

2003

## The Welsh in Iowa

Cherilyn Ann Walley  
*Iowa State University*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/rtd>

 Part of the [United States History Commons](#)

### Recommended Citation

Walley, Cherilyn Ann, "The Welsh in Iowa " (2003). *Retrospective Theses and Dissertations*. 1399.  
<https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/rtd/1399>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Iowa State University Capstones, Theses and Dissertations at Iowa State University Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Retrospective Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Iowa State University Digital Repository. For more information, please contact [digirep@iastate.edu](mailto:digirep@iastate.edu).

## INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

**The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.** Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

ProQuest Information and Learning  
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA  
800-521-0600

**UMI<sup>®</sup>**



## **NOTE TO USERS**

**This reproduction is the best copy available.**

UMI<sup>®</sup>





# **The Welsh in Iowa**

by

**Cherilyn Ann Walley**

A dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**Major: Agricultural History and Rural Studies**

**Program of Study Committee:**  
**Dorothy A. Schwieder, Major Professor**  
**R. Douglas Hurt**  
**Andrejs Plakans**  
**Pamela Riney-Kehrberg**  
**S. Elwynn Taylor**

**Iowa State University**

**Ames, Iowa**

**2003**

**Copyright © Cherilyn Ann Walley, 2003. All rights reserved.**

UMI Number: 3085952

UMI<sup>®</sup>

---

UMI Microform 3085952

Copyright 2003 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.

All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against  
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

---

ProQuest Information and Learning Company  
300 North Zeeb Road  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

**Graduate College  
Iowa State University**

**This is to certify that the doctoral dissertation of**

**Cherilyn Ann Walley**

**has met the dissertation requirements of Iowa State University**

Signature was redacted for privacy.

**Major Professor**

Signature was redacted for privacy.

**For the Major Program**

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>CHAPTER 2. THE WELSH</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>CHAPTER 3. IOWA</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>CHAPTER 4. THE WELSH IN IOWA</b>	<b>88</b>
<b>CHAPTER 5. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE</b>	<b>141</b>
<b>CHAPTER 6. WELSH COAL MINERS</b>	<b>192</b>
<b>CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION</b>	<b>228</b>
<b>APPENDIX A. AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITIES</b>	<b>238</b>
<b>APPENDIX B. MINING COMMUNITIES</b>	<b>306</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>348</b>

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Distribution of Welsh in United States, 1890.	41
Figure 2. Iowa, 1856: Predominating State of Origin for Each County.	59
Figure 3. Latitudinal Migration Patterns from Eastern States to Iowa.	59
Figure 4. Iowa, 1885: Ethnic distribution as proportion of foreign born in each county.	61
Figure 5. Welsh Agricultural Communities in Order of Settlement.	91
Figure 6. Distribution of Welsh in Iowa, 1856.	92
Figure 7. Distribution of Welsh in Iowa, 1885.	93
Figure 8. Distribution of Welsh in Iowa, 1890.	94
Figure 9. Distribution of Welsh in Iowa, 1900.	95
Figure 10. Distribution of Welsh in Iowa, 1905.	96
Figure 11. Distribution of Welsh in Iowa, 1910.	97
Figure 12. Distribution of Welsh in Iowa, 1915.	98
Figure 13. Distribution of Welsh in Iowa, 1920.	99
Figure 14. Distribution of Welsh in Iowa, 1925.	100
Figure 15. Distribution of Welsh in Iowa, 1930.	101
Figure 16. Old Man's Creek Welsh Community, 1900.	117
Figure 17. Welsh Land Ownership, 1889: Douglas Township, Clay County.	119
Figure 18. Age Distribution Graph, Des Moines County 1850, Welsh.	147
Figure 19. Age Distribution Graph, Des Moines County 1850, Non-Welsh.	147
Figure 20. Age Distribution Graph, Johnson County 1860.	153
Figure 21. Age Distribution Graph, Sharon and Union Townships 1860, Non-Welsh.	154
Figure 22. Age Distribution Graph, Sharon and Union Townships 1860, Welsh.	154
Figure 23. Age Distribution Graph, Sharon and Union Townships 1870, Non-Welsh.	158
Figure 24. Age Distribution Graph, Sharon and Union Townships 1870, Welsh.	158
Figure 25. Age Distribution Graph, Sharon and Union Townships 1880, Non-Welsh.	161
Figure 26. Age Distribution Graph, Sharon and Union Townships 1880, Welsh.	161
Figure 27. Age Distribution Graph, Foreston-Lime Springs Welsh (1880).	183
Figure 28. Age Distribution Graph, 1880 Forest City Township Non-Welsh Native-born.	183
Figure 29. Age Distribution Graph, 1880 Forest City Township Non-Welsh Foreign...	184
Figure 30. Welsh Population in Iowa Coal Mining Counties.	198
Figure 31. Coal Mining Counties ranked in descending order of Welsh population...	200
Figure 32. Welsh Coal Mining Communities in approximate order of settlement.	208
 <b>Figures in Appendix A</b>	
Welsh Agricultural Communities in Order of Settlement	238
Map of Johnson County, Iowa, 1875	241
Map of Union Township, Johnson County, 1870	242
Map of Sharon Township, Johnson County, 1870	243
Map of Union Township, Johnson County, 1889	244
Map of Sharon Township, Johnson County, 1889	245
Map of Old Man's Creek Welsh Community, 1900	246
Map of Louisa County, Iowa, 1875	254
Map of Des Moines County, Iowa, 1875	258

Map indicating Welsh Land Ownership in Des Moines Co., 1873	259
Map of Iowa County, Iowa, 1875	265
Map of Monroe County, Iowa, 1875	268
Map of Howard County, Iowa, 1875	287
Map of Montgomery County, Iowa, 1875 (Welsh land highlighted)	293
Map of Clay County, Iowa, 1875	298
Map of Buena Vista County, Iowa, 1875	299
Map indicating Welsh Land Ownership, 1889: Douglas Township, Clay County	300
Map of Carroll County, Iowa, 1875	303
 <b>Figures in Appendix B</b>	
Welsh Coal Mining Communities in approximate order of settlement	307
Map of Appanoose County, Iowa, 1875	308
Map of Appanoose County, Iowa, 1896	309
Map of Appanoose County, Iowa, 1915. Mines marked.	310
Map of Boone County, Iowa, 1875	312
Map of Jasper County, Iowa, 1875	316
Map of Keokuk County, Iowa, 1875	318
Map of Lucas County, Iowa, 1875	321
Map of Mahaska County, Iowa, 1875	324
Map of Des Moines Township, Mahaska County, Iowa, 1884	333
Map of Monroe County, Iowa, 1875	336
Map of Polk County, Iowa, 1875	341
Map of Wapello County, Iowa, 1875	343

**LIST OF TABLES**

Table 1. Welsh-born in Iowa, by County and Census Year.	102
Table 2. 1850 Des Moines County Family and Household Statistics.	144
Table 3. 1850 Des Moines County Agricultural Statistics.	149
Table 4. Fertility Rates, Sharon and Union Townships, Welsh and Non-Welsh.	163
Table 5. Household and Family Size: Welsh and Non-Welsh...	166
Table 6. Household and Family Composition: Welsh and Non-Welsh...	167
Table 7. Foreston/Lime Springs Welsh...Birthplace Statistics.	180
Table 8. 1880 Foreston/Lime Springs Welsh...Family and Household Statistics.	186
Table 9. 1880 Cleveland Welsh, Lucas County: Family and Household Statistics.	220
Table 10. Welsh Communities: Family and Household Statistics Summary.	223



## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Iowa is well known as a home to immigrants. The state's German and Norwegian heritage is familiar, as are the state's numerous immigrant colonies, such as Orange City, Elkhorn, Decorah, and Swedesburg. Ethnic celebrations abound; Story City holds Scandinavian Days, the Amana Colonies sponsor Oktoberfest, and Pella's Tulip Time festival attracts visitors from around the region. The state is home to four ethnic museums; the Norwegians have one in Decorah, the Germans in Davenport, the Danes in Elk Horn, and even the Czechs have a museum, in Cedar Rapids. Less well-known, however, is the fact that Iowa was also a popular destination for smaller immigrant groups, such as the Welsh. Though not as numerous as the Germans or Norwegians, or as well known as even the Czechs, many Welsh did choose to make their homes in Iowa.

Other histories have told small portions of the story of the Welsh in Iowa, concentrating on the Welsh in certain occupations or as members of specific communities. This study will give a more complete account of the Iowa Welsh experience, first by tracing the development of Welsh identity in Wales, then discussing the economic and religious factors that led to emigration. The story of Welsh settlement will be told, emphasizing the development of the two main types of Welsh communities in Iowa, agricultural and coal mining, while placing those communities in the larger context of general Iowa settlement and ethnic composition. Finally, this study will explore how the Welsh regarded themselves, and the measures they did or did not take to preserve their ethnic identity. It is this idea of ethnic identity, and its expression, preservation, and eventual loss, that this study is most concerned with. Once Welsh immigrants were settled in America, all that united them was a shared

concept of their own ethnic distinctiveness. The question is, how much did this ethnic identity influence the Welsh in Iowa, and what did the Iowa Welsh do to either maintain or erase that identity?

Although the history of the Welsh in Iowa has not been fully documented, neither has it been completely ignored. Former English professor Phillips Davies performed a yeoman's work in translating R. D. Thomas' *Hanes Cymry America* from Welsh to English, as well as a number of other historical works on the Welsh in America. In conjunction with agricultural historian James Whitaker, Davies also published a useful article on the Welsh in Iowa in *The Palimpsest*. A few other articles also appeared in the early twentieth century, such as "The Welsh Eisteddfod" and "Asa Turner and the Welsh." But no in-depth history of the state's Welsh has yet been undertaken.

The Welsh as an ethnic group in America, however, are better known. Alan Conway's *The Welsh in America: Letters from the Immigrants* is a well-known study of Welsh immigrants and a popular source of collected Welsh correspondence. Edward Ashton's *The Welsh in the United States* is equally useful. A number of regional studies have been written about the Welsh in Pennsylvania, who are well known for their influence in early Philadelphia society as well as for their high representation in the state's coal mines. Thomas Allen Glenn's *Welsh Founders of Pennsylvania* and Gwyn Williams' *The Search for Beulah Land* are just two such studies. Other articles and books shed light on the Welsh in New York, Ohio, Wisconsin and Minnesota. Anne Kelly Knowles recently published a work in historical geography titled *Calvinists Incorporated: Welsh Immigrants on Ohio's Industrial Frontier*, and Aled Jones and Bill Jones have just published their study *Welsh Reflections: Y Drych &*

*America 1851-2001*, gleaning insights from the most widely distributed Welsh periodical in America.

A number of historians have written detailed analyses of the major Midwestern ethnic groups. Frederick C. Luebke's study of Germans in Nebraska was one of the earliest to grapple with issues of assimilation in rural communities, touching on such issues as institutional strength as an indicator of the rate of ethnic assimilation for any given community. Jon Gjerde's book, *The Minds of the West*, looks at conflicts between and within Midwestern ethnic groups. He uses both statistical and anecdotal evidence to explore varying attitudes and behaviors as they reflected and countered different cultural influences. Gjerde's earlier work, *From Peasants to Farmers: The Migration from Balestrand, Norway, to the Upper Middle West*, took a more geographical approach to the study of ethnicity. Instead of beginning with a community in America and tracing its residents back through time and space to their European origins, Gjerde chose a single community in Norway and followed its emigrants to their new homes in America. In this way, he was able to identify specific cultural characteristics and observe their transformation over time and space. Anne Kelly Knowles followed a similar methodology in her book *Calvinists Incorporated: Welsh Immigrants on Ohio's Industrial Frontier*. Using her background as a historical geographer, Knowles was able to enhance her study of the Welsh iron workers by including detailed information on the immigrants' origins and how those influenced economic decisions and social relationships in America. In his book *The Amish on the Iowa Prairie, 1840-1910*, Steven D. Reschly borrows heavily from sociology to develop a workable theoretical structure for his study of the Amish. Within that structure he uses narratives to illustrate the characteristics that made the Amish a

recognizable and successful ethnic community. Though many other studies could be included in the historiography of rural Midwestern ethnic communities, the above represent works that deal not only with specific ethnic groups, but also address the more elusive issues of how ethnic identity is developed, and how ethnic groups respond to assimilation pressures.<sup>1</sup>

In her essay “Historical Approaches to the Study of Rural Ethnic Communities,” Kathleen Neils Conzen poses the pivotal questions that rural ethnic studies must attempt to answer. Some are able to be answered as they apply to individual groups, while others will only be answered after many more studies have been completed. Central to studies of rural ethnic groups is the issue of location. The difference between life in the city and life in rural farm communities not only changes people’s individual patterns of living and interacting, but also influences the development and expression of ethnic identity. The difficulty lies in differentiating between behaviors that the immigrants brought with them and behaviors dictated by their new situation.<sup>2</sup>

The concept of clustering is also central to the issue of rural ethnicity. Even as ethnic communities are identified and attempts are made to categorize settlements according to types of clustering (dense enclaves, open-country neighborhoods, scattered farmsteads oriented toward a single town or institution), there remains the more compelling question of why clusters develop. As Conzen points out, no one measurable factor can completely answer the question, since clustering is the result of many individual decisions, which are in turn the product of numerous factors weighted according to each person or family’s situation. No two ethnic groups behave in exactly the same way, and no two communities within a single ethnic group develop in an identical manner.

Just as elusive as the personal motivations for immigration are the individual responses to assimilation pressures. The challenge is in identifying the multitude of factors that work for and against assimilation and cultural preservation. Family and cultural values are difficult to definitively trace, as they are often expressed only indirectly. In *Minds of the West*, for example, Gjerde studies family values as they related to land and inheritance by examining land transfers and persistence. Seemingly direct correlations between ethnicity and cultural institutions are complicated when individual personalities and group dynamics are introduced. Thriving ethnic churches certainly lent strength to ethnic communities, but how much of that influence was the result, not the cause, of shared ethnic identity?

Assimilation is perhaps the most problematic issue in ethnic studies. No single model of the process of assimilation has been adopted as a standard, which makes direct comparisons between ethnic groups difficult. Yet the lack of standard reflects the reality of a nuanced transformation that ultimately takes place at the level of the individual. The most common model presents the assimilation process as an inevitable loss of traditional culture and eventual absorption into the dominant society. This straight line model is used to represent the experiences of both immigrant groups and individual immigrants. However, many scholars reject the straight line model, and the use of models altogether, believing them to be too simplistic to capture the subtleties of the immigrant experience.

Even the concept of ethnicity is under debate. Challenging the commonly held notion that ethnicity is a quality brought with immigrants like baggage, a static Old World identity eroded by New World assimilation pressures, Kathleen Neils Conzen, David A. Gerber, Ewa Morawska, George E. Pozzetta, and Rudolph J. Vecoli have presented an alternative to

assimilation models: the invention of ethnicity. According to invention theory, ethnicity is a wholly new identity developed by immigrants in response to the dominant ethnoculture. As such, ethnic identity is continually renegotiated both by the immigrants themselves, and by the dominant culture. Since ethnicity is invented, immigrants who customarily perceive themselves as diverse and subdivided within their common nationality according to regional origin and religion, are able to shape a new umbrella identity that unites them and shields them from the dominant culture. Invention theory also holds that since immigrants in rural areas are subjected to less pressure to assimilate, they have less need to invent an ethnic identity.<sup>3</sup>

Ethnic historian Herbert J. Gans, however, believes invention theory should supplement, not completely replace, straight line theory. Viewing ethnicity and assimilation solely from the perspective of invention theory results in the complete subjugation of the individual to the group. While the group is important, individual experiences varied widely and invention theory does not allow for such diversity. Gans maintains that while the straight line model of assimilation is too rigid, it is often an accurate and useful approach to ethnic studies.<sup>4</sup>

As is usually the case, taking the middle approach seems here to be the best option. The introduction of an assimilation model provides convenient terms of reference that are useful when studying ethnic groups, but should be used in moderation. The subject's experience should take precedence, with references to the model when appropriate. The characteristics of ethnicity and phases of assimilation identified in a model should not limit the scope of a study. While some markers seem to be common to all ethnic groups, such as language and national origin, others are unique to the culture and experience of one particular

ethnicity. To some degree, each ethnic group must define its own path to assimilation, choosing for itself what markers, or characteristics, it deems important to its ethnicity, and how those characteristics will weather assimilation pressures. These unique aspects of ethnicity are the result of the intercultural negotiations that invention theory claims are the very basis of ethnic identity.

In light of the arguments reviewed above, this study will use Elliott R. Barkan's six stage assimilation model as a point of reference. Barkan's model focuses on immigrants' interactions with general American society and what he calls its "core culture," thus maintaining the usefulness of an assimilation model while incorporating elements of invention theory's emphasis on negotiated identity. The model divides the immigrant experience into six stages progressing from "contact" to "assimilation." Rather than being organized in a straight line, Barkan's model conceives of the assimilation process as a loose spiral, with each stage bringing the immigrant further within the sphere of the core culture. Being arranged in a circular pattern, and therefore not forcing a rigid progression toward a defined end point, the six-stage model allows for variation between individual experiences. As individuals or groups invent their own ethnicity, they may or may not pass through a certain stage. While some ethnic historians have challenged Barkan's model as not representative of all immigrant groups' experiences, a better model has yet to be developed. Most importantly to this study, Barkan's model does adequately represent the Welsh experience in Iowa.<sup>5</sup>

The first stage in Barkan's model is Stage 1—Contact. This is the stage in which immigrants first arrive in America and experience their initial contact with American society. This is also the stage in which immigrants cluster together according to kinship connections

and regional affiliations, primarily as a result of communication within the ethnic group. As will be described in chapter three, Peter Cassel's decision to emigrate from Sweden, journey to America and Iowa, and his role in founding New Sweden, all took place in Stage 1. The second stage in the model is Acculturation. According to Barkan, this is the stage in which ethnic communities emerge from what were previously just immigrant clusters; the immigrants remain geographically close to one another, speak their native language, and rely on ethnicity-based networks for information and support. The German Turner societies fell partially in this stage, as they encouraged participation based on a common ethnic heritage, and sought to provide support for the German community. Stage 2 is also the stage when the immigrants individually and collectively gain more exposure to the larger society and culture.<sup>6</sup>

Adaptation is the third stage in Barkan's model, and is well-represented by the Danish community in Elk Horn in the 1880s, an account of which is also included in chapter three. In this stage, the ethnic community achieves a better balance between foreign-born and native-born members of the community, more English is spoken by the people, and individuals experience more mobility out of the enclaves. As more children were born in Iowa, as Danes young and old learned English, and as young adults left home for higher education or jobs, the individuals and the community worked their way through Stage 3. Barkan's Stage 4 carries the above trends further, as the individual and the community move into the Accommodation stage. In this stage the community has fewer foreign-born residents, and most residents use English instead of their ethnic tongue. Members of the community also participate in non-ethnic organizations at a higher rate, such as joining local clubs and societies, and sometimes even joining non-ethnic churches. The fourth stage also sees more intermarriage with people



not part of the ethnic community, and more geographic and occupational mobility. Pella, Iowa, is still in Stage 4 to a certain extent.<sup>7</sup>

The fifth stage in this model of ethnic assimilation is that of Integration. At this point the individual may retain some residual ethnic characteristics, such as community-specific expressions or food preferences, but for the most part he or she has achieved inclusion in the general society. A community in the fifth stage would exhibit higher levels of education and more socioeconomic mobility than shown before. The ethnic church remains, but church leaders have less influence over the community. The individual in the Integration stage primarily identifies with the core culture.<sup>8</sup>

Assimilation is the sixth and final stage in Barkan's model. It is at this stage that the individual has lost all significant connection to his or her ethnic heritage. The person may be conscious that they are descended from a certain ethnic group, but they no longer identify themselves as a member of that group. The community in the Assimilation stage may even retain the ethnic church, but in form only, as the meetings will be held in English. At this point, the immigrant descendant is indistinguishable from any other member of general society, and their language patterns, residences, friends, family connections, and affiliations all match those of the core culture. The fully assimilated person perceives him or herself as a member of general society, and the general society accepts him or her as such. Barkan defines the core society itself as "all who possess an undifferentiated or significantly mixed ancestry and those who have had only one ancestry but who—along with those others—identify themselves with that core and are so recognized by it." Members of the core society in Iowa regarded themselves primarily as Americans, not as part of any particular ethnic group.<sup>9</sup>

Barkan's model of ethnic assimilation provides a way to roughly measure the ever-shifting balance between maintaining ethnic identity and adopting characteristics of general society. This study will occasionally refer to the model in order to better understand the transitions the Iowa Welsh community experienced over the course of their development and decline. Invention theory informs this study's discussion of the development of a Welsh ethnic identity. Because of their unique relationship with the English, to a certain extent the Welsh invented their ethnicity while still in Wales. By the time Welsh immigrants arrived in Iowa, they had already negotiated an ethnic identity in relation to the dominant Anglo-centric ethnoculture and merely adjusted it as appropriate. They found that in America, however, the shield of ethnicity was no longer as necessary as it was in Britain. It is at this point in the Welsh experience that invention theory gives way to assimilation theory.

