

# Migrant Society and Culture

## The Welsh in Madison County, Indiana, 1890–1920

ROBERT LLEWELLYN TYLER

**ABSTRACT:** Robert Llewellyn Tyler analyzes Welsh immigration to Madison County, Indiana, and the ethno-linguistic community that emerged by the end of the nineteenth century. The study considers culture maintenance, and suggests that, although Welsh ethnic integrity was initially maintained due to linguistic ability, occupational specialization, and the creation of vibrant cultural institutions, it was undermined by the general forces of acculturation, as well as by factors specific to the Welsh experience.

**KEYWORDS:** history of immigration; Wales; Welsh immigrants; Welsh language; Madison County, Indiana; Elwood, Indiana; Welsh-language newspapers; *Y Drych*; eisteddfods; tinsplate industry; language transmission; bilingualism; linguistic acculturation; Blue Books; 1900 U.S. Census; 1910 U.S. Census; 1920 U.S. Census; ethnicity; ethnolinguistic community; cultural transmission

*Elwood, Indiana. Dyma un o drefydd mwyaf bywiog Talaeth Indiana; ac y mae wedi gwneyd mwy o gynydd masnachol y blynyddau diweddaf na'r un dref arall yn y cylch. Y mae yma ganoedd lawer o Gymry; llawer o honynt wedi adeiladu cartrefi cysurus; amryw*

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Robert Llewellyn Tyler is assistant professor in the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Khalifa University, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates.

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*yn dal galwedigaethau enillfawr yn y felin alcan, ac eraill mewn masnach.*<sup>1</sup>

Elwood, Indiana. This is one of the liveliest towns in the State of Indiana and recently it has achieved more commercial growth than any other town in the district. There are many hundreds of Welsh people here, many of them have built comfortable homes, some are following successful careers in the mills, and others are in business.

The second volume of John L. Forkner's comprehensive history of Madison County, Indiana, contains the biographies of many of the county's prominent citizens, among them that of Will G. Evans. Evans's father, John R., had been born in Wales in 1848, and had immigrated with his wife, Matilda, to the U.S. in 1882. He initially settled in Irondale, Ohio, where he secured employment in the tinplate works, moving in 1897 to Elwood in Madison County, Indiana, where he continued to ply his trade. On the census reports for 1900 and 1910 he is recorded as a tinplate doubler.<sup>2</sup> John R. is described as a "skilled mechanic" and a "thoroughly reliable workman" possessed of "the confidence of his employers and the respect of his fellows." Both he and his wife were members of the city's Baptist church. Will G., the youngest of four children, was born in 1887 and is described in the biography as "the energetic proprietor of the pharmacy at Main and Sixteenth Streets." He graduated from the Indianapolis College of Pharmacy in 1910 and by 1912, following a brief period in the employ of others, had established himself on his own account. By 1914 he had built up "a good business by applying himself assiduously to his work" and was regarded as "one of the substantial business men of the city." On the census of 1910 he is recorded as a drugstore clerk, in 1920 as a merchant in drugs, and in 1930 as a drugstore proprietor.<sup>3</sup> In 1910,

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<sup>1</sup> Y Drych, June 29, 1899. Much of the source material for this article was written in Welsh. Translations are my own and are sometimes couched in rather clumsy English to better convey the original meaning.

<sup>2</sup> U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Population Schedules for Madison County, Indiana, Pipe Creek Township, p. 9; Thirteenth Census, 1910, Madison County, Indiana, Elwood Ward 1, Roll T624\_365, p. 5A. (All statistical evidence for this article is drawn from the U.S. Federal Census. All subsequent references to the U.S. Census are to manuscript Population Schedules.)

<sup>3</sup> U.S., Thirteenth Census, 1910, Madison County, Indiana, Elwood Ward 1, Roll T624\_365, p. 5A; Fourteenth Census, 1920, Madison County, Indiana, Elwood Ward 3, Roll T625\_449, p. 8B; Fifteenth Census, 1930, Madison County, Elwood, p. 19A.

he had married Vivian Sigler, a physician's daughter from a well-established Indiana family. Will G. Evans's politics are described as "those of the Republican party."<sup>4</sup>

Understandably, this sketch focuses on the public-facing attributes of Will G. and his father and entirely overlooks their ethnic background. Further research into the family reveals that the Baptist church attended by John R. and Matilda offered religious sustenance in the Welsh language, and the census records that both claimed Welsh as their "mother tongue."<sup>5</sup> *Y Drych* (*The Mirror*), a Welsh American newspaper that served the community in North America from 1851, noted that John R. had been a faithful receiver of the Welsh-language publication for years and retained a strong interest in all things Welsh (*dderbyniwr ffyddlon o'r Drych er's blynyddau, ac yn teimlo cymaint o ddyddorbeb ag erioed mewn pethau Cymreig*).<sup>6</sup> In April 1899, *Y Drych* reported that John had won the male duet prize, with fellow Welshman John James, at the state eisteddfod—the great Welsh festival based on prose, poetry, musical and choral competition—held at Anderson.<sup>7</sup> In 1902, the *Indianapolis Journal* reported him and James as having competed in a choral competition at a local eisteddfod held at the Welsh Congregational church in Elwood.<sup>8</sup> As Will G. was born in the United States, the census does not indicate his "mother tongue," but it does reveal that his Welsh-born elder siblings, Richard and Rachel, were first-language Welsh speakers.<sup>9</sup> It is reasonable to assume that, initially at least, Welsh would have been the language of the Evans household.

The story of the Evans family, along with many other biographies, obituaries, and newspaper reports, describes a seamless process that saw

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<sup>4</sup>John L. Forkner, *History of Madison County: A Narrative Account of its Historical Progress, its People and its Principal Interests* (Chicago, 1914), 491–92.

<sup>5</sup>U.S., Fourteenth Census, 1920, Madison County, Indiana, Elwood Ward 3, Roll T625\_449, p. 8B.

<sup>6</sup>*Y Drych*, January 23, 1896. For a history of *Y Drych*, see Aled Jones and Bill Jones, *Welsh Reflections: Y Drych and America 1851–2001* (Ceredigion, Wales, 2001); Edward George Hartmann, *Americans from Wales* (Boston, Mass., 1967), 128–29.

<sup>7</sup>*Y Drych*, April 6, 1899.

<sup>8</sup>*Indianapolis Journal*, March 3, 1902. For an overview of Welsh cultural institutions in the U.S., including the eisteddfod, see Hartmann, *Americans from Wales*, 139–55. The earliest recorded eisteddfod took place in 1176 under the patronage of the Lord Rhys and was held at Cardigan Castle. The eisteddfodau that graced almost all Welsh communities in the U.S. followed the format that had emerged in the late eighteenth-century revival and become popular throughout Wales; the format remains so to this day. See Hywel Teifi Edwards, *The Eisteddfod* (Cardiff, Wales, 1990).

<sup>9</sup>U.S., Fourteenth Census, 1920, Madison County, Indiana, Elwood Ward 1, Roll: T625\_449, p. 3A; Fourteenth Census, 1920, Trumbull County, Ohio, Warren Ward 4, Roll T625\_1443, p. 16B.

Welsh immigrants and their children absorbed effortlessly into mainstream American life. How was it that thousands like John R. and Will G. were able to disappear so completely into American society when they formed such a well-defined ethnic community? This article provides a micro-level analysis of a Welsh community as it existed in a particular area at a specific time, and seeks to understand the process that saw Welsh immigrants and their children rapidly become Welsh Americans, a process undergone by other immigrant groups but one that involved factors specific to the Welsh experience. The Welsh in Madison County were overwhelmingly adherents of a particular form of Protestant nonconformity; they established, strongly patronized, and maintained distinct cultural institutions; they were occupationally concentrated in the manufacture of tinsplate; and, linguistically at least, they were as distinct as many other migrant groups from western Europe, and more so than their Irish and Scottish cousins.

Visitors from Wales to the United States are frequently disappointed that their nationality goes largely unrecognized, a phenomenon rarely experienced by Scots and never by the Irish. In part, the reason for this is simple. Alan Conway has described the Welsh in the United States as constituting "little more than a corporal's guard," and any study of nineteenth-century emigration from Wales must first acknowledge that Welsh emigrants were relatively few in number.<sup>10</sup> This was due not only to the small size of the Welsh population, but also to the fact that the rate of emigration from Wales was significantly lower than that from England, Scotland, and Ireland.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, Welsh immigrants tended to congregate in specific areas associated with the industries in which they had gained experience in the homeland. Thus, the mining and metallurgical districts of Ohio, New York, and, ultimately, Pennsylvania became the primary magnets for migrants from Wales.<sup>12</sup> In 1900, Pennsylvania alone contained

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<sup>10</sup> Alan Conway, "Welsh Emigration to the United States," *Perspectives in American History* 7 (1973), 178.

