make the Association what it aims at being, a truly popular and national organisation.", Comunn Gaidhealach, *To Highlanders at home and abroad.: manifesto by the Executive Council of 'The Highland Association' (An Comunn Gaidhealach, explanatory of the objects and works of the Association*, 1891, p. 3.

[121] McLeod (2020), p. 59.

[122] Comunn Gaidhealach, *Manifesto*, 1891.

the Gaelic language was neither dead nor in danger of extinction or in any need of revivification—a debatable claim from today's perspective.[123] The Welsh language cultural environment's influence is evident in several aspects surrounding *An Comunn*'s foundation. The society's original name in Gaelic was *Comunn airson Leasachaidh Ceol agus Litreachas nan Gaidheal*, and in English, it was known as the 'The Highland Bardic Association'.[124] One of its five main objectives was to "hold An annual Gathering, at which competitions shall take place, and prizes be awarded" called *Mòd*,[125] a concept modelled on the Welsh *National Eisteddfod*.[126] During its first decade, *An Comunn*'s leadership focused primarily on organising the *Mòd*.[127] Since the promotion of the Gaelic language and culture was the main purpose of the society, the primary intended audience (or target group) was not rural Gaelic speakers. They were nonetheless involved in the society's activities and events, although the social composition of the attendees of *An Comunn*'s events and the readers of its publications was predominantly bourgeois in character. For instance, the initial copies of the *Manifesto* were distributed as circulars primarily aimed at "chairmen of school boards in the Highlands, teachers, Gaelic societies, members of council."[128]

An Comunn was led by a President and Executive Council. To ensure effective management, three sub-committees–educational, musical, and financial– were established from the outset.[129] Following discussions at the executive meeting of 1899, a ground-breaking provision was made in 1900 when a special provision was added to the constitution, allowing for the creation of branches across Scotland.[130] The same development can be observed in the expansion of *Conradh na Gaeilge* in Ireland after 1900.[131] In Scotland, branches were to be formed in places where no Gaelic societies existed, with a committee appointed to oversee them.[132] The first branch was founded in Oban in 1902, and others soon followed.[133] As a result, between 1902 and 1914, *An Comunn*'s membership grew tenfold, from

[123] 'Revival', *An Deo-Ghréine*, 2, Mìos Deireannach an Fhoghair 1906, 3.
[124] Murchison (1955), p. 24. The literal translation of the name into English is the 'Society for the Improvement of the Music and Literature of the Gaels'.
[125] The word *mòd* is Norse in origin and is related to the English noun *moot,* a gathering (McLeod [2020], p. 61).
[126] The efforts of denominating such a gathering also bear clear signs of Welsh influence when Malcom Macfarlane, the first editor of *An Deo-Ghréine*, suggested to call the gathering *Comhfharpais nam Bàrd* (Murchison [1955], p. 24).
[127] Murchison (1955), p. 45.
[128] NLS, Acc 13695 Archive of An Comunn Gaidhealach, Vol. 1 Minutes of meeting of Executive Council held at Gallander on 30 May 1891, p. 7.
[129] NLS, Acc 13695 Archive of An Comunn Gaidhealach, Vol. 1 Minutes of Executive Council, Minutes of General meeting held in Edinburgh on 4 October 1899, p. 67-68.
[130] Thompson (1992), p. 25.
[131] McMahon (2008), chap 3 "All Creeds and All Classes"?', section 'Side by side with the commonest and lowliest'.
[132] NLS, Acc 13695 Archive of An Comunn Gaidhealach, Vol. 1 Minutes of Executive Council, Minute of General meeting held in Edinburgh on 4 October 1899, 67-68.
[133] Dingwall (1904), Stornoway (1905), Inverness (1906), Ardrishaig (1906), Kilmodan (1906). MacLeod, Donald John. 'Twentieth Century Gaelic literature: a description, comprising critical study and a comprehensive bibliography'. PhD dissertation, University of Glasgow, 1969, p. 15.

200 to 2,000. Further revisions in 1911 established the final organisational structure, which linked the central association, life and ordinary members, branches, affiliated societies, and the Executive Council. The Executive Council comprised annually elected office-bearers and representatives of the branches and affiliated societies.[134] In 1910, the society's headquarters moved outside the Highlands, to Glasgow.[135]

The primary for this research is *An Comunn*'s official magazine, *An Deo-Ghréine*. [136] The analysis covers issues published from the launch of the magazine in 1905 up until 1914 (ten volumes in total), and is supplemented by minutes of *An Comunn*'s Executive Council meetings and personal correspondence from its members. The magazine was published monthly, with each issue typically containing around 15 pages (approximately 200 pages per volume). Texts were published in both English and Gaelic, at a ratio of about 2:1. Gaelic content included editorials (from the second volume onwards), artistic production (poetry, music, short stories), and language lessons. The magazine's purpose, as stated in the preface to its first volume, was to serve as a "propagandist organ on behalf of the language, literature, arts and industries of the Gael" which "would ensure its mission by their [Highlanders'] literary contributions."[137] Its content evolved over time but consistently included columns reporting news in the Gaelic revival environment, updates on *An Comunn*'s projects, invitations to events, event to those organised by other Gaelic societies, and calls for contributions. Articles on language, education, and literary activities appeared regularly. Given *An Comunn*'s emphasis on organising the *Mòd*, many issues were dedicated to the competitions, prize lists, jury comments, and the publication of winning works (including short stories, songs, and poems in Gaelic).

2.4 Welsh Revivalist Culture and its History

In contrast with the other subchapters, here, the focus here is not solely on the history and activities of the studied society. As explained in the introduction it is difficult to identify a single, most important and influential revivalist body in the Welsh case. Therefore, this section serves two purposes: 1) to outline the history of the Welsh revivalist movement, essential for understanding the analysis results,

[134] Murchison (1955), p. 63.
[135] 'Important announcement', *An Deo-Gréine,* 5, Mìos Meadhonach an Earraich, 1910, p. 95.
[136] The name of the magazine derives from a ballad poem of the medieval Fenian cycle where *an deo-ghréine*, translated as 'ray of sunshine' or *sunbeam,* was the name of the heroes' banner ('Queries and Answers', *An Deo-Ghréine*, 1, An treas mìos 1, 1906, p. 104). The spelling of the name was altered in November 1906, with the aspirate 'h' being dropped, thus changing the title to *An Deo-Gréine*. Around the same time, the English translation of the name ('Sunbeam') on the magazine's cover was also omitted (Editor, 'Notes from our Watch-Tower', *An Deo-Gréine*, 2, Samhuinn, 1906, p. 34). The name was fully changed in January 1923 to *Gailig*, with the aim of clarifying the objectives of *An Comunn*. However, following some criticism regarding the grammar of the new title, the magazine was eventually renamed *An Gaidheal* (Thompson [1992], p. 52).
[137] *An Deo-Ghréine,* 1, 1905, preface.

and 2) to provide a historical background on Welsh cultural institutions, such as the *Eisteddfod* and the *Gorsedd*, which were adopted or a significant role in influencing other Celtic language revivals.

The development of the linguistic situation in Wales positively impacted the status of the Welsh language during the studied period. With Act of Union (1536) recognised the Welsh language within the English state. A major factor contributing to the preservation and enhancement of the Welsh language and literary tradition was the translation of the Bible into Welsh The first official translation dates back to the Elizabethan era, enabling a smooth transition from religious texts into a flourishing Welsh-language literary and print culture. Together with the earlier literary tradition, preserved in manuscripts, shared and kept by poets and antiquarians, the Welsh language and literary tradition continued to thrive, leading to an explosion of printed texts in both Welsh and English by the turn of the 18th century. Consequently, the romantic "revival" of a lost national literature, typical of other revivalist movements, did not fully apply to the Welsh case.[138]

As a result, the Welsh language and cultural movement began earlier than in the other Celtic countries, with significant developments already in the first half of the 19th century. Its origins can be traced to the founding of the *Honourable and Loyal Society of Ancient Britons* (1715) and, more notably, the *Cymmrodorion Society*,[139] established in London in 1751. This patriotic and charitable association aimed to gather prominent Welsh speakers in London to restore the literary heritage of the Welsh nation. Being city-based and elite, the society took a more conservative approach to renewing Welsh culture,[140] which likely contributed to its decline in membership and eventual dissolution in 1787 (though it was re-established in 1820 and again in 1873, continuing to this day).[141] The less formal *Gwyneddigion Society,*[142] founded in 1770 by members of *Cymmrodorion* in London, gained greater popularity and and became a focal point for a broader, less elitist audience by the late 18th century.[143] Its members worked closely with Iolo Morganwg, the spiritual father of neo-bardic activities in Wales.[144] The *Gwyneddigion Society* thus organised the first *Gorsedd* of Bards under Iolo's leadership

[138] Leerssen (2018), p. 1462-1465, Koch (2006), p. 206.

[139] The word *Cymmrodorion* means 'Aborigines' in English referring to the Welsh people as the original inhabitants of Britain. For more information about the history of the society, see Jenkins R T. *A History of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion and of the Gwyneddogion and Cymreigyddion Societies (1751-1951)* / by R. T. Jenkins and Helen M.Ramage. The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1951.

[140] Löffler, Marion. "Chapter 11 A Century of Change: The Eisteddfod and Welsh Cultural Nationalism". *The Matica and Beyond*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2020, p. 235; Koch (2006), p. 527.

[141] Jones, Emrys and Powel, Dewi. 'The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion: a concise history 1751-2001', p. 4-5. (available at https://www.cymmrodorion.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/The-Honourable-Society-of-Cymmrodorion-a-concise-history-1751-2001.pdf); Koch (2006), p. 528.

[142] The name *Gwyneddigion* refers to north-western part of Wales and means 'the men of North Wales', Morgan, Prys. 'The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period' in Hobsbawm and Ranger (2012), p. 59.

[143] Koch (2006), p. 669.

[144] For more about the establishment of the *Gorsedd Beirdd Ynys Prydain* by Iolo Morganwg, see 2.5 Celticism and Celtic Identity.

at Primrose Hill in 1792. Iolo Morgawg later organised additional *Gorseddau* across Wales, though these activities were suppressed in 1799 by the government due to wartime concerns with France.[145] The last late eighteenth century London-based Welsh society, the *Cymreigyddion Society* (1795), was considered even more democratic than its predecessors, though it ceased to exist by the 1850s. However, many Wales-based societies adopted the *Cymreigyddion* name, symbolising the shift of cultural revival efforts from London to Wales itself. These societies primarily focused on cataloguing and publishing Welsh manuscripts and establishing a Welsh-language book repository, which eventually became the foundation for the National Library of Wales.[146] Most of their energy, however, was directed towards organising *eisteddfodau*.[147]

The word *eisteddfod*, derived from the verb *eistedd* ("to sit"), translates literally to "a sitting gathering" and traditionally referred to competitions where bards performed at noble courts. The first recorded eisteddfod took place in Cardigan Castle in 1176.[148] Following this medieval tradition, a few *eisteddfodau* were held over the centuries, efforts to revive them began around 1700. Isolated events of this kind were organized in Wales during the eighteenth century, having a more informal, tavern-like atmosphere. By the 1780s, the institutionalisation of newly established bardic competitions began as Welsh cultural societies started to organise their own *eisteddfodau*.[149] Apart from the London-based *Cymmrodorion* and *Gwyneddigion* societies, a number of so-called Cambrian[150] societies were founded in Wales during this period. These societies naturally adopted the *eisteddfodau* as a way to advance their activities aimed at preserving the antiquarian and literary heritage of Wales. Most were founded and led by Anglican priests who sought to prevent nonconformist denominations from gaining influence in Welsh-speaking parishes. After the Napoleonic wars, the organisation of both *eisteddfodau* and *gorseddau* resumed, and the movement made rapid progress.[151]

A turning point came in 1819 in Carmarthen, when the Cambrian Society of Dyfed included a *Gorsedd* ceremony in its *eisteddfod* for the first time, staged by Iolo Morganwg.[152] From that year onwards,

[145] Hobsbawm and Ranger (2012), p. 61; Koch (2006), p. 834-835.
[146] For instance, the collection of Sir John Williams, a prominent member of the Cymmrodorion Society, became the founding collection of the National Library and was a key reason for its establishment in Aberystwyth (Davies, W. Ll., (1959). WILLIAMS, Sir JOHN (1840 - 1926), baronet, Court physician, principal founder of the National Library of Wales. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, https://biography.wales/article/s-WILL-JOH-1840. Accessed 16 May 2023).
[147] Löffler (2020), p. 237.
[148] Koch (2006), p. 664-665.
[149] Hobsbawm and Ranger (2012), p. 57.
[150] "Cambria" is a latinized derivative of Cymru, "Cambrian, adj. (and n.)." Oxford English Dictionary, *Online*, Oxford University Press, March 2023, www.oed.com/view/Entry/26657. Accessed 12 May 2023.
[151] Koch (2006), p. 665; Löffler (2020), p. 237.
[152] Koch (2006), p. 835.

Gorsedd ceremonials became part of the proclamation and organisation of *eisteddfodau*.[153] This moment is considered the beginning of the modern *eisteddfod* movement. However, a full synergy between *Eisteddfod* and *Gorsedd* did not materialise until the second half of the 19th century. In the first half of the century, most *eisteddfodau* were accompanied by processions and religious services rather than *gorseddau*.[154] Despite being primarily celebrations of native Welsh culture, including the Welsh language, the *eisteddfodau* often served to display higher English culture to a prominent British public. As a result, the *gorseddau*, associated with Welsh pagan low culture, were initially seen as an undesirable element.[155]

Although *gorseddau* were not yet an integral part of the *eisteddfodau*, the bards of the Gorsedd frequently participated in these events, often leading processions and other public ceremonies.[156] *Eisteddfod* became institutionalised as a national event in the 1860s, partly in response to "The Treachery of the Blue Books" (discussed in detail below), and it adopted the formal title *Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru* (National Eisteddfod of Wales).[157] This institutionalisation was further solidified in 1880 with the creation of the National Eisteddfod Association, initiated by the London *Cymmrodorion*, which by that time had taken a more active role in Wales.[158] During this period, the Gorsedd of Bards remained a functioning body, organising regular ceremonies and gaining popularity among Welsh literati. It also attracted members from the ranks of active poets who participated in *eisteddfod* competitions.[159] The *Gorsedd* was formally institutionalised in 1888 with the creation of a permanent body, *Cymdeithas yr Orsedd* (The Gorsedd Society), the appointment of its first archdruid. Around this time, the National Eisteddfod faced strong criticism for being overly aligned with English culture, while the *Gorsedd*, in contrast, declared Welsh as its sole official language.[160]

Beginning in 1881, the annual National *Eisteddfod* integrated the *Gorsedd* ceremony as a key component, using it as the opening event. This period, leading up to the outbreak of the First World War, saw the National *Eisteddfod* solidify its role as the most important Welsh national institution. Consequently, the Gorsedd heritage also rose to prominence within the Welsh national movement. The two organisations worked together towards the shared goal of cultural national emancipation, drawing inspiration from other European modern national movements. In spite of their differences,

[153] Hobsbawm and Ranger (2012), p. 61.
[154] Löffler (2007), p. 47-48.
[155] Edwards, Hywel Teifi, 'The Welsh Language in the Eisteddfod' in Jenkins, Geraint H., editor. *The Welsh Language and Its Social Domains, 1801-1911*. University of Wales Press, 2000, p. 296-297.
[156] Löffler (2007), p. 50.
[157] Edwards (2000), p. 306.
[158] Koch (2006), p. 665; Löffler (2020), p. 236.
[159] Löffler (2007), p. 53.
[160] Koch (2006), p. 836.

and at times contradictory approaches—one modern, somewhat academic and literary, and the other romanticised, showcasing the "ancient" origins of Welsh culture—they contributed to a dual aspect of the Welsh national movement.[161] Despite power struggles between the two organisations, the Welsh revivalist movement embraced the Celtic neo-bardic tradition.

Education was a crucial focus for Welsh revivalists, as reflected in their texts, where it was given the highest priority. In the first half of the nineteenth century, elementary education became a significant issue for British authorities, particularly due to population growth in the mining and metallurgical regions of South Wales. Apart from other private initiatives, the British Foreign Society and the National Society were operating in Wales to improve the educative situation of children from poor families, with various results.[162] A major challenge was the language barrier, as most students were primarily Welsh speakers and not proficient in English. According to the Annual Reports, the National Society seemed either unaware of or indifferent to this problem. The Society emphasised the importance of children learning English but provided little guidance on how to address the fact that many children were non-native English speakers. While some local committees included Welsh in their curricula, most schools followed the English model of education.[163]

This lack of awareness or interest in the Welsh language issue came to an end with the publication of the 1847 *Blue Books*, which included a controversial and disparaging report on Welsh education. The term "Treachery of the Blue Books" (*Brad y Llyfrau Gleision*) is used to describe the public outrage sparked by the publication of three volumes of Reports on the Commissioners of Enquiry into the State of Education in Wales in 1847. These reports contained controversial and disparaging statements about the Welsh people, particularly targeting their language. The publication provoked strong reactions and widespread agitation throughout Wales, leaving a significant mark on both the country's educational system and its literary culture.[164] The three volumes were compiled by English inspectors appointed by Parliament in Westminster to assess Welsh education. In response to the reports, the British authorities later made efforts to improve the standard of education in Welsh schools, primarily through increased financial support and the creation of an education system more suited to the Welsh context. For example, they introduced the Elementary Education Act in 1870. However, the Welsh language was still

[161] Löffler (2007), p. 58-61.
[162] Evans, D. Gareth. *A History of Wales, 1815-1906.* University of Wales Press, 1989, p. 96-100.
[163] Evans (1989), p. 108.
[164] Digital copies of the “blue books” and a brief commentary on their impact on Welsh society are available at the website of the National Library of Wales, “The Blue Books of 1847,” *The National Library of Wales*, https://www.library.wales/discover-learn/digital-exhibitions/printed-material/the-blue-books-of-1847. Accessed 13 May 2023.

seen as an obstacle to progress, and its suppression was considered necessary.[165] This negative attitude towards the Welsh language in schools was also reflected by many teachers and parents at the time. Even materials collected by the *Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* in 1885, which considered the potential introduction of Welsh in elementary schools, implied a clear link between English language proficiency and social advancement.

The hostile attitude towards Welsh in schools began to be reassessed in the 1890s. From 1891 onwards, Welsh gained the status of a specific subject, and bilingualism was officially recognized in elementary education, although still only on an optional basis. This shift in opinion was influenced by several factors, including a growing demand for bilingual officials throughout Wales. Another key factor was the appointment of enlightened individuals to decision-making bodies, such as professors Thomas Powel and John Rhŷs, to the Central Welsh Board, established in 1896. This body instructed all elementary and intermediate schools in Welsh-speaking communities to introduce Welsh as a subject. The Society for Utilizing the Welsh Language (*Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg*), established in 1885, along with other Welsh cultural societies, such as the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, played a significant role in gradually changing the public opinion in favour of Welsh-language education.[166] These groups advocated for bilingual teaching methods and contributed by providing teaching materials, books, and even guidebooks for teachers. For instance, in a 1901 brochure, *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* (under a newly translated name of Welsh Language Society) described bilingual teaching methods as modern and internationally recognized, offering practical advice for teachers.[167] *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* was the leading organisation for the promotion and preservation of Welsh, and it also represented Wales in the *Celtic Association* and *Pan-Celtic Congress*.[168] Its first secretary, Beriah Gwynfe Evans, a journalist and dramatist, actively supported cooperation with other Celtic revivalist movements and endorsed Pan-Celtic activities. He was also a prominent figure in the *Gorsedd*.

Under the influence of other key figures, such as Dan Isaac Davies or H. Isambard Owen, even the Inspectorate adopted more favourable attitudes toward Welsh in the 1880s and 1890s. By the turn of the century, local authorities were increasingly accepting provisions in favour of Welsh-language education. For instance, the 1907 Code for Wales required that each teacher include Welsh in

[165] Morgan, Kenneth O. *Rebirth of a Nation. Wales 1880-1980*. Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1981, p. 105.
[166] Evans, Gareth W., 'The British State and Welsh-language Education 1850-1914' in Jenkins, Geraint H., editor. *The Welsh Language and Its Social Domains, 1801-1911*. University of Wales Press, 2000, p. 470-474.
[167] For instance, the teachers of Welsh are advised to "avoid feminine nouns in the first few lessons, on the principle of introducing only one difficulty at a time." *The Welsh Language Society: Scheme and Rules of the Society* (Bangor: Jarvis & Foster, 1901), p. 8.
[168] Murphy-Macinta (2017), p. 358.

the elementary school curricula. By the time of the First World War, the Welsh Department, representing the central authority, was prepared to introduce a bilingual education policy in all schools in Wales.[169]

Welsh literary culture was further disseminated among the public through the extensive publishing efforts of Owen Morgan Edwards (1858 – 1920), the most significant Welsh cultural figure of the early twentieth century. Most notably, he provided the Welsh rural population with affordable reading material, thus acquainting them with knowledge about Welsh history and traditions.[170] His most famous periodical, *Cymru'r Plant*, was a pioneering project in children's literature, leaving a lasting impact on the literary and artistic sensibilities of Welsh schoolchildren.[171] Following its success, he launched *Cymru* and *Wales* (for English speaking audience) in the 1890s. The content of these journals was largely cultural, featuring articles on Welsh nature, history, the countryside, and literary works, including poetry. With their rather naïve character, patriotic but non-political, Christian but non-denominational focus, the journals attracted a large readership across Wales and became commercial success.[172] Edwards' publishing production shaped the minds of an entire generation of Welsh people and solidified their cultural values.[173] In 1907, he was appointed the first chief inspector of schools under the newly created Welsh Education Department, where he played a key role in advancing Welsh-language education reforms.[174]

2.5 Construction of Celtic Identity and Celticism

Celticism as a means for group identification has been studied by numerous scholars across various disciplines, including history, archaeology, sociology, linguistics, and literary studies. The aim of this chapter is to synthesise, elucidate, and expand upon their findings to gain a comprehensive understanding of the concept and phenomenon. This exploration will provide insight into how Celticism functioned within the context of the late nineteenth-century revivalist movements in the United Kingdom and France. The primary purpose of this introductory subchapter is to outline and explain the construction of the term "Celt" during the early modern period, prior to its adoption and usage by revivalist groups in the nineteenth century.

[169] Evans (2000), p. 475-482.
[170] Koch (2006), p. 656.
[171] Morgan (1981), p. 103.
[172] Chapman, T. Robin. *Writing in Welsh, c.1740-2010: A Troubled Heritage*. First edition, Oxford University Press, 2020, p. 110.
[173] Morgan (1981), p. 104.
[174] Jenkins, R. T., (1959). EDWARDS, Sir OWEN MORGAN (1858 - 1920), man of letters. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, https://biography.wales/article/s-EDWA-MOR-1858. Accessed 1 May 2024.

The Oxford English Dictionary offers two main definitions for the term *Celt*. The first, qualified as "historical", refers to the "ancient peoples of Western Europe, called by the Greeks *Κελτοί*, *Κέλται*, and by the Romans *Celtae*." The second definition applies to the "modern" usage of the word describing "peoples speaking languages akin to those of the ancient *Galli*, including the Bretons in France, the Cornish, Welsh, Irish, Manx and Gaelic of the British Isles". The dictionary further discusses whether the term should be regarded as linguistic or ethnic, noting: "Popular notions, however, associate 'race' with language, and it is common to speak of the 'Celts' and 'Celtic race' as an ethnological unity having certain supposed physical and moral characteristics, especially as distinguished from 'Saxon' or 'Teuton'."[175] The concept remains ambiguous even today.

Given the elusive meanings of terms such as Celtic, Celtic identity and Celticism, it is essential to at least delimit them. The varying semantics of these terms depend on the researcher's perspective and the historical period under consideration. One extreme view considers Celticism as an empty category, used merely to imply otherness,[176] or as an entirely modern construct created to bolster national identities.[177] A widely accepted approach views Celticism similarly to Said's concept of orientalism, as a label imposed from the outside. Joep Leerssen, in his introduction to Terence Brown's *Celticism*,[178] argues that Celtic identity and Celts, as they are defined today in relation to the cultures of the British Isles[179] and Brittany, are an externally imposed construct that gradually gained currency roughly between 1650 and 1850.[180] The central argument for this interpretation is that people from these so-called Celtic countries had never historically identified themselves as such, instead calling themselves *Cymri* (Welsh), *Breizhiz* (Bretons) or *Gaedhil* (Irish).[181] Other scholars, while not necessarily in disagreement, prefer to view Celticism more positively, emphasising its international character. They argue that Celtic internationalism empowered societies to nurture and share their own cultures, moving away from the racial definitions of the Celts by redefining nationalised cultural environments.[182] In this study, Celticism is understood in its broadest sense, encompassing these varied approaches,

[175] "Celt, N. (1)." Oxford English Dictionary, Oxford UP, July 2023, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/3091802811.
[176] Chapman (1997).
[177] James, Simon. *The Atlantic Celts: Ancient People or Modern Invention?* British museum press, 1999.
[178] Brown (1996).
[179] The term "British Isles" is used as a geographical term only, following the definition of Oxford English Dictionary ("British Isles, N." Oxford English Dictionary, Oxford UP, July 2023, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/7161611366).
[180] The basic argument supporting this statement is that the people of these 'Celtic' countries had never previously identified themselves as such; rather, they referred to themselves as *Cymry* (Welsh), *Breizhiz* (Bretons) or *Gaedhil* (Irish), Joep Leerssen, 'Celticism' in Brown (1996), p. 1–20.
[181] Leerssen, Joep, 'Celticism' in Brown (1996), p. 4.
[182] This matter is thoroughly discussed by Daniel G. Williams in his chapter 'Celticism' in Marcus, Laura, et al., editors. *Late Victorian into Modern*. Oxford University Press, 2016.

allowing to observe how Celtic identity was perceived and employed in the language movements of the late nineteenth century.

Classical authorities such as Tacitus and Caesar's *Commentarii de bello Gallico* provided the primary sources of information on Celts and Celtic ethnicity for later thinkers. These sources also propagated the most enduring stereotypes about the Celts, which have influenced the modern perception of the so-called Celtic nations. Their identification was, in part, facilitated by the re-publication of many classical works in the eighteenth century, which then became foundational for scholarly work during that period.[183] The national identity movements of the nineteenth century adopted and reinterpreted these images, employing them to serve their own purposes.

The key to understanding Celtic identity before the nineteenth-century discourse lies in the evolution of the perception of ethnic origins and how they were accounted for at the time. Colin Kidd, in his study of ethnicity and nationhood in Western Europe between sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, demonstrates that ethnicity during this period was perceived and studied not through differences, but through similarities and unity. This was largely due to the theological approach to ethnic discussions at the time. Ethnic theology, which was a leading approach exemplified by figures like Paul-Yves Pezron, sought to explore the deeper unity among the peoples of the world, despite their apparent diversity.[184] The history and genealogy found in the Scripture, particularly after the Flood, with reference to the Tower of Babel, traced the unique origin of European peoples back to Japheth, the eldest son of Noah. Scholars of early modern world history considered medieval origin myths to be unreliable, and sacred history was the primary indicator of ethnic provenance.[185] As a result, British thinkers were able to formulate umbrella identities that encompassed all the peoples of the British Isles. Both Celtic and Germanic tribes were associated with the descendants of Gomer, Japheth's eldest son.[186] Even in the eighteenth century, the Celts were naturally linked to Teutonic tribes, with Edward Lhwyd (1660-1709), a key scholar of the time, recognising two branches of the so-called Celtic languages but still considering the Celtic tribes closely related to the Germanic peoples. It was only with Thomas Percy (1729-1811) that a clear distinction between Celts and Germans was drawn.[187] The differentiation between various ethnic groups in the British Isles became more complicated when the Goidelic Celts (Irish and Scottish) were racially distinguished from the Brythonic Celts (Welsh, Cornish). The Gaels were thought to be descendants of Magog, another son of Japheth, linked to the Scythians, while the Britons were said to descend from Gomer, like the Germans. Nonetheless, the vague differentiation

[183] Murphy-Macinta (2017), p. 48.
[184] Kidd (1999), p. 58.
[185] Idem, p. 59.
[186] Idem, p. 63.
[187] Idem, p. 187.

between Celtic and Germanic identities was characteristic of the early modern period, and this ambiguity was favoured by English antiquarians for political reasons.[188]

Two major developments clarified the cultural relations between different languages and joint identities during this period. First, Johann Gottfried Herder's philosophy laid the groundwork, explaining the linguistic diversity as a natural feature of humankind's communication evolution and techniques.[189] Secondly, the eighteenth-century linguistic scholarship of Sir William Jones (1746-1794) and his followers established the framework for European language families and the Indo-European paradigm, which later dominated the interpretation of cultural relations in the nineteenth century.[190] In this context, it is worth reiterating Ian Stewart's assertion that the study of Celticism in the early modern period is, in essence, a history of Celtic linguistics.[191] As such, the following pages focus on the development of Celtic discourse, particularly by mapping the work of three key figures in linguistic antiquarianism whose contributions significantly shaped the understanding of Celtic identity: Paul-Yves Pezron, Edward Lhwyd, and Thomas Percy.

The work of Cistercian Abée Paul-Yves Pezron's (1639-1706) played an important role in establishing the connection between the insular and continental Celts, specifically the Welsh and Bretons. Pezron drew from earlier publications by Scottish scholar George Buchanan and English historian William Camden, both of whom had noted linguistic affinities between ancient Gaulish, Welsh, Irish, and Scottish Gaelic, although neither had ventured to call these peoples Celts.[192] Pezron's focus was on his native Brittany, but he also included related "ethnic" groups, influencing scholars in Ireland and Britain regarding the insular Celts. His influential work, *Antiquité de la nation et de langue des Celtes autrement appelez Gaulois* (1703), translated into English in 1706 as *The antiquities of nations; more particularly of the Celtae or Gauls, taken to be originally the same people as our ancient Britains*, established a kinship between the Bretons, Welsh, and ancient Gauls, based on his toponymic or onomastic studies.[193] He argued that Breton and Welsh were modern remnants of antic Celtic language brought to Europe by Gomer, Japhet's son.[194] Although Pezron is associated with the so-called Celtomania, his

[188] Kidd (1999), p. 188. It was Philip Cluverius (1580-1622) and his *Germania Antiqua* (1616) who established a system for classifying European 'ethnies', in which two main groups, Celts and Sarmatians, encompassed all others. The Celtic group included Germans, Gauls, Britons, Saxons, and Scythians. This classification persisted until the eighteenth century (Idem, p. 191).
[189] Gottfried von Herder, Johann. *Treatise on the Origin of Language.* 1772.
[190] Leerssen (2018), p. 59.
[191] Stewart, Ian B. 'The Mother Tongue: Historical Study of the Celts and Their Language(s) in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland'. *Past & Present*, vol. 243, no. 1, Oxford Academic, May 2019, p. 75.
[192] De Barra (2018), p. 17.
[193] Carney, Sébastien. *Le Celtisme Comme Fondation de l'identité Bretonne*. 2016, p. 13.
[194] Stewart (2019), p. 90.

work was crucial in revitalising Celtic patriotism in Britain.[195] His claims also established him as a leading figure in the scholarship that linked Celtic origins to France, particularly through Brittany.[196]

Another key figure of the late seventeenth century, whose influence was even more significant, was Edward Lhwyd (1660-1709). A Welsh botanist, linguist, and antiquarian, Lhwyd classified the modern Celtic languages as they are known today. Inspired by Pezron, Lhwyd's *Archaeologia Britannica* (1707) identified affinities between Breton, Cornish, Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Manx and Welsh, and differentiated between the Brythonic and Goidelic language groups. As Colin Kidd notes, Lhwyd's work was instrumental in refining the terminological definition of Celticism and Celtic identity.[197] His *Glossography* is widely regarded as the most important work in Celtic linguistics, with Lhwyd himself often considered the father of the discipline.[198] He established connections between Irish and Welsh and demonstrated their relationship to other European languages, particularly Gaulish, through placenames. According to Joseph Rio, Lhwyd chose to classify these languages as "Celtic" rather than "Gaulish" due to the existing association of the latter term with France.[199] By proving the close affinity of Gaulish with the indigenous languages of the British Isles, Lhwyd implied that the people of Britain and Ireland were of Celtic origin. This implication, while not widely recognised at the time, had a profound impact on the national characterisation of Bretons, Irish, Welsh, and Scots in the nineteenth century.[200]

In contrast to Pezron, Lhwyd believed the Goidelic branch of Celtic languages to be more ancient than Welsh or Breton. As a result, Lhwyd's work was more frequently cited by Gaelic-speaking scholars, while Pezron's popularity endured among British antiquarians who sought to establish a closer relationship between English and Welsh.[201]

Despite Lhwyd's well-documented and rigorous studies, the Scytho-Celtic paradigm established by Cluverius continued to dominate interpretations of ethnic differences throughout the eighteenth century, with many authors still conflating Celtic and Germanic histories.[202] As Colin Kidd demonstrates, even Macpherson's *Ossian* was not considered exclusively "Celtic" at the time.[203] It was Thomas Percy,

[195] Kidd (1999), p. 67.
[196] Stewart (2019), p. 90.
[197] Kidd (1999), p. 196.
[198] Stewart (2019), p. 91; Loeffler, Marion. '"Bordering on the Region of the Marvellous": The Battle of St Fagans (1848) in Nineteenth-Century Welsh History-Writing'. *Welsh History Review*, vol. 26, no. 1, 1, University of Wales Press, July 2012, p 10.
[199] Rio, Joseph. 'Naissance du celtisme en France et en Grande-Bretagne du XVIe au XVIIIe s' in Rio Joseph (ed.). *Mémoire, oralité, culture dans les Pays Celtiques: la légende arthurienne, le celtisme*. Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008, p. 126.
[200] De Barra (2018), p. 19.
[201] Stewart (2019), p. 91-94.
[202] Kidd (1999), p. 198.
[203] Idem, p. 200-203.

through his English translation of Paul-Henri Mallet's *L'Histoire du Dannemarc* (1770) titled *Northern Antiquities* (1770), who clearly distinguished between Celtic and Germanic tribes and their descendants, using linguistic evidence. Percy differentiated between the Celts, "who were the ancestors of the Gauls, Britons and Irish," and the "Gothic or Teutonic, from whom the Germans, Belgians, Saxons and Scandinavians derived their origin."[204] He refuted the work of his predecessors, including Lhwyd, by asserting that "the Germans and Gauls, or in other words, the Celtic and Teutonic nations were sufficiently distinguished from each other, and differed considerably in person, manners, laws, religion and language."[205] Percy's work thus reinforced the separation of Celtic and Germanic identities, which had a significant impact on discussions of ethnic origins in Britain and Ireland in the second half of the eighteenth century. As Kidd suggests, Percy's work also contributed to the stereotype of the superstitious and mystical Celt.[206] Consequently, the Celts were dismissed as ancestors of the English, and Celtic identity became more closely associated with the peripheries of Britain and western France, much as it is today.[207]

Although the term "Celtic" became increasingly associated with the peripheries of the British Isles, Ireland and Brittany within scholarly discourse, the broader eighteenth-century public discourse had not yet fully embraced this connection. The previous section explored certain aspects of how "Celtic" terminology evolved during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, significantly shaped by contemporary scientific discoveries, particularly in the field of linguistics. This section examines how scholarly discourse began to permeate the general public, specifically how perceptions of the term "Celt" and Celtic identity were shaped by influential writers and the popular press of the time.

The topic of Celticism began to draw notable attention from the general public during the second half of the eighteenth century. This growing interest, particularly among the small intelligentsia, was largely fuelled by the works of so-called Celtomaniacs or Celtophiles, especially in France, where fascination with the Breton language and sixteenth-century Breton historiography influenced popular imagination.[208] Leading figures in this movement were Théophile La Tour d'Auvergne (1743–1800)[209]

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[204] Percy, Thomas. 'Translator's preface'. Mallet, Paul-Henri, and Thomas Percy. Northern Antiquities, or, A Description of the Manners, Customs, Religion and Laws of the Ancient Danes, and Other Northern Nations : Including Those of Our Own Saxon Ancestors : With a Translation of the Edda, or System of Runic Mythology, and Other Pieces, from the Ancient Islandic Tongue ... London : Printed for T. Carnan and Co., 1770, p. IV.

[205] Percy (1770), p. X.

[206] Kidd (1999), p. 208.

[207] Stewart (2019), p. 105.

[208] In the first place, Joseph Rio mentions Bertrand d'Argenté (1519-1590) who in his *Histoire de Bretagne* (1582) indicates Bretons as direct descendants of ancient Gallic people, and put in a direct link also Breton and Gaelic (Gallic) language, in Rio (2008), p. 120.

[209] La Tour d'Auvergne, Théophile Malo Corret de. *Origines gauloises, celles des plus anciens peuples de l'Europe, puisées dans leur vraie source, ou Recherches sur la langue, l'origine et les antiquités des Celto-Bretons de l'Armorique, pour servir à l'histoire ancienne et moderne de ce peuple, et à celle des Français*. Paris, Quillau, 1796.

and his associate Jacques le Brigant (1720–1804),[210] both of whom significantly impacted the Breton intelligentsia's quest to uncover the origins of Breton language and culture. Their work drew heavily from Simon Pelloutier's *Histoire des Celtes* (1740),[211] which became the essential reference for Celtophiles.[212] By associating Breton with the supposedly original vernacular of all Europe, Breton gained a sense of rehabilitation.