To understand the Welsh experience in Iowa, we must fully develop the context in which they existed. The first chapter of this dissertation, "The Welsh," will deal with the Welsh as a people. It will contain a brief history of Wales as a country, and then explore the development of the Welsh identity as it was manifested in the nineteenth century. Much as Gjerde did with Norway, and Robert Ostergren has done with the Swedes, the chapter will identify themes in Welsh history and cultural characteristics that were to become factors in the development of Welsh ethnic identity, and its renegotiation in America. The chapter will also briefly discuss the political and economic circumstances of nineteenth century Wales, particularly those that led to Welsh immigration to America. Having established a picture of contemporary Wales, the chapter will finish with a synopsis of Welsh emigration, concentrating on immigration to the United States. Acknowledging the importance of

geography in immigration studies, and echoing work done by such historical geographers as Luebke and Knowles, chapter one will also discuss Welsh settlement and migration patterns within America.

The second chapter, "Iowa," will provide the local context for the Welsh experience in Iowa. It will describe foreign immigration to America and provide an account of westward migration within America. The emergence of Iowa as a destination for native-born and foreign-born immigrants will then be established. Iowa's growth will be explored, both geographically and in terms of population. The chapter will also give an overview of foreign settlement in Iowa, paying specific attention to ethnic distribution and community development. From this brief treatment of Iowa history, its ethnic groups, basic patterns of immigration, settlement, and religious practices will be established, which will then provide geographic and cultural context for the Welsh.

With the foundation established in the first two chapters, the third chapter, "The Welsh in Iowa," will introduce the Welsh as an Iowa immigrant group. It will concentrate on the first of two main groups of Welsh in Iowa, the agricultural communities. Immigration and settlement patterns will be discussed, with special attention to the mechanisms of Welsh clustering. The chapter will also explore the importance of religion to the Welsh communities' ethnic identity, as well as identify other ethnic markers. The fourth chapter, "Demographic Profile," provides statistical analyses of three Welsh communities and their relationship with their non-Welsh neighbors.

The fifth chapter, "Welsh Miners in Iowa," will describe the second main group of Welsh in Iowa, those whose livelihood was tied to the coal mines. It will explore how the

Iowa coal mining industry affected, and was affected by, Welsh communities. Each of the two chapters will tell the history of the subject group, from arrival in Iowa and community formation to the eventual absorption of the Welsh communities into Iowa's larger culture. The chapters will also explore what it meant to be Welsh and how that ethnic identity affected their communities and their interactions with non-Welsh neighbors. Demographic data will be used to further study the often indistinct boundary between the Welsh and non-Welsh community, much as Luebke, Gjerde, Ostergren, and others have done with their studies of German and Scandinavian immigrants.

The conclusion will bring to a close the story of the Welsh in Iowa. The two groups of Welsh, the agricultural and the mining, will be compared, and their common ethnic identity discussed. The conclusion will also provide a final analysis of how the Welsh fit into the larger story of immigration in Iowa, detailing their similarities to other Iowa ethnic groups, as well as their differences. Finally, the conclusion will further explore how the history of the Welsh in Iowa helps us to better understand the larger community of Welsh in America, and the overarching question of how ethnic identity is maintained and lost. It will review the Welsh experience as it pertained to some of the questions posed by Conzen, such as factors in clustering and the persistence of ethnic identity. Following the main text, appendices will provide detailed information on each of the Welsh communities in Iowa, as well as include various useful statistics, charts and maps.

With the help of the above works, and many others, it is my hope that *The Welsh in Iowa* will not only revive the memory of a largely forgotten ethnic group, but also provide a resource for later scholars interested in studying Iowa and the Welsh. It should also be a

useful addition to the larger body of work studying the history of ethnicity in America.

Perhaps it will help answer some of those larger questions that are yet to be answered. My personal hope is that this work will also become a valuable resource for the descendants and relatives of the Iowa Welsh here studied.

## NOTES

1. Frederick C. Luebke, *Immigrants and Politics: The Germans of Nebraska, 1880-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969); Jon Gjerde, *The Minds of the West: Ethnocultural Evolution in the Rural Middle West, 1830-1917* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Jon Gjerde, *From Peasants to Farmers: The Migration from Balestrand, Norway, to the Upper Middle West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Anne Kelly Knowles, *Calvinists Incorporated: Welsh Immigrants on Ohio's Industrial Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Steven D. Reschly, *The Amish on the Iowa Prairie, 1840 to 1910* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

2. Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Historical Approaches to the Study of Rural Ethnic Communities," in *Ethnicity on the Great Plains*, Frederick C. Luebke, ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), 1-18.

3. Kathleen Neils Conzen, David A. Gerber, Ewa Morawska, George E. Pozzetta, and Rudolph J. Vecoli, "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A.," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12 (1992): 3-41.

4. Herbert J. Gans, "Comment: Ethnic Invention and Acculturation, a Bumpy-Line Approach," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12 (1992): 42-52.

5. Elliott R. Barkan, "Race, Religion, and Nationality in American Society: A Model of Ethnicity—From Contact to Assimilation," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 14 (1995): 38-75; Rudolph J. Vecoli, "Comment," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 14 (1995): 76-81; Richard D. Alba, "Comment," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 14 (1995): 82-90; Olivier Zunz, "Comment," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 14 (1995): 91-94.

6. Barkan, "Model," 52-54.

7. Barkan, "Model," 55-57.

8. Barkan, "Model," 57-58.

9. Barkan, "Model," 47-48, 58-59.

## CHAPTER 2. THE WELSH

A brief history of Wales and the Welsh provides a necessary background to understanding the Welsh in Iowa. This chapter will give an overview of the development of the Welsh identity as it existed in nineteenth-century Wales and in the United States. A discussion of the history of Welsh Nonconformity will provide a basis for understanding the churches of the Iowa Welsh, important institutions in their ethnic communities. Further, this chapter will explore the conditions that led to emigration from Wales and the choice to settle in America. Finally, the Welsh in America will be studied in order to provide a context for the Welsh in Iowa.

The history of the Welsh not only shaped their experience as a nation, but also their very identity as a people. The Welsh, the descendants of the original Britons, inhabited present-day Wales and the western parts of present-day England and southern Scotland, beginning at latest in the sixth century B.C. They spoke a derivative of the most ancient known form of British, which in turn evolved through the various stages of primitive Welsh into the present Welsh language, the purest survivor of the Celtic languages (being the closest to the original British). Likewise, the Britons were the earliest known ancestors of the modern Welsh “race.” By the mid-sixth century B.C., the Welsh as a Celtic people were separate and distinct from the British inhabiting the rest of the island.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout the ensuing five centuries, the Welsh lived as tribes, cultivated grains, husbanded animals, and warred against one another rather often. In this lifestyle, they were not unlike the rest of the island’s inhabitants. In 43 A.D., the Roman emperor Claudius decided to extend his empire to encompass Britain. The Romans subdued southeast Britain

fairly quickly, but found the western and northwestern areas to be more difficult. It took the Romans thirty years to conquer Wales, finally doing so in 75 A.D. Once the entire island of Britain had been conquered, the Romans settled into a three-century-long occupation. Roman influence was greatest in southeast Britain, and more spotty in Wales. For the most part, the Welsh continued to live as tribes and inhabit their hill forts and huts, though they did make use of Roman technology such as bronze cookware and dry stonework in some buildings.<sup>2</sup>

Between the departure of the Romans in the fifth century A.D., and the arrival of the Saxons, Welsh and British chiefs ruled all of Britain south of the highlands of Scotland. In the fifth century A.D., one such Welsh chieftain, Cunedda, traveled south from lower Scotland to lead the tribes of Wales in repelling the Irish from the western coasts. It is from Cunedda's sons that many of the future Welsh kings sprang. Wales continued to exist as a conglomeration of disunited kingdoms into the ninth century. Their inhabitants recognized a collective Welsh identity, referring to themselves as "Cymry", but retained their tribal loyalties. Thus, the Welsh began to invent their ethnic identity over fifteen hundred years ago.<sup>3</sup>

By the early seventh century, the English were pressing at Wales' eastern edges, and in the late eighth century Offa's Dyke established the border roughly where it stands today. In the ninth century, Rhodri Mawr inherited the thrones of Powys and Gwynnedd, the two great kingdoms of North Wales. He succeeded in fending off the Vikings at Anglesey, and resisted the English on the east. Rhodri continued to consolidate his power by marrying Angharad of Cardigan, which was allied with Carmarthen and jointly known as Seisyllwg. This move isolated the Pembroke peninsula. Rhodri died in 878, fighting the English. His grandson



Hywel Dda, already inheritor of Seisyllwg, brought Pembroke into the fold by marrying its princess, Elen. When Hywel's cousin Idwal died, Hywel came into possession of Gwynedd and Powys, bringing almost all of Wales under his control.<sup>4</sup>

According to historian Nora K. Chadwick, Rhodri the Great and Hwyl Dda (Hwyl the Good) presided over two of the most pivotal transitions in Welsh history. Rhodri changed Wales from a group of separate tribal kingdoms into a single nation with a national identity. By establishing friendly relations with the English in the tenth century, Hwyl Dda began the long legacy of English domination of Wales. In allying with the English, Hwyl Dda helped ensure the survival of Britain as an independent entity, but sacrificed a degree of Welsh separatism in doing so. Many foresaw that loss as a result of the rapprochement and objected to making peace with the English, indicating an unwillingness in some to subject themselves to English influence.<sup>5</sup>

The unity Rhodri brought to Wales disintegrated after Hwyl Dda's death in 950. Various kingdoms warred with one another until the eleventh century, when the Normans conquered England and began parceling out Welsh lands to various lords. For example, in 1070 William the Conqueror gave Shrewsbury to Roger of Montgomery. From Shrewsbury, the Montgomery family increased their influence and eventually took possession of Pembroke. [To the author's partial chagrin, it is from Roger of Montgomery that she is supposedly descended.] Henry I subsequently confiscated the Montgomery lands and established himself in Wales. His presence outraged the Welsh and upon his death in 1135, the Welsh drove the Normans back out of most of Wales, though not completely out of Pembroke. The kingdoms of North Wales spent the next century strengthening themselves against the

English/Normans.<sup>6</sup>

Although their lands were under Norman occupation, the Welsh of southern and eastern Wales did not at that point lose their newly invented identity as *Cymry*. The Normans established communities after their own fashion, but allowed the Welsh to continue living according to their own traditions as well. All the Welsh, free and occupied, were devout Catholics and part of the church led from Rome through Canterbury. They had converted to Christianity along with the rest of Britain, between the fifth and eighth centuries. The Welsh were naturally influenced by exposure to Norman culture, but they did not undergo a sudden change in lifestyle or immediately acculturate to the conquerors' culture. Whether of North Wales or Norman-occupied Wales, the Welsh were indeed still Welsh.<sup>7</sup>

Under the direction of Llywelyn the Great and his grandson Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, Wales became a feudal state swearing fealty to England's king. Though not a favored status among the Welsh citizenry, the centralization of power served to further unify Wales as a single state. The Llywelyns' experiment eventually failed, in part due to its continued unpopularity among the Welsh. Edward I's 1277 war on the second Llywelyn spelled the end of Welsh rule, placing English officials over the lands. There was another skirmish in 1282, but by 1283 Edward had ended independent Welsh rule. The next few years were taken up with centralizing rule. And in 1301, Edward I named his son, Edward, the Prince of Wales, the first Englishman so named.<sup>8</sup>

Throughout the fourteenth century, the English ruled Wales both in person and by proxy. This domination by the old enemy naturally inspired resentment in the common Welsh, a sentiment only strengthened by local abuses of power and cruelty. The average Welsh may

have also resented the changes in their way of life that the English began to impose, such as new political realities and even a new money-based economy. The hardships brought on by the Plague in 1349-50, and the effects of indebtedness and loss of land among the peasantry, further fostered rebellious attitudes.<sup>9</sup>

The resentments, and even kernels of rebellion, found a champion in Owain Glyn Dŵr. In September of 1400, Owain Glyn Dŵr was named leader of a group of Welsh rebels, dubbed prince of Wales, and assured his status as a Welsh hero. The Welsh people rose up and tried to claim a new sense of nationality by evicting the English. Owain Glyn Dŵr was seemingly destined to lead the Welsh into a new era, being uniquely positioned as a member of the Welsh gentry, a member of the Tudor clan, and direct descendent of the princes of both North and South Wales. By 1410, however, with a decade of bloodshed behind them, the revolt had been put down and Wales lay in ruins.<sup>10</sup>

A free Welsh identity survived in the hearts of the people, but the land itself fell further under English control. The Welsh were relegated to the status of underclass in their own homeland, their civil rights stripped under new laws. Welsh were restricted as to what land they could own, were prohibited from holding office or serving on juries, could not testify against an Englishman, or even inter-marry with the English (lest the offspring be corrupted by Welsh blood). Such ordinances eased after the death of Henry IV, and under Henry V some Welshmen “rose” to English citizenship—though most Welsh were puzzled by such aspirations. “Sais,” or English, was not a word surrounded by positive connotations.<sup>11</sup>

In the midst of English domination, Owain Glyn Dŵr’s reputation as the Welsh deliverer only grew. The Welsh cherished the memory of the brief period of freedom he

brought them, and they longed for that day to be revisited. According to Welsh historian Evan D. Jones, Glyn Dŵr was responsible for the fervent Welsh nationalism that pervaded Welsh culture from then on. The process of inventing a distinct and unified Welsh ethnicity, which began one thousand years previously, had finally ended.<sup>12</sup>

It was Henry Tudor who simultaneously vindicated the Welsh people's pride in their race and permanently linked their fate to England's. Upon ascending to the throne of England in 1485, now Henry VII prominently lauded his own Welsh heritage and brought respectability to Wales in the English court. He became a great patron of Welsh individuals and the Welsh in general, giving them access to all the opportunities the kingdom could offer. This being said, Henry VII did not revolutionize England or Wales.<sup>13</sup>

Henry VIII, son of Henry VII, can be credited with truly changing Wales. In 1536, Henry VIII suddenly took it in his mind, perhaps at the suggestion of Thomas Cromwell, to make Wales as much like England as possible. In 1536 he sponsored the Act of Parliament, or Act of Union, which was to bring Wales completely under England's wing. To accomplish his plan, Henry VIII took such measures as instituting county courts and, with local gentry, justices of the peace, as had been the status quo in England for some time. He also took the huge step of calling for Wales to send representatives to parliament. Also included were decrees concerning the Welsh language: henceforth English was the official administrative language of Wales, which also required that all officeholders be fluent in English. All such actions were designed to strengthen the authority of the crown. Yet the Welsh language in general, as well as Welsh identity and culture, were untouched by the Welsh Acts, an omission that became important to the development of the modern Welsh state.<sup>14</sup>

Thus far we have witnessed the emergence of the Welsh identity as it stood in the mid-sixteenth century. It was based on race and language, culture and heritage, and had emerged at least partly as a result of centuries of struggle against foreign domination. With the Act of Union, Wales entered the modern era of its history. The ensuing events built on an already separate Welsh identity, causing it to evolve into the distinct Welsh identity of the nineteenth century.