<sup>11</sup> For analyses of the emigration decision, see Brinley Thomas, *Migration and Economic Growth: A Study of Great Britain and the Atlantic Economy* (Cambridge, U. K., 1973); Dudley Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy: Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1861–1900* (Cambridge, U. K., 1985). More specifically, see William E. Van Vugt, "Welsh Emigration to the USA during the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Welsh History Review* 15, no. 4 (1991), 545–61; W. Ross Johnston, "The Welsh Diaspora: Emigrating Around the World in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Llafur* 6, no. 2 (1993), 50–74.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, W. D. Jones, *Wales in America, Scranton and the Welsh 1860–1920* (Cardiff, Wales, 1993); Anne Kelly Knowles, *Calvinists Incorporated: Welsh Immigrants on Ohio's Industrial Frontier* (Chicago, 1997); Ronald L. Lewis, *Welsh Americans: A History of Assimilation in the*

35,453 Welsh-born individuals (37.8 percent of the total).<sup>13</sup> In most areas of the country, Welsh immigrants rarely numbered in the thousands nor did they constitute a major part of the population. Indiana, with a mere 2,083 Welsh-born residents in 1900, would not, at first glance, appear as fertile ground for a study of the migrant community. However, within the state itself, by the end of the nineteenth century, the Welsh had concentrated themselves in one particular county. The census of 1900 reveals that no less than 590 of Indiana's Welsh-born residents, constituting 28.3 percent of the state's total, lived in Madison County. Furthermore, although the Welsh were to be found throughout the county, they were concentrated in Pipe Creek Township, and within that township they were further concentrated in the city of Elwood. One must note, however, that a significant percentage of the Welsh-born population in Madison had either one or both parents born elsewhere, primarily Ireland and England. Of the 590 Welsh-born individuals in Madison County in 1900, only 544 (92.2 percent) had two Welsh parents; numerous individuals born in Wales to Irish parents were clearly part of the Irish community, as indicated by their religious and linguistic background (frequently reinforced by choice of marriage partner).<sup>14</sup> William Flinn, born in Wales in 1864 to two Irish parents, had immigrated to Madison County, where, in 1901, he married Margaret, who had been born in West Virginia to two Irish parents.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, Nora Carmody, born in Wales in 1875 to two Irish parents, is found on the 1910 census residing in Elwood and married to Irish-born, Irish-speaking Joseph.<sup>16</sup> Despite this caveat, by the end of the nineteenth century, the Welsh in the county are to be found in numbers sufficient to yield valuable insights regarding the nature of their community and the ways in which it changed.<sup>17</sup> Scholars also generally accept that the numbers of Welsh immigrants are vastly under-recorded in the United States, with

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*Coalfields* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 2008). For a general survey of nineteenth-century Welsh immigration to the U.S., see Hartmann, *Americans from Wales*, 61–100.

<sup>13</sup>Luzerne, Lackawanna, and Allegheny Counties, Pennsylvania, were home to 8,578, 7,708, and 5,245 respectively. For a contemporary account of Welsh settlements in the U.S. in the second half of the nineteenth century, see R. D. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America* (Utica, N. Y., 1872); see also the English translation, Martha A. Davies and Phillips G. Davies, trans., *Hanes Cymry America: A History of the Welsh in America* (Wymore, Neb., 2008).

<sup>14</sup>Of these 544, 401 were to be found living in Pipe Creek Township.

<sup>15</sup>U.S., Thirteenth Census, 1910, Madison County, Indiana, Elwood Ward 2, Roll T624\_365, p. 16B.

<sup>16</sup>U.S., Thirteenth Census, 1910, Madison County, Indiana, Elwood Ward 1, Roll T624\_365, p. 6B.

<sup>17</sup>For an account of the county's early years see Forkner, *History of Madison County*.

some historians suggesting the Welsh presence to have been double the official figures.<sup>18</sup>

The Welsh presence in Madison County was a direct result of the development of the tinsplate industry. The passage of the McKinley Tariff of 1890 enabled American producers of tinsplate to compete more effectively with Wales, until then the industry's world leader. The tariff directly impacted the development of the state's tinsplate industry and created a demand for skilled workers; at the same time, many Welsh works temporarily closed or cut their production. Madison County became a magnet for migrants from across the United States and further afield. Unsurprisingly, many came from Wales, particularly from the tinsplate-producing district in the southwest of the country, centered on the town of Llanelli.<sup>19</sup> In 1899, *Y Drych* noted that five hundred Welsh families were reliant on the tinsplate works in the state (*Er fod yn agos bum cant o deuluoedd Cymreig yn nghylchoedd gweithfeydd Talaeth Indiana*).<sup>20</sup> The paper could assert later the same year that the Welsh were in the vanguard of the industry and constituted the majority of its workforce (*Fel yn ardaloedd eraill y gweithfeydd alcan, y Cymry sydd yn flaenllaw, ac yn y mwyafrif*).<sup>21</sup>

The pull of the industry on Welsh people had consequences for residential propinquity within Elwood, with *Y Drych* commenting as early as 1892: "*Trigiana y Cymry, gan mwyaf, mewn manau cyfleus i'r gwaith Alcan, lle y gweithia y rhan luosocaf o honynt.*"<sup>22</sup> (The Welsh, for the most part,

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<sup>18</sup> Jones, *Wales in America*, xviii. Correctly identifying the numbers of Welsh people resident in communities in the United States is not simply a matter of consulting the United States Federal Census Reports, which from 1850 list each individual's place of birth and from 1880 the place of birth of each person's parents. Individuals are occasionally not accorded a place of birth or are recorded as "born at sea." Furthermore, persons recorded as being born in one country in one census are sometimes recorded as being born in another in a previous or subsequent census. Other individuals are recorded more than once. Collators of census enumerations were also prone to error, with confusion caused by the recording of individuals as being born in south or north Wales or even New South Wales, Australia.

<sup>19</sup> On the growth and impact of the tinsplate industry in the U.S. and Welsh involvement, see Louis C. Martin, "Tin Plate Towns, 1890–1910," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 74, no. 4 (Autumn 2007), 492–528. The existence of "push" and "pull" factors was evident throughout the economic relationship between the United States and European nations. For a discussion of the Welsh American dimension, see Rowland T. Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America: 1790–1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), 21–79; Conway, "Welsh Emigration to the United States," 226–65.

<sup>20</sup> *Y Drych*, March 16, 1899.

<sup>21</sup> *Y Drych*, June 1, 1899.

<sup>22</sup> *Y Drych*, January 23, 1896.

live in convenient places for the Alcan works, where the most numerous of them are employed.) There is also clear evidence of ethnic clustering at the micro level. For example, the house of Welsh tinsplate worker Reece Jones and his wife Kate on South Street, Elwood, was also home to fellow Welsh-born tinsplate workers William J. and John A. Evans, who lived there as boarders. The household was flanked on one side by Welsh-born couples John W. Harris and his wife Sarah, and the six members of their extended family, and Samuel Williams and his wife Sarah, and their one daughter. On the other side lived two other Welsh-born couples, Henry and Abigail Harris, and their two children, followed by Thomas and Martha Davis, and their two children.<sup>23</sup>

Moreover, although most Welshmen in the county were involved in the tinsplate industry, Welsh and Welsh-speaking residents worked as tradesmen, shopkeepers, and in the service industries throughout the period and became very much part of the county's public face.<sup>24</sup> In Pipe Creek Township in 1900, residents could purchase groceries from Alfred R. Charles; bread from John L. Roberts; and a fine cigar from the store wherein worked Thomas Jones, to be enjoyed, perhaps, in the saloon of Edward Parry.<sup>25</sup> A second Welsh saloon, run by Thomas Evans, was located in nearby Monroe Township, and overindulgence at his premises could have resulted in a visit to Pipe Creek's physician, T. S. Owen.<sup>26</sup> In 1910, Alfred R. Charles was still plying his trade as a grocery merchant, now with competition from Thomas Jones, who had switched from cigars to groceries.<sup>27</sup> In Elwood, customers could obtain footwear from shoe salesman Emlyn Richards, and those with sufficient funds might have enjoyed the services of house servant Henry Prothero.<sup>28</sup> In the town of Anderson, shoppers could find a

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<sup>23</sup> U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Indiana, Pipe Creek Township, p. 22.

<sup>24</sup> The Welsh share very few family names. Family names in Wales were derived from the patronymic *Ap* (son of), the equivalent of the Gaelic *Mac*. Thus most Welsh surnames end with the genitive *S* or begin with the residual *P* or *B*, both indicating son of, examples being: Pritchard/Richards, Probert/Roberts, Pugh/Hughes, Price/Rees, Bevan/Evans, Williams, Thomas, Davies, and the ubiquitous Jones. For a comprehensive clarification of the Welsh surname, see T. J. Morgan and Prys Morgan, *Welsh Surnames* (Cardiff, Wales, 1985).

<sup>25</sup> U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Indiana, Pipe Creek Township, pp. 4, 2, 20, 7.

<sup>26</sup> U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Indiana, Monroe Township, p. 23; Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Indiana, Pipe Creek Township, p. 12.

<sup>27</sup> U.S., Thirteenth Census, 1910, Madison County, Indiana, Elwood Ward 2, Roll T624\_365, p. 12A; Thirteenth Census, 1910, Madison County, Indiana, Elwood Ward 1, Roll T624\_365, p. 9A.

<sup>28</sup> U.S., Thirteenth Census, 1910, Madison County, Indiana, Elwood Ward 1, Roll T624\_365, pp. 13A, 10A.

variety of goods at the department store workplace of Morgan Jones, and purchase a newspaper from street vender Samuel R. Norris.<sup>29</sup> The Welsh of the area had been attracted by a specific industry—tinplate—but their presence clearly extended beyond the confines of the mill.