James Macpherson's *Ossian's songs*, emerging from the remote Scottish Highlands, entered the literary arena at a pivotal moment. While the romantic and anti-Enlightenment elements of epic poetry were already well established by the 1760s, *The Poems of Ossian* played a crucial role in shaping the new romantic literature. With an appetite for literary inspiration that extended beyond classical antiquity, the European audience was captivated by epic works that allegedly originated in fourth-century Europe. These compositions, in both their themes and aesthetic, resonated with contemporary tastes. The rapid societal, political, and economic changes of the time also helped create a foundation for *Ossian's* popularity. European intellectuals, in their rejection of modernity's corruptions, embraced the virtues of "primitive" and simpler societies. For many, the Highlands became an imagined refuge, just as other remote parts of Europe appealed to romantic sensibilities.[213]

As previously noted, the "Celtic" character of *Ossian's* songs was not clearly understood at the time of their publication. Macpherson himself linked the ancient Celts to Germans, though he considered them distinct from the Gothic race.[214] He nevertheless subscribed to the prevailing antiquarian theories of the time, which posited that the ancient Celts, or Gaels, once ruled much of Europe, united by a common language.[215] Regardless of this ambiguity, the impact of Macpherson's "translations" on the broader Celtic discourse was twofold. On the one hand, the success of *Ossian* elevated the status of ancient Celts and, by extension, modern Celtic countries. For instance, Johann Gottfried Herder referred to *Ossian* in his famous *Treatise on the Origin of Language* (1772) in relation to Celtic and vernacular languages. On the other hand, the subsequent exposure of Macpherson's work as a fraud led to widespread criticism and contributed to the decline of Celtic prestige within British contexts, especially when compared to Saxon or Gothic ethnic identities.[216]

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[210] Le Brigant, Jacques. *Observations fondamentales sur les langues anciennes et modernes; ou Prospectus de l'ouvrage intitulé: La langue primitive conservée*. A Paris, : Chez Barrois l'âiné, libraire, Quai des Augustins., 1787.
[211] Pelloutier, Simon. *Histoire des Celtes, et particulièrement des Gaulois et des Germains, depuis les tems fabuleux, jusqu'à la prise de Rome par les Gaulois*. 1740. gallica.bnf.fr, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5800800p.
[212] Rio (2008), p. 124.
[213] Devine (2006), p. 242.
[214] Kidd (1999), p. 202.
[215] Stewart (2019), p. 99.
[216] Stewart (2019), p. 101-103.

Remaining in the Scottish territory, Sir Walter Scott (1777–1832) is regarded as the key figure in bringing the history of cultural practices and daily life to the attention of the general European public in the early nineteenth century. His literary works are credited with popularizing medieval fashion in literature, material culture, visual arts, and theatre, thus positioning the Middle Ages as a key period for nation-building across Europe.[217] However, in the context of this study, Scott's influence on the perception of Celtic matters, particularly regarding Scotland, is of primary importance. By building on the aesthetic foundations laid by Macpherson, Scott localized these stories within a specific historical and geographical context, making them accessible to a broader audience. His novels and poems presented the Gaelic Highlands as a place of value and admiration, mourning the loss of its native culture. In doing so, he transformed the Celtic discourse into not only a linguistic but also an aesthetic category.[218]

The rise of "Highlandism," or an interest in Highland culture, had already begun in Lowland Scottish cities during the 1740s with the Jacobite movement. Nevertheless, the first official cultural society dedicated to preserving Highland traditions, *Highland Society in London*, was established in 1778. One of its early objectives—achieved in 1782—was the repeal of the ban on wearing Highland dress. By the end of the eighteenth century, tartan costumes had become part of the official regalia of Scottish regiments in the British army, transforming them into symbols of the Scottish nation.[219] The apex of Highland cultural integration into Scotland's national identity occurred during King George IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822, the first visit by a reigning monarch since the coronation of Charles II in 1651. The visit, orchestrated by Walter Scott, president of the Celtic Society (founded in 1820), was carefully staged in line with "Celtic" fashion, including dressing the king in a Highland tartan suit. Though the event sparked considerable controversy and criticism, it simultaneously established Highland symbols as representative of Scottish identity.[220]

To conclude, both James Macpherson and Walter Scott played a pivotal role in integrating Gaelic and Celtic art, language, and culture into the broader narrative of Scottish national history and identity. They succeeded in transforming a marginalized, "backward," and "primitive" Gaelic culture into one of fame and prestige across Europe and the British colonies. While the intellectual climate of the time was already drawn to the idealized notions of the "noble peasantry" and the "noble savage," the visions

[217] Leerssen (2018), p. 526.
[218] Koch (2006), p. 1572-73.
[219] Devine (2006), p. 234.
[220] Watt, Patrick, and Rosie Waine, editors. *Wild and Majestic: Romantic Visions of Scotland.* National Museums of Scotland, 2019, p. 48-53.

created by Macpherson and Scott integrated the modern Celts into the national narrative, making their story known to urban audiences across Europe.

In Ireland, as in Scotland, local antiquarians and early scholars were captivated by the "discovery" of Ossian's songs in the 1760s, especially given that Scottish Gaelic was derived from Irish. The Irish language began to be seen as a vital link to Ireland's glorious "national" past. Following Macpherson's example, though distancing herself from his forgeries, Charlotte Brooke (1740–1793) compiled and translated medieval Irish-Gaelic literature in her *Reliques of Irish Poetry*. This groundbreaking edition was the first of its kind to publish Irish-Gaelic texts, presenting the originals in Gaelic half-uncial font alongside English translations—an editorial practice that later became standard.[221]

Ossian's popularity spurred the founding of several antiquarian and scholarly societies in Ireland, such as the Royal Irish Academy in 1786 and the Gaelic Society of Dublin in 1808.[222] Their members rediscovered native medieval sources, notably through Geoffrey Keating's *Foras feasa ar Éirinn* ("A foundation of knowledge about Ireland"), a seventeenth-century compendium that collected legends and sources like the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* ("Book of the takings of Ireland").[223] Alongside John Crofton Croker's (1798–1854) *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, which gathered fairy tales, these works were seen as remnants of ancient Celtic mythology and later inspired the writers of the Celtic Twilight in the late nineteenth century, including W. B. Yeats and Lady Gregory.[224]

Nevertheless, earlier Irish literary figures had already shaped representations of the Celts and the Celtic character during the early nineteenth century. Key figures in Irish Romantic literature included Thomas Moore, Samuel Ferguson, and Thomas Davies. According to Joep Leerssen, Lady Morgan's *The Wild Irish Girl* (1806) marks the transition from the pre-Romantic to the Romantic period in Ireland, becoming a central influence on the poets of the journal *Nation*, which later solidified the Celtic discourse. However, scholarly interest in Gaelic matters waned at the start of the nineteenth century due to the recent memory of the 1798 Rebellion and the enforced Act of Union in 1801.[225]

Staying within the Isles, Welsh figures had the most significant influence on the practice of Celtic culture. Edward Williams (1747–1826), better known by his bardic name Iolo Morganwg, stands out as one of the key figures who popularised and embedded Celtic identity into Welsh national consciousness in the nineteenth century.[226] He was a leading authority on Welsh cultural matters of his

[221] Leerssen ed. (2018), p. 1106, 1117.
[222] Idem, p. 1106.
[223] Idem, p. 1109.
[224] Idem, p. 1110.
[225] Leerssen (1996), p. 74-75.
[226] Leerssen ed. (2018), p. 587.

time, particularly in relation to the Welsh language and literature. However, his controversial nature stems from his indulgence in mystical and fantastical histories, as well as his fabrication of myths and legends concerning Welsh history.[227] Williams is credited with reinventing the bardic and druidic traditions, embedding them within Celticism and the broader ideas of Celtic origins. Like Macpherson, he presented fabricated manuscript evidence to support his claims to the public.[228]

His most enduring contribution to Welsh national culture, as viewed today, was the founding of the druidic and bardic institution, *Gorsedd Beirdd Ynys Prydain* (The Assembly of the Bards of Britain) in 1792, which he claimed traced its origins back to the ancient druids. One of its most visible activities was the organisation of public ceremonies and bardic initiation rituals, which were either reconstructed or entirely invented by Iolo himself. These events served as occasions to celebrate the Welsh language and, more broadly, a supposed ancient Celtic heritage of Wales.[229] Despite the contentious nature of the organisation, its ceremonies were incorporated into the *Eisteddfod*, beginning with the provincial *eisteddfod* held in Carmarthen in 1819. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the Eisteddfod evolved into the widely celebrated, nationwide festival of Welsh culture, music, and literature now known as the *Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru* (National Eisteddfod of Wales). The initiation of new bards and the ceremonial crowning of the poetic competition winner (with *Gorsedd* meaning "throne" in Welsh) became integral parts of the festival. It is fair to say that the popularity of the national Eisteddfod was largely due to the colourful and imaginative nature of the druidic ceremonies.[230] As a result, Williams' druidic creations gave the Welsh national celebrations their distinct "Celtic" character, which continues to this day.

While Celtic heritage entered the Welsh national discourse through Edward Williams' bardic and druidic inventions, druidism also contributed to the decline of Celtic prestige in England. The legacy of the ancient druids was in many ways ambiguous, and the thinkers of the time oscillated between viewing druids as sacred bards and philosophers, or as corrupt and tyrannical priests associated with human sacrifice.[231] Along with Percy's critique of Paul-Henri Mallet's notion of Celts and Teutons as one ethnicity, the Celtic imaginary faded in England, while Saxonism gained a stronger foothold.

At the turn of the century on the continent, Celtic matters continued to secure a prominent position not only in culture but also in contemporary science. With strong support from Napoleon, a scientific

[227] Koch ed. (2006), p. 1799.
[228] Jarvis, Branwen. 'Iolo Morganwg and the Welsh Cultural Background' in Jenkins, Geraint H., editor. *A Rattleskull Genius: The Many Faces of Iolo Morganwg*. Univ. of Wales Press, 2005, p. 29-30.
[229] For a succinct information on *Gorsedd* see Koch ed. (2006), p. 834-836.
[230] Morgan, Prys. 'The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period' in Hobsbawm and Ranger (2012), p. 60-61.
[231] Kidd (1999), p. 205.

institution, the *Académie celtique*, was founded in 1804 under the leadership of Jacques Cambry (1749–1807). Cambry was best known as the author of one of the first travel books on Brittany, his native land, *Voyage dans le Finistère ou état de ce département en 1794 et 1795*[232]. Some authors consider this book to be at the origin of French ethnology as a scientific field.[233]

The purpose of the newly established *Académie* was to rediscover the "glorious ancient past of France, which under the leadership of its greatest ruler Napoleon filled French people with pride and love towards their homeland."[234] But why Celts instead of Franks? According to Martin Dietler, Frankish identity had already been monopolised by the French nobility and royalty before 1789. It was claimed that class distinctions in France were based on ethnic origins: the ruling class descended from Germanic tribes, the Franks, while the common people, the *Tiers état*, were of Gallo-Roman origin. Thus, the newly established Republic naturally adopted the Celtic identity for its as a symbol of class struggle against the French nobility. Napoleon's Empire also embraced the Gallo-Roman narrative, especially as it suited his colonising ambitions in Europe—after all, the Celts were known to have once inhabited large parts of the continent. Moreover, influenced by the popular Celtic Romanticism emerging from Scotland at the time, it was easy to succumb to the temptation of proudly presenting the Celts as the ancestors of the French people.[235] The idea of the Gauls as the ancestors of the French was further popularised by historians like Comte de Boulainvilliers, François Guizot, and later Jules Michelet. Furthermore, French intellectuals, familiar with authors such as Pezron and Pelloutier and inspired by Cambry's accounts of Finistère, realised that France also possessed "living remnants of the Celtic ancient past" in Brittany. Hence, the *Académie*'s main objectives were "to restore the history of the Celts, to research their monuments, to examine them, to discuss them, to explain them", and also "to study and publish etymologies of all the languages of Europe, using Celto-Breton, Welsh, and the Erse language [Irish] which is still spoken in its primitive purity (…) in the mountains of Ireland."[236]

In France, the political ambitions of its leaders thus aligned with the goals of Celtic enthusiasts. Although viewed later as a product of "Celtomania," the *Académie Celtique* served Napoleonic France's

[232] Cambry, Jacques. *Voyage dans le Finistère, ou Etat de ce département en 1794 et 1795*. 1797. gallica.bnf.fr, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k43631f.
[233] Cadiou, Georges. *Emsav, dictionnaire critique, historique et biographique : le mouvement breton de A à Z du XIXe siècle à nos jours*. Éd. Coop Breizh, 2013, p. 69.
[234] *Mémoires de l'Académie celtique, ou Recherches sur les antiquités celtiques, gauloises et françaises / publiés par l'Académie celtique* ..., 1807, p. I-II (Épitre dédicatoire a sa majesté l'impératrice et reine), p. 4 (Discours préliminaire), https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k39609h.
[235] Dietler, Michael. '"Our Ancestors the Gauls": Archaeology, Ethnic Nationalism, and the Manipulation Of Celtic Identity in Modern Europe'. *American Anthropologist*, New Series, vol. 96, no. 3, Sept. 1994, p. 587-88.
[236] "1. de reproduire l'histoire des Celtes, de rechercher leurs monumens, de les examiner, de les discuter, de les expliquer ; 2. d'étudier et de publier les étymologies de toutes le langues de l'Europe, à l'aide du Celto-Breton, du Gallois, et de la langue Erse que l'on parle encore dans sa pureté primitive, pour ainsi dire, dans les montagnes de l'Irlande.", *Mémoires de l'Académie celtique* (1807), p. 4.

identity-building purposes.[237] Again, Celticism proved to be an effective collective identity discourse, useful for projecting an image of national unity. However, just before the fall of the Empire in 1814, the *Académie* distanced itself from its earlier Celtic orientation and was renamed the *Société des Antiquaires de France*, following the example of the Society of Antiquaries of London and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. In both England and France, Celticism came to be viewed with some suspicion. Despite this growing scepticism, the popularity of Celtic themes persisted, resulting in both negative and positive representations of Brittany in 19th-century French culture.[238]

In the first half of the 19th century, Brittany and Celtic matters in France were often negatively portrayed, particularly in the works of Parisian Romantic novelists. These novels, published in the 1820s and 1830s, drew inspiration from the same Romantic wave that influenced Walter Scott's medievalist works. French novelists followed Scott's model, using Brittany as a backdrop for their stories and depicting it as reactionary, wild, and uncivilised. Catherine Bertho cites several examples of such novelists, including Bonnelier, Ernest Medard, Marchangy, and the so-called "French Walter Scott," Honoré de Balzac.[239] The last two are discussed in detail to illustrate how Brittany and Celtic matters were perceived by the French literary society of the time.

Louis-Antoine de Marchangy (1782–1826), a lawyer and politician who served both Napoleon and the Bourbons later, favoured medieval France as the subject of his writings. He is best known for *La Gaule poétique ou l'Histoire de France considérée dans ses rapports avec la poésie, l'éloquence et les beaux-arts* (an eight-volume series beginning in 1813), and *Tristan le voyageur, ou La France au XIVe siècle* (a six-volume series started in 1825 but interrupted by his death in 1826).[240] The first work, *La Gaule poétique*, presents the ancient history of France in a popularised manner, portraying the Gauls as the principal ancestors of the French people. Marchangy, drawing heavily from ancient sources, perpetuated many well-known stereotypes about the Gauls or Celts.[241] He used these terms interchangeably, demonstrating that Celts were considered a broader category that included the Gauls. Referring to Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*, Marchangy states: "The Gauls were Celts, and it has even been

[237] "L'Académie Celtique est sortie de cet enthousiasme pour les origines celtiques de la France que l'on a appelé, avec une ironie un peu sévère, la Celtomanie", Gaidoz, Henri. 'De l'influence de l'Académie celtique sur les études de folk-lore' in *Centenaire, 1804-1904 : recueil de mémoires publiés par les membres de la Société / Société nationale des antiquaires de France*. 1904. gallica.bnf.fr, p. 135.
[238] Koch ed. (2006), p. 391.
[239] Bertho (1980), p. 57.
[240] "Fonds Louis-Antoine-François De Marchangy (1822-1832)". *Archives Nationales*. https://www.siv.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/siv/IR/FRAN_IR_058434
[241] Pages 36-44 of the first volume of *La Gaule poétique* contain representations of the ancient Celts drawn from classical authors such as Caesar, Polybius, Strabo, and Tacitus, with Pelloutier's *Histoire des Celtes* (1740) serving as the main source of information (Marchangy, Louis Antoine François de. *La Gaule poetique; ou, L'histoire de France, considérée dans ses rapports avec la poésie, l'éloquence et les beaux-arts*. Paris, Eymery, 1813. Internet Archive, http://archive.org/details/lagaulepoetiqueo01marcuoft).

argued that all Celts were only Gauls. "[242] While *La Gaule poétique* is not a novel, it reveals Marchangy's assumptions about French history and its "Celtic" past, which formed the basis for his later fictional work *Tristan le voyageur*. The protagonist of this series, Tristan, travels through medieval France, describing the customs, cultures, and qualities of the local people. Marchangy applies the historical insights from *La Gaule poétique* to the fictional setting, where they are conveyed through the contemporary narrator, Tristan. The first volume begins in Brittany, a region that, according to Marchangy, best narrates early French history.[243] A significant portion of the volume is dedicated to Brittany and its people, possibly reflecting the belief that the ancient history of France was preserved in this remote corner of the country. On the one hand, Bretons are portrayed through Tristan's eyes as great poets, "heirs of the druids, bards and citharedes", who have preserved the ancient oral culture through their Celtic language, which serves as the "repository of all facts dating back to the earliest ages of our history."[244] However, this privilege of the Breton people is, according to the narrator, accompanied by their evident backwardness, which is demonstrated through their superstitious and religious nature and their propensity for drunkenness.[245]

Honoré de Balzac (1799–1850) was another author whose literary production depicted Brittany in a rather negative light. Balzac had a significant impact on the perception of Brittany and Celticism, not only in France but across Europe. He was instrumental in creating influential stereotypical imagery of Brittany, which persisted well into the twentieth century. The technique used by Balzac and similar authors to craft romanticised historical novels involved drawing on the findings of ethnographers or historians who had previously studied the region. These authors typically gathered material and selected anecdotal facts, shaping the image of the inhabitants of a particular land as either amusing, bizarre, or even indecent. In Balzac's case, this is evident in works like *Les Chouans* (1829) or *Béatrix* (1839).

In describing the Breton people, Balzac often emphasised their uncivilised nature, referring to them as "demi-sauvages"[246] and "populations equally ignorant and warlike".[247] He frequently compared them

[242] "Les Gaulois étaient des Celtes, et l'on a même soutenu que tous les Celtes n'étaient que des Galois.", Marchangy, Louis Antoine François de. *La Gaule poetique; ou, L'histoire de France, considérée dans ses rapports avec la poésie, l'éloquence et les beaux-arts*. Paris, Eymery, 1813. Internet Archive, http://archive.org/details/lagaulepoetiqueo01marcuoft., p. 25.
[243] Guyot, Alain. 'Entre le livre et le rêve.: Les paysages médiévaux de M. de Marchangy'. *Études littéraires*, vol. 37, no. 2, Oct. 2006, p. 20-24.
[244] "héritiers des druides, des bardes, des citharèdes", "dépôt des tous les faits qui remontent aux premiers âges de notre histoire", Marchangy, Louis Antoine François de. *Tristan le voyageur, ou La France au XIVe siècle*. Paris, F.M. Maurice, 1825. Internet Archive, http://archive.org/details/tristanlevoyageu01marcuoft, p. 254.
[245] Marchangy (1825), p. 125-126, p. 261-262.
[246] Balzac, Honoré de. *Les Chouans ou la Bretagne en 1799*. 2nd Edition, 1st volume, Paris: 1834, p. 17.
[247] "populations ignorantes et belliqueuses", Balzac (1834), p. 49. Translation by George Saintsbury in Balzac, de Honoré. *The Chouans*, London: 1890, p. 20.

to Native Americans, even characterising them as "below the Mohicans and the Redskins of North America in the higher intellectual activities, but make them as noble, as cunning, as full of fortitude as these."[248] These pejorative descriptions were juxtaposed with Balzac's explanations of their supposed "Celtic" origins:

> "The word *gars*, (...), is a waif of Celtic. It has passed from Low Breton into French, and the word is, of our whole modern vocabulary, that which contains the oldest memories. (...) Now Brittany is of all France the district where Gaulish customs have left the deepest trace. The parts of the province where, even in our days, the wild life and the superstitious temper of our rude forefathers may still, so to speak, be taken red-handed, are called the country of the *gars* (…) Thus also their life keeps deep traces of the superstitious beliefs and practices of ancient times. In one place, feudal customs are still observed. In another, antiquaries find Druidic monuments still standing. In yet another, the spirit of modern civilization is aghast at having to make its way through huge primaeval forests. An inconceivable ferocity and a bestial obstinacy, found in company with the most absolute fidelity to an oath: (…)."[249]

Balzac clearly attributed the "savagery" of the Bretons to their Celtic heritage and the landscape they inhabited.[250]

These lines illustrate how, much like Scotland, Brittany became a refuge for the first generation of French Romantics, who were disillusioned with the modern developments of 19th-century Europe.[251] It was both praised and ridiculed. In his novels, Balzac achieved the highest form of romantic distortion, thereby creating a lasting stereotypical representation of Brittany and its Celtic identity.[252]

Inspired by the Highland Ossian but frustrated by such stereotypical depictions, Breton exiles in Paris made considerable efforts to revive Breton culture, drawing on the supposed ancient Celtic past of

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[248] "plus sauvages et plus pauvres de combinaisons intellectuelles que ne le sont les Mohicans et les Peaux rouges de l'Amérique seprentrionale", Balzac (1834), p. 46. Translation by George Saintsbury in Balzac, de Honoré. *The Chouans*, London: 1890, p. 18.

[249] "Le mot *Gars*, (...), est un débris de la langue celtique. Il a passé du bas-breton dans le français, et ce mot est, de notre langage actuel, celui qui contient le plus de souvenirs antiques. (...) La Bretagne est, de toute la France, le pays où les moeurs gauloises ont laissé les plus fortes empreintes. Les partis de cette province où, même de nos jours, la vie sauvage et l'esprit superstitieux de nos rudes aïeux sont restés, pour ainsi dire, flagrans, se nomment le pays des Gars. (…) Aussi leur vie garde-t-elle de profonds vestiges des croyances et des pratiques superstitieuses des anciens temps. Là, les coutumes féodales sont encore respectées. Là, les antiquaires retrouvent debout les monumens des druides. Là, le génie de la civilisation moderne s'effraie de pénétrer à travers d'immenses forêts promordiales. Une incroyable férocité, un entêtement brutal, mais aussi la foi du serment; (…)", Balzac (1834), p. 45-46. Translation by George Saintsbury in Balzac, de Honoré. *The Chouans*, London: 1890, p. 17-18.

[250] Bertho (1979), p. 324.

[251] Bertho (1980), p. 57.

[252] Bertho (1979), p. 326.

their homeland. Théodore Hersart de La Villemarqué (1815–1895) was particularly influential in shaping Brittany's modern literary tradition. Given the scarcity of older Breton literature, Villemarqué turned to oral tradition, collecting popular songs and publishing them as *Barzaz-Breiz* (the Poetry of Brittany) in 1839.[253] Despite later criticism regarding the authenticity of these songs, *Barzaz-Breiz* marked the beginning of the *mouvement breton* and embedded in the Breton intelligentsia the idea of Brittany's Celtic origins. The collection was instrumental in forging a sense of continuity in Breton regional identity, from this point onwards linked to ancient Celtic history.[254] Villemarqué himself emphasised the ancient roots of Breton oral tradition, claiming it dated back to the sixth and seventh centuriesIn doing so, he also fostered the idea of common cultural origins between the Bretons and the inhabitants of the British Isles.[255] Villemarqué was a key figure in the history of inter-Celtic relations and pan-Celtic activities. He led the first Breton delegation to the Welsh *eisteddfod* in 1838 in Abergavenny and was personally appointed a bard at the Welsh *Gorsedd*.[256] This event marked the beginning of a tradition of participation by representatives from other Celtic nations at the *Eisteddfod* and *Gorsedd*. These cross-border connections grew stronger, and the later pan-Celtic movement adopted much of the romantic pageantry and ceremonial traditions of both Welsh cultural institutions.[257]

By the second half of the nineteenth century, the concept of race and the idea that cultural differences could be explained by biological inheritance had already become widely accepted. The development of linguistics and philology in the Celtic countries further supported the notion of a distinct Celtic race and unique origins for the inhabitants of these regions.[258] Most notably, Johann Kaspar Zeuss (1806–1856), considered the founder of modern Celtic linguistic studies, contributed to this understanding. His *Grammatica Celtic* (1853) placed Celtic languages within the Indo-European language family and provided the first truly scientific analysis of the Celtic linguistic branch, clarifying their relations.[259] Research like this lent the emerging revivalist movements scientific foundations for their ideas about Celtic identity and the common origins of the inhabitants of Celtic countries.

Moreover, scholarly research into Celtic literatures and histories during the 1850s and 1860s presented an alternative to the previously accepted image of the "savage" Celt. Instead, it portrayed the culture

[253] Koch (2006), p. 1076.
[254] Blanchard, Nelly. 'Des fictions pour s'inventer par la Bretagne celtique' in Manon Six (ed). *Celtique: La Bretagne et son héritage celtique*, Locus solus ; Musée de Bretagne, 2022, p. 85.
[255] Guiomar, Jean-Yves. *Le Bretonisme: les historiens bretons au XIXème siècle*. Impr. de la Manutention, Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne, 1987, p. 190-191.
[256] Koch (2006), p. 1076.
[257] Koch (2006), p. 1416.
[258] De Barra (2018), p. 23.
[259] Koch (2006), p. 1823.

of Celtic countries as highly developed, leading to the birth of the notion of Celtic civilisation, which was readily embraced by local scholars.[260] This growing popularity of Celticism and Celtic identity among the local intelligentsia is also reflected in the general discourse. As Coimhín De Barra demonstrated in his quantitative analysis of Welsh and Irish newspapers, there was a dramatic increase in the use of the term "Celtic" around 1870. This was the atmosphere in which the revivalist societies studied here were founded, and by the 1890s, they came together to organise further pan-Celtic activities, culminating in the Pan-Celtic Congress (1901) and the founding of the Celtic Association (1900).

On 12 October 1900, the Celtic Association was formally established, transforming the General Committee of the Pan-Celtic Congress into a permanent organisation. The president and key figure behind the association was Lord Castletown of Upper Ossory. The Association's objectives were outlined simply as "the furtherance of Celtic Studies, and the fostering of mutual sympathy and cooperation between the various branches of the Celtic Race in all matters affecting their language and national characteristics."[261] Being of "Celtic" origin (from one of the six Celtic countries[262] recognised by the Association) or speaking any of the Celtic languages were the main criteria for participation. The initiative to form the Congress came from Edmund Edward Fournier d'Albe, who later became its secretary. In a letter to Lord Castletown, Fournier described the project as a movement "tending to the uplifting of a somewhat neglected and oppressed race."[263] Fournier had been inspired by Castletown's speech to the Irish Financial Relations Committee in London, where he advocated for closer cooperation between "the various branches of the Celtic family of nations."[264] The combination of Castletown's influence and financial support, along with Fournier's organisational skills, ensured the Association's early prominence.[265]

The Pan-Celtic Congress, held in Dublin from 20 until 23 August 1901, was the pinnacle of Fournier and Castletown's cooperation. With a high number of attendees and many influential participants, the Congress was deemed a success. Fournier especially praised the participation of Welsh cultural societies, viewing the event as heralding a new era in Welsh-Irish relations. Eminent Celtic scholars also engaged in discussions, sharing ideas and suggestions.[266] As part of the preparations for the first

[260] De Barra (2018), p. 26-27.
[261] National Library of Ireland, Ms 35, 305 (4), *Celtic Association*, printed leaflet, 1900.
[262] Brittany, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, the Isle of Man, and Cornwall. The latter was officially added only in 1904 after the Pan-Celtic Congress in Caernarvon, following discussions on whether Cornwall should be part of the Association, given that the Cornish language was no longer in active use (Murphy-Macinta [2017], p. 152).
[263] NLI, Ms 35, 305 (1), Letter from E. E. Fournier to Lord Castletown, 19 August 1898.
[264] NLI, Ms 35, 305 (1), Letter from E. E. Fournier to Lord Castletown, 17th June 1898.
[265] De Barra (2018), p. 114.
[266] Murphy-Macinta (2017), p. 308–309.

congress, a Pan-Celtic monthly magazine, *Celtia*, was launched, with the first issue released in January 1901. Described in its promotional leaflet as a means to "form a link between the Celtic movements" and to report their progress each month, *Celtia* became a key medium for pan-Celtic communications.[267]

However, after the Congress, the collaboration between Fournier and Castletown began to lose momentum. Although Castletown maintained contact with various Celtic revivalists and scholars and continued to represent the Association at events, his interest in Pan-Celtic affairs gradually waned. The first sign of this decline in involvement appears in his correspondence with Fournier at the end of 1902. From Fournier's reply, it becomes clear that Lord Castletown had mentioned his intention to resign from his position. Fournier, naturally "distressed" by the tone of Castletown's letter, urged him not to step down, emphasizing his efforts to make the Association "worthy" of him.[268] The rejection of the Pan-Celtic movement by the mainstream language movements, particularly the Irish *Conradh na Gaeilge*, undoubtedly contributed to this diminishing enthusiasm. Over time, differences in opinion between the two leading figures on the Pan-Celtic movement became more apparent.

The next Pan-Celtic Congress, held in Caernarfon, Wales, was the largest and most successful of all the Pan-Celtic activities during this period.[269] However, the subsequent congress, which took place in Edinburgh in 1907, proved rather disappointing. Following this event, several key figures, including Fournier, resigned from their roles within the Association, and its activities gradually diminished.[270]

Despite its brief lifespan, the Celtic Association had a notable impact on future cooperation between Celtic language movements. It influenced a range of activities, particularly in the areas of education, publishing, and the revival and preservation of popular culture.[271]

[267] NLI, Ms 35, 305 (4), *Celtia* prospectus.
[268] NLI, Ms 35, 305 (6), Letter from E. E. Fournier to Lord Castletown, 1st December 1902.
[269] For more details on the Congress see Löffler, Marion. *'A Book of Mad Celts': John Wickens and the Celtic Congress of Caernarfon 1904*. Gomer, 2000.
[270] Jaffrennou, François. *A Short History of the Scottish-Breton Relations. From the Beginning of the Century.* Circle of Brocéliande, 1953, p. 4.
[271] Koch (2006), p. 1416-17.

3 Analysis. Results and Comparison

This chapter summarises the principal findings of the research, based on the analysis of sources as outlined in the introduction, and addressing the two sets of questions posed therein. The thorough coding of the revivalist journals using Atlas.ti enabled the quantification of the significance of each code, resulting in comparable datasets for each of the revivalist movements.

The primary research questions pertain to 1) the key aspects of self-representation within the revivalist movements, and 2) the types of argumentation employed by the revivalists, thereby revealing the representative and discursive strategies of the movements. Table 1. below provides a simplified grid displaying the four most prominent topics (those with the highest frequency) for each of the revivalist movements. The outcome identifies six principal topics shared among the movements. These are discussed, explained and compared in detail within this chapter, forming its structure (subchapters 3.1. until 3.6.).

Language emerges as the most significant topic for three of the four movements (Breton, Irish and Scottish), and as the fourth most important for the Welsh. Unsurprisingly, language is the most important aspect of self-representation for the revivalist movements, as it often serves as the primary catalyst for initiating a revivalist movement. Education, closely linked to language issues, represents the second most important topic for Scottish and Welsh movement, and the third most significant for the Irish revivalists. In the Breton case, education is partially addressed alongside language. Popular culture, understood in its broadest sense, is another significant topic within the revivalist journals, being of highest importance for Welsh journals, followed by second place for Breton regionalists, third for the Scottish and fourth for the Irish. Language and popular culture are the only two aspects that appear among the top four aspects of self-representation across all the studied movements. History belongs to the top four topics in the Breton and Welsh revivalist publications. Similarly, a claimed apolitical stance and loyalist position are most significant in Breton and Scottish revivalist discourses, both ranking as the fourth most important aspect. The only aspect that is prominent in just one case is the focus of the movement itself and its agenda. The Irish *Conradh na Gaeilge* discourse concentrated significantly on promoting its agenda and activities, emphasising the society itself rather than its broader goals.

	Most important aspects of self-representation (in order of significance)			
	1.	**2.**	**3.**	**4.**
Brittany	Language (+ Education)	Popular culture	History	Apolitical and loyal stance
Ireland	Language	Movement and its agenda	Education	Popular culture
Scotland	Language	Education	Popular culture	Apolitical and loyal stance
Wales	Popular culture (+ Literature)	Education	History	Language

Table 1. Four main aspects of self-representation for each of the revivalist movements

The second set of research questions addresses the relationship of the revivalist movements to Celtic identity and Celticism. The section of this chapter dedicated to Celticism (3.7. *Celticism and Celtic Identity*) responds to questions such as 1) whether and to what extent the movements incorporated Celtic identity in their self-representation, while 2) uncovering the mutual relations and inspirations between the studied movements. Table 2. below outlines the criteria for comparison between the individual movements and offers simplified characterization of the analysis results. Overall, the main differences emerge along the line dividing the Irish revivalists from the rest of the movements.

	Criteria of comparison			
	Pan-Celticism	**Usage of Celtic terms**	**Inspiration from /contacts with other Celtic countries**	**Neo-druidism and neo-bardism**
Brittany	Positive. Regular reports from Pan-Celtic gatherings and other Celtic countries' events. Efforts for cooperation also in economic area.	As an alternative to the adjective 'Breton'. For unifying purposes of Brittany and for differentiating from the rest of France. Used for other Celtic countries as well.	Yes, in all areas. Most importantly from Wales.	Yes, Breton Gorsedd founded following the Welsh Gorsedd example.
Ireland	Negative. Hostile articles about Celtic Association and Pan-Celtic Congress.	No, in general avoids using Celtic terms or question them. Uses them only when quoting other sources.	Yes, inspiration from Wales in area of education and popular culture (*Oireachtas* from *Eisteddfod*). Some reports from Welsh and Scottish events.	No, hostile position towards it.
Scotland	Participating (official representative in Pan-Celtic institutions), but not extensively, only mentions.	Celtic terms used when encompassing cultures of the 'non-Saxon' areas of the United Kingdom.	Yes, inspiration from Ireland and Wales. Brittany almost absent.	No, indifferent position towards it.
Wales	Positive, but passive/indifferent. Regular contacts between *Gorsedd* members and Celtic Association.	Yes, often in the sense of ancient history. Used, but not systematically.	Wales as a role-model, not inspired by others.	Yes, founder of neo-druidic and neo-bardic activities.

Table 2. Relation to the Celtic identity and Celticism of each of the revivalist movements

3.1 Language

Ireland

The Irish language represents the most accentuated aspect of self-representation in *Conradh na Gaeilge*'s main propagandist organ, *An Claidheamh Soluis* (ACS). As explained in the context section, the restoration and expansion of Irish was the primary agenda of *Conradh*. The importance of the language to *Conradh na Gaeilge* can also be explained by the competition with other nationalist organisations in Ireland. The CNG presented the Irish language as its main identifier and used it as a differentiating factor from other initiatives, including political ones such as the Nationalist Party.[272] In this sense, *Conradh* uses the absence of the Irish language or of its support as a basis to criticise Irish nationalizing bodies. The importance of Irish to *Conradh* was also manifested by the presence of Irish language texts in ACS. The percentage of Irish texts in ACS issues is around 40%. In general, *Conradh*'s members aimed to combat the disregard, disrespect, and renunciation of Irish among general population, focusing particularly on their readers. The effort is clearly presented in the first volume of ACS, where a list of "Twelve reasons why every Irish should respect the Irish" is published, written entirely in Irish, of course.[273] Reasons number 8, 9 and 10 demonstrate the value of the Irish language for the *Conradh*'s movement:

> "8. Irish is the most obvious sign of Irish nationality.
> If an Irishman goes to France or Germany, or to another foreign country, according to the people of these territories he is an Englishman, when he only speaks English.
>
> 9. Gaelic is the strongest defence weapon of Irish nationality.
>
> If they take away all possessions of the people of Ireland, and leave the Irish language to them, they will still become a nation in the end.
>
> 10. Gaelic is the most effective tool for the cultivation of nationality for the people of Ireland.
>
> "If the language is Irish, the heart must be Irish." An Englishman, Éamonn Spenser, the poet, said it."[274]

[272] Kee (2000), p. 430.
[273] "Dhá Adhbhar Déag", An Claidheamh Soluis, Aibreán 1, 1899, p. 40.
[274] „8. Is í an Ghaiedhilg comhartha is follusaighe ar náisiúntacht na hÉireann. Má théidheann Éirennach sa bhFraing nó san Ghearmáin, nó i dtír choimhighthigh eile, dar le muinntir na gcríoch soin is Sasanach é, nuair nach mbíonn de theangaidh aige acht an Béarla Sasanach., 9. Is í an Ghaedhilg an t-arm cosanta is treise ag náisiúntacht na hÉireann. Dá mbainfidhe gach seilbh ar bith de mhuinntir na hÉireann, and go bhfágfaidhe an Ghaedhilg aca, badh chinnte dhóibh éirghe ina náisiún i ndeireadh na dála., 10. Is í an Ghaedhilg oirleis is

To achieve their goals related to the Irish language, *Conradh* employed several discursive and publishing strategies.

