

Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymry America, Prifysgol Caerdydd
The Cardiff Centre for Welsh American Studies, Cardiff University

Annual Public Lecture for 2003

**‘Raising the Wind’:
Emigrating from Wales to the USA in the late
nineteenth and early twentieth centuries**

Bill Jones

Ysgol y Gymraeg, Prifysgol Caerdydd
School of Welsh, Cardiff University
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With its suggestions of unmentionable but perfectly natural body processes, the title ‘raising the wind’ requires some explanation.¹ It is a foolish speaker, perhaps, who uses such a title given also its connotations of hot air. ‘I am no big old bag of wind’, a Welshman from the Pittsburgh area pleaded in a letter to the *Llanelly and County Guardian* in 1891, and for all our sakes I trust that at the end of this lecture I will not feel compelled to do likewise.² The phrase ‘raising the wind’ was one of many used to denote emigration in the late nineteenth century. I was inspired to take it as my title by an item in the *Merthyr Express*, 23 May 1868, reporting on emigration from Beaufort, at the top end of the Ebbw Fawr valley in Monmouthshire. At the time, Beaufort was experiencing economic depression due to the collapse of the local iron industry, widespread unemployment and extensive out-migration.³ I will quote at length from the report because it mentions many aspects of the experience of emigrating during this period that I intend to discuss this evening:

On Monday last our railway station was literally besieged with emigrants and their friends. ... The scene of the separation was of a most interesting description, while some wept and appeared full of grief at the thought of saying ‘Good bye’ for the last time on this side of the grave, others were more cheerful and full of glee, laughing, singing, and cheering at the top of their voices. The trial at parting, and the breaking up of families, seemed to be the most vexatious part of the moving drama, just now. The difficulty of getting to America is of little moment or consideration. Three weeks ago we chronicled the departure of Mr. John Rice Phillips. ... On Saturday last confirmation was received by his relatives here that he had arrived safely, so that a journey to America is now looked upon as a mere excursion. The increasing pressure of trade and low wages has caused much enquiry to be made about the ‘times’ is [*sic*] America and in most cases the answer is encouraging and satisfactory, and people are using all means to ‘raise the wind’ and ‘fly away’.⁴

‘Flying away’ was another contemporary euphemism for emigration. In the same year as the Beaufort scene reported here, one of the organisers of an emigration society told a public

meeting in the Temperance Hall, Merthyr: ‘you that have not the means to go, come and join our society, and we will give you wings to fly also.’⁵

The surviving record of emigration from Wales during the late nineteenth century is replete with first-hand accounts such as these—reports of crowds at stations, tearful farewells and even of whole streets of houses having been vacated because of emigration.⁶ This type of evidence is by no means peculiar to Welsh emigration. As Marjory Harper has remarked, the actual process of emigration was a subject of great human interest, ‘lending it particularly readily to eyewitness accounts’.⁷ In the case of the Welsh, material on emigration has survived in a wide variety of forms in both Welsh and English and in both public and private sources: articles and editorials in newspapers and periodicals, emigrant guide books, speeches, ballads, letters, diaries, memoirs, biographies etc. These fascinating documents are at the same time problematic and indispensable as sources of evidence. They are also often very vivid, highly colourful, moving and humorous, as accessibly full of human interest as any source can be.

As numerous commentators have insisted, these personal sources are vitally important reminders of the rich human history to the emigration epic, involving as it does myriads of individual dramas and sagas of personal triumphs, disappointments and tragedies. Increasingly scholars of migrations are emphasizing the importance of personal factors and individual experiences—the ‘social history’ of migration, as it has been termed—to any understanding of the subject.⁸ There are many dimensions to the study of emigration from Wales to the USA, as with all migrations, and often these are conveniently grouped into patterns (who were the emigrants, how many of them were there, why did they emigrate, where did they settle) and processes (how people emigrated, why they did so, the changes migration wrought on the homeland, the receiving destinations and the migrants themselves).⁹ This

evening, I want to explore some of the social history of the process of emigrating from Wales in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries up to the point of the emigrants' departure across the Atlantic. I intend to examine how people emigrated, the motives of the emigrants, how the decision to leave might have been taken and when this occurred, and how the finance for the venture was secured—the 'all means' people were using in order to emigrate to which the Beaufort farewell scene alluded. I will also be discussing some of the mid-nineteenth-century developments that influenced emigration from Wales such as improvements in transportation and communications and the growth of the emigration trade.¹⁰ To close, I will focus on the impact of emigration on contemporaries. Throughout, I will be drawing extensively on contemporary reports in order to illustrate and underline the human element and show that the phenomenon of emigration embraces a much wider field of history than just that of the emigrants themselves. My approach will in part be deliberately anecdotal in order to reveal something of the 'varieties'¹¹ of Welsh emigrant experiences and enable us to hear some of the voices of the people involved. This is not to say that this type of evidence should be accepted uncritically, as if it was somehow more authentic than other sources. Yet we must also remember that whatever their limitations as evidence, these were the words that contemporaries heard, read and spoke. As such they may themselves have influenced some people to seek a new life across the Atlantic as well as the timing and destination of their emigration, and persuaded others to remain at home. Before first discussing the motives of Welsh emigrants, however, I need to establish the general context by giving a very brief outline of Welsh emigration to, and settlement in, the USA during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, that is during the great age of European mass migration to the American continents.¹²

'The one chief field of emigration for the people of Wales has always been that portion of North America which now forms the United States', as the Welsh Land Commission of 1893-96

reported with complete accuracy.¹³ Over the centuries Welsh people have established a presence in an untold number of settlements in North America, from Anaconda, Montana to Zanesville, Ohio. The world's first permanent overseas Welsh communities were established as a result of the settlement of Welsh religious dissenters in New England and Pennsylvania between *c.*1660 and *c.*1720. After some seventy years of stagnation during the eighteenth century, emigration increased again in the 1790s, marking the beginning of an extended and almost unbroken period of movement that was only ended by the worldwide economic depression after 1929. In the middle decades of the nineteenth century two important changes occurred. More people emigrated from Wales during the second half of the nineteenth century than the first. In the 1850s and 1860s, the composition of the outward movement also changed, with a switch from a 'folk' to an 'individual' or a 'labour' migration.¹⁴ In general terms, until the mid-nineteenth century the majority of the emigrants came mainly from the rural areas of Wales. They settled, initially, in New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, and, later, the mid Western states, notably Wisconsin. In the late nineteenth century some Welsh emigrant agriculturalists settled in these already existing communities and others pushed even further westward into Nebraska, South Dakota, Oregon and Washington.¹⁵ But their numbers were small and Welsh agricultural emigration had effectively come to an end by the 1890s.¹⁶ In contrast the influx of skilled industrial workers increased. From the 1820s onwards, Wales, like Cornwall, began to develop its own international labour networks based on mining and iron-making skills and participate in the emerging global industrial economy.¹⁷ After the 1850s the heavier influx from Wales into the USA was one of industrial workers and families from the coal, iron and tinplate districts of south Wales and north-east Wales and the slate quarrying areas of north-west Wales. They settled in increasing numbers in the large cities and industrial regions, notably those in the Pennsylvania and Ohio coalfields. By 1890 there were 100,079 natives of Wales (excluding Monmouthshire) resident in the USA.¹⁸ But although

industrial workers appear to be in the majority, the movement from Wales, taken as whole, was occupationally very diverse. In 1893 there were among the emigrants two chemists, a minister of religion, an accountant, ten blacksmiths, two bookbinders, three butchers, eleven carpenters, fifteen clerks, three coppersmiths, a seamstress, eight engineers, a gardener, ten ironworkers, one machinist, eight sailors, three stonemasons, two mechanics, one hundred and thirty-four miners, two painters, a printer, five cobblers, a spinner, four tailors, nine tinsmith workers, a watchmaker, a weaver, thirty-four farmers, seven shopkeepers, one hundred and sixteen labourers, three merchants, seven quarrymen, seventeen maids, and a student.¹⁹ It is likely that the migrant stream from Wales became more diverse as the nineteenth century progressed, although until more detailed work is done on this important issue, we can only speculate. A record of the occupations of Welsh emigrants during 1913 also shows more female emigrants 'with occupation other than housewife', as it was classed at the time. In that year there were one hundred and thirty-five female domestic servants, twenty-one female dressmakers and trades, and twenty-six female clerks and professionals.²⁰

Emigrant Motives

If there was a variety of occupations then so, too, was there a variety of emigrant motives and aims. Why people emigrated is obviously a key issue for migration historians, but it is also a very complex one that is difficult to explain conclusively.²¹ And we have no reason to doubt that it was a very difficult and complex decision for the vast majority of the individuals involved. As Dudley Baines has written, 'we cannot know what actually passed through the minds of potential emigrants'.²² Welsh emigration as a whole during this period was undoubtedly heavily influenced by economic considerations. For most emigrants, the probability is that the desire for material improvement and a better life played at least some part in the decision. Until recently historians tended to attach importance to prevailing 'push' and 'pull' factors in the homelands and the

receiving countries, respectively, that could stimulate emigration to the USA. Many students of the Welsh movement have stressed expulsive and magnetic forces in their efforts to explain the outflow.²³ In the case of agricultural workers in Wales, poverty, distress, shortage of land and social, religious and linguistic tensions between farmers and landowners were real expulsive forces. In the industrial areas, social and working conditions were harsh, wages were low and the boom and slump nature of the economy made life precarious and insecure. Adverse economic conditions at home, especially during times of industrial disputes, wage cuts and depression may have influenced many to emigrate.

In turn, the USA presented attractions that were on offer even during times of relative prosperity in Wales. To agriculturalists there was the appeal of cheap land and lower taxes and rents; Welsh male industrial workers possessed industrial skills that greatly increased their chances of a better life across the Atlantic. Welsh men's expertise in puddling iron, cutting coal, quarrying and splitting slates or rolling tinsplate was highly prized and in great demand in industrialising America and it commanded higher wages and privileged positions.²⁴ Industrial workers have starring roles in the drama of Welsh emigration, but they were not the only skilled actors on stage. Dewi Cynon's *Hanes Plwyf Penderyn* [History of Penderyn Parish] records another example of a skilled Welsh worker who emigrated to America: Miss Gwenllian Morgan, originally of that parish, who was a champion milk maid.²⁵ In the case of both agricultural and industrial workers, the seductive image of the USA as the land of opportunity and freedom, where families could independently support themselves and thrive, was a powerful motivating force.

However, Baines is also right to insist that 'we must be careful ... about any explanation which depends on the characteristics of the environment from which the emigrants came or to which they were going. People chose to emigrate. It was a *selective* process and emigrants were rarely a random sample of the

population from which they were drawn.’²⁶ Emigration was the result of individual choice in which personal reasons played a large part. Motives could differ according to occupation, age, sex, and family circumstances, and these same variables could be just as influential in determining that a person emigrated as her or his social and economic conditions. More Welsh males than females, more young people than old, emigrated. Stages in the life cycle were often important, for example, emigration following marriage, leaving the parental home, or the death of a parent, parents or spouse. Psychological and other barriers were also to be overcome. In 1867, D. N. Thomas (Nicholas Ddu), an emigrant from Gwynfe, Carmarthenshire, stated that although emigration to America was a very common thing in many parts of Wales at the time, it was a very rare occurrence in his native village. This was not because many did not have the desire to emigrate, but they just could not come to the decision to do so. They saw emigration as too great a task and far too dangerous an adventure. Indeed Thomas himself had not been able to reach a decision for some years, and when he had finally done so, his parents had opposed his plan until he had eventually managed to persuade them otherwise.²⁷

The decision to emigrate was also influenced by the information available at the time, which may have persuaded people to leave and, more often, determined the timing of departure and the particular destination. Potential emigrants seem to have obtained their information from a number of sources: printed ones such as newspapers, periodicals and emigrant guide books; returning migrants and visitors, and emigrant letters (the theme of a conference organised by this Centre in November 2003).²⁸ The circulation of information about destinations and working and living conditions overseas increased appreciably in Wales from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. W. Ross Johnston has argued that between the 1850s and 1880s in Wales, a ‘ferment’ of reasonably exact and accurate information was readily available for potential emigrants, although he also acknowledges that the propaganda was sometimes coloured and exaggerated.²⁹

From the mid-nineteenth century onwards also, the demand for this type of information increased as well. In 1854 it was reported that in Merthyr information respecting emigration 'is eagerly sought, and readily given. The letters which arrive by each mail are circulated extensively from hand to hand and house to house, and serve by their glowing contents to swell the numbers of intending emigrants.'³⁰

Personal factors varied according to each emigrant. In 1881 a *Tarian y Gweithiwr* [The Workman's Shield] correspondent suggested that the 'spirit of emigration possessed people for different considerations', and went on to mention some reasons why certain individuals perceived other countries as being better than their own. Some emigrated because they considered the laws of foreign countries to be more favourable to freedom and fairness. Others believed that elsewhere they would receive more remuneration for their labour and better educational advantages for their children. Still others judged that the climates of other countries were more conducive to their health and constitutions.³¹ But such reasons were not necessarily mutually exclusive. To the contrary, as Hywel Davies points out, emigrants were motivated by a combination of reasons.³² Walter Haydn Davies recorded that his parents' emigration from Bedlinog to the USA in the 1880s was prompted not only by his father's 'adventurous spirit' but also because 'some of the more discerning and enterprising villagers had emigrated'. Apparently they thought they could not fail if they followed in the footsteps of neighbours whose judgement was respected by the community. They were also attracted by what they perceived as better prospects in America. Davies's father 'thought he could do very much better abroad for the mining industry in South Wales was experiencing a lean time. Wages were much higher in America and his brother had assured him of work and accommodation.'³³