What made Welsh immigrants in any way different from those of the other nationalities of the United Kingdom? In what way did they constitute a distinct community? By the middle of the nineteenth century, religiosity, specifically Protestant nonconformity, was regarded by many as a national characteristic, central to the idea of Welsh identity.<sup>30</sup> On Sunday, March 30, 1851, the government of the United Kingdom carried out the 1851 Religious Census in England and Wales. The census provided information regarding service attendance, denominational adherence, and the seating capacity of churches and chapels. It revealed the Welsh to be far more religious, at least in terms of attendance and in the provision of places of worship, than the English. Seating was available for 51.4 percent of the population in England compared with 75.6 percent in Wales, and attendance was found to be far higher in Wales.<sup>31</sup> The census also indicated that the Welsh were primarily Nonconformist. In England and Wales together, the Church of England provided 52 percent of available church seating, whereas in Wales alone the figure was 30.5 percent, with the various Nonconformist bodies accounting for the remainder.<sup>32</sup> The attendance figures at the largest single service of the day at each place of worship in Wales gave the percentage for each denomination: Calvinistic Methodists, 25; Independents, 23; Anglicans, 21; Baptists, 18; Wesleyans, 13.<sup>33</sup> The growth of religious adherence in Wales, which in the nineteenth century had been overwhelmingly confined

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<sup>29</sup> U.S., Thirteenth Census, 1910, Madison County, Indiana, Anderson Ward 1, Roll T624\_365, pp. 4B, 19A.

<sup>30</sup> Prys Morgan, "Keeping the Legends Alive," in *Wales the Imagined Nation: Essays in Cultural and National Identity*, ed. Tony Curtis (Bridgend, Wales, 1986), 19–41; Merfyn Jones, "Beyond Identity? The Reconstruction of the Welsh," *Journal of British Studies* 31, no. 4 (October 1992), 338–39.

<sup>31</sup> Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, *Explorations and Explanations: Essays in the Social History of Victorian Wales* (Llandysul, Wales, 1981), 21. There are numerous difficulties associated with the census, not least of which is the fact that individuals who attended more than one service on the Sunday in question appear more than once in the figures. For a full discussion of the census, see pp. 217–28.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 26–27.

<sup>33</sup> John Davies, *A History of Wales* (London, 1993), 427. The differences among the Welsh Nonconformist Protestant denominations appear to have been less concerned with differences in ritual and more with church polity, with denominations such as the Congregationalists advocating leadership by the entire congregation, while the Calvinistic Methodists preferred a presbyterian approach with an elected church government.

to the Nonconformist denominations, was apparent: in 1851 there were 2,813 chapels in the country, with a chapel having been completed on average every eight days between 1800 and 1850.<sup>34</sup> In the 1860s, Henry Richard, the radical Liberal Member of Parliament for Merthyr Tydfil, wrote, “The Welsh have provided themselves with more ample means of religious worship and instruction than can be found, perhaps, among any people under the face of heaven.”<sup>35</sup> Almost invariably, wherever Welsh people settled in any number, they established a Nonconformist church and constructed a chapel. That the Welsh themselves were aware of this is made clear by an article that appeared in 1854 in *Y Drysorfa*, the monthly periodical of the Calvinistic Methodists in Wales:

*Mae yn beth hynod a thra chysurus yn nodweddiad y Cymry, eu bod, i ba le bynag yr elont, os bydd rhyw nifer ohonynt gyda'u gilydd, yn sefydlu addoliad cymdeithasol yn yr iaith Cymraeg. Yn nhrefi mawrion Lloegr, yn y gweithfaoedd glo a hiarn yn Scotland, yn ngwahanol daleithiau America, ... rhaid i ymfudwyr o Gymru gael clywed yn eu iaith eu hun am sawrion weithredoedd Duw yn iachawdwriaeth gras.*<sup>36</sup>

It is a remarkable and comforting aspect of the Welsh character that no matter where they go if there are any number of them together, they establish a social place of worship in the Welsh language. In the great cities of England, in the coal mines and iron works of Scotland, in the various states of America ... the Welsh emigrant must hear of the great works of God in his own language.

Scholars estimate that as many as 600 Welsh Nonconformist chapels were built during the nineteenth century in the United States.<sup>37</sup> They were the most immediate, visual indicators of a Welsh presence, and the community that emerged in Madison County was not exempt from this phenomenon. In 1895, describing the situation in Elwood, *Y Drych* reported: “*Yn ol arferiad cyffredin y Cymry mewn lleoedd eraill, lle ceir nifer digonol, y mae yma gapel*

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 359. Although not a hard and fast rule, generally, the word “church” is used when referring to denomination, and, in the case of the Nonconformists, “chapel” is used for the actual building.

<sup>35</sup>Henry Richard, *Letters on the Social and Political Conditions of the Principality of Wales* (London, 1866), 23.

<sup>36</sup>*Y Drysorfa*, August 1854, pp. 266–67.

<sup>37</sup>Davies and Davies, trans., *Hanes Cymry America*, 320–25.

*i'r Cymry ar fod yn barod.*" (As is the custom of the Welsh everywhere there are sufficient numbers, there is already a chapel for the Welsh here.) The report mentions that these developments were under the leadership of the Reverend Richard Powell, and continues, "*Wrth gwrs, ystyrir hyn yn waith da, ac felly yn deilwng o gefnogaeth gan holl Gymry y lle. Bydd moddion crefyddol yn iaith ein tadau yn meddu dylanwad daionus o dan fendith Duw i gadw llawer o'n cenedl anwyl rhag cael eu cario i ddystryw gan arferion anhywaeth amgylchynol, a rhag anghofio Duw ein tadau.*" (Of course, this is good work, and therefore worthy of support from all the Welsh in the place. Religious grace in the language of our fathers will exert great influence under the blessing of God to keep much of our beloved nation from being carried to destruction by the awful practices surrounding them, and from forgetting the God of our fathers.)<sup>38</sup> In addition to the Reverend Powell, who is recorded as a minister on the census of 1900, the report mentions several individuals as the driving force behind the establishment of the church: Alexander Jones, who is listed on the census as a "foreman in the works"; tinplate rollers Henry Harries, Richard Jones, and David Lloyd; and tinplate roller John Chappel, who had, by 1900, departed to work in the same industry in Pennsylvania.<sup>39</sup>

In September of the same year, *Y Drych* reported the opening, after months of building and money raising (*fisoedd yn adeiladu ac yn casglu arian i dalu y costau*), of a chapel in Elwood specifically for the *Annibynwyr* (Independents or Congregationalists), with the Reverend Powell as minister. The new chapel cost \$1,500 and had seating for 300 worshippers.<sup>40</sup> By January of the following year, the church was described as flourishing (*llwyddiant boddhaol*), with a Sunday School attendance of 120 and the chapel filled to capacity (*yn lled iawn*). The article also indicates that the church was bilingual, with Welsh services in the morning and English in the evening.<sup>41</sup> In 1899, *Y Drych* again mentions the Rev. Powell and the Welsh church, and also notes that the city's Baptist church had made room for Welsh-speaking members of that denomination:

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<sup>38</sup> *Y Drych*, June 27, 1895.

<sup>39</sup> U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Indiana, Pipe Creek Township, p. 16; Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Indiana, Lafayette Township, p. 22; Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Indiana, Pipe Creek Township, pp. 22, 11; Twelfth Census, 1900, Lawrence County, Pennsylvania, Newcastle Ward 5, p. 4.

<sup>40</sup> *Y Drych*, September 26, 1895.

<sup>41</sup> *Y Drych*, January 23, 1896.

*Mae yr eglwys Gymreig wrth y felin yn llwyddo, a'r Parch. R. Powell a'i briod yn mwynhau y sefyllfa. Hefyd, mae eglwys y B. yn y dref yn dra llewyrchus. Un o nodweddion yr eglwys hono yw ei dosbarth Cymreig yn yr Ysgol Sabbothol, a'r cyfarfod gweddi Cymreig a'r ysgol gan Gymreig nos Sadwrn. Campus yw gweled ein newydd-ddyfodiaid o Gymru yn cofio Duw eu tadiau.<sup>42</sup>*

The Welsh church next to the mill is successful and the Rev. R. Powell and his wife are enjoying their position. The Baptist church in the town is also highly prosperous. One of the features of that church is its Sunday school Welsh class, the Welsh prayer meeting, and the Welsh school on Saturday night. It is wonderful to see our new arrivals from Wales remembering the God of their fathers.

These reports reveal that only one Welsh denomination, the Congregationalists, had established a ministry in Elwood and that preaching was in both Welsh and English. Furthermore, although Welsh services were available for Baptists, they were sporadic and held in the city's English church. For many, this was far from perfect, as *Y Drych* made clear in April 1899:

*Mae yma eglwys Gynulleidfaol Gymreig dda, iawn, o dan ofal y Parch. R. Powell, ac eglwys gref: gan y Beidyddwyr Seisnig, o dan aden yr hon y mae amryw o Fedyddwyr Cymreig yn ceisio cartrefu. ac yn cynnal cyfarfod gweddi Cymraeg ar nos Sadwrn, ac ysgol Sul Cymraeg pryd-nawn Sul. Yn llechu heb weinidogaeth Gymraeg y maent hyd yn hyn.<sup>43</sup>*

There is a very good Welsh Congregational church under the care of the Rev. R. Powell, and a strong English Baptist church, within which various Welsh Baptists are trying to make their home, holding a Welsh prayer meeting on Saturday evening and a Welsh Sunday school on Sunday afternoon. They, to date, are suffering without a Welsh ministry.

On a positive note, the absence of more than one Welsh church in the county meant that the Madison County community was spared the astonishing levels of interdenominational rivalry among the Welsh Baptists,

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<sup>42</sup> *Y Drych*, June 29, 1899.

<sup>43</sup> *Y Drych*, April 13, 1899.