The first of these discursive strategies is the denomination of the language itself. *Conradh* preferred to use 'Irish' over 'Gaelic' and advised all its members to do the same. They straightforwardly explained this preference by the ideological reasons behind the movement, seeing it as a more suitable promotional and disseminating strategy:

> "(…) we strongly advise all workers in the movement to use the term 'Irish' on all occasions instead of 'Gaelic'. From a propagandist point of view, it is the better word. When we speak of Irish, we at once bring home to the mind of an Irishman that it is the language of his country; and, if he is only English-speaking [sic!], the anomaly and shame of not being able to speak one's own mother tongue become apparent to him. On the other hand, some people can talk and write glibly of 'Gaelic' in much the same way as they do of French or German, without feeling that the subject should have more than a remote interest for them. We speak of the *Irish* race, of *Irish* music, of *Irish* antiquities, of *Irish* art and so on, why not, then, of the Irish language?"[275]

The preference for calling the national language 'Irish' and as 'Gaeilge' (the direct translation of the word) persists among the Irish language supporters to this day.[276]

Another strategy was to present the use of the Irish language as normal as possible. Therefore, the first several pages of every issue were dedicated to a general news section written in Irish only. This part of the issue was usually divided into two major sections, news from Ireland and news from abroad (including other parts of the United Kingdom), entitled "Tar Lear". Presenting the language in usual, daily circumstances had a strong potential to demonstrate and embed the presence of the Irish language in general public discourse. An important aspect was publishing the Irish-speaking part of the journal in the first half of the issue. The journal thus not only gave the Irish language a more prominent place, but its display in newsagents' stands also made the Irish language visible even to non-Irish speakers and sent the message that the Irish language and its usage are ordinary phenomena in public discourse. This strategy was also adopted (possibly inspired by ACS) by ADG in Scotland. Starting

éifeachtaighe chum náisiúntachta shaothrughadh do mhuinntir na hÉireann. 'Má's Eireannach an teangha, ní féidir ná gurab Éireannach an croidhe." Sasanach adubhairt é, is é sin Éamonn Spenser an file.", "Dhá Adhbhar Déag", An Claidheamh Soluis, Aibreán 1, 1899, p. 40.

[275] "Notes", An Claidheamh Soluis, Bealtaine 20, 1899, p. 153.

[276] "Gaelic Vs. Irish: What's The Difference?" *United Language Group*, online, 10 Jun. 2024, www.unitedlanguagegroup.com/learn/gaelic-irish-differences.

from the second volume in 1906, the editorial and brief *An Comunn*'s news section began to be published in Gaelic and was placed on the first pages of the issue.

An accompanying goal of this public display of the Irish language was to provide readers and learners of Irish with enough material to practice. A general problem of the period was a lack of Irish language literature.[277] Modern Irish literature was not published very often, and when it was, the books were often too expensive for ordinary people. *Conradh* members criticized the Irish book market, which was, according to them, was flooded with cheap, low-quality English-written literature: "Much of this literature is vicious, much trashy, and nearly all unsuitable. Even when not positively harmful, it is negatively so."[278] Indeed, the reports from *Conradh*'s branches, published in the pages of ACS, document its use in Irish language lessons organised by *Conradh*, for instance, in Cardiff: "An Claidheamh Soluis has been much used, and has set many Irish speakers reading who have not seen an Irish book for years."[279]

The fact that ACS was intended to to serve Irish learners is also evident from the presence of a regular section dedicated to language lessons. This section included either concrete grammar explanations or short stories with explanatory notes and translations of the entire text or of more complicated terms.[280] In later publications, ACS reprinted individual lessons from the textbook *A Hand-book of Modern Irish* by John P. Henry, an Irish language scholar and *Conradh* member, in each issue.

The agenda of reviving the Irish language is also strongly reflected in *Conradh*'s attitude towards national literature in general, as observed in the public dispute on the matter of the language of national literature taking place in the newspapers' pages during this period. In several of the first issues of ACS, the question of the language of national literatures was a widely discussed topic. *Conradh*'s position was that only Irish-written literature and poetry could be considered Irish national literature and poetry. This stance set them apart from the Irish literary movement, whose works were written in English, represented primarily by J.W. Yeats. Along with D.P. Moran[281], an Irish journalist and *Conradh* adherent, they exchanged several articles (in ACS and *Leader* magazine) to discuss the matter and to present arguments against each other.[282] A leading article entitled "What is Irish National Literature"

[277] The deterioration of the language and literature in the nineteenth century is generally associated with the Irish Famine and its aftermath, Koch (2006), p. 1011.
[278] "Debasing Literature: its Antidote", An Claidheamh Soluis, Aibreán 29, 1899, p. 104.
[279] "Connradh na Gaedhilge. Cardiff", An Claidheamh Soluis, Meitheamh 3, 1899, p. 182.
[280] In earlier issues, these sections were usually marked by titles "Oideachas" (*Education* in English).
[281] For more information on D.P. Moran see Maume, P. "Moran, David Patrick ('D. P.')." *Dictionary Of Irish Biography*, online, 2009, https://doi.org/10.3318/dib.005957.v1.
[282] Mathews (2003), p. 57-58.

and published in ACS's July issues in 1899, represents a manifesto of *Conradh*'s attitude towards national literature:

> "Possibly, the Anglo-Irish schools are content with some kind of half-mast nationality in literature (…). If what they want for the Irish nation is the kind of literature that might be claimed for any English shire, let them say so. Bu we do not think that any but themselves, no Irishman who believes in Ireland a nation (…) will allow them to pass such a literature off on him as Irish national literature."[283]

This dispute represents an important step in the formation of the Irish cultural national movement and opened up the first major public debate on the nature of Irish Identity.[284] In the end, Yeats and Moran made amends. The latter wrote a partly reconciling article in the July 1899 issue of ACS, although still stressing the differences between *Conradh* and others, and the dichotomy between Dublin and the rest of Ireland:

> "They [*Conradh* and Irish Literary Theatre] appear to me (…) to be allies fighting the common enemy (…). It is conceivable that under certain conditions they might come into competition, though (…) I do not think that that stage of development will ever be reached. (…) If the Gaelic League has sincerity in it, Irish literature in the English language will in time be laughed, not suppressed, out of existence, and we will learn to call the thing that goes by that name now by some other title. The thing itself is a permanent institution and one to be cultivated, for, after all, the extreme aim of the League is to make the Irish a bilingual people. Let those who like it go on relaiming [sic!] their half-acre patches of heather garden; the League may leave them their little preserves in peace. It has some 30,000 square miles of land to look after."[285]

For *Conradh*, the language represented the main means to achieve its cultural and political goals. The importance of *Conradh na Gaeilge* as an organisation and its agenda is then reflected as the second most accentuated aspect of discourse present in ACS, discussed below.

Scotland

The use and preservation of the Gaelic language represents the topic *An Comunn* most frequently advocated, as is the case for most of the revivalist movements of the period (despite its claim of not being a revivalist movement).[286] The language issue was obviously connected to Gaelic cultural matters as well, and *An Comunn*'s activities were intended to support both language and culture mutually. They

[283] "What is Irish National Literature? II", An Claidheamh Soluis, Jul 8, 1899, p. 264.
[284] Mathews (2003), p. 60.
[285] "The Gaelic and the Other Movement ", An Claidheamh Soluis, Jul 8, 1899, p. 260-262.
[286] See footnote 123.

perceived the language as the bearer of Gaelic culture where it "must be the central unit round which the ideals of the nation will cling; it must be the medium through which the soul of Alban will wake itself in the coming years. It must spread from the Highlands to the Lowlands […] the different races of which Scotland is composed must accept the national language as the bond of their union."[287] Despite *An Comunn*'s far-reaching character, they nevertheless referred to themselves mostly as a language movement, probably to avoid any political connotations or the danger of being mistaken for a separatist movement.

Bilingualism was *An Comunn Gaidhealach*'s foremost belief, therefore Gaelic and English were supposed to enjoy the same status in practical matters. Nevertheless, *Deò-Ghréine* contains almost twice as many texts written in English as in Gaelic, and Gaelic was used predominantly for artistic works, such as songs, poems, and literary texts published in the magazine. Following criticism from other Gaelic revivalists,[288] there was a clear effort to increase the volume of texts written in Gaelic, including those concerning the society's practical matters. To ar least give this impression, the editorial of *Deò-Ghréine* ('Am Fear-Deasachaidh'), was published in Gaelic on the front page. However, the ratio of English and Gaelic texts in the magazine remained the same. The effort to use more Gaelic within the society can be confirmed by the minutes of *An Comunn*'s Executive Council meetings, where, starting from 1905, members were encouraged to use more Gaelic "for the sake of example […] both orally and in writing, than they do at present."[289] There were also proposals to amend *An Comunn*'s Constitution to state that "all publications issued by *An Comunn* shall be in both Gaelic and English, printed on opposite pages."[290] The calls for the practical use of Gaelic within the society were eventually given a major boost in 1913, when all the minutes of *An Comunn*'s executive meetings began to be written in Gaelic (these and similar records had been previously written only in English).[291] In due course, it was *An Comunn*'s turn to criticise other Gaelic cultural societies for failing to give the Gaelic language sufficient space in their activities.[292]

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[287] 'The Dingwall Mòd', *An Deo-Ghréine*, 1, An dara mìos dheug I, 1905), 24.

[288] For example, the criticism from Ruaraidh Erskine in his journal *Guth na Bliadhna*: 'Ignorance and timidity are our [Gaels] besetting signs. We are ignorant when we despise or neglect our nationality (…) The Gaelic Association is timid when it transacts all its important business at the annual Mod in English.' 'Items of Interest', *An Deo-Ghréine*, 1, A cheud mhios 1, 1905, p. 67.

[289] NLS, Acc 13695 Archive of An Comunn Gaidhealach, Vol. 1, Minutes of Executive Council in Glasgow on Friday 5 October 1906.

[290] NLS, Acc 13695 Archive of An Comunn Gaidhealach, Vol. 2, Minutes of Executive Council in Stirling on Saturday 15 June 1907. The amendment was not accepted, as it is not mentioned in the report from the meeting of the Executive Council published in 'Editorial Chat', *An Deo-Gréine*, 2, Mios deirreannach an t-Samhraidh, 1907, p. 160.

[291] The motion for writing the minutes only in Gaelic was accepted at the Annual Business meeting in Dundee on Saturday 20 September 1913 (NLS, Acc 13695 Archive of An Comunn Gaidhealach Vol. 3).

[292] 'Cha'n'eil móran diubh Gaidhealach ach an ainm; agus uime sin, cuireamaid a' cheist, Ciamar chuirear aobhar na Gaidhlig air aghaidh leó-san, mur an cleachdar i beag no mór 'n an cùisean-frithealaidh?' ('Many of them are

An Comunn's arguments for preserving and developing the Gaelic language (especially, although not exclusively, in the Highlands) were similar to those advanced by the Breton, Irish, and Welsh language movements of the time – the benefits of bilingualism, the practical utility of the language, and its antiquity. *An Comunn*'s case for the Gaelic language can mostly be characterised as an effort to disprove various stereotypes and myths about learning the language, such as its difficulty for example. As described in the second part of the study, *An Deò-Ghréine*'s authors drew most of their supporting examples from Ireland and Wales, where similar negative stereotypes also endured.

The advantages of bilingualism were presented on different levels, from the opportunities Gaelic speakers enjoyed in the Scottish labour market – to work in the same position in the Lowlands or in the Highlands[293] – to its influence on mental faculties:

> "[…] Highland children who speak Gaelic will have great advantages over their Sassenach brothers and sisters should they desire to learn a foreign tongue and acquire a good pronunciation. The 'ch' of the Germans and vowel sounds of the languages of the Latin races […] will present no difficulty to the boy or girl who 'has the Gaelic'."[294]

Authors featured in *Deò-Ghréine* even advanced a psychological argument ('mental science', as they termed it), claiming that only the native language is the "most fitting medium for the expression of the inner mind of the race" and that it is only in that language that "the people of that race can fully express themselves." These claims were aimed at encouraging direct cooperation between the Scottish Gaelic and Irish language movements:

> "Ireland and Scotland can join in this struggle, and the success of the language in one country must tell upon the language movement in the other country. Let us make common cause in every way in our power!"[295]

The usefulness of the language was another strong argument in favour of Gaelic, closely related to bilingualism as an important asset in people's lives. To this end, the authors of *Deò-Ghréine* often contrasted the practical value of Gaelic in Scotland with the usefulness of other languages, such as French and German, taught in Highland schools:

Gaelic only by name; and therefore, let us ask the question: how can the cause of the Gaelic language be advanced by them, if it [Gaelic] is not used more or less in administrative matters?'), 'Comunnan Gaidhealach', *An Deo-Gréine*, 4, Darna Mìos a Gheamhraidh, 1908, p. 31.

[293] '(…) knowledge of Gaelic as well as of English gives them two chances instead one; that, for instance, a Gaelic-speaking minister is eligible for Highlands or Lowlands (…).' E. C. Carmichael, 'Some Things Women Can Do', *An Deo-Ghréine*, 1, An deicheamh mhios 1, 1905, p. 9.

[294] Elspeth Campbell, speech delivered at the opening of the Oban Mòd of 1906, printed in *An Deo-Gréine*, 2, Samhuinn, 1906, p. 27-28.

[295] 'The Dingwall Mòd', *An Deo-Ghréine*, 1, An aona mìos dheug 1, 1905, p. 23.

> "[…] many Highland schools which include French in their curriculum, and time is devoted to forcing a smattering of this language on young people to whom, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, it will never be of the slightest use, commercially or otherwise."[296]

Likewise, the editors of *An Deò-Ghréine* sought to demonstrate Gaelic's usefulness in everyday life by inserting regular columns on 'practical' vocabulary, such as 'Gaelic Technical Terms' (mostly related to agriculture) and 'Technical Terms Connected with Women's Work', clearly intended to engage both genders. Some of *An Comunn*'s supporters also suggested that teaching of Gaelic or in the Gaelic language could aid in the teaching of crafts and foster the development of home industries in the Highlands.[297] All these arguments aimed to disprove stereotypes about the obsolescence of their efforts (to maintain and develop a language that was seen as no longer useful) and allegations that the movement is antiquarian and out of touch with the modern world.

An image of the enemy is another feature of the discursive strategies employed by revivalist movements. In the case of the Gaelic movement, it was the ignorant Gael who was presented as the principal enemy. Generally, it was not the Englishmen (as one might expect) who prevented Gaelic culture from thriving, but those members of Gaelic society who "court notoriety by proclaiming that someday Gaelic must die. They support their doleful prophecy by refusing to raise a finger or utter a syllable in support of the dear old Language which our forefathers would have died for."[298] Furthermore, the authors of *An Comunn*'s texts primarily placed the historical responsibility for the decay of Gaelic culture on their own elites rather than on English dominance:

> 'As the Gaelic upper classes became more and more imbued with foreign ideas their interest in the native literature and music gradually became weaker, and latterly, for a long time, just sufficient to enable them to keep their Gaelic following in hand. Under these conditions native music languished. The Gaelic harp, which was intimately associated with the language, died from want of patronage.'[299]

An Deò-Ghréine also sought to educate its readers by countering various stereotypes about learning Gaelic, including claims that Gaelic is too complicated and difficult to learn or that Gaelic spoils English pronunciation:

> "We have yet with us […] descendants of Gaelic-speaking parents who are unable to acquire a knowledge of Gaelic because, they say, of the extraordinary difficulty of pronunciation! Yet

[296] M. Burnley-Campbell, speech delivered at the Juvenile Concert of the Oban Mòd of 1906, printed in *An Deo-Gréine*, 2, Samhuinn, 1906, p. 26.
[297] 'Duke of Argyll on Gaelic', *An Deo-Gréine*, 3, Mìos Meadhonach a Gheamhraidh, 1907, p. 50.
[298] D. MacLeod, 'The Duty of the Highland Societies', *An Deo-Ghréine*, 1, An Ceathramh mìos 1, 1906, p. 126.
[299] 'Sinn Fhein – Ourselves', *An Deo-Ghréine*, 1, An aona mìos dheug 1, 1905, p. 19.

> these same persons have no hesitation in attacking the pronunciation of a German jawbreaker twenty letters long or in endeavouring to acquire the often elusive […] pronunciation of a difficult French word. We never yet heard any one of even mediocre talent profess inability to learn any language but Gaelic. Why is this? Gaelic is certainly not more difficult to acquire than any other European tongue".[300]

The antiquity of Gaelic was also employed in *An Comunn Gaidhealach*'s representative strategy. Attributive phrases abounded, referring to the language as 'ancient' or 'old'. The purpose was to enhance the esteem of Gaelic in face of its low status. The Breton revivalist movement made ample use of this rhetoric to emphasise the right to use and preserve the language, although this strategy was less prominent in the Gaelic case.[301] The reason behind this difference is partly the scarcity of older, non-religious, vernacular literature in the Gaelic language; the forgery of Ossian's songs clearly demonstrates the strong desire of the Scottish Romantic movement to possess their own ancient literary culture.[302] In contrast to the Bretons and the Scottish Gaels, the Welsh language movement of the time highlighted the antiquity of their literature rather than the ancient origins of the language.[303]

While important, the Gaelic language *per se* was not the sole focus of *An Comunn*, as they referred to themselves as an educational movement, a musical movement, an industrial movement, and a patriotic movement; "surely a movement so national and comprehensive ought to enlist the sympathy and receive the support of all true Highlanders."[304]

Brittany

The Breton language was the most emphasised aspect of all the regionalist bulletins, although only 7 % of the total texts in the *Bulletins* were actually written in Breton. The presence of the language as a topic is, however, considerable. In this section, education is analysed together with the language, as the revivalist goals related to Breton language education were not achievable in the foreseeable future. Consequently, this topic was not treated extensively in URB's bulletins, and when mentioned, it was usually connected to bilingualism and the push for language rights.

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[300] 'Editorial Chat', *An Deo-Gréine*, 3, Ceud mìos a Gheamradh, 1907, p. 30.
[301] Reiterová (2016), p. 60.
[302] Despite the existence of a manuscript of the *Book of the Dean of Lismore* (*Leabhar Deathan Lios Mòir*), the body of older literature was incomparably smaller than that of the Welsh and Irish medieval literary traditions. While Gaelic-language literature began to expand over the eighteenth century, only about 70 titles were published in Scottish Gaelic before 1800 (Koch [2006], p. 207), a growth partly encouraged by Macpherson's popularity (Mackay, Peter. 'The Gaelic Tradition' in Carruthers, Gerard and Liam McIlvanney, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Scottish Literature*.Cambridge: CUP, 2012, p. 120-121).
[303] Reiterová, Martina. '"Une Arme de Premier Ordre": Representation of Breton and Welsh in Revivalist Discourse around 1900'. *Litteraria Pragensia: Studies in Literature and Culture*, vol. 30, 2020, p. 71.
[304] 'Timchioll an Teallaich', *An Deo-Gréine*, 4 (Treas mìos a Gheamhraidh, 1909, p. 58.

The Breton regionalists acknowledged the vital importance of Breton to their struggle and considered it “a weapon of the first order" in their hands. They based this claim on example of "successful movements of the Finns, Czechs and Provençals".[305] They also expressed deep hope and belief in the eventual success of their actions, particularly with reference to the future of Breton, stating:

> “In fifty years, the question will not be whether the Breton should disappear before the French language, but it will be whether the French language will not on day disappear before the Breton language.”[306]

The regionalists fought their greatest battles over language in the bulletins. They explicitly stated that the Breton Language Section was the main section of the organisation.[307] The language struggle reached its peak in the 1902 issue of the *Bulletin*, where the entire issue was dedicated to protesting against "the Combes circular on the prohibition of Breton"[308], which the Union regarded as a true “attack on the Breton language"[309]:

> “Combes hopes that his little comedy will succeed. He takes the Bretons for more naive than they are; none of us will disarm on this point, and we will continue to protest until the ministerial circular is completely disavowed. Breton has the right to be spoken and written everywhere and on all occasions, and the government cannot in any way arrogate to itself the power to limit its use.”[310]

In general, the adjectives that the Breton revivalists used to descibe their "dear and beautiful national language"[311] were highly laudatory. They considered it "elegant as befits a work of art, simple as befits

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[305] “(…) une arme de premier ordre (...)”, “(…) mouvements réussis des Finlandais, des Tchèques et des Provençaux (…)”, *Bulletin de l’Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Questembert et de Rostrenen 1907,* Redon, 1908, p. 106.

[306] “Dans cinquiante ans, la question ne se posera pas de savoir si la langue bretonne doit disparaitre devant la langue française, mais elle se posera de savoir si la langue française ne disparaitra pas un jour devant la langue bretonne.“, H. Lajat, “L’Avenir de la race bretonne”, *Almanach de l’Union régionaliste bretonne pour l’année 1904*, 1904, p. 103.

[307] *Bulletin de la Fédération régionaliste de la Bretagne*, Keraez, 1912, p. 27.

[308] The French Minister of Interior, Émile Combes, introduced laws prohibiting the use of Breton as a language of instruction for religious education and catechism. For further information on the circular, see Broudic, Fañch. *L’interdiction du breton en 1902 : la IIIe République contre les langues régionales*. Coop Breizh, 1997.

[309] “(…) attentat contre la langue bretonne(...)”, *Bulletin de l’Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès d’Auray 1902,* Saint-Brieuc, 1903, p. 40.

[310] “Combes espère que sa petite comédie réussira. Il prend les Bretons pour plus naïfs qu’ils ne sont; aucun de nous ne désarmera sur ce poin, et nous continuerons de protester, jusqu’à ce que la circulaire ministérielle soit complètement désavouée. Le breton a le droit d’être parlé et écrit partout, et en toutes occasions, le gouvernement ne peut en aucune façon s’arroger le pouvoir d’en limiter l’usage.”, *Bulletin de l’Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès d’Auray 1902,* Saint-Brieuc, 1903, p. 102.

[311] “(…) chère et belle langue nationale (...)”, *Bulletin de l’Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Gourin 1904,* Redon, 1905, p. 36.

a popular work, flexible and easy as befits conversation".[312] They also sought to demonstrate that Breton "is not only suitable for feeding the harps of (...) [their] poets"[313] but that it is also used for practical matters, such as economics.[314]

To defend Breton, they frequently associated it with ancient history, using expressions such as "ancient language of the Bretons", "language of the ancestors", "the old national language" and "noble Celtic language"[315]. By emphasising the ancient character of the Breton language, they sought to assert the legitimacy of using and preserving it. Comparisons with French were also common in this context. For instance, the authors often described Breton as "older and therefore more respectable than French" and as a language "which was already mature when the *langue d'oïl* [a dialect continuum that includes standard French] only stuttered in its variants."[316]

From the 1904 issue onwards, more and more Breton expressions (without translation) began to appear in otherwise French-language texts. The regionalists thus aimed to create the impression of real Breton usage in the press. They also argued that the Breton language "adapts so well to [the Breton race's] spirit".[317] The association of origin and language was a common theme in the self-representation of revivalist movements. Welsh and Irish revivalists similarly portrayed the use of their language as natural for their people.

In order to elevate the Breton language as the main symbol of Breton nationality, the authors of the bulletins continually tried to persuade readers of a linguistic unity in Brittany. Faced with the challenge of the language border between Upper and Lower Brittany (between Breton and Gallo speakers), the regionalists initially avoided addressing this issue in their publications. Until around 1907, the authors were attentively omitting to mention the language divide, creating the impression that the Brittany was unified, particularly in its language, to support their autonomy claims. The URB

[312] "(…) élégant[e] comme il convient à une oeuvre d'art, simple comme il convient à une oeuvre populaire, souple et facile comme il convient à la conversation (...)", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès d'Auray 1902,* Saint-Brieuc, 1903, p. 30.

[313]"(...) notre langue n'est pas seulement propre à l'alimentation des harpes de nos poétes (…)", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Gourin 1904,* Redon, 1905, p. 87.

[314] Several speeches in the Breton language by the Economic Section of the URB can be found in the 1908 issues (Plougastel-Daoulas congress), p. 74-76, 1910 (Châteauneuf-du-Faou congress), p. 60-62 and 1912 (Renan congress), p. 27.

[315] These expressions are evident throughout the bulletins.

[316] "(…) plus vieille et partant plus respectable que le français", and "qui était déjà mûre quand la langue d'oïl bégayait dans ses langues", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Saint-Pol-de-Léon 1905*, Redon, 1906, p. 84, 35.

[317]*Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Carnac 1906,* Redon, 1907, p. 44.

members only began to mention the two languages with the 1907 congress held in Questembert, in the Gallo-speaking region, though these references remained sparse:

> "The Gallos are our brothers and ignorance alone sometimes puts a quarrel between them and the Bretons: on the contrary, now united, they will have to help us in the of the Breton Renovation that we have undertaken."[318]

Although they admitted the difficulties posed by the linguistic division, the regionalists tended to blame the French, explaining that the barrier was a consequence of the "départementalisation" of France, an administrative reform implemented by the French state after the Revolution:

> "There has been too much talk of Upper and Lower Brittany, of Breton Brittany and non-Breton Brittany, of Breton country and Gallo country. A certain rivalry has even arisen—who doesn't know?—between the Upper and Lower Breton regions; narrow-minded people have taken it upon themselves to maintain a barrier of jealousy or mistrust between the two parts of Brittany. All this is the consequence of the division of our country into departments."[319]

The Breton regionalists sought to overcome this contradiction by promoting bilingualism. They argued that bilingual teaching was the only rational approach. According to them, if the teacher only spoke French at school, "they [the children] will be spoken to in a barbaric language that they understand nothing of" and consequently they will speak neither Breton nor French, but "a hybrid language".[320] They used the argument that "a man who knows two languages is worth four."[321] Their argumentation was credible and convincing[322], proposing to use Breton to teach French in schools. This request was presented as a reasonable proposal, already known to French authorities during the Revolution.[323] The revivalists also used examples from abroad to support their claims. For instance, regarding the fact

[318] "Nous leur dirons qu'à cause de tout cela les Gallos sont nos frères et que l'ignorance seule met parfois de la brouille entre eux et le Bretons: qu'au contraire, désormais unies à nous, elles devront nous aider dans l'oeuvre de Rénovation bretonne que nous avont entreprise.", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Questembert et de Rostrenen 1907*, Redon, 1908, p. 33.

[319] "On a trop parlé de Haute et de Basse-Bretagne, de Bretagne Bretonnante et de Bretagne non Bretonante, de pays breton et de pays gallo. Il s'est même créé une certaine rivalité, qui ne le sait? entre Hauts et Bas-bretons; des esprits étroits se sont plus à entretenir je ne sais quelle barrière de jalousie ou de défiance entre les deux portions de la Bretagne. Tout cela est la conséquence du partage de notre pays en départements." *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Questembert et de Rostrenen 1907*, Redon, 1908, p. 95.

[320] *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Carnac 1906,* Redon, 1907, p. 91-92.

[321] *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Plougastel-Daoulas 1908,* Redon, 1909, p. 56.

[322] Accoording to Ruth Amossy, making public speeches credible and reasonable is a classical rhetoric strategy of public speakers (Amossy [2010], p. 17-18).

[323] *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Morlaix.-Vannes.-Guingamp.-Quimperlé de 1898 à 1901,* Saint Brieuc, 1902, p. 54.

that postal workers in Brittany officially considered Breton as a foreign language, the regionalists raised this objection:

> "Considering that the Breton language, spoken and written by more than 2,000,000 French people, cannot (...) be understood as a foreign language (...) Considering that republican France cannot, without falling apart, show itself less liberal towards the Breton nation than monarchical England towards the Welsh or the autocrat of Russia towards Poland."[324]

The Breton language represented the main aspect of self-representation for Breton revivalists. However, its insufficiently unifying character (due to the language barrier between Upper and Lower Brittany) required the addition of other unifying elements, such as common popular culture and the region's history, discussed in the following sections.

Wales

The 1880s and 1890s were a period that saw the most noticeable improvement in the position of Welsh within society, especially in the domain of schooling, as bilingual education and the instruction in Welsh became the norm in primary schools in Welsh-speaking areas.[325] Therefore, language revival itself did not represent as important an issue as it did in the other movements discussed above. This difference between other Celtic and Welsh revivalists seems to lie in the understanding of language as a defining tool for nation-building at the time. For Welsh activists, the definition of a nation did not depend as heavily on the existence of the Welsh language, although it still represented a powerful asset.[326] Vernacular literature, culture, and history provided a broader argument for claiming autonomy rights in the Welsh case, encompassing both, English and Welsh-speaking populations. One author, in an article for the *Wales* magazine, for instance, diminishes the role of a language and explains the existence of the separate Welsh nation by topography:

> "It is not race or language that has made Wales a separate country and the Welsh a peculiar people. Wales owes its separate existence to its mountains; it is to the mountains that the Welsh people owe their national characteristics. […] Many languages have been spoken among the mountains, memories of which survive in place

[324] *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Carnac 1906*, Redon, 1907, p. 51.

[325] For more information about social history of the Welsh language in the nineteenth century, see collection Geraint H. Jenkins, ed., *A Social History of the Welsh Language. The Welsh Language and its Social domains 1801-1911.* University of Wales Press, 2000.

[326] O'Leary, Paul. 'The Languages of Patriotism in Wales 1840–1880' in Jenkins (2000), p. 536-37.

> names or in the grammatical peculiarities of the living languages of the country: but Wales remains while language after language dies away from its eternal mountains."[327]

Additionally, a significant number of periodicals published at the time in Wales were written in Welsh, including the *Cymru* magazine, analysed here. Therefore, the Welsh language naturally appeared in public discourse in Wales, creating an implicit argument for its importance, making it unnecessary to repeat this argument explicitly.

As described below, in the section on Welsh education, bilingualism was the main agenda for language revival, representing an important aspect of promoting Welsh. The *Cymdeithas*' handbook provides ample evidence. This brochure describes bilingual teaching methods as modern and internationally recognized and even provides specific practical advice for potential teachers.[328] Moreover, to promote Welsh, the authors present it as a simpler language to learn than English. They suggest that Welsh-speaking children should be taught to read their own language first, as its "orthography is so simple, consistent and regular," before acquiring better English, whose spelling system is "immensely more complicated."[329] Finally, the handbook underscores that after acquiring a certain level of Welsh, it "can be employed also as a vehicle of information" and "after one year's efficient teaching, the children can receive simple lessons in Scripture, Common Things, or Geography in Welsh."[330] Thus, the language was promoted as a means to access new sources of information.

Furthermore, knowledge of Welsh was presented as a significant aid to acquiring foreign languages:

> "If you take the trouble to search through the report of every school, you will see that twenty-four 'Excellents' have been awarded by the Examiner to these schools. And one clear fact emerges, namely, that these schools also excel in other languages such as Latin and French."[331]

These arguments were mostly addressed to town councils and school boards that opposed the proper introduction of bilingual education in schools, which were often named in *Cymdeithas* reports. For

[327] "The History of Wales. II. – Why Wales Has a History," *Wales*, June 1894, p. 57.
[328] For instance, the teachers of Welsh are advised to "avoid feminine nouns in the first few lessons, on the principle of introducing only one difficulty at a time." *The Welsh Language Society: Scheme and Rules of the Society*. Jarvis & Foster, 1901, p. 8.
[329] Idem, p. 14.
[330] Idem, p. 9.
[331] "Os cymerir y drafferth i chwilio drwy adroddiad pob ysgol, gwelir fod pedwar Excellent ar hugainwedi ei ddyfarnu gan yr Arholwr ar gyfer yr ysgolion hyn. Ac ymae ffaith avail yn amlwg, sef, bod yr ysgolion hyn hefyd yn rhagori mewn ieithoedd ereill megis Lladin a Ffrancaeg.", 'Y Gymraeg yn yr Ysgolion Sir', *Adroddiad Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg am 1904*, Treherbert, 1905, p. 6.

instance, in 1906 report, a school in Cardiff is named as a place where Welsh was introduced as a compulsory subject, but with great opposition:

> "A heated battle has taken place in Cardiff on the subject of the Welsh language. In order to save costs and for the benefit of the teachers, the Education Committee decided to make Welsh compulsory in the Teacher Training College. It has risen opposition as some feared that the French would neglected. It is likely that all sides will be satisfied once those who favour French realise that they have the advantage they desire to master that language."[332]

To those acquiring Welsh, the revivalist also promoted the language as an important aspect of national identity and its self-confidence:

> "The last lecture (...) demonstrated the position and dignity of the Welsh language alongside the main languages of the world. It referred to the nobility and antiquity of the nation; it claimed that the Welsh nation was the most noble in Britain, that our ancestors had passed down to us a valuable inheritance, but it should be remembered that our only rightful claim to this inheritance was our language, and having lost that, we would completely dissolve into other nations. Every Welshman should, therefore, do his best to keep the language alive."[333]

The target audience of this argument were nationally conscious Welsh people who did not speak Welsh.

Similarly to Welsh education, the Welsh revivalists presented the language movement as a success story and conveyed the impression that the Welsh language was in an advantageous position and making progress. They even claimed that the movement no longer faced opposition:

> "It appears that the gunpowder of our opponents has run out, because rarely if anything is spoken or written about the supposed shortcomings of the Welsh language and the 'disadvantages' (?) of its use. The fact that so many authorities have expressed their clear

[332] "Mae brwydr boeth wedi cymeryd lle yng Nohaerdydd ar gweatiwn y Gymraeg. Er mwyn arbed traul, ac er mantais i'r athrawon, penderfynodd y Pwyllgor Addysg wneud Cymraeg yn orfodol yng ngholeg y Disgybl athrawon. Yr ydys wedi codi gwrthwynebiad i byn gan yr ofnai rhai y bvddai r Ffrancaeg yn cael ei hauwybyddu. Tebygol y boddlonir pob plaid pan y deal la caredigion y Ffrancaeg fod iddynt hwy y fantais a fynnant I feistroli'r iaith honno.", *Adroddiad Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg am 1906*, Casnewydd-ar-wysg, 1907, p. 8.

[333] "Erys darlith (...) Danghosai safle ac urddas yr iaith Gymraeg yn ochr prif ieithoedd y byd. Cyfeiriai at fonedd ac hynafiaeth y genedl; hawliai mai cenedl y Cymry oedd yr un fwyaf pendefigaidd ym Mhrydain, fod ein cyndeidiau wedi trosglwyddo i ni etifeddiaeth werthfawr, ond y dylid cofio mai ein hunig hawl-ysgrif i'r etifeddiaeth hon oedd ein hiaith, ac wedi colli honno, ymgollem yn llwyr mewn cenhedloedd ereill. Dylai pob Cymro, gan hynny, wneud ei oreu i gadwr iaith yn fyw.", 'Y Bedwaredd Ysgol Haf Gymraeg', Adroddiad Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg am 1906, Candewydd-ar-wysg, 1907, p. 23.

support in her favour, together with the undeniable success in our best schools, has silenced the enemies."[334]

Despite its central importance, language was not extensively stressed in the Welsh revivalist discourse for the reasons described above. The other Celtic revivalist movements, on the other hand, largely advocated for their language because it was necessary to achieve their goals.

3.2 Education

Ireland

The main purpose for *Conradh na Gaeilge* was "the preservation or Irish as the National Language of Ireland and the extension of its use as a spoken language"; therefore, teaching of the Irish language was a natural tool to achieve this goal. The number of articles, reports, pieces of news published not only in ACS, but also in individual pamphlets, underscores the importance of education for *Conradh*. Education emerges as the third most important aspect of *Conradh*'s self-representation. Despite *Conradh*'s claims of political neutrality, education—especially in *Gaeltachtaí* (the Irish speaking areas)—became a highly politicised topic, similarly to the case of *An Comunn Gaidhealach*. For inspiration, *Conradh* looked to Wales, which served as a model in the area of education. The topic of education gained prominence in ACS particularly during the editorship of Patrick Pearse, between 1903 and 1909.

The main goal of *Conradh* in education was to establish a bilingual school system. In one of *Conradh*'s first published pamphlets[335] on the subject, the authors emphasised the need to recognize the reality of Irish-speaking districts and to introduce a proper bilingual school system, in contrast to the current situation, where the National Board for Education's rules lacked any "systematic use of the native language."[336] *Conradh* condemned the existing system, where Irish was treated only as "an extra subject" and proposed "that the children should commence their school education in Irish books, and

[334] "Ymddengys fod pylor ein gwrthwynebwyr wedi darfod, oblegid nid oes nemor os dim yn cael ei lefaru na'i ysgrifennu am ddiffygion dychymygol y Gymraeg a'r anfanteision (?) o'i harfer. Mae'r ffaith fod cynifer o awdurdodau wedi datgan eu barn mor groew o'i phlaid, ynghyda llwyddiant diamheuol yr arbrawf yn ein hysgolion goreu, wedi distewi'r gelynion.", 'Y Gymraeg yn yr Ysgolion Dyddiol', *Adroddiad Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg am 1905*, Candewydd-ar-wysg, 1906, p. 5.

[335] The Gaelic League's pamphlets were a series of shorter texts, including speeches, lectures, and manifestos, published by the League to circulate their opinions on specific topics within public discourse, from approximately 1898 to the 1930s. The National Library of Ireland holds a collection of these pamphlets, bound in volumes, with around 15 volumes covering the period before 1914. Although these pamphlets were not systematically analysed for this research due to their sheer volume, they hold strong potential for future studies on *Conradh*'s self-representation and its role in shaping public discourse.