The next stage in the development of the modern Welsh identity involved the Reformation. As the English throne passed from hand to hand, and fluctuated between Catholicism and Protestantism, the religious life of Wales remained remarkably stable. The majority of the Welsh remained loyal to the state-sponsored church, whatever form it took, and were largely unaffected by the technical shifts between Roman Catholicism and the Anglican Church. A few men who had studied theology abroad, whether at Oxford or on the Continent, did become converted to Protestantism, but in the early sixteenth century they had little influence in Wales. Neither did the small group of intellectuals who were proponents of Puritanism.<sup>15</sup>

A development that would have a more immediate impact on Welsh religious life than royal edicts or humanist philosophies was the 1567 publication of the Prayer Book and the New Testament in the Welsh language. Of the two, the Prayer Book was more accessible to the masses, and therefore soon became the cornerstone of Welsh piety. Throughout the late sixteenth century and first half of the seventeenth, parts of Wales witnessed a Catholic resurgence, but over all, Wales remained a country of simple piety.<sup>16</sup>

On the eve of the Civil War of the 1640s, Puritanism had made little headway in

Wales. Pockets of Puritan dissent could be found, but it was by no means a widespread movement. The post-Civil War 1650 Act for the Better Propagation of the Gospel in Wales was an effort to remedy that situation, by actively promoting the Puritan interpretation of the Gospel. However, to the dismay of the more zealous officials of the Commonwealth, royalist Wales did not respond well to movement. Where Puritanism did take hold in Wales was in the extreme south and along the English border, areas that had experienced the most English influence.<sup>17</sup>

Though largely loyal to the Church, pockets of nonconformity did grow in Wales from 1630 onward. Many of the leaders of the later Nonconformist movement had sprung from the Puritan efforts of the Commonwealth. By the 1690s, congregations separate from the official Anglican Church were being tolerated and different strains of theology were able to develop into fully distinct religions. Some of the new sects' leaders had been ordained as Anglican priests, but no longer adhered to the rules and regulations of the Church. Baptists, Independents (Congregationalists), and Presbyterians all became separate bodies and by the early eighteenth century had to concentrate less on distinguishing between themselves and the Church, and more on settling disputes within their own ranks.<sup>18</sup>

Nonconformity, the generic term applied to Protestant religions in opposition to the Anglican Church, grew throughout the eighteenth century. The Methodist Revival began in the 1730s, owing much of its initial growth to the very eloquent Daniel Rowland. Rowland had been ordained an Anglican priest, but soon began preaching the Gospel with more fire than the Church could tolerate. Howell Harris was attracted to this supposedly purer strain of Protestantism and devoted his life to furthering the Methodist cause by organizing societies to

promote the Calvinism of John Wesley. It was these societies that formed the basis of the Calvinistic Methodist Church of Wales, the equivalent of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland and England.<sup>19</sup>

At the same time that Puritanism in Wales was evolving into Calvinistic Methodism, and breaking off completely from the Anglican Church, older Nonconformists were establishing their own churches. The Welsh Baptists were strong enough by the 1790s to support missionary work by Morgan John Rhys in France. He hated Roman Catholicism and had completely broken from its half-sister the Anglican Church, inheriting the radical nature of the most zealous Puritan antecedents to Nonconformity.<sup>20</sup>

Nonconformity received a huge boost, indeed became established as the majority religious preference of Wales during the Industrial Revolution. Though at the beginning of the nineteenth century most Welsh still belonged to the Anglican Church, by 1851 more than eighty percent of the Welsh population was “Chapel,” or Nonconformist. As the population of Wales grew in number, and as it shifted from the rural areas to the urban industrial, the Church did not keep up with its congregants’ spiritual needs. The evangelical Nonconformists, however, established themselves in the new industrial towns and found their congregations growing by leaps and bounds. Merthyr Tydfil, one of the most important towns in the Rhondda Valley coal region, had a population of nearly 35,000 in 1840. Only two [Anglican] Churches served that boom population, as opposed to twelve newly established Chapels. By 1867, the Nonconformists had a total of eighty-one Chapels in Merthyr Tydfil, testament in stone to the mass abandonment of Church in favor of Chapel.<sup>21</sup>

The shift to Nonconformity in the nineteenth century was also the result of centuries of

Anglicization of the Welsh gentry. While the upper class of Wales had enjoyed the approval of the Welsh culture and language under Tudor rule, over the ensuing centuries they slowly became more and more closely associated with their English peers. Many did value their Welsh heritage, and even insisted that their English family members learn Welsh, but they also educated their sons in England and increasingly adopted the English customs they thought befit them as gentry. They so closely identified with their English “peers,” that by the time Nonconformity became a movement of consequence, the Welsh gentry were firmly associated with the Church. In the increasingly class-conscious atmosphere of nineteenth-century Wales, the identification of the gentry as Church, which worship was carried out in English, was added incentive for the Welsh-speaking working class to become identified as Chapel. The Calvinistic Methodists, the largest of the Nonconformist denominations, had no English-language congregations at all, further establishing its “Welshness.”<sup>22</sup>

The Industrial Revolution changed more than Wales’ spirituality. As happened in England and America, it literally transformed the landscape of Wales. Though actually a process over a long period of time, the Industrial Revolution seemed to truly become a force for change in Wales in the 1780s. The face of industrialism varied according to the geography, taking many forms across the land. In South Wales industrialism took its life almost exclusively from the coal fields, in Mid-Wales from the lead mines and woolen mills, and in North Wales from the coal fields and slate quarries. As the industries developed, they not only needed natural resources, but also labor. Welsh farms were small and poor, providing little more than a subsistence-level existence to most rural Welsh. In response to offered wages, thousands upon thousands of Welsh migrated from the rural farming valleys to



the industrial valleys. Even as the general population soared due to natural increase, the industrial areas absorbed as many of the people as would come. In 1851, by which time Wales had been fully industrialized for several decades, thirty percent of the population worked in the mines and quarries.<sup>23</sup>

Migration to Wales' industrial centers was also driven by severe agricultural depression. Never possessing the richest and most easily cultivated farmland, the agricultural areas of Wales experienced severe depression at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. As seems to be generally true in Wales, after the wars ended the elevated wartime commodity prices plummeted with the coming of peace. To make matters worse, in 1816 and 1817 the Welsh experienced poor harvests and the return of jobless laborers and demobilized soldiers. The depression lasted into mid-century, adding frustration to endemic poverty. At times conditions grew so bad that tempers boiled over. South Wales even suffered a series of riots between 1839 and 1844, the Rebecca Riots, the result of rural poor protesting their poverty.<sup>24</sup>

As Wales' rural economy began to recover in the 1850s, the countryside also experienced its largest out-migration to date. In spite of newfound prosperity, the rural population of Wales declined precipitously in the 1850s and 1860s. These were the decades in which rural hamlets were connected to industrial centers by new railways, enabling the unemployed and ambitious a way to leave. The out-migrants were not forced out by bad times, rather they were lured away by even better opportunities elsewhere. In the last three decades of the nineteenth century, however, rural depression did drive people to seek hope elsewhere. In the 1870s, poor harvests and competition once again plunged agriculturalists into hard times. The following twenty years saw thousands of acres return to their natural

state, and rural folk leave the land.<sup>25</sup>

The new industrial centers were little more than unorganized masses of people working and living together. They were renowned for their lack of social order and moral values, a reputation not unlike that of America's gold and oil boom towns. In these new Welsh cities was born the Welsh working class movement that would grow into another form of Welsh nationalism. Though not supported by the increasingly influential Nonconformist leaders, unionism (Chartism) took root as part of the Welsh identity. Initially unsuccessful, the union movement nevertheless became a new religion to many. Nationalism, too, became a cherished part of the Welsh identity, as Nonconformist politicians protested English domination of Welsh lands, and industrial workers protested against English and Welsh gentry bosses.<sup>26</sup>

The working class industrial centers also contributed to the rise of music as part of the new Welsh national identity. Although to the modern observer, music has always been an important part of the Welsh identity, it was not until the nineteenth century that Wales became the "land of song" so many label it today. The popularity of singing, especially in choral form, was the product of the confluence of a number of other streams of change in the country. The spread of Nonconformity contributed to singing's rise, but the demographic shifts wrought by industrialization were just as important to the development of the near-mania for singing that the Welsh harbored by the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>27</sup>

The chapels of nineteenth-century Wales were inextricably linked with the evolution of choral singing. Spurred on by the Methodist Revival of the late eighteenth century, Nonconformity took root in Wales and within a century came to virtually define the religious

life of the land. As the chapels spread, so did Chapel culture, which carried with it an enthusiasm for congregational singing. Congregational singing reached its apex with the development of the *gymanfa ganu*, or hymn-singing festival, in 1859. This wholly unique event was an expression of congregational unity and enthusiasm in the form of song, serving as both a time of religious revival and of social interaction.<sup>28</sup>

Concurrent with the rise of the *gymanfa ganu* was the evolution of the traditional cultural competition, the *eisteddfod*, from one emphasizing literary prowess to one showcasing the prodigious efforts of huge choral societies. Large choral societies were in place by the 1860s, and choir entries in National Eisteddfod competitions rose from one in 1865 to seven in 1867, and on to sixty-nine choirs in 1911.<sup>29</sup>

Contributing to the growth of choral societies were the effects of industrialization. As workers migrated to Merthyr Tydfil and the Rhondda Valley, the regions took on a distinctive industrial air. In 1880, Rhondda men outnumbered women ten to six in all but the oldest age groups. Single men and men working away from their families flocked to the coalfields in search of cash wages. For those who did not choose to pass their leisure time in the public house, male choirs provided companionship and diversion. The plurality of men, along with the century-old male glee club tradition, helped give rise to the pervasive and popular Welsh male choir. The male voice choirs were often formed by men who worked together as well, making them a social extension of the work-place, or sometimes even as a replacement for the jobsite, as with The Rhondda Gleemen, which formed during the 1893 lock-out.<sup>30</sup>

Choralism became so popular in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Wales that the *eisteddfod* successfully ranked with football (soccer) and prize fighting in attendance,

spectator passion, wagering, and even rioting. Adjudicators (judges) were run out of town by dissatisfied listeners, and unpopular soloists were booed off stage. The 1897 Newport National Eisteddfod drew a crowd of between twelve and fourteen thousand, all as impassioned about the impending “choral fight” as for any football match.<sup>31</sup>

As the twentieth century dawned, the nineteenth-century Welsh identity gave way to a new, less nationalist, self-perception. The Nonconformist radicalism of the nineteenth century passed as its causes became less pressing, as the agricultural depression had ended, and many Welsh had left the land anyway, alleviating some of the population pressure on rural resources. Welsh nationalism also waned as English oppression seemed less oppressive. In 1902, Lloyd George did rally Wales around its language and culture, but those parts of the Welsh identity were fading as well. Through urbanization and rural out-migration, state education and increased contact with the outside world, the Welsh language had begun to decline. Even in 1858, all but five percent of South Wales schoolchildren over age ten had some ability in English, with those in North Wales lagging only slightly behind. The new trends of scientific inquiry and ideas of Darwin worked against the popularity and power of Chapel over the Welsh, while the Anglican Church had long before lost its influence to union bosses and was eventually disestablished as the state church. Finally, World War I ended Wales’ isolationist leanings, bringing it fully into the Imperialist fold and ending any immediate thoughts of Home Rule.<sup>32</sup>

Though the Iowa Welsh immigrated to America and the Midwest primarily in the mid- and late-nineteenth century, the history of Welsh immigration to the United States began more than a century earlier. Seventeenth-century Welshmen were among the first settlers at

Jamestown and joined the early Puritans in New England, but the first real wave of Welsh immigration took place in the late 1600s. Welsh Baptist leader John Myles led his followers out of Stuart-oppressed Wales to the supposed religious freedom of Plymouth Colony in 1663. To the Welsh Baptists' disappointment, the established Separatists of Rehoboth were not as tolerant as they might have been. Myles and his congregation eventually settled in Rhode Island, which was quickly becoming a haven for Baptists.<sup>33</sup>

More instrumental to the success of Welsh immigration were the efforts of William Penn. Penn's grandfather was actually named John Tudor, but was referred to as John Tudor "Pen-Mynedd," following the common Welsh custom of using nicknames to distinguish between people with identical names. When John Tudor left Wales he changed his name to John Penn. This same John Penn was favored by the king and, because of this relationship, William Penn was also able to obtain favor in the crown's eyes. William Penn had become a Quaker, a group not well regarded in seventeenth-century Britain, to the point of being regularly imprisoned and sometimes even executed as heretics. William Penn applied to the king for land in the American colonies, intending to set it aside as a haven for the persecuted, chiefly his Quaker brethren. Pennsylvania did indeed become home to many Quaker refugees, as well as other settlers attracted by the fertile lands.<sup>34</sup>

In 1682, a group of Welsh Quakers arrived in Pennsylvania and settled northwest of Philadelphia in what would become known as the "Welsh Tract." Welsh Baptists soon followed and settled north of Philadelphia as well. As early as 1695, Welsh Anglicans also immigrated to Pennsylvania, attracted by the opportunities of the New World. Between 1682 and 1700, Welsh immigrants outnumbered all other immigrants to Pennsylvania. By 1722,

approximately two-thousand Welsh had settled in Pennsylvania. The Welsh Tract was fully occupied by 1718, leading to new Welsh communities in other parts of Pennsylvania, such as in Morgantown, Berks County and Churchtown, Lancaster County. The Delaware Welsh Tract was established when Penn settled fellow Welsh on the land in order to lay final claim to disputed land on the Pennsylvania-Maryland border. And in 1736, the South Carolina Assembly welcomed settlers from the Delaware Welsh Tract and granted them land along the Peedee River, an area still known today as the Welsh Neck.<sup>35</sup>

The immigrants who participated in the first great wave of Welsh immigration to America were of a different economic and social class than the Welsh that would follow them in later years. In order to afford the journey in the 1600s and 1700s, and have any hope of prospering in America, an immigrant had to be at least moderately successful in his homeland. The Welsh who immigrated to Pennsylvania were Welsh gentry, landed farmers and lesser lords with enough assets to pay the passage overseas and get a start in their new home. The Welsh Quakers of Philadelphia were prosperous merchants, much moreso than their English Quaker neighbors. The farmers of the Pennsylvania and Delaware Welsh Tracts had enough money to acquire good land and cultivate it well. Being of the Welsh gentry class, these first immigrants easily made the transition to English-dominated American colonial society. They had already adopted many of the English customs and the English language back in Wales, and although they retained aspects of their Welsh heritage as they had in Wales, they were not separatists intent on insulating themselves from their new neighbors in America. They merely sought to continue their religious practices without persecution.<sup>36</sup>

The second wave of Welsh immigration to the United States began in the 1790s.

These new immigrants were driven from their homeland by hardship, and were attracted to America by the promise of opportunity, among other more personal reasons. The typical Welsh immigrant of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was of a newer middle class, not gentry like their predecessors or impoverished like those that would follow. These middle class immigrants had enough money to be comfortable and aspire to educate their sons, but were not so well off as to be prosperous landowners and community leaders in Wales. In 1793, the Independent (Nonconformist) minister George Lewis of Caernarfon, Wales, identified high rents, heavy taxes, and unfair tithes to support the state church as some of the reasons contributing to emigration. Enclosure of public lands, expensive leases and inflation due to Britain's war with France added to the economic burdens of the 1790s. Adding insult to injury, Wales suffered poor harvests every year from 1789 to 1802.<sup>37</sup>

Though thousands and thousands of Welsh suffered through the depressed times, only those with enough money for passage and a new start were able to immigrate to America. The poorer working class were forced to remain in Wales and survive the best they could while dreaming of lost opportunities elsewhere. In 1801, one William Richards wrote to one Samuel Jones in Philadelphia, describing the desperation of the masses: "I am ashamed to trouble you and Dr. Rogers so often with the concerns of these poor Emigrants but what can I do? It is hard to refuse these poor creatures...I cannot describe to you the condition of our poor country, thousands of the poor move about the country begging for bread...Myriads would emigrate if they had money...."<sup>38</sup>

Chain migration and boosterism also contributed to the second wave of Welsh immigration to America. Happy immigrants wrote to relatives and even periodicals and gave

glowing reports of their new home. Contented immigrant Lewis Howell, Jr. wrote one such letter to the editor of a periodical back in Wales:

To a stranger just landed from Europe, the first objects which attract his attention are its people, all so neatly and comfortably clad—the expression of happiness depicted upon every countenance. The stranger is involuntarily led to inquire where are the working classes, the tattered and half-fed miserable-looking starvelings whom his eye was wont to rest upon whilst crossing the streets of his native land. He enters their neat and cleanly dwellings and beholds their tables loaded not only with the necessities, but also a good deal of the luxuries of life. Here he concludes that America is infinitely superior to the Old Country and heartily wishes all the hard-pressed of his native country to come and take their abode in this land of Canaan.<sup>39</sup>

Nonconformist religious leaders also played a part in encouraging immigration to America. Prominent Welsh Baptist and political activist Morgan John Rhys long advocated emigration as a road to religious freedom and prosperity. As such an influential Nonconformist, Rhys' exhortations were heard throughout Wales in the early 1790s. After completing his Welsh Baptist-supported missionary work in France, in 1794, Morgan John Rhys himself moved to America in search of heaven on earth. He continued to encourage immigration to America, as in this letter of 1794: "Notwithstanding the difficulties you have to encounter in the way for the sake of liberty you should surmount them all and embark for America, where the persecuted Penn founded a city of refuge for the oppressed of all nations; here religion has to demonstrate its efficacy from the 'force of argument instead of the argument of force.'"<sup>40</sup>

Perhaps the best known group of new Welsh immigrants was the one that Ezekiel Hughes led from Llanbrynmair to America. After a long, arduous journey first by foot and then by sea, the party of approximately fifty Welsh men, women and children debarked in Philadelphia on October 26, 1795. In the course of their travels, the immigrants evaded press-



gangs on the docks of Bristol, confusion and separation of the men and the women, foul weather, and the usual harsh shipboard conditions of the day. Neither was the Llanbrynmair group's experiences unique among Welsh immigrants, for the sea journey was always a challenge that had to be overcome in order to immigrate.<sup>41</sup>

The Llanbrynmair immigrants settled in the Welsh Tract northeast of Philadelphia, where they were soon joined by others. The immigrant Nonconformists established churches according to their religious preference, as would be the pattern among Welsh immigrants for the next hundred years. At one point, Morgan John Rhys attempted to form a union of the Welsh Independents (Congregationalists), Baptists and Methodists in order to better teach the gospel. But he devoted most of his efforts to planning a new Welsh colony.