Congregationalists, and Presbyterians which raged in other areas, causing intense animosity and, frequently, irrevocably dividing Welsh communities.<sup>44</sup> The downside was that Welsh people whose allegiance to denomination outweighed allegiance to nationality had to worship, by necessity, in churches that did not regularly provide spiritual sustenance in their mother tongue. Many in the Welsh community conducted much of their communal life in English and not Welsh. The fate of the Elwood church and of Welsh religious life in the county as a whole is unknown. Writing in 1914, Forkner mentions the Welsh Congregational church, “which has a neat frame house of worship at the corner of South P and Twenty-Second streets, in the city of Elwood,” but there are no further references to this or to any other specifically Welsh church in the county in *Y Drych* or other Welsh sources.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, churches and chapels, especially in an international context, also acted as cultural centers, and the attraction of educational provision and social events accounted for the presence of many chapelgoers in both Wales and the United States.<sup>46</sup> The loss of what Robert Owen Jones describes as “spiritual and linguistic” centers meant the loss of more than a focus for worship.<sup>47</sup>

Welsh cultural expression was not confined to the religious sphere, and a consideration of the institutions established by the Welsh and the events they held reveals much about the nature of their community in the county. *Y Drych* contains numerous reports of *cymanfaoedd canu* (singing festivals), literary meetings, and the *eisteddfod*, indicating the depth and quality of secular Welsh cultural activity. The popularity of the *eisteddfod* is made clear by an article on the upcoming statewide festival in 1899: “*Y mae pob ardal a thref yn awr yn canu, adrodd a thraethu am yr Eisteddfod Dalaethol a gynelir yn Anderson, Mawrth 18.*” (Every district and town is now singing, reciting and composing for the State *Eisteddfod* to be held in Anderson on March 18.)<sup>48</sup> The report following this *eisteddfod* indicates

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<sup>44</sup> Hartmann, *Americans from Wales*, 103–104.

<sup>45</sup> Forkner, *History of Madison County*, 246.

<sup>46</sup> The only other recorded Welsh place of worship in Indiana was the Welsh Presbyterian church established in Gas City, Grant County, in 1890. Hartmann notes that this church terminated in 1910. Hartmann, *Americans from Wales*, 171.

<sup>47</sup> Robert Owen Jones, “The Welsh Language in Patagonia,” in *Language and Community in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Geraint H. Jenkins (Cardiff, Wales, 1998), 289.

<sup>48</sup> *Y Drych*, March 16, 1899.

the nature of Welsh cultural expression and its linguistic ethos, and reveals the backgrounds of the competitors.<sup>49</sup>

According to *Y Drych*, despite the rain and cold the Indiana Welsh came in hundreds. (*Er gwaethaf y gwlaw a'r oerni daeth Cymry Indiana wrth y canoedd.*) The prize for the main choir competition, for a rendition of “*Jerusalem fy Nghartref Gwiw*” (Jerusalem My Worthy Home), was shared between the Elwood choir under tinsplate roller B. B. Jones, and the St. Paul Gas City choir led by music teacher Owen Davies.<sup>50</sup> (These two men and all individuals mentioned hereafter, unless otherwise indicated, are Welsh-born.) Tinsplate roller John James and tinsplate doubler J. R. Evans of Elwood (the father of Will G.) won the male duet competition.<sup>51</sup> The bass solo was won by tin mill shearer William Walters of Gas City; solo tenor prize went to Rees Lewis, also a tin mill shearer from Gas City.<sup>52</sup> Second place for alto solo went to Sylvania Hopkin, the Pennsylvania-born daughter of Welsh-born tinsplate roller William E.<sup>53</sup> The solo soprano competition was won by Miss Bessie Virgil, who had no Welsh connections whatsoever.<sup>54</sup> The aforementioned John James won for recitation in Welsh. The English recitation first prize went to Alice Blewett, who was born in Wales to English-born tin mill worker Gary, and his English wife Mary J.; Indiana-born Bessie Vinyard, the daughter of American-born farmer Alvin, and his American-born wife Mary E., won second prize.<sup>55</sup>

The newspaper report praised the singing of a patriotic song (*can wladgarol*) by thirteen-year-old Tudor Jones, the son of Welsh-born tin mill foreman Alexander, as one of the best performances of the day (*un o bethau mwyaf hapus y dydd*). The eisteddfod, however, was a long way from being a purely Welsh event in either content or participants.<sup>56</sup> Pittsburgh music teacher T. J. Davies served as judge for the singing; Gas City tinsplate worker Thomas Williams was responsible for Welsh recitation; and

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<sup>49</sup> *Y Drych*, April 6, 1899.

<sup>50</sup> U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Indiana, Pipe Creek Township, p. 23; Thirteenth Census, 1910, Grant County, Indiana, Gas City Ward 4, Roll T624\_351, p. 3B.

<sup>51</sup> U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Indiana, Pipe Creek Township, pp. 14, 9.

<sup>52</sup> U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Grant County, Indiana, Gas City, p. 2.

<sup>53</sup> U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Henry County, Indiana, Fall Creek Township, p. 6.

<sup>54</sup> U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Ohio County, Indiana, Randolph, p. 14.

<sup>55</sup> U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Grant County, Indiana, Gas City, p. 8; Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Lafayette Township, p. 19.

<sup>56</sup> U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Indiana, Lafayette Township, p. 22.

English recitation was judged, appropriately enough, by Judge Ellison.<sup>57</sup> Although J. B. Lodwick, a Welsh-born salesman who had traveled from Youngstown, Ohio, took charge of conducting duties, town mayor Mr. Dunlap chaired the afternoon session, and Ellison chaired the evening session.<sup>58</sup> Neither Dunlap nor Ellison possessed any discernable Welsh connections. The participation of non-Welsh contestants, and the willing association of local dignitaries and community leaders, is intriguing. Such community involvement is replicated elsewhere in the United States and, indeed, everywhere the Welsh settled. Welsh cultural expression was accorded a respectability sometimes not bestowed upon the activities of other immigrant groups.<sup>59</sup> It does appear that an early cultural fusion developed between the Welsh and the host society, a phenomenon that was by no means unique but also not universal. Leonard Dinnerstein refers to “the restricted social contacts involved in community athletic groups, picnics, dances, lectures, and intellectual meetings” that existed in German communities that “served the dual purpose of providing recreational outlets while still preserving a valuable heritage.”<sup>60</sup> Beyond the use of native language, no evidence exists of exclusivity among Welsh immigrants, who appeared to have welcomed their American neighbors. The corollary of this, illustrated in some detail below, was the hastening of the Americanization of Welsh immigrant culture.

*Y Drych* also reported on an eisteddfod held in the Opera House in Elwood on Christmas Day 1899.<sup>61</sup> Again, although much of the program involved Welsh people and their children, and took place in the Welsh language, the presence and participation of non-Welsh people and the use of English was apparent. The Gas City choir, under the aforementioned tin mill shearer Rees Lewis, was victorious in the main choral competition, and the Elwood choir, under tinsplate doubler Samuel Lewis, gained victory for male chorus.<sup>62</sup> Rees Lewis and friends won the octet competition; Lewis

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<sup>57</sup>U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, Allegheny Ward 11, p. 14; Twelfth Census, 1900, Grant County, Indiana, Gas City, p. 1.

<sup>58</sup>U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Mahoning County, Ohio, Youngstown Ward 6, p. 15.

<sup>59</sup>This phenomenon was evident in faraway Australia. See Robert Llewellyn Tyler, *The Welsh in an Australian Gold Town: Ballarat, Victoria, 1850–1900* (Cardiff, Wales, 2010), 76–100.

<sup>60</sup>Leonard Dinnerstein, Roger L. Nichols, and David M. Reimers, *Natives and Strangers: A Multicultural History of Americans* (New York, 2003), 74.

<sup>61</sup>*Y Drych*, January 4, 1900.

<sup>62</sup>U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Indiana, Pipe Creek Township, p. 9.

also took the prize for tenor solo. The children's choir winners sang in Welsh "Yr Iesu yn Myned Heibio" (Jesus is Passing) under the leadership of tinsplate heater John A. Evans.<sup>63</sup> Tinsplate worker William John Hopkin, and the unidentifiable John Owens of Elwood, won the prize for men's duet.<sup>64</sup> William John Hopkin also won for solo bass and for solo flute. Tinsplate roller B. R. Jones and Mrs. Triza Rees, the wife of Elwood tinsplate roller William, won the prize for mixed duet.<sup>65</sup> Solo soprano prize went to Mrs. Emma C. House, the daughter of Gas City German immigrants; solo contralto was won by Triza Rees. The prize for piano solo went to Miss Alma James, the daughter of Indiana-born laborer Isaac, and Tennessee-born Sarah, neither of whom possessed any Welsh roots.<sup>66</sup> The audience was treated to a solo of "Dos Bererin" (Go, Pilgrim)—a performance that received rousing applause (*bonllefau o gymeradwyaeth*)—by Eleanor J. Gardner of Gas City, the wife of tin mill sorter Jonathan G.<sup>67</sup> Mrs. Mary Lewis, the wife of Samuel, won the prize for "y cwd Eisteddfodol goreu" (the best Eisteddfodic bag). Twenty-two-year-old, English-born tinner T. O. Huzzey of Elwood provided accompaniment for the day.<sup>68</sup> The organizers of the eisteddfod remained Welsh. The president was tinsplate foreman William Davies; tinsplate rollers Griffith Hodge and David Lloyd acted as treasurer and secretary.<sup>69</sup> Nevertheless, the three acting presidents for the morning, afternoon, and evening sessions were Indiana-born Mayor Frances Harbbit, Illinois-born land broker F. N. Simmons, and Indiana-born attorney C. M. Greenlee. None of these men had any Welsh connections.<sup>70</sup> The Welsh did, however, have the last word, with the indomitable J. B. Lodwick leading the audience in a spirited rendition of the old song "Diadem."