Late-nineteenth-century newspaper reports, biographies and autobiographies reveal an array of personal impulses behind

decisions to emigrate from Wales. These factors include an eagerness to grasp new opportunities, increased expectations, religious, political, nationalistic, cultural and utopian motives, and the desire for adventure and escape. An illuminating case study is that of Ellen G. Evans of Llanllyfni, Caernarfonshire. In 1904, at the age of 15, she emigrated to Chicago (accompanied by a chaperone). In her autobiography *I Chicago'n Bymtheg Oed* [To Chicago Aged Fifteen], she recalls that she did not have the ambition to stay on in school and go to college. She wanted to earn a living and be independent, and sought in America the '*pethau neis*' [nice things] in life. She returned to live in Wales in 1907, largely in response to maternal pressure to do so, but in November of that year she re-emigrated to the USA because she was missing the way of life she had enjoyed there.³⁴

Some Welsh were emigrating to the USA in order to flee debts and the consequences of misdeeds, although these were perhaps unlikely to be more than a small minority. A letter writer in *Tarian y Gweithiwr* complained bitterly in 1881 that some emigrated

in order to avoid the consequences of their ungodly acts; some having lived wastefully and negligently, and fallen into debt; others having broken the law of the land in which they lived, and fleeing plaintiffs and avengers. But the most disgraceful of all the classes that emigrate illegally is that class of males who have for years been in amatory congress with respectable young women, [women] who ... were seduced by this class through deceit and pretence, and through promises sweeter than the first rays of dawn, to soil and mar their characters.³⁵

Some Welsh even used emigration as a justification for certain illegal acts. In 1879 David Thomas, a Rhondda workman, was caught on board ship in Liverpool with the £20 he had stolen from the Workingmen's School House in Treorci. He apparently pleaded that he had only borrowed the money and fully intended to send it back once he got to America.³⁶

It is likely that some emigrant families left because they were swept along by the ‘emigration fever’ that was reported to have occasionally gripped certain districts almost as a kind of ‘contagion’, another term often used at the time to denote emigration. (The possible significance of the vocabulary used will be discussed later in the lecture.) In the communities along the northern rim of the South Wales Coalfield such as Aberdare, Merthyr, Rhymney, Tredegar, Sirhowy, Beaufort, Ebbw Vale, this seems to have been almost an annual occurrence from the early 1850s through to the early 1880s. During 1879-80, waves of workers left Llanelli, Pen-tyrch and Morriston whilst the following year Brynaman was apparently obsessed with emigration ‘mania’, resulting in the departure of a number of emigrants.³⁷ The same was true of the Swansea and Llanelli area in the early 1890s in response to the highly damaging consequences for the local tinplate industry of the passing of the McKinley Tariff by the US government in 1890.³⁸ Similar ‘outbreaks’ of ‘emigration fever’ were also regularly reported in industrial areas in north Wales. In some years during the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s, the slate-quarrying and slate-mining communities in north-west Wales seem to have been as receptive to ‘emigration mania’ as their counterparts in the south Wales coalfield.³⁹ In Bethesda in March 1870 it was reported ‘*bod yr ysbryd ymfudiaeth yn dechreu cynnhyrfu y bobl eleni etto*’ [the spirit of emigration is starting to agitate the people this year again], and apparently almost everyone was talking about emigration to America.⁴⁰ During the 1870s and 1880s the North Wales Quarrymen’s Union sent several delegations to North America to report on conditions and assess whether it was desirable for slate workers to emigrate there.⁴¹ Six months later, America was the ‘true topic of the day’ in the north-east Wales coal mining village of Rhosllannerchrugog. The village was reported as being regularly in a state of ‘*helbul*’ [affliction] because so many were leaving for the West. Some whole families were leaving, selling everything they owned; wives were going to join husbands, and men were leaving their wives behind.⁴²

Some parts of rural Wales were also affected, but in the late nineteenth century the picture here is more fragmented and limited. A history of Llanegryn parish in Meirioneth maintains that the ‘*ysbryd symud*’ [spirit of moving] had fallen like a disease on the area throughout the nineteenth century and that there was hardly a house in the parish from which someone had not emigrated to some country or other across the seas.⁴³ In 1879 it was reported that farm labourers in south Wales and Monmouthshire had all become possessed with the conviction that emigration was the only solution to the prevailing economic depression.⁴⁴ Yet whatever the intensity of the belief, it does not seem to have propelled extensive emigration from rural Wales in the latter years of the nineteenth century. In 1869, in spite of reports of emigration fever in other parts of Wales, one reporter complained that the ‘*ysbryd ymfudol*’ [emigration spirit] was not strong in Llŷn and Eifionydd but ought to be so.⁴⁵ The lack of emigration from the rural areas of Wales was a matter of great surprise to many newspaper correspondents. Welsh-Americans occasionally attributed this to servility and the lack of an adventurous spirit on the part of agriculturalists in Wales.⁴⁶

Downturns in local economies were probably an important contributory cause of the out-migration in those areas where emigration fever was believed to have broken out (and perhaps determined its absence in areas where it did not). Nevertheless, emigrants may also have been responding to social leadership of the kind we saw in the case of Walter Haydn Davies’s parents, for example, or a form of peer pressure (as we might call it). Intriguing hints of how the latter may have operated is contained in a report in *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* [The Banner and Times of Wales] in March 1869. I should explain first that one of the constant assumptions in many contemporary commentaries is that it was largely skilled workers and respectable and thrifty families who were emigrating. These were the type that civic leaders did not want to lose, especially as those whom they perceived as the less desirable elements stayed at home and incomers of alleged inferior quality arrived to replace the

departed.⁴⁷ This particular report expressed concern about what would become of the town since so many good workmen were emigrating. The reporter had apparently overheard a conversation between two men in an Aberdare street during which one told the other that the best men were going to America and leaving behind the ‘rubbish’ (the English word was used in this Welsh-language report). ‘Well, well,’ replied the other man, ‘if so, I’ll also go away then, rather than be counted as rubbish.’⁴⁸

To develop further the possible impact of peer pressure and social leadership influences, it might be argued that the exodus from Wales in this period often had the characteristics of a conditioned response, one influenced by a prevailing ideological climate that advocated and welcomed working class emigration. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, and especially between the 1850s and the 1880s, the question of emigration from both the agricultural and industrial areas of Wales, as in Britain generally, was firmly on the national agenda. During those decades, punctuated as they were by protracted slumps and bitter disputes, emigration was a matter of debate and controversy. Newspapers, letter-writers, speakers at public meetings, people on the streets and in homes debated the pros and cons of emigration and the most suitable destinations. Emigration was regarded by many, and, not least, by workers themselves, as a solution to economic slumps in industry as it was believed it reduced the labour surplus (which was seen as the basic problem) and thereby caused wages to rise. Some trade-unionists (let alone anti-labour employers and some newspaper editors) regarded it as a more viable strategy than strike action as an attempt to improve the lot of the working class.⁴⁹ The miners’ leader William Abraham (Mabon) was only one of many trade-unionists who got involved in emigration schemes, although the initiative he became associated with in 1879 became a complete fiasco.⁵⁰

The Welsh Emigration Business

Welsh emigration to America in this period was also shaped and probably stimulated by the growth in Wales from the mid-nineteenth century onwards of the European-wide phenomenon some migration historians have termed the ‘emigration business’: the activities of shipping companies and, in particular, emigration agents.⁵¹ Harper has suggested that emigration agents can be defined as ‘individuals and institutions with a vested military, financial, commercial, philanthropic or political interest in large-scale emigration, as opposed to the relocation of specific individuals or families’.⁵² The history of the emigration business in Wales has yet to be studied comprehensively. Evidence of the promotion and aiding of large-scale emigration by the types of bodies discussed by Harper is scarce, suggesting that the emigration business may not have been as extensive as that which existed contemporaneously in Cornwall and Scotland. Nevertheless in Wales, as elsewhere in the Europe of the time, emigrating was certainly facilitated by key developments such as the switch from sail to steam, the growth of emigrant steamship lines like Inman, Cunard and Guion, the construction of railways and the introduction of regular timetabled departures and through tickets to overseas destinations.⁵³ During the middle decades of the nineteenth century the earlier Welsh emigrant sea-trade based on a number of small ports all around the Welsh coastline was superceded by a largely Liverpool-based one. This development contributed to the underestimating of the size of the outflow from Wales in official sources as there was a tendency to record Welsh emigrants from Liverpool as English. Railways provided easier transportation to Liverpool and without them it would have been more difficult for the shipping companies and emigration agents to tap the Welsh and especially the south-Walian emigration market.⁵⁴ As we have already seen at the start of this lecture and shall discuss more fully later, railway stations became the local focal points of farewell ceremonies.

These changes transformed conditions of travel and made a

major impact on the act of emigrating from Wales in several ways. It eroded a very real psychological obstacle to emigration. As will be discussed later, nineteenth century personal testimonies, ballads and poems suggest a widespread public fear of the sea and of voyages, and that the knowledge that the ocean had to be braved in order to reach the USA was a significant deterrent. Improvements in transportation and communications in the 1860s reduced uncertainty and cost. The passage became cheaper, safer, more comfortable and faster, slashing transatlantic crossing times from between two to three months to less than a fortnight.⁵⁵ Maybe the reporter of the Beaufort farewell scene with which I began was exaggerating in describing the Atlantic crossing as a ‘mere excursion’ but plenty of other commentators echoed the sentiment. ‘A journey from Liverpool to New York has now become very commonplace in comparison with our fathers’ days’, wrote John Davies, who had emigrated to Ohio, to the paper *Y Gwladgarwr* [The Patriot] in 1868. ‘It is the technological improvement which makes all the difference’, he continued,

that we in this age can cross the Atlantic in as many days as they took weeks. The power of steam drives us from the one continent to the other in a straight line across the great ocean, like the one in which the steam engine drives us across the country.⁵⁶

Faster and easier transportation provided better opportunities for seasonal migration. Baines rightly points out that the transformations in the emigrant trade in the 1860s changed the nature of the decision by making it less final and easier to take.⁵⁷ As a result, the shift to a ‘labour’ migration that occurred was accompanied by a general increase in temporary or short-term emigration from Britain as the nineteenth century wore on.⁵⁸ However, the absence of studies of this aspect of emigration from Wales makes it difficult to reach conclusions about its significance. There are occasional references in the sources to individuals and families going to the USA for a period of time—perhaps annually for a season—and then returning. One such group was the granite quarrymen and setters from Trefor and

Penmaen-mawr, Caernarfonshire, who believed the £3—£4 passage was cheap enough to enable them to come and go rather than emigrate.⁵⁹

Even so, it would be wise not to exaggerate the impact of the transportational and commercial innovations we have been discussing. In 1879, a newspaper correspondent maintained that few emigrants did not get very frightened at the thought of crossing the ocean.⁶⁰ In terms of Welsh emigrants' own experiences, inconvenience and discomfort were not completely eradicated. As Marjory Harper has noted, 'a voyage in an emigrant ship was no luxury cruise', and especially in the steerage.⁶¹ In his letter published in *Y Gwladgarwr* in 1868 (referred to above) John Davies reminds his readers that even though crossing the Atlantic was now hardly an extraordinary occurrence, 'we have the same number of miles to travel and the same dangers to face as in previous times'. He goes on to describe mealtime in the steerage as 'the nearest thing in the world to Wombwell's animal show' and warns that: 'It would be well for everyone to remember that all a passenger can claim for himself is about two and a half feet in height, two feet in width and six feet in length; and in this small space, he eats, lives, sleeps, etc.'⁶² In 1873 the poet Cymro Cloff [Lame Welshman] (Richard W. Jones), who with his parents emigrated from Glyn Tarell, Defynnog to Wisconsin in 1853 or 1854 and became a successful farmer there, described the ocean as '*y bwci mawr sydd ar ffordd y rhan fwyaf i ymgymeryd â'r anturiaeth*' [the big bogey that prevents most people from embarking on the adventure].⁶³ He insisted that the Atlantic crossing was now easier but still likened emigrant ships to 'extraordinary gaols':⁶⁴

Rhyw garchar rhyfeddol yw'r llongau ymfudol –
Rhyw giwdawd o gawdel, neu Babel o bobol –
Rhyw griw o bob graddau mewn masnach a moesau,
Yn dyrfa ddiderfyn, fel gwenyn mewn cychau;
Ceir yno ar unwaith bob iaith a chenedlaeth,
Yn gwaeddi fel gwyddau, heb unrhyw lywodraeth;
Pob un yn ben, a phob un â'i biniwn –

Pob un yn fisi, a phob un â'i ffasiwn;
Rhai'n canu, rhai'n cwyno, rhai'n waeledd, rhai'n wylo;
Rhai'n rhegu'n rhyfygus, a rhai yn gweddio
Ar Mair ac ar Pedr, Sant Padrig a'u pader,
A phob un ar rywun yn ol ei hen arfer.

O fewn y gwelyau rhai'n gorwedd yn garnau,
A lluoedd yn llariaidd ar lawr hyd y lloriau;
Rhai'n geni, rhai'n marw, rhai'n chwareu, rhai'n chwerw;
Rhai'n ddifyr, rhai'n ddyfal, rhai'n feddal, rhai'n feddw;
Rhai'n caru, rhai'n curo, rhai'n dinskyth yn dawnsio,
A rhai yn ddiarbed fel bleiddiaid yn bloeddi;
Ac hefyd, nid 'chydig a welir yn chwydu,
A rhywbeth sydd gasach, ond doethach im' dewi ...