In pursuit of his dream of a new Welsh homeland, Morgan John Rhys formed the Cambrian Land Company and purchased twenty thousand acres of land in west-central Pennsylvania. It was to this region that Independent minister Rhees Lloyd led a small group of pioneers in 1796, including Ezekiel Hughes and many of those who had traveled with him from Llanbrynmair. They settled on a mountain top in the Alleghany Mountains and founded Ebensburg in present-day Cambria County, Pennsylvania. Within less than a year, the settlers established their own Welsh Independent Church to meet the spiritual needs of the colony. Many of the members of the Ebensburg church went on to establish the first Welsh church in Iowa, at Old Man's Creek.<sup>42</sup>

Morgan John Rhys himself led a company of settlers to the tops of the Alleghanies in 1797, establishing his colony Beulah just three miles west of Ebensburg. As did most utopians, Beulah's founder had grand dreams for his new Welsh colony, as the following

excerpt from Rhys's own advertisement indicates: "At present it is supposed that 500 families may be supplied by different proprietors with farms within a moderate distance of the town....Beulah being in the centre of a new settlement, will in time be a manufacturing town, a seat of justice, and a considerable mart for inland trade." Rhys tried his best to make Beulah succeed, but location and fortune favored Ebensburg and the latter dominated the developing Welsh community. More and more Welsh joined those of Ebensburg and Beulah until Welsh settlers dominated the region. In 1804, Cambria (an old name for Wales) County was formed with Ebensburg as the county seat.<sup>43</sup>

Pennsylvania was not the only destination for Welsh immigrants. In 1795, a group of would-be farmers left Caernarvonshire, Wales and settled in Oneida County, New York. Other Welsh joined them in 1797 and 1801, bolstering the fledgling community of Welsh. From this small beginning grew the Oneida County Welsh community, one of the largest in North America. Enough Welsh braved the harsh winters that by 1812, Oneida County contained some seven hundred Welsh, mostly clustered around the village of Steuben. This community, too, benefitted from the favorable accounts residents sent home to Wales. Evan and Martha Evans farmed near Utica and wrote the following to Welsh relatives in 1845: "We can raise everything for our own use here except tea and coffee, although some grow coffee too. A man can live well from his day's work and raise from six to eight children (with nothing but his day's work) much better than he can bring up two in Wales." The Evans preferred the hardships of America to those they had suffered in Wales.<sup>44</sup>

Even as new Welsh immigrants arrived in Pennsylvania and New York, older immigrants grew restless and began to move west. They were in good company as other

immigrant groups and Americans felt the pull of land and took to the trail west. In 1801, Welshmen Ezekiel Hughes and Edward Bebb purchased land in Hamilton and Butler counties, Ohio, and established a new destination for Welsh immigrants—Paddy’s Run (present-day Shandon). Lured by land and the prospect of Welsh neighbors, a steady stream of Llanbrynmair Welsh made their way to Paddy’s Run, including Ebensburg’s founder Rhees Lloyd, who accepted a pastorate there in 1817. In fact, Ebensburg provided the majority of Welsh immigrants to Ohio before 1825. Community-builder David Pugh also chose to settle in Ohio and in 1801, purchased four thousand acres in Delaware County. Naming the new community Radnor after his native Radnorshire, David Pugh sold parcels of land to interested Welshmen. By 1870, Radnor’s Welsh population was approximately six hundred people. A third significant Welsh community, Welsh Hills, was established in 1802, when Theophilus Rees and John H. Phillips moved from Cambria County, Pennsylvania, and settled in Licking County, Ohio.<sup>45</sup>

Welsh immigrants continued to disembark on American shores throughout the early nineteenth century. Usually the new immigrants joined the old in established Welsh settlements, attracted by friends and family, or else settled in non-Welsh communities throughout the eastern United States. Once in a while a new group of Welsh immigrants would continue on until they found a place they wanted to settle and establish their own Welsh community. This was the pattern of immigration that led to the Welsh communities at Gallia and Jackson, Ohio.<sup>46</sup>

The 1830s saw a new stage of Welsh settlement in America. It was not so much one of immigration as internal migration. As established Welsh communities began to fill up and

land became harder to obtain, the Welsh followed the already established pattern of American migration and moved west. Often small groups from one community would travel together, usually because of family ties, and would then found a new Welsh community in a new location. In turn, they would be joined by more family and friends attracted by favorable reports from those who had gone before. Thus, many daughter settlements of older Welsh communities were formed. In 1833, for example, Welsh from Paddy's Run moved to Allen County, Ohio and founded Gomer. Back in Pennsylvania, Ebensburg Welsh spread beyond their original settlement and founded new Welsh communities at Neath in Bradford County, Green Township in Indiana County, Spring Brook in Lackawanna County, and Clifford in Susquehanna County.<sup>47</sup>

Interest in immigrating to America was high enough that in 1840, Edward Jones published *The American Traveler: or Advice to Emigrants from Wales to America*. Following the pattern of other immigrant guides of the time, Jones included information on the most popular destinations for Welsh immigrants. Of Utica, New York, he wrote: "This city is settled on a large plain, on a canal, deep enough to float a boat, and go through; and there is a railway as well...." Jones also provided each community's geographic situation and gave distances between large cities and the Welsh communities. Aware that many Welsh would be interested in moving west, Jones did not neglect to include information on Indiana and Illinois. He commented of Illinois that there was agricultural land for the diligent and wise, and if they arrived without delay immigrants could purchase eighty acres of government woodland. Even before describing the agricultural opportunities to be had in Illinois, however, Jones stated that there were some Welsh scattered about the land, but the majority

were gathered in the northern part of the state, in the Chicago region on Lake Michigan. There were no large Welsh churches in Illinois, however. In order to make the guide truly useful to prospective immigrants, Jones included in the back a section on how to travel across the ocean, and the major rail and river routes once in America.<sup>48</sup>

More Welsh did immigrate to America in the 1840s and 1850s, and, like their fellow countrymen already in America, many of the new arrivals took advantage of available land in territories newly opening to settlement. Partly because of the timing of their immigration and partly because certain areas of the state reminded them of Wales, hundreds of Welsh chose to make Wisconsin their new home. John Hughes and his family were at the forefront of the immigration, settling in Waukesha County in 1840. Within two years another fifteen Welsh families had joined the Hughes family, bringing the number of Welsh settlers in the area to ninety-nine.<sup>49</sup>

Word of good, cheap land in the Midwest quickly spread through the American Welsh community, and even to Wales itself. In 1842, John H. Evans wrote from his home in Remsen, New York, to John Richards, the vicar of Llanowddin, Montgomeryshire, Wales: "In Ohio where the land is better, one can get good farms from eighteen to twenty-five dollars but, as far as I can judge from hearsay, Wisconsin Territory is the place for the Welsh. This lies to the north of Illinois and it is said that the country is extremely healthy, the water clean, the air pure, and the climate temperate. Also the lead and copper mines are extremely profitable and land is to be had for one dollar to one dollar and a quarter an acre." Putting the above in better perspective, Evans continued, "So if a man chose to keep one hundred cows, he could keep them summer and winter without paying a penny in rent. There is plenty of hay

and grass for them on the prairies.” Welsh settlements quickly sprang up all around southern Wisconsin. Waukesha County, just west of Milwaukee, boasted five distinct Welsh communities, and to the northwest, Dodge County contained six. Other counties with significant Welsh populations included La Crosse County and Monroe County on the Mississippi River, Iowa County in the southwest region of the state, and a line of counties running from the Illinois border north through central Wisconsin as far as Neenah. They clustered in urban areas, as well, with noticeable Welsh communities in such cities as Milwaukee, Racine, Columbus and Oshkosh.<sup>50</sup>

As always, chain migration played a role in bringing more Welsh to Wisconsin and other states in the Midwest. Settlers offered friends and relatives the prospect of not only Welsh fellowship, but also a prosperous future rooted in the fertile prairie land. Owen Williams of Olney, Illinois, wrote in 1851 to convince others in Wales to make the journey west: “The craftsmen and merchants who have plenty of money and settle in the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Massachusetts, etc., can do well. But ordinary workmen, like those in Wales, would be better off emigrating to Wisconsin, Iowa, Indiana, Illinois, or Michigan, etc.” Evan Davies expressed a similar opinion in an 1838 letter to his brother in Wales: “A family can make more profit here in three years than can be made in twenty years in the Eastern states. Everything here is ready to hand, there is nothing to do but enclose the land with a hedge and then plow and sow.”<sup>51</sup>

Iowa, too, became a favored destination for Welsh immigrants, though not one as popular as Wisconsin or Minnesota. One early Welsh farmer held Iowa to be the best of all the options. Joshua Jones wrote from his farm in Flint Creek, Des Moines County some time

in the 1850s: "There is plenty of wheatland, easy to farm, in this state which would take all the people of Wales and many more but there are fewer Welsh in the state than in any other free state. There are only three small Welsh settlements in the whole of the state but they are better off than the largest settlements in Wisconsin and the other states." He concluded his letter of advice with a call to action: "Oh! you unhappy Welshmen, why do you not emigrate to the New Purchase in Iowa instead of quarreling over the lack of land and poverty in the mountains of Wales?"<sup>52</sup>

In 1856, another young Welsh settler, known today only as William, wrote his family in Wales of his new home in Iowa: "I am sure that there is no more fertile land in creation than in the state of Iowa." After describing the benefits of farming in Iowa, William informed his parents that there was no possibility of him returning to Wales, and he in fact wished they had discovered Iowa earlier: "... if only you had had the heart to come here twenty years ago you would have seen and proved the excellence of the country and we would have been parents and children together."<sup>53</sup>

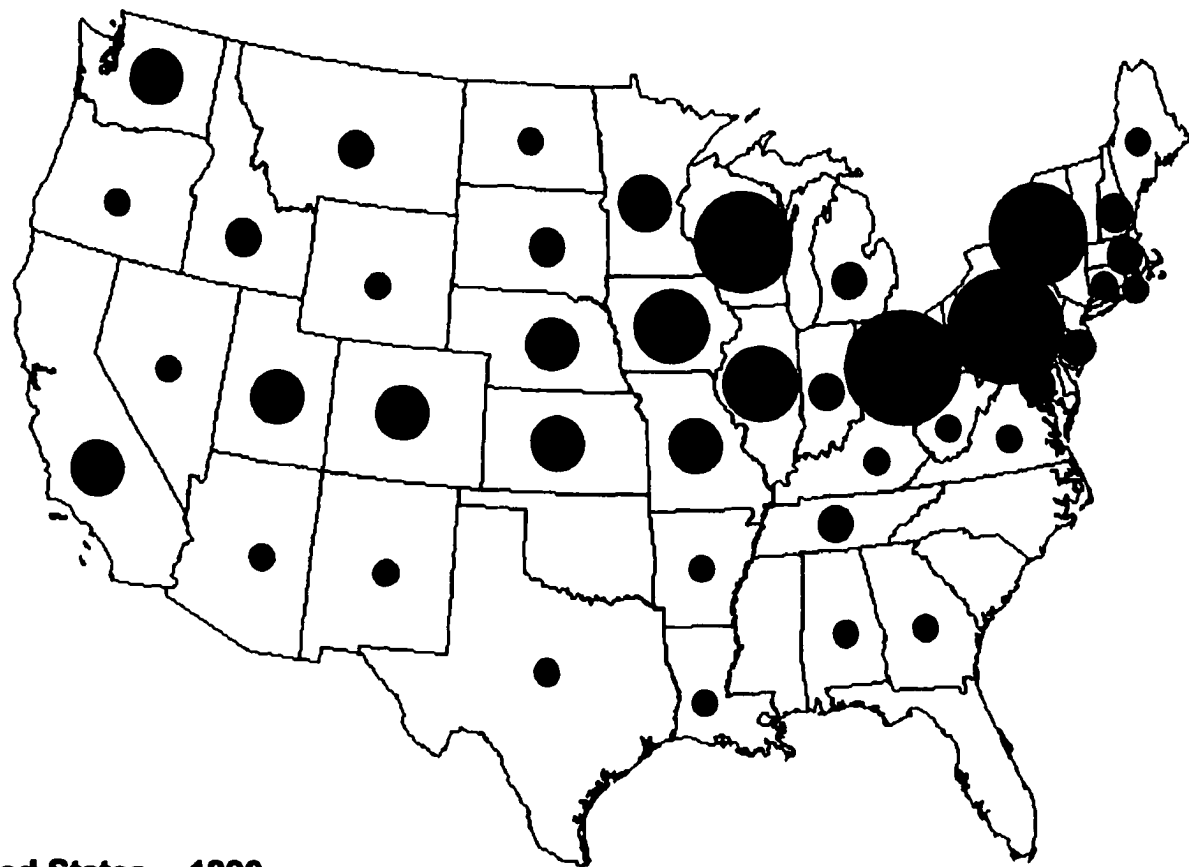
As Welsh immigration continued throughout the mid-nineteenth century, Welsh communities appeared further west. In the 1870s, Welsh pioneers joined other settlers in Kansas and Nebraska. By the 1880s and 1890s, Welsh settlements had been formed in Oregon and Washington. For the most part, the Welsh avoided the South. Before the American Civil War, the abolitionist Welsh were not attracted to the slave-holding South, and afterwards they were more wont to choose fertile western lands than the worn-out and war-torn lands below the Mason-Dixon line. Early Welsh communities did form as far west as Utah and even California in the late 1840s. The Utah Welsh had converted to Mormonism

(The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) in Wales and beginning in 1849, heeded the call to travel to Zion, or Utah, where the LDS Church was headquartered. A few Welshmen were also of the California Goldrush, and others followed. Welsh immigration historian Alan Conway's tongue-in-cheek explanation for Welsh participation in the Goldrush is that "The Welsh, seemingly in the belief that where there was a hole in the ground there should be a Welshman at the bottom of it, set out for the diggings from the eastern United States and from Wales itself."<sup>54</sup>

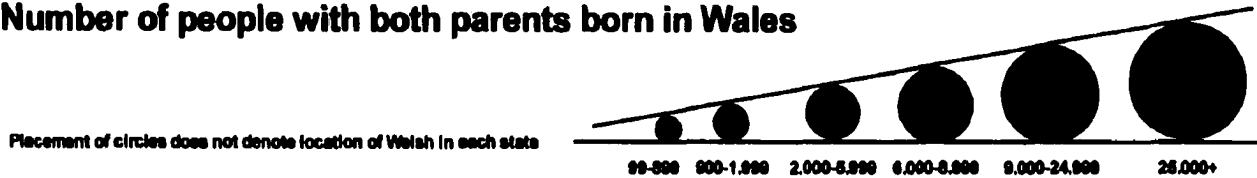
The second half of the nineteenth century also saw an influx of industrial workers from Wales. The industrial centers of the eastern United States were starved for labor and especially valued skilled workers. Thousands of Welshmen with experience in the mines and furnaces of South Wales answered the call and crossed the Atlantic. Such Pennsylvania centers of industry as Pittsburgh, Scranton and Carbondale saw a marked increase in Welsh population, until they too became well known as Welsh immigrant destinations. The coal mines of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Illinois, and even Iowa, also attracted skilled Welshmen in search of American prosperity. It was this population of Welsh immigrants that so closely linked mining and Welshmen in the American mind.<sup>55</sup> (See Figure 1)

With the exception of John Rhys's Beulah experiment and a few other attempts to establish Welsh utopias, Welsh communities in America were established primarily in order to promote the economic well-being of their residents. Just as the majority of the emigrants who left Wales in the nineteenth century did so in order to better their economic circumstances, Welsh immigrants chose their American homes according to their economic goals. Those who were pushed out of the mines in Wales sought work in America's mines and settled





**United States -- 1890**  
**Number of people with both parents born in Wales**



**Figure 1.** Distribution of Welsh in United States, 1890. Source: Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report on the Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890. Part I.* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895).

accordingly. Welsh immigrants who desired to own land traveled to where land was available at prices they could afford. In emphasizing economic factors in their immigration decisions, the Welsh fit the general pattern for European immigrants of that time period. Whether it was the Irish who fled from the potato famine or the German peasants escaping poverty and land scarcity, most nineteenth-century immigrants came to America seeking economic opportunity.

Even as the mid-nineteenth century Welsh immigrants sought land on which to settle and prosper, other factors influenced where they settled and among whom they made their homes. For the immigrant, the primary means of gathering information was through sources within his or her own community. Letters between friends, personal visits from relatives, stories passed around a village or even repeated from the pulpit, and Welsh-language periodicals in both America and Wales, all came together to form a distinct network by which news was transmitted throughout the greater Welsh community. It was through this network that news would travel to those considering emigration, often causing them to retrace the route of the news back to its source. The resulting clustering effect will be explored further in chapters three and four.

As Welsh immigrants began to gather, each rural settlement was faced with the need for institutions to lend order to the community. Religion was the institution most commonly established first in Welsh settlements. Whether it was the strict Calvinistic Methodism of half the Welsh population, or the less formal Welsh Congregationalism, or even the minority Welsh Baptist religion, the Welsh churches served not only as religious institutions, but as institutions to perpetuate Welsh culture. In Wales, the Nonconformist churches took the lead

in teaching Welsh children how to read, especially how to read the Welsh Bible. In America the Welsh Sunday Schools educated the young in the Welsh language, as well as in the Gospel. In addition to the classes, the Welsh-language sermons served to keep the Welsh language alive within Welsh communities longer than it would have survived without the churches. This study of the Welsh communities in Iowa will provide further example of this principle.<sup>56</sup>

Similarly, the Welsh churches of America served as the focal point for Welsh cultural celebrations. Most every church at some point participated in a *Gymanfa*, or district meeting, several days of Welsh sermons and hymn singing. Many churches also sponsored St. David's Day celebrations on March 1st, honoring the patron saint of Wales. And as the *eisteddfod* once again became popular in Wales in the nineteenth century, so did it become a staple of Welsh community culture in America. This principle, too, will be further studied in conjunction with the Iowa Welsh communities.<sup>57</sup>

The Welsh-language press also played an important part in not only maintaining Welsh culture in America, but in forming a Welsh ethnic identity, the perception of themselves as a distinct people with a unique culture. In *Welsh Reflections: Y Drych & America 1851-2001* Aled Jones and Bill Jones study the largest and longest-lived American Welsh newspaper, *Y Drych (The Mirror)*. Aside from fulfilling the traditional role of the ethnic press by providing news from Wales, *Y Drych* set out to influence the formation of the Welsh identity in America by promoting its own views of what it meant to be American and what it meant to be Welsh, for it placed great importance on both points. The editors of *Y Drych* strived to put out a nondenominational, but clearly Welsh Nonconformist, newspaper and promoted adherence to

the Gospel as a necessary part of the Welsh identity. An 1899 editorial explained how the periodical regarded its own role in Welsh religion: “Being a companion to the Bible is a mark of great respect. We do not mean by this that the “*Drych*” is equal to the Bible, but rather it resembles a disciple who follows the leadership of the Old Book and is fond of the teaching and morality of the Scriptures.”<sup>58</sup>

More significant even than the paper’s advocacy of Christianity, however, was the paper’s insistence on the primacy of the Welsh language. Although other Welsh-American periodicals, such as the early *Cymro America/American Cambrian* and *Baner America*, regularly included English-language articles, *Y Drych* refused to use English until the 1910s. The paper’s editors believed the Welsh identity was inextricably linked to the Welsh language, and, as an ethnic newspaper, it had an absolute responsibility to preserve that language. An 1893 editorial emphasized this position: “In accordance with an unwritten but inflexible law, a man cannot be a Welshman without knowledge of Welsh....When a Welshman loses his Welsh, he is no longer in the eyes of his nation a Welshman....The Welsh will surely lose themselves in and melt into the American nation when the language is lost. The only hope of maintaining alive the Welsh character and distinctiveness is through adherence to the language.”<sup>59</sup>

Aside from the conscious expressions of Welsh culture, however, the Welsh assimilated into American culture rather easily. In fact, thousands of Welsh seemingly did not go out of their way to maintain a Welsh identity by affiliating with Welsh institutions. According to an 1893 estimate, of the approximately 150,000 Welsh speakers in the United States, only 88,500 attended Welsh churches. Over sixty thousand Welsh speakers either

attended non-Welsh churches, or did not attend church at all. Whether intent on retaining their ethnicity or not, the vast majority of Welsh immigrants were first and foremost concerned with making a living for themselves and their families. They engaged in their chosen trades with enthusiasm, and worked hard to succeed. In doing so, the Welsh freely interacted with non-Welsh in matters of business, whether that business was farming or mining or something altogether different. The Iowa Welsh communities were classic examples of the balancing act between maintaining Welsh culture and fully integrating into American society.<sup>60</sup>

## NOTES

1. Kenneth Jackson, "The Dawn of the Welsh Language," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 1, *From the Earliest Times to 1485*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 34-36.
2. *Ibid.*, 34-35; Daniel Moore, "Roman Wales," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 1, *From the Earliest Times to 1485*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 26-33.
3. Moore, 33; Nora K. Chadwick, "The Welsh Dynasties in the Dark Ages," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 1, *From the Earliest Times to 1485*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 50-52.
4. Chadwick, 55-59.
5. *Ibid.*, 59.
6. William Rees, "The Norman Conquest," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 1, *From the Earliest Times to 1485*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 81-83.
7. Emrys G. Bowen, "The Age of the Saints," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 1, *From the Earliest Times to 1485*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 60; Rees, 87; Thomas Jones, "The Wales of Gerald," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 1, *From the Earliest Times to 1485*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 108-9.
8. T. Jones Pierce, "The Age of the Two Llywelyns," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 1, *From the Earliest Times to 1485*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 113-128; T. Jones Pierce, "The Social Scene in the Fourteenth Century," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 1, *From the Earliest Times to 1485*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 153.
9. Pierce, "The Social Scene in the Fourteenth Century," 155-59.
10. Gwyn A. Williams, "Owain Glyn Dŵr," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 1, *From the Earliest Times to 1485*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 176-183.
11. Evan D. Jones, "Wales in Fifteenth-Century Politics," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 1, *From the Earliest Times to 1485*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 184-85.
12. *Ibid.*, 185-86.