Host communities remained aware of Welsh cultural activity and reported events in favorable fashion. In March 1902, the *Indianapolis Journal*

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<sup>63</sup>U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Indiana, Pipe Creek Township, p. 22.

<sup>64</sup>U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Indiana, Pipe Creek Township, p. 11.

<sup>65</sup>U.S., Thirteenth Census, 1910, Madison County, Indiana, Elwood Ward 1, Roll T624\_365, p. 12A, 10A.

<sup>66</sup>U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Indiana, Pipe Creek Township, p. 20.

<sup>67</sup>U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Grant County, Indiana, Gas City, p. 4.

<sup>68</sup>U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison, Indiana, Pipe Creek Township, p. 16.

<sup>69</sup>U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Indiana, Pipe Creek Township, pp. 11, 13.

<sup>70</sup>U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Indiana, Pipe Creek Township, p. 10; Thirteenth Census, 1910, Polk County, Iowa, Des Moines Ward 4, Roll T624\_420, p. 17A; Thirteenth Census, 1910, Madison County, Indiana, Pipe Creek Township, p. 3.

described a “Gas Belt Eisteddfod,” held at Elwood’s Welsh Congregational church. The popularity of the event was apparent, with special cars arranged on the interurban lines from Anderson, Middletown, and Gas City, all of which brought large delegations. The report notes, “The church was packed to the doors and all of the contests were spirited, there being a large number of entries.” Although the socio-economic and ethnic background of the participants remained largely the same, the event had strayed from its overwhelmingly Welsh origins, with much of the proceedings taking place in English. The aforementioned Eleanor J. Gardner won for solo soprano, while English-born Sarah Aurelius of Elwood, daughter of Welsh mother Eliza A. and English father Edward, gained the laurels for alto.<sup>71</sup> The tenor solo prize went to farmer David Roberts and a further solo prize to bookkeeper Tudor Jones of Anderson.<sup>72</sup> Elwood tinsplate roller John James tied with Gas City music teacher Owen Davis for the bass solo prize.<sup>73</sup> The laurels for male quartet went to Gas City’s Owen Davis and David Roberts, joined by rollers J. T. Johnson and J. Williams.<sup>74</sup> The prize for tenor and bass duet went to Elwood men, roller John James and the aforementioned John Evans. All of the prize winners sang in English. Victory for recitation went to Tudor Jones, and Owen Davis emerged victorious for impromptu speech and sightreading in music. Handicraft was won by Mary A. Frazier of Elwood, the wife of tin mill heater William, whose father was Scottish.<sup>75</sup> The Welsh language was not entirely excluded, and the prize for recitation in that language went to John James for “*O Haul, Aros*” (Oh Sun, Await). A further prize for singing trio went to the Davis party of Gas City for “*Mor Hawddgar yw dy Bebyll*” (How Peaceful is Thy Tent). The choral competition ended as a tie between the Elwood Choral Club and the Davis Chorus of Gas City for a performance of “*Y Blodenyn Olaf*” (The Last Flower). Although relegated in importance, poetic competition was not altogether absent, with a prize awarded for an “eight-line verse” on

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<sup>71</sup> U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Grant County, Indiana, Gas City, p. 4; Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Indiana, Pipe Creek Township, p. 11.

<sup>72</sup> U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Starke County, Indiana, Washington, p. 2; Thirteenth Census, 1910, Madison County, Indiana, Anderson Ward 3, Roll: T624\_365, p. 11B.

<sup>73</sup> U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Indiana, Pipe Creek Township, p. 14; Thirteenth Census, 1910, Grant County, Indiana, Gas City Ward 4, Roll T624\_351, p. 3B.

<sup>74</sup> U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Grant County, Indiana, Mill Township, p. 1; Twelfth Census, 1900, Grant County, Indiana, Gas City, p. 8.

<sup>75</sup> U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Indiana, Pipe Creek Township, p. 24.

the “conductor of the Eisteddfod,” won by the unidentifiable John Davis of Abermore, Pennsylvania. The conductor for the day’s proceedings was a William Davis of Elwood, who could have been one of two individuals, both of whom were tinsmith workers.<sup>76</sup> The judges for music were tinsmith worker Rees Lewis and roller Eli Richards, with Anderson roller D. J. Lloyd adjudicating recitation.<sup>77</sup> Handicraft was judged by Jennie E., wife of physician T. Spenser Owen, and Mary Lewis, the wife of doubler Samuel.<sup>78</sup>

Welsh cultural expression in general, and the eisteddfod in particular, was based on music and literature; patronization was widespread; and both participants and audience were drawn not only from the ranks of white-collar professionals but from a wide spectrum of Welsh immigrant society, primarily the working class. However, the event was by no means a preserve of the Welsh immigrant community, and the proceedings and competitions were taking place in a mixture of Welsh and English, with English increasingly in the ascendancy. Qualitative evidence suggests, therefore, that the beginning of the new century saw a linguistic shift taking place in the Welsh community. J. Neale Carman has identified what he terms as the “critical year” when the native language passed from habitual use among foreign-born communities in the U.S. For the Welsh in Emporia, Kansas, Carman argues that that year was sometime between 1885 and 1918.<sup>79</sup> This is true for other immigrant groups in Kansas and, indeed, elsewhere in the country. Cherilyn Ann Walley, in her monograph on the Welsh in Iowa, describes the extent to which other smaller ethnic groups in the state, the Dutch, Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes, preserved and promoted their own cultural identities, and suggests a similar process to that experienced by the Welsh.<sup>80</sup> These authors may overlook that, besides their religiosity and unique cultural practices, Welsh immigrants were most set apart from their host communities by language. Larger cultural forces, from which other ethnolinguistic groups were spared, distinctly impacted Welsh-language use among midwestern immigrants.

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<sup>76</sup> U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Indiana, Pipe Creek Township, pp. 11, 15.

<sup>77</sup> U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Grant County, Indiana, Gas City, p. 2; Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Indiana, Pipe Creek Township, p. 1; Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Indiana, Lafayette Township, p. 23.

<sup>78</sup> U.S., Twelfth Census, 1900, Madison County, Indiana, Pipe Creek Township, pp. 12, 9; *Indianapolis Journal*, March 3, 1902.

<sup>79</sup> J. Neale Carman, *Foreign-Language Units of Kansas*, 3 vols. (Lawrence, Kan., 1962), 2:234.

<sup>80</sup> Cherilyn Ann Walley, “The Welsh in Iowa” (PhD diss., Iowa State University, 2003), 65–83.

The first official census that included a question on language in Wales was held in 1891 and revealed that 54.4 percent of people living in Wales, including tens of thousands of English and Irish, spoke Welsh, with some 56 percent unable to speak English.<sup>81</sup> The proportion of Welsh speakers in Wales greatly exceeded the proportions speaking Irish in Ireland and Gaelic in Scotland—19.2 percent and 6.3 percent respectively.<sup>82</sup> Scholars have devoted significant attention to the extent to which the language was spoken in Wales before 1891, with Thomas Darlington asserting that approximately 80 percent spoke the language in 1801, and George Ravenstein estimating a percentage of 71.2 by the early 1870s.<sup>83</sup> In addition to its proportional strength, the language also enjoyed a higher status than other Celtic tongues. The translation of the Bible into Welsh in 1588 produced a standard literary form which established the language as a written medium and thus worthy to receive the prestige of appearing in print. Codification of the language was furthered by, among others, William Gambold and his *Grammar of the Welsh Language*, which appeared in 1727.<sup>84</sup> This period also witnessed the revival of the eisteddfod, the emergence of debating societies, and the replacement of mythology with scholarly history, all of which served to widen the domains of the language.<sup>85</sup> Other movements played major roles in preserving and extending the language. Initiated by Griffith Jones (1683–1761), the rector of Llanddowror in Carmarthenshire, circulating schools were established to teach both adults and children to read the Bible and learn the catechism of the Anglican Church in Welsh. From 1731 to 1761, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge funded 3,325 schools at nearly 1,600 locations. These schools, attended by between 200,000 and 250,000 pupils (as much as half the Welsh population),

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<sup>81</sup> *Census of England and Wales, 1891, Vol. IV: General Report* (London, 1893), 81–82.

<sup>82</sup> Ian Mate, “Changes in the Celtic-language-speaking Populations of Ireland, The Isle of Man, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales from 1891 to 1991,” *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 18, no. 4 (1997), 321–22.

<sup>83</sup> Thomas Darlington, “Language and literature of Wales,” in John Rhys and David Brynmor Jones, eds, *The Welsh People: Chapters on Their Origins, History, Laws, Language, Literature, and Characteristics* (London, 1900), 548–49; E. G. Ravenstein, “On the Celtic Languages in the British Isles, A Statistical Survey,” *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 42 (1879), 579–636.

<sup>84</sup> Mari C. Jones, *Language Obsolescence and Revitalization: Linguistic Change in Two Sociolinguistically Contrasting Welsh Communities* (Oxford, U. K., 1998), 8.