[*Loose translation*: 'An extraordinary gaol is the emigrant ships – / A hotchpotch of humans, or a Babel of people – / A crew of all classes in trade and morals, / An unending crowd, like bees in hives; / Here all at once is every language and generation, / Shouting like geese, out of control; / Each one the boss, and each with their own opinions – / Each one busy, and all with their own ways; / Some singing, some complaining, some ill, some crying; / Some swearing presumptuously, and beseeching / Mary and Peter, St Patrick, in the prayers, / And everyone praying to someone according to their custom. /

Inside the beds, some lying in heaps, / And many lying docile on the floors; / Some giving birth, some dying, some playing, some bitter; / Some amusing, some earnest, some sappy, some drunk; / Some loving, some beating, some dancing struttingly; / And some ruthless like howling wolves; / And also not a few can be seen throwing up, / And something that's worse, but it's wiser if I'm silent ...'.]

Shipping companies and agents advertised extensively in the press in Wales and the Welsh press in America⁶⁵ and often offered special deals. In July 1877 the Transatlantic Line announced that it was prepared to pay train fares from any station to the port of departure and that during the voyage beds and crockery would be provided free of charge.⁶⁶ Nor was it only shipping companies that offered bargains: in 1867 Isaac Thomas, an Aberdare carpenter, was reported to be preparing a huge stock of empty boxes for intending emigrants. He undertook to pay the cost of transporting boxes to any part of Wales himself, and offered a free box for every dozen bought.⁶⁷

Key figures in the emigration trade were the emigration agents. There were a number of Welsh agents in Liverpool, usually offering accommodation for Welsh emigrants before embarking. They included the well-known writer, journalist and former miner Noah M. Jones (1832-94), whom Glanmor Williams has vividly described as having ‘his finger in every emigrational pie’.⁶⁸ Jones began working in an emigration office in the 1860s and set up his own business in Liverpool in 1870. Accounts of his short temper suggest that his bardic name Cymro Gwyllt [Wild Welshman] was particularly apt, whilst one correspondent believed that as the agent was always complaining about something in his writings, his initials C. G. should stand for ‘Chronic Grunter’.⁶⁹ The Liverpool agents and transatlantic shipping companies employed sub-agents in most Welsh towns. Among those who served in this capacity were the newspaper editor and labour leader John T. Morgan of Merthyr⁷⁰ and the journalist, writer and historian Owen Morgan (Morien) of Pontypridd and Treforest.⁷¹ Usually these local agents had other occupations and callings. In Bryn-mawr in the 1890s, the agent for the Cunard Line (Liverpool to New York) was Mrs E. Judd of Beaufort House while Batten’s the Fruiterers was the agent for the American Line (Liverpool to Philadelphia). At the same time the Allan Line of steamers (to Halifax, Canada and Portland and Boston, USA), had three agents in Breconshire: J. P. Jones, Chemist, Talgarth; Samuel Powell, 1 Bridge Street, Hay and, in Brecon itself, P. Davies, of the George Hotel.⁷²

More Welsh emigration agents advertised in newspapers than were listed in the town directories and their notices in the press are a vitally important source for studying their practices and marketing strategies. ‘*Ymfudiaeth, Ymfudiaeth, Ymfudiaeth*’ [Emigration! Emigration! Emigration!], screamed one of the advertisements of J. D. Pierce of 17 Duke Street, Liverpool, rather reminiscent of the ‘Location, Location, Location’ mantra of present-day estate agents and housing programmes on television.⁷³ The quality of service agents provided and the propriety of their selling techniques were the focus of much

debate and disagreement among Welsh commentators and emigrants during the late nineteenth century. Unfairly or not, agents were regularly criticised for duping potential emigrants. One writer complained in February 1875:

Our street corners are adorned with the leaflets of emigration agents and in large letters they appeal to the ironworkers and coal miners of Glamorgan to emigrate to America because of the cheapness of the transportation; and at a tumultuous time as at present, it is a tribulation for men who possess a few pounds to be misled by such attractive advertisements.⁷⁴

No doubt partly in response to such accusations, emigration agents often provided recommendations from ministers of religion and other dignitaries regarding their good service, honesty and reliability.⁷⁵ These testimonials usually took the form of letters or advertisements in the Welsh press in both languages. The emigration trade was also a cutthroat business, and it was by no means unknown for character assassinations to appear in the press. In August 1881, James Rees of 10 Union Street, Liverpool complained that attacks of this nature by irresponsible persons were tending to injure his emigration agency and diminish his public status. He believed there were hundreds who could disprove the allegations. So that no-one should misunderstand the true objective of the attacks on him, he wished to make it clear to all that he intended to continue as an emigration agent.⁷⁶ The following example of an emigration agent's advertisement has been chosen not merely to illustrate typical arrangements for the south Wales market but also because unwittingly it may well be a savage indictment of the practices of some emigration agents, although not necessarily this particular one. The 1879 advertisement in *Tarian y Gweithiwr* of an emigrant company based in Seymour Street, Aberdare states that its agent in Liverpool, Gomer Roberts (Cymro Dôf [Tame Welshman]) would accompany emigrants from Aberdare to that port on the morning train on the first Monday of every month, and his partner, John Williams, would meet the passengers on their arrival in New York. The

advertisement further promised that Roberts would be in a sober state when he met his customers and when he came to put them safely on the right ship.⁷⁷

The Funding and Timing of Emigration

Whatever their precise impact, it can be safely concluded that the growth of the emigration business in Wales and the infrastructural changes discussed above were closely related to the increase in size and scale of the outflow. Yet however relatively cheap the crossing was, it still had to be paid for. I now want to address an obvious question: from where did emigrants obtain sufficient money to enable them to leave Wales, to keep themselves during the voyage and establish themselves elsewhere? This is yet another issue which has implications for the nature of the Welsh emigrant profile. Financial wherewithal was yet another selective factor that determined that some people emigrated to the USA and others did not. This is not the place to enter into a detailed discussion of wage rates and surplus income available to ordinary working families but it is clear that generally it was those who had put something by and not the absolutely destitute that tended to emigrate to the USA. As one commentator observed of emigrants from Aberdare in 1869: ‘still men go who have a little property, a cottage or two, and may continue to do well at home’.⁷⁸ Numerous reports during the period suggested that there were many who did not want to emigrate but felt that if they stayed for a few more years their situations would worsen considerably.⁷⁹

For some—perhaps many—the means to emigrate came from friends and relatives who had already emigrated and sent back ‘passes’.⁸⁰ Such aid included husbands sending remittances to enable wives and children to join them. This very public act both invested the relocation with a degree of permanency and, especially in cases when money was sent back a short time after the emigration of the husband, fuelled further the idea that a much better life could be gained across the Atlantic.⁸¹ *Baner ac*

Amserau Cymru's Aberdare correspondent reported in October 1869 the striking sight of scores of wives leaving the town together to join their husbands in America before the winter storms began.⁸² The common process whereby husbands emigrated first could place excessive burdens on wives. Those women who were left behind, perhaps for months and possibly even years, had to support families by their own efforts as remittances from husbands could arrive irregularly or not at all. At a meeting of the Bridgend Board of Guardians in September 1879 it was reported that '[s]ome men from the mining districts, it appears, are ready enough to emigrate, but are rather apt to leave their wives to the tender mercies of the ratepayers at home. The vice-chairman said this should not be tolerated' and warned that those who left their wives behind them condemn their partners to 'the cold cheer of the workhouse, as out-door relief will be refused'.⁸³ And for some wives the call would never come. In 1880, John Jones of Arknot, Pennsylvania ran off with his landlady even though he had a wife and eight children in Tonpentre, Rhondda, who were at the time awaiting his instructions to cross the Atlantic themselves.⁸⁴

What of Welsh married women's experiences of the process of deciding whether or not to emigrate? Countering the assumptions of earlier historical writing on emigration, William Van Vugt has stressed 'women's essential role in British emigration to America' and asserted graphically that they 'were certainly not just wives, mothers and daughters who were dragged across the Atlantic by men; they often made the migration possible and participated fully in the decision to leave for America.'⁸⁵ What evidence there is suggests many were active participants. Some women, at least, either emigrated out of their own volition or consciously chose to stay behind because they did not want to go for fear of losing their familial and friendship support networks. According to the anonymous *Morning Chronicle* reporter who visited the coal and iron districts of south Wales in 1849-50, '[o]ne man in reply to my question why he did not push his fortune in another quarter,

informed me that of himself, he should long ago have done so, but his wife, in whose native place they lived, was unwilling to quit her relations.’⁸⁶ It is clear that women’s potential economic and income contribution was a factor in the decision, though equally there is testimony that some Welshmen saw emigration as an opportunity to secure a ‘family wage’ in order that their wives did not have to go out to work.

Questions regarding how emigration was financed and who had responsibility for making the decision to leave are linked to the issue of when that decision was taken. For some, migration was (and is) considered over a length of time and then the decision to leave is made. Some recorded personal experiences reflect what has been termed the ‘last straw’ factor, the idea that economic considerations might be necessary conditions for migration but that an additional trigger also needs to be present.⁸⁷ A Dafydd Shon of Tir-y-twrchbren recalled in 1851 that

For years I had felt an urge to come to America; but it was rather hard to leave the old house and the old neighbourhood, and old friends, and cross the sea to this country. But it was getting worse and worse in Wales all the time, and the occasional letter full of praise for America was coming to the neighbourhood. One day, as fate would have it, the collector came to me for the land tax and I had nothing with which to pay it. And he got very offensive with me, at that moment the matter was settled in my mind. So, I went to the house to the old woman and I told her, Shan, on my oath I’ll go to America—I’m not going to take any more from that tribe. Dafydd, she said, I don’t care a pin, I’ll go as well, we’ll sell the lot, the matter’s settled. And she went to prepare.⁸⁸

It is worth noting in passing here the impact on Dafydd Shon of emigrant letters praising America, the ready agreement of his wife, and also the reluctance to leave that had to be overcome.⁸⁹ It may well be that letter-writers used the ‘last straw’ to explain their emigration and give meaning to it retrospectively, as if somehow that was more tangible than vaguer, more inchoate feelings that people should move. And, we may well ponder, how often was there a conscious final decision to stay? In the

same way as there was a 'last straw' for some emigrants, was there also a 'last straw' for not going?

On the other hand, one subject that was also frequently commented on in the press is how quickly some made the decision to emigrate, as we saw in an earlier illustration. In these cases the decision to go appears to have been made on the spur of the moment, or as the *Merthyr Telegraph* put in April 1865, emigrants took 'but little time to make up their minds, and just as little to get ready'.⁹⁰ The following month the *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian* declared its surprise at 'with what promptitude families arrange their temporal affairs, and break away ... to ... America. The idea flashes through the mind of the husband; he communicates it to his wife, she approves and the auctioneer is at once sent for to clear the house.'⁹¹ According to one report, in many cases on the morning of departure 'a broker or an auctioneer is called in, a bargain struck, the cash received, and the train taken, all in one hour'.⁹²

A few Welsh emigrants acquired financial assistance from the funds of emigration societies, a noticeable number of which were established by workers from the late 1850s onwards.⁹³ Early initiatives of this nature were largely unorganised affairs but from the mid 1860s onwards such societies began to adopt subscription systems in order to accumulate funds to aid those who wished to emigrate but did not necessarily possess the means to do so. Ultimately the contributions system failed to finance large scale migration, since the societies themselves were more often than not formed during hard times when workers had less or no money to contribute. The fate of the emigration society established by slate workers in Ffestiniog in 1870 in response to unemployment in the area may well have been general. When it was first formed, over 500 joined, but within a few months enthusiasm had waned and most were neglecting to pay their contributions.⁹⁴ The North Wales Quarrymen's Union sponsored the emigration of over 250 quarrymen between 1879 and 1881, but this was a relatively

small percentage of the total number that emigrated.⁹⁵ The significance of emigration societies perhaps lies more in their indication of the scale of interest in emigration and the way it was seen as a real option in times of economic distress, rather than in their efficacy in aiding it. Some workers were recruited by employers in the USA, either by advertisements in local newspapers or directly by visiting representatives of American companies, like the slate quarrymen from Bethesda who were recruited in this manner in 1865.⁹⁶ Here again, however, this was perhaps the experience of a small minority rather than the majority of Welsh male workers. It was not unknown for Welsh workers to be recruited as strikebreakers. That was the fate of some of those tempted across the Atlantic by the controversial American Emigrant Company of Bowling Green, New York, in which Cymro Gwyllt was also implicated.⁹⁷

Some migrants succeeded in fulfilling their ambition to emigrate through incurring debts, which in some cases were not repaid. Some left their workplace without notice, and some were caught and imprisoned for it.⁹⁸ No issue relating to emigration got late-nineteenth-century newspaper correspondents into quite as much of a lather as those emigrants who left what was once eloquently described as ‘sad remembrances on tradesmen’s minds’.⁹⁹ It was the source of much complaint and comment in the columns of both the Welsh- and English-language press, and articles, reports and editorials with titles such as ‘Emigration and Spoliation’ / ‘Ymfudo ac Ysbeilio’, ‘Nabbing an Emigrant’ and ‘An Emigrant Dodger’ abounded.¹⁰⁰ One such item in the *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian* in 1869 maintained that as soon as people started leaving Merthyr for America,

once again the outcry comes that some neighbour has been despoiled of his goods. In some cases the spoliation is serious. Debts seem to have been contracted with the express intention of carrying the goods dishonestly obtained. Having secured their booty, the dishonest people leave the town secretly, after having secretly disposed of their own household goods.¹⁰¹