[336] "The Case for Bilingual Education in the Irish-speaking districts", Gaelic League Pamphlets, No.2., approx. 1898, p. 2.

that their instruction in English should begin when they have learned to read Irish."[337] For an understanding of what bilingual education actually means, they suggested looking to Wales as an example. Another example highlighted in ACS was Belgium. In August 1905, the magazine began a series of "special articles" on "Belgium and its schools, invaluable to Primary and Secondary Teachers, to *Conradh* Teachers, to all Educationists, and to Language Workers generally".[338] The nine-part article series discussed not only Belgium's bilingual schooling but also the country's linguistic situation in general, its history, and the political struggles of the Flemish community:

> "In Belgium there is not (…) a question of preserving a language from almost imminent extinction. (…) They [Flemish] still remain a majority, having neither gained nor lost in relative numerical strength during the seventy-five years that have elapsed. The aims of the movement have simply been, first, the creation of a modern Flemish literature, and secondly, the securing for Flemish of official recognition as full and ample as that accorded to French. Let it be frankly recognised that Ireland's problem is vastly more difficult. We have to rescue a language from the very brink of the grave."[339]

Articles about Belgium and its schooling system appeared regularly in ACS between 1905 and 1907.[340]

To *Conradh*, the main obstacles to achieving bilingual education were firstly, the British government, and secondly, the Irish people who were indifferent to the revivalist movement or actively opposed the language. Through ACS, *Conradh* publicly criticised the British government's attitude towards Irish in education, regularly reporting from the House of Commons. The authors quoted politicians who supported *Conradh*'s agenda and comdemned those who opposed the inclusion of Irish in Ireland's education system. *Conradh* demanded autonomy for Ireland in education:

> "We infer that the Government and the [National Education] Board do not like to have the national aspect again brought forward. But it must as least be clear to them that the Board's past attitude on the national question is deeply prejudicial to it (…) The public are already beginning to turn their eyes to the working of the Board and to demand a share in ruling their own education."[341]

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[337] Idem, p. 3.
[338] Advertisement for the article series in *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Júl 29, 1905, p. 7.
[339] "Belgium and its schools. VII. 'In Flanders, Flemish'", *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Deireadh Foghmhair 7, 1905, p. 4.
[340] Although the series of articles is unsigned, they were authored by P. Pearse, who had previously travelled to Belgium with his sister to study the local education system. Pearse sought inspiration from the Belgian model to adapt it for the Irish cause (Leerssen [2018], p. 1125).
[341] "An Claidheamh Soluis. The Schools and the Nation.", *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Júl 20, 1901, p. 296.

The second enemy of Irish education, according to *Conradh*, was the Irish people themselves, as "supply follows demand"[342]. Irish parents were accused of "shoneenism and snoberry" for requesting that their children be taught primarily in English.[343] Parents who did not support teaching Irish in schools were publicly criticized:

> "(…) do your children speak Irish? If not, who is to blame for it? (…) is more to blame than yourselves? You, who are fathers and mothers, and yet do not teach Gaedhilg to the younger generation as is your duty. You should be eternally ashamed! You are, without even knowing it, committing the slow murder of your children."[344]

In addition to the lack of political neutrality in education, the influence of spirituality entered the domain, despite *Conradh*'s proclaimed secularity. This is unsurprising given the Church's strong involvement and influence in the Irish education system.[345] *Conradh* acknowledged the close relationship between education and the Church in Ireland:

> "For the Irish people since Christianity dawned in Ireland, religion and education have ever been inseparable. The priest at present is the manager of the primary school and most frequently the professor in the Intermediate and University systems. Hence for the mass of the Irish people the education of the priest deeply influences the education of the nation at large."[346]

Conradh published regular reports on the support expressed by Church prelates for the language movement, especially in the domain of education. Entire speeches of bishops and archbishops were published, and their views were presented as those of educational experts.[347] References were often made to Maynooth College, the main Catholic higher education institution where Irish was taught, particularly for preaching purposes.

One topic within the education domain received more attention than others: the role of the Irish language in the foundation of the National University. The University question and the equalisation of

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[342] "A 'Superior English Education' ". An Claidheamh Soluis, *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Júl 15, 1899, p. 280.
[343] Idem.
[344] "(…) bhfuil gaedhilg ag bhar gcuid cloinne? Muna bhfuil, cia is ciontach leis? (…) Cia is ciontaighe acht Shibh féin? sibhse atá in bhar n-aithreachaibh and in bhar máithreachaibh and gan an Gaedhilg do mhúineadh do'n aos óg mar budh dhual. Mo rheacht náire sibh go deo! Ag dún-mharbhadh bhar gcloinne'seadh atá sibh, a gan fhios dhíbh féin.","Bhfuil Gaedhilg ag do chloinn?", An Claidheamh Soluis, *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Aibreán 15, 1899, p. 72.
[345] Pádraic Frehan, '§22. Educational institutions' in Leerssen (2018), p. 1125-26.
[346] "The Death of Father O'Growney", An Claidheamh Soluis, *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Ocht-mhí 28, 1899.
[347] For instance: "In the North, the meeting of the Ulster Union of the Gaelic League has been followed by the Bishop of Raphoe's striking address on Primary Education, in which his Lordship warmly advocated the adoption of the Bilingual Programme (…)" in "The Bilingual Programme", *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Eanair 14, 1905, p. 6.

Catholics' position in the third level education were frequently raised throughout the nineteenth century. The issue was settled with the Irish Universities Act in 1908, which established the National University of Ireland and Queen's University of Belfast.[348] During this process, *Conradh* campaigned for making the knowledge of Irish a compulsory matriculation requirements. Douglas Hyde expressed *Conradh*'s view on this issue in 1902 before the Royal Commission, arguing that this requirement was necessary to bring "any such University (…) into contact with the people, as the University of Wales has been brought, and to secure that the national factor, and the national language, shall be predominant in any education that it shall give."[349] Hyde explained that this requirement was essential for instilling pride in the Irish people for their country and for fostering economic development by encouraging the local intelligentsia to remain in Ireland. He envisioned the National University as "intellectual headquarters for Irish Ireland".[350]

This Irish language dimension of the University question was very prominent in ACS, particularly in the first half of 1908, where every issue contained at least one article on the topic, such as:

> "The whole question reduces itself to this: Is the new University to be frankly and avowedly English only, or is it to be partly Irish and partly English – absolutely Irish it can not be, for years to come. But we want the door open for this. English, and we presume Latin, will be compulsory for Matriculation (…); we want Irish to be in the same position – we can not accept less. We acknowledge that English I necessary, but we consider Irish absolutely essential, and unless the new University is determined to follow the traditions of Trinity College, it will make Irish a subject for Matriculation (…)."[351]

The campaign was successful, and from 1913, Irish became a compulsory requirement for matriculation at the University.[352]

The topic of Irish education spread through many *Conradh*'s public communications, including the stages of *Oireachtas*, the cultural festival of Irish language and culture, described below.[353]

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[348] For more information on the University question in Ireland, see Moody, T. W. 'The Irish University Question of the Nineteenth Century'. *History*, vol. 43, no. 148, 1958, pp. 90–109.
[349] "Irish in University Education. Evidence given before the Royal Commission on University Education, 1902.", Gaelic League Pamphlets, No.29., 1902(?), p. 5.
[350] Idem, p. 6, 13.
[351] "The New University: Irish essential for matriculation", An Claidheamh Soluis, An Claidheamh Soluis, Lughnasa 22, 1908, p. 9.
[352] Koch (2006), p. 479.
[353] For instance, *Conradh* used the *Oireachtas* of 1900 to advance their demands in the area of education. A public meeting was held to "consider (…) the question of the Irish language in Irish education" was held there. ("The Oireachtas", An Claidheamh Soluis, An Claidheamh Soluis, Aibreán 21, 1900, p. 88.)

Scotland

The *Manifesto*[354] clearly shows that the topic of education in the Highlands was of particular importance to *An Comunn Gaidhealach* and was one of its primary concerns. It comes as the second most important aspect of self-representation of Gaelic revivalists, right after the language. Thompson refers to the topic of Gaelic in schools as an "evergreen subject" of *An Comunn*'s activities.[355] At the time of *An Comunn*'s foundation, Gaelic held the status of a 'specific subject' only in the local primary education system. The goal of the society was to encourage school boards to expand the teaching of Gaelic by using already existing legal provisions and by directly supplying resources and teaching materials to schools.[356] The new Constitution of *An Commun* in 1904 made provisions for new standing committees, including a Committee for Education.[357] Two years later, the Association organised a conference on education in the Highlands, because the Scotch Education Department was reluctant to recognise Gaelic as a subject in its own right. Discussions about teaching Gaelic began to take place at higher levels, including a hearing with the Secretary of Scotland in favour of introducing Gaelic in Highland schools. However, the matter was still left up to the decision of individual school boards.[358]

In 1908, the Education Act for Scotland was being discussed in Parliament, which led to vigorous campaigning for Gaelic in education. However, the Gaelic amendment was not successfully incorporated and this important opportunity to introduce Gaelic as a subject in all Highland schools from above was frittered away. [359] The topic of education in the Gaelic language was the only subject politicized in *An Deo-Ghréine*, as is discussed below. In 1913, the Executive Committee suggested taking action towards establishing a higher education institution with a technical focus. Nevertheless, despite enthusiastic approval of the idea, the project was never realized.[360]

The case in favour of the teaching of the Gaelic language was based on three main arguments. First, the most frequent argument used by *An Comunn* in advocating the Gaelic language education was the obvious absurdity of teaching in English where English-speaking children were the minority:

[354] The teaching of Gaelic in schools is the first goal of the society described in the *Manifesto* in detail, before any other objects of its mission, and covers most of the Society's programme published therein (Comunn Gaidhealach (1891), p. 2).
[355] Thompson (1992), p. 44.
[356] Comunn Gaidhealach (1891), p. 2.
[357] Thompson (1992), p. 25.
[358] Thompson (1992), p. 27.
[359] Thompson (1992), p. 31.
[360] Thompson (1992), p. 40.

> "English is a foreign language to the Highland child, and the use of foreign language as a means of instruction in elementary school work is, in the light of modern principles of education, unproductive of good results, and therefore indefensible."[361]

For *An Comunn* members, another related issue was the employment of non-Gaelic-speaking teachers in the Highland districts. They further criticized that even if the teachers speak Gaelic, "[…] they are for the most part kindly amateurs, anxious to do their best for the language they love, but ignorant of the new methods of language teaching […]."[362] And the third common angle of argumentation was to demonstrate the usefulness of bilingual teaching for the future careers of Highland children, as already indicated above, not only in Scotland, but also in Gaelic-speaking Canada. Importantly, this argumentative strategy addressed the parents of school children, who often wished their children to learn primarily English at the expense of Gaelic and were rather apathetic towards the language movement.[363] The "ignorant" parents are portrayed as one of the obstacles of the Gaelic language teaching movement in *Deò-Ghréine.*

The topic of education in Gaelic received greater public attention following the *Féill* (Bazaar),[364] organised by *An Comunn* in 1907 with the intention of collecting finances necessary to develop the society's activities. The sum of 8,000 pounds enabled *An Comunn* to raise interest in the topic and to organise numerous events including scholarly conferences related to vernacular languages in education and to issue several publications about the topic.[365] The support of Gaelic teaching was listed first in the list of objectives towards which the collected sum shall be expended, just before support of developing Gaelic literature, music, and art, with the encouragement of home industries listed last.[366] Gaelic language education and the development of home industries were meant to be coupled, and through "technical education, industrial development and an educational system which embraces bilingualism" they were supposed to "save the Gael" and play as the "keynotes of the propaganda" of the movement.[367] The idea behind this strategy was of course to prevent the emigration of Highlanders to the Lowlands or England in search of employment.

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[361] 'An Appeal to Highlanders', *An Deo-Gréine,* 5, Treas Mìos a Gheamhraidh, 1910, 50.
[362] Burnley-Campbell, M. 'A Summer School of Gaelic in the Highlands'. *An Deo-Gréine,* 4, Treas Mìos a Gheamhraidh, 1909, p. 57.
[363] McLeod (2020), p. 90.
[364] For more about the *Féill* and its organisation (including its role in the participation of women in the Gaelic movement) see Scott, Priscila. *'With Heart and Voice Ever Devoted to the Cause': Women in the Gaelic Movement, 1886-1914.* 2013. University of Edinburgh, PhD dissertation, p. 48–52.
[365] Murchison (1955), p. 63.
[366] 'Recommendations as to Disposal of the Funds to be Raised at the Feill', *An Deo-Gréine*, 2, An Ceitein, 1907, p. 132.
[367] Campbell, Kenneth. 'The Educational Point of View'. *An Deo-Ghréine*, 1, An dara mìos dheug I, 1905, p. 43.

Over the years since its foundation in 1889, *An Comunn*'s publications on the topic of Gaelic teaching were numerous and represented the society's main concern. However, the public image of the society was established primarily through events connected to the *Mòd* and other musical performances, discussed below.

Wales

The topic of education was one of the most important in the self-representation of Welsh revivalists, similar to the Highland *An Comunn*. It was especially *Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg* (Welsh Language Society) in which the reports analysed here, where the prime focus was on improving the conditions of Welsh education. Therefore, this section contains quotations mainly from *Cymdeithas*' publications. Not surprisingly, bilingualism and bilingual schooling system were the most prominently discussed areas in education. The second most important topic was the Welsh University, widely debated in the journals. Moreover, the most employed discursive strategy regarding education was describing the education system positively, while highlighting the success achieved by the revivalists.

The goals and motivation of *Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg* are well described in its manifesto from 1885, where (still under the name *The Society for Utilisation of the Welsh Language in Education*) describes a discouraging reality of Welsh education at the time:

> "In large districts of Wales the children hear Welsh and Welsh alone in the home, in the shop, in the market, in the street, and in the playground. They come to school *without* a knowledge of English, and *with* a knowledge of Welsh. This living power, possessed by the great majority of school children in Wales, is made practically a dead letter in the educational system. It is ignored, forbidden. When a Welsh child, (…), enters its portals, he is launched on a strange sea, and though he has in his practical knowledge of Welsh a compass to guide and help him on the voyage, he is not permitted to make any use of it."[368]

This quotation expresses a rather gloomy view of the situation, which was replaced, after less than two decades of work by the Society, by a positive outlook. In the period after 1900, the Welsh revivalists presented the area of education as a success story, where Wales had achieved, or was gradually achieving, its goals of an independent bilingual education system. For instance, a whole section of *Cymdeithas*' reports was dedicated to acclamatory letters written by teachers from all over the principality, describing the success stories of particular schools:

[368] Evans, Beriah G., 'The substance of the paper read at a Meeting of the Cymmrodorian Section of the National Eisteddfod at Aberdare, August 27th, 1885', The Society for the Utilization of the Welsh Language in Education, Preliminary prospectus, 1885, p. 8.

> "Years ago, if a question was asked in Welsh, the answer would invariably be in English. But now the answer is given in Welsh. Previously, the teachers would use their English—'the language of the school'—even in the Welsh lesson; but now they use Welsh not only in the Welsh lesson, but in other lessons as well. The children speak Welsh very well and read well enough."[369]

The education system is described in an overwhelmingly positive way, and even the educational authorities of the British state are trusted and complimented: "The Association has enjoyed another successful year in many respects. Although the Educational Authorities takes a long time to settle in, and to get used to the work arranged for them, we are possessed with confidence that the language will Welsh get special attention from them."[370]

Bilingualism in education was the primary goal of the Celtic revivalists, as well as the main strategy to promote the language, native culture, and identity. *Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg* was the principal tool for achieving these goals. They presented the knowledge of both languages as a uniquely Welsh quality and believed that bilingualism would create balance within the country, as well as within its people. A metaphor about the wings of a bird, published in a *Cymdeithas'* report from 1906, illustrates this attitude:

> "It is necessary to keep in mind the importance of demanding the same level of effectiveness in teaching Welsh as in teaching English. Wales will not be truly bilingual without this. A bird cannot easily fly when it has one weak wing and one strong wing, and it will be to Wales' advantage to have both languages equal and balanced."[371]

In contrast with other Celtic movements, *Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg* paid attention not only to Welsh-speaking areas but also to the predominantly English-speaking areas. They made efforts to ensure that the teaching of Welsh was well established in "those areas of Wales where the Welsh

[369] "Flynyddau yn ol, os gofynnid cwestiwn yn y Gymraeg byddai'r atebiad yn ddieithriad yn y Saesneg. Ond yn awr ceir yr atebiad yn y Gymraeg. Gynt byddai'r athrawon yn gwneud defnydd o'i Saesneg - 'iaith yr ysgol' - hyd yn oed yn y wers Gymraeg; ond yn awr defnyddiant y Gymraeg nid yn unig yn y wers Gymraeg, ond yn y gwersi ereill. Sieryd y plant Gymraeg yn dda iawn, a darllenant yn dda ddigon.", *Adroddiad Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg am 1907*, Casnewydd-Ar-Wysg, 1908, p. 13.

[370] "Mae'r Gymdeithas wedi mwynhau blwyddyn go lwyddiannus eto mewn llawer ystyr. Er fod yr Awdurdodau Addysgol yn cymeryd cryn amser i ymsefydlu, ac i ymgynefino a'r gwaith drefnwyd ar eu cyfer, meddiennir ni gan hyder y bydd i'r iaith Gymraeg gael sylw arbennig ganddynt.", *Adroddiad Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg am 1904*, Treherbert, 1905, p. 5.

[371] "Rhaid cadw golwg ar yr angenrbeidrwydd o hawlio yr un effeithiolrwydd mewn dysgu Cymraeg ag mewn dysgu Saesneg. Ni fydd Cymru yn wir ddwy-ieithog heb hyn. Nid yn rhwydd y gall aderyn hedfan pan y mae ganddo un aden wan ac un gref, a mantais i Gymru fydd cael y ddwy iaith yn gydradd a chytbwys.", *Adroddiad Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg am 1906*, Casnewydd-ar-Wysg, 1907, p. 8.

language is not in general practice" which are "in greater disadvantage than the pupils who spoke Welsh at home."[372]

Furthermore, *Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg* organised another important educational activity: the summer school of Welsh language and culture (*yr Ysgol Haf Gymraeg*). Many significant figures of the Welsh movement participated in the project. *Yr Ysgol Haf* was held regularly each summer, beginning in 1903 in Aberystwyth, with locations changing every year. The second *Ysgol Haf* was held in Bangor, where it was already deemed successful, according to acclamatory comments from students, published in *Cymdeithas'* 1904 report:

> "The Course created in me a renewed interest in the language, history, and literature of my country."
>
> "I greatly enjoyed myself in Bangor, and I hear the same thing from everyone else."
>
> "This is a timely movement, and we hope that the teachers will carry the Welsh fire that characterized the Summer School and ignite the same in their students throughout Wales."[373]

Since then, a quarter of each volume of *Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg* reports has been dedicated to summer school matters.

The very first *Ysgol Haf* was praised in *Cymru* magazine already in 1903, and the author predicted its successful continuation:

> "The undeniable success of this first course justifies *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* in starting the movement, as well as continuing it in the future. If every student who attends the course year after year does their best to keep the old language alive, Wales will be brighter and more independent in the future."[374]

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[372] "(…) yr oedd disgyblion yn y parthau hynny o Gymru lie nad yw r Gymraeg mewn arferiad cyffredinol o dan mwy o anfantais na'r disgyblion a sieryd y Gymraeg ar yr aelwyd.", 'Y Gymraeg yn yr Ysgolion Dyddiol', *Adroddiad Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg am 1909*, Caerdydd, 1910, p. 9.

[373] "Creodd y Cwrs ynof ddyddordeb adnewyddol yn iaitb, hanes, a llenyddiaeth fy ngwlad.";"Mwynheais fy hun yn rhagorol ym Mangur, a'r un peth a glywaf bawb ereill yn ei ddweyd."; "Symudiad amserol yw hwn, a gobeithiwn y bydd yr athrawon yn cario'r tan Cymreig oedd yn nodweddu'r Ysgol Haf, ac yn cynneu yr unrhyw yn eu disgyblion ym mhob rhan o Gymru.", 'Yr Ysgol Haf', *Adroddiad Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg am 1904,* Treherbert, p. 16.

[374] "Y mae llwyddiant diamheuol y cwrs cyntaf hwn yn cyfiawnhau Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg am gychwyn y mudiad, yn ogystal a'i barhau yn y dyfodol. Os gwna pob myfyriwr fyddo'n mynychu'r cwrs o flwyddyn i flwyddyn ei oreu i gadw'r hen iaith ar ei thraed, bydd Cymru yn fwy disglaer ac anibynnol yn yr oesau dyfodol.", D. James, 'Yr Ysgol Haf Gymraeg', *Cymru*, vol 25, no 147, 1903, p. 165.

O.W. Edwards, the editor of *Cymru* and *Wales* magazines, was appointed chief inspector of schools under the Welsh Education Department.[375] As part of his duties, he visited the summer school in 1907 and appreciated this initiative from the position of an education authority.[376] In general, the summer schools proved to be a popular and successful initiative in all the other Celtic movement organised them.

The importance of an independent third level education system in any country was emphasised. Therefore, the Welsh University and third level education in the Welsh language were crucial topics for local revivalists, as "the only characteristic Welsh institution, the outcome of the life of the people of Wales".[377] A similar level of interest in university education can be found in other countries' movements. The importance of this topic was well described by the editor of *Wales* magazine:

> "To those whose task it will be to write the history of Wales during the last years of the nineteenth century, the all-important subject will be the establishment of the University of Wales. It is the final expression of a long-deferred hope and of a sacrifice which a people, poor but not uncultured, possessed as the highest aim and most valuable discipline of its national life. (…) There was no one in that body [deputation] who had not sacrificed much in order to make Welsh education such that the Welshman will not be inferior to others in the duties of British citizenship."[378]

The Welsh University was an important topic for revivalist journals and became a regular subject in their general news sections. *Wales* magazine in particular regularly reported on the meetings of the University Court and their proceedings.[379]

3.3 Popular culture

Ireland

Another important aspect presented and discussed on the pages of ACS were the different types of cultural events organised not only by *Conradh* and its branches but also by other associated bodies. In general, public celebrations represent a powerful propagandist tool to attract followers. This is particularly true for language-oriented movements whose, as Timothy McMahon puts it: public celebrations are great opportunities to present "the language as vital in itself and as vitalizing to the

[375] Jenkins, R. T., (1959). EDWARDS, Sir OWEN MORGAN (1858 - 1920), man of letters. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. https://biography.wales/article/s-EDWA-MOR-1858. Accessed 1 May 2024.
[376] 'Y Bumed Ysgol Haf Gymraeg', *Adroddiad Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg am 1907*, Casnewydd-ar-wysg, 1908, p. 39-40.
[377] 'The History of Wales. 11. Why Wales has a History.', *Wales*, vol 1, no 2, 1894, p. 60.
[378] 'Editors' notes', *Wales*, vol 3, no 24, 1896, p. 185.
[379] For instance 'The Fifth Meeting of the University Court', *Wales*, vol 2, no 11, 1895, p. 140.

nation."[380] *Conradh* was aware of this, employed the strategy, and used ACS to either promote the events or report on their activities and proceedings. The most important event of the revivalist cultural calendar was the *Oireachtas*, a national festival of literature, music and other cultural performances, in the Irish language. In comparison, for instance, with *An Comunn Gaidhealach*, whose *Mòd* festival represented the main tool of propaganda, the *Oireachtas* was not as important for *Conradh*. *Conradh*'s goal was to be perceived as a practical organisation with serious and reachable objectives, and festivals were supposed to serve as supportive instruments, not the main tool for the society's representation. The purpose of these celebrations was to appeal to the general public and create public recognition of the movement.[381]

There were two types of public celebrations organised by *Conradh*: *feiseanna*[382], local and regional festivals of Irish culture, culminating in the national *Oireachtas*; and processions, taking place in towns and cities, with the largest held annually in Dublin.[383]

The *Oireachtas*[384] represented the main cultural event of the year, and ACS dedicated considerable space to it. In the discourse analysis of ACS, over a third of the quotations labelled with the "popular culture" tag were directly connected with the *Oireachtas*. The extensive coverage of the festival in ACS shows its importance to *Conradh*, especially as a propaganda tool.

Conradh presented the *Oireachtas* as vitally important to the Irish nation, similar to how different competitions, games, and festivals were important to the bond of Greek republics in ancient times: "The ancient assemblies are revived in the Oireachtas. The festival is the rallying point of the movement. It affords a centre for the thought of all Irish Ireland. It makes for social as well as for linguistic and literary unity."[385] This comparison with ancient tradition served to distract the public from the fact that *Oireachtas* was an "invented tradition", founded only two years earlier, following the example of the Welsh *Eisteddfod*.[386] The first *Oireachtas* was nevertheless a successful event and was recalled as such in later issues of ACS : "It was evident from first to last of the enthusiastic proceedings that the *Conradh* has a stronger hold on the interest and sympathy of the general public

[380] McMahon (2008), chap 5. The Grand Opportunity. Festivals and the Gaelic Revival, introduction to the chapter.
[381] Idem.
[382] *Feiseanna* is a plural form of *Feis*, which can be translated as a meeting, assembly.
[383] McMahon (2008), chap 5. The Grand Opportunity. Festivals and the Gaelic Revival, introduction to the chapter.
[384] The word *Oireachtas* literally means "assembly" or "gathering", comes from early Irish *airecht* ("Oireachtas, N." Oxford English Dictionary, Oxford UP, July 2023, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/3931845313).
[385] "The Oireachtas", An Claidheamh Soluis, Márta 25, 1899, p. 24.
[386] McMahon (2008), chap 5., subtitle " 'Rally the Irish Nation': the First Oireachtas".

than even its own officials has expected."[387] Thus, Oireachtas became the main connecting link between *Conradh* and the general public.

The concentration of texts covering the *Oireachtas* increased, unsurprisingly, around the time the year when the *Oireachtas* was organised, usually during the summer months, around the turn of July and August. During that period, ACS dedicated its main column "An Claidheamh Soluis" either to discuss the upcoming festival or to look back on it, praising it as a huge success and the main cultural event of the year:

> "Next week is the week of the Oireachtas, the great week of the Irish language. It will begin on Monday morning. There will be discussions, work, and effort for everyone throughout the week. Irish speakers from every part of Ireland will be in Dublin. The sweet sound of the Irish language will be heard every hour of the day. It will be heard on the streets and in the public places. Attention, Irish speakers! Speak your own language proudly and boldly."[388]

Following the *Oireachtas*, ACS usually included an attachment covering the course of events of the festival and published some of the winning pieces.

Conradh understood the *Oireachtas* as a first step and as a means to achieve the further inclusion of the Irish language education, eventually securing its place in the homes of Irish people.[389] Besides its promotional strength, the *Oireachtas* was presented in ACS as a nurturing environment for new, modern, and high-quality Irish literature to emerge. The movement sought to motivate and attract new authors to the festival for this purpose:

> "Every writer should work and do their utmost for the Oireachtas, as if all the responsibility rested on them alone. Ireland would benefit greatly from the efforts of everyone in this matter. If something is worth doing at all, it is worth doing properly."[390]

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[387] "Looking Backward. The First Oireachtas.", An Claidheamh Soluis, Sahmhain 19, 1904, p. 9.

[388] "Is í an tseachtmhain seo chughainn seachmhain an oireachtais, is í mórsheachtmhain na Gaedhilge í. Tosnóchar ar maidin Dia luain. Beidh bruid and saothar and cúram ar gach éinne i rith na seachtmhaine. Beidh Gaedhilgeoirí i mBaile Átha Cliath ó gach ráirt d'Éirinn. Cloisfear gach uair de'n ló fuaim bhlasta na Gaedhilge. Cloisfear ar na sráid and ins na sioraíbh í. Aire chughaibh, a Ghaedhilgeoirí! Labhraidh go hárd and go dána bhur dteanga féin." "An Claidheamh Soluis. Seachtmhain an Oireachtais", An Claidheamh Soluis, Júl 30, 1904, p. 6.

[389] "There are two great victories [positive public opinion and new literature, both thanks to Oireachtas] already inscribed on the banners of the Gaelic League. Two more remain to be achieved - the establishment of the principle of nationality in education and the securing of a permanent place for the national tongue in the homes of the people.", An Claidheamh Soluis, Meiheamh 2, 1900, p. 184.

[390] "Badh chóir do gach scríbhneoir oibriughadh and a dhícheall a dhéanamh ar son an Oireachtais chomh maith is dá mbadh air féin a bhí an cúram go léir. Níor bheag le hÉirinn dícheall gach éanduine sa chás so. Má's fiú rud é dhéanamh i n-éan-chor is fiú é a dhéanamh i gceart.", "An Claidheamh Soluis. An Sean-léigheann.", An Claidheamh Soluis, Júl 23, 1904, p. 6.

The lack of Irish publications was, in *Conradh*'s opinion, one of the main weaknesses of the language movement. The *Oireachtas* (and other smaller literary festivals) was expected to change that – ideally by uncovering new authors, new texts, or collecting pieces of oral tradition, including storytelling:

> "We are relying on the Gaeltacht areas to bring this ancient learning to our attention. Where could be a better place for this than the Oireachtas? Let us be shown how to tell a story, how to sing a song, how to recite an old poem, in the ancient style of the Gaels. The Oireachtas is the best and most suitable place for this. For this reason, we appeal to the branches in the Gaeltacht areas to do their utmost to provide and send competitors to the Oireachtas."[391]

This quotation suggests another understanding of the Oireachtas—as a whole-national event, meant to be the apex of all provincial festivals taking place in the Irish countryside. The adoption of regional festivals by *Conradh* served as a unifying tool, with the purpose to overseeing their programmes.[392]

The foundation of the *Oireachtas* brought local *feiseanna* into the centre of national attention and centralized the organisation of festivals.[393] A *feis* usually lasted one or two days and followed the same pattern: literary competitions for students and adults with small monetary prizes or books during the day, and sponsored concerts in the evening. Competitors faced each other in eight major categories: literary quiz, storytelling, recitation/oration, essays, collections of popular culture, singing (for choirs or individuals), instrumental, and dancing. All the categories were performed in Irish, and even for the dancing competitions, the contestants were expected to have at least elementary knowledge of the language.[394]

Given the character of ACS (a weekly magazine bringing general news), part of its content was dedicated to promoting local *feiseanna* and other events, attracting visitors from all over Ireland and connecting the revivalist network as much as possible. The model of the *Oireachtas* was applied on the provincial level as well:

> "The men of the North are already busily engaged on preparations for the Ulster Feis to be held in Belfast in November. We are certain that success is assured. (…) We hope that we shall soon have the pleasure of chronicling a Munster Feis in Cork and a Connacht Feis in Galway. These

[391] "Táimíd ag braith ar na ceanntaraibh Gaedhealacha chun an tsean-léighinn seo a chur i n-umhail dúinn. Cár bh'éidir áit do b'fhearr chuige sin d'fhagháil ná an tOireachtas? Curtar i n-umhail dúinn cionnus scéal d'innsint, cionnus amhrán a rádh, cionnus sean-dán d'aithris, ar shean-nór na nGaedheal. Sé an tOireachtas an áit is fearr nad is áiseamhla chuige sin. Ar an adhbhar soin, iarraimíd ar na craobhachaibh ins na ceanntaraibh Gaedhealacha a ndícheall a dhéanamh ar iomaidhtheoirí a sholáthar is a chur ag triall ar an Oireachtas.", "An Claidheamh Soluis. An Sean-léigheann.", An Claidheamh Soluis, Júl 23, 1904, p. 6.
[392] McMahon (2008), chap 5., subtitle " What about the spread of the language?".
[393] Idem.
[394] McMahon (2008), chap 5., subtitle "Full of hope for the future".

> Feiseanna would do for the provinces what the Oireachtas is doing for the whole country, and having a less extended, area to work upon they would be even more effectual in bringing forward local talent and strengthening local branches."[395]

Promotion of the *feiseanna* in ACS went hand in hand with publishing their reports and proceedings. In doing so, the magazine created a sense of belonging to Irish Ireland, from little villages in *Gealtachtaí* to the capital city. This intention is clearly stated, for example, in a report on a *feis* held on the Aran Islands:

> "This summer may be described as a record one for Feiseanna. In all parts of the country are to be found these inspiriting evidences of the existence of that link which is now being forged between the old Ireland and the new, that link consisting of the revival of the National Language (…)".[396]

Apart from promoting and praising the events, the authors of ACS texts were also critical, advising organisers on various aspects. A common critique was insufficient use of the Irish language during the event or focusing too much on frivolous activities. In 1907, a new requirement for licensing festivals was approved by the *Oireachtas* committee, granting it official power over the programmes of the local *feiseanna*.[397]

Scotland

The *Mòd* represented and still represents the most important event carried out since the beginning of the society. Its great importance to *An Commun* is demonstrated even today on its website, where the name of the organisation in the logo is accompanied by a short description "Organisers of the Royal National Mòd".[398] Alongside the topic of education of and through Gaelic, popular culture events are also one of the most prominent aspects of *An Deo-Ghréine*'s texts, with much space in the magazine dedicated to publishing material related to the *Mòd*. These include not only lyrics and sheet music for Gaelic songs, Gaelic poems (often accompanied by English translations), and short stories in Gaelic but also prize lists, extensive commentary on *Mòd* competitions and performances, and even detailed information about the organisation of the events. *An Comunn*'s extensive focus on the *Mòd* was criticised multiple times, perhaps most famously by the Rev. Kenneth MacLeod in 1912, when he asked

[395] "Notes", An Claidheamh Soluis, Meitheamh 9, 1900, p. 200.
[396] "The Aran Feis", An Claidheamh Soluis, Júl 14, 1900, p. 278.
[397] McMahon (2008), chap 5., subtitle " What about the spread of the language?".
[398] *An Comunn Gàidhealach, Organisers of the Royal National Mòd*, *https://www.ancomunn.co.uk/nationalmod*. Accessed 24 October 2021.

whether *An Comunn* would now give us twenty-one years of Gaelic, after having given us twenty-one years of music.[399]

The first festival took place in Oban in 1892 and has since moved around Scotland, growing in size and variety. By 1905, the festival began to be accompanied by a number of smaller events throughout the year, including provincial gatherings and local *Mòdan*.[400] After the Twelfth Annual *Mòd* held in Inverness in 1903, it was decided that the event could no longer be a one-day affair, and it was extended to two days for the following *Mòd* held in Greenock in 1904, and then a three-day gathering for the Fifteenth *Mòd* held in Oban.[401] The popularity of the *Mòd* increased each year, and as expressed by the editor of *Deò-Ghréine* in 1906: "As the years pass, it is becoming increasingly evident that the place of meeting of the *Mòd* is to all true Highlanders what Mecca is to all true Mohammedans."[402]

Under the influence of *An Comunn* and the *Mòd*, music became one of the most important aspects of the Gaelic movement's representation. Some members of *An Comunn* emphasised the special importance of Gaelic music and Gaelic melodies for the preservation of the language.[403] The same was confirmed half a century later, in 1955, in an issue of *An Gaidheal* (the successor of *Deò-Ghréine*), whose editor commented that prior to 1914, *An Commun*'s founders "were wise in their generation when they enlisted in the language movement the fairy aid of Music and her twin-sister Poetry."[404] In the studied period, the authors of *An Deo-Ghréine*'s articles sought to justify their support for musical activities with similar reasoning.

Claims about the positive influence of vernacular music on language preservation and teaching appeared as early as *An Comunn*'s *Manifesto,* where music is given a rather prominent position. It expresses the belief that "the instruction of children in Gaelic singing will popularize the reading and writing of the language",[405] which serves as an explanation for their efforts to prepare a suitable collection of Gaelic songs for Highland schools. As for the importance of the *Mòd* in this respect, the authors of *An Deo-Ghréine*'s writings repeatedly emphasized the significance of the juvenile

[399] 'Tha an Comunn an déidh bliadhna air fhichead de cheol a thoirt duinn - nach toir e dhuinn a nis bliadhna air fhichead de Ghàidhlig!', *An Deo-Gréine*, 7 (Darna Mìos an Fhogharaidh, 1912), 188, quoted in McLeod (2020), p. 61.
[400] Thomson (1994), p. 48.
[401] Murchison (1955), p. 71.
[402] 'Only a Medley', *An Deo-Gréine*, 2, Mìos Deireannach an Fhoghair, 1906, p. 6.
[403] For example William Mackay, who presided over the Ninth Annual *Mòd* held in Perth in 1900 (Murchison [1955], p. 52).
[404] Murchison (1955), p. 62.
[405] Comunn Gaidhealach (1891), p. 3.

competitions which deserve their “hearty support”, since the children represent “the greatest hope for the future in relation to the preservation of [their] Gaelic language.”[406]

Furthermore, in an effort to rationalise their emphasis on the *Mòd* and to counter critics who claimed that the literary side of the festival was neglected,[407] *An Comunn*’s members argued that the Gaelic people are naturally musically talented, “easy of cultivation” in music. They explained this, in part, by the mountainous character of the Highlands.[408] They believed that by educating Highland children “to know and sing the sweet, fresh, and virile songs of our country that breathe the spirit of the mountains and the tempest and the raging sea, as well as the spirit of noble deeds, self-sacrifice, and love,” they were “saving our [Highland] boys and girls from much that may be baneful and injurious.”[409]

Brittany

Popular culture played a fairly important role in all the bulletins. It was a useful way of showing Brittany as an autonomous territory culturally distinct from France, but also an important way of getting ordinary Bretons to support the Breton cause. The revivalists could demonstrate the otherness of the Bretons, the "originality of the particular Breton character"[410], and attract new followers to the movement. Facing the serious issue of rural flight, they sought even to discourage Bretons from leaving the region for Paris and other bigger cities. The same argumentation was used by members *An Comunn Gaidhealach* when they were criticized for focusing primarily on the organisation of the *Mòd* festival. Therefore, Breton regional self-representation imagined a Breton as a man with a passion for music, poetry and theatre, wearing a Breton "national" costume.