13. David Williams, "The Rise of the House of Tudor," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 1, *From the Earliest Times to 1485*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 198-99.

14. W Owen Williams, "The Union of England and Wales," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 2, *From 1485 to the Beginning of the 20th Century*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 19-23.

15. *Ibid.*, 21-23; Glanmor Williams, "Wales and the Reformation," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 2, *From 1485 to the Beginning of the 20th Century*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 24-30.

16. E. Gwynne Jones, "The Religious Settlement," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 2, *From 1485 to the Beginning of the 20th Century*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 41-42.

17. J. Gwynn Williams, "Wales and the Commonwealth," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 2, *From 1485 to the Beginning of the 20th Century*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 70-73.

18. E. D. Jones, "The Methodist Revival," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 2, *From 1485 to the Beginning of the 20th Century*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 102-104.

19. Keith Robbins, *Nineteenth-Century Britain: England, Scotland, and Wales. The Making of a Nation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 85; E. D. Jones, "The Methodist Revival," 104-7.

20. David Williams, "Wales and the French Revolution," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 2, *From 1485 to the Beginning of the 20th Century*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 121-22.

21. Robbins, 85; G. O. Pierce, "Nonconformity and Politics," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 2, *From 1485 to the Beginning of the 20th Century*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 168.

22. Robbins, 30-31, 85; Penry Williams, "The Tudor Gentry," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 2, *From 1485 to the Beginning of the 20th Century*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 31-32, 37; A. H. Dodd, "The Landed Gentry After 1660," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 2, *From 1485 to the Beginning of the 20th Century*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 78; P. D. G. Thomas, "Eighteenth Century Politics," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 2, *From 1485 to the Beginning of the 20th Century*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 94-95; G. O. Pierce, "Nonconformity and Politics," 169-171.

23. R. O. Roberts, "The Coming of Industrialism," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 2, *From 1485 to the Beginning of the 20th Century*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 125-31.

24. Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, "Wales and Parliamentary Reform," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 2, *From 1485 to the Beginning of the 20th Century*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 132-34; Anne Kelly Knowles, *Calvinists Incorporated: Welsh Immigrants on Ohio's Industrial Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 53.

25. David Williams, "Rural Wales in the Nineteenth Century," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 2, *From 1485 to the Beginning of the 20th Century*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 147-153.

26. Gwyn A. Williams, "The Emergence of a Working-Class Movement," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 2, *From 1485 to the Beginning of the 20th Century*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 140-46; K. O. Morgan, "Radicalism and Nationalism," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 2, *From 1485 to the Beginning of the 20th Century*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 198.

27. Gareth Williams, *Valleys of Song: Music and Society in Wales, 1840-1914* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998), 10.

28. *Ibid.*, 20-25, 38-39.

29. *Ibid.*, 12-13.

30. *Ibid.*, 178-86.

31. *Ibid.*, 100-1, 171-79.

32. Robbins, 31; K. O. Morgan, "Radicalism and Nationalism," 198.

33. E. T. Ashton, *The Welsh in the United States* (Hove, Sussex: Caldera House, 1984), 24-27, 36-37, 40; Edward George Hartmann, *Americans From Wales* (New York: Octagon Books, 1978), 40-41; Cheryl A. Walley, "The Old Man's Creek Welsh Community of Johnson County, Iowa" (M.A. thesis, Iowa State University, 1999), 6. I have summarized some material included in my own M.A. thesis in order to background material for portions of this study.

34. Ashton, *United States*, 42-43; Hartmann, *Americans*, 44, 48; Walley, 6.

35. Ashton, *United States*, 42-43, 53; Hartmann, *Americans*, 44, 48-54; Walley, 6-7.

36. Ashton, *United States*, 42-43, 53; Hartmann, *Americans*, 44, 48-54; Walley, 6-7.



37. Hartmann, *Americans*, 61; H. M. Davies, "‘Very Different Springs of Uneasiness’: Emigration from Wales to the United States of America During the 1790s," *Welsh History Review* 15 (1991): 377-78; Gwyn A. Williams, *The Search for Beulah Land: The Welsh and the Atlantic Revolution* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1980), 130-31; Walley, 7-8.
38. Gwyn A. Williams, *Beulah Land*, 129; H. M. Davies, "Springs," 381-83; Walley, 8.
39. Alan Conway, ed., *The Welsh in America: Letters from the Immigrants* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961), 69.
40. William Harvey Jones, "Welsh Settlements in Ohio," *The Cambrian* 27 (1907): 311.
41. Conway, *Letters*, 17-21; Ashton, *United States*, 64; Gwyn A. Williams, *Beulah Land*, 136-38; Walley, 10-11.
42. "Settlement of Ebensburg By Welsh in Year 1796," *The Mountaineer-Herald*, Ebensburg, Pa. Newspaper clipping in folder marked "Ebensburg (General History) Pioneer Period pre-1797 - 1859" in possession of Cambria County Historical Society, Ebensburg, Pennsylvania; Hartmann, 64; *A History of the First Congregational Church of Ebensburg, Penna. 1797...1947: One Hundred and Fifty Years of Service* (n.p., 1947), 7-8, 51; Gwyn A. Williams, *Beulah Land*, 136-38, 144-45; Walley, 11-12.
43. Gwyn A. Williams, *Beulah Land*, 144-74; J. A. Caldwell, *Illustrated Historical, Combination Atlas of Cambria County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Atlas Publishing Co., 1890), 13; "Settlement of Ebensburg By Welsh in Year 1796," *The Mountaineer-Herald*; Walley, 12-13; quote from "The Story of Johnstown" as reprinted by J. T. Griffith, "The Last Enterprise of Morgan John Rhees," *The Cambrian* 21 (1901), 545-48.
44. Hartmann, *Americans*, 61-62, 66; Conway, *Letters*, 52, 55-72; Walley, 14-15.
45. Hartmann, *Americans*, 64-67; Conway, *Letters*, 52; George Roberts, "Rev. Rees Lloyd. One of the Early Settlers of Ebensburg, Cambria Co., PA.," *The Cambrian* 9 (1889), 228; William Harvey Jones, "Welsh Settlements in Ohio," 312-15; R. D. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America: A History of the Welsh in America*, trans. Phillips G. Davies (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, Inc., 1983), 108; Walley, 15-16.
46. Conway, *Letters*, 52-3; Walley, 16. See Knowles, *Calvinists Incorporated* for a detailed study of the Welsh communities of Gallia and Jackson, Ohio.
47. Hartmann, *Americans*, 68-69; Walley, 16.
48. Edward Jones, *The American Traveler: or Advice to Emigrants from Wales to America...* (Aberystwyth: Edward Williams, 1840), 7, 22, 25, 27-35. Quotes translated from

the original Welsh by the author.

49. Hartmann, *Americans*, 69-71; Walley, 16-17; Phillips G. Davies, *The Welsh in Wisconsin* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1982), 6.

50. Conway, *Letters*, 65-66; Phillips G. Davies, *Wisconsin*, 16-17.

51. Hartmann, *Americans*, 72; Conway, *Letters*, 96-99; Walley, 17.

52. Conway, *Letters*, 109-110; Walley, 17-18.

53. Conway, *Letters*, 111-12; Walley, 18.

54. Alan Conway, "Welsh Emigration in the Nineteenth Century," in *Wales Through the Ages*, vol. 2, *From 1485 to the Beginning of the 20th Century*, 4th ed., ed. A. J. Roderick (Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975), 157-60.

55. Alan Conway, "Welsh Emigration in the Nineteenth Century," 155-58.

56. Phillips G. Davies, *Wisconsin*, 15, 30.

57. *Ibid.*, 18-19.

58. Aled Jones and Bill Jones, *Welsh Reflections: Y Drych and America* (Llandysul, Wales: Gomer Press, 2001), 9, 62-63.

59. *Ibid.*, 55-57, 103-4.

60. E. C. Evans, "Census Reports of the Welsh Population in the United States from 1850-1890," *The Cambrian* 13 (1893): 135.

### CHAPTER 3. IOWA

White settlement of Iowa was the direct result of a pattern of conquest and settlement that began more than two hundred years before Iowa statehood. Europeans explored and took possession of the Americas as part of a larger plan to fill the coffers of their sponsoring monarchs. The Jamestown Colony was founded in 1607 for the express purpose of making a profit for the company and for England. The Mayflower Pilgrims of 1620 desired religious freedom, but they were accompanied and followed by those desiring riches before salvation. In each of the above cases, it was the literal and proverbial gold of the West that lured people to settle new lands. That promise of prosperity continued to draw Americans west of the Appalachians in the eighteenth century, and beyond the Mississippi River in the nineteenth century. Many skipped over the plains and deserts to mine gold in California in the 1850s, but by 1900 even the least desirable areas had been claimed by those who seemed determined to harvest a different kind of gold in the form of crops and livestock. When white settlement of Iowa began in 1832, it was merely one small part of a much larger pattern of American migration and settlement.

The center of America's population moved steadily west throughout the nineteenth century. At the dawn of the century, the center of population lay some twenty miles west of Baltimore, Maryland; the center represents the position where as many people lived to the west as the east of the point, and to the north as the south. By 1830, the center of population had moved west to present-day West Virginia, and by 1860, the center lay in Ohio. Even as the population of the eastern states grew through natural increase and immigration, hundreds of thousands of people pushed west.<sup>1</sup>

The federal government regulated the opening of new territories for settlement, primarily in order to maximize revenues from land sales. The Land Ordinance of 1785 set out the process by which Ohio lands would be distributed, establishing the rectangular survey as the instrument of record. From then on, all new territories had to be surveyed before being offered at government auction. The Land Ordinance of 1785 also set the minimum price of government land at one dollar per acre, and the minimum amount of land at 640 acres. In 1787, the Northwest Ordinance created the Northwest Territory, allowing for the government of the newly offered lands. The survey system was revised in 1796, establishing the familiar section numbering system, and the price per acre rose to two dollars. Most farmers could not afford to purchase 640 acres at once, so much of the land came under the control of speculators. Many farmers also resorted to the age-old practice of squatting—settling on and cultivating land that was not legally theirs, especially on land that had not yet been offered at public auction. A series of acts in the early 1800s reduced the minimum number of acres required for purchase and offered credit to would-be landowners. The federal government also instituted provisions for pre-emption of squatters' land, allowing the claimants to legally acquire their property. The expansion of land-acquisition options signaled a shift in government policy from maximizing revenue to maximizing settlement. Such a shift was inspired at least in part by the sudden acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase in 1804.<sup>2</sup>

As people migrated west to settle the newly opening territories, they followed a fairly standard pattern of movement. Not only did they move generally west, but they tended to move straight west, varying only slightly north or south. More often than not, they also followed a pattern of stage-migration, in that they would stop over in various communities

and states before settling at a final destination. According to one study, by 1860, approximately twenty percent of families residing in the Midwest had moved at least two times. In keeping with stage-migration patterns, those living in territories opened for settlement at later dates had often moved more times than those living in earlier available territories; immigrants to Iowa had moved more times than those who made their final settlement in Wisconsin.<sup>3</sup>

The reasons for moving west were as numerous as the immigrants themselves, but a few general trends can be identified. The chief attraction of the western territories was land. Apart from the few industrial centers in the East, the economy of nineteenth-century America was based on agriculture. In order to participate successfully in the agricultural sector, a family needed to own land. As land availability in eastern states declined, and as land prices correspondingly increased, many people were forced to look to the West for their livelihoods. As they moved westward in search of land to cultivate, farmers sought land similar to the land they knew how to work. By moving west and not north or south, farmers tended to maximize the return on the farming skills they had already developed. Kinship, friendship and ethnicity also contributed to the decision of where to settle, factors that will be further explored later in this chapter.<sup>4</sup>

Iowa's early history was part of the much larger history of America's westward expansion. Iowa's territorial status, its land offerings, and its immigrant settlers were all a part of the greater pattern of American growth. Yet Iowa quickly developed an identity of its own, even before achieving the singularity of statehood. The area was known for its rich soil and its rolling hills, its promise of better times. From the rivers and woods of the eastern hills

to the wide open vistas of the central and western prairies, Iowa beckoned would-be settlers to come and make a good life for themselves within its borders.

The first Welsh to arrive in Iowa found the land in a state of administrative flux. Acquired as part of the Louisiana Purchase of 1804, the land that would become the state of Iowa passed from government to government for some thirty-four years. It was first part of the Louisiana Territory, then the Missouri Territory, briefly as part of the Michigan Territory, and lastly became part of the Wisconsin Territory in 1836. The Territory of Iowa was finally created in 1838, at which point government land sales began. Eight short years later, in 1846, Iowa achieved statehood.<sup>5</sup>

Though not officially open to settlement until 1838, some eager pioneers did cross the Mississippi River into Iowa in 1832. These first squatters settled in the southeast corner of the state, content in the unsettled wilderness they found just across the river from Illinois, which was filling up rapidly. Once Iowa opened for official settlement, pioneers moved from the southeast towards the northwest, traveling along the rivers and creeks. As settlement progressed northwest, five distinct frontier zones developed. The first was located in southeast Iowa and was fully settled in the 1830s; the last zone was the extreme northwest corner of the state, which began to be settled in the 1860s and 1870s. By 1890, Iowa was considered settled, though not at maximum capacity, with all ninety-nine counties showing a population density of fifteen people per square mile. The Welsh participated in the settlement of all five zones, from the few early Welsh pioneers in the Flint Creek settlement in Des Moines County in the early 1840s, all the way to the heavily populated Linn Grove settlement in Clay County in the 1870s.<sup>6</sup>

Immigrants to Iowa obtained land in a variety of ways. The earliest settlers in eastern Iowa arrived before the land was surveyed and simply squatted on their land. As surveyors prepared the land for government auction, these early residents formed organizations to protect their claims from speculators. Many of those first settlers filed on their land under the Preemption Act of 1841, paying \$1.25 an acre. Once land was offered at public auction, settlers could purchase it directly from the federal government at \$1.25 an acre. Newcomers also had the opportunity to purchase already improved land, farms that had been cleared and plowed and included buildings, for higher prices. The federal government also gave the railroads grants of land, which the railroads then sold to private parties for as much as twelve dollars an acre. And a few families obtained land in northwest Iowa under the Homestead Act of 1862. Those who could not afford to purchase land upon arriving in Iowa, or upon arriving at an age when a man needed to be independent of his parents, worked out different strategies to attain their goals. Some worked at a trade or as a laborer until they could save enough money to purchase land. Others managed to borrow enough money to buy land, but in order to pay off the debt, had to both farm their land and work out for cash wages. And still others rented or engaged in some form of sharecropping as they saved for their own land.<sup>7</sup>

As was true for the rest of the Midwest, Iowa's early economy was based on agriculture, but also benefitted from other industries. The coming of the railroads contributed to Iowa's economic, as well as geographic development. By 1900, Iowa contained over nine thousand miles of railroad track, crisscrossing the state in all directions. These railroads connected towns to major centers of commerce, such as Burlington, Omaha and Chicago. All farmers, including the Welsh, capitalized on the railroads by using them to ship grains and

livestock to market.<sup>8</sup>

By the late nineteenth century, Iowa's economy was beginning to diversify. Agriculture-based industries far outstripped all others, but new industries also made significant contributions to the state's economy. In addition to such activities as meat-packing and tractor-building, in the 1870s Iowa also claimed coal mining as one of her more important industries. It was the promise of wage work in the coal mines that attracted thousands of immigrants, including the Welsh, to Iowa in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By 1900, both local mines and shipping mines dotted the southern half of Iowa, with the greatest concentration of mining activity occurring in Marion, Mahaska, Wapello, Monroe and Appanoose Counties. Coal mining peaked during World War I, when eighteen thousand miners produced more than nine million tons of coal.<sup>9</sup>

Contributing to the growth of Iowa's economy was the growth of its population. In 1840, the Territory of Iowa had a population of 43,112 people, located primarily in the southeast corner of the state and along the Mississippi River. In just ten years the population more than quadrupled to a total of 192,214 people in 1850. By 1860, the population had again tripled to 674,904 people, and in 1870, the state contained over one million people—1,194,020 to be exact. The growth rate slowed somewhat after 1870, as by then most of the land had already been acquired, leaving little cheap land for new immigrants. Even so, new industries, natural increase and immigrants brought the total population to 2,231,853 people in 1900.<sup>10</sup>

American-born migrants to Iowa followed a distinct path to their new home. As Jeremy Atack and Fred Bateman noted in *To Their Own Soil*, westward migration generally



occurred in a strict westward direction, with very little variation to the north or south. Indeed, the state that had contributed the largest number of immigrants to Iowa according to the 1856 Iowa State Census was Ohio. After Ohio, in order of decreasing contribution, were the states of Indiana, Pennsylvania, New York, and Illinois. Atack and Bateman adjusted their analysis of the migration patterns indicated in the 1860 Census to account for the difference between the birthplaces and migration of heads of household versus children in a household. They found that in 1860, Ohio did contribute the most heads of households, but New York and Pennsylvania tied for the second ranking, and Indiana was the fourth. Illinois contributed fewer heads of household than even Vermont or Maryland. Atack and Bateman also determined that in 1860, the average Iowa native-born household had made at least one move before settling in Iowa, and many had moved at least twice. Given the proximity of Indiana to Iowa, the high ranking of Indiana in the 1856 count no doubt reflects the large number of Indiana-born children belonging to families that had stopped over in that state on their way from Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York.<sup>11</sup>

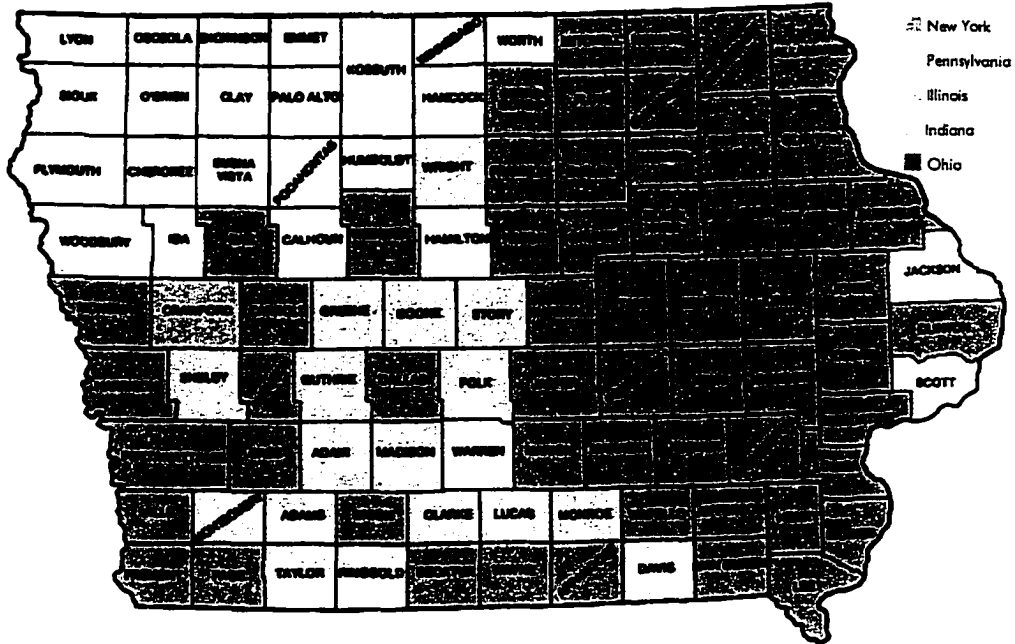
The strict pattern of westward migration was also reflected where native-born Americans settled within the state of Iowa. The 1856 State Census of Iowa listed where each person was born, and while keeping in mind that the northwest quarter of Iowa was not yet settled and therefore not included, an analysis of the birthplace statistics reveals certain patterns of settlement among the native-born. People born in New York settled primarily in the northeast corner of Iowa, dominating seventeen counties total. Pennsylvania-born migrants only predominated in two counties, Jackson and Scott on the Mississippi River, but a closer look reveals that most of the Pennsylvania-born enumerated in 1856 settled primarily in

eastern Iowa, both north and south of Jackson and Scott counties. Indiana-born immigrants dominated in south-central Iowa, and had a strong presence in southeast Iowa, as well. Immigrants who were born in Ohio dominated the entire south half of Iowa except those counties dominated by the Indiana-born. Only Crawford County in western Iowa was dominated by Illinois-born, but among the Illinois-born population the majority settled in the southeast corner of Iowa, with a strong presence also found in the south half of the northeast quarter of the state (Fayette, Clayton, Dubuque, and Jackson counties). Charting all of the above patterns on a map shows that Iowa's settlers did indeed follow migration routes west, and not north or south. (See Figure 2.) New York is located at the same latitude as northern Iowa, Indiana aligns with the southern half of the state, Ohio is located slightly north of Indiana but still lines up with central Iowa, as does Pennsylvania. (See Figure 3.)<sup>12</sup>

Iowa was also a popular destination for immigrants from Europe. They, too, were attracted by the state's fertile land, by the possibility of owning land at all, which often was not an option to the masses of Europe. Immigrants from western Europe accounted for almost all foreign-born settlers in Iowa from the territory's opening until the twentieth century. From 1900 to 1920, Iowa industries attracted more immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, which was in keeping with the general trend for the United States beginning in 1890. It is the first group, however, whose timing enabled them to help shape Iowa's cultural heritage.<sup>13</sup>

Conditions in the United States contributed to distinct cycles of immigration from Europe. The cycles that most affected Iowa settlement were the influx of foreign immigrants between 1847 and 1857, and the less dramatic inflow between 1865 and 1873. The cycles

Iowa, 1856: Predominating State of Origin for Each County



Data does not include people born in Iowa. Not all counties reported data.