The *Aberdare Times* reported in June 1862 that emigrants who were ‘adopting the dishonourable methods of leaving without paying their debts’ had become so common that they could be detected by their practice of walking from Merthyr to a station some miles on, in order to avoid unfortunate creditors.¹⁰² Some letter-writers defended emigrants and denied the allegations. In July 1862 one insisted in *Y Gwladgarwr* [The Patriot], that such accusations were unfair and overdone; it was impossible for a member of the working class to ‘*slingo*’, as he put it in colloquial Welsh, because as soon as a person started talking about going away, some ‘big mouth’ started telling everybody. This intriguing statement is further evidence that news about emigrating did not escape the attention of local gossip networks, and that the decision to emigrate was a public as well as a private act. The writer added that possibly one or two people were leaving as thieves but that these were probably from the merchant class.¹⁰³ That counter-accusation held truth, too; it was reported in May 1869 that ‘tradesmen have also found it convenient to leave their shops and families, taking what ready money they could find, and allowing their creditors to do what they please with what remains’.¹⁰⁴

Faced with flits, some tradesmen fought back. In May 1869 it was reported that Aberdare merchants were afraid to give credit to the customers because, as it was put, ‘America was so close’.¹⁰⁵ In a memorable example of ‘naming and shaming’, in 1863 Philip John, a grocer in Cannon Street, Aberdare, published a list of those he alleged had gone to America without paying their debts to him. The list contained seventy-five names and the sums owed amounted to about £652.¹⁰⁶ In 1864 a Merthyr grocer prevented a wife from joining her husband until she cleared her debt to him.¹⁰⁷ W. J. Parry, the North Wales Quarrymen’s Union leader, recalled in 1908 that before leaving on a visit to the USA in 1871 he was asked to deliver parcels to friends and relatives and also to collect debts from people living in the USA. He thought that at that time many people had fled to the States, leaving behind heavy debts, and the custom had still

not ended.¹⁰⁸ The keeper of the Talgarth British School logbook 1863-82 was disappointed to note that on 6 October 1870 ‘five children have left for America without payment being made’.¹⁰⁹ But sometimes the law had a long memory as well as a long arm. In July 1925 Alfred Price, apparently a well-known Brynmawr resident, was convicted for using improper language and behaving improperly. He should have been tried the previous year but had fled to Canada. In what the *Brecon County Times* called ‘an ill-judged return from Canada’, he had returned to his home town, thinking he was safe. Alas for him he was hauled before the court immediately.¹¹⁰ Clearly emigrants did leave without settling debts, but it is impossible to determine how prevalent the practice was. In the middle decades of the nineteenth century in particular, the press was guilty of sensationalizing the issue and creating something of a moral panic over it. It was more likely to carry condemnations of flights than the more infrequent reports of promises by emigrants to settle debts or of money actually being sent back to Wales for this purpose.¹¹¹ Even when the latter occurred, there was sometimes a sting in the tail. In November 1879 in an item entitled ‘Gonestrwydd’ [Honesty], *Y Gwladgarwr*’s editors thanked J. D. Davies, formerly of Heol-fach, Ystrad Rhondda, for paying back the sum he owed the paper and for his promise to repay his other creditors in due course. In the event that Davies met Gwilym Ddu o Went in the USA, the editors also requested Davies to remind the latter of his own outstanding debt to the paper.¹¹²

Some emigrants received money—sometimes impressive sums—or books or other items, like watches, purchased with collections made among friends, relatives or fellow-workmen. Often these gifts were presented in farewell meetings, concerts or after religious services. To take one example, in Tredegar in June 1860 a concert was organised in honour of amateur vocalist Joseph Morris, who intended emigrating with his widowed mother to America.¹¹³ A somewhat different case of a little help from friends was the one that occurred in Cwmaman, Aberdare

in 1884, when a prize draw was held for D. W. Davies by his friends in order to help him re-emigrate to America. Davies had apparently been tempted back to Wales by a rich relative but had been badly let down and his friends felt he needed support.¹¹⁴

Emigrant Departure Ceremonies and ‘The Invisible Result’

Gift giving to emigrants introduces a third major aspect of the experience of emigrating I wish to discuss this evening, that of departure and farewell ceremonies. The frequency of reports of farewell meetings and of scenes at railway stations when emigrants actually departed the locality is another distinctive feature of press coverage during the era when interest in emigration was at its most intense. Emigrant guide books included advice on the proper way to behave at such times. ‘Leaving home.—What an important and serious time this is! ... Do not appear hard and unfeeling, and do not cry immoderately. Leave like sensible people’, counselled Revd Robert D. Thomas in his *Yr American* [The American] (1854).¹¹⁵ Thomas, who during his life served Welsh churches in New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Tennessee, and wrote *Hanes Cymry America* [The History of the Welsh in America] (1872), was one of the most enthusiastic promoters of emigration from Wales to America during the nineteenth century. A reviewer of *Yr American* thought that he had been so swallowed up by the spirit of emigration that he saw it everywhere.¹¹⁶

Probably for most migrants farewell events were part and parcel of the experience of emigrating and they are also testimony to the personal and public impact emigration was having on families and the wider community. There is no doubt that leaving was almost universally regarded as a wrench. Sometimes accounts reported what the individuals at the centre of attraction said on these occasions. Usually not much is revealed beyond the familiar dichotomy of emigrants stating that they were reluctant to leave but felt they had to, and that they were going because they wanted a better life. Thomas Davies, an elder in Carmel chapel, Aberdare, who was emigrating to the

USA with his family, told a farewell meeting in their honour that he had been talking lightly about going to America for a while. However, he had never thought that leaving friends would be such a difficult task until that night.¹¹⁷ Sometimes, as was to be expected, the strain was too much in these emotional situations. At his farewell meeting in Llanddeiniolen, Caernarfonshire in 1868, John Owens, whose bardic name was Orwig Gwyllt [Wild Orwig], was overcome by his feelings. He apparently could only continue his speech with difficulty, and read some of his own poetry rather than making a speech.¹¹⁸ It needs to be emphasised of course that farewell meetings were not just the preserve of emigrants, but were regularly organised for people leaving a locality whatever their destination. Even so, these events seem to have been an integral part of many departing emigrants' experiences throughout the period, and to an extent they remain so today. In Mountain Ash in November 1901 a concert meeting was held in honour of John Morris (formerly of Ammanford) who was leaving for Alabama. Numerous solo items were sung and poems were presented to Morris, including *Cân a gyfansoddwyd ar ymadawiad cyfaill o Mountain Ash i Alabama* [Song composed on the departure of a friend from Mountain Ash to Alabama]. The poem wished Morris a pleasant journey and success in the new country, and hoped that in the foreign land he would not let his love for his friends in Wales go cold. It also hoped that his memories of Wales would be a '*balm i'w loesion*' [balm for his anguish] if he had *hiraeth* [homesickness]. 'Blodeufryn' [Flowerhill], the writer of the verses, had no doubt that Morris was emigrating because of his '*ysbryd myn'd*' or wanderlust:

Mae tuedd gref yn Jack,
I drampan er yn blentyn ...

Ei holl 'dramps' hyd yn hyn,
I'r tir fu'n gyfyngedig,
I wlad y Saeson tyn
A Gwalia gysygreddig;
Ond cyn gwel'd pen ei daith
Yn mhellder Alabama,

Mae mor y Werydd maith
I'w groesi oddiyma.¹¹⁹

[*Loose translation*: 'There's been a strong tendency in Jack, / To go tramping since he was a child ... / All his 'tramps' until now / Have been confined to land, / To the country of the stingy English / and hallowed Gwalia [Wales]; / But before his journey's over / In far Alabama, / The wide Atlantic Ocean / Has to be crossed from here.']

As can be seen from the scene in Beaufort in 1868 described at the beginning of this lecture, large crowds often escorted departing migrants to railway stations. A similar custom prevailed in Ireland, called the 'convoy', whose purpose was to make the emigrants' last hours on Irish soil as cheerful as possible.¹²⁰ This practice was well-established in Wales by the early 1850s, and became almost ubiquitous.¹²¹ In reporting an episode in June 1869 when a Rhymni emigrant discovered he had left his pass at home and a friend had to run back and get it for him, the *Merthyr Telegraph* warned intending emigrants not to 'heed much about obtaining a fife band to accompany them to the station but to take more care about passes and the like'.¹²² Nearly a year later the same paper drew attention to the spectators 'who always make it a rule of going to the train to see their friends away'.¹²³

As we have seen, newspaper reports and emigrants' own accounts portray farewell scenes at stations as being a mixture of happiness and sadness.¹²⁴ At times one gets the strong impression of something of a carnival atmosphere, at least as far as the bystanders were concerned. Doubtless it was a different matter for those directly involved, either because they were leaving or being left behind. One group departing from Aberdare in March 1869, at a time when parties of emigrants were leaving every week, was sent off by hundreds who paraded the streets, cheered, and waved handkerchiefs. So too, apparently, did clusters of men and women standing on the tips for two miles down the track as the train proceeded.¹²⁵ The *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*'s correspondent complained that young men in the crowd had returned to their homes

inebriated.¹²⁶ Some farewell scenes reported in 1879, for example, were overtly symbolic, with the emigrants and spectators singing in Welsh and English ‘*Y Mae Gwlad sy’n Harddach na’r Haul*’ / ‘There is a Land Brighter than Day’.¹²⁷ Crowds bidding goodbye to the numerous parties of tinsplate workers and their families who left the Llanelli and Swansea area for America in the 1890s often sang the Welsh National Anthem, ‘*Hen Wlad fy Nhadau*’.¹²⁸ Scenes such as these described here may themselves have encouraged emigration. The *Brecon County Times* maintained that ‘the departure of some [friends] causes others to wish to leave’.¹²⁹ Some Welsh migrants, however, preferred to slip away quietly. In 1869 the *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*’s Aberdare correspondent reported that men went missing every week and nothing more was heard until news of them came from Queenstown (now Cobh) in Ireland, *en route* to America.¹³⁰

What I am seeking to do here is to probe in the Welsh context, however superficially and tentatively, what Arnold Schrier has called ‘the invisible result’.¹³¹ The impact of emigration on Wales and its consequences for the homeland include several elements: the economic, demographic, social, cultural and psychological. It is not a facet of the history of Wales that has been explored in any real depth and here I propose only to suggest some avenues along which the social and cultural impact of emigration on contemporaries might be fruitfully explored. I have not been able to find any evidence that there developed in Wales widespread emigrant departure customs such as the emigrant wakes, superstitions and use of charms that became such a marked feature in Ireland during these years. The absence of such practices in Wales may reflect a lack of surviving evidence. However, the likelihood is that they did not exist because the scale of Welsh emigration in no way compared to that from Ireland (in the late nineteenth century sixty per cent of those who had been born in Ireland died outside it) and also because Wales, unlike Ireland, did not have a Catholic tradition of using charms.

Nevertheless, this should not lead us to underestimate the extent to which emigration became part of daily life in industrial and urban Wales, in particular, during the late nineteenth century and the extent to which it permeated public consciousness. In some places and at various times, notably the south Wales valleys in the 1850s-80s, emigration made a major impact on the people and places emigrants left behind. True, emigration was a very episodic and a highly diverse phenomenon, and it did not affect all areas simultaneously and continuously, just as it did not affect every single person. Emigration was also experienced in different ways and it held different meanings and purposes for different people. But we need also to remember that emigration and the process of emigrating did not just affect the emigrants themselves; it also affected those who stayed behind, a group much neglected by emigration studies. Caught within emigration's web were emigrants' families, potential emigrants who might have considered moving but then chose not to do so (why they did not is itself an intriguing field of enquiry),¹³² and those who never even contemplated it, but who were quite prepared to discuss its pros and cons and join the farewelling crowd that cheered off emigrating friends and relatives. An awareness of the phenomenon of emigration permeated the whole society, especially during the highly charged moments discussed in this lecture.

Contemporaries were in little doubt as to emigration's importance; that is why they paid so much attention to it. 'The passion for emigration seems to be as strong among the industrious artisans of Merthyr as among the peasantry of Western Ireland', reported the *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian* in September 1854.¹³³ A hyperbolic comparison, clearly, though the fact it was made at all, and so soon after the massive post-Famine out-migration from Ireland to Britain, the USA and elsewhere in the late 1840s and early 1850s is itself interesting. The local impact and consequences of emigration involved not only people leaving and the severing of ties of family and friendship, but also fears that local industries and the very towns

and villages in which people lived might not survive the loss.¹³⁴ A contemporary observer of the impact of emigration on Rhosllannerchrugog put the matter succinctly in October 1870: ‘Families ... are rent apart, and feelings are hurt, the church suffers loss, the Sunday School loses some of its most faithful members.’¹³⁵ Sian Rhiannon Williams has shown how severely emigration to America depleted Welsh-language cultural and literary life in industrial Monmouthshire during the nineteenth century.¹³⁶ A Liverpool correspondent of *Y Fellten* [Lightning] lamented in July 1869 that it was strange how Wales was continually losing its best men either through death or emigration.¹³⁷ It is worth remembering in this context that many local histories written in the late nineteenth century (and subsequently) noted who had migrated from their localities and occasionally commented on the scale and the sense of the loss experienced.¹³⁸ In noting emigration to America from Tredegar in the 1860s, Evan Powell identified another obvious impact of the outflow: ‘The enormous number that emigrated during these years made a large gap in the number of familiar faces that were previously to be met in the streets.’¹³⁹

Although contemporary reports on the impact and scale of emigration are often exaggerated and sensationalist, I suggest that the vocabulary used to describe emigration, and attempts to make sense of it, offer a significant insight into the ways in which it was perceived and interpreted. It also holds clues regarding the scale of the contemporary impact. The phrase ‘*llanw ymfudol*’, ‘the tide of emigration’, with its suggestion of an almost natural phenomenon, was being used in reports of mass scenes involving emigration at least by 1852.¹⁴⁰ It is also striking how many times contemporaries resorted to words and phrases such ‘*y dwymyn ymfudol*’, ‘emigration fever’.¹⁴¹ Further, although there has been no time here to explore this aspect in any depth, I believe the commentaries of the time provide problematic but nevertheless valuable insights into contemporary urban and work mentalities and attitudes to respectability and labour relations as well as emigration itself.¹⁴²

Indeed, a more systematic general exploration of how Welsh movers and stayers perceived emigration would be a rewarding and, I would argue, a necessary research topic. And such an investigation should not be confined to press reports and personal memoirs. It ought to embrace a wide spectrum of evidence including, of vital importance, ballads, novels, plays, poems, songs and short stories that took emigration as a theme either directly or indirectly. A small number of contemporary ballads and a voluminous body of poetry in this vein have survived in published collections, newspapers and manuscripts. These writings form a substantial and relatively untapped source that can offer valuable insights into contemporary mentalities, emigration's hidden histories and the way attitudes towards emigration and migrant identities were constructed.