The promotional potential of popular culture was well recognised by the regionalists, who identified music as a primary attraction for the Breton inhabitants:

> “(...) Music is truly a vital art for us, since it is also the one that lends itself best to dissemination among the masses. (...) So I believe that above all we must *make people sing* (...)”[411]

[406] ‘The Eighteenth Annual Mòd. Wednesday’s Proceedings‘, *An Deo-Gréine*, 5, An Domhair, 1909, p. 3.
[407] For instance, in 1920, the president of *An Comunn*, Rev. W. G. Mackay, emphasised the society’s apolitical stance and expressed regret that the *Mòd* had become overly focused on music, neglecting Gaelic literature and poetry (Thompson [1992], p. 47).
[408] Kenneth Campbell, speech delivered at a meeting of *An Comunn*, *An Deo-Gréine*, 2, Mìos na Nodhlaig, 1906, p. 47.
[409] Idem.
[410] *Bulletin mensuel de l'Union régionaliste bretonne,* no. 1 January 1912, Redon, 1912, p. 29.
[411] "(...) la Musique qui est véritablement pour nous un art vital puisque c’est aussi celui qui se prête le mieux à la diffusion parmi la masse populaire. (...) Ainsi donc je crois que nous devons avant tout *faire chanter* (...)“, *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Pontrieux 1909,* Redon, 1910, p. 71-73.

Music, poetry and theatre were omnipresent in the bulletins. They were an integral part of the activities of the annual congresses and the winter meetings. To encourage Bretons to take part in regionalist activities, URB (and later FRB) members organised artistic competitions at their congresses, open to the general public, with prizes. The inspiration for this came from the Welsh *Eisteddfod*, as with the other Celtic revivalist movements. The texts of songs and poems were printed in large portions of the bulletins. For instance, in 1913, three whole issues of the URB monthly bulletins were almost exclusively dedicated to a play entitled *Gwennola*, which received a prize medal at the URB's Congress in 1912.[412] The regionalists argued that the artistic performances, especially music, were natural to Bretons and to the Breton language. They believed that "the feeling for art is deeply rooted in [them]".[413] They even used militant rhetoric in the cultural context:

> "M. de l'Estourbeillon expressed the wish that the dreadful accordion [representing French music] should be subjected to a merciless war and prevented from supplanting the biniou, our national instrument—Unanimously approved."[414]

Furthermore, the URB highlighted their activities' unexpected success, especially in the theatre domain, where "more than 60 popular theatre troupes are operating in the three departments with great success, whereas in 1898 there were only two."[415] Also, throughout the bulletins, there are numerous comments alluding to the success and participation of ordinary Bretons in the regionalist events. For instance, when describing them, the regionalists often emphasised the presence of "crowds"[416] of spectators. In this context, they stressrd the social unity of their society, "appealing (...) to all Breton people, to the upper classes as well as to the humblest workers, to the urban bourgeoisie as well as to the peasants (...)."[417]

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[412] *Bulletin mensuel de l'Union régionaliste bretonne,* no. 7-8 July-August 1913, no. 9 September 1913, Redon, 1913.

[413] "(...) le sentiment de l'art est profondément enraciné chez [eux] (...)", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Saint-Pol-de-Léon 1905*, Redon 1906, p. 146.

[414] "M. de l'Estourbeillon émet le voeu que l'on fasse à l'horrible accordéon une guerre sans merci et qu'on l'empêche de supplanter le biniou, notre instrument national – Approuvé à l'unanimité", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Châteauneuf-du-Faou 1910,* Redon, 1911, p. 27.

[415] "(…) plus de 60 troupes de Théâtre populaire fonctionnent dans les trois départements avec un plein succès, alors qu'en 1898, on ne comptait que deux troupes bretonnes", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Pontrieux 1909*, Redon, 1910, p. 7.

[416] *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Gourin 1904*, Redon, 1905, p. 113, 124; *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Plougastel-Daoulas 1908*, Redon, 1909, p. 10; *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Assise d'Hiver de Pontchâteau 1909*, Redon, 1909, p. 3; *Bulletin de la Fédération régionaliste de la Bretagne*, Keraez, 1912, p. 22.

[417] "(…) largement (...) appel au Peuple breton tout entier, aussi bien aux classes supérieures, qu'aux plus humbles travailleurs, aux bourgeois des villes qu'aux paysans (...)", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Questembert et de Rostrenen 1907*, Redon, 1908, p. 32.

Another important aspect of popular culture advanced by the Breton revivalists was the national costume. In fact, the Breton language and the costume were the two elements that regionalists insisted most on preserving. They declared the vital importance of maintaining the costume for the "safeguard of the individuality"[418] and for the preservation of other Breton customs and small-scale Breton industry (weavers and embroiderers).[419] Moreover, they claimed that it was, above all, the costume that gave Brittany "a unique stamp of originality and true grandeur".[420] The bulletins served to promote the costume among ordinary Bretons (or to promote the costume as "national") and to instil a sense of patriotism in Bretons. The target audience was especially Breton women:

> "(...) costumes that are so pretty, so seductive, so shimmering from the past, those dreamy, poetic headdresses in muslin and lace, elegant, transparent and so varied in appearance."[421]

By promoting local popular culture, the regionalists also sought to overcome two main social problems of the countryside: emigration and alcoholism. They believed that "without their own language and headdresses, young girls would be bored in the countryside"[422] and that popular theatre represented the "best fight against brandy and cabaret".[423]

In conclusion, the popular culture as an aspect of self-representation of Breton revivalists aimed at a multitude of goals: it created distinctiveness, attracted the attention of common people (creating a sense of uniqueness and national belonging), and consequently had even the power to solve social problems.

Wales

Literature and popular culture were the most prominent aspects of self-representation in the Welsh publications. The two topics are treated together in this analysis because, in the Welsh case, the nuance between them is little distinguishable. This is due to their close relationship through the *Eisteddfod,* as an established festival whose main purpose was to promote the Welsh literature but also contained

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[418] "sauvegarde de l'individu", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès d'Auray 1902*, Saint-Brieuc, 1903, p. 14.

[419] *Bulletin mensuel de l'Union régionaliste bretonne,* no. 1 January 1912, Redon, 1912, p. 68.

[420] "un cachet unique d'originalité et de véritable grandeur", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Assises d'hiver de Vitré 1910*, Redon, 1910, p. 50.

[421] "(...) des costumes si jolis, si séants, si chatoyants du passé, de ces coiffes rêveuses et poétiques en mousseline et en dentelle, élégantes, transparentes et si variées d'aspect (...)", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Gourin 1904*, Redon, 1905, p. 137.

[422] "(...) sans la langue propre, sans coiffes les jeunes filles s'ennuient à la campagne.", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Questembert et de Rostrenen 1907,* Redon, 1908, p. 138.

[423] "meilleure lutte contre l'eau-de-vie et le cabaret", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Carnac 1906*, Redon, 1907, p. 107.

sections on popular culture's themes. In general, domestic literature was presented in the revivalist journals as both modern and antique, depending on which aspect of the literature was advantageous to stress in a given context. The modern character of Welsh literature is demonstrated by the high number of modern authors and their texts that appeared in the pages of the analysed journals. The goal was to show that the movement was alive, active and had much to offer culturally to its readers. The antiquity of Welsh literature was stressed to prove its deep historical roots and, most importantly, its continuity with the current cultural activities of the movement. The best example of this phenomenon is the articles on Welsh manuscripts and their history, emphasising the need for their protection.

The prominent place of literature in Welsh self-representation can be explained by the needs of the movement, which were not primarily language-based. The Welsh people were already speaking Welsh; a more pressing issue was to teach them to read Welsh literature and Welsh authors. For this reason, *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg,* as an integral part of its activities, established *Yr Undeb Darllen Cymraeg* (the Welsh Reading Union). The purpose of the sub-society was to "assist readers to choose and use books and to support self-education." The number of Welsh and English books offered within the Union was supposed to be even.[424] The language of the literature is not described as such an important issue, as it is, for instance, for *Conradh na Gaeilge*. However, in line with nation-building ideology, the Welsh journals stressed the fact that Welsh was more natural to the authors (whether writers or poets/bards):

> "The question is often asked—If Welsh poetry is as good as many literary critics say, why do the Welsh bards not express themselves in English? (…) The answer is simple—the Welsh poets cannot. They use English as the language of business, even of ordinary conversation, but their muse is always that of Wales."[425]

Along with reading Welsh literature (whether in English or Welsh), the Welsh revivalists promoted Welsh literature not only for a home audience but also in other parts of the British Empire. They criticised the fact that Welsh literature, though undoubtfully of high quality, was not known to the British public, and consequently, not enough attention was paid to Wales in general:

> "In these days of the rise of sympathy with local and provincial peculiarities, it is curious that Welsh life is not described successfully, if at all, in the English literature of the day. One who knows Irish or Scotch life immediately gains the ear of the English public, if he can only spell

[424] "(…) i'r diben o gynorthwyo darllenwyr i ddewis a defnyddio llyfrau ac i gefnogi hunanaddysg.", *Adroddiad Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg am 1908*, Casnewydd-ar-Wysg, 1909, p. 27.
[425] O.M. Edwards, 'Editors' notes', *Wales*, vol 3, no 25, 1896, p. 235.

> correctly and put his stops in the right places. But Welsh literature continues to be untranslated, Welsh life still undescribed, though with characteristics much more distinct than those of either Irish or Scotch life."[426]

As the Welsh revivalist sought to place greater emphasis on native Welsh literature, they also wanted it included in the British, imperial culture. This double identity, Welsh and British, is symptomatic of how they qualified their literature. This is well demonstrated in the objection of *Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg* towards using 'English' as a qualifier for national literature:

> "The Society wishes to draw the attention of the Welsh Central Board to the fact that a specific study of Welsh Literature is excluded from the Board's agenda. It suggests for the consideration of the Executive Committee the subject of 'English Literature' should give way to 'British Literature' and that optional schemes under this heading should be published."[427]

Welsh revivalists wanted their culture to be differentiated as a separate commodity, but they also wanted it to have its rightful place within the national/state cultural milieu.

To support these initiatives, Welsh revivalists sought to take advantage of legal provisions, particularly the Public Libraries Acts (1892 and 1893). These Acts served to establish free public libraries, based on an approval from local government. Therefore, this topic was widely discussed in the pages of Welsh revivalist journals, promoting the possibility of founding a public library in Welsh communities. However, this initiative did not succeed everywhere, and revivalists complained about the Welsh public's lack of interest:

> "I hoped that every Parish Council in Wales would provide a library among the first things it would do. In some parishes this has been done; in others the majority of the electors have rejected or postponed; and in many, I regret to hear, no attempt whatever has been made at establishing a library."[428]

To achieve their goals regarding the promotion of Welsh literature, all the journals here analysed were filled with short stories, segments of novels (usually serialized across several issues), poetry, and songs. For example, the English-language *Wales* magazine published translations of Welsh works into English to make them available to an exclusively English-reading audience. The most widely covered piece in

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[426] 'Stray Leaves', *Wales*, vol 3, no 21, 1896, p. 4.

[427] "Fod y Gymdeithas yn dymuno galw sylw y Bwrdd Canolog Cymreig at y ffaith fod astudiaeth benodol o Lenyddiaeth Gymraeg yn cael ei chau allan o drefnlenni'r Bwrdd. Awgryma i ystyriaeth y Pwyllgor Gweithiol fod y pwnc ' Llenyddiaeth Seisnig ' i roi lle i ' Lenyddiaeth Brydeinig ' ac fod Cynlluniau dewisol o dan y pennawd hwn i'w cyhoeddi.", 'Gweithrediadau r Gymdeithas a'i Chyngor yn ystod 1904', *Adroddiad Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg am 1904*, Treherbert, 1905, p. 7.

[428] 'Stray Leaves', *Wales*, vol 3, no 21, 1896, p. 1.

Wales, translated and published in series, was the novel *Enoch Hughes* (Enoc Huws in Welsh) by Daniel Owen, one of the Wales's most noted novelists.[429] It was published serially in the journal over several years, from 1894 until 1896. The abundance of prose and poetry can also be explained by the predominantly cultural focus of *Wales* and *Cymru* journals.

Moreover, Welsh journals published reviews of newly published works, and more than any other Celtic movement, they published biographical articles on famous Welsh literary figures, along with their diaries and personal correspondence. For instance, in the *Cymru* journal, the editor published photocopies of personal letters of Henry Vaughan (1621-1695)[430], a famous Welsh poet:

> "The letters are very interesting, and they give a lot of information about Henry Vaughan, and about Thomas's brother's dog, a man no less interesting. They are published by Miss Guiney in an American magazine; and she has given many years to studying the life and work of Henry Vaughan, and gives with the letters the fruit of her long, patient and scholarly research."[431]

The purpose, of course, was to raise awareness of Welsh literature and educate readers about Welsh cultural heritage.

The journals also served to publish pieces performed during the *Eisteddfod*. Like the *Oireachtas* for *Conradh*, the *Eisteddfod* represented an important source of newly written and composed poetry, music and literary works in general. Therefore, the revivalists used their journals to make the new literary production known to the public. For example, *Cymru* published the "award-winning lyrics" to a song composed and performed by W.W. Williams during the *Eisteddfod* in Blaenau Ffestiniog in 1903.[432] In the analysed journals, the proceedings of the *Eisteddfod* were not published, in contrast to other Celtic movements. These were published as separate publications dedicated solely to this purpose.

To conclude, literature was a strong identity-forming aspect due to its central position in Welsh native culture and its continuity from the medieval period. Therefore, Welsh revivalists naturally used the literature for nation-building purposes. Since the Welsh movement began earlier than other Celtic movements, modern Welsh literature already had a strong base established throughout the nineteenth

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[429] For more information on Daniel Owen see Williams, K., (1959). OWEN, DANIEL (1836 - 1895), novelist. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. https://biography.wales/article/s-OWEN-DAN-1836. Accessed 28 Apr 2024.

[430] Wright, H. G., (1959). VAUGHAN, HENRY (1621-1695), poet. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. https://biography.wales/article/s-VAUG-HEN-1621. Accessed 4 Feb 2024.

[431] "Y mae y llythyrau yn dra dyddorol, a rhoddant lawer o wybodaeth am Henry Vaughan, ac am ci frawd Thomas, gwr heb fod yn llai dyddorol. Cyhoeddir hwy gan Miss Guiney mewn cylchgrawn Americanaidd; ac y mae hi wedi rhoddi llawer o flynyddoedd i astudio bywyd a gwaith Henry Vaughan, a rhydd gyda'r llythyrau ffrwyth ei hymchwiliad hir, amyneddgar, ac ysgolheigaidd.", 'Llythyrau Henry Vaughan', *Cymru*, vol 26, no 150, 1904, p. 89.

[432] 'Telynegion', *Cymru*, vol 26, no 150, 1904, p. 70.

century. Moreover, the publishing culture in Wales, particularly in the Welsh language, was well developed at the time, and literary industry played an important role in the public cultural environment.

3.4 History

Brittany

History is generally a powerful means of imposing identities, whether national or regional, on ordinary people. The Breton regionalists also found in regional history a powerful means of unification that they indeed needed to overcome the linguistic barrier. Tt also represented a means to oppose French authorities in territorial claims, since the historical region of Brittany was larger and included the territory of the department Loire-Inférieure (now Loire-Atlantique), which Brittany lost during départementalisation of France in 1790.

The regionalists continually tried to give the impression that this unity of Lower and Upper Brittany was real, by proclaiming, for example, that "the soul of Brittany is one and indivisible"[433] in the context of the issue of départmentalisation. Following the split in the URB, it was the FRB that emphasised the fact that, unlike the URB, their organisation would "welcome Armoricans from Gallo part as well as Breton speakers from Lower Brittany"[434] .

The topic of history is dealt with unevenly throughout the studied period. There is a significant disproportion between the bulletins published before and after 1907. The first two issues do not mention historical topics at all, and only insignificant mentions appear in the following bulletins, before 1907. After 1907, the subject of history on the other hand, seems to predominate. The bulletins of that period regularly published, for instance, articles on the local history of the places where the congresses and meetings were held. For example, the 1907 issue begins directly with an article about a major battle that took place near Questembert in 888, between Alain le Grand, "king of Armorique"[435], and the Normans. According to regionalists, the battle represented a major milestone in the Breton history, and its consequences led directly to the unification of Brittany.[436] Moreover, to make of Alain le Grand a new Breton "national" hero, the regionalists compared him to Clovis and Joan of Arc[437], with the intention of uniting Bretons. They expressed their belief that "the memory of all heroes should

[433] *Bulletin mensuel de l'Union régionaliste bretonne,* no. 5 May 1912, Redon, 1912, p. 151.
[434] *Bulletin de la Fédération régionaliste de la Bretagne*, Keraez, 1912, p. 3.
[435] *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Questembert et de Rostrenen 1907, Redon, 1908,* p. 32.
[436] Idem, p. 47.
[437] Idem, p. 69.

bring [their] unification".[438] The use of history to symbolically unify Brittany continued in the following issue of *Assises d'hiver de Jugon* in 1908:

> "The prosperity and abundance that reigned in our country were the result of understanding and union (...) in this long history of Brittany, whenever the Bretons unite, they will defeat the foreign."[439]

Despite its division, regionalists used history to convince readers of the true unity of the two parts of Brittany:

> "A special race inhabits Breton Brittany, where they still speak the Celtic language; this race also extends into the French part (...) In this territory, the population is of Breton race, they have only lost the use of the language of their ancestors; the history of Brittany teaches us this."[440]

History writings also served to promote the Breton cause among the readers and awaken national sentiment. The members of the URB spoke of the power of history to win over the people of Brittany and emphasised the importance of teaching it to the public:

> "The U.R.B., considering: (...) 2° That it is more important than ever, by all means, to divulge and spread among our compatriots the smallest details of the national history of Brittany, hitherto neglected and unknown."[441]

In terms of public history, the members of URB decided to build several monuments commemorating Breton "national" heroes, Alain Le Grand and Nominoë, two Breton kings, both referred to as the "Father of the Homeland".[442] Taking advantage of the beliefs of ordinary Bretons, they also

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[438] "le souvenir de tous [leurs] héros doit [les] engager à [les] unir", *Bulletin mensuel de l'Union régionaliste bretonne,* no. 9-10-11 September, October, November 1912, Redon, 1912, p. 317.

[439] "Cette prospérité et cette abondance qui régnaient dans notre pays, étaient le résultat de l'entente et de l'union (...) en ce long parcours de l'histoire de Bretagne, chaque fois que les Bretons s'uniront, ils viendront à bout de l'étranger.", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Assises d'hiver de Jugon 1908*, Redon, 1908, p. 14.

[440] "Une race spéciale occupe la Bretagne bretonnante où elle parle encore la langue celtique ; cette race s'étend également dans la partie française (...) En ces pays, la population est de race bretonne, elle a seulement perdu l'usage du langage des ancêtres ; l'histoire de Bretagne nous l'apprend.", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Assises de Malestroit 1911*, Redon, 1911, p. 41.

[441] "L'U.R.B., considérant: (…) 2° Qu'il importe plus que jamais, par tous les moyens, de divulguer et répandre parmi nos compatriotes les moindres détails de l'histoire nationale de Bretagne, jusqu'ici délaissée et inconnue.", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Assise d'Hiver de Pontchâteau 1909* ,Redon, 1909, p. 18.

[442] *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Questembert et de Rostrenen 1907*, Redon, 1908, p. 46; *Bulletin mensuel de l'Union régionaliste bretonne,* n° 9-10-11 Septembre, Octobre, Novembre 1912, Redon, 1912, p. 406.

proclaimed their intention to "increase the love of the Breton homeland in the masses of the people by making the love of the saints penetrate their hearts".[443]

To sum up, the regionalists found in the writing of history an advantageous means of attracting the masses, but also of resolving (speaking metaphorically) the division of Brittany. It seems that by dismissing Celticism as a unifying element due to its controversial nature, the regionalists discovered an even more advantageous aspect of Breton history in 1907. From then on, the representatives of the Gallo side explicitly stated: "We Gallos salute in you our brothers from Lower Brittany. We remember our common origins, our common history (...)."[444]

Wales

Welsh revivalists are, together with Brittany, the only from the four Celtic movements analysed here who extensively used national history in their self-representation. The reasons are multiple. First, the history of the nation is, in general, very advantageous for nation-building processes. Welsh revivalist used the history of Wales to their advantage and presented Welsh inhabitants primarily as the autochthone people of Britain, predating the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons. This gave the Welsh people a very powerful position in the national historical narrative. Second, the Welsh language was not, at the time, in direct danger of eradication, in contrast to other Celtic countries, so Welsh revivalists could focus on other aspects to support their identity claims, and history thus gained prominence. The differences in the formation of group identity and the reasons behind the process are further discussed in the final, synthetic chapter (4 Formation of group representation and collective discursive strategies).

The authors of the journal articles often went back far into Welsh history, even to the ancient period. This position was advantageous for them because they described historical Welshmen as the original inhabitants of Britain before the Anglo-Saxons conquered British territories. The period under Roman rule is depicted idyllically, in contrast to the period after the “barbaric” tribes destroyed the empire:

> “In front of these innumerable wandering barbarians, the Roman legions had to retreat gradually; leaving the rich states to the savagery and destruction. (…) The end of Rome's empire did not come without warning. For centuries, it had been strengthening the ramparts and murians that protected its northern borders. The island of Bryden was threatened under

[443] *Bulletin de l’Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Gourin 1904*, Redon, 1905, p. 153.
[444] *Bulletin de l’Union régionaliste bretonne. Assises d’hiver de Jugon 1908*, Redon, 1908, p. 47.

> direction. It was attacked on the west and north by the Picts. And on the eastern shore, Teutonic tribes, English and English, tried to land still."[445]

Furthermore, to support this argument, Wales is even described as the cradle of British civilisation:

> "There was a time when this silent and deserted spot was full of life, for it was a resting place on the chief route between England and Ireland, and one of the centres of British civilization and culture."[446]

The number of articles concerning Welsh history was meant to compensate for the lack of a general history of Wales, a problem criticised by the authors. For instance, in 1894, one author in *Wales* raised the issue of the non-existence of a catalogue for Welsh manuscript, lamenting why "no one has taken up these subjects and written exhaustively thereon" and reminding readers that the "number of Welshmen who would welcome such works is so great that the reward of the writer would be certain."[447]

The need for an independent history of Wales is recognized in the journals, and the history of the Welsh nation is described deparately from English or British history. The revivalists intended to tell a different story that showed Wales as a unified entity, influenced by English history but still distinct. For instance, Welsh legal history is one of the topics revivalists stressed to highlight Wales' independent nature in contrast to England. In *Wales*, readers could find a regular column entitled "The English Laws Relating to Wales", where Welsh historical legal texts were published in their entirety, translated into English (if necessary), and further discussed. In the introduction to the columns, it reads:

> "On page 204 will be found the first part of the 'Statutes of Wales', translated entire. The following is a summary of the remainder of those statutes. In the next volume will be given the more interesting statutes relating to commerce, bards, rebellions, &c."[448]

To mark Welsh history as distinct and independent, the Welsh journals also publish a number of articles about purely Welsh historical figures, usually people from literature and culture. Unsurprisingly, a privileged space was given to Owain Glyndŵr, the last independent Prince of Wales, who "connects the old and the new in Welsh history. He descended from the Welsh princes who had fought for

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[445] "O flaen y barbariaid crwydrol aneirif hyn, gorfod i'r llengoedd Rhnfeinig gilio'n ol yn raddol; gan adael y taleithiau cyfoethog i'r anwariad a dinistr. (…) Ni ddaeth diwedd ymherodrauth Rhufen yn ddi-rybudd. Ers canrifoedd yr oedd wedi bod yn cadarnhau y caeran a'r murian oedd yn amddiffyn ei therfynau gogleddol. Bygythid ynys Pryden o ddan gyfeiriad. Ymosodid arni ar du'r gorllewin a'r gogledd gan y Pictiaid. Ac ar draeth y dwyrain ceisiai llwythau Teutonaidd, Eingl a Saeson, lanio o hyd.", 'Hanes Cymru', *Cymru*, vol 1, no 5, p. 193.
[446] 'St David's', *Wales*, vol 1, no 2, 1894, p. 87.
[447] A.E.J., 'The Cataloguing of Welsh Manuscript', *Wales*, vol. 1, no. 2, p. 88.
[448] "The English Laws Relating to Wales. The 'Statutes of Wales' ", *Wales*, vol. 1, no. 8, p. 360.

centuries for the independence of Wales in ancient times; he led the people in their first awakening."[449] Many pages were also dedicated to literary figures, especially poets and bards, such as Dafydd Nanmor, a fifteenth-century Welsh poet:

> ""The great poet Dafydd Nanmor has given eternal fame to the old region of Nanmor, in Snowdonia. (…) He is listed among the most honourable class of Welsh poets, and my heart rejoiced some time ago when I heard the praise given by the renowned Celtic scholar Dr. Zimmer to the leading poet of our poor little brotherhood. It is a shame that the children of this age around know nothing of the name of such a hero, who rose from our mountain land. They know all too well the names of impious and arrogant old warriors."[450]

Another way Welsh revivalists used history for identity-building purposes was by publishing articles on historical sites, combining historical writing with the advertisement of national tourism. This served to raise awareness of the culture of different parts of Wales and to create a sense of unity. A member of Royal Historical Society, A. Morris, for instance, published an article on the historical town of Caerwent in *Cymru* journal, describing the significance of history for Welsh people in its introduction:

> "To the inquiring mind, there is a remarkable charm in the ancient history of various parts of Wales, both in the South and the North. When you search diligently, you may find traces of every generation of people who inhabited our land in the distant past—from the dark-featured Iberian, small in stature, past the Gael, the Briton, the Roman, and the Saxon, up to the ambitious and arrogant Normans. We may find that there are a few premises within the limits of our small country, where these traces are more obvious than elsewhere. Where the population is sparse, and has been so in agricultural areas since the earliest times, there is a considerable advantage in studying the past, as fewer changes have taken place in those regions."[451]

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[449] "Oen Glyndwr sy'n cysylltu'r hen a'r newydd yn hanes Cymru. Disgynnai o'r tywysogion Cymreig fu'n ymladd am ganrifoedd dros anibyniaeth Cymru yn yr hen amser; arweiniodd y werin yn ei deffroad cyntaf. ", 'Hanes Cymru', *Cymru*, vol. 22, no. 114, p. 5.

[450] "Y mae y bardd gorwych Dafydd Nanmor wedi rhoddi bri oesol ar hen ardal Nanmor, yn Eryri. (…) Rhestrir ef gyda'r dosbarth mwyaf anrhydeddus o'r beirdd Cymreig, ac ymlonnai fy nghalon dro yn ol, wrth glywed y warogaeth a dalai yr ysgolhaig Celtaidd enwog Dr. Zimmer i ben bardd ein brodir fechan dlawd. Mae'n drueni na wyr plant yr oes hon o'm cwmpas am enw y fath wron, a gododd o'n mynyddwlad. Gwyddant yn eithaf cywir a llawn am enwau hen ryfelwyr anuwiol a thrahaus.", Carneddog, 'Dafydd Nanmor', *Cymru*, no. 26, 1904, p. 71-72.

[451] "Yr meddwl ymchwilgar mae swyn rhyfeddol yn hen hanes gwahanol rannau o Gymru, yn y De ac yn y Gogledd. Wrth ddyfal - chwilio, ond odid na cheir rhyw olion o bob cenhedlaeth o bobl a breswyliasant ein gwlad yn y gorffennol pell — o'r Iberiad tywyll ei bryd, a bychan o gorffolaeth, heibio i'r Gwyddel, y Brython, y Rhufeiniwr, a'r Sacson hyd at y Normaniaid uchelgeisiol a thrahaus. Cawn feallai fod ambell fangre o fewn terfynau ein gwlad fechan, lle mae yr olion hyn yn fwy amlwg nag mewn mannau eraill. Lle bydd y boblogaeth yn deneu, ac wedi bod felly mewn rhannau amaethyddol er yr amseroedd boreuaf, y mae cryn fantais i syllu i hanes

History writing and its use for self-representation purposes were advantageous for the Welsh movement because it was already well established. Irish revivalists, on the other hand, avoided historical topics in their publications to be taken seriously and to avoid being labelled as "antiquarians".

3.5 Apolitical and Loyalist Rhetoric

Scotland

Although it's not mentioned in the society's *Manifesto*, *An Comunn* expressed an apolitical stance, for which it was criticised in the later period of its existence.[452] The self-representation of *An Comunn* as not politically involved was twofold: firstly, their intention was to be perceived primarily as a cultural organisation (which does not have separatist tendencies), and secondly, *An Comunn* was supposed to be inclusive, accepting members from all religious and political backgrounds.[453] This attitude is also present in its publications, and the authors of *Deò-Ghréine*'s articles claimed to avoid not only political, but also religious debate. Unlike their Breton counterparts, who openly took an apolitical stance but often discussed political matters,[454] Scottish Gaelicists were more true to their position and actually achieved a politically neutral stance in the magazine and its content most of the time. The support of the Gaelic language and culture was never related to any autonomist tendencies or separatist ideas. If any political inclination was to be mentioned, the British Empire was described with positive connotations and the Highlands were presented as its integral and fundamental part:

> "Pride of race is not incompatible with a loyal imperialism. No race has done more for the Empire than Highlanders; again and again, at times of crisis, they have decided the day. Without them who dare say what the result might have been?"[455]

The readers of *Deò-Ghréine* were periodically reminded of its apolitical character, and *An Comunn* even proudly called itself "the only non-political and non-sectarian society that could be used to promote the patriotic aims […]."[456] If any piece of politically charged information was published in the magazine, it was usually carefully accompanied by statements of its apolitical attitude. For instance, when commenting on the results of the elections to the House of Commons in 1909, the editor expressed regret over the "disappearance […] of Mr. Norman Lamont, who in the last Parliament rendered such

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y gorffennol, am fod llai o gyfnewidiadau wedi cymeryd lle yn yr ardaloedd hynny.", A. Morris, 'Caerwent', *Cymru*, no. 28, 1905, p. 73.

[452] Koch (2006), p. 471.

[453] The same development appears in Ireland, in the Gaelic League's membership, which, thanks to its non-political discourse, also attracted members from across the political spectrum (McMahon [2008], '1 The Strange Case of O'Growney's Bones' section 'We were really building up a nation').

[454] Reiterová (2016), p. 75.

[455] J. K. Fraser, letter to ADG, printed in *An Deo-Gréine*, 2, Samhuinn, 1906, p. 35.

[456] M. Burnley-Campbell, speech at the Stirling Mòd of 1909, *An Deo-Gréine*, 5, An Domhair, 1909, p. 5.

valuable service to the Gaelic Cause" and started the paragraph with "In this magazine we know no politics, but […]."[457]

As observed equally by Wilson McLeod,[458] the matter that was, however, repeatedly politicised in *An Comunn*'s magazine was education. It usually concerned local elections, mostly to school boards;[459] however, on one or two occasions they expressed support for politicians on the national level who were in favour of Gaelic language education as well. During the General Election in 1910, *Deò-Ghréine* published a short article entitled "An Appeal to Highlanders" in which *An Comunn* made a "clear, distinct, and urgent call on Highlanders to raise their voice on behalf of their native tongue […] Regardless of creed or politics […] the proper education of our Highland children should constitute our first and most urgent duty […] and it is the duty of Highland voters to ascertain the attitude of candidates […] towards this important question."[460]

Brittany

To defend themselves against the accusation of separatism,[461] the regionalists presented the Bretons and Brittany as citizens of the French state and a country loyal to France. They used evidence of their loyalty to demonstrate Brittany's natural right to some level of regional autonomy. The revivalists also adopted a representative strategy used by the Third Republic, characterised by the usage of the terms "la petite Patrie" when referring to Brittany and "la grande Patrie" for France. Lastly, the regionalists officially claimed apolitical opinions to prevent the French state from dismissing the *Union*. In general, this representational strategy aimed to argue that there was no relevant reason to prevent the Bretons from reviving and preserving their language, as it was not intended as an anti-governmental or anti-republican effort.

The analysis of the bulletins revealed several passages intended to demonstrate loyalty to France. A very metaphorical paragraph from the 1909 bulletin serves to illustrate this effort and also depicts the dual identity present in the region:

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[457] 'Highland News in Brief', *An Deo-Gréine*, 5, Ceud Mìos an Earraich, 1910, p. 78.
[458] McLeod (2020), p. 63.
[459] For instance: 'Why not make Gaelic one of the questions on which the School Board Election is to be fought in the Highlands?' in 'The Oban Conference', *An Deo-Ghréine,* 1, An Ceathramh mìos I, 1906, p. 108; or: 'Fellow Gaels, your duty is plain, and easy, and patriotic. Demand from Candidates for School Boards, at the approaching Elections, as promise, which will in most cases be willingly given, that they, if elected, shall lose no time in endeavouring to introduce Gaelic Teaching into their Schools.' In D. MacLeod, 'The Duty of the Highland Societies', *An Deo-Ghréine,* 1, An Ceathramh mìos I, 1906, p. 126.
[460] 'An Appeal to Highlanders', *An Deo-Gréine,* 5, Treas Mìos a Gheamhraidh, 1910, p. 50.
[461] Stereotypical representation created by the French authorities in nineteenth century, for more see Reiterová (2016), p. 55-57.

> “We sing of Brittany and France, because the Bretons have hearts big enough to love both their mother and their grandmother. France? It's a huge bouquet, the most beautiful in the world, a bouquet made up of blue flowers, white flowers and red flowers. Among the latter is heather, the sweet heather, the humble heather of our Breton moors (...) we breathe it in with all our soul (...) but to do so there is no need to remove it from our bouquet, for it is the whole sheaf that we bring to our lips.”[462]

There are passages where regionalists openly defended themselves (or Bretons) from the accusation of separatism. In this context, the regionalists compared the union of Brittany with France to a marriage:

> "The *Union régionaliste* is Breton and Brittany is faithful—yet Brittany has given itself to France without any ulterior motive, with confidence, without any hope of return; like those brides whose souls have never been touched by the vaguest idea of separation."[463]

Elsewhere, when describing a ceremony at which URB members took part, the authors of the bulletin explicitly noted that the *Marseillaise* and the *Salute to the Flag* were performed and added a footnote: "It would be ungracious to call us separatists!"[464]

To demonstrate the Breton people's natural right to autonomy, the regionalists gave evidence of their loyalty, in most cases referring specifically to Brittany's military contributions in French wars. For instance, in the context of the 1902 ban on the use of Breton in catechism, the regionalists claimed that ordinary Bretons "consider that they have done nothing to deserve to be treated as conquered countries, (...) they who have given themselves freely to France and who have never ceased to provide her with her most valiant defenders, in the dark hours of national danger".[465] They also alluded to the Franco-Prussian war, speaking of France "which [they] love and which [their] fathers defended"[466] or

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[462]“Nous chantons la Bretagne et la France, car les Bretons ont le coeur assez large pour aimer à la fois leur mère et leur grand-mère. La France ? C’est un immense bouquet, le plus beau qui soit au monde, un bouquet composé de fleurs bleues, de fleurs blanches et de fleurs rouge. Parmi ces dernières se trouve la bruyère, la douce bruyère, l’humble bruyère de nos landes bretonnes (...) nous la respirons avec tout notre âme (...) mais pour ce faire point n’est besoin de la retirer de notre bouquet, car c’est la gerbe entière que nous portons à nos lèvres.”, *Bulletin de l’Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Pontrieux 1909*, Redon, 1910, p. 29.

[463]“L’Union régionaliste est Bretonne et la Bretagne est fidèle même – or la Bretagne s’est donnée à la France sans arrière pensée, avec confiance, sans espoir de retour ; comme ces épouses dont la plus vague idée de séparation n’a jamais effleurée l’âme.”, *Bulletin de l’Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Questembert et de Rostrenen 1907*, Redon, 1908, p. 93.

[464]*Bulletin de l’Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès d’Auray 1902*, Saint-Brieuc, 1903, 29.

[465]“(…) jugent qu’ils n’ont rien fait pour mériter d’être traités en pays conquis, (...), eux qui se sont données librement à la France et qui n’ont cesse de lui fournir ses plus vaillants défenseurs, aux heures sombres du danger national.”, Idem, p. 53.

[466]Idem, p. 62.

when they claimed that they deserved to reserve their hearts for the land of their birth, "after having paid the tax of gold and blood."[467] The regionalists explained past revolts against French authority as follows:

> "In prosperous times, religion and royalty were subject to dissent and attacks from independent Bretons; but in critical times, France and Rome found only faithful Bretons."[468]

The regionalists presented Brittany in their writings as "the most loyalist of the French provinces"[469], which is a powerful and advantageous image for regionalist argumentation. In addition to this direct argument, regionalists used indirect, rhetorical tools, to demonstrate their loyalty.

To emphasise their loyalty to the French government, Breton regionalists employed a rhetorical strategy when referring to the relationship between Brittany and France. They adopted the terms developed by the French authorities, "la petite Patrie" for Brittany and "la grande Patrie" for France.[470] The regionalists repeated exactly the same explanation for using these terms:

> "To understand and love the great homeland, you must begin by worshipping the small one; it is through love of the one that you rise to love of the other".[471]

The adoption of this strategy is understandable, as it enabled the regionalists to carry out their activities without being suspected of acting against the State. Similar statements, such as "one is stronger to work for the great fatherland when one has been tenderly raised on the lap of the little one"[472] appear frequently throughout the bulletins.

Another aspect of self-presentation connected to the loyalism of the URB was its proclaimed apolitical nature. This is, in fact, one of the constituent elements of their regionalism and is even present in

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[467] *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Saint-Pol-de-Léon 1905*, Redon, 1906, p. 107.

[468] "La Religion et la Royauté ont, aux jous prospères, connu les dissidences et les attaques des Bretons indépendants ; mais aux heures critiques la France et Rome n'ont trouvé que des Bretons fidèles.", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Gourin 1904*, Redon, 1905, p. 41.