**Figure 2.** Iowa, 1856: Predominating State of Origin for Each County. Source: Census Board, *The Census Returns of the Different Counties in the State of Iowa, for 1856* (Iowa City: Crum & Boye, Printers, 1857).

Latitudinal Migration Patterns from Eastern States to Iowa



**Figure 3.** Latitudinal Migration Patterns from Eastern States to Iowa. Source: *Census of the State of Iowa, 1856*.

were broken by the economic crisis of 1857 and 1873, as well as the Civil War. When conditions in America were once again conducive to prosperity, the immigrant stream resumed. Iowa's periods of greatest settlement thus coincided with the cycles of European immigration to America. The number of German immigrants coming to America in the 1840s, combined with the timing of available land, led thousands upon thousands of Germans to settle in Iowa. Likewise, Norwegians, Swedes, Dutch, Irish, English, Bohemians and Welsh also immigrated to Iowa in significant numbers.<sup>14</sup>

In a pattern repeated across the country, immigrants often clustered together by nationality and culture, leading to the formation of identifiable ethnic communities within Iowa. This clustering by national, and even regional origin, was the result of the desire for familiar neighbors, but even more so the result of chain migration. As happy immigrants wrote home and related the opportunities available in their chosen communities in America, they attracted more immigrants to those same communities. Even tighter clustering occurred when settled immigrants brought kinsmen to join them in their new homes. Some ethnic groups congregated in such large numbers that their presence dominated entire counties.<sup>15</sup>

As Figure 4 illustrates, by 1885, a number of Iowa counties were clearly identified with certain ethnic groups. The foreign-born population of Carroll County was almost completely German, as was the case in Grundy County, Bremer County, and Scott County. In all but fourteen of Iowa's ninety-nine counties, German immigrants were ranked either first or second in number of foreign-born residents. Marion County and Sioux County were home to large populations of Dutch immigrants, even to the point of overshadowing German immigrants. Norwegian immigrants clustered on the Minnesota border, especially in

1885 Iowa -- Ethnic distribution as proportion of foreign-born

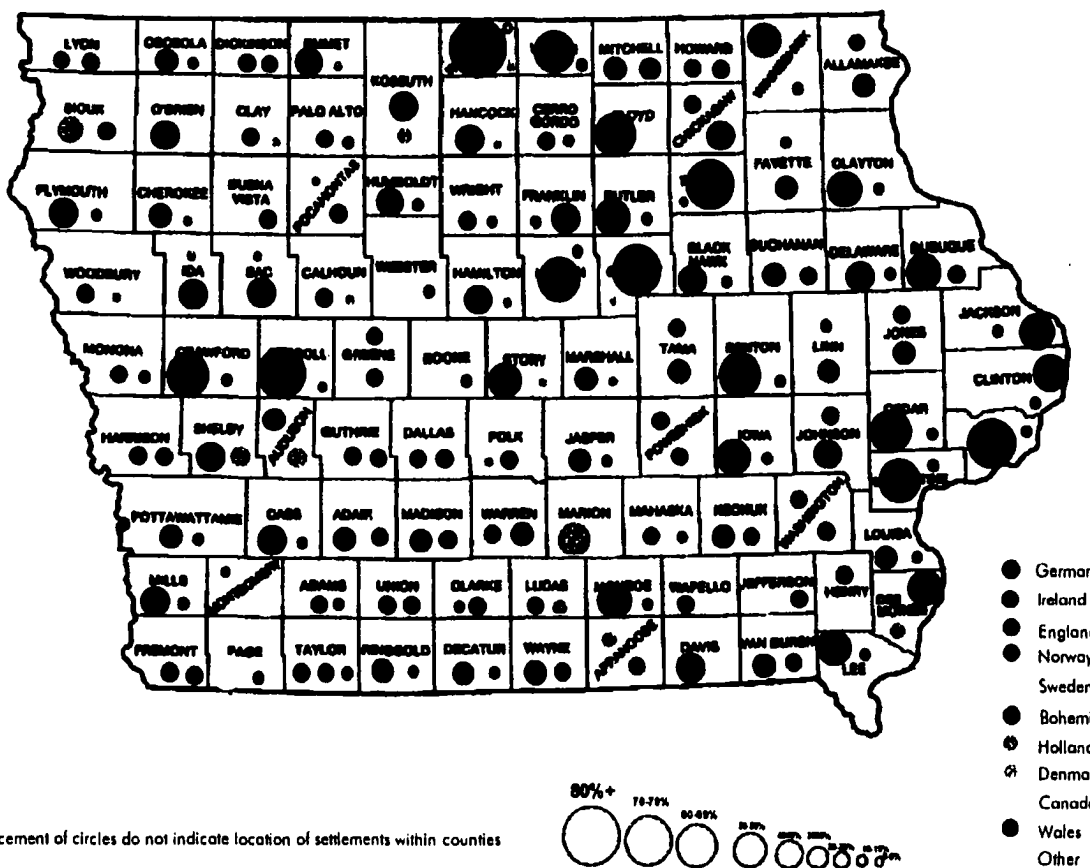


Figure 4. Iowa, 1885: Ethnic distribution as proportion of foreign born in county. Source: Frank D. Jackson, Secretary of State, *Census of Iowa for the Year 1885* (Des Moines: Geo. E. Roberts, State Printer, 1885).

Winnebago County. Irish immigrants were found in great concentration in Monroe County, no doubt due to the coal mines there, but could also be found in lesser numbers in more than half of Iowa's counties. Swedish immigrants formed large communities in Boone County, Montgomery County and Page County. English immigrants founded large settlements along the Missouri border in Decatur County and Wayne County. The only large Iowa immigrant group not from northern or western Europe was the Bohemians, who largely worked in the industries around Cedar Rapids and formed large communities in Johnson County and Linn County.<sup>16</sup>

Iowa's ethnic groups followed another well-documented pattern in American immigration history, that of placing ethnic churches at the literal and figurative center of their communities. Historical geographer Robert C. Ostergren noted in his study of immigrant churches on the Great Plains, that almost every immigrant community infused their religious institutions with not only spiritual, but cultural significance, as well. The majority of immigrant churches were located in the geographic center of the ethnic community, not only in order to best serve the congregation's travel needs, but as a symbol of the church's place in the parishioners' lives. In addition to providing for religious worship, Ostergren found that the churches were given the responsibility of "preserving continuity with the cultural past." These efforts to preserve the ethnic culture usually took the form of providing worship services in the community's ethnic tongue, holding classes to teach the language to children and interested adults, and sponsoring ethnic organizations and celebrations. Though differing in methods and degree, Iowa's largest immigrant groups all followed this pattern of linking church and ethnicity.<sup>17</sup>

As Iowa's dominant immigrant group, Germans must be included in any survey of Iowa ethnicity. However, the sheer size of the German immigrant community in Iowa prevents a complete history being included here. Instead, this chapter will simply identify general patterns of settlement and certain ethnic characteristics of German communities.

By far the largest immigrant group in Iowa, Germans could be found in each and every county in the state. Iowa's eastern cities were soon dominated by Germans, and Burlington, Davenport, and Dubuque became known throughout the larger German-American community as good destinations for new arrivals from Germany. The "Forty-eighters", or Germans who immigrated to America after the German revolutions of 1848, were especially attracted to the cities and there continued their professions and trades. While Carroll County became the county with the highest proportion of German immigrants, German farmers were also significantly represented in counties across the state, from Cedar County on the eastern edge to Mills County in the southwest to Hardin County in the center and O'Brien County in the northwest.<sup>18</sup>

Just as smaller immigrant groups chose Iowa for its land, so did the Germans. The majority of German immigrants to Iowa were of rural origins, with agricultural experience. The ultimate goal of the typical German farmer was to acquire enough land to secure not only his own living, but to ensure the success of his sons by settling them on farms surrounding his own. Historian Jon Gjerde notes in *The Minds of the West* that in contrast to Yankee (native-born Americans with seemingly no recent ethnic heritage) farmers, who were content to acquire enough land for their own immediate use, German farmers often built up their holdings with an eye to parceling off their land to their sons as they came of age. To the

German immigrant, land ownership meant prosperity for an entire family line, making the land that much more valuable. In keeping with that view, Iowa Germans were collectively more careful than other immigrant groups, such as the Welsh, about making sure their land remained in the family through land transfers and through wills.<sup>19</sup>

Just as the German immigrants brought with them land ownership customs, they brought with them their religious beliefs. The Yankee Iowan may have regarded all German immigrants as essentially from the same place and background, but the Germans themselves emphasized religious distinctions. The church was an important cultural institution, as well as a religious one, and could promote unity within a community. Yet Germans in Iowa were divided by religion, attending church and usually socializing only with other Catholics or Lutherans. Even within the larger German Lutheran community, regional origins and quarrels between different factions within the church could lead to formal splits in congregation. In spite of such difficulties, the church stood at the center of most German communities in Iowa, providing immigrants with a way to not only practice their religion, but a means of preserving their culture.<sup>20</sup>

Though Germans differentiated themselves according to regional origin, religion, and dialect, they also invented a collective ethnic identity in Iowa. This collective ethnic identity was maintained through voluntary organizations. The *Turnverein*, or Turners, was the organization most deliberately aimed at preserving German culture in the face of American influences. While the *Turnverein* was ostensibly a club for improving mind and body, the Iowa Turners also sought to influence politics and to benefit the larger German community. Thus, the nineteenth-century Iowa German community illustrates both the concept of



inventing ethnicity and Barkan's second stage of Acculturation.<sup>21</sup>

The Dutch settlement at Pella, Marion County, Iowa, was established in August of 1847 by the Reverend Henry Peter Scholte and some eight hundred of his followers. The colonists were "seceders", or Dutch Calvinists who refused to worship according to the precepts of the Dutch Reformed Church. The mild religious persecution they suffered in the Netherlands, combined with agricultural hardships in the 1840s, prompted this specific group of Dutch to immigrate to America. Scholte chose Iowa as the site for his colony because he felt the sparsely populated prairies would enable his followers to build a separate community. To this end, Scholte purchased military land warrants at a discounted price, a common way to obtain land, and obtained nearly sixteen thousand acres in Marion County. Hundreds of families followed Scholte's lead and settled on the Iowa prairie.<sup>22</sup>

Dutch immigrants of the nineteenth century generally established inward-looking ethnic settlements in order to preserve their cultural purity. In addition to wanting to settle among fellow Dutch, immigrants from the Netherlands formed communities that echoed their regional origins. The geography of Pella reflected the Old World neighborhoods from which the settlers had come. Those residents living near the center of the village largely came from the cities of Utrecht and Amsterdam. Immigrants from Kockengen in Utrecht Province established their own small village north of Pella, also called Kockengen. The Friesians congregated northwest of Pella proper, and the Herwijnen neighborhood was inhabited by settlers from Herwijnen in Gelderland Province. The Friesians, especially, were conscious of a distinct ethnic identity within the larger identity as Dutch immigrants.<sup>23</sup>

The Pella Dutch chose Iowa for its farmland. They were very interested in establishing

prosperous farms for the current and future generations. To a great extent they were successful in achieving that goal. By the late 1860s, however, the land around Pella had all been claimed and land prices were rising, with some land selling for as much as sixty dollars per acre. New farmers and tenants found it increasingly difficult to become landowners in their own right. These circumstances, combined with ethnic tensions within the Pella community, led Henry Hospers, Jelle Pelmulder, Sjoerd Aukes Sipma, Huibertus Muilenburg and Hendrik Jan Van der Waa to form a committee to explore the idea of establishing a new Dutch colony in northwest Iowa. In 1869, the committee arranged to purchase land in Cherokee County. Land speculation caused the committee to choose, instead, to settle in Sioux County, forming a new Dutch colony in Holland Township. Once again, neighborhoods were created within the larger Dutch settlement, determined by ethnicity and kinship.<sup>24</sup>

As was the case with the majority of European immigrants, the Dutch relied on their religious institutions to preserve and promote their cultural identity. And as was the case with some immigrant groups, the Dutch of Iowa relied on their churches to see them through the very process of immigration and settlement. It was no accident that Pella's founder, Peter Scholte, was also a Dutch Calvinist religious leader. He and other Protestant clerics formed emigration associations in the Netherlands and promoted, and in Scholte's case enacted, colonization in America. Once in America, the Dutch Calvinist theology and culture influenced how the immigrants settled and formed communities. The prevailing notion was that their religious beliefs superseded even ethnicity and Dutch Calvinists made the church the center of their communities. The church's strong influence not only served to separate the

Iowa Dutch from non-Dutch Calvinists, but served to slow the process of assimilation into greater American society. The Dutch Calvinist doctrine of “antithesis” taught that the values of the church’s followers were in opposition to those of the unbelievers, and therefore all influences from non-Dutch Calvinists should be resisted. Thus, the colony mentality of the Dutch in Iowa was a result of both their desire to maintain their culture, but also to live their religion free from unwanted influences. The Iowa Dutch made every effort to remain in the Contact stage of Barkan’s model for as long as possible.<sup>25</sup>

While not as visible as the Iowa Dutch in their tight-knit colonies, the more numerous Swedish immigrants made significant contributions to Iowa’s cultural heritage. In fact, Swedish immigrants founded a community even before the Dutch came to Pella. In 1845, Peter Cassel led a group of thirty-six Swedish immigrants to Jefferson County, Iowa, and there established New Sweden, the first permanent and lasting Swedish settlement in the United States.<sup>26</sup>

The founding and growth of New Sweden was another classic case of chain migration. Peter Cassel first conceived of moving to America after reading letters from earlier Swedish immigrants to America. Gustav Unonius and a few others immigrated to Pine Lake, Wisconsin, in 1841. Unonius found life on the Wisconsin frontier difficult, but still wrote enthusiastically of America. Letters he wrote from Wisconsin were published in Swedish newspapers, inspiring others to make the same journey. Peter Dahlberg followed Gustav Unonius to Pine Lake and in turn wrote letters to his father, who lived in Kisa, Ostergotland, Sweden. Also living in Kisa parish was one Peter Cassel, a successful farmer and millwright. Peter Cassel had read Unonius’s published letters, and when Dahlberg’s letters arrived in Kisa,

Cassel read those as well. It was the latter group of letters that convinced Peter Cassel that life in America would be better than life in Sweden, and the trials of immigration worth the effort.<sup>27</sup>

Such decisions as immigration are never made in a vacuum. True to everything known about immigration, Peter Cassel's decision was born of conditions in Sweden that pushed Cassel to emigrate, coinciding with conditions in America that pulled Cassel to immigrate. Though evidently a prosperous farmer and craftsman, Cassel and his friends and family felt oppressed by unfair taxes, endemic class discrimination, and frustration with the impiety of the state-sponsored Lutheran State Church. Even so, the decision to give up whatever status and prosperity they did have in Sweden in order to live in an unknown wilderness was a difficult one. Only after two years of discussion did Cassel convince relatives and friends to join him in immigrating to Pine Lake, Wisconsin.<sup>28</sup>

After a long, arduous journey, Cassel's group docked in New York in August of 1845. There they met up with Peter Dahlberg, and he informed them that upon surveying the available lands in the Midwest, he had decided to settle in Iowa. Cassel and company took Dahlberg's advice and resolved to settle in Iowa, as well. Joining together with Dahlber's group and a few other Swedes they had absorbed along the way, the Cassel party traveled by train and boat to Burlington. In Burlington, they discovered that they could not afford land in that vicinity, so they packed up a wagon and walked to Jefferson County, where government land was still available at a reasonable price. They finally stopped in Section 26 of Lockridge Township, Jefferson County, and there established New Sweden. Granted, New Sweden originally consisted of a single roofless cabin dubbed "New Stockholm", but the new settlers

worked hard and soon carved better homes out of the wilderness.<sup>29</sup>

Immediately upon settling in his new homeland, Peter Cassel wrote home to Sweden of the bounties to be found in beautiful Iowa. He extolled upon the plentiful meat for the tables, the abundance of coal for fuel, free land on which to raise livestock, variety of crops, desirable climate, and the civil freedoms enjoyed by all in America. Like his predecessors', Cassel's letters were published in a Swedish newspaper and read by hundreds of would-be immigrants. They responded to the promise of a better life and prepared to join Cassel in Iowa. Just months after New Sweden was founded, more than a hundred Swedes sailed for America intent on joining Cassel in his new settlement. Unfortunately, only a few individuals actually made it to New Sweden. One group made it to Keokuk, but accidentally followed the Des Moines River instead of the Skunk and found themselves in Boone County. Four of the families decided to settle there instead of backtracking to New Sweden, and they founded Swede Point (now Madrid). The other group underwent every sort of trouble and only made it as far as Sugar Grove, Pennsylvania. A few people from each of the two groups did settle in New Sweden, but the expected influx from the 1846 emigration never did appear. In 1847, however, two more groups of Swedish immigrants did make it to New Sweden and between their arrival and the earlier settlers' legal acquisition of the land, New Sweden was there to stay.<sup>30</sup>