As in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries,¹⁴³ writers of the late nineteenth century—among them emigrants themselves—produced works in which two people discuss the pros and cons of emigrating. Among them is '*Ymddiddan Rhwng Robert ac Ifan ynghylch ymadael â'u gwlad a myned i'r America*' [Dialogue between Robert and Ifan regarding leaving their country and going to America] by Ywain Meirion (Griffith Owen, 1803-68), one of the most productive and representative of the balladeers in nineteenth century Wales.¹⁴⁴ The protagonists respectively paint up and downplay the perils of voyages. This feature, which also occurs in similar texts, goes some way, perhaps, towards explaining the vast number of accounts of voyages that were sent back to newspapers in Wales (let alone ones conveyed in private correspondence and memoirs) during the nineteenth century.¹⁴⁵ The vogue for such writings was partly fuelled by interest and the desire to hear from friends and relatives, but also partly, perhaps, as confirmation that the Atlantic could be crossed safely. These accounts sought to prepare people who were about to embark on such a venture, either literally, through emigrating or travelling abroad, or vicariously through the experiences of loved ones. Other themes central to the experience of emigrating, notably

saying farewell to family and friends, feeling *hiraeth* and living apart from husbands, wives, mothers, sisters, fathers or brothers, were also grist to the creative imagination's mill.

Some examples of poems printed in periodicals are T. Lewis of Liverpool's '*Englynion a Gyfansodwyd ar Fynediad Cyfaill i America*' [*Englynion* Composed on the occasion of a Friend's Going to America] in *Seren Gomer* in 1820; the anonymous '*Yr Ymfudwr*' [The Emigrant] in *Y Traethodydd* in 1851 and '*Cynghorion Rhieni i ei Hanwyl blentyn pan yn myned i America*' [Parents' Advice to their dear child when going to America]; '*Tri Phennill o Deimlad Gwr at Ei Wraig o'r America*' [Three Verses of a Husband's Feelings to His Wife from America], by 'Llanc o'r Llwyni', which appeared on the front page of *Tarian y Gweithiwr* in November 1879, and Isaac Thomas's '*Penillion Ymadawol O'm Gwlad sef Cymru, am wlad y Gorllewin*' [Verses on Leaving My Country, Wales, for the land of the West] that appeared on the front page of *Y Fellten* a decade earlier.¹⁴⁶

The explanation of the poet 'Trefowen' that his poem '*Y Weddw Fam a Thomas*' [The Widowed Mother and Thomas] was written partly in order to persuade a neighbouring widow's only son not to go to America suggests that these literary artefacts could also have an active role for people caught up in the trials of emigration.¹⁴⁷ As Arnold Schrier has suggested in the case of Irish emigration ballads, Welsh emigrant poems, ballads and songs were perhaps primarily for the comfort of those left behind.¹⁴⁸ Like emigrant guide books and essays on the Welsh overseas, poems on emigration themes were also occasional subjects for eisteddfod literary competitions.¹⁴⁹ Both Jerry Hunter, the first Director of this Centre, and Daniel Williams have quite rightly drawn attention to the neglect and importance of Welsh-language creative writing by Welsh Americans.¹⁵⁰ The imaginative literature inspired by emigrating and its consequences is equally a '*traddodiad llenyddol coll*' [lost literary tradition] that deserves fuller exploration.

Finally, I would argue that as well as creating debate, interest, controversy and its own literature, whether imaginative or factoid, emigration from Wales to America in this period also had a major impact on the ways in which individuals and families who stayed in Wales perceived the USA. The ties of family and friends forged new popular perceptions and a stronger consciousness of America. This was not true of all families, of course. Emigration was a dislocating experience for all, one that undermined the coherence of a family, sometimes to an irreparable degree. As a result of emigration, to use Gwyn Thomas's memorable phrase, some families 'burst apart like bombs and never again achieve[d] unity'.¹⁵¹ Newspapers in Wales and in the USA frequently carried anxious enquiries as to the whereabouts of family members who had either purposely or accidentally drifted out of touch.¹⁵² Emigration also broke up marriages, as we have seen. Nevertheless, whatever the eventual consequences of emigration, in Wales (as in other countries) families played crucial roles in the migration process, among them providing finance and networks and enabling chain migration. In addition the ties of family and friends forged close and special links between Wales and the USA. Many families who had taken on a transatlantic dimension as a result of earlier emigration would have developed these links and this mindset before the mid-nineteenth century. From the 1850s onwards, with the increase in the size and scope of emigration, this process was greatly intensified as a number of locations in USA literally became 'household names'.¹⁵³ In 1870 a Rhosllannerchrugog resident maintained that the names of states, cities and settlements in the USA were as well known to many of the town's inhabitants as were names in the immediate locality.¹⁵⁴ The antiquary and book collector Bob Owen, Croesor, recalled that the frequent flow of letters between members of his family in Wales and the USA enabled him to become very familiar with all parts of the latter. None of that knowledge had been acquired in his local school.¹⁵⁵

However, one needs to be careful not to exaggerate the scale and

importance of emigration's role in this respect for two reasons. First, ideas of America generally were often vague, incomplete and imprecise, even though people's 'mental maps' included very specific and accurate knowledge of certain places.¹⁵⁶ Before he left for the USA in 1871 in order to investigate conditions in Welsh-American slate communities, the North Wales Quarrymen's Union's leader, W. J. Parry, got the distinct impression that some of his friends thought America was a village, and the names of settlements there were names of streets in that village.¹⁵⁷ Contemporaries in Wales perceived the Welsh who had emigrated to the USA to be often guilty of exaggeration (seen by some as indicating that they were adopting American traits) and this further blurred the line between reality and myth. In their correspondence home, Welsh residents of Remsen, a village to the north of Utica in central New York State, apparently made the place appear so big and important that new emigrants bound for there were reported to say on arriving in New York City: 'if this is New York, how big must Remsen be!'¹⁵⁸

Second, emigration was only one of many factors responsible for the greater awareness of, and interest in, the USA during this period. The number of visits to both Wales and the USA recorded in the late-nineteenth-century press is striking, be they emigrants and their descendants returning to visit family back in Wales or the seemingly countless tours of the USA by Welsh singers, choirs, bards, political leaders and ministers of religion, not to mention the numerous lectures, books and articles describing the resulting experiences.¹⁵⁹ In June 1870 the influential minister of religion, newspaper editor and political leader, Revd Thomas Price (1820-88), delivered a talk on the subject of America and emigration to it, to a crowded and delighted audience at a chapel in Brecon. He apparently hung a large map of America and then proceeded to give his audience a most eloquent and riveting address that lasted for just under three hours.¹⁶⁰ In fact, there were often complaints from Welsh Americans that too many Welsh preachers and choirs were

going on American tours. Such cultural missions were becoming too much of a burden on Welsh American resources.¹⁶¹ And during the same period there was the growing general awareness of the USA, stimulated by events such as the American Civil War (1861-65)¹⁶² and agencies like Buffalo Bill's travelling circus,¹⁶³ dime novels and travel and topographic writing.¹⁶⁴

But emigration and the resulting family links also helped in this process of redefining America in Welsh minds, and a very personal process of redefining it was. There prevails a strong popular belief in Wales today that few Welsh families are without an overseas connection. Contemporaries thought so, too: a correspondent in *Tarian y Gweithiwr* in 1883 insisted that 'it is difficult to come across a family in Wales that does not have close relatives in the States and all news from there is welcomed with enthusiasm.'¹⁶⁵ In Llanfrothen at the end of the nineteenth century every one of the one hundred and four children in Bob Owen's school had relations in America and he himself had scores of them there.¹⁶⁶ I think it is revealing how many times contemporaries maintained that the presence of their own family members in the USA both created interest in that country in its own right and also increased it. Newspapers in Wales were eager to carry news and information relating to the Welsh overseas and their adoptive countries generally, and readers expected such items and on occasion even demanded more in that vein.¹⁶⁷ Welsh emigrant guide books and their reviewers as well as newspaper correspondents and editorialists often made the point that the information contained in these publications would be useful not only to emigrants but also to those who stayed behind. (Conveniently, this laudable aim was also a good marketing strategy.) As early as 1837 one guide book insisted that its pages would teach those who would never go to America to understand the names and other things that were published in books and written in letters sent to Wales.¹⁶⁸ In other words, those who stayed behind in Wales needed preparation for the reconfiguration in their lives and in their newly acquired transnational status.

Much has been written about emigrants' *hiraeth* for the homeland and relatives and friends left behind, but *hiraeth* works the other way as well. In 1872 Thomas Levi (1825-1916), a noted man of letters, a native of Ystradgynlais and at the time minister of Philadelphia chapel, Morriston, published two articles in the journal *Y Traethodydd* [The Essayist] recounting his visit to America a couple of years previously. He described how the migration of members of his family and the death of his parents there transformed his perception of that country on the other side of the Atlantic and made him want to visit it. He maintained:

The important connection between America and ... Wales ... is a sufficient reason for a report of affairs there to be interesting reading for every Welshman. The writer remembers the time when he regarded America as being like a country in another world, and when he had no more interest in it than he would have had had it been a country on the moon. But before he was twelve years old, one of his brothers moved to that country to live. This immediately made it an altogether different matter for him. Within ten years he had four brothers living there, having gone one after the other, and the movement of each one increasing interest in it [i.e. America]. More than twenty years ago, his parents moved to that country to live, and this made an even closer tie between his heart and America than had ever existed before; and every letter he received from there increased his desire to see it.¹⁶⁹

In another example, Revd Henry Rees believed that because so many readers of *Y Dysgedydd* [The Educator] had relatives and friends in the USA, they felt an interest 'in everything they see and hear about it'. He admitted that he had had a very strong urge to visit America for many years and had even done so many times in his dreams before he actually set foot there for the first time in 1893.¹⁷⁰

To conclude, contemporaries were to a large extent right in comparing emigration in Wales in the late nineteenth century to 'raising the wind'. To draw on another source of quotable quotations, the songs of Bob Dylan, to some in Wales during

this period the wind that was emigration was an ‘idiot wind’, a foolish enterprise that would end in tears. To others, the answer to their present straitened circumstances, or their hopes for a better future, was metaphorically ‘blowing in the wind’. And in some respects, perhaps, we might even compare emigration to tornados periodically and selectively visiting certain towns and villages in Wales with a vengeance but leaving others unaffected. These tornados swirled up people into spirals of intense individual, familial and public discussions, debates, dilemmas and ultimately decisions, and then carried some Welsh men and women across the Atlantic whilst at the same time dropping others, the majority, and leaving them becalmed, still in Wales.

I have sought in this lecture to recapture some of the human history of those people who got caught up in the emigration epic during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, whether they seriously considered emigrating or not. I believe it is wrong to see the process of emigrating as a somewhat marginal experience to the mainstream history of Wales during this period. It was a significant experience, perhaps even a central one at certain moments, although its intensity varied according to place and time. In some parts of Wales during the late nineteenth century, emigration made a major cultural, demographic, economic and social impact. I have also tried to suggest that both emigrants and those who stayed at home helped to ensure that the connection between Wales and America would be, in historian David Williams’s phrase, ‘very intimate’.¹⁷¹ These links would be lost as savage economic depression during the years between the two world wars brought the period of mass emigration from Wales to the USA to a bitter end. In 1890, in a memorable phrase, David Samuel (1856-1921), Headmaster of Aberystwyth County School, called the Atlantic ‘*yr ymwahanydd mawr*’ [the great separatist].¹⁷² The inter-war depression would be as much of a ‘great separatist’ as David Samuel believed the Atlantic to be. However, the close historical links between the Welsh in Wales and the Welsh in

America are being recovered by scholars in many disciplines and family historians. And it is to that work of overcoming the ‘great separatist’ between Wales and the USA—and Canada, Patagonia, and wherever else in the North and South American continents the Welsh made a presence—that the Cardiff Centre for Welsh American Studies, and the series of lectures that I have had the great honour of inaugurating this evening, will be dedicated.

Notes

¹ This is a revised and extended version of the First Annual Public Lecture of the Cardiff Centre for Welsh American Studies, School of Welsh, Cardiff University, delivered on 20 May 2003. The idiom of an oral presentation has been largely retained. All translations from the original Welsh are by the author unless otherwise indicated. In Welsh-language quotations the spelling, punctuation and grammar of the originals have been retained. This publication was prepared during a period of research leave funded by the AHRB and I gratefully acknowledge the Board’s support. I am also grateful to Lisa Chilton, Carolyn Jacob, E. Wyn James, Gethin Matthews and Huw Walters for their help in preparing the original lecture and this publication.