[469] *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès d'Auray 1902*, Saint-Brieuc, 1903, p. 32.

[470] This rhetoric was used by the Third Republic's authorities to create a sense of belonging to the French nation (Thiesse, Anne-Marie. *Ils apprenaient la France. L'exaltation des régions dans le discours patriotique*, Paris, Ed. de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1997, p. 3-15).

[471] "Pour bien comprendre et pour bien aimer la grande patrie, il faut commencer par avoir le culte de la petite ; c'est par l'amour de l'une qu'on s'élève à l'amour de l'autre.", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Saint-Pol-de-Léon 1905*, Redon, 1906, p. 99.

[472] "(...) on est plus fort à travailler pour la grande patrie quand on a été tendrement élevé sur les genoux de la petite.", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Questembert et de Rostrenen 1907*, Redon, 1908, p. 99.

the statutes of the two organisations.[473] At the time, proclaiming itself to be apolitical meant that the organisation was not involved in state or public affairs and did not belong to any political party. The aim of proclaiming this apolitism was to prevent opponents of the regionalists from accusing them of anti-French sentiments. For example, the president of the URB, M. de l'Estourbeillon, stated:

> "In certain circles, people are trying to make others believe that the URB is doing something political and anti-French, that it has come here to hinder some political party (...) The URB is not involved in politics and will never be as long as I have the honour of presiding over it." [474]

Although proclaimed, this apolitical attitude was not exercised by all members. The FRB even indicated the insufficient apolitism of the *Union*'s leadership as one of the reasons for the split.[475] Leaving aside the relationship with the French government, the regionalists used proclaimed apolitism to avoid internal quarrels and to unite "people from all political horizons".[476]

To sum up, the aim of regionalist apolitism was not only to show Brittany's loyalty to France, but also to unite Bretons of all religious and political beliefs for the Breton cause.

3.6 Movement

Ireland

Conradh na Gaeilge used its journal predominantly for propagandist goals and for presenting their political agenda. More than the other movements, they presented *Conradh* as an organisation, trying to distinguish themselves from other bodies with similar goals. For that reason, the rhetoric of the journal is in general more aggressive when openly challenging and criticising their adversaries (either external or internal). The communication of the journal was channelled primarily internally,

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[473]Statutes of the Union régionaliste bretonne, art. 2 - "The Breton Regionalist Union refrains from all political and religious discussions" ("L'Union régionaliste Bretonne s'interdit toutes discussions politiques et religieuses.") in *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Morlaix.-Vannes.-Guingamp.-Quimperlé de 1898 à 1901,* Saint Brieuc, 1902, p. 6.
Statutes of the Fédération régionaliste de la Bretagne, art. 3 - "(...) The Federation remains aloof from any preoccupation with private interests; it has no place in religious or political matters" ("(...) La Fédération reste étrangère à toute préoccupation d'intérêts privés ; elle n'a pas à prendre position dans les questions religieuses ou politiques.") in *Bulletin de la Fédération régionaliste de la Bretagne*, Keraez, 1912, p. 4.

[474]"On cherche dans certains milieux, à faire croire que l'URB fait œuvre politique et antifrançaise, qu'elle est venue ici gêner tel parti politique. (...) L'URB de fait pas de politique et n'en fera jamais tant que j'aurai l'honneur de la présider.", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Gourin 1904*, Redon, 1905, p. 101.

[475]The FRB explained its separation by three main causes, the first of which was "the introduction of worldly elements alien to the Breton cause (...) and tending to steer the Breton movement towards political propaganda, contrary to the statutes" in *Bulletin de la Fédération régionaliste de la Bretagne*, Keraez, 1912, p. 3.

[476]*Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Assises d'hiver de Vitré 1910*, Redon, 1910, p. 30.

aiming at the members of *Conradh*, Irish learners or attendees of *Conradh*'s language classes, and at the Irish-speaking community. This differs from other Celtic movements which aimed at general audience, including decision-makers. At the beginning, *Conradh* tried to give the impression of political neutrality and secularity; however, it openly expressed political opinions, especially when criticising the establishment. *Conradh*'s members also used the journal to spread the appropriate ways of "behaving" to other branches of *Conradh* in order to create unity in communication, activities and goals of the movement in general. In contrast with ACG, they even publicly criticised those branches that did not follow the common *Conradh* lines. In general, the articles in ACS were more ideologically charged towards Irish nationality, more than any other of the studied movements. It is shown as well in suggestions leading to Irish independence in certain areas.

A regular column of ACS was dedicated to the reports from different branches of *Conradh* on a weekly basis. From the beginning of the journal, ACS's editors wanted to include reports from all branches; however, they were mostly too detailed and contained almost the same information every week. The editor asked the branch secretaries to "abbreviate their reports" and instructed them that "when there is nothing special to chronicle, a very few lines ought to suffice."[477] ACS subsequently, starting from March 1904, changed the format of the newspaper (from the magazine two-side per page format to a newspaper tabloid format), and also adjusted the publishing strategy to include only a couple of reports from the most important branches.[478] Then, they even divided the reports according to the country of the branches, with headings "Sasana" for England and "Alba" for Scotland.

Beside reports from *Conradh*'s branches, ACS also provided publishing space for reports from fraternal organisations and from diaspora branches/fraternal organisations from abroad, especially from across the ocean. In comparison with Scottish *An* Comunn, ACS dedicated around four times more space to reports from diaspora communities, especially from the United States. The goal was to give the impression of unity of decision-making across borders, not only within Irish territory but also outside, in cooperation with the migrated Irish communities. One of the most frequent and distinctive examples of connections abroad is regular mentions and contacts with the branch of *Conradh* in Buenos Aires:

> "The Gaelic League is working ahead on sound lines in Buenos Aires (…). Father Pius Devine (…), that veteran Irish speaker, will be gratified to learn that the members of his Order in the far south are, like himself, full of hope for the future of the National language."[479]

[477] "Notes", An Claidheamh Soluis, Júl 28, 1900, p. 312.
[478] "Our New Volume", An Claidheamh Soluis, Márta 12, 1904, p. 8.
[479] "The League in Buenos Aires", An Claidheamh Soluis, Aibreán 14, 1900, p. 73.

Also, the intended impression was to excite Irish people or Irish speakers for national movement, to rouse national pride, by giving examples of emigrated Irish men and women who, despite the distance, were active in the revivalist movement:

> "That the language movement is seizing upon the hearts of all true Irishmen in every part of the world is shown by a letter recently received from Mr. J. J. Collins of Kimberley. In that South African town twenty Irishmen have resolved to form a branch of the Gaelic League (…). Kimberley may soon emulate Buenos Aires!"[480]

This positive representation of diaspora communities was in sharp contrast with *Conradh*'s critique of emigration in general, and quotations of catastrophic stories of Irish migrants who struggle in their new homes. For instance, a quote from *New York City Herald* reports a famine in the city caused by higher numbers of workers "lured" by the "New York's gigantic enterprises in transportation" than "required to do the work": "A severe winter has overtaken them without funds and they are hungry."[481]

Conradh also dedicated a lot of ACS's space to advice and tips it gave to branches on how to proceed with certain topics and activities. For instance, they urged branches to use Irish language during their gatherings or public meetings. [482] The central authority of *Conradh* thus also prevented some undesirable behaviour of certain branches, and criticised its compatriots openly about certain bad habits:

> "In some quarters, starting the movement has been like pouring water into a sieve. It is almost impossible to persuade many branches of the advantage to themselves of keeping in close and cordial touch with the organisation (…) Each branch should realize that it is a fighting 'commando' in the re-conquest of Anglicised Ireland, and that its main strength lies in acting in touch with the rest of the army."[483]

This shows the practical side and purpose of ACS for *Conradh*'s activities, focusing on internal communication with its members and Irish speakers. This differs from other Celtic countries movements where their main journals served rather as a propaganda tool, addressing decision-makers and outsiders.

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[480] "Notes", An Claidheamh Soluis, Bealtaine 11, 1901, p. 137.
[481] "Famine in New York", An Claidheamh Soluis, Márta 4, 1905, p. 8.
[482] "Now, in the case of public meetings, the friends of the movement should endeavour to arrange beforeheand for an Irish speech, or, at least, for a resolution in support of the language. If an Irish speaker were ready, a platform would not now be refused in any Irish-speaking district." ("Notes", An Claidheamh Soluis, Márta 25, 1899, p. 28.)
[483] "Notes", An Claidheamh Soluis, Bealtaine 12, 1900, p. 136.

In general, the described discursive strategy intended to create the appearance of unity, of common course of all branches, with support from influencing individuals and organisations from abroad.

The efforts to centralise the revivalist movement, and the use of ACS for internal communication, relate to the anti-establishment and aggressive rhetoric used by *Conradh* in its journal. *Conradh* was, in contrast with their counterparts from other Celtic movements, openly political, criticising its political adversaries and the British establishment, and was not afraid of direct promulgations of Irish distinctive national identity. Despite early declarations about political neutrality of the movement, *Conradh* came to acknowledge publicly its political character:

> "The League can, and must from time to time take such political action as may be necessary for the safeguarding of any of the interests which it has at heart. If the propaganda of a political party prove [sic!] directly or indirectly prejudicial to the language movement, the League can, and must, fight that party; if a Government declare war against the movement, the League can, and must, take the field against that Government. In this sense the League may become, and to a certain extent has become, a force in politics."[484]

Continuous critique of the establishment, and even organisation of schemes to provoke civil unrest were regular parts of ACS's publishing strategy. For instance, *Conradh* regularly condemned the inability of post office workers to read or speak Irish and suggested that "every Gaelic Leaguer (…) should, in all cases where the missives are not of a very urgent nature, address them in Irish only." They believed that this strategy will "soon force the post-office authorities to keep an adequate staff of employees acquainted with Irish (…) If hundreds of letters addressed only in Irish were to come tumbling about their [post-office employees] heads every day (…)."[485]

The open criticism of British state institution was accompanied by an absence of any display of loyalism towards representatives of the state. This element of the *Conradh*'s self-representation becomes evident when comparing the results of the discourse analysis of ACS with Scottish and Welsh revivalist groups' publications. The consciousness of belonging to the British Empire was, to a greater or lesser degree, noticeable in ADG and Welsh journals. On the other hand, *Conradh* identified with the Irish state and nation, and ignored the United Kingdom as part of its larger identity framework. It actively promoted Irish nationality and Irish interests only:

> "It is to this mongrel condition, in which we are, that may be attributed the general inefficiency pervading all works in Ireland, the fatalistic doctrine that nothing Irish can succeed. Nothing

[484] "The League and Politics", An Claidheamh Soluis, Samhain 11, 1905, p. 7.
[485] "Notes", An Claidheamh Soluis, Meadhón Foghmhair 28, 1901, p. 458.

> Irish will ever succeed until Ireland shakes off her self-imposed slavery and becomes really Irish again (…) She had, therefore, better set about de-anglicising herself and making morally, intellectually, and commercially, for her future."[486]

This quotation not only demonstrates the lack of loyalist rhetoric in ACS, but also illustrates *Conradh*'s hostile position and nearly aggressive rhetoric towards representatives of England. The image of the enemy is in most cases identified (in contrast with Scottish *An Commun*) with British institutions, government, politicians or English in general. For instance, an ACS paragraph with a very suggestive title "The League and its Foes" openly labels the British Chief Secretary, the British *Times* and "West British *Irish Times*" as *Conradh*'s enemies, while describing their attacks on *Conradh* as "excellent" because it shows that they "are giving him [the enemy] trouble".[487]

3.7 Celticism and Celtic Identity

Ireland

The understanding and usage of terms 'Celtic' and 'Celt' differ in the Irish case from the other movements analysed. *Conradh na Gaeilge* understands these terms in a similar sense when referring to the family of native languages encompassing Ireland, Scotland, Wales and Brittany. They acknowledge the linguistic similarity of these languages and use the term Celtic to describe this affinity;[488] however, they generally avoid using the term and instead refer to the Welsh and Scottish cultural movements as distinct entities, without subsuming them under a broader Celtic identity. When referring to themselves, *Conradh* prefers using the qualifiers 'Irish' or 'Gaelic', with 'Irish' being the most favoured. The term 'Gaelic' is occasionally used to describe Scottish Gaelic language, while recognising the close affinity between Irish and Scottish Gaelic languages. In Irish, the usual term is 'Gaeilge' and its variants.

The term 'Celtic', when used in relation to Irish culture, carries a negative connotation in *An Claidheamh Soluis* (ACS). The authors generally avoid the term, and when is used, it is often placed in quotation marks to signal its unnatural character or to indicate that it is not recognized by members of *Conradh*. The term typically appears in direct quotations from external sources. For example, it is criticised in

[486] "The Practical use of the Irish Language", An Claidheamh Soluis, Márta 9, 1901, p. 821.
[487] "The League and its Foes", An Claidheamh Soluis, Meadhon Foghmhair 9, 1905, p. 7.
[488] "(…) Rev. Dr. Hickey of Maynooth, proposed that the designation 'Celtic', as applied to the national language, should be changed to 'Irish'. 'Celtic,' he said, 'is not the name of a language, but a group of languages, comprising Irish, Scotch-Gaelic, and Manx, Welsh, Cornish, and Armoric. Neither is 'Gaelic' admissible, for it includes Irish, Scotch-Gaelic, and Manx. 'Irish' is the only correct designation for our ancient vernacular.', "Notes", An Claidheamh Soluis, Bealtaine 20, 1899, p. 153.

statements such as: “A Dublin evening paper(…) fears that ‘the interest in Celtic (possibly the writer means ‘Irish’) professed in many of our towns and cities is as purely academic and non-practical(…)”[489], or “(…) we fail to see how any movement having for its object the enriching of English literature can be called Gaelic, or and Irish one (‘Celtic’ is a suspicious word in this connection).“[490] Similarly, the critique extends to the term's use in educational contexts:

> “Is it fault of students to say, as they nearly all do ‘translated into Celtic,’ when they mean ‘translated into Irish’? When they translate into German they do not say ‘translated into Teutonic.’ Celtic is a generic word and embraces five living languages, and the one on which Irish students are engaged is Irish, and not Welsh, Armoric, Scottish-Gaelic, or Manx. It is time that this use of the generic for the specific should be discountenanced.”[491]

It is worth noting that diaspora communities, particularly in the United States, often used ‘Celtic’ when referring to ‘Irish’. For instance, the Mayo Men’s Association of New York issued a statement on introducing Irish language classes, aiming “take up the good work, and never rest until Celtic is used as frequently in daily intercourse as Latin, Teuton or Saxon”, working towards “a revival of Celtic tongue” and for “a claim to a separate and distinct nationality, which is most essential in these days of Anglo-Saxon heresy”.[492] This usage by the diaspora reflects an older discourse, prior to the growing aversion to the term by *Conradh* in Ireland.

Conradh’s rejection of the Celtic terms can be attributed to their appropriation by the literary circles around W. B. Yeats, particularly in the context of the Celtic twilight. Although Yeats and *Conradh* reconciled, *Conradh* remained critical of the Irish National Theatre’s use of English and its actors’ poor pronunciation of Irish words:

> “May we suggest that (…) the players of the Irish National Theatre at least take the trouble to learn how to pronounce the Irish words occurring in their plays? Any third standard child who is taught Irish in a city school could furnish them with the correct pronunciation (…).”[493]

The fact, that the adjective Celtic was adopted by an Irish literary movement in the English language made it natural for *Conradh* to deny these denominations. The term had already been ‘taken’ by a movement whose main premise– the use of English in national literary expression–was fundamentally at odds with *Conradh*’s central aim of promoting the Irish language.

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[489] “Notes”, An Claidheamh Soluis, Aibreán 22, 1899, p. 89.
[490] “Notes”, An Claidheamh Soluis, Márta 18, 1899, p. 10.
[491] Hyde, Douglas, “Irish in Secondary Education II.”, An Claidheamh Soluis, Jul 29, 1899, p. 310.
[492] “Gaelic Revival in New York”, An Claidheamh Soluis, Mí Nordlag 30, 1899, p. 661.
[493] “A Suggestion”, An Claidheamh Soluis, Mí na Nodlag 31, 1904, p. 8.

Conradh's disapproval of the term 'Celtic', among other things, led to its rejection of the Pan-Celtic Congress and the Celtic Association. The first large article in ACS opposing the Pan-Celtic movement was published on 27 May 1899.[494] The purpose of the authors of this article was to "recall the history of this Pan-Celtic scheme, and to examine whether the project is likely to prove a help or a hindrance to the Irish language movement", with a particular emphasis on the "hindrance" side of the issue, as *Conradh* viewed it.[495] The article listed four main objections: 1. The aims of the movement were labelled as "impracticable". Authors reject any historically based affinity with other Celtic countries (except for Scottish Highlands) and point out on religious divergence with them, 2. Diversion (of not only of attention, but primarily diversion of money and resources) from the real issue, which is the survival of Irish language, not "masquerading and banqueting and processioning" [496], 3. Support from Celtic countries is not needed, because it does not represent a relevant strength and the Irish language movement "has moral support enough"[497], and 4. Seeking foreign aid is bad for national self-esteem and was never successful in Irish history. The article makes apparent *Conradh*'s fear of competition, referring to the Pan-Celtic Congress as a "parasitic organisation, which seeks to divert to itself Irish energy and Irish money".[498] The real purpose of the article was to discourage *Conradh*'s members and adherents from participating in the Pan-Celtic Congress and other activities organised by Edmund Fournier and Lord Castletown.

The reactions to the public refusal of Pan-Celtic activities were varied. However, as revealed by a letter from Patrick Pearse to Edmund Fournier, even the executive of *Conradh* was taken by "painful surprise" with the strong, hostile position expressed in ACS towards Pan-Celticism. Pearse assured Fournier that he was "making a great effort to convert the Committee to Pan-Celticism" but had "little hope that the League [*Conradh*] will see its way to take part in the movement." Furthermore, Pearse expressed his personal support for the movement, as well as "support of many individuals", and promised Fournier that "the official organ of the League [ACS] will not again actively oppose [Pan-Celtic Congress'] propaganda."[499] Pearse was generally known for his openness towards other Celtic revivalist movements, and had expressed these opinions earlier, in ACS, when attending events organised by *Conradh*'s branch in Cardiff.[500] ACS subsequently printed an official notice of regret of *Conradh*'s Executive Committee regarding the publication of the conflicting article on Pan-Celticism.[501]

[494] "The Pan-Celtic Congress", *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Bealtaine 27, 1899, p. 168-169.
[495] Idem, p. 168.
[496] Idem, p. 169.
[497] Idem.
[498] Idem.
[499] NLI 35, 305 (3), Letter from P.H. Pearse to E. E. Fournier, 17 August 1899.
[500] "Conradh na Gaedhilge. Cardiff.", *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Lughnasa 5, 1899, p. 332.
[501] "The Pan-Celtic Congress", *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Lughnasa 19, 1899, p. 360.

For these and other reasons, *Conradh* did not officially participate in Pan-Celtic activities of the Celtic Association. The Society for the Preservation of Irish language[502] took on the role of representing Ireland in the association and participated in the Pan-Celtic Congress in 1901 as Irish delegates.[503] Despite *Conradh*'s manifestation of hostility towards the Pan-Celtic Congress, its secretary, Fournier, gave a brief report of *Conradh*'s activities at the Congress, later published in Pan-Celtic Monthly Magazine, *Celtia*. He regretted that, due to "a misunderstanding, for which he had often been personally blamed", no report about the activities of *Conradh* was presented by its members at the Congress. Nevertheless, he stressed that the "work done by the Gaelic League had put a new soul into the Irish nation" and:

> "Although they [organisers of the Congress] were not in a position to welcome delegates from that body, he knew that many members of it were present here. He was sure the Congress would agree with him, and echo his cordial appreciation of its enthusiasm and devotion. He hoped when they would meet again, this this great gap in their ranks would be filled up."[504]

Furthermore, other reasons for *Conradh*'s incompatibility with the Celtic Association were evident, and were perhaps more legitimate, such as the Association's wish to organise neo-bardic organisation following the example of the Welsh *Gorsedd* and the performance of neo-bardic events during the Congress.[505] Before the first Pan-Celtic Congress, authors of ACS had already reported with condemnation about a petition to the Welsh *Gorsedd* to help establish the Irish *Gorsedd* and set up the rules of Irish "barddas". The petition was signed by "the Gaelic men", which included Lord Castletown, Edmund Fournier and others. ACS acerbically commented that "it will be seen that of the six men who signed the invitation to the Gorsedd only three are Irishmen, and only one of the nine signatories is able to speak or write Irish."[506]

In conclusion, the factors that prevented *Conradh* from embracing the Celtic identity in its self-representation were: the previous appropriation of Celticism by a competing literary movement, personified in W.B. Yeats, and the appropriation of the Pan-Celtic ideology by the Celtic Association, personified by Lord Castletown and Edmund Fournier. In both cases, *Conradh* did not share common

[502] For more information see 2.2 *Conradh na Gaeilge* (Ireland).
[503] "The Pan-Celtic Procession", *Celtia. A Pan-Celtic Monthly Magazine*., vol. I., n° 9 (September 1901), p. 131.
[504] "The Gaelic League", *Celtia. A Pan-Celtic Monthly Magazine.,* vol. I., n° 9 (September 1901), p. 138.
[505] O'Leary, Philip. '"Children of the Same Mother": Gaelic Relations with the Other Celtic Revival Movements 1882-1916'. *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium.*, vol. 1986, no. 6, p. 109.
[506] The other signatories were Count Plunkett, Rev. J. Lewis, O.J. Bergin, B.A., E. Cadic, Mrs. Needham, Miss Maud Joynt, M.A. and Miss Kemp, "The Pan-Celtic Congress and the Welsh Gorsedd", *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Lughnasa 12, 1899, p. 348.

ideals: in the first instance, this concerned the language of the movement, and in the second, it related to the content and goals.

Despite *Conradh*'s rejection of the Celtic identity, *Conradh na Gaeilge* (like the Scottish Gaelic movement) drew inspiration from their counterparts in other Celtic countries, primarily within the British Empire. The hostile stance of ACS towards Pan-Celticism softened under Patrick Pearse's editorship between 1903 and 1909, as Pearse was interested in the experiences of other revivalist movements and published reports on them to learn from their successes.[507] However, the coverage of other Celtic movements in ACS was not extensive, and was less prominent compared to *An Comunn Gaidhealach*, for instance.

Wales and Welsh language movement were the primary source of inspiration for *Conradh*, especially in the area of education. *Conradh* sought to achieve bilingualism in Irish schools, similar to the Welsh model:

> "A pupil of ordinary intelligence, instructed bilingually, ought at the end of his course to be able to speak, read and write the two languages with fluency and correctness, and to have in addition a good general acquaintance with their literatures. Let this be as clearly understood in Ireland as it is in Wales."[508]

One of the best examples of ACS's inspiration from the Welsh educational system was the reprint of a statement by Dr. Isambard Owen[509] about the position of the Welsh language in Welsh education, where the words 'Wales' and 'Welsh' were intentionally replaced by 'Ireland' and 'Irish' to create the impression that both countries faced similar challenges:

> "I cannot but think that this suppression, this flinging of contempt upon the Welsh [*read* Irish] language in the elementary school of Wales [*read* Ireland] has had a somewhat injurious effect upon the national character; and for this reason alone I think it would be well to give the Welsh [*read* Irish] language an honoured position in the system of elementary education (…)".[510]

In terms of education, Wales represented the primary source of inspiration for all the revivalist movements examined here.

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[507] O'Leary (1986), p. 112-113.
[508] "More Points from Wales", *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Maitheamh 17, 1905, p. 6.
[509] For more information about Owen see Richards, T., (1959). OWEN, Sir (HERBERT) ISAMBARD (1850 - 1927), medical man, scholar, and architect of universities. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. https://biography.wales/article/s-OWEN-ISA-1850. Accessed 2 March 2024.
[510] "The Influence of a National Language in Education", *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Meitheamh 9, 1900, p. 200.

Another way in which the Welsh movement inspired (not only) *Conradh* was through the creation of the *Oireachtas* festival, which directly mirrored the Welsh *Eisteddfod*.[511] ACS openly acknowledged the superiority of the Welsh national festival but attributed it to its longer tradition:

> "The Oireachtas has a guarantee fund of nothing, and by considerable effort we gather together a hundred pounds or so for a prize fund, yet the Irish festival is of no less national importance than the grand Eisteddfod of our kindly neighbours. Its roots go as deep into the national life and history, it has harder and sterner work before it; the Eisteddfod has entered into possession, the Oireachtas has all the joy and sorrow and hope of battle yet."[512]

Nevertheless, ACS suggested that the inspiration was mutual, indicating that the *Eisteddfod* could learn a lesson from the *Oireachtas*, particularly regarding language use, by quoting Welsh revivalist Mallt Williams:

> "In a recent issue of the *Welsh Leader*, Miss Mallt Williams makes a plea for – a *Welsh* Eisteddfod; and the exemplar which she holds up for the imitation of her countrymen is the Oireachtas! (…) Williams makes four suggestions for the Cymricisation of the Eisteddfod."[513]

Regarding Scotland, *Conradh* acknowledged an affinity with *An Comunn Gaidhealach,* and ACS sporadically reported on their meetings and events. However, the frequency of mentions of the Scottish movement was lower than mentions of *Conradh* in Scottish ADG. Rather than taking lessons from *An Comunn Gaidhealach*, ACS presented *Conradh* as the role model for Scottish Gaelic revivalists:

> "While the Highlanders have various societies more or less concerned with the care of Gaelic, and have the annual gathering of the Mód, they have not had up to the present a regular organisation for the preservation of their language. Mr. MacFarlane, who came twice to the Oireachtas, came to study Irish methods as well as to represent our Highland kin. Mr MacFarlane believes in our methods and the Mód thinks them worthy of attentive study."[514]

The authors of ACS even offered advice to Scottish Gaelic movement regarding the preservation of their language:

> "(…); and unless our friends in Scotia Minor (…) realise that their language should be preserved not because it is ancient, and picturesque, and interesting, but because it is their language; and

[511] 3.3 Popular culture, Ireland.
[512] "Notes", *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Jul 15, 1899, p. 280.
[513] "Wanted- A Welsh Eisteddfod", *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Samhain 5, 1904, p. 7.
[514] "Notes", *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Jul 22, 1899, p. 296.

> unless (…) they appeal boldly to the spirit of Scottish Gaelic nationality, their language will assuredly die."[515]

Brittany, the last of the Celtic countries, often forgotten by the islands-based movements, received some coverage in ACS in the later period (after Patrick Pearse took over the editorship), but quite sparsely. Occasionally, ACS reported on a revivalist event in Brittany (approximately once a year)[516] or published short pieces of random information that were not particularly important for *Conradh*'s self-representation.[517]

In conclusion, ACS did not focus heavily on other Celtic movements, but it did, it was primarily on Wales and Scotland. The notion of Celtic identity was not emphasised, except in the case Scotland, where *Conradh* acknowledged an affinity with Scottish cultural movements.

Scotland

The discourse analysis of *An Deo-Ghréine* reveals that rhetoric around Celtic identity and the ethnic definition of Celticism played a negligible role in *An Comunn*'s self-representation. Instead of promoting the representation and definition of themselves as members of the Celtic race and the pan-Celtic community, they focused on the practical matters of language rights, education in the Highlands, and cultural events. These findings correspond to the Irish revivalist discourse but contrast with the results of the analysis of the self-representation of Breton regionalism in the same period. Nevertheless, the Celtic aspect (in its broadest sense) appears strongly *in An Commun*'s publications in the form of inspiration from Irish and Welsh revivalist environments, particularly following its involvement in the Pan-Celtic project. In order to understand the movement's relationship to Celtic identity and to Pan-Celticism, it is important to begin by examining the denominations that members of *An Comunn* used when referring to themselves, their fellow countrymen, and members of other Celtic nations. The vocabulary employed for these purposes was diverse and fluctuated. For this reason, the very first volume of *An Deò-Ghréine* offered a brief summary to its readers of what denominations are deemed appropriate:

> "Their [Gaelic people 's] language is Gaidhlig; their nation is Gaidheil; their country is Gaidhealtachd; and their dress, manners and customs are Gàidhealach. The English equivalents

[515] "Wanted- A Welsh Eisteddfod", *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Samhain 5, 1904, p. 7.
[516] For instance in a notice "Congress of the 'Association Bretonne'", *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Meadhón Fóghmhair 28, 1912, p. 7.
[517] For instance a short notice entitled "Ar Bobl" on how this Breton language newspapers started to publish regular reports on Irish revivalist movement, in *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Lughnasa 9, 1913, p. 7.

of these names are: The Gaelic Language; Gael; Gaeldom ; and Gaelic dress, manners and customs." [518]

These are the expressions that ought to be in common use according to the magazine's editors. They also point out their rare use and complain that:

> "In many cases where we ought to find "Gaelic Language", we find "Celtic Language", and sometimes "Erse." Gaeldom is all but universally called "The Highlands," and "Gael" is called "Highlander". As for " Gàidhealach", it is nearly always rendered as "Highland". In past days, the English speaker, whether from ignorance or policy, began wrong with those names, and our fathers, from lack of policy, in their usual unthinking way, copied the bad example. There is no reason whatever why we should continue to do as they did."[519]

This precise definition of the appropriate vocabulary for the Gaelic language movement is followed by a critique of the use of the term 'Celtic'. The editors objected to its excessive use, particularly in relation to the Celtic Revival as a fashionable aesthetic of the period:

> "Of late years the term "Celtic" has gained great vogue. We constantly hear and read of Celtic art, Celtic ornament, Celtic music, […] Celtic temperament, Celtic fringe, Celtic renaissance, etc, etc. We have always thought that "Celtic" was a general name covering those languages which were and are akin to the Gaelic and Cymric languages, and by extension of usage, those peoples who spoke the languages referred to, together with such matters as were peculiarly theirs."[520]

While the editors acknowledge the legitimacy of the term 'Celtic' in this broader context, they objected to its application in narrower situations: "applied to a society composed of Gaels only, or to a concert, the only Celtic items of which are Gaelic, or to vocal music which is purely Gaelic, or to instrumental music which is mere bagpiping, or to a people who call themselves in their own language Gàidhealach […]."[521]

The terminological and conceptual distinction between 'Gaelic' and 'Celtic' advocated by the editors was maintained with relative consistency in subsequent periods. The adjective 'Celtic' was used to refer to the cultures of the 'non-Saxon' areas of the United Kingdom.[522] In rare instances—first appearing in

[518] 'What's in a Name?', *An Deo-Ghréine,* 1, A' cheud mhìos 1, 1906, p. 69 (not signed, but probably written by the editor Malcolm Macfarlane).
[519] Idem.
[520] Idem, p. 70.
[521] 'What's in a Name?', *An Deo-Ghréine,* 1, A' cheud mhìos 1, 1906, p. 70.
[522] In most cases used when talking about language, literature or culture of Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Only rarely associated with ancient peoples of continental Europe.

1909–the term 'Celtic' was extended to include Brittany,[523] which is striking considering that Gaelic revivalists were already aware of Breton participation in the Celtic project as early as 1900 with the foundation of the Celtic Association.[524] The term 'Gaelic' was used when referring to the non-English culture of Scotland and Ireland, reflecting the linguistic affinity between Irish and Scottish Gaelic. This contrasts with the Pan-Celtic project, where origin and language from any of the Celtic countries were qualified as 'Celtic'.

An Comunn Gaidhealach was the official representative of the Scottish Gaels to the Pan-Celtic Congress. The Celtic Association was founded on 12th October 1900 through the transformation of the General Committee of the Pan-Celtic Congress into a permanent organisation. *An Comunn*'s most active member in the Pan-Celtic activities was Ruaraidh Erskine of Mar, who also acted as vice-president of the Celtic Association.[525] Erskine represented the radical wing of the society, perceiving the Gaelic language as a distinct feature of Scottish nationality for the whole of Scotland.[526] However, other more moderate members, such as Malcolm MacFarlane,[527] Ella Carmichael or Rev. M.N. Munro, regularly attended Scottish delegations to Pan-Celtic congresses. For the first Pan-Celtic Congress, held in Dublin in August 1901, *An Comunn* appointed D. A. S. Mackintosh and A. S. Mac Bride as delegates.[528]

The contacts of *An Comunn Gaidhealach* with other revivalist movements, beyond events organised by the Celtic Association, were strongest with Ireland. Regular reports from the Irish cultural festival *Oireachtas* published in *An Déo-Gréine* demonstrate the close contacts between the two cultural environments. These reports invited comparisons between the two movements. For example, John Macleod commented on the order of events and the content of the 1910 *Oireachtas*, acknowledging the advancement of Irish revivalists in "literary attainments", though balanced by Scots being "ahead of them [the Irish] in musical culture."[529]

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[523] A. C. S. W., ' "Brittany" and the Celts of Brittany', *An Deo-Gréine*, 5, Darna mhìos a Gheamhraidh, 1909, p. 34.
[524] This supports, among other things, the argument that *An Comunn*'s 'Celticism' was shaped rather by the context of the British Empire than by ethnic (or even) linguistic relations.
[525] For more information on Ruaraidh Erskine and his literary activities see Cairns, Gerard. *No Language! No Nation! The Life and Times of the Honourable Ruaraidh Erskine of Marr*. Perth: Rymour Books, 2021, or Poncarová, Petra Johana. 'Ruaraidh Erskine of Mar: Scottish Aristocrat, Gaelic Revivalist' in Szymańska Izabela and Agnieszka Piskorska (eds). *Between Cultures, between Languages: Essays in Honour of Professor Aniela Korzeniowska*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe 'Semper,' 2020.
[526] Gaelic nationalism and the role of Ruaraidh Erskine is described in detail in McLeod (2020), p. 68-72.
[527] During the first ten years of the existence of *An Comunn*, Malcolm Macfarlane is noted as the main or only representative of the society to the cultural events of other Celtic language movements (Murchison [1955], p. 53).
[528] NLS, Acc 13695 Archive of An Comunn Gaidhealach, Vol. 1 Minutes of Executive Council, Minute of Annual Business Meeting of General Committee in Edinburgh on Thursday 5 October 1899, p. 68.
[529] John Macleod, 'The Oireachtas of 1910', *An Deo-Gréine*, 6, Treas Mìos an Fhoaghair, 1910, p. 3.

In general, *An Deo-Gréine* devoted considerable space to comparisons with *Conradh*. Its president and founder, Douglas Hyde, was featured prominently and depicted as a great personality worth of praise for his achievements:

> "[…] this poet, this storyteller, this dramatist, this historian, this leader of men, we recognise as a sort of summary of the activities of our [Irish] movement, a sort of ideal Irish type—neither Gall nor Gael, neither Connachtman nor Ulsterman, neither Leinsterman nor Munsterman—but simply and sheerly an Irishman, and such a one as in moments of exaltation we ourselves would fain be."[530]

The space devoted to Douglas Hyde in Scottish Gaelic movement publications reflects the absence of a distinctive personal leader within the movement at the time.[531] Hyde was portrayed as an ideal leader for a revivalist project, and given the affinity of Scottish and Irish Gaelic, *An Comunn* considered him a leader of the Gaelic revival in general. Furthermore, Hyde's Protestant beliefs made him particularly appealing to the Scots.