<sup>85</sup> John Aitchison and Harold Carter, *A Geography of the Welsh Language 1961–1991* (Cardiff, Wales, 1994), 30.

helped make Wales a literate nation and gave the language not only status but a reading public.<sup>86</sup>

With Welsh firmly established as a written medium, the nineteenth century saw the proliferation of published material; the five decades to 1850 saw some three thousand books published in the language.<sup>87</sup> By 1892, an estimated thirty-two Welsh-language periodicals and twenty-five newspapers were in existence, and, while many of these publications were produced to serve the various religious denominations, their content also included items of a literary and political nature.<sup>88</sup> Furthermore, religion in Wales—with the exception of the Anglican Church, which most Welsh people deserted for the Nonconformist denominations in the nineteenth century—operated overwhelmingly through the medium of Welsh. By the mid-nineteenth century, therefore, Welsh was established as the language of literacy and debate and fulfilled all the requirements of modern living.<sup>89</sup>

It is impossible to establish, with any degree of certainty, the extent to which the Welsh language was spoken among the Welsh migrants who arrived in the United States during the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>90</sup> In 1920, however, for the first time, the United States Federal Census recorded the “mother tongue” of each resident foreign-born individual along with the mother tongue of each foreign-born individual’s parents. Although by 1920 the Welsh presence in Madison County had long since passed its peak, the linguistic background of those remaining gives a clear indication of the language’s strength. Of the 126 Welsh-born individuals with two Welsh parents, who listed either English or Welsh as their “mother tongue,” eighty-four (66.6 percent) are recorded as having Welsh as their first language. This figure is much higher than the 37 percent recorded as Welsh-speaking in Wales on the U.K. census of 1921, and can be attributed primarily to the fact that most Welsh immigrants

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<sup>86</sup> Janet Davies, *The Welsh Language, A History* (Cardiff, Wales, 1993), 31.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>88</sup> Robert Owen Jones, “The Sociolinguistics of Welsh,” in Martin Ball and James Fife, eds., *The Celtic Languages* (London, 1993), 543.

<sup>89</sup> For an overall statistical survey of the language in nineteenth-century Wales, see Dot Jones, *Statistical Evidence Relating to the Welsh Language, 1801–1911* (Cardiff, Wales, 1988); see also Geraint H. Jenkins, ed., *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains, 1801–1911* (Cardiff, Wales, 2000).

<sup>90</sup> W. D. Jones, “The Welsh Language and Welsh Identity in a Pennsylvanian Community,” and Robert Owen Jones, “The Welsh Language in Patagonia,” in Jenkins, ed., *Language and Community in the Nineteenth Century*, 281–316. See also Robert Llewellyn Tyler, “The Welsh Language in a Nineteenth Century Australian Gold Town,” *Welsh History Review* 24, no. 1 (June 2008), 52–76.

had arrived in the country decades earlier, before Wales had experienced the full force of linguistic change.<sup>91</sup>

While evidence exists for monolingualism, and for intergenerational language transmission in the United States, there is also evidence of linguistic change. The census of 1910 asked whether an individual could speak English and, if not, to state the language spoken. Seventy-two-year-old Welsh-born widower Peter Jones is recorded as speaking only Welsh, as are his four adult, Welsh-born children with whom he shared his home.<sup>92</sup> J. William Williams (b. 1866) and his wife Sarah (b. 1869) had married in Wales and immigrated to the U.S. in 1895 with their son and daughter. All four are recorded on the 1910 census as speaking only Welsh. More interestingly, their Indiana-born son Carl (b. 1900) is also recorded as speaking only Welsh.<sup>93</sup> These individuals were by no means unusual. Hugh M. Davies (b. 1867), his wife Elizabeth (b. 1870), and all eight of their children, including the two youngest born in Indiana, are also recorded as being unable to speak English.<sup>94</sup> By 1920, however, not only are both Davies and his wife, and the five children still at home, recorded as being able to speak English, they all reported English as their “mother tongue.”<sup>95</sup> This shift is significant, and while it could simply reflect the eagerness of Welsh immigrants to become part of the host community, with bilinguals asserting English as their home language, one could also partly attribute it to attitudes prevailing in Wales at this time, resulting in some individuals being reluctant to admit their true linguistic background. By the middle of the century, many in Wales were making a conscious decision not to transmit the language intergenerationally, a phenomenon apparent on the U.S. census reports of 1920.<sup>96</sup> Dinah Johns, for example, born in Wales in 1861 to two Welsh-speaking parents, is recorded on that census with English as her mother tongue, as are Edward M. Williams (b. 1878) and

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<sup>91</sup> *Census of England and Wales, 1921, General Report* (London, 1921), 184.

<sup>92</sup> U.S., Thirteenth Census, 1910, Madison County, Indiana, Elwood Ward 1, Roll T624\_365, p. 10A.

<sup>93</sup> U.S., Thirteenth Census, 1910, Madison County, Indiana, Elwood Ward 1, Roll T624\_365, p. 10B.

<sup>94</sup> U.S., Thirteenth Census, 1910, Madison County, Indiana, Elwood Ward 1, Roll T624\_365, p. 13B.

<sup>95</sup> U.S., Fourteenth Census, 1920, Madison County, Indiana, Elwood Ward 1, Roll T625\_449, p. 5B.

<sup>96</sup> See, for example, Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, *Mid-Victorian Wales: The Observers and the Observed* (Cardiff, Wales, 1992); Gwyneth Tyson Roberts, *The Language of the Blue Books: The Perfect Instrument of Empire* (Cardiff, Wales, 1998).

Daisy M. Wann (b. 1892).<sup>97</sup> These examples raise several issues regarding the process of linguistic acculturation within the Welsh community. How could English have gained the upper hand so rapidly? Were forces at work that transcended those usually associated with acculturation and assimilation? These questions can be addressed only with reference to developments in contemporary Wales which had exerted profound effects on the status of the language.

On March 10, 1846, William Williams, the MP for Coventry in England, asked in the House of Commons for a Royal Commission to be established to overlook the state of education in Wales. The assumption was that a relationship existed between socio-economic unrest—manifest in the Merthyr Rising of 1831, the Chartist march on Newport in 1839, and ongoing rural disturbances—and an ignorance of the English language.<sup>98</sup> Williams asserted: “The people of that country labour under a peculiar difficulty from the existence of an ancient language.”<sup>99</sup> The report of the Royal Commission, which appeared in 1847 and was subsequently dubbed by the Welsh the “Treason of the Blue Books,” declared:

The Welsh language is a vast drawback to Wales and a manifold barrier to the moral progress and commercial prosperity of the people. Because of their language the mass of the Welsh people are inferior to the English in every branch of practical knowledge and skill . . . his language keeps him [the Welshman] under the hatches being one in which he can neither acquire nor communicate the necessary information. It is the language of old fashioned agriculture, of theology and of simple rustic life, while all the world about him is English . . . He is left to live in an underworld of his own and the march of society goes completely over his head!<sup>100</sup>

The Blue Books stated that the Welsh were “never found at the top of the social scale” and divorced from the benefits of progress (defined in

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<sup>97</sup>U.S., Fourteenth Census, 1920, Madison County, Indiana, Elwood Ward 1, Roll T625\_449, p. 9A; Fourteenth Census, 1920, Madison County, Indiana, Jackson Township, Roll T625\_449, p. 6A; Fourteenth Census, 1920, Madison County, Indiana, Duck Creek Township, Roll T625\_448, p. 3A.

<sup>98</sup>One commentator stated, “A band of efficient schoolmasters is kept up at a much less expense than a body of police or soldiery.” Davies, *The Welsh Language*, 41.

<sup>99</sup>Quoted in Jones, “The Sociolinguistics of Welsh,” 547.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid.

terms of material wealth) by their adherence to the Welsh language.<sup>101</sup> The years following the publication of the report saw the status of the language seriously undermined, with some Welsh people responding in a manner detrimental to the continuance of their own national culture. As one critical observer wrote in 1903:

*Ond y Cymry eu hunain sydd yn gollwng y Saesneg i fewn, ac yn gwneud egni i droi y Gymraeg allan o'u teuluoedd, o'u capeli, ac o'u masnach, ac yn llwfr oddef i Saeson ei throi o'n llysoedd cyfreithiol. Mae at ewyllys y Cymry eu hunain i'r Gymraeg farw neu fyw, ac os lleddir hi arnynt hwy eu hunain y bydd y bai. Gofaledd pob Cymro gadw ei iaith ar yr aelwyd, yn yr addoldy, ac yn ei fasnach, a hi a fydd byw.*<sup>102</sup>

But it is the Welsh themselves who let English in, and make strenuous efforts to cast Welsh out of their homes, and chapels, and businesses, and who spinelessly allow the English to ban it from our courts of law. Whether Welsh is to live or die depends on the will of the Welsh people, and if it is killed the blame will be theirs. Let every Welshman uphold his language in his own home, in his place of worship, and in his business life, and then it will live.

More simply, as a well-known contemporary commentator, David Davies of Llandinam, wrote in the periodical *Y Geninen*: “*Os ydych am barhau i fwyta bara tywyll a gorwedd ar wely gwellt, gwaeddwch chwi eich, ‘Oes y byd i’r iaith Gymraeg’: ond os ydych chwi yn chwennych bwyta bara gwyn a chig eidon rost, mae yn rhaid i chwi ddysgu Saesneg.*” (If you wish to continue to eat black bread and lie on straw beds, carry on shouting “Long life to the Welsh language”: but if you wish to eat white bread and roast beef you must learn English.)<sup>103</sup> While the 1847 report caused uproar, many Welsh people at the time were in general agreement with the commissioners, and from that time forward they came to regard the language as a hindrance to progress and even to abandon it altogether.

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<sup>101</sup> Quoted in Aitchison and Carter, *A Geography of the Welsh Language*, 33.