² *Llanelly and County Guardian*, 3 Sept. 1891. The letter-writer, Mr J. B. Davies, McKeesport (near Pittsburgh), Pennsylvania was apologising for waxing lyrically about his excitement on receiving the news that a choir from his native Llanelli had won a recent eisteddfod competition.

³ For other reports of similar scenes in Beaufort, see e.g., *Merthyr Telegraph*, 14 May 1870.

⁴ *Merthyr Express*, 23 May 1868.

⁵ *Merthyr Express*, 27 June 1868. See also Bill Jones, ‘“We Will Give You Wings to Fly”: Emigration Societies in Merthyr Tydfil in 1868’, in T. F. Holley (ed.), *Merthyr Historian 13* (Merthyr Tydfil: Merthyr Tydfil Historical Society, 2001), pp. 27-47. In May 1869 it was reported that in Aberdare another new colloquialism for emigration, ‘taking the water’, was coming into common use. *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 15 May 1869.

⁶ See, e.g., *Aberdare Times*, 20 June 1863; *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 8 Sept. 1854.

⁷ Marjory Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus* (London: Profile, 2003), p. 198.

⁸ James H. Jackson Jr. and Leslie Page Moch, ‘Migration and the Social History of Modern Europe’, in Michael Drake (ed.), *Time, Family and Community: Perspectives on Family and Community History* (Milton Keynes: Open University; Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), pp. 181-98; Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992); C. G. Pooley and I. D. Whyte, ‘Introduction: Approaches to the Study of Migration and

Social Change', in C. G. Pooley and I. D. Whyte (eds.), *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants: A Social History of Migration* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 1-15; Colin Pooley and Jean Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain since the Eighteenth Century* (London: UCL Press, 1998); W. T. R. Pryce and Michael Drake, 'Studying Migration', in W. T. R. Pryce (ed.), *From Family History to Community History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 5-31.

⁹ For general overviews and case studies, see Rowland Tappan Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America, 1790-1950* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953); Alan Conway, 'Welsh Emigration to the United States', in Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn (eds.), *Dislocation and Emigration: The Social Background of American Immigration*, Perspectives in American History 7 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), pp. 177-271; Maldwyn A. Jones, 'From the Old Country to the New: The Welsh in Nineteenth Century America', *Flintshire Historical Society Publications*, Vol. 27 (1975-76), pp. 85-100; William D. Jones, *Wales in America: Scranton and the Welsh 1860-1920* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993); Anne Kelly Knowles, *Calvinists Incorporated: Welsh Immigrants in Ohio's Industrial Frontier* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997); Ronald L. Lewis, 'Networking among Welsh Coal Miners in Nineteenth-century America', in Stefan Berger, Andy Croll and Norman LaPorte (eds.), *Towards a Comparative History of Coalfield Societies* (Ashgate, forthcoming); Gwilym R. Roberts, *New Lives in the Valley: Slate Quarries and Quarry Villages in North Wales, New York, and Vermont, 1850-1920* (Somersworth, NH: New Hampshire Printers, 1998); William E. Van Vugt, *Britain to America: Mid-Nineteenth-Century Immigrants to the United States* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999); and Glanmor Williams, 'A Prospect of Paradise? Wales and the United States, 1776-1914', in *Religion, Language and Nationality in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1979), pp. 217-36 (p. 224).

¹⁰ For two useful studies that treat some of the themes explored in this lecture during the same period, see W. Ross Johnston, 'The Welsh Diaspora: Emigrating around the World in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Llafur*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1993), pp. 50-74, and Lesley Walker, '“Two Jobs for Every Man”: The Emigration Decision from Wales to New South Wales, 1850-1900', *Australian Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Winter 1998), pp. 99-118.

¹¹ Eric Richards, 'Varieties of Scottish Emigration in the Nineteenth Century', *Historical Studies*, 21 (1985), pp. 473-94.

¹² For the European context, see Walter Nugent, *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870-1914* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992).

¹³ *The Report of the Royal Commission on Land in Wales and Monmouthshire* (London: HMSO, 1896), Vol. 1, p. 50.

¹⁴ There is some debate among historians regarding this shift. See Anne Kelly Knowles, 'Immigrant Trajectories through the Rural-Industrial Transition in Wales and the United States 1759-1850', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 85, No. 2 (1995), pp. 246-66, and William E. Van Vugt, 'Welsh Emigration to the United States during the Mid-nineteenth Century', *Welsh History Review*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (Dec. 1991), pp. 545-61.

¹⁵ Three farm labourers were reported to have left Trewyddel, Cardiganshire, for Missouri in June 1870. *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 29 June 1870.

¹⁶ *Land Commission Report*, Vol. 1, p. 54.

¹⁷ Anne Kelly Knowles, 'Labor, Race, and Technology in the Confederate Iron Industry', *Technology and Culture*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (Jan. 2001), pp. 1-26; Bill Jones and Philip Payton, 'Industrial Skill and the Construction of Ethnic Identities: Australia's Welsh and Cornish compared' (unpublished paper, first delivered at the British Australian Studies Association's 'Comings and Goings: Britain and Australia, Past and Future' conference, London, Sept. 2000); Lewis, 'Networking among Welsh Coal Miners'; Philip Payton, *The Cornish Overseas* (Fowey: Alexander Associates, 1999).

¹⁸ This figure undoubtedly underrepresents the size of the Wales-born contingent in the USA, but it is impossible to know the extent to which it does so. The absence of crucial officially-compiled statistics for Welsh emigration and the unreliability of extant records have frequently been discussed and condemned, not least by the Welsh Land Commission of 1893-96. British governmental records distinguished between Welsh and English emigrants between 1908 and 1913 only. The records of receiving countries also classed many as English not Welsh, and particularly so if they were from Monmouthshire. Unfortunately this evidential lacuna also greatly limits our knowledge of the origins of the emigrants, and of those who returned. See David Williams, 'Some Figures Relating to Emigration from Wales', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 7 (1935), pp. 396-415 (pp. 399-400); *Land Commission Report*, Vol. 1, p. 50; *Y Drych*, 8 June 1893.

¹⁹ *Y Drych*, 1 Aug. 1895.

²⁰ Williams, 'Some Figures Relating to Emigration from Wales', p. 406.

²¹ For two important case studies of why Welsh people emigrated to the USA that offer intriguing possibilities for wider application, see Hywel Davies, '“Very Different Springs of Uneasiness”: Emigration from Wales to the USA in the 1790s', *Welsh History Review*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (June 1991), pp. 368-98, and Knowles, *Calvinists Incorporated*, pp. 43-130. The former stresses the importance of individual motivation and its diversity, and warns against exclusive economic or religious explanations for the migration. The latter presents an important discussion on the 'context of choice' of Cardiganshire emigrants in the early nineteenth century and the range of possibilities open to them.

²² Dudley Baines, *Emigration from Europe, 1815-1930*, second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 9.

²³ See, e.g., Alan Conway, 'Welsh Emigration to the United States'.

²⁴ Knowles, 'Labor, Race, and Technology in the Confederate Iron Industry'; Lewis, 'Networking among Welsh Coal Miners'; Peter N. Williams, *From Wales to Pennsylvania: The David Thomas Story* (St Athan: Glyndwr Publishing, 2002).

²⁵ Morgan won the International Butter Making Competition in London in October 1886. Her 'general excellence' secured her a prize of £10. She was later invited to demonstrate her butter-making skills before the Lord Mayor of London and was also presented with a gold medal by Queen Victoria. She taught butter-making in Jersey for a time. She and her husband emigrated to America following their marriage (date unknown). She apparently died in America aged 52. David Davies (Dewi Cynon), *Hanes Plwyf Penderyn* (Aberdare: Jenkin Howell, 1905), pp. 137-41; *The Times*, 8 Oct. 1886.

²⁶ Baines, *Emigration from Europe*, p. 8.

²⁷ *Y Tyst a'r Dydd*, 17 Aug. 1867.

²⁸ 'Llythyr o America: Ymfudwyr o Gymru a'u Gohebiaeth' / 'Letter from America: Welsh Emigrants and their Correspondence', 29 Nov. 2003. For programme, see the

Centre's website. See also Huw Walters, 'Llythyrau'r Gwladgarwr', *Y Traethodydd*, Ebrill 2004, pp. 107-20, a published version of one of the papers delivered at the conference, and *idem*, 'Y Gwladgarwr a'i Ohebwy'r', in *Cynnwrf Canrif: Agweddau ar Ddiwylliant Gwerin* (Barddas, 2004), pp. 100-83.

²⁹ Johnston, 'The Welsh Diaspora', pp. 51, 56.

³⁰ *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 12 May 1854.

³¹ *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 18 Aug. 1881. Among the latter was Henry Hughes of Aberdare who emigrated to New York State in 1864 in order to recover from an unspecified illness.

³² Davies, '“Very Different Springs of Uneasiness”', p. 368. Davies shows that in the case of the emigrants he studied, religious and economic motives were not mutually exclusive.

³³ Walter Haydn Davies, *The Right Place, The Right Time: Memories of Boyhood Days in a Welsh Mining Community* (Swansea: Christopher Davies, 1975), pp. 46-7.

³⁴ Ellen G. Evans, *I Chicago'n Bymtheg Oed* (Porthmadog: Tŷ ar y Graig, 1981), pp. 18-19, 33-5.

³⁵ *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 18 Aug. 1881: '... er mwyn ysgoi canlyniadau eu gweithredoedd annuwiol; rhai wedi byw yn afradus ac esgeulus, ac wedi suddo i ddyled; eraill wedi tori cyfraith y tir a breswylant, ac yn ffoi o flaen y gofynydd a'r dialydd. Ond dyna y dosbarth gwaradwyddusaf o bob dosbarth a ymfuda yn anghyfreithlon ydyw y dosbarth hwnw o wrywod sydd wedi bod am flynyddau yn dal cymdeithas garwriaethol a merched ieuanc bucheddol, y rhai a ... hud-ddenwyd gan y dosbarth hwn drwy dwyll a ffughoniadaeth, a thrwy addewidion tecach na phelydrau cyntaf y wawr, i drochi a llychwino eu cymeriadau.'

³⁶ *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 5 Sept. 1879.

³⁷ *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 26 Sept. 1879, 18 June 1880, 5 May 1881.

³⁸ *Y Drych*, 13 Aug. and 10 Sept. 1891; *Industrial World*, 13 Sept 1895; *Llanelly and County Guardian*, 21 Jan., 25 Feb., 14 April and 11 Aug. 1892; *Western Mail*, 5, 6, 26 April 1895. Before the passing of the tariff the south Wales tinplate industry had supplied 75% of American demand and within five years, production had fallen by 20% and exports by 40%, causing widespread unemployment among Welsh tinplate workers. Many moved to the United States to seek work in the new mills set up by American companies, which the tariff was designed to protect. See W. E. Minchinton, *The British Tinplate Industry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. 51-75.

³⁹ *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 31 March 1865, 26 June and 31 July 1869, 25 May 1885, 25 May 1887; *Yr Herald Cymraeg*, 13 May 1865.

⁴⁰ *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 26 March 1870.

⁴¹ *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 12 Dec. 1883; *Y Tyst a'r Dydd*, 1 June 1883. See also Ernest Jones, *Stiniog* (Caernarfon: Gwasg Gwynedd, 1988), pp. 36-7; W. J. Parry, *Hanes fy Mywyd a'm Gwaith* (privately distributed, collection of articles from *Y Cronicl* 1908-10), pp. 63-7, 116-22, and J. Rhose Williams, *Quarryman's Champion: The Life and Activity of William John Parry of Coetmor* (Denbigh: Gwasg Gee, 1978), pp. 171-3. Emigration was an important part of this union's policy in the early 1880s, R. Merfyn Jones, *The North Wales Quarrymen, 1874-1922* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1981), pp. 26-7, 62, 123-4.

⁴² *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 12 Oct. 1870.

⁴³ William Davies, *Hanes Plwyf Llanegryn* (Liverpool: the author, 1948), pp. 138-40. The work has recently been republished with an English translation, *Hanes Plwyf*

Llanegryn / A History of the Parish of Llanegryn (Peniarth: Griffith Owen Charity, 2002).

⁴⁴ *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 23 Aug. 1879.

⁴⁵ *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 28 April 1869.

⁴⁶ *Y Drych*, 6 Jan. 1870; *Y Tyst a'r Dydd*, 8 April 1881.

⁴⁷ See, e.g., *Aberdare Times*, 11 July 1863; *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 8 April 1860, 12 May 1865; *Y Gwladgarwr*, 6 May 1865, 31 March 1866; *Industrial World*, 10 May and 9 Aug. 1895; *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 26 Sept. 1879, 16 July 1880; Sian Rhiannon Williams, *Oes y Byd i'r Iaith Gymraeg. Y Gymraeg yn Ardal Ddiwydiannol Sir Fynwy yn y Bedwaredd Ganrif ar Bymtheg* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992), esp. pp. 28-9. For a fuller discussion of this point, see my forthcoming 'Inspecting the Emigration Drain: Emigration and the Urban Experience, Merthyr, c.1850-1880', *Urban History* (May 2005).

⁴⁸ *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 27 March 1869. '“Wel, Wel,” ebe'r llall, “os felly, mi af finnau i ffwrdd, yn lle cael fy nghyfrif yn *rubbish*, beth bynnag”.'