This same pattern of the exclusive relationship between Scottish and Irish revivalists was also noted by Phillip O'Leary, in his analysis of *Claidheamh Soluis*, where Scotland (particularly the Scottish Gaelic language movement) was given more attention than any other language or identity movement.[532] Pan-Gaelicism, a phenomenon unnamed in the sources, appears in the analytical vocabulary of Wilson McLeod and seems to be an apt description of the mutual consideration shown between Ireland and Scotland at the time.[533] Furthermore, a close relationship was maintained between *Claidheamh Soluis* under Pearse's leadership and Ruairidh Erskine's *Guth na Bliana*.[534]

By the same token, delegates from *An Comunn* were invited to and presented at the Welsh *eisteddfodau* as well. Reports from Welsh events provided an opportunity to compare the state of the Gaelic language movement with the Welsh situation. Unlike the Irish case, Scottish revivalists viewed the position of Welsh language and culture as far more stable and developed than of Scotland or Ireland. As a result, comparisons with the Welsh revival tended to be primarily laudatory. For instance, while attending the *National Eisteddfod*, *An Comunn*'s delegate M.N. Munro concluded his report by quoting Theodor Watts-Dunton in his introduction to Borrow's *Wild Wales*: "Although I have seen a good many of the races of Europe, I put the Cymric race in many respects at the head of them all. They combine […] the poetry and the music and the instinctive love of the fine arts and the humour

[530] 'Items of Interest', *An Deo-Ghréine*, 1, An dara mìos dheug I, 1905, p. 53.
[531] This opinion is also expressed by Thompson in Thompson (1992), p. 43.
[532] O'Leary (1986), p. 113-114.
[533] McLeod, Wilson. 'Linguistic Pan-Gaelicism: A Dog That Wouldn't Hunt'. *JCeltL*, vol. 2008, no. 12, p. 87-120.
[534] O'Leary (1986), p. 114.

of the other Celtic peoples with the practicalness [*sic*] and bright-eyed sagacity of very different race to which they are closely linked by custom – the race which it is the fashion to call Anglo-Saxon."[535]

To complete the picture, delegates from Ireland and Wales were regularly present at the *Mòdan*. These visits were used as opportunities to compare and share knowledge as well as to publicly support each other's movements. Miss O'Farelly and Mr. J. J. Doyle, the Irish delegates to the Dingwall *Mòd* in 1905, addressed their "fellow-Gaedheals of Alban" in Irish and English, expressing "friendship and sympathy, and a message of hope for the cause of the language, which is the common cause of the Gaedheal, both in Eire and in Alban", while offering advice that getting "hold of the schools and all the rest will be easy."[536] Besides the connection through the British Union, Irish revivalists referred to the close affinity of both languages and argued that the struggle of both movements was essentially the same.[537]

References to Wales and Ireland in *An Deo-Gréine* as sources of inspiration or as models worthy of emulation can be observed in all aspects of *An Comunn*'s self-representation. In terms of the usefulness of the Gaelic language and the general advantage of bilingualism, the example of Wales plays a significant role in *An Comunn*'s publications. The knowledge of both Welsh and English by the majority of Wales' population is presented as routine, "not regarded as a thing in itself remarkable", whereas "the men who are lacking in this capacity are apt to be regarded as somehow stunted in their growth."[538] The following example of Welsh parenting is used to illustrate this point:

> "Ignorance of Welsh on the part of a Welsh public man raises an impassable barrier between him and the heart of the nation, and in consequence parents who wish their children to play a part in the public life of the Welsh people, strive to impart to them a knowledge of Welsh, and this is done not in Wales only, but also in English towns, and to some extent in America. In the greater part of Wales doctors, solicitors, bank managers and others, find it distinctly to their advantage to know Welsh."[539]

On the other hand, Ireland is depicted in *An Comunn*'s texts as experiencing similar difficulties in terms of teaching and promoting the language. Examples from Irish education mentioned in *An Deò-Ghréine*

[535] M. N. Munro, 'Noted at the Welsh National Eisteddfod', *An Deo-Gréine*, 4, Darna Mìos a Gheamhraidh, 1908, p. 33.
[536] 'The Dingwall Mòd', *An Deo-Ghréine*, 1, An aona mìos dheug 1, 1905, p. 22.
[537] Likewise, in linguistic terms, Wilson McLeod noted the general discourse at the end of the nineteenth century, when revivalists from both countries considered the Irish and Scottish languages as a single language (McLeod [2008], p. 94).
[538] Edward Anwyl, 'The Place of the Welsh Language in Welsh Schools', *An Deo-Ghréine*, 1, An Ceathramh mìos 1, 1906, p. 116.
[539] Idem.

often echo the challenges faced by the Gaelic revival in Scotland (even though this might not have been entirely reflective of the Irish situation at the time):

> "It is only in Ireland or in Scotland, people would be guilty of the crime against education of sending English-speaking teachers, ignorant of Gaelic, to Gaelic-speaking districts. In Arran (Ireland) some seven years ago, I found that the boys and girls who had left the primary schools […] had already forgotten English, and all because it was [sic] taught them parrot-wise through the medium of a foreign language."[540]

As with language issue, the subject of education took inspiration from Wales, which served as a model in education and bilingualism. As O'Leary has demonstrated, Wales was similarly used as a reference in the Irish movement. Patrick Pearse, in particular, praised Welsh managers and teachers of the local educational system for their "sentiment in favour of the language."[541] At the conference on education in the Highlands (held in Oban in February 1906), *An Comunn* invited Edward Anwyl, professor of Welsh at the University College of Wales in Aberystwyth. His speech "The Place of the Welsh Language in Welsh Schools" was published in full in *An Deo-Ghréine* and closely reflected arguments found in Gaelic revivalist publications.[542] Anwyl contradicted the notion that the formal study of English could be neglected in bilingual education, stating that: "[…] it can be safely said that the standard of the English spoken in those parts of Wales where Welsh is spoken is far higher than in those border districts where English only is known. Where Welsh is spoken, those who learn English learn it with an added linguistic incentive, and in a more intelligent way."[543] He further noted that the development of Welsh language education arose from within, with the fervour of the Welsh people themselves, but also with the support of royalty:

> "The Prince of Wales is a Welsh-speaking Welshman, who has bought for the Welsh Nation some of the chief private collections of MSS […]. Some of the English members of the staffs of the Welsh University Colleges have acquired a fair knowledge of the language. The state of things has arisen not from any special attempt to infuse new life into the language, but from the vitality of its living tradition and its remarkable adaptation to modern social, religious, and political needs."[544]

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[540] 'The Dingwall Mòd', *An Deo-Ghréine*, 1, An aona mìos dheug 1, 1905, p. 23.
[541] O'Leary (1986), p. 115.
[542] Parry-Williams, T. H. 'ANWYL, Sir EDWARD (1866–1914), Celtic scholar' *Dictionary of Welsh Biography (*1959), https://biography.wales/article/s-ANWY-EDW-1866. Accessed 6 November 2021.
[543] Edward Anwyl, 'The Place of the Welsh Language in Welsh Schools', *An Deo-Ghréine*, 1, An Ceathramh mìos 1, 1906, p. 115.
[544] Idem, p. 116.

It was thus suggested that the development of Gaelic education is primarily the responsibility of members of Gaelic society, as even the British monarchy supported the development of the United Kingdom's vernacular languages. Anwyl further emphasised the need for involvement in the movement, appealing to readers' pride in their Gaelic culture: "A race possessing such honourable qualities as the Highlanders of Scotland […] should be the last to feel ashamed of its ancient tongue, or to treat it with neglect and disrespect. […] An ancient language like Gaelic […] has a special claim upon its sons for their filial attention and regard. The idea that the knowledge of Gaelic must necessarily mean ignorance of English is belied by the experience of Wales […]."[545] Once again, the image of non-active members of society is presented as a primary obstacle to the Gaelic revival, this time focusing particularly on parents. This recurring theme in the Gaelic movement's discourse – the concept of an internal opponent portrayed as the passive members of Scottish society – aligns with the movement's institutionalized understanding of Celticism. Gaelic revivalists did not tend to personify their adversaries as the English people or in the British government, nor did they frequently employ the dichotomy of 'Celtic' (or 'Gaelic') versus 'Saxon', in their representations.

In addition to the inspiration from Welsh education and bilingualism, the idea for the *Mòd* was largely modelled on the Welsh *Eisteddfod*. In 1912, John Macmaster Campbell, one of the founders of *An Comunn*, reflected in *Deò-Ghréine* on the early days of the *Mòd*'s development, specifically following a meeting with the authorities of the Welsh *Eisteddfod* in 1890:

> "Our Welsh friends, gratified with the promised revival of patriotic ideals among a sister Celtic people, willingly extended their guidance, and the first constitution of *An Comunn* followed closely the lines of the great Welsh Association."[546]

With the establishment of their own cultural festival, Gaelic-language choirs became an integral feature of cultural promotion, even though choral singing was not traditionally native to Scotland. This further illustrates the influence of the Welsh language cultural movement.[547] *An Comunn* had already justified the introduction of Gaelic choirs in its *Manifesto,* viewing them not only as a means to keeping the language alive through songs but also as a way of stirring national pride in Highlanders for their language and culture: "[…] it is confidently hoped that the rich treasures of Gaelic melody and song will become more the possession of the people than they are at present."[548] This strategy proved to be somewhat successful, and Gaelic choirs became an important symbol of Gaelic identity. However, as

[545] Idem, p. 117.
[546] J. M. Campbell, 'The Beginnings of An Comunn', *An Deo-Gréine*, 7, Darna Mìos an Fhogharaidh, 1912, p. 184.
[547] Koch (2006), p. 472.
[548] Comunn Gaidhealach (1891), p. 2.

McLeod noted (perhaps slightly exaggerating), during this period *An Comunn* was practically dominated by tartan-clad choir members who often spoke little to no Gaelic.[549]

While Ireland and Wales diverged in their political postures, *An Comunn*'s apolitical stance became a defining feature of its self-representation (as discussed above). Readers were often reminded of the organisation's focus on culture rather than politics, contrasting with the situation in Ireland, where the revival was more politically charged. Furthermore, political differences were framed as points of estrangement between Scotland and Ireland, where true cooperation between the two was deemed impossible "as long as so many continue to put partisanship in politics and sectarianism in religion before language and nationality."[550] On the other hand, Welsh revivalists were depicted in *Déo-Gréine* as highly inclusive, and their activities were praised for their apolitical tone:

> "It is remarkable that while there is no society in the world more national than the Eisteddfod, it is quite non-political. […] This is almost the only Society in the country where Churchman and Dissenter, Liberal and Tory, may meet on the broad platform of nationality and fraternise together as Welshmen."[551]

Brittany

Celticism and Celtic identity were a significant part of URB's self-representation. It was an aspect primarily designed to differentiate Brittany ethnically from the rest of France. Furthermore, the involvement of the Breton regionalists in the Pan-Celtic activities aimed to culturally unify Brittany with a territory different from the French state. Breton regionalists, following the Welsh example most accurately of all the other Celtic movements, also actively adopted neo-bardism and neo-druidism.

Starting with the terminology, the attribute "Celtic" was used as an equivalent of the adjective "Breton" throughout the bulletins. The two are interchangeable in the text, particularly in the expressions "esprit breton/celtique" [spirit], "langue bretonne/celtique" [language], "génie breton/celtique" [genius], or "âme bretonne/celtique" [soul]. The interchangeability of "Breton" and "Celtic" imposes the idea that any Breton is also Celtic in character, thus differentiating him or her from others and uniting all Bretons under this ethnic umbrella. Furthermore, the notion of "race", used extensively in the bulletins, refers

[549] McLeod (2020), p. 331.
[550] 'Items of Interest', *An Deo-Ghréine*, 1, A' cheud mhìos 1, 1906, p. 67.
[551] M. N. Munro, 'Noted at the Welsh National Eisteddfod', *An Deo-Gréine*, 4, Darna Mìos a Gheamhraidh, 1908, p. 33.

above all to the idea of the "Celtic race". Regionalists at some point even suggest organising the Breton territory based on "clans" which would correspond to the ancient historical counties of Brittany.[552]

Moreover, the Breton revivalists use the Celtic terms frequently in reference to the other Celtic countries, thus implying mutual affinity with them. For instance, when discussing France's foreign affairs, the regionalists directly stated that for them, it is above all with the "other Celts that international relations are of prime importance".[553] As for direct relations with the other Celtic nations' members, the regionalists regularly published various reports from the Pan-Celtic meetings, congresses, festivals, and so on, usually written by the Breton delegates to these events. The relations with Welsh revivalists are the most emphasized in the bulletins. Based on the premise of their common origin, the Welsh were portrayed as Bretons' brothers. For instance, a report from the *Eisteddfod* in Swansea, published in the bulletin of the Questembert and Rostrenen Congress in 1907, vividly demonstrates regionalists' close relationship to the Welsh nation:

> "Brittany and Cambria[554] are heart to heart—And mighty, hand in hand, walk their sons—
> Before the Ancestors they are but one nation—Forever are the bonds of blood renewed—
> The white Hermines seek the Red Dragon (...)."[555]

Regarding the character of texts concerning other Celtic countries or Pan-Celticism, Breton revivalists were using the Pan-Celticism to stress importance of certain topics. The strategy was to show how Breton issues were discussed on an international platform, which conveyed their significance. For instance, one of the first texts printed in relation with the "circulaire Combes", the prohibition of Breton as a language of instruction for catechism, was Taldir Jaffrennou's speech pronounced in front of Lord Castletown, at a meeting of the Celtic Association in November 1902:

> "A sect hostile to the Liberty, for which our fathers were killed, which they tried to give to you, Irish, a little over a century ago, has broken all French traditions. No more freedom on the old soil of Gaul! (…) We put up with Frankish domination, will we put up with Masonic and unifying tyranny? No! We remember. Bretons of Armorica, (...) we are the first masters of the soil, since

[552]They propose the following twelve "clans": Pays de Léon, Cornouailles, Poher, Bro Erech, Porhoët, La Mée, Nantes, Rennes, Coglès, Aleth, Penthièvre, Tréguier-Goello, *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Assises d'hiver de Vitré 1910,* Redon, 1910, p. 38.

[553]"(...) autres Celtes que les relations internationales ont une importance de premier ordre.", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Carnac 1906*, Redon, 1907, p. 123.

[554]Latinized version of *Cymru*, used in medieval period for Wales.

[555]"Bretagne et Cambrie sont coeur contre coeur – Et puissants, la main dans la main, marchent ses fils – Devant les Ancêtres elles ne forment plus qu'une nation – A jamais sont renoués les liens du sang – Les blanches Hermines recherchent le Dragon rouge (...)", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Questembert et de Rostrenen 1907*, Redon, 1908, p. 158.

the Gauls and Armoricans of Caesar's conquest were Celts like yourselves, who came from Great Britain at a time when the Western Empire was dying."[556]

The regionalists did not limit the Pan-Celtic ideology only to the cultural sphere but extended it to the economic and commercial spheres. They claimed that the Celts across the Channel and the "emigrants of the Celtic race to the United States" were "the best customers for [their] trade and industry. Their [other Celts'] social ideas are also similar to [their own]" and they proclaimed the need to prefer as trading partners "these free peoples, these democratic peoples in the Celtic manner, rather than the Slavic herds (...)".[557] This was to serve as a "counterweight in the Western balance to Pangermanism and Pan-Latinism".[558] In addition, to further strengthen links with "other Celts", the regionalists founded the *Fête du souvenir* ["Remembrance Day"] in 1904*,* a joint Inter-Celtic festival, and also chose a common emblem of the Pan-Celtic community, the heather.[559]

Generally, Breton regionalists took significant inspiration from other Celtic revivalist movements, especially in Wales. The Pan-Celtic meetings then served as a perfect opportunity for sharing revivalist expertise. For instance, in the area of education, the Bretons were immensely inspired by the bilingual methods of teaching. According to a report by Taldir Jaffrenou from the first Pan-Celtic Congress held in Dublin in 1900, delegations from all the Celtic countries agreed on accepting a resolution promoting this approach: "The Celts will join hands and work together to adopt the bilingual teaching method in all Celtic places."[560] Later, Yann Goblet, a member of the URB, applauded bilingual teaching methods applied in other Celtic countries in an article from 1908 and suggested using their experience as an example to follow, particularly to increase literacy:

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[556] "Une secte ennemie de cette Liberté pour laquelle nos pères se firent tuer, qu'ils tentèrent il y a un peu plus d'un siècle de vous donner à vous, Irlandais! a rompu toutes les traditions françaises. Plus de liberté sur le vieux sol de Gaules! (...) Nous avions supporté la domination franque, supporterons-nous la tyrannie maçonique et unificatrice? Non! Nous nous souvenons. Bretons d'Armorique, (...) nous sommes les premiers maîtres du sol, puisque les Gaulois et Armoricains de la conquête de César étaient des Celtes comme vous, venus de Grande-Bretagne au moment où agonisait l'empire d'Occident.", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès d'Auray 1902,* Saint-Brieuc, 1903, p. 42.

[557]"(...) les meilleurs clients de [leur] commerce et de [leur] industrie. Leurs [des autres Celtes] idées sociales sont d'autre part semblables aux [leurs] (...) ces peuples libres, ces peuples démocrates à la manière celtique, plutôt que les troupeaux slaves (...)", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Carnac 1906,* Redon, 1907, p. 125.

[558]"(...) contre-poids dans la balance occidentale au pangermanisme et au panlatinisme (...)", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Questembert et de Rostrenen 1907*, Redon, 1908, p. 159, 160.

[559]*Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Gourin 1904*, Redon, 1905, p. 126, 127.

[560] "Les Celtes se donneront la main et travailleront ensemble à faire adopter dans tous les centres celtiques la méthode d'enseignement bilingue.", *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Morlaix.-Vannes.-Guingamp.-Quimperlé de 1898 à 1901*, Saint Brieuc, 1902, p. 41.

> "Indeed, in Wales it [bilingual education] has been yielding the best results for years, and although it is very recent in the Highlands of Scotland, it has already proven itself there. While our brothers overseas can thus work on rational studies and raise themselves intellectually, the old system of 'ignoring the existence of Breton' is still imposed on us in Brittany. And the result is clear; statistics show that it is our counties that provide the largest contingent of illiterates."[561]

Nevertheless, the most significant cultural inspiration drawn from the other Celtic revivalist movements was the foundation of the Breton *Gorsedd*, a neo-bardic and neo-druid organisation modelled on the Welsh *Gorsedd.*[562] These "pagan" activities, practised by a significant proportion of URB members, took place mainly during the annual congresses and are described in detail in the bulletins. However, there were numerous disagreements within the *Union* concerning *Gorsedd*, reflected in the bulletins by declarations such as "(…) this ceremony, performed annually by the bards, is completely independent of the URB, which has never had to deal with it".[563] The neo-bardic and neo-druidic activities were controversial, especially for the Catholic members of the URB, and contributed to the split of URB and the creation of the FRB.

Due to the divisive nature of Celticism as a unifying element for Breton national identity, it was eventually replaced by Breton history, which served better to ideologically unite both parts of Brittany. Nevertheless, Celtic identity remained part of the regionalist self-representation, primarily as a distinctive element in relation to France.

Wales

Unlike Scottish *An Deo Ghréine*, Welsh journals do not define the Celtic terms, and do not try to place them in the vocabulary, which should be used for the Welsh movement. Therefore, in the Welsh case, the meaning of the terms can only be found by their discourse usage and its context.

The only text of the analysed corpus, that clarifies somewhat the understanding of the Celtic terms from the Welsh perspective, and offers a transnational view, was published in 1896 in *Wales* under

[561] "En effet, en Galles, il a donné depuis des années les meilleurs résultats, et quoique tout récent dans les Highlands d'Ecosse, il y a déjà fait ses preuves. Tandis que nos frères d'Outremer peuvent ainsi faire des études rationnelles et s'élever intellectuellement, on nous impose toujours en Bretagne le vieux système consistant à 'ignorer l'existence du breton'. Et le résultat est clair; les statistiques montrent que ce sont nos départements qui fournissent le plus fort contingent d'illettrés," *Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Plougastel-Daoulas 1908,* Redon, 1909, p. 59.

[562]For more on neo-Druidism and neo-Bardism in Brittany, see Le Stum, Philippe. *Le néo-druidisme en Bretagne : origine, naissance et développement, 1890-1914*. Éd. 'Ouest-France', 1998. (second edition in 2017)

[563]*Bulletin de l'Union régionaliste bretonne. Congrès de Questembert et de Rostrenen 1907*, Redon, 1908, p. 134.

the title "What the Celts Are Doing".[564] It was written by Mallt Williams, passionate Celtist with contacts in Celtic revivalist circles, under the pseudonym "Y Dau Wynne". In the article, she laments the absence of unity, the "absence of *camaraderie* among the three branches of Celts in the United Kingdom" where:

> "A Gael holds a Cymro as much at arm's length as he would the alien Saxon; and the Cymro (…) has not sympathy with (…) the Irish Gael. Yet the three – Gael, Irish Gael, and Cymro – spring from the same source, are branches, tracing back, through remote eras, of the same venerable family tree."[565]

The article shows that the term 'Celtic' encompassed the modern understanding of the Celtic fringe of the United Kingdom. It describes the goals and activities of sister organisations in the other Celtic countries, *An Comunn Gaidhealach*, and the *Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language* (not *Conradh na Gaeilge*). The claimed affinity between Celts of the British Isles and Ireland with Brittany is explicitly mentioned in the article, though no activities or goals of the Breton movement are specified yet (the Breton movement was institutionalized by foundation of the URB only two years later). Mallt Williams was not a typical Welsh revivalist, known for her pro-pan-Celtic opinions, which are explicit here. However, the editor made and an interesting remark in the footnote to the article. He disagreed with Williams' claims that only fragments of "this great Celtic race" now survive in parts of Scotland, Wales, Ireland and Brittany:

> "The editor of WALES entirely disagrees; he believes that the Celts are by far the most important element in the population of every district in Great Britain, not excepting even Sussex."[566]

This comment well illustrates the perception of Celts and the Celtic element in public discourse. The general perception was more associated with ancient history and ethnic origin than with the meaning of the modern language and cultural movements in the area. This understanding of the Celtic terms can be observed throughout the discourse analysis of the Welsh publications, where most frequently, the words 'Celtic' or in Welsh 'Celtaidd' were associated with either Celtic scholarship (in the sense of, for instance, Celtic studies chairs at universities and their scholars), or with archaeology and ancient history. It seems obvious that the Welsh revivalist discourse accepted (in contrast with Irish or Scottish language movements) the ethnic and historical meaning of the Celtic identity. According to them, Celtic origin shaped the inhabitants of Wales and is responsible for certain national traits, but

[564] "Y Dau Wynne", 'What the Celts Are Doing", *Wales*, vol. 3, no. 27, July 1896, p. 290-292.
[565] "Y Dau Wynne", 'What the Celts Are Doing", *Wales*, vol. 3, no. 27, July 1896, p. 290.
[566] "Y Dau Wynne", 'What the Celts Are Doing", *Wales*, vol. 3, no. 27, July 1896, p. 290.

they do not consider the inhabitants at the time as Celtic. Given the low frequency of allusions to Celtic identity in the publications, the analysis suggests a rather indifferent attitude of the Welsh revivalists towards the terms. They accepted Celtic identity as part of their self-representation, but did not use it often, nor for any particular purpose or reason.

When referring to the contemporary inhabitants of Wales, they usually used 'Welsh' in English or 'Cymry' in Welsh, or analogically 'Welshmen' or 'Cymro'. They nevertheless also used the terms 'Britain' and 'British' more than other Celtic movements. The Welsh revivalists, for instance, labelled the original inhabitants of Wales as British (more often than Celtic), specifically when talking about the period before the Anglo-Saxon settlement:

> "While the British princes were fighting over supremacy, the Saxons were joining forces to gain strength. In the year 577, Ceawlin had united the Saxon tribes who had settled south of the Thames; and he led their forces against the western state."[567]

Using the adjective 'British' in a historical context also supported Welsh claims of being the "first people of the Britain", before the Anglo-Saxons, which was a powerful argument against English dominance.

Furthermore, the 'British' label gave them a prime position within the Empire. In contrast with *Conradh na Gaeilge*, the Welsh revivalists did not avoid the denomination British, and considered themselves an integral part of the British Empire. This is detectable when they label the entire United Kingdom and stress the encompassing 'British' adjective:

> "We try to show the British, whether English or Welsh, Scottish or Irish, that man will not live in English alone. An important fact confronts us as Britons. We are fast losing our grip on world trade. Our education disqualifies us to stand our ground. Old stubborn conservatism is trying to make us all monolingual people. Providence has placed our country in the middle of the productive countries of the earth, in a place where all trade routes meet; it is a shame to lose all our advantages because of blind generational bigotry."[568]

[567] "Tra'r oedd tywysogion y Prydeiniaid yn ymrataelio am yr unbeunaeth yr oedd y Saeson yn ymuno ac yn ennill nerth. Yn y flwyddyn 577 yr oedd Ceawlin wedi uno tylwythau'r Saeson ymgartrefasent y tu deheu i'r Tafwys; ae arweiniodd eu llu yn erbyn y dalaeth orllewinol.", 'Hanes Cymru', *Cymru*, vol 1, no 5, p. 195.

[568] "Treiwn ddangos i'r Prydeiniwr,—boed Sais neu Gymro, Ysgotyn neu Wyddel,—mai nid ar Saesneg yn unig y bydd byw dyn. Y mae ffaith bwysig yn ein wynebu ni fel Prydeiniaid. Yr ydym yn prysur golli ein gafael ar fasnach y byd. Y mae ein haddysg yn ein hanghymwyso i sefyll ein tir. Y mae hen geidwadacth ystyfnig yn ceisio ein gwneyd oil yn bobl uniaith. Y mae Rhagluniaeth wedi gosod ein gwlad yng nghanol gwledydd cynyrchiol y ddaear, mewn man y cyferfydd pob llwybr masnach; peth anfad yw colli ein holl fanteision oherwydd taiogrwydd cen-hedlaethol dall.", 'Meddyliau am Addysg Cymru', *Cymru*, vol 19, no 111, 1900, p. 168.

Furthermore, the Welsh authors criticised when the adjective 'English' was used where 'British' was actually meant, stressing that since "the Act of the Union od 1707, the united people are to be called British, not English".[569] O. M. Edwards, the editor of Wales, explained:

> "When abroad and asked,—'Are you English?' I always answer 'No, I am Welsh,' If my friend has never heard of that ancient people before, I explain to him that the Welsh are a part of the great British people. An American always asks,—'Are you British?' The English are the inhabitants of that part of the British Islands which is neither Wales, Scotland, Berwick upon Tweed, Ireland, the Isle of Man, or the Channel Islands."[570]

This connects to one of the results of the discourse analysis of the Welsh journals: Welsh, far more than Irish, accepted the British identity as their own and used double identity discourse for their self-representation, one national and one imperial (state). Welsh revivalist, similarly to Bretons, used loyalist rhetoric and presented themselves as British citizens who were an integral part of the British Empire. The Bretons used this double identity discourse for more practical reasons (see 3.5 Apolitical and Loyalist Rhetoric, Brittany) than the Welsh, though their form of self-representation is very similar. In contrast with the Irish, Welsh journals exhibit very little criticism of state authority. The only criticisms concerned specific areas, such as the post-office's inability to use Welsh[571], or neglect in taking care of Welsh historical manuscripts.[572] The Welsh revivalists show that they felt to be an integral part of the British Empire, and similarly to Bretons, they tried to prove themselves as part of Britain and fight against ignorance from the state authorities:

> "There is a tendency to look at the Welsh as a subordinate servant, and not as someone for whom the empire is as important as it is for any other subject of the king. Less timidity, and a little more pride and backbone, is what the Welshman needs. The foundation of Britain's strength is tolerance. As each of the four nations—the English, the Welsh, the Scots, and the Irish—demands their rights from the other they learned that. The eradication of Welsh nationalism would be treason against Britain."[573]

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[569] 'Editor's Notes', *Wales*, vol 3, no 22, 1896, p. 90.
[570] Idem.
[571] For instance in William Edwards Tirebuck, 'The Welsh People and Their National Emblems', *Wales*, vol 2, no 20, 1895, p. 531.
[572] For instance 'The Cataloguing of Welsh Manuscripts', *Wales*, vol 1, no 2, 1894, p. 88.
[573] "Mae tuedd i edrych ar Gymro fel gwas darostyngedig, ac nid fel un y mae'r ymherodraeth mor bwvsig iddo ag ydyw i unrhyw un o ddeiliaid y brenin. Llai o yswildod, a thipyn mwy o falchder ac asgwrn cefn, sydd ar y Cymro eisiau. Sylfaen nerth Prydain yw goddefgarweh; wrth i bob un o'r pedair cenedl —Saeson, Cymry, Albanwyr, a Gwyddelod —fynnu eu hawliau gan y llall y dysgasant hynny. Buasai difodi cenedlaetholdeb Cymru yn deyrnfradwriaeth yn erbyn Prydain.", "O Ddydd I Ddydd", *Cymru*, vol 21, no 120, p. 51.

In the context of Celtic identity, another quotation exemplifies how Welsh revivalists condemned English self-centrism:

> "Yet some people eternally of the Anglo-Saxon race as excellent colonisers and civilisers of the world, when it would be far more fitting to call them Anglo-Celtic, and to recognise in some measure what the Celt has contributed to the extension of the Empire. The Celt ungrudgingly takes his part in the battles of the Empire, and he has a right not to be ignored in the reckoning of the credit."[574]

One might assume that the acceptance of Celtic identity, though somewhat indifferent, contributed to the Welsh revivalists' acceptance of Pan-Celtic activities initiated by Lord Castletown and Edmund Fournier. Moreover, some of the Welsh revivalists' publication here analysed came from the hands of passionate Pan-Celts, such as Beriah Gwynfe Evans, secretary of *The Society for Utilizing the Welsh Language* and later an active member of *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg*. He participated in the so-called Pan-Celtic Eisteddfod in 1899 in Cardiff, where the Pan-Celtic Congress was officially established. In his report from the event, he praised not only the *Eisteddfod* itself, but also the Pan-Celtic idea:

> "The reader must realize two essential facts that Eisteddfod is a natural inheritance of the Celtic race, and that it is Wales who has best if not alone safeguarded that inheritance. Having realized these facts he will be better able to enter into the spirit, to understand true intent and meaning of the Pan-Celtic gathering at Cardiff – and possibly to participate to some extent in its inspiration!"[575]

In contrast to the Irish attitude towards Pan-Celticism, Welsh revivalists had a generally positive view of the Pan-Celtic ideology. However, considering the small extent to which the journals paid attention to Pan-Celtic activities, the Welsh revivalist' attitude towards Pan-Celticism can be descibed as indifferent. This relatively uninvolved mindset of Welsh revivalists is well illustrated in the following quotation, where the editor of *Cymru* commented the newly established Pan-Celtic magazine, *Celtia*:

> "The aim of *Celtia*, a monthly journal published in Ireland, is to be a voice for the Celtic awakening. (…) Disappointment sets the tone for the editor's voice when speaking of Wales. He asks if Wales is truly awake. What made the Irish doubt the strength of Welsh life? The cause of his disappointment is clear in the next question he asks – 'Where is the Pan-Celtic Welsh Committee? And what are they doing? They may well be asleep.' I do not know who the members of this new committee are. But I can guess. There are a number of brothers in Wales whose names appear on

[574] [John Rhŷs], 'Past and Future Progress. An Eisteddfod address by the Principal of Jesus College, Oxford', *Wales*, vol 3, no 24, 1896, p.148.
[575] Pan-Celtic Eisteddfod (1899) - Account by Beriah Gwynfe Evans of a Pan-Celtic Eisteddfod held in Cardiff, 1899, Cardiff MS 2.1057, NLW.

every committee. If the Pan-Celtic Committee is also the same old company, I can answer the question of the editor of *Celtia* and say about the committee – 'Indeed they are asleep.' "[576]

It demonstrates not only the editor's indifference toward Welsh participation in Celtic Association, but also, and more importantly, the passive involvement even of those Welsh who were members of its executive body.

These conclusions correspond with the findings of Caoimhín de Barra, who studied the acceptance and reflection of Pan-Celtic activities in the Welsh public discourse. As he observed, following the "Pan-Celtic Eisteddfod" (as Beriah Evans called it) in Cardiff in 1899, the Welsh press was sympathetic and expressed admiration toward the movement.[577] Similar positive reactions from both the press and the public followed Pan-Celtic congresses in Dublin in 1901 and in Caernarvon in 1904, not mention the financial success of the latter.[578] However, with the decline of the Celtic Association from 1908 on, Pan-Celticism did not endure in Wales, and the Welsh movement did not continue fostering bonds with other Celtic countries, as it had during the period of the Pan-Celtic institutions' existence.[579] The Welsh revivalists directly involved in the Celtic Association could be characterised, as de Barra described them, as "willing participants, but with little desire to direct and lead."[580] This is likely what O.M. Owens, the editor of *Cymru*, had in mind when he described the Welsh committee to the Pan-Celtic Congress as indeed "asleep" (as quoted earlier).

Regarding contacts and relations with other Celtic countries, Wales was in a very different position compared to the other movements–if held a position of a role model. Caoimhín de Barra also explains that the positive attitude of the Welsh public toward Pan-Celticism was due to the fact that Pan-Celtic institutions (and other cultural events such the *Oireachtas* and the *Mòd*) were designed based on the Welsh *Eisteddfod* and *Gorsedd*. The Welsh public, thus, not only felt familiar with such cultural expressions but also took pride in exporting their culture abroad, and consequently felt flattered.[581] As a result, the matters and achievements of other Celtic movements do not appear extensively in the pages of the analysed journals. When these journals did mention other Celtic revivalists, it was usually

[576] "Amcan Celtia misolyn a gyhoeddir yn yr Iwerddon, yw bod yn llais i'r deffroad Celtaidd. (…) Siom sy n rhoi'r cywair i lais y golygydd wrth son am Gymru. Gofyn a ydyw Cymru yn effro. Pa beth wnaeth i'r Gwyddel ameu nerth bywyd Cymru? Y mae achos ei siom yn eglur yn y cwestiwn nesaf a ofynna— 'Pa le y mae y Pwyllgor Oll-geltaidd Cymreig? A pha beth y maent yn ei wneyd? Efallai yn wir eu bod yn cysgu.' Nis gwn pwy yw aelodau y pwyllgor newydd hwn. Ond gallaf ddyfalu. Y mae nifer o frodyr yng Nghymru a'u henwau ar bob pwyllgor. Os yr un hen gwmni yw y Pwyllgor Oll-geltaidd hefyd, gallaf ateb cwestiwn golygydd Celtia, a dweyd am y pwyllgor — 'Yn wir y mae efe yn cysgu.'" 'Llyfrau a Llenorion', *Cymru*, vol 22, no 118, 1901, p. 279.
[577] De Barra (2018), p. 161, 164.
[578] Idem, p. 175-176, 181-184.
[579] Idem, p. 193.
[580] Idem, p. 158.
[581] Idem, p. 188-192.

to underscore their affinity to the Welsh movement and to show how Wales played a key role in inspiring them. An article about Breton poets published in *Cymru* in 1905 serves as an illustration:

> "Taldir (or according to his family name, Jaffrennou) is long known to readers of *Cymru* through his acclaimed writings on Mynyddog. He can write good Welsh, and speak it loud and clear, and of all the Celtic celebrities who were at the Conference in Caernarfon this year [Pan-Celtic Congress], no one attracted more attention, and no one raised more enthusiasm than the young poet from Brittany. (...) Although Jaffrennou is only twenty-five years old, he is the author of several volumes of poetry and the editor of a Breton weekly and monthly. Only the future can declare what influence his muse, his power, and his patriotism will have on Brittany and its history, but bright hopes are cherished for him by everyone." [582]

Regarding neo-druidisme and neo-bardisme as expressions of Celtic identity, both practices were widely accepted and had a long history by the turn of the century (see 2.5 Construction of Celtic Identity and Celticism). *Gorsedd* ceremonies had been officially accepted as an integral part of the *National Eisteddfod* since 1881.[583] Therefore, in terms of "practiced" Celticism, Wales was ahead of other Celtic nations. Nevertheless, the neo-druidic activities faced criticism on several accounts. For instance, the editor of *Wales* journal criticised *Gorsedd* members for their rigidity:

> "A reforming zeal has taken possession of the *Gorsedd*. It is determined to increase its prestige, to claim new privileges, and to reform itself. No degree, save honorary ones, is to be conferred without examination. (…) The payment of five shillings, also necessary henceforth, is, on the whole, a more serious difficulty than the examination. In a manifesto bristling with translated English idioms, which are not Welsh at all, the bards declare that all the *Gorsedd* proceedings must be in the Welsh language. (…) The *Gorsedd* will evidently remain a cumbrous old humbug to the last."[584]

Finally, the *Gorsedd* also faced criticism for its historical inauthenticity. The same were levelled in other Celtic countries where revivalists attempted to implement neo-druidic activities, though on a much larger scale.[585] This type of critique can be sensed in a publication by Beriah Gwynfe Evans entitled

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[582] "Y mae Taldir (neu yn ol ei enw teuluaidd, Jaffrennou) yn hen adnabyddus i ddarllenwyr Cymru trwy ei ysgrifau clodforus ar Mynyddog. Gall ysgrifennu Cymraeg da, a'i lefaru'n hyawdl a chroew, ac o'r holl enwogion Celtaidd oedd yn y Gynhadledd yng Nghaernarfon eleni, ni thynnodd neb fwy o sylw, ac ni chododd neb fwy o frwdfrydedd na'r bardd ieuanc o Lydaw. (...) Er nad ydyw Jaffrennou ond pum mlwydd ar hugain oed, y mae'n awdwr amryw gyfrolau o farddoniaeth ac yn olygydd wythnosolyn a misolyn Llydewig. Y dyfodol yn unig all ddatgan beth fydd dylanwad ei awen, ei allu, a'i wladgarwch ar Lydaw a'i hanes, ond coleddir gobeithion disglaer am dano gan bawb a'i hedwyn.", "Dau Fardd o Lydaw", *Cymru*, vol 28, no 162, 1905, p. 38.

[583] 2.4 Welsh Revivalist Culture and its History.

[584] O.M. Edwards, "Editors' Notes", *Wales*, vol 3, no 27, 1896, p. 329.

[585] 3.7 Celticism and Celtic Identity, Ireland.

The Bardic Gorsedd. Its History and Symbolism, where he described *Gorsedd* as "the most picturesque and interesting of all the *Eisteddfod* proceedings", but added that despite this, "it has become the fashion among a section of pedants to disparage this popular feature of the National Festival."[586] He defended it against accusations of inauthenticity by reassuring the readers of the ancient origins of *Gorsedd*:

> "It represents the Bardic System which admittedly existed in this country before the Christian Era, and whose origin is hidden in the mists of antiquity. It is not claimed now that the Gorsedd, as it is to-day, is similar (…) with that which obtained either in a remote period or even in the Middle Ages. What is really claimed is that it represents now, as it did then, the native Bardic Brotherhood, aiming at the development of the Native talent, particularly in Poetry, Literature, Music and Art."[587]

In conclusion, while the Welsh revivalist movement acknowledged its Celtic roots, they embraced a dual Welsh-British identity instead, focusing on their national culture and integration within the British Empire. Though sympathetic to Pan-Celticism, their participation was largely passive. The Welsh cultural practices, however, served as models for other Celtic movements.

[586] Evans, Beriah Gwynfe. *The Bardic Gorsedd. Its History and Symbolism*. Pontypool, The Griffin Press, (n.d.), p. 5.
[587] Idem, p. 6.

4 Formation of Collective Representation and Discursive Strategies

In the final chapter of the dissertation, the results of the analysis of self-representations are compared and synthesized, leading to the identification of key factors responsible for forming group representation and collective discursive strategies. Five main factors are identified here, and references are made to the analytical part of the dissertation to illustrate and explain them. The factors are presented individually, although they are closely interconnected and may overlap in explaining certain discursive strategies.