<sup>102</sup> Evan Pan Jones, *Oes a Gwaith y Prif Athraw y Parch. Michael Daniel Jones*, (Bala, Wales, 1903), 252. Jones was the biographer of Michael D. Jones, the driving force behind the establishment of a Welsh colony in Patagonia.

<sup>103</sup> Quoted in Aitchison and Carter, *A Geography of the Welsh Language*, 33.

In the United States, some Welsh immigrants were not merely experiencing the natural process of linguistic assimilation but endeavoring to go beyond a command of the lingua franca to deny their linguistic inheritance. For example, in 1899, the Wisconsin State Assembly passed a law that only English was to be used as a medium of instruction in all schools. The requirement provoked fierce opposition from the German community, which was, according to Leonard Dinnerstein, “determined to preserve their language and customs and to resist assimilation to an inferior culture.”<sup>104</sup> Roger Daniels describes the persistence of the German language in some regions into the fourth and fifth generations, something that did not occur in even the most isolated and intensely Welsh communities.<sup>105</sup> Daniels further posits extensive “German American cultural arrogance about the superiority of their culture not so much vis-à-vis other immigrant groups but over and against general American or ‘Yankee’ culture.”<sup>106</sup> The Welsh response to the Wisconsin law was quite the opposite. At their annual meeting in 1890, the state’s Welsh Congregationalists resolved to support the law to prove “conclusively the loyalty of the Welsh people to the laws and institutions of their adopted country.” “Cultural arrogance” seemed to be absent in Welsh immigrant communities, the negative attitudes that had emerged in Wales toward the native language having been transplanted to the United States.<sup>107</sup>

The ability of Welsh immigrants to maintain cultural integrity and, specifically, the viability of intergenerational culture and language transmission, would have depended on a variety of factors, crucial among which were marriage patterns and levels of exogamy. In establishing marriage preference, information was collected from the 1900 census report for all those Welsh-born individuals with two Welsh parents who had married in the United States, thus excluding those who had married prior to their arrival (whose partners were overwhelmingly of the same nationality). Of

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<sup>104</sup> *Y Cenhadwr Americanaidd*, July 1890, p. 222, in Robert Humphries, “Yn eu hiaith eu hunain / In their own language: The Settlement and Assimilation of the Welsh in Iowa County, Wisconsin, 1840–1920,” (MA Thesis, University of Wales, Trinity St. David, 2012), 78; Dinnerstein et al., *Natives and Strangers*, 74.

<sup>105</sup> Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York, 1990), 152.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 163.

<sup>107</sup> See, for example, Jones, *Mid-Victorian Wales*; Roberts, *The Language of the Blue Books*. Daniels points out that the Norwegians, for example, were far more willing to abandon their old world characteristics. *Coming to America*, 175–76.

the sixty-seven Welsh men who had married in the U.S. and were numbered in the census of 1900, thirty-one (46.3 percent) had married Welsh-born women. While some of these couples must have been acquainted prior to departure, most, judging by marriage and immigration date, had met and married in the U.S. (In the case of marriage and immigration year being the same, it is assumed that the couple had married prior to departure.) A further nine men (13.4 percent) had married an American-born woman with two Welsh parents, a total of forty marrying within the group, or 59.7 percent. The remaining twenty-seven individuals (40.3 percent) had married Americans with no discernable Welsh roots, other immigrants, or other ethnic Americans. This could be explained, in part, by the fact that among migrants from Wales men outnumbered women. Of the 544 Welsh-born in Madison County recorded on the 1900 census, 286 (52.6 percent) were male. (This gender imbalance was evident in almost all migrant groups, as Roger Daniels points out, with only the Irish displaying a clear female preponderance.)<sup>108</sup> The figures for women, however, indicate that ethnicity was not the only factor in choosing a spouse, with no less than 32.6 percent marrying an American or an ethnic American man. When these figures are combined (Table 1), the level of exogamy among first-generation Welsh who had married in the U.S. is apparent. While it is possible that some of the American-born had more distant Welsh roots not identifiable on the census reports, culture and language retention into the third generation would likely have been negligible. (It should be noted that eighty-two Welsh-born couples resident in the county had married prior to emigration.)<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>108</sup>Daniels, *Coming to America*, 141.

<sup>109</sup>For whatever reason, most Welsh drawn to Madison County had married prior to their arrival in the United States. This contrasts with other areas of Welsh settlement in the U.S., where most immigrants married following arrival. For example, of the 284 Welsh-born who were recorded as married on the 1930 census in Granville, New York, only seventy-six (27.7 percent) had married prior to their arrival, almost invariably to another Welsh person. What this says about the pull factor exerted by the tinplate communities of Indiana is uncertain, but it would have had an impact on culture maintenance. Robert Llewellyn Tyler, "Migrant Culture Maintenance: The Welsh in Granville, Washington County, New York, 1880–1930," *New York History* 99, no. 1 (Winter 2018), 99–120.

Table 1: Marriage Preference Welsh-born in Madison County 1900

Welsh-born	Two Welsh parents	One Welsh parent	American	Other	Total
62	10	1	20	23	116
53.5%	8.6%	0.9%	17.2%	19.8%	100%

Clearly, the Welsh community was being diluted, with major consequences for culture and language transference. The process was entirely natural, one undergone by all ethnic groups in the U.S. with varying degrees of rapidity. However, Welsh communities in other areas of the country were far less exogamous. In Poultney, Vermont, for example, 86.1 percent of Welsh-born immigrants had married within the group.<sup>110</sup>

Another factor hastening the assimilation of the Welsh in Madison County, as in the United States as a whole, was their ready acceptance into mainstream American life. In part, this was due to the perceived high moral standards and social behavior of their communities, a perception frequently evident in the pages of the local press. In 1897, the *Indianapolis Journal* could assert of the Welsh: "They are industrious beyond any people of the British Isles. They are clean; they are more sober than either the Irish or the English; they are thrifty ... patient and law-abiding."<sup>111</sup> Of course, this favorable image was not universally applicable, and many Welsh people indulged in less than salubrious pastimes, much to the chagrin of their appointed and self-appointed leaders. Writing of his visit to Elwood in 1899, P. Phillips of Linn Grove, Iowa, observed:

*Y mae yn Elwood luaws o Gymry yn gwneyd yn dda iawn, ac yn iawn ddefnyddio eu harian i adeiladu cartrefi cysurus. O'r ochr arall blin genym weled rhai oeddynt yn ddirwestwyr selog a da yn Nghymru yn ymollwng gyda hudoliaeth y ddiod feddwol.*<sup>112</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Robert Llewellyn Tyler, "Migrant Culture Maintenance: The Welsh Experience in Poultney, Rutland County 1900–1940," *Vermont History* 83, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 2015), 41. The Welsh people drawn to Madison County came from an extensive, densely populated area, whereas those from Poultney and other small towns in the Slate Valley of New York and Vermont came largely from two villages alone: Blaenau Ffestiniog and Bethesda. As a result, many, if not most, of the Welsh community would have been acquainted with each other in the homeland. Gwilym R. Roberts, *New Lives in the Valley: Slate Quarries and Quarry Villages in North Wales, New York, and Vermont, 1850–1920* (Portland, Maine, 1998), 33. It is also worth noting that Will G. and his three siblings had all married non-Welsh spouses.

<sup>111</sup> *Indianapolis Journal*, November 2, 1897.

<sup>112</sup> *Y Drych*, April 13, 1899.

Elwood has lots of Welsh people doing very well and using their money to build comfortable homes. On the other hand, we are sorry to see some who were staunch and good temperance men in Wales indulging in the magic of the intoxicating drink.

Despite this honest appraisal, most descriptions of Welsh behavior by the Welsh themselves remained positive. For example, *Y Drych* in 1900 could describe a trip made by Welsh tinplate workers from Elwood to Indianapolis in a manner that left no doubt regarding their standards of public conduct:

*Ar y 12fed o'r mis diweddaf yr oedd gan y gweithwyr wibdaith i Indianapolis, prif ddinas y Dalaeth, ac er fod yr hin yn wlyb iawn, daliodd llawer ar y cyfle, fel yr oedd tyrfa fawr o Gymry yno, a da genym ddwyn tystiolaeth i'r modd gweddaidd yr ymddygodd pawb o honynt. Y mae gan ein cenedl ni urddas i edrych ar ei ol ef, a gwnaethant fel y byddant arferol o wneyd.*<sup>113</sup>

On the 12th of last month the workers took a trip to Indianapolis, the State capital, and although the weather was very wet, many seized the opportunity. There was a large crowd of Welsh people there, and we are pleased to bear witness to the prayerful manner in which everyone behaved. Our nation has its dignity to preserve, and this was done as it usually is.

American contemporaries regularly acknowledged the musical prowess of Welsh people. A writer for the *Indianapolis Journal* informed his readership: "There are probably no people so attached to music than the Welsh.... The Welsh Eisteddfod is, beyond any doubt, the most important annual musical reunion held in the British Isles or, perhaps, in the world."<sup>114</sup> Music was linked to the intellectual abilities and respectable nature of the Welsh community in general and reinforced the image of the Welshman and his family as desirable members of American society, unlike other immigrant groups, such as the Irish, Eastern Europeans, and Italians, who were frequently vilified for their rowdy and drunken habits.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>113</sup> *Y Drych*, June 14, 1900.

<sup>114</sup> *Indianapolis Journal*, November 2, 1897.

<sup>115</sup> See, for example, Roberts, *New Lives in the Valley*, 260–63, 325–29, 332–39. In comparison to the Welsh experience, Roberts discusses the negative attitudes held towards these groups in their host communities.