As behooved good Pietists (those Swedish Lutherans who were more concerned with heartfelt worship than ceremony), the Swedes of New Sweden immediately set about providing themselves with formal religious institutions. Prayer meetings were held in people's homes, and in 1848, the community chose Magnus Frederick Hokanson to lead their new

congregation. He was not an ordained minister; in fact, he was a shoemaker, but he had been trained as a missionary and had impressed people at the prayer meetings. When the community had worn out their own hymnals and catechisms, Cassel requested his brother in Sweden send more. In order to ensure that Sunday hymn singing would be suitably uplifting, the New Sweden congregation held twice-weekly singing school classes. Only those who could sing in tune were allowed to sing during Sunday services. Thus was established the founding congregation of the Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod of North America.<sup>31</sup>

The New Sweden church also suffered from internal conflicts, as was quickly becoming almost a custom in American religion. Though most all the Swedish immigrants were Pietists with a Swedish church upbringing, missionary visits soon caused members to split off from the main Lutheran church and form congregations of their own. Thus in 1850, the Swedish Methodists established their own church, and in 1854, the Swedish Baptists followed suit. The Swedish Lutherans continued to prosper and functioned as the primary church in New Sweden. The Swedish Baptists soon faltered and faded away, while the Swedish Methodists formed ties with the American Methodists and soon lost their identity as Swedish Methodists. The Welsh would follow similar patterns of assimilation into mainstream American churches.<sup>32</sup>

Within just a few years, New Sweden had grown to be an impressive example of immigrant community building. By 1858, New Sweden's population was approximately five hundred souls distributed among one hundred families. All told, eighty-six of those families collectively owned a total of more than five thousand acres of land, cultivating almost two thousand of those acres. In the absence of more formal government, the settlers conducted a

*byalag*, which was an ancient Swedish village council. The *byalag* was succeeded in due time by American forms of government. Though primarily a farming community, many of the Swedish immigrants also had a trade, and New Sweden boasted everything from shoemakers to furniture makers to tailors and stone masons. Swedish women enjoyed working as maids before marriage and not having to work the fields, as in the old country.<sup>33</sup>

Established Swedish settlements soon spawned daughter settlements, such as that in Jefferson County's neighbor, Henry County, and those of north-central Iowa in Webster County and Buena Vista County. Young families left New Sweden and Swede Point for lands in western Iowa and beyond, while new immigrants were absorbed into established populations. By 1870, the number of Iowa residents born in Sweden exceeded ten thousand. Established immigrants sponsored kinsmen to the point that almost half of all Swedish immigrant passages in the 1880s were prepaid. Migrants from older communities and newly-arrived Swedish immigrants founded new communities in southwestern Iowa, soon dominating the foreign-born populations of Montgomery County and Page County.<sup>34</sup>

The large community of Swedes in the southwestern corner of the state was founded in 1869 by B. M. Halland at present-day Stanton, Montgomery County. Halland was a Swedish Lutheran minister who served in Burlington from 1864 to 1870. The Burlington Railroad approached Halland in 1869, and granted him the agency to sell a considerable amount of railroad lands in Montgomery County and Page County—on the condition that he settle them with Swedish immigrants. To that end, Halland persuaded a number of Swedish immigrants in Neoga, Illinois, to travel to the location and purchase railroad land. More Swedes arrived in 1870, and Stanton became the center of the “Halland settlement.”

According to O. M. Nelson, historian of Iowa's Swedes, in 1930, approximately three thousand of Montgomery County's 16,752 residents were of Swedish descent.<sup>35</sup>

As the New Sweden population grew, new churches were needed to serve outlying communities. In the late 1870s, the Round Prairie Swedes were allowed to build their own church, Upland. The Swedes around Salina organized their own church in 1892, and the Fairfield residents followed suit in 1903. However, even as the Swedish Lutheran church thrived in Iowa, it did not seek to recreate Sweden in America. Cassel and his followers did create a Swedish colony in the American wilderness, but they also embraced American culture and innovation as they encountered it. They seemed intent on becoming Americans, not on remaining Swedes. Within sixty short years, the Swedes of Iowa had purposefully progressed through the first five stages of Barkan's assimilation model. Cassel and his followers did not insulate themselves from outside influences, instead embracing the core culture and adapting until they regarded themselves less Swedish than American. As was declared in the Lutheran periodical *The Augustana*, the Swedish Church and the majority of Swedish immigrants believed that "in this country we are Americans and nothing else, regardless of where the cradles of our ancestors may have stood."<sup>36</sup>

Norwegians also participated in the history of Iowa immigration and settlement. Their pervasiveness and influence is hinted at even in modern-day jokes about "Iowegians". In many ways the story of Norwegian immigration parallels that of Swedish and Dutch immigration. The Norwegians, too, suffered from not enough land to support a quickly growing population. Rents and taxes were high, and to many, the state church oppressive, further exacerbating conditions in Norway. And as in Sweden, Norwegian social and



economic classes were inelastic, offering little or no hope for improvement. Such factors contributed to the “America fever” that swept Norway in the mid-nineteenth century. The fever itself was ignited by the “America letters” written by early immigrants, and the promise of land.<sup>37</sup>

As Norwegians began to immigrate to America in significant numbers, their agricultural backgrounds naturally led them to places where land could be obtained. The majority of Norwegian immigrants settled in the upper Midwest, in a sweep from northern Illinois on into North Dakota. The first significant early settlement was the Fox River settlement in LaSalle County, Illinois. Established in 1835, this colony of Norwegians became the feeder community for many of the more westerly settlements. As it would do for countless Norwegian settlements in the Midwest, the Fox River settlement gave birth to the first Norwegian community in Iowa.<sup>38</sup>

In 1840, Cleng Peerson, founder of the Fox River settlement, led a small group of Fox River Norwegians across the Mississippi River and settled at Sugar Creek in southern Lee County, Iowa. There they joined Norwegians Hans Barlien and William Testman, who had settled there in approximately 1839. From this small beginning grew a settlement of some thirty to forty Norwegian families in 1843. Unfortunately religious differences, and the 1846 departure of those families who had become Mormons, led to the dissolution of the Sugar Creek Norwegian community by 1850. This was in direct contrast to the Welsh experience with the Mormon migration West; many Iowa communities became home to Welsh families who set out with the Mormons but later elected to remain in Iowa.<sup>39</sup>

Even as the Sugar Creek settlement reached its apex, Ole Valle and Ole Kittilsland

began a journey that would significantly change Iowa's ethnic heritage. Valle and Kittilsland had been working in the lead mines of Dodgeville, Wisconsin, but in 1843, left for lands westward. After working for several years, both Valle and Kittilsland settled in Read Township, Clayton County, Iowa. They sent word of their good fortune and prospects back to fellow Norwegians in the Koshkonong settlement, Wisconsin, and soon Valle and Kittilsland were surrounded by countrymen. The Norwegians initially claimed woodland for their homes, leaving the prairies to the Germans, but on seeing the Germans' success, the Norwegians began to take up prairie land for farms, as well.<sup>40</sup>

In classic chain migration fashion, word of the Clayton County settlement spread throughout the Wisconsin Norwegian communities. Thus inspired, in 1849, four men from Rock Prairie, Wisconsin, set out for Clayton County. At the Prairie du Chien ferry, however, the men learned that Allamakee County had better land available than was left in Clayton County. Duly informed, the men traveled to Allamakee County and there settled. They sent word back to Wisconsin, and the next spring four families fleshed out the new Norwegian settlement at "Painted Creek", Allamakee County. Within a year, the settlement had grown until it boasted more than twenty cabins. In the following years, several parties of immigrants arrived straight from Norway, adding to the population until in 1855, Allamakee County contained approximately five hundred Norwegians. The community continued to grow and peaked in 1885, with thirteen hundred Norwegian-born residents.<sup>41</sup>

Winneshiek County was destined to be the next site of Norwegian settlement in Iowa. In 1849 and 1850, two groups of Norwegians from Dane County and Racine County, Wisconsin, made their way to Washington Prairie, near present-day Decorah. Arriving in the

summer of 1850, these Norwegian immigrants joined native-born Americans on the prairie and founded what was to become the largest Norwegian community in Iowa. Word of the Norwegian settlement quickly spread north, all the way to Norway itself, bringing hundreds of new immigrants to the community. By 1856, nearly fifteen hundred residents of Winneshiek County had been born in Norway, accounting for more than half of all Norwegian-born Iowans.<sup>42</sup>

Another Norwegian community was established in 1853, by C. L. Clausen. Clausen was an influential Lutheran minister working in the Norwegian communities of Wisconsin. In 1851, he visited the Paint Creek settlement in Iowa, and from there scouted further west for land. In 1852, Clausen and two friends staked claim to land in the Cedar River Valley in Mitchell County, Iowa. Clausen subsequently published several accounts of the Iowa Norwegian settlements and the land he had claimed in *Emigranten*, a widely read Norwegian-American periodical. Finally in May 1853, Clausen and his family led a caravan of Norwegian immigrants from Wisconsin to Mitchell County. Once they arrived, Clausen platted the town of St. Ansgar, which became the center of a thriving multiethnic community consisting not only of Norwegians, but English, Czechs and Germans as well.<sup>43</sup>

The last original Norwegian colony in Iowa was founded in 1855 by an entire Norwegian Lutheran congregation from the Lisbon-Fox River, Illinois area. The "Palestine" congregation traveled to central Iowa and settled in Huxley, southern Story County. They were followed by another group of Norwegian immigrants from Lisbon, this time a group of Haugeans, or low church pietists, who decided to settle in northern Story County where they could worship separately from their "high church" neighbors (considered by Haugeans to be

less pious than themselves). The Story County settlements attracted hundreds of new immigrants until Norwegians dominated the northwest and southwest corners of the county, centered around the communities of Story City, Roland, and Huxley. By 1870, the central Iowa Norwegian community had grown to include 2,860 native Norwegians.<sup>44</sup>

Just as happened in the Dutch and Swedish settlements, the Iowa Norwegian communities soon spawned new settlements further west. Clausen's St. Ansgar community in Mitchell County sponsored new settlements throughout Mitchell County, and gave rise to a large Norwegian community in western Worth County and eastern Winnebago County. In 1860, more than three hundred Norwegians lived in the Worth/Winnebago settlement, and by 1870, that number had grown to twenty-five hundred. The Winneshiek County settlements also acted as parents to Norwegian colonies further west. The Emmet County Norwegian settlement was founded in the 1860s by settlers from the Winneshiek County, who were soon joined by immigrants coming directly from Norway. Other Norwegians left the central and eastern Iowa settlements for the western border and beyond. In the 1870s, Sioux City became both a staging point for Dakota-bound Norwegians, and a destination in itself. Still other Norwegians gathered to establish small communities in Monona County, Buena Vista County, and Webster County, among others.<sup>45</sup>

As was true in most European immigrant groups, religion played an important part in the Norwegian communities of Iowa. Ostensibly all Norwegian immigrants were members of the Norwegian Lutheran church and looked to the church as a symbol of both their piety and their culture. In America, however, the Norwegian Lutheran confronted new ideas of freedom, and soon the church was embroiled in conflict. Many Norwegian immigrants quickly

adopted the democratic values of their new home and resented the rigid hierarchy represented by the Norwegian Lutheran priest. From this dissent was born the Norwegian Synod, which not only emphasized local control of priests, but opposed the “high church” (Norwegian Lutheran) stance that men and women could affect their own salvation. Such issues divided some Norwegian communities, while strengthening others as they united to establish the church they preferred.<sup>46</sup>

Language retention largely depended on the efforts of the churches. Most pastors used Norwegian exclusively until the twentieth century, and Norwegian-language services did not disappear altogether until the 1930s. Those who had to conduct business with non-Norwegians learned English, as did the children who attended the public schools. Immigrant women were slower to learn English than their male peers, perhaps because they interacted less with non-Norwegians, and perhaps also because they found themselves too busy to study. According to Leola Nelson Bergmann, a chronicler of the Iowa Norwegian community, as children became more comfortable with English, they would use it instead of Norwegian as a symbol of independence from their parents. Even so, the Norwegian language survived well enough among the younger generations to help the *Decorah-Posten* thrive well into the twentieth century. The *Decorah-Posten* sought to inform the Norwegian community of local events, and to promote Norwegian literary efforts. Seeking also to promote solidarity within the Norwegian-American community, *Decorah-Posten* founder and editor B. Anundsen assiduously avoided issues that might prove divisive, and to that end prohibited political discussions.<sup>47</sup>

Danes comprised the third and final Scandinavian immigrant group to make Iowa their

home. Though Denmark experienced economic hardships similar to those of Norway and Sweden, its situation was complicated by political turmoil and warfare. Denmark not only lost possession of Norway, but lost Slesvig-Holstein to the Germans in spite of two wars in the mid-nineteenth century. After the end of the second war in 1864, the Danish government grew repressive and a rural police force inspired further distrust among the populace. Like Sweden and Norway, religious divisions grew in Denmark during the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the century almost all Danes were Lutherans, but German Baptists, Mormons, and American Methodists soon made inroads. The Lutherans were soon divided between the state-sponsored high Church and two pietists sects, the Inner Mission People and the Grundtvigians.<sup>48</sup>

Danish immigration began later than that of the Swedes and Norwegians. In fact, the Norwegian and Swedish immigrants to an extent paved the way for later Danish immigrants. Individual Danes had immigrated to America throughout its history, but it was not until the 1840s that a steady flow of rural immigrants began to appear, even if that flow was a mere trickle compared to other immigrant groups. The first rural Danish settlement was made in 1846 alongside the Norwegian community at Pine Lake, Wisconsin, further evidence of the close link between immigrant groups. In 1848, more Danish immigrants arrived in Wisconsin, establishing small settlements across the state. The Wisconsin Danish colonies provided many of the founders of Danish settlements in Minnesota, Iowa, the Dakotas, Nebraska, Illinois, and Kansas.<sup>49</sup>

The course of Danish immigration was not a steady one in the late nineteenth century. The first significant group of Danish immigrants to America were converts to the Mormon

Church who felt called to join Zion in Utah. The first two companies left in 1852 and arrived in Salt Lake Valley in 1853. They were followed by other companies of Saints who would travel by ship through the port of New Orleans and up the Mississippi until they reached either Independence or Iowa City and began their overland trek west. Hundreds of Danes participated in the famed handcart companies that crossed Iowa on foot in 1856. Iowans continued to witness the passage of such companies until railroads ended the need to walk across the state. A few Danes from these Mormon caravans stayed behind in Iowa, accounting for some early Danish presence in the state, but not for the founding of Danish colonies.<sup>50</sup>

The second large group of Danes to immigrate to America were the German Slesvigers and Holsteiners who left Denmark between 1850 and 1864. They were followed by the Danish Slesvigers who emigrated rather than live under German rule. Members of both groups of Slesvigers ended up settling in Clinton County, Iowa. As more Danish Slesvigers immigrated after 1864, the newcomers chose to settle largely in Black Hawk County, Grundy County, and Buena Vista County. Danish Slesvigers also settled in Cedar Falls and Des Moines.<sup>51</sup>

The first permanent Danish settlement in Iowa was established in 1865, by Danish Baptists from Brown County, Wisconsin. Christen Christiansen and Lars Beien settled in Cuppy's Grove (Altamont), Monroe Township, Shelby County, and were soon joined by Danes fresh from Denmark. By 1870, enough Danes lived in Shelby County to organize their own Baptist church, the first Danish-language congregation in Iowa. The Danish settlement expanded in 1868, when Christian Jensen settled in Clay Township, and were soon followed

by friends and relatives from Moline, Illinois. In 1869, Danish railroad workers purchased land in Jackson Township and brought their families to settle there, forming the core of a Danish Lutheran congregation. The communities were collectively known as the Elk Horn Settlement.<sup>52</sup>

The second Danish settlement in Iowa was established in Black Hawk, Butler and Grundy Counties in 1866 by Danish immigrants from Wisconsin. Jens Anderson helped the community grow by returning several times to Denmark and bringing new immigrants back to Iowa. The first Danish Lutheran church in Iowa was organized there in 1871.<sup>53</sup>

In 1867, Danes newly arrived from Denmark settled in north Story County and south Hamilton County along the Skunk River, perhaps attracted to the vibrant Norwegian community there. Jens Andersen and Christian Paulsen Christiansen followed in 1868, and were in turn followed by more immigrants from Denmark. In spite of the successful founding of these three Danish settlements, in 1870, Iowa contained less than three thousand Danish-born residents.<sup>54</sup>

Beginning in 1869, Danish immigration experienced a marked upsurge. Danish Slesvigians increasingly immigrated after the Franco-Prussian War ended in 1871, and political events in 1878 convinced them they would remain under German control. The majority of Danes resented the repressive government that controlled Denmark from 1866 to the end of the nineteenth century. Economic improvements came slowly to the rural Dane, making the free land of the Iowa prairies singularly attractive. Most new immigrants to Iowa, whether directly from Denmark or via Wisconsin and other American communities, settled in or near the previously established Danish colonies. One exception was the 1881 founding of Ringsted



in Emmet County. This new community was fed by Danes from Clinton County.<sup>55</sup>

Unique among the immigrant groups in Iowa was the Danes' establishment of "Danish schools." The Grundtvigians, an offshoot from the High Church Lutherans, had in Denmark started "free schools" to provide Christian education separate from the state-sponsored common schools. The Grundtvigians also established the folk high schools, which provided many common Danes with secondary education. As Grundtvigians immigrated to Iowa, they brought with them their educational ideals and added to their goals the preservation of Danish language and religion. In 1878, a Danish week-day school was then started by the local Danish community. Its attendance peaked in 1895, at seventy-five pupils, coinciding with the peak of Danish immigration.<sup>56</sup>

The Elk Horn colony soon followed suit and in 1879 established their own Danish school. By 1883, Elk Horn had three such schools, two of which were housed in their own buildings and the last held in the public school building. A few other week-day schools were established in other Danish colonies around the state. Instruction included not only courses held in Danish, but English subjects as well. The goal was to replace public school with Danish school in the children's lives. The Iowa Danish schools foundered when the Iowa Danish Lutheran churches split in 1894, but as long as they lasted they were important institutions devoted to preserving Danish language and culture. Even as the week-day schools declined, their duties were transferred to vacation schools, Saturday Schools, and Sunday Schools. Those schools sponsored by the Inner Mission churches emphasized religion more than did the broad curriculum of the Grundtvigian schools. Confirmation school was also taught in Danish well into the twentieth century. The largest school to emerge from the

Danish school movement in Iowa was Grand View College in Des Moines, which was the successor to Elk Horn College.<sup>57</sup>