4.1 Level of Development and Success of the Movement

The first significant factor influencing the formation of group representation and discursive strategies is the level of development of the revivalist movement and its subsequent success in achieving its objectives. The stage of an identity-building movement directly impacts its representation, particularly in the choice of topics that are emphasised. A movement that has attained a certain level of cultural independence may begin to address more advanced issues and focus on higher cultural, or even political, domains. This factor is most clearly demonstrated through the differences between the Welsh revival and other Celtic movements, particularly in their treatment of language.

Unlike the other Celtic revivals, Welsh movement did not place language at the forefront of its discourse. It is common for identity-building movements, particularly nationalist ones, to prioritise language as the central aspect of their self-representation, as it often gives meaning and spirit to their activities.[588] However, the Welsh revival diverged from this pattern by focusing primarily on Welsh literature and popular culture. The primary reason for this was the earlier emergence of the Welsh movement, which meant that the Welsh language was not under immediate threat of extinction. Consequently, the preservation of the language was not as urgent an issue for Welsh revivalist as it was for their Breton, Irish and Scottish Gaelic counterparts.[589]

Furthermore, the stronger position of the Welsh movement meant that topics such as popular culture, literature and history took centre stage in Welsh publications. This contrasts with the limited coverage of historical topics in Irish and Scottish cases. The Welsh revivalists were able to move beyond language concerns and devote their efforts to broader topics that would further enhance Welsh national consciousness. This argument is reinforced by the distinctive discursive strategies employed by the Welsh movement compared to the other Celtic movements. Welsh revivalists portrayed their

[588] Thiesse, Anne-Marie. *La création des identités nationales: Europe XVIII^e^-XX^e^ siècle*. Le Grand livre du mois, 1999, p. 70.
[589] 3.1 Language, Wales.

movement as a success story, with gradual yet certain progress toward their goals.[590] This stands in contrast to the Irish revivalists, who often presented their movement as being in a disadvantaged position, frequently attributing blame to the British state.[591] Similarly, the Scottish and Breton movements tended to depict themselves as struggling, either blaming the state or the non-active members of their communities for setbacks.[592]

An additional factor influencing discursive strategies, related to the movement's level of development, is the presence of a strong literary tradition. By the late nineteenth century, Welsh literature was the most robust of the movements studied and played a crucial role in achieving identity-building objectives. It had been evolving for two centuries based on an ancient literary tradition, making it a central aspect of Welsh cultural life alongside Eisteddfod performances. The abundance of texts dedicated to Welsh literature underscores its significance, and unlike the other movements, Welsh revivalists were the only ones writing about modern, contemporary literature.[593] Moreover, the language of the literature was not a contentious issue for the Welsh revivalists, as it was for the Irish *Conradh*.[594] The fact that Welsh revivalists cultivated Welsh-language literature as well as English-language literature demonstrates that language concerns did not hold the same priority in the Welsh movement as in the other Celtic revivals.[595]

Finally, the level of a movement's development also shapes discursive strategies in the domain of education, a central topic for all the revivalist movements analysed. Unlike the other movements, the Welsh focused on the education system in English-speaking areas as well.[596] This further supports the view that the survival of the Welsh language was not an immediate concern at the time, and that the way certain topics are treated is closely linked to the level of development and success of a revivalist movement.

4.2 Discursive Strategies as Compensation Tools

The results of the analysis and comparison demonstrate that some discursive strategies and aspects of self-representation were adopted to compensate for certain deficiencies within the movements or to oppose specific stereotypes present in the general discourse. These strategies were developed to challenge unfavourable circumstances and improve the movement's standing.

[590] 3.2 Education, Wales.
[591] 3.6 Movement, Ireland.
[592] 3.1 Language, Scotland, Brittany.
[593] 3.3 Popular culture, Wales.
[594] 3.1 Language, Ireland.
[595] 3.3 Popular culture, Wales.
[596] 3.2 Education, Wales.

A clear example of this is the Breton movement's extensive use of historical topics and Celtic identity to bridge the language barrier between Breton and Gallo parts of Brittany. The goal of these strategies was to unify the region ideologically. As explained in the analytical section, early Breton regionalist bulletins avoided discussing the linguistic division of Brittany and instead presented the region as a unified Breton-speaking community. This was intended not only to support the preservation of the Breton language but also to symbolically differentiate Brittany as a whole from the rest of France.[597] Celticism, in this context, was intended to serve a similar function in an ethnic sense.[598] The acceptance of a Celtic identity by Breton regionalists represents a case in which a stereotyped image of Celtic Brittany was embraced by the movement due to its usefulness in distinguishing Brittany from the rest of France. This aligns with Ruth Amossy's assertion that "ethos is constructed on the basis of a pre-existing representation that forms part of a collective imagination"[599] and that this stereotyping can help differentiate one group from others.[600] However, in later bulletins, Breton regionalists began writing more extensively on historical topics, with history becoming one of the central aspect of their self-representation (simultaneously with the acknowledgement of the linguistic barrier in their discourse). This shift, explained in detail in the analytical section, occurred as history was seen as a way to compensate for the linguistic and ethnic divisions within Brittany and to symbolically unify the region in public discourse.[601] Like other nation-building movements, the Breton revivalists recognised the unifying power of history in creating a sense of belonging.

Another example of discursive strategies used to compensate for perceived weaknesses is found in the arguments revivalists employed to support their language claims. Both Scottish and Breton revivalists utilised similar arguments to challenge stereotypical views about their languages and themselves.[602] These included emphasising the antiquity of the language, the benefits of bilingualism, and the practical utility of the language. By highlighting the ancient nature of their languages, they aimed to convey a sense of nobility and legitimacy (as a counter to stereotypes of vulgarity). This strategy had its roots in eighteenth-century scholarship. Additionally, they sought to promote the idea that their communities had a natural right to speak the language, given its centuries-long usage.[603] Bilingualism and the practical utility of the language were also employed to counter the view that these languages were on the verge of extinction and to push back against the perception of the revivalist

[597] 3.1 Language, Brittany.
[598] 3.7 Celticism and Celtic Identity, Brittany.
[599] Amossy (2010), p. 48.
[600] Idem, p. 45.
[601] 3.4 History, Brittany.
[602] 3.1 Language, Scotland, Brittany.
[603] 2.5 Construction of Celtic Identity and Celticism.

societies as antiquarian.[604] For the revivalists, it was important to be seen as forward-looking societies with practical goals that would bring prosperity to their regions. Thus, they sought to avoid being labelled as antiquarian.

This strategy is also evident in the Irish *Conradh*, which did not focus on the antiquity of Irish literature as a key aspect of the movement (unlike the Welsh revivalists). The reasoning behind this approach was twofold and echoed the motivations of the Breton and Scottish movements. First, *Conradh* sought to present the Irish language as a living, vibrant tongue, making its origins in medieval manuscripts less relevant. Secondly, the movement was keen to distance itself from accusations of being an antiquarian society fixated on relics of the past.[605] As a result, Irish revivalists did not use the existence of medieval Irish manuscripts to their advantage, unlike many other identity-building movements of the time.

Another example of how discourse was shaped to overcome challenges can be seen in the use of popular culture and the promotion of home industries to address the issue of emigration. This was particularly relevant in Brittany and Scotland, where the peripheral and rural nature of these regions posed significant challenges. Establishing home industries was intended to provide local employment and enable people to sustain themselves in their homeland. Similarly, fostering popular culture in the native language served not only to promote revivalist goals but also to offer a form of entertainment to local populations.[606] Emigration, whether to cities in England or Paris, or further afield to North America, was a serious concern for these revivalist movements. They were not only losing a valuable workforce and intelligentsia but also native speakers of the languages they sought to protect. Breton revivalists even framed popular culture as a tool to combat alcoholism, another issue affecting rural communities.[607] Wales, by contrast, did not face the same emigration pressures, experiencing primarily internal migration. This, in part, explains why the Welsh language retained its position and was not as immediately endangered as the other Celtic languages.[608]

4.3 State Attitude and Its Influence

Another factor shaping discursive strategies is the attitude of the state towards minority languages and, by extension, towards revivalist movements. While one might expect the comparison between the cases studied to reveal differences primarily between Ireland, Scotland, Wales (United Kingdom), and Brittany (France), the analysis showed that Ireland stands out most significantly from the other movements.

[604] 3.1 Language, Scotland.
[605] 3.3 Popular culture, Ireland.
[606] 3.3 Popular culture, Scotland.
[607] 3.3 Popular culture, Brittany.
[608] Löffler (2020), p. 238.

The discursive strategies of Welsh, Scottish and Breton revivalists (in constrast with Irish *Conradh*) show elements of loyalism towards state authority, although the reasons for this vary considerably. In Brittany, the expression of loyalism in regionalist bulletins can be partly attributed to the strong centralisation of the French state during the period. Breton regionalists could not openly oppose French authorities without risking accusations of separatism, which could have led to the suppression of their movement.[609] Instead, they presented themselves as loyal citizens deserving of autonomous rights. They demonstrated this loyalty by referring to past wars where Breton soldiers had proven valuable to the French army. This strategy also served as a response to the stereotype of Bretons as separatists, aligning it with the compensatory strategies discussed in the previous section.[610] Additionally, Breton regionalists adopted the loyalist rhetoric of the French state by referring to France as the "grande patrie" and Brittany as the "petite patrie."[611] This rhetoric supported their aim for autonomous rights within the framework of the French Republic, suggesting that Brittany could maintain its distinctiveness while remaining under the patronage of France.

In contrast, the British state was more accommodating of non-English languages within the empire, adapting its legislation to support the preservation of these cultures. Welsh and Scottish revivalists expressed loyalty to the British Empire in their publications and steered clear of political controversies.[612] Welsh revivalists, more so than their Scottish counterparts, embraced a dual British and Welsh identity. This is evident in their frequent use of 'British' qualifiers throughout their texts and their efforts to integrate into imperial culture.[613] The apolitical stance of Scottish *An Comunn* aimed to secure support from across the Scottish political and religious spectrum, though the organisation occasionally strayed from this position, particularly regarding Gaelic education. Its loyalist tendencies are also reflected in its criticism of Irish revivalists for their overtly political agenda.[614]

In contrast, Irish *Conradh* took a markedly different approach. Unlike the other Celtic movements, it was openly political and did not hesitate to criticise both its opponents and the British establishment. Irish revivalists were not afraid to assert Irish distinctiveness, often accompanied by sharp critiques of British state institutions, with no attempt to express loyalism towards the British authorities. [615] This divergence is significant when compared to the attitudes found in Scottish and Welsh publications,

[609] 3.5 Apolitical and Loyalist Rhetoric, Brittany.
[610] Idem.
[611] Idem.
[612] 3.5 Apolitical and Loyalist Rhetoric, Scotland; 3.7 Celticism and Celtic Identity, Wales.
[613] 3.7 Celticism and Celtic Identity, Wales; 3.3 Popular culture, Wales.
[614] 3.5 Apolitical and Loyalist Rhetoric, Scotland.
[615] 3.6 Movement, Ireland.

where a sense of belonging to the British Empire was, to varying degrees, acknowledged and reflected in the discourse.[616]

Among the key topics of the revivalist publications, education stands out as the one most influenced by the state's attitude towards the movements. Education was a central issue for all the revivalist movements, with the exception of Brittany. The strong centralisation of the French state, particularly in education, meant that Breton regionalists could not engage with the issue of Breton language education as freely as their Celtic counterparts.[617] For this reason, education was not a prominent topic in Breton revivalist discourse. By contrast, in Scotland, education was the only topic to become politicised, reflecting the impact of the state's position on how this issue was discussed within the movement.

4.4 Self-representation by Inspiration

The revivalist groups adopted certain discursive strategies by drawing inspiration from their counterparts in other countries. This factor, where one movement's strategies influence another's, can only be discerned through comparative methods and transnational approaches. A decisive element in this process is the level of contact between revivalist groups across national borders.

One of the most striking examples of transnational inspiration found in the analysis is the influence of Welsh popular culture on the other Celtic movements studied. The Welsh national festival of music and literature, the *Eisteddfod*, was transplanted into all the other revivalist movements, most notably in the form of the Gaelic cultural festival *Mòd*. The *Eisteddfod* served as a model for the *Mòd*, whose activities became largely centred around musical and choral performances. As described in the analytical section, the *Mòd* evolved into a primary focus for *An Comunn Gaidhealach,* and remains so to this day. Alongside this, the tradition of choir singing, which was not originally part of Scotland's native culture, was also introduced from Wales. In order to justify the time and resources spent on such cultural activities, *An Comunn* argued that Gaelic music and song would aid in the promotion and development of the language.[618] Similarly, the Welsh Gorsedd, with its neo-bardic and neo-druidic elements, was adopted as a cultural institution in Brittany, resulting in the formation of the Breton *Gorsedd*. There, it became an important part of the regionalist cultural representation, though it did create tensions within the *Union régionaliste bretonne*.[619] While there were efforts to introduce neo-druidism in Ireland and Scotland, these attempts were ultimately unsuccessful due to its controversial nature.[620]

[616] The British citizenship was never fully accepted in Ireland in contrast with Wales and Scotland (Brooks, Simon, *Why Wales Never Was. The Failure of Welsh Nationalism*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 2017, p. 103.)
[617] 3.1 Language, Brittany.
[618] 3.3 Popular culture, Scotland.
[619] 3.7 Celticism and Celtic Identity, Brittany.
[620] 3.7 Celticism and Celtic Identity, Ireland.

Nevertheless, Wales served as a role model for Pan-Celtic institutions, and this is why these institutions were warmly received in both Wales and Brittany.[621]

Further examples of self-representation strategies adopted through inspiration are found between Scottish Gaelic revivalists and Irish *Conradh na Gaeilge*. For instance, the Scottish journal *An Deo-Ghréine* published its title page and editorial in Gaelic, following the example set by *An Claidheamh Soluis*. The intention behind this was to further the visibility of the native language in public discourse. Additionally, it seems that Irish *Conradh* also inspired their Scottish counterparts in their approach to Celtic terminology. Although Scottish revivalists did not reject the use of such terms, they did criticise their fashionable and excessive usage, likely influenced by the Irish attitude toward them.[622]

4.5 Previous Appropriation of Representation by Different or Adversary Groups

The final factor influencing the forms of discursive strategies identified in the analysis is the presence of a competitive society or societies with similar goals. This factor became particularly evident through the analysis of *Conradh na Gaeilge's* self-representation.

The most recognisable example is *Conradh's* attitude toward the use of Celtic terminology. The analysis revealed that *Conradh* deliberately avoided using the term 'Celtic' when referring to anything Irish. Irish revivalists also corrected readers when the term was used incorrectly, such as when referring to the Irish language. *Conradh's* rejection of Celtic terminology stemmed from its earlier appropriation by the English-language literary movement associated with W. B. Yeats. *Conradh* even ridiculed the use of the term, particularly in relation to the 'Celtic Twilight,' the romantic literary movement of the time.[623] Therefore, when it comes to the involvement of *Conradh* in the Pan-Celtic activities, the revivalists reject. As a result, *Conradh* distanced itself from Pan-Celtic activities and chose not to officially participate in the shared activities of other Celtic movements. The revivalists thus rejected the Celtic identity all together in their self-representation.

The presence of rival societies also impacted the content of *Conradh's* magazine, *An Claidheamh Soluis*. *Conradh* stands out among the studied societies in that it focused extensively on itself—its agenda, adherents, and members—rather than addressing a broader audience. Unlike the other journals, which aimed to reach wider audiences, including decision-makers, *Conradh* positioned itself as a critic of the authorities, often using a nearly aggressive tone when confronting its adversaries. Furthermore,

[621] 3.7 Celticism and Celtic Identity, Wales.
[622] 3.7 Celticism and Celtic Identity, Scotland.
[623] 3.7 Celticism and Celtic Identity, Ireland.

Conradh's publications concentrated primarily on controlling and directing its branches and their activities, reinforcing its centralised structure and mission.[624]

[624] 3.6 Movement, Ireland.

5 Conclusion

The main objective of the thesis was to explicate the process of formation of collective representation in the so-called Celtic countries. To achieve this, the representational strategies employed by revivalist groups in Brittany, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales were analysed and compared. The factors that emerged during the comparison as decisive in shaping the variations of collective representations were then examined in more detail. This concluding chapter presents a summary of the key findings from the discourse analysis, the comparative study of representational strategies across the four cases, and the most significant factors that contributed to the observed differences. Additionally, this chapter reflects on the methodology adopted in this research, highlights its strengths and limitations, and suggests potential avenues for future research on this theme.

The analysis revealed that language was the main aspect of self-representation for all the studied movements, with the notable exception of the Welsh revival. This exception can be attributed to the earlier development of the Welsh movement, which began before the other Celtic revivals. Unlike Breton, Irish, and Scottish Gaelic, the Welsh language was not facing an imminent threat of extinction. During the 1880s and 1890s, the status of Welsh, particularly in education, had significantly improved, reducing the urgency for Welsh revivalists to prioritise language preservation. In contrast, the other Celtic movements viewed their languages as their *arme du premier ordre*, a crucial tool for achieving their broader objectives.[625] The development and relative success of the Welsh movement thus explain this divergence.

Regarding the presence of language in public discourse, a significant number of periodicals in Wales, including the *Cymru* magazine, were written in Welsh. This natural appearance of Welsh in public discourse implicitly underscored the language's importance, making it unnecessary to explicitly advocate for it. In contrast, other Celtic revivalist movements strategically employed language visibility as a means to advance their goals. For example, Irish revivalists ensured that the first several pages of *Claidheamh Soluis* were written exclusively in Irish. The journal not only gave the Irish language a more prominent place, but also showcased it in newsagents' stands, sending a message to the Irish public that the language and its use were entirely ordinary. Following this example, Scottish revivalists published the editorials of their journal in Scottish Gaelic on the front page. This demonstrates the influence of mutual inspiration between the movements. In Brittany, from 1904 onwards, Breton expressions began to appear in bulletins, often without French translations, to create the impression that Breton was actively used in the press.

[625] Reiterová, Martina. '"Une Arme de Premier Ordre": Representation of Breton and Welsh in Revivalist Discourse around 1900'. *Litteraria Pragensia: Studies in Literature and Culture*, vol. 30, 2020, pp. 62–76.

Other discursive strategies related to language promotion included bilingualism, practicality, and its antiquity. Scottish, Welsh, and Breton revivalists promoted bilingualism as a core principle and argued for its general advantages. Scottish, Irish, and Breton movements highlighted the practical utility of their languages, arguing that they provided access to new sources of information. This approach was designed to counter stereotypes of irrelevance and accusations that the movements were merely antiquarian or disconnected from contemporary concerns. Still, Scottish and Breton revivalists frequently stressed the ancient origins of their languages. This emphasis on antiquity aimed to elevate the status of their native languages within public discourse, compensating for the scarcity of non-religious vernacular literature in these languages. Furthermore, Breton regionalists intentionally avoided addressing the linguistic divide between Breton and Gallo speakers (between Upper and Lower Brittany) in their publications, particularly until around 1907. By omitting this topic, they aimed to present a unified Brittany, where the Breton language could serve as the primary argument for seeking autonomy. All these aspects of self-representation and the associated discursive strategies were designed to overcome the challenges faced by these movements in pursuing their goals.

Education emerged as another key aspect of the self-representation of the studied revivalist movements. Among the four, the Breton movement had limited scope to address educational concerns due to the rigid centralisation of the French state, particularly in the domain of education. Unlike the other Celtic revivalists, Breton regionalists could not push for Breton language education, as educational matters were governed at the state level. Consequently, the role of education as a representational strategy was heavily influenced by the state's attitude towards the revivalist movements. This same factor shaped the movements' depiction of their adversaries in the educational domain. For Ireland and Brittany, the primary target identified as obstructing local education was state authority. In contrast, for Welsh and Scottish revivalists, the perceived opposition came from "ignorant" locals, particularly parents. In Wales and Scotland, where local authorities and school boards had control over education, the restrictions on language and schooling arose from within the community. This distinction is further reflected in the politicisation of educational issues in Scotland and Ireland. Education was highly politicised, particularly due to the close relationship between the Church and the schooling system. For Irish *Conradh*, the state of education in the *Gaeltachtaí* (Irish-speaking areas) was of particular concern, especially given the movement’s emphasis on the Irish language. Despite its claims of political neutrality, the Scottish revival also politicised education, though primarily at the local level.

Wales was the primary source of inspiration in educational matters. The Welsh bilingual system of education served as a model for other Celtic countries. Bilingualism was the central goal for the Celtic revivalists and a key strategy for promoting their native languages, cultures, and identities. However,

unlike other movements, *Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg* (the Welsh Language Society) focused not only on Welsh-speaking areas but also on predominantly English-speaking regions. This was a reflection of the greater development and success of the Welsh movement. The level of development also influenced efforts in the third-level education. In both Wales and Ireland, the establishment of national universities was a much-debated issue, as independent third level education was viewed as essential to national pride and cultural autonomy. For Irish revivalists, the debate centred not only on the role of the Irish language in the newly founded National University but also on achieving equality for Catholics in third level education. Neither the Breton nor Scottish revivalists had yet reached a level of development that allowed for discussions on university education. In Scotland, there were other pressing educational concerns. Gaelic language education and the development of home industries were linked, with the revivalists aiming to promote the Gaelic language through technical education and a bilingual system. The intention was to prevent the emigration of Highlanders in search of employment. Again, the need to compensate for local disadvantages influenced the form of the movement's discursive strategy.

Popular culture, after language, was the next most significant aspect of revivalist self-representation across all the studied movements. In this research, popular culture is understood in its broadest sense, encompassing the cultural expressions of revivalist societies. For the Celtic revivalist movements, popular culture primarily centred around public celebrations and festivals featuring music, literature, and dance. This emphasis was largely due to the influence of the Welsh *Eisteddfod* festival, which served as inspiration for the Breton, Irish, and Scottish movements. All four movements concentrated their cultural activities on similar enterprises, representing a key example of shared inspiration among the Celtic revivalist movements. The reasons for organising cultural festivals varied, but the primary goal was to promote the revivalist cause. These celebrations aimed to attract the general public to the movement, fostering recognition and support. They also provided an effective way of engaging ordinary people with the revivalist cause and gaining new followers. The revivalists believed that integrating language into entertaining activities would popularise it; for example, they saw singing in the vernacular languages as a method to teach children how to write and speak the language. Public participation in artistic competitions for prizes was also encouraged, with the goal of discovering new authors and enriching culture in the vernacular language. This strategy was especially important for the Welsh movement. The *Eisteddfod* was an important source of newly composed poetry, music, and literary works, with revivalist journals frequently publishing pieces performed at the festival, thus making new literary production accessible to the public. In Welsh publications, literature and popular culture were the most prominent aspects of self-representation. The success and development of the Welsh movement allowed its revivalists to focus on literature. Since Welsh was already widely

spoken, the main task was to encourage Welsh people to read Welsh works by Welsh authors. In Brittany and Scotland, cultural celebrations also aimed to prevent emigration and combat social issues like alcoholism. Moreover, Breton regionalists promoted their 'national costume' more than any other movement as a means of fostering patriotism and encouraging people to remain in Brittany.

History writing, in general, was a powerful tool for identity building, widely employed by nationalist movements throughout Europe. In this research, it stands among the top four aspects of self-representation for both Breton and Welsh revivalist movements. To clarify, while historical articles were also published in the journals of Irish *Conradh* and Scottish *An Comunn*, they occupied far less space compared to Welsh and Breton publications. This disparity can be attributed, among other factors, to *Conradh*'s concern about being perceived as mere antiquarians with no modern or serious goals. For both Brittany and Wales, historical writing was instrumental in promoting their movements and raising awareness about the cultural diversity within their regions. For the Breton movement, the history-writing functioned primarily as a compensatory tool to overcome the fragmented nature of their region. Since the Breton language could not serve as a unifying force due to the language barrier between Upper and Lower Brittany, a shared history symbolically united the region. Additionally, it was used to challenge French authorities over territorial claims, particularly since the historical region of Brittany included the department of Loire-Inférieure before 1790. Similarly, Welsh revivalists used history to their advantage by portraying the Welsh as the indigenous people of Britain, living there long before the Anglo-Saxons came. This granted the Welsh a powerful position in the national historical narrative as the original inhabitants of the land. Furthermore, as the Welsh language was not under immediate threat of extinction, unlike other Celtic countries, Welsh revivalists were able to focus on other aspects to support their identity claims, with history emerging as one of several prominent focal points.

Apolitical and loyalist stances emerged as prominent discursive strategies in the publications of both the Scottish and Breton revivalist movements. The rationale for adopting these strategies varied, but they all stemmed from the stance of state authorities towards the movements. Scottish *An Comunn* positioned itself as apolitical for two main reasons: firstly, to be seen primarily as a cultural organisation without separatist tendencies, and secondly, to be inclusive, welcoming members from all religious and political backgrounds. Support for Gaelic language and culture was never associated with autonomist or separatist ideals. If political allegiance was mentioned at all, the British Empire was depicted positively, with the Highlands presented as an integral and essential part of it. Breton regionalists employed a similar strategy to defend themselves against accusations of separatism. They used evidence of their loyalty to France, particularly referencing Brittany's military contributions to French wars, to argue for their natural right to some degree of regional autonomy. This strategy was meant to

demonstrate that there was no legitimate reason to deny the Bretons cultural autonomy, as their revivalist efforts were neither anti-governmental nor anti-republican.

Irish revivalists were the only among the four movements that focused extensively on their own movement and its agenda, making this aspect of self-representation specific to the Irish revival. This was due to the presence of rival societies in Ireland. *Conradh na Gaeilge* used its journal primarily for propaganda, promoting its political goals and distinguishing itself from other groups with similar aims. As a result, the rhetoric of the journal was generally more aggressive, openly challenging and criticising its rivals. The journal primarily served as a means of internal communication, directed towards *Conradh*'s members and Irish speakers, which contrasts with the other Celtic movements, whose main journals served as propaganda tools and also aimed at decision-makers and the broader public.

An important sub-question of this research into representational strategies focused on the relationship of the revivalist movements towards Celtic identity and Celticism. The aim was to determine to what extent each movement incorporated Celtic identity in its self-representation, while also examining mutual relations and inspirations among the studied movements based on Celticism as a shared framework. In this regard, the research revealed that none of the revivalist movements studied placed Celticism at the forefront of their self-representation. This finding is particularly interesting, given how central the concept of Celtic identity appears today in these countries, as reflected in their cultural expressions and branding (from 'Celtic' music to 'Celtic' design), and how strongly the public reacts when its Celtic identity is questioned.[626] That said, the research also highlighted varied attitudes towards Celticism and Celtic identity across the movements, as well as differences in the relationships among the movements, including the transfer of ideas and mutual inspiration.

The attitudes of the revivalist movements towards Celtic identity can be seen as a spectrum, ranging from negative to positive, with the Irish and Breton movements representing the two extremes. The Irish *Conradh* used the terms 'Celtic' and 'Celt' when discussing the family of native languages across Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Brittany. However, Irish revivalists generally avoided these terms in self-identification, preferring the labels 'Irish' or 'Gaelic,' with a strong preference for the former. When the term 'Celtic' appeared in their journal, it was often placed in quotation marks, signalling its unnatural or external character or citing it from another source, with the term frequently subject to criticism. This almost hostile stance towards the term stemmed from its earlier association with the Anglo-Irish literary movement around W. B. Yeats and the Celtic Twilight, which primarily operated

[626] A public debate has erupted following the exposition "Celtique?" in the Musée de Bretagne in Rennes (March-December 2022). For more information see Bouget, Hélène. 'Retour sur une exposition en débat, « Celtique ? » (Musée de Bretagne, 18 mars-4 décembre 2022)'. *La Bretagne et le grand public*, online, 25 August 2024, https://doi.org/10.58079/w9l3.

in the English language—an affiliation the *Conradh* actively rejected. Thus, this discursive strategy emerged as a reaction against the appropriation of the term by a rival group. In Scotland, the term 'Celtic' was used to refer to the cultures of the non-Saxon regions of the United Kingdom, with only rare references extending to Brittany. The editors of the Scottish revivalist journal accepted the term for addressing other nations but opposed its use when referring solely to Scottish Gaelic. They also criticized its overuse in connection with the Celtic Revival as a fashionable aesthetic, likely influenced by the Irish example. In Welsh journals, the Celtic terms were not explicitly defined but, based on the discursive analysis, were most often associated with ancient history and ethnic origins. In this context, the terms 'Celtic' or 'Celtaidd' in Welsh were typically connected to Celtic scholarship (i.e., Celtic Studies) or archaeology and ancient history. Given the low frequency of Celtic terms in Welsh publications, it is reasonable to conclude that Welsh revivalists had a relatively indifferent attitude towards Celtic identity. They accepted it as part of their self-representation but did not frequently utilize it, nor did they employ it for any specific or strategic purpose. Conversely, the Breton regionalists displayed the most positive stance towards Celticism, using the term 'Celtic' as synonymous with 'Breton' in their publications and referencing it in relation to the other Celtic countries, implying a mutual affinity. Breton revivalists embraced Celtic identity for similar reasons as their use of Breton history—primarily to symbolically unite the Bretons and distinguish them from the rest of France.

The variations in the use and understanding of Celtic terms were also reflected in the movements' differing relationships with Pan-Celtic institutions. The Irish revivalists' negative view of the term 'Celtic' predisposed their opposition to the Pan-Celtic Congress and the Celtic Association. Their reasons for avoiding Pan-Celtic activities included concerns over impracticality, religious differences, the diversion of attention and funds from *Conradh*'s achievable goals, and a reluctance to repeat Ireland's past experiences of "seeking foreign aid for national self-esteem". Irish revivalists saw Pan-Celtic institutions as competing movements and avoided involvement with other Celtic revival groups. In contrast, Scottish *An Comunn Gaidhealach* officially represented Scottish Gaels at the Pan-Celtic Congress, but little attention paid to Pan-Celtic activities in their magazine suggests a relatively cold attitude. Welsh revivalists also gave little attention to Pan-Celtic activities, although they maintained a more positive view of Pan-Celticism, perhaps unsurprising given that the Pan-Celtic Congress borrowed many elements of its festivities from the Welsh *Eisteddfod* and *Gorsedd*. Breton regionalists were the most enthusiastic about Pan-Celtic activities, using the platform to highlight specific Breton issues. They also advocated for collaboration between the Celtic nations not only in cultural spheres but in economic and commercial areas as well.

The contacts and mutual inspiration among the Celtic countries' movements offer a significant example of cultural transfer during the period and represent another factor influencing their self-representation.

Wales, in particular, served as a role model for other movements across several domains (as elaborated in previous paragraphs). This, however, led to only a limited presence of other Celtic movements in Welsh journals, where any mentions of other Celtic revivalists typically underscored their affinity with the Welsh movement and the crucial role Wales played in inspiring them. After the decline of the Celtic Association from 1908 onwards, the Welsh movement did not continue to nurture its connections with the other Celtic countries created during the existence of Pan-Celtic institutions. Irish revivalists drew inspiration from the Welsh *Eisteddfod* and educational system, while also recognizing a kinship with the Scottish Gaels, regularly publishing reports on Scottish events and meetings. The Breton movement, often overlooked by movements from the Islands, received only sporadic attention in Irish *Conradh*'s journal and primarily during the later period, under the editorship of Patrick Pearse. Scottish revivalists maintained their closest connections with Ireland, devoting much space in their journal to comparisons between the two movements. Irish *Conradh*'s president and founder, Douglas Hyde, was frequently praised as a model leader. Hyde's prominence in the Scottish revivalist journal can be explained by the absence of a similarly influential figure in Scotland's movement at the time. Besides education and the *Eisteddfod*, Scottish revivalists were especially inspired by Welsh choir singing. Subsequently, Gaelic-language choirs became a key feature of Scottish cultural promotion, despite choral singing not being native to Scotland. Breton regionalists regularly published reports on congresses and festivals of other movements, especially emphasising their relationship with Wales. In Breton bulletins, Wales was often portrayed as a brotherly nation, reinforcing the Bretons' differentiation from France. Neo-druidic and neo-bardic activities, symbolically linked to Celtic identity, were also adopted by Breton revivalists, inspired by Wales. These 'pagan' activities were practised by a significant portion of Breton regionalists, especially during annual congresses, and were described in detail in the bulletins. Irish revivalists, by contrast, condemned Welsh *Gorsedd* activities and vehemently opposed any attempts to establish an Irish *Gorsedd*.

To conclude, it is worth reflecting on the initial ambitions of this thesis, the approach adopted, and the extent to which this approach has contributed to expanding our understanding of revivalist movements in Celtic countries and Europe more broadly at the turn of the twentieth century. The dissertation is a first scholarly attempt to compare more than two Celtic movements, while examining them through a transnational prism of mutual relations, interactions, and the transfers of ideas. Despite being aware of the many limitations and compromises this approach has necessitated, I believe the analysis has uncovered important insights that would otherwise remain obscure if restricted to national frameworks or overly macro-analytical settings. It was precisely through the comparison of different movements, including the Breton movement with its distinct state context, that we identified not only commonalities, differences, and exceptions in how the movements

represented themselves—such as their varying stance toward Celticism and Celtic identity—but also the key factors influencing these patterns. These include the different stages of a movement's development, mutual inspiration, the need to compensate for deficiencies, and the role of the states in which the movements unfolded. Interestingly, the combined effect of these factors also highlights that differing state contexts and the supposedly stronger affinity between the insular movements, based on their shared British experience, did not play a decisive role. As demonstrated, in many respects, the Welsh and Breton movements were closer to each other than anticipated, while the Irish case often diverged. This finding serves as an important reminder of the need to decentre states as default units of analysis. Similarly, the unexpected outcome regarding the initial hypothesis about the importance of Celticism cautions against the automatic clustering of national or regional movements under broad labels such as Celtic, Nordic, Central European. Instead, it calls for a more nuanced understanding of the historically shifting significance of these broader identity frameworks. Beyond the comparative analysis, it is also worth noting that, with the exception of the Irish *An Claidheamh Soluis*, none of the journals studied here had been, to the best of my knowledge, systematically analysed before. Therefore, in addition to the results stemming from the comparison, the individual studies of self-representation for each of the movements constitute original contributions to the knowledge of these respective movements.

Nevertheless, certain limitations are inherent to the research, primarily due to the time and space constraints of a PhD project. Several compromises were made to ensure the feasibility of the task. First and foremost, archival sources relating to the key figures and organisations involved in the revivalist movements were used only to support the research rather than being systematically analysed. I especially regret not being able to incorporate the archival materials I collected in Breton archives during my PhD studies. These will, however, be utilised in upcoming projects on Celtic history.[627] Additionally, COVID-19 restrictions prevented me from accessing the archives of *Conradh na Gaeilge* deposited in the Archive collections of the University of Galway. Another compromise concerned the analytical approach to Irish *An Claidheamh Soluis*. In order to effectively code the corpora, OCR (Optical Character Recognition) tools are required, which also assist in effective use of machine translation. However, the Gaelic type used for Irish language texts during the period of study made this impossible. Unlike the Latin script used for modern Irish texts, Gaelic type cannot be recognised by OCR, as was the case in the Scottish material. While I transcribed key Irish texts manually, this time-consuming process meant I could not analyse the full corpus of *An Claidheamh Soluis* (as discussed in 1.3 Sources section). There are currently digital humanities projects underway that focus

[627] The archives will be utilised for an extended study of the Breton case in an upcoming publication on Celtic history, edited by Caoimhín De Barra, currently in preparation.

on developing tools for Gaelic type recognition and digitising historical sources.[628] One of these tools is already in use, though it was unfortunately released only recently.[629] In the future, re-analysing the full corpus of *An Claidheamh Soluis* using OCR tools could refine the results of this part of the research.

There are several possible ways for further developing this research. One option would be to broaden the scope beyond the top four aspects of self-representation and instead compare all relevant topics covered by the revivalist publications. Examining less frequent themes could also offer interesting conclusions. For example, the analysis revealed a higher frequency of natural and landscape themes in Welsh revivalist discourse compared to the other cases. Similarly, the Irish publications made more frequent references to religious topics than the other Celtic revivalist journals. Additionally, the original intention to include visual sources in the analysis was ultimately not realised due to the complexity of the research. Nevertheless, I believe this would significantly enrich the study. One visual medium I would like to explore in the future is postcards, which are an understudied material that offers narrative qualities closely aligned with visual representation. Finally, it would be valuable to focus more specifically on the mutual relations between the Celtic revivalist movements. The personal and institutional archives contain extensive correspondence between key figures within the movements that has yet to be studied in detail. Investigating this material would, I believe, reveal individual stories that shaped the movements' activities.

[628] *Rescribe Blog. Historical OCR And All Things Around It*. online, https://blog.rescribe.xyz/; Farrell, G. "Irish Gaelic/Seanchló Print." *Transkribus*, online, 2024, https://readcoop.eu/model/irish-gaelic-seanchlo-print/, more on Reynolds, E. "Teaching Computers To Decipher Old Newsprint In Gaelic." *NYU*, online, 2023, https://www.nyu.edu/about/news-publications/news/2023/march/teaching-computers-to-decipher-old-newsprint-in-gaelic.html.

[629] According to a post of Transkribus on X, the model was officially released 1st August 2024, *@Transkribus*. online, https://x.com/transkribus/status/1818921221385515499.

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7 List of Abbreviations

ABBREVIATION	DEFINITION
ACG	An Comunn Gaidhealach (Highland Association)
ACS	An Claidheamh Soluis
CIG	Cymdeitas Yr Iaith Gymraeg (Welsh Language Society)
CNG	Conradh na Gaeilge (Gaelic League)
FRB	Fédération régionaliste de Bretagne
GAA	Gaelic Athletic Association
NLI	National Library of Ireland
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NLW	National Library of Wales
SPIL	Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language
URB	Union régionaliste bretonne