⁴⁹ For fuller discussion, see Conway, 'Welsh Emigration', pp. 244-59; Charlotte J. Erickson, *American Industry and the European Immigrant, 1860-1885* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957); Charlotte Erickson, 'The Encouragement of Emigration by British Trade Unions', *Population Studies*, 3 (1949), pp. 248-73.

⁵⁰ For a discussion of the scheme and the disastrous experiences of Hopkin Hopkin and his family, who emigrated from Gwaun-cae-gurwen to Texas under its auspices, see Bill Jones and Huw Walters, 'On the American Frontier: Migrants and their Worlds', *Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, 37 (2001), pp. 73-8.

⁵¹ See Marjory Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland. Vol.1 Willing Exiles* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), pp. 1-44, and *idem*, *Adventurers and Exiles*, pp. 121-32; Payton, *The Cornish Overseas*, pp. 70-100.

⁵² Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles*, p. 112.

⁵³ Baines, *Emigration from Europe*, pp. 40-1.

⁵⁴ Conway, 'Welsh Emigration', pp. 230-1; Johnston, 'The Welsh Diaspora', pp. 56-7. There were unsuccessful efforts to make Cardiff and Milford Haven permanent transatlantic emigrant ports. For Cardiff, see William Rees, *Cardiff: A History of the City*, second edition, revised (Cardiff: Cardiff City Corporation, 1969), p. 283; Dennis Morgan, *The Cardiff Story: A History of the City from its Earliest Times to the Present* (Cowbridge: D. Brown and Sons, 1991), pp. 152-3; *Cardiff Argus*, 7 Dec. 1889. For Milford Haven, see *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 2 March 1882; Sybil Edwards, *The Story of Milford Haven Waterway* (Herefordshire: Logaston Press, 2001).

⁵⁵ Maldwyn Jones, 'The Background to Emigration from Great Britain in Nineteenth Century', in Fleming and Bailyn, *Dislocation and Emigration*, pp. 3-92 (pp. 54-5).

⁵⁶ Letter from John Davies, Brookfield, Trumbull Co, Ohio to *Y Gwladgarwr*, 25 April 1868: 'Y mae taith o Liverpool i New York erbyn hyn wedi dod yn beth cyffredin iawn, ragor i'r hyn oedd yn nyddiau ein tadau ... Gwelliant celfyddyd sydd yn gwneud yr holl wahaniaeth, ein bod ni yn yr oed hon yn medru croesi y Werydd mewn cynifer o ddyddiau ag oedd o wythnosau iddynt hwy. Y mae grym yr agerdd yn ein gyru o'r naill gyfandir i'r llall mewn llinell syth dros y cefnfor mawr, tebyg yr un fel ag y mae yr agerbeiriant yn ein gyru ar hyd y wlad.' A translated edited extract from this letter is included in Alan Conway (ed.), *The Welsh in America: Letters from the Immigrants* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1961), pp. 45-6. For a fuller discussion of emigrant letters in this newspaper, see Walters, 'Llythyrâu'r Gwladgarwr' and 'Y Gwladgarwr a'i Ohebwy'r', pp. 152-7.

- ⁵⁷ Baines, *Emigration from Europe*, p. 41.
- ⁵⁸ See Charlotte Erickson, 'Who were the English and Scots Immigrants to the United States during the Late Nineteenth Century?', in D. V. Glass and Roger Revelle (eds.), *Population and Social Change* (London: Edward Arnold, 1972), pp. 347-82, and a revised version in Erickson, *Leaving England*, pp. 87-125.
- ⁵⁹ See Ioan Mai, *O Graig yr Eifl i America* (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2000).
- ⁶⁰ *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 12 Dec. 1879.
- ⁶¹ Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles*, p. 198.
- ⁶² *Y Gwladgarwr*, 25 April 1868: '[E]r hyny y mae genym yr un faint o filldiroedd i'w trafaelu a'r un peryglon i'w gwynebu ag oedd ganddynt hwy.' '[Y] tebycaf yn y byd i amser *feedio* yn *Show* greaduriaid Wombwells'. 'Byddai yn dda i bawb gofio mai oddeutu dwy droedfedd a haner o uchder, dwy o led, a chwech o hyd sydd gan deithiwr ag y gall ei hawlio iddo ei hun; ac yn y lle bychan hwn y mae yn bwyta, byw, cysgu, &c'.
- ⁶³ Cymro Cloff (Richard W. Jones), *Caban y Cymro* [The Welshman's Cabin] (Merthyr, 1873), p. 20. This work included poems on the theme of emigration and a guide for prospective Welsh emigrants to the USA. A letter from Cymro Cloff while he was in America appears in *Y Byd Cymreig*, 23 April 1863.
- ⁶⁴ 'Darluniad o Long Ymfudol' [A Picture of an Emigrant Ship], in *Caban y Cymro*, pp. 68-9.
- ⁶⁵ National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth MS 3363: J. T. Jones MSS. Register of Advertisements printed in *Y Gwron Cymreig*, 1859-64.
- ⁶⁶ *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 27 July 1877. See also *ibid.*, 24 Jan. 1879; *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 25 Feb. 1885. The latter is an advertisement for reduced fares on the Beaver Line. The prices quoted are: Steerage Fares Liverpool to New York £2 10s; Liverpool to Boston / Philadelphia £2 15s; Saloon Fare Liverpool to New York £10 10s.
- ⁶⁷ *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 17 Feb. 1867. For a suggestion that Thomas ought to use a different design for his boxes, see *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 14 Nov. 1868.
- ⁶⁸ Williams, 'A Prospect of Paradise?', p. 224.
- ⁶⁹ *Y Drych*, 22 May 1890; *Industrial World*, 30 Aug. 1895. For biog. details of Cymro Gwyllt, see *Y Drych*, 4 Oct. 1894; *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 20 Sept. and 8 Nov. 1894; *Western Mail*, 14 Sept. 1894. See also Walters, 'Y Gwladgarwr a'i Ohebwy'r', pp. 145-52.
- ⁷⁰ See Johnston, 'The Welsh Diaspora', pp. 67, 68; Aled Jones, 'Trade Unions and the Press: Journalism and the Red Dragon Revolt of 1874', *Welsh History Review*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1984), pp. 197-224 (pp. 218-20); *idem*, 'J. T. Morgan and the *Workman's Advocate* / *Amddiffynydd y Gweithiwr*: The Labour Press and Trade Unionism in South Wales 1871-1876' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Warwick, 1978), esp. p. 9; Jones, 'Trade Unions and the Press', and for Morgan specifically, pp. 218-20; Jones, '“We Will Give You Wings”'; Walker, '“Two Jobs for Every Man”', p. 109.
- ⁷¹ For biog. details, see *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography Down to 1940* (London: Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1959), p. 1142. For one of Morien's adverts, see *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 14 Nov. 1879.
- ⁷² *Brecon County Times*, 21 March 1890.
- ⁷³ *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 14 Nov. 1879. An advert for D. T. Davies, an emigration agent doing business in Pontmorlais, Merthyr in the 1890s, used an English version of the same catchphrase. *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 20 Dec. 1894.
- ⁷⁴ *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 26 Feb. 1875. 'Brithir conglau ein heolydd gan hysbysleni *agents* ymfudol ac mewn llythrenau breision apeliant at weithwyr haearn a glowyr

Morganwg i ymfudo i'r Amerig o herwydd rhadlonrwydd y cludiad; ac ar adeg derfysgldd fel y bresenol, y mae yn brofedigaeth i ddynion sydd yn feddianol ar ychydig bunoedd i gymeryd eu camarwain gan y fath hysbysiadau deniadol.'

⁷⁵ See, e.g., the testimonials for various Welsh agents in *Y Gwladgarwr*, 6 May and 8 July 1865; *Merthyr Express*, 10 July 1869; *Yr Herald Cymraeg*, 13 June 1873; *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 26 Feb. 1875.

⁷⁶ *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 18 Aug. 1881. See also *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 4 Aug. 1869 and *Y Gwladgarwr*, 8 July 1865, for Cymro Gwyllt's supporters and detractors.

⁷⁷ *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 19 Dec. 1879. Roberts's promise was not included in later advertisements; see, e.g., *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 14 Jan. 1885. Some Welsh emigrants expressed their satisfaction at the quality of Roberts's service but others were not so impressed. See *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 17 and 24 May and 21 June 1883.

⁷⁸ *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 24 April 1869.

⁷⁹ *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 30 April 1862.

⁸⁰ Several of those who were reported to be considering emigrating from Llanelli in May 1865 had received letters from their relatives containing 'passes'. Others were going 'ar eu traed eu hunain' [on their own two feet]. *Y Gwladgarwr*, 20 May 1865.

⁸¹ *Cardiff Times*, 6 June 1868.

⁸² *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 20 Oct. 1869.

⁸³ *Carmarthen Journal*, 19 Sept. 1879. See also the report of a Mountain Ash wife who was forced to appeal to the Pontypridd Board of Guardians because her husband had emigrated and failed to provide for her and her three children. *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 1 Oct. 1879.

⁸⁴ *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 12 Nov. 1880.

⁸⁵ Van Vugt, *Britain to America*, p. 123. For his discussion of women and emigration, see pp. 122-30.

⁸⁶ From a letter sent to the *Morning Chronicle* sometime between 4 March and 26 April 1850, reprinted in J. Ginswick (ed.), *Labour and the Poor in England and Wales 1849-1851. Vol. III The Mining and Manufacturing Districts of South Wales and North Wales* (London: Frank Cass, 1983), p. 151.

⁸⁷ James Clyde Mitchell, cited in Erickson, *Leaving England: Essays on British Emigration in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 24-5.

⁸⁸ From the first of two letters originally published in *Seren Orllewinol* (Pottsville, Pa.), March and April 1851, pp. 68, 89-90, and reprinted in *Y Gwladgarwr*, Vol. 2, No. 20 (Aug. 1851), pp. 250-1 and Vol. 2, No. 21 (Sept. 1851), pp. 266-7. 'Rown i ys blynedde yn teimlo rhiw duedd i ddod i Merica; ond lled anodd odd gadael yr hen dy a'r hen gymdogaeth, a'r hen ffryndie, a chroesi'r mor i'r wlad yma. Ond wath wath rodd hi yn mynd yn Nghymru o hyd, ac ambell i lythyr go lew o glod i Merica yn dod i'r gymdogaeth. Rwy ddiwrnod, fel rodd yn rhaid i bethe fod, fe ddaeth y casglwr ata i i mofyn y dreth fawr, a fine heb ddim i dalu. Ac fe aeth o yn lled sosi arno i, pryd hyny fi setles i'r pwngc yn y meddwl. Felly, ac i'r ty a fi at yr hen raig, a bawn i wrthi, Shan, fel mai byw fi, mi af tua Merica—chymra i ddim rhagor o dafod a dannedd y tylwyth yna. Dafydd, be hithe, dw i'n hidio mo'r goesen goch am hyny, mi ddo inau hefyd, ni werthwn y cwbl, mae'r mater wedi setlo. Ac yn bartoi yr aeth hi.'

⁸⁹ A similar tale was reported in *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 3 May 1862. For a poetic representation of the scenario where a husband returns home one day and announces he has decided to emigrate to America, see 'Yr Ymfudwr' [The Emigrant] by 'Canaidfab', published in *Y Fellten*, 17 July 1869.

- ⁹⁰ *Merthyr Telegraph*, 29 April 1865.
- ⁹¹ *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 12 May 1865.
- ⁹² *Aberdare Times*, 6 June 1868; *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 6 June 1868.
- ⁹³ *Y Drych*, 20 Jan. 1870; *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 12 and 26 Nov. 1875, 23 April 1879.
- ⁹⁴ *Y Drych*, 20 Jan. 1870.
- ⁹⁵ Jones, *North Wales Quarrymen*, pp. 123-4.
- ⁹⁶ *Yr Herald Cymraeg*, 13 May 1865. See also *Merthyr Express*, 18 Dec. 1869 (report entitled 'Opening for Unemployed Colliers'); *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 12 Dec. 1879.
- ⁹⁷ For the controversy over the American Emigrant Company, see *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 21 June 1865; *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 28 April and 12 May 1865; *Y Gwladgarwr*, 22 April and 13 May 1865; *Merthyr Telegraph*, 25 March, 13 May and 24 June 1865; *Seren Cymru*, 7 April 1865, and Conway, 'Welsh Emigration', pp. 251-3. For criticism of Cymro Gwyllt's involvement, see in particular the letter by John J. Powell in *Y Byd Cymreig*, 22 June 1865, which warns workers to stay away from 'bodau Gwylltfaidd' [Wild-animal-like persons]. A translated edited extract from this letter is included in Conway, *The Welsh in America*, pp. 174-6.
- ⁹⁸ *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 10 July 1863; *Merthyr Telegraph*, 17 July 1869.
- ⁹⁹ *Aberdare Times*, 6 June 1868.
- ¹⁰⁰ See, e.g., *Seren Cymru*, 17 April and 7 Aug. 1863; *Merthyr Express*, 22 May and 6 June 1869.
- ¹⁰¹ *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 27 March 1869.
- ¹⁰² *Aberdare Times*, 7 June 1862.
- ¹⁰³ *Y Gwladgarwr*, 12 and 26 July 1862.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 15 May 1869. See *Merthyr Telegraph*, 5 June 1869, and *Merthyr Express*, 6 June 1869, for the failed attempt of a leading Ebbw Vale tradesman, preacher and teetotal orator to embezzle fellow merchants and 'slip off slyly' to America.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 19 May 1869.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Seren Cymru*, 7 Aug. 1863.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Aberdare Times*, 5 Nov. 1864.
- ¹⁰⁸ Parry, *Hanes fy Mywyd a'm Gwaith*, p. 63.
- ¹⁰⁹ Talgarth British School logbook 1863-82, Talgarth Primary School. I am grateful to Dave Phillips for this reference.
- ¹¹⁰ *Brecon County Times*, 30 July 1925.
- ¹¹¹ For an example of the latter, see *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 14 Nov. 1879.
- ¹¹² *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 14 Nov. 1879.
- ¹¹³ *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 30 June 1860.
- ¹¹⁴ *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 28 Feb. 1884.
- ¹¹⁵ R. D. Thomas (Iorthryn Gwynedd), *Emigration: Yr Ymfudwr; Yn Cynnwys Hanes America ac Australia yn nghyda Phob Hyfforddiadau i Ymfudwyr* (Newtown, 1854), pp. 107-8. 'Cychwyn oddicartref.—Adeg bwysig a difrifol yw! ... Nac ddangoswch yn galed a dideimlad, ac na wylwch yn anghymedrol. Ymadewch fel pobl synhwyrol.' A similar point is made in Benjamin Chidlaw's guide, *Yr American* [The American] (Llanrwst: John Jones, 1840), p. 35.
- ¹¹⁶ *Y Gwerinwr*, June 1855, pp. 72-3.
- ¹¹⁷ *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 15 May 1869.
- ¹¹⁸ *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 4 March 1868. For Orwig Gwyllt's account of his voyage, see 9 May 1868.
- ¹¹⁹ *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 7 Nov. 1901.