Welsh immigrants were also noted for their religiosity and, as Protestants, were not associated with the Irish and Catholicism. As Dinnerstein puts it, "One factor that unified the newcomers from the United Kingdom was hatred of the Irish, and not a few joined the ranks of the growing anti-Catholic, anti-Irish movements of the nineteenth century."<sup>116</sup> Much anti-Catholic and anti-Irish feeling existed among Welsh people both within and without Wales at this time, and has been described by Alan Conway as an almost "pathological hatred."<sup>117</sup> The Welsh were also acceptable politically, especially in areas where the Republican Party was dominant. Vehement opposition to slavery made the Welsh become a solid bloc of Republican support, which could be seen as a further indication of eagerness to become part of the American mainstream and not to be associated with new immigrant groups, who were more likely to be Democrats.<sup>118</sup> Almost a decade after the Civil War, R. D. Thomas could emphatically write: "Welsh citizens, almost without exception, have voted for the freedom-loving principles of the Republican Party ... because the foundation of their platform is truth and justice; and their political activities have almost always been honorable to our government and universally beneficial to the people." (*Mae y dinaswyr Cymreig, bron yn ddieithriad, wedi pleidleisio dros egwyddorion ryddgarol Plaid y Gwerinwyr ... am fod eu saflawr (platform) hwy yn sylfaenedig ar wirionedd a chyfiawnder; a bod eu gweithredoedd gwleidyddol hwy, bron ynddieithriad, wedi bod yn anrhydedd i'n llywodraeth ac yn llesol i'r bobl yn gyffredinol.*)<sup>119</sup> If the Welsh found a natural home in the Republican Party, they stood in contrast to the overwhelming majority of immigrants who, according to Dinnerstein, found the Democratic Party "more attuned to their needs," with the only major exception being the Swedes.<sup>120</sup> Daniels goes so far as to write of the Irish that they "changed American politics, especially urban ethnic politics,

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<sup>116</sup> Dinnerstein et al, *Natives and Strangers*, 75.

<sup>117</sup> Paul O'Leary, "When Was Anti-Catholicism? The Case of Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Wales," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 56, no. 2 (2005), 308–325; Alan Conway, ed., *The Welsh in America, Letters from the Immigrants* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1961), 16.

<sup>118</sup> A review of biographies of Welsh people in both the American and Welsh press reveals overwhelming identification with the Republican Party. Jerry Hunter, *Sons of Arthur, Children of Lincoln: Welsh Writing from the American Civil War* (Cardiff, Wales, 2007).

<sup>119</sup> Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America*, 68.

<sup>120</sup> Dinnerstein et al, *Natives and Strangers*, 156.

which they practically invented.”<sup>121</sup> Significantly, Welsh immigrants were also more likely to achieve U.S. citizenship than the other nationalities of the United Kingdom.<sup>122</sup>

In Madison County, as in many areas of the United States where the Welsh congregated in any number, they had been attracted by a specific industry in which most men found employment, armed as they were with skills gained in their homeland.<sup>123</sup> The concentration of Welshmen in the county’s tinplate works would have been a strong unifying force, with a common occupation and workplace ties having had an impact on culture retention. The Welsh were certainly aware of the importance of the industry to their community, as *Y Drych* noted of Elwood in 1895: “*Fel y gellid dysgwyl, y mae cryn nifer o blant Gomer yn gweithio yn y melinau hyn gyda phob tebygolrwydd y bydd eu rhif wedi dyblu mewn amser byr.*” (As might be imagined, there are many children of Gomer [Welsh] working in these mills and in all likelihood their numbers will have doubled in the near future.)<sup>124</sup> A year later the newspaper made it abundantly clear that the Welsh presence in the city was due entirely to the industry:

*Rhyw bedair mlynedd yn ol nid oedd yma Gymro na Chymraeg i’w gael. Yn 1892 adeiladwyd yma waith alcan, ac yn mis Mehefin o’r un flwyddyn cychwynwyd ef, ac y mae wedi gweithio yn dra bywiog oddiar hynny.... Mae yma erbyn heddyw yn agos i ddau gant o Gymry newydd ymfudo o Gymru; a gallwn ddweyd fod un rhan o dair o honynt yn berchen ar gartrefi.*<sup>125</sup>

Some four years ago there was not a single Welshman here nor was the Welsh language to be heard. In 1892, the Alcan works were built and in June the same year production began and work has been lively since then ... There are by today close to two hundred Welsh people who have just emigrated from Wales and, it can be said, that a third of them own their own houses.

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<sup>121</sup> Daniels, *Coming to America*, 144.

<sup>122</sup> Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America*, 140.

<sup>123</sup> In 1900, for example, in Granville, New York, and Bangor, Pennsylvania, over 90 percent of Welsh-born males were involved in the slate industry. Tyler, “Migrant Culture Maintenance,” 116; Tyler, “Culture Maintenance, Occupational Mobility and Social Status: The Welsh in a Pennsylvania Slate Town 1900–1930,” *Welsh History Review* 28, no. 1 (July 2016), 131.

<sup>124</sup> *Y Drych*, June 27, 1895.

<sup>125</sup> *Y Drych*, October 8, 1896.

This qualitative evidence is borne out by quantitative data, with the 1900 census revealing that of the 190 Welsh-born men with two Welsh parents for whom occupation was recorded, no less than 156 (82.1 percent) were working in tinsplate, primarily as skilled rollers, doublers, catchers, and heaters.<sup>126</sup> A further ten were recorded in similar occupations, but in the steel industry. The other twenty-four were engaged in a variety of blue-collar and white-collar occupations: laborers, masons, blacksmiths, carpenters, clerks, bookkeepers, professionals, merchants, and proprietors. By 1910, however, while the proportion of Welsh-born men working in the tinsplate industry had only slightly decreased to 75.4 percent, the number involved, ninety-eight of 130, was in steep decline. The major change in the Welsh workforce, therefore, was not a wholesale movement out of the tinsplate industry, but a sharp drop in the total number of workers. With regard to the long-term cultural integrity of the Welsh community, the precipitous drop in numbers of Welsh-born immigrants and their American-born children was to have a far more significant effect than their slow departure from a specific industry.<sup>127</sup> This decline was directly related to the fortunes of the industry that had attracted them to the county. The new century saw a collapse in American tinsplate production, and in 1907 only 20 percent of American tinsplate mills were at work.<sup>128</sup> The result was a major blow to the long-term viability of the Welsh community, as is apparent from a closer analysis of the Welsh-born population in the county.

Collated data regarding immigration year, as listed on the census of 1920 (Table 2), reveal that of the 102 Welsh-born individuals with two Welsh parents for whom immigration year was recorded, no less than sixty-seven had reached the United States in the 1890s.

Even when discounting the death of a large number of those who had arrived in the earlier decades, it is clear that the influx had peaked in the 1890s and that immigration had virtually ceased by the 1910s, with

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<sup>126</sup> This phenomenon was replicated in other immigrant groups. Dinnerstein identifies the association of the Germans in Milwaukee and Cincinnati with brewing, and the Irish in Boston with the purveyance of liquor. Dinnerstein et al., *Natives and Strangers*, 70.

<sup>127</sup> This was not universally the case. The Welsh in Sharon, Pennsylvania, for example, largely departed the metal industries in a relatively short space of time. Robert Llewellyn Tyler, "Occupational Mobility and Social Status: The Welsh Experience in Sharon, Pennsylvania 1880–1930," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 83, no. 1 (Winter 2016), 1–27.

<sup>128</sup> For a general history, see Ian Ayers, "The Tin Plate Industry in the United States." *Journal of the Franklin Institute* 143 (June 1897), 424–46.

Table 2: Immigration Decade of Welsh-born in Madison County, 1920

Decade	Pre-1880	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910s	Total
Number	5	13	67	14	3	102
Percent	4.9%	12.7%	65.7%	13.7%	2.9%	100%

few arriving to replace those lost through death or migration. The collapse in the number of Welsh-born individuals with two Welsh parents in the county from 544 in 1900 to 307 in 1910 and a mere 128 in 1920, coupled with the high level of exogamy noted above, and the all-powerful forces of acculturation and assimilation, sounded the death knell for the Welsh community.

The Welsh people who congregated in Madison County, Indiana, at the end of the nineteenth century succeeded, however briefly, in establishing a vibrant, distinct ethnolinguistic community. They were highly religious, adhering to a specific form of Protestantism, and successfully created a variety of societies and cultural groups that were replicas of those in Wales. They were also differentiated, not only from their hosts but also from their fellow United Kingdom migrants, by their speaking a different language. Welsh migrants in Madison County were, however, relatively few, highly exogamous, generally respected, and faced little or no opposition to their presence from the host community. Widespread bilingualism, the acquisition of English, and a failure by Welsh immigrants to maintain and intergenerationally transmit their language, served to eradicate the characteristic that most set them apart. Furthermore, developments in Wales that undermined the value of Welsh culture could well have provided some in the community with additional motivation to abandon their old-world characteristics. It could even be argued that once English had been acquired and citizenship gained, the relevance and purpose of the Welsh community itself was called into question. Ultimately, maintenance of the Welsh community was no longer viable following the cessation of immigration and the departure from the district of many from Wales and their children, which was, ironically, linked to the decline of the industry that had brought so many of them together in the first place. While the Welsh community in this part of Indiana was relatively short-lived, and the Welsh eagerly and speedily became Americans, they did contribute to the rich social fabric of the county. The large-scale participation by working people in activities involving singing, music recital, recitation, and literature remains an admirable testament to the depth of their culture.