Also instrumental in promoting Danish community life were the Danish societies. The first in Iowa was formed in 1873, the “Danish Society of Clinton and Lyons”, later known as “Dannevirke” or “Danish bulwark”. The society technically welcomed all who were “Danish in spirit” and able to speak Danish, but in actuality only Danes joined. Other societies formed in Council Bluffs, Cedar Falls, and Sabula, and in 1892, total Danish society membership stood at 425. Tellingly, no Danish Society was established in Elk Horn, perhaps indicating that the Danish in that community felt secure enough in their large Danish population that they did not feel the need to form a specific society to preserve their culture.<sup>58</sup>

By the dawning of the twentieth century, the Iowa landscape was dotted with hundreds of immigrant communities. Most of the immigrants came to Iowa seeking better economic opportunities, but also held dear the cultures of their homelands. Whether home to German, Dutch or Scandinavian settlers, Iowa’s immigrant communities exhibited a unique blending of American economic opportunity with expressions of ethnicity, such as language and religious practices. Each community followed its own strategy for balancing Old World culture with New World challenges, but those strategies inevitably relied on the church to preserve and propagate ethnic traditions. As each Iowa immigrant group both grew and aged, it experienced a seemingly inevitable shift from being more ethnic than American to being more American than ethnic. Individuals and communities became more involved in the larger economy, bringing outside influences into ethnic colonies and sending immigrants and their children out into the world. Children attended public schools, where they learned the English

language and American ways. Endogamous marriage patterns gave way to intermarriage between immigrant groups and with Yankees. By the beginning of the twentieth century, most ethnic churches, often the last bastion of immigrant culture, were beginning to at least discuss the introduction of English-language services. Governor Harding hastened the conversion to English with his May 23, 1918 proclamation banning the use of foreign languages in all public places for the duration of World War I. Some churches reverted to their foreign-language services after the war, but for most congregations the proclamation ensured the primacy of English-language worship, the last outward signifier of their communities' ethnic identity.<sup>59</sup>

## NOTES

1. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 2000* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2000), 22.
2. R. Douglas Hurt, *American Agriculture: A Brief History*, 2d ed. (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1996), 86-89.
3. Jeremy Atack and Fred Bateman, *To Their Own Soil: Agriculture in the Antebellum North* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1987), 83-84, 77.
4. *Ibid.*, 76-79.
5. Dorothy Schwieder, *Iowa: The Middle Land* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1996), 26-34.
6. Schwieder, *Middle Land*, 36; Allan G. Bogue, "The People Come," in *Patterns and Perspectives*, ed. Dorothy Schwieder (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1973), 85-87.
7. Schwieder, *Middle Land*, 39-44; Bogue, "The People Come," 88.
8. Schwieder, *Middle Land*, 61-63.
9. *Ibid.*, 240.
10. Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, *Study 00003: Historical Demographic, Economic, and Social Data: U.S., 1790-1970* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, 1992).
11. Census Board, *The Census Returns of the Different Counties in the State of Iowa, for 1856* (Iowa City: Crum & Boye, Printers, 1857), 475; Atack, *To Their Own Soil*, 71-85; John C. Hudson, "North American Origins of Middlewestern Frontier Populations," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 78 (1988): 395-413.
12. *1856 Iowa Census*; Bogue, "The People Come," 89-90.
13. Schwieder, *Middle Land*, 91; Steven D. Hoelscher and Robert C. Ostergren, "Old European Homelands in the American Middle West," *Journal of Cultural Geography* 13 (1993): 87-88.
14. Robert P. Swierenga, *Faith and Family: Dutch Immigration and Settlement in the United States, 1820-1920* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 2000), 35; Schwieder, *Middle Land*, 93; Hoelscher, "Old European Homelands," 87-88.
15. Schwieder, *Middle Land*, 93; Hoelscher, "Old European Homelands," 87-88; Swierenga, *Faith and Family*, 6.

16. Frank D. Jackson, Secretary of State, *Census of Iowa for the Year 1885* (Des Moines: Geo. E. Roberts, State Printer, 1885), *passim*.
17. Robert C. Ostergren, "The Immigrant Church as a Symbol of Community and Place in the Upper Midwest," *Great Plains Quarterly* 1 (1984): 228.
18. Schwieder, *Middle Land*, 94; *1885 Iowa Census*.
19. Jon Gjerde, *The Minds of The West: Ethnocultural Evolution in the Rural Middle West, 1830-1917* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 167-168; Mark W. Friedberger, "Handing Down the Home Place: Farm Inheritance Strategies in Iowa, 1870-1945," *The Annals of Iowa* 47 (1984): 526.
20. Gjerde, *Minds of the West*, 108-14.
21. Gjerde, *Minds of the West*, 106-8; Schwieder, *Middle Land*, 94-95.
22. Robert P. Swierenga, "A Dutch Immigrant's View of Frontier Iowa" in *Patterns and Perspectives in Iowa History* (Ames: Iowa State University, 1973), 43-44; Robert P. Swierenga, *The Dutch in America: Immigration, Settlement, and Cultural Change* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1985), 156-7; Swierenga, *Faith and Family*, 37, 53, 80, 93, 161.
23. Swierenga, "A Dutch Immigrant's View," 45; Swierenga, *Faith and Family*, 79-80.
24. Brian W. Beltman, "Ethnic Territoriality and the Persistence of Identity: Dutch Settlers in Northwest Iowa, 1869-1880," *Annals of Iowa* 55 (1996): 101-9, 119.
25. Swierenga, *Faith and Family*, 153-55, 165.
26. Ardith K. Melloh, "New Sweden, Iowa," *The Palimpsest* 59 (1978), 2-6.
27. *Ibid.*, 2-4.
28. *Ibid.*, 3-4.
29. *Ibid.*, 5-6.
30. *Ibid.*, 7-8.
31. *Ibid.*, 9-10.
32. *Ibid.*, 10-11.
33. *Ibid.*, 12-19.

34. *1885 Iowa Census*; Bogue, "The People Come," 89-91; Swierenga, *Faith and Family*, 4.
35. O. M. Nelson, *Swedish Settlements in Iowa: Their Founding and Development and Some of their Noted Men and Women* (n.p., 1931), 10-11.
36. Melloh, "New Sweden, Iowa," 17-19; quote, 19.
37. Carlton C. Qualey, *Norwegian Settlement in the United States* (Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1938), 7-11; Jon Gjerde, *From peasants to farmers: The migration from Balestrand, Norway, to the Upper Middle West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 137.
38. Qualey, *Norwegian Settlement*, 22-29.
39. Leola Nelson Bergmann, "The Norwegians in Iowa," *The Palimpsest* 40 (1959): 295-96.
40. Bergmann, "The Norwegians in Iowa," 296-97; Qualey, *Norwegian Settlement*, 83.
41. Bergmann, "The Norwegians in Iowa," 297; Qualey, *Norwegian Settlement*, 84.
42. Bergmann, "The Norwegians in Iowa," 298; Qualey, *Norwegian Settlement*, 85-86.
43. Bergmann, "The Norwegians in Iowa," 298-99; Qualey, *Norwegian Settlement*, 86-92.
44. Bergmann, "The Norwegians in Iowa," 300-1; Qualey, *Norwegian Settlement*, 94.
45. Bergmann, "The Norwegians in Iowa," 299-303; Qualey, *Norwegian Settlement*, 79.
46. Gjerde, *Minds of the West*, 115-22.
47. Bergmann, "The Norwegians in Iowa," 313-16; Schwieder, *Middle Land*, 99-100.
48. Thomas Peter Christensen, *A History of the Danes in Iowa* (Solvang, Calif.: Dansk Folkesamfund, 1952), 13-19.
49. *Ibid.*, 27-29.
50. *Ibid.*, 66-71.
51. *Ibid.*, 24-25, 72-73, 77.

52. *Ibid.*, 77-78.
53. *Ibid.*, 78-79.
54. *Ibid.*, 79-80.
55. *Ibid.*, 81-82, 86, 92.
56. *Ibid.*, 145-47.
57. *Ibid.*, 146-49, 158.
58. *Ibid.*, 178-79.
59. Gjerde, *Minds of the West*, 226, 323.

#### CHAPTER 4. THE WELSH IN IOWA

The Welsh were not the largest immigrant group in Iowa. Neither was their influence especially noticeable in most cases. Many present-day Iowans are unaware that Welsh communities even existed in nineteenth-century Iowa. In spite of their lack of notoriety, however, the Welsh did in fact immigrate to Iowa and did establish Welsh communities. As was the case for most ethnic groups in Iowa, the Welsh communities were rural and depended on agriculture for their survival. Though Welsh community life revolved around the Welsh churches, unlike the Pella Dutch the Welsh did not immigrate for religious reasons or build their communities explicitly in order to preserve their religious beliefs. Although most of the Welsh immigrated to Iowa in search of land and prosperity, their failure to acquire land as part of an inheritance strategy seems to indicate that Welsh land ownership was not the all-consuming dream that it was for the Iowa Germans. And while the Welsh did value their native language, and for decades maintained Welsh-language churches and Sunday Schools, they did not go to the extreme of establishing Welsh-language day schools, as the Danes did in Elkhorn and Clinton. But like the Norwegians, the Iowa Welsh enjoyed the fruits of chain migration resulting from extensive kinship and friendship networks. As happened in Swedish settlements, the early Iowa Welsh communities spawned daughter communities as the Welsh population grew. And finally, just as the Dutch, German, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish immigrants eventually became more Iowan and American than “ethnic”, so too did the Welsh steadily abandon or lose their ethnic markers and assimilate into mainstream society. At least in part because of their historic ties to England, however, and the resulting cultural influence, the Welsh assimilation into American society was just that much more complete. Indeed,



Barkan observed that of all the different immigrant groups to settle in America, the Welsh were one of only a very few who collectively advanced to the final, Assimilation, stage of the ethnic transition model.<sup>1</sup>

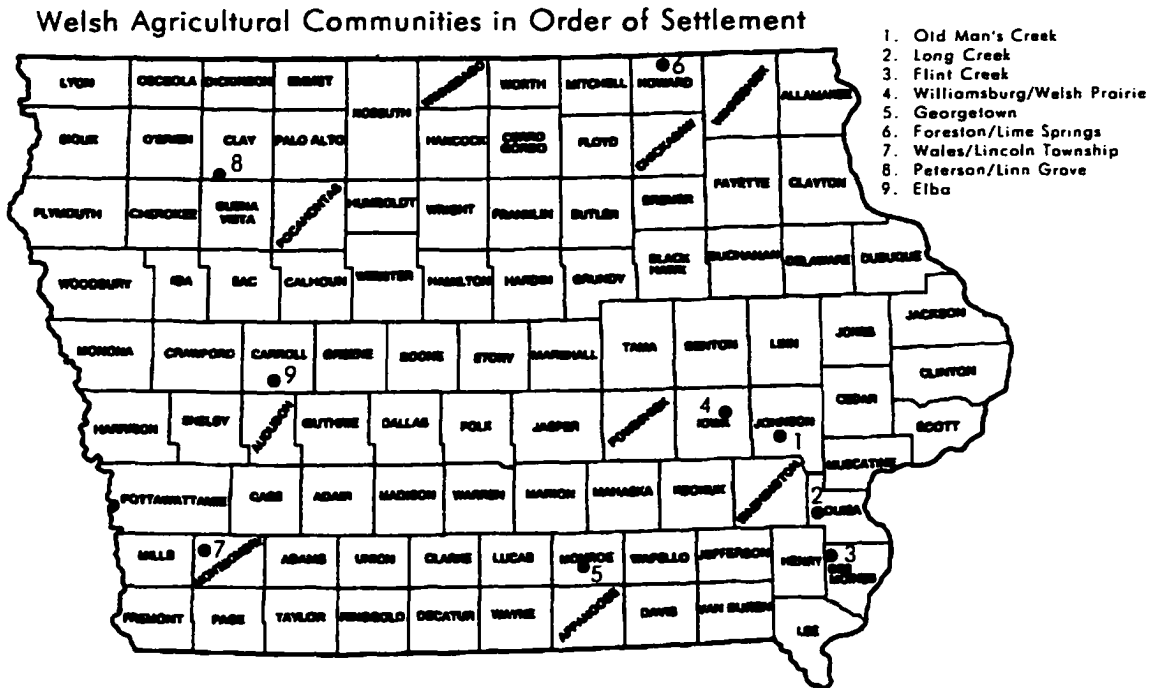
Just as Swedes and Norwegians heard of available land through letters and visitors from Iowa, the Welsh communication network was largely responsible for Welsh immigration to—and the formation of Welsh communities in—Iowa. The earliest beginnings of Welsh communities in Iowa can typically be traced to a single letter home, or a visit between friends. As Welsh immigrants looked for better economic opportunities, they usually made their decisions based on news passed between family members and tips heard from acquaintances and friends. Even as they fell into immigration patterns similar to those that contributed to ethnic enclaves such as Pella, the Welsh that came to Iowa were concerned first and foremost with finding a place to succeed economically. Yet, as they relied on kinship and networks of friends and acquaintances for information and support, Welsh immigrants to Iowa ended up clustering together into loosely defined neighborhoods. From this hunger for land and geographic clustering grew Welsh communities, usually on the retreating edge of Iowa's frontier.

Although economic goals were the primary force behind most Welsh immigrants' settlement choices, ethnic fellowship cannot be ignored. Given the choice between settling on good land among complete strangers, people of different religious beliefs and those who do not speak one's native language, or settling on good land with neighbors who speak one's language and attend the same church, most families would understandably choose the latter. All other factors being equal, the prospect of moving to a strange place with familiar

institutions was an attractive one to Welsh immigrants. Even many America-born Welsh felt the pull to settle in Welsh communities, though they no longer necessarily spoke Welsh and attended churches whose doctrine increasingly resembled that of mainstream Protestant churches. Margaret Jones and her fiancé David O. Thomas were both born in America to Welsh parents. In 1894, Margaret wrote to David regarding their future plans: "I wish we could live some where near Carroll or Wayne [counties, Nebraska]. I think that place is very good for crops. And there are lots of Welsh people I believe around there. Although I don't know any one there but Charley Jones." Margaret Jones was first concerned that they settle on good land, and only secondly that they settle near other Welsh.<sup>2</sup>

The timeline of Welsh settlement roughly corresponds to the wider geographic progression across the state. The first settlement, Old Man's Creek, was located in the eastern quarter of the state, only three counties west of the Mississippi River and four counties north of the Missouri border. The second community, Long Creek, was also in the southeastern corner of the state, as was the fourth community, at Flint Creek. The third settlement, the Welsh Prairie/Williamsburg community, was a direct offshoot from Old Man's Creek and located in the next county west. By the mid-1850s, Iowa settlement had spread north to the Minnesota border, where the Foreston/Lime Springs settlement was located. Settlement had also spread all the way west across the bottom half of the state, reaching to the Missouri River. The Wales/Red Oak settlement was established as part of that spread of civilization, as was the small community at Elba. By the late 1860s, people were settling the northwest corner of Iowa, the last frontier in the state, and it was in this phase of settlement that the Linn Grove/Willow Creek/Peterson community took root. In all, nine agriculture-

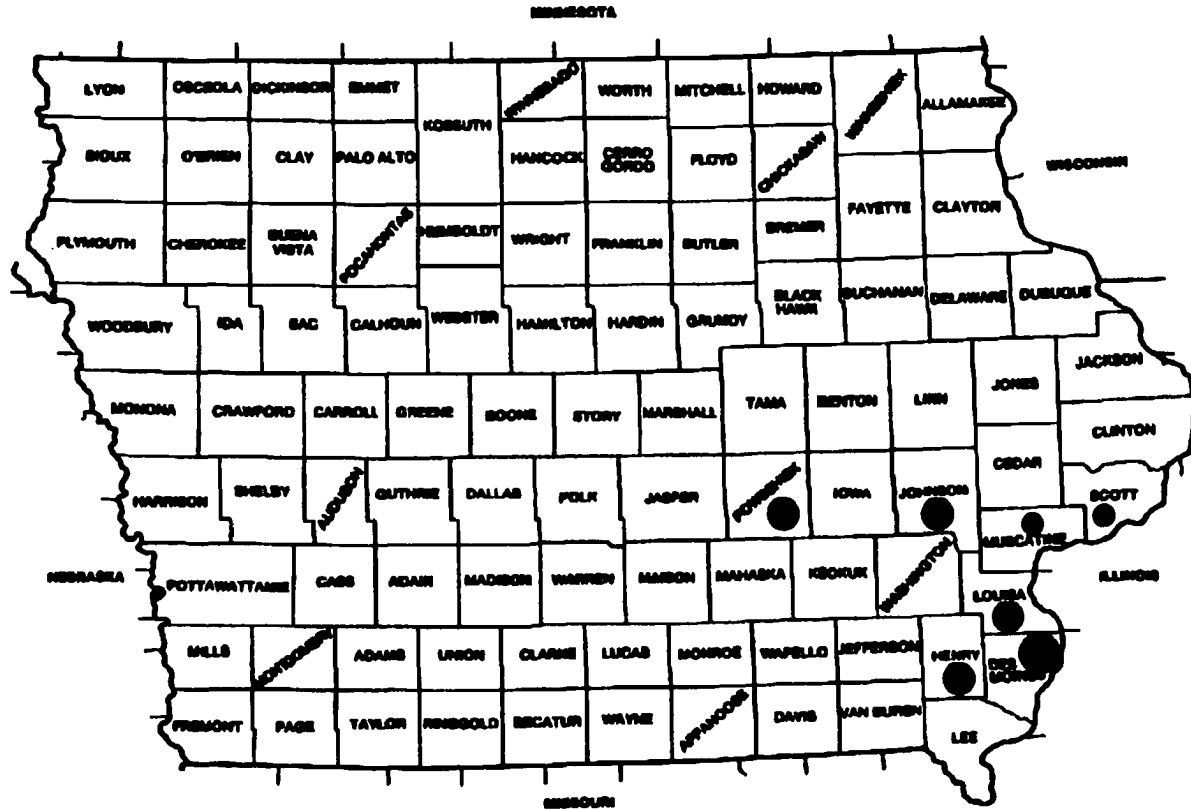
oriented Welsh communities and seventeen Welsh mining communities were established, located in every region of Iowa. (See Figure 5 for agriculture-oriented Welsh communities.)



**Figure 5. Welsh Agricultural Communities in Order of Settlement.**

As Figures 6 through 15 illustrate, Welsh settlement followed the frontier westward, and then mirrored the development of the coal mining industry. The figures also reflect the initial growth of Welsh settlements and the eventual decline through attrition, out-migration, and assimilation. Although Figures 6 through 15 only depict the distribution of people born in Wales, therefore excluding not only Welsh children born in Iowa and those of Welsh descent born elsewhere in the United States, the maps do indicate the trends in Welsh community formation and decline. The large chronological gap between Figure 6 and Figure 7 is due to

### Distribution of Welsh in Iowa, 1856



Placement of circles within counties does not indicate location of Welsh community

Number of people born in Wales

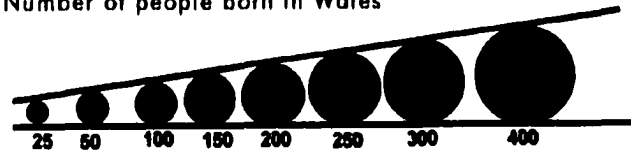