- ¹²⁰ Arnold Schrier, *Ireland and the American Immigration 1850-1900* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958), p. 89.
- ¹²¹ See, e.g., *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 25 Sept. 1841.
- ¹²² *Merthyr Telegraph*, 12 June 1869.
- ¹²³ *Merthyr Telegraph*, 14 May 1870.
- ¹²⁴ See also, e.g., *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 8 Sept. 1854; *Y Gwladgarwr*, 31 March 1866.
- ¹²⁵ *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 20 March 1869.
- ¹²⁶ *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 31 March 1869.
- ¹²⁷ *Merthyr Telegraph*, 22 Aug. 1879; *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 22 Aug. 1879.
- ¹²⁸ See, e.g., *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 17 April 1895; *Industrial World*, 9 Aug. 1895.
- ¹²⁹ *Brecon County Times*, 1 May 1869.
- ¹³⁰ *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 19 May 1869.
- ¹³¹ See Schrier, *Ireland and the American Immigration*, esp. pp. 83-100.
- ¹³² A good example is that of the writer and Welsh Nationalist D. J. Williams. In 1906 he had made arrangements to emigrate to the USA in the company of an uncle who was already living there and who had returned to Wales for a visit. But as Williams put it, ‘Ymyrrodd Rhagluniaeth’ [Providence intervened]. His uncle never returned to the USA and Williams stayed in Wales. D. J. Williams, *Yn Chwech Ar Hugain Oed* (Aberystwyth: Gwasg Aberystwyth, 1959), pp. 192-3.
- ¹³³ *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 8 Sept. 1854.
- ¹³⁴ See, e.g., *Aberdare Times*, 20 June 1863; *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 27 March 1869.
- ¹³⁵ *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 12 Oct. 1870. ‘Mae teuluoedd ... yn cael eu rhwygo, a theimladau yn cael eu dolurio, yr eglwys yn cael colled, yr Ysgol Sabbothol yn colli rhai o’i deiliaid mwyaf ffyddlawn.’
- ¹³⁶ Williams, *Oes y Byd i’r Iaith Gymraeg*, pp. 23-4, 26-9.
- ¹³⁷ *Y Fellten*, 24 July 1869.
- ¹³⁸ See, e.g., Cynddelw (Robert Ellis), ‘Adgofion am Carmel, Sirhowy’, *Y Bedyddiwr*, May 1865, pp.146-50 (p. 147).
- ¹³⁹ Evan Powell, *History of Tredegar: Subject of Competition at Tredegar ‘Chair Eisteddfod’, held February the 25th, 1884* (Cardiff: South Wales Printing Works, 1885), p. 81.
- ¹⁴⁰ *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 11 Sept. 1852; *Seren Cymru*, 7 April 1865.
- ¹⁴¹ For ‘dwymyn’, see, e.g., *Seren Cymru*, 8 May 1863, *Y Fellten*, 1 May 1869, and for ‘fever’, see, e.g., *Merthyr Telegraph*, 11 April 1863.
- ¹⁴² For a fuller discussion of this point, see Jones, ‘Inspecting the Emigration Drain’ and ‘“We Will Give You Wings to Fly”’.
- ¹⁴³ See the discussions in Davies, ‘“Very Different Springs of Uneasiness”’, pp. 389-91, and Knowles, *Calvinists Incorporated*, pp. 228-9, re. *Cân Newydd: Ar Ddull o Ymddiddan rhwng yr Anesmwyth a’r Esmwyth; sef y rhai sydd yn bwriadu cymmeryd eu Taith tu ag America, ag eraill sydd yn boddloni yn ngwlad eu Genedigaeth* [A New Song: In the form of a Dialogue between the Uneasy and the Comfortable; namely those who intend Travelling to America, and those who are content with the land of their Birth], written by Thomas Francis and published c.1800.
- ¹⁴⁴ *Ymddiddan Rhwng Robert ac Ifan ynghylch ymadael â’u gwlad a myned i’r America* (Swansea: E. Griffiths, n.d.); Tegwyn Jones (ed.), *Baledi Ywain Meirion* (Bala: Llyfrau’r Faner, 1980), pp. iii-xxxv, 80-7, 200. See also Huw Walters, ‘Cerddi ymddiddan ynghylch ymfudo i Awstralia’, *National Library of Wales Journal*, 31

(Winter 2000), pp. 381-400, for a discussion of poems in which two characters discuss whether or not to emigrate to Australia.

¹⁴⁵ One commentator opined in 1881 that writing accounts of voyages from Wales to America had become so common that people regarded them as nothing better than ‘*sothach israddol*’ [inferior rubbish]. *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 21 Jan. 1881.

¹⁴⁶ *Seren Gomer*, 1 Nov. 1820, p. 343; *Y Traethodydd*, July 1851, pp. 374-5; NLW MS 4434A; *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 7 Nov. 1879; *Y Fellten*, 17 July 1869.

¹⁴⁷ *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 14 May 1870.

¹⁴⁸ Schrier, *Ireland and the American Immigration*, pp. 93-100.

¹⁴⁹ See, e.g., ‘Columbus’ [Revd. D. Griffiths, Port Dinorwic], ‘Ymfudiaeth—Pwy i Ymfudo a Pha Le i Ymfudo’ [Emigration—Who Should Emigrate and To Where to Emigrate], in John Rhydderch Williams (Rhydderch o Fôn) (ed.), *Eisteddfod Gadeiriol Rhyl 1863. Y Cyfansoddiadau Buddugol a’r Beirniadaethau* (Rhyl: Swyddfa’r Record, 1864), pp. 128-56, adjudication on pp. 123-6.

¹⁵⁰ Jerry Hunter, ‘Y Traddodiad Llenyddol Coll’, *Taliesin*, 118 (Spring 2003), pp. 13-44; Daniel Williams, ‘“Cymry Ewyrth Sam”: Creu Hunaniaeth Gymreig yn yr Unol Daleithiau c. 1860-1900’, in Geraint H. Jenkins (ed.), *Cof Cenedl XVI* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 2003), pp. 127-59. See also Melinda Gray, ‘Language and Belonging: A Welsh-language Novel in Late-Nineteenth-Century America’, in Werner Sollors (ed.), *Multilingual America: Transnationalism, Ethnicity and the Languages of American Literature* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), pp. 91-102; Jerry Hunter, *Llwch Cenhedloedd: Y Cymry a Rhyfel Cartref America* (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2003); E. Wyn James, ‘Caethwasanaeth a’r Beirdd’, *Taliesin*, 119 (Summer 2003), pp. 37-60 [based on a paper delivered at this Centre’s conference on ‘The Welsh and American Slavery’, 30 November 2002]; and the individual chapters by Gray, Williams and Esther Whitfield in Marc Shell (ed.), *American Babel: Literatures of the United States from Abnaki to Zuni* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2002).

¹⁵¹ Gwyn Thomas, ‘Introduction’, in *The Keep* (London: Elek Books, 1962), p. 7.

¹⁵² One such plea in *Y Drych* in Jan. 1870 was sent by the parents and friends of Morgan Davies, a twenty-two-year-old miner, originally from Aberdare. They had heard no news of him since the previous April, when he had been working in Big Mine Run, Ashland, Pennsylvania. *Y Drych*, 1 Jan. 1870.

¹⁵³ David Williams, *Cymru ac America: Wales and America* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1946), p. 81.

¹⁵⁴ *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 12 Oct. 1870.

¹⁵⁵ Dyfed Evans (gol.), *Bywyd Bob Owen* (Caernarfon: Gwasg Gwynedd, 1978), pp. 12, 139-40.

¹⁵⁶ See the useful discussions on this point in Knowles, *Calvinists Incorporated* and, on Welsh emigrant perceptions of Australia, Walker, ‘“Two Jobs for Every Man”’.

¹⁵⁷ Parry, *Hanes fy Mywyd a’ m Gwaith*, p. 63.

¹⁵⁸ *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 4 Feb. 1945.

¹⁵⁹ Revd John Thomas, Liverpool, for example, gave a lecture on his visit to America at Sardis chapel, Ystradgynlais on 25 Jan. 1866. *Y Byd Cymreig*, 1 Feb. 1866. The report of the lecture suggested that the lecture may well have awakened the desire to emigrate to the USA in many in the audience. For an example of written accounts, see the Evangelist Rosina Davies’s descriptions of her visits to the USA and Canada in 1893-94, 1897 and 1930-32 in *The Story of My Life*, second edition (Llandysul: Gomerian Press, 1942), pp. 115-65, 236-74.

¹⁶⁰ *Brecon County Times*, 4 June 1870. Price had toured America from April to December 1869 and almost weekly he sent long letters describing his experiences and what he had seen to *Seren Cymru*. See also Revd Benjamin Evans, *Bywgraffiad y Diweddar Barchedig Thomas Price, Aberdâr* (Aberdare: Jenkin Howell, 1891), pp. 134-59.

¹⁶¹ *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 2 April 1890.

¹⁶² See Hunter, *Llwch Cenhedloedd*, and Van Vugt, *Britain to America*, pp. 146-8.

¹⁶³ See, e.g., the extent of the coverage of his tour to Wales in the *Western Mail* in July 1903.

¹⁶⁴ For the impact of America on Welsh literature, see M. Wynn Thomas (ed.), *Gweld Sêr: Cymru a Chanrif America* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001), and *idem*, 'Gwlad o Bosibiliadau: Golwg ar Lên Cymru ac America', *Y Traethodydd*, (Jan. 2002), pp. 38-52, being the inaugural lecture that launched the Cardiff Centre for Welsh American Studies, 19 Oct. 2002.

¹⁶⁵ *Tarian y Gweithiwr*, 5 July 1883. 'Y mae yn anhawdd cyfarfod ag un teulu yng Nghymru nad oes perthynasau agos iddynt yn y Taleithiau, a chroesawir pob newydd oddi yno gyda brwdfrydedd.'

¹⁶⁶ Evans, *Bywyd Bob Owen*, pp. 11-12.

¹⁶⁷ *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 25 Feb. 1885.

¹⁶⁸ Edward Jones, *Y Teithiwr Americanaidd* (Aberystwyth: E. Williams, 1837), p. 2. A reviewer of R. D. Thomas, *Yr Ymfudwr*, maintained that the extensive information it contained would be beneficial not only to those who intended to emigrate but also those 'sydd wedi gwneyd eu meddwl i fynu i aros yn yr hen wlad' [who have made up their minds to stay in the old country]. *Y Gwerinwr*, June 1855, p. 72.

¹⁶⁹ *Y Traethodydd*, 27 (1872), pp. 79-89, 389-404 (p. 79). 'Mae y cysylltiad pwysig sydd rhwng America ... â Chymru ... yn ddigon o reswm am fod adroddiad o helyntion pethau yno yn ddarllenadwy i bob Cymro. Mae yr ysgrifenydd yn cofio yr adeg pan oedd America iddo ef fel gwlad mewn byd arall, a phan nad oedd yn teimlo mwy o ddyddordeb ynddi na phe buasai wlad yn y lleuad. Ond cyn ei fod yn ddeddeg oed, symudodd brawd iddo i'r wlad hono i fyw. Gwnaeth hyny hi yn beth arall iddo ar unwaith. Cyn pen deng mlynedd yr oedd ganddo bedwar brawd yn byw ynddi, y naill wedi myned ar ol y llall, a symudiad pob un yn cynnyddu y dyddordeb ynddi. Mwy nag ugain mlynedd yn ol, symudodd ei rieni i'r wlad hono i fyw, a gwnaeth hyny gwllwm agosach rhwng ei galon ag America na dim eriod o'r blaen; ac yr oedd pob llythyr a dderbyniai oddiyno, yn cynnyddu yr awydd oedd yno am ei gweled.'

¹⁷⁰ Revd Henry Rees, 'Ymweliad ag America yn y Flwyddyn 1893', *Y Dysgedydd*, March 1903, pp. 102-5 (p. 102), '... yn mhob peth a welant ac a glywant amdani.'

¹⁷¹ David Williams, 'The Welsh in the United States. Their Contribution', *Welsh Outlook*, Vol. 17, No. 8 (August 1930), pp. 211-12 (p. 211).

¹⁷² NLW MS 2834B: David Samuel, 'Taith yn America', 1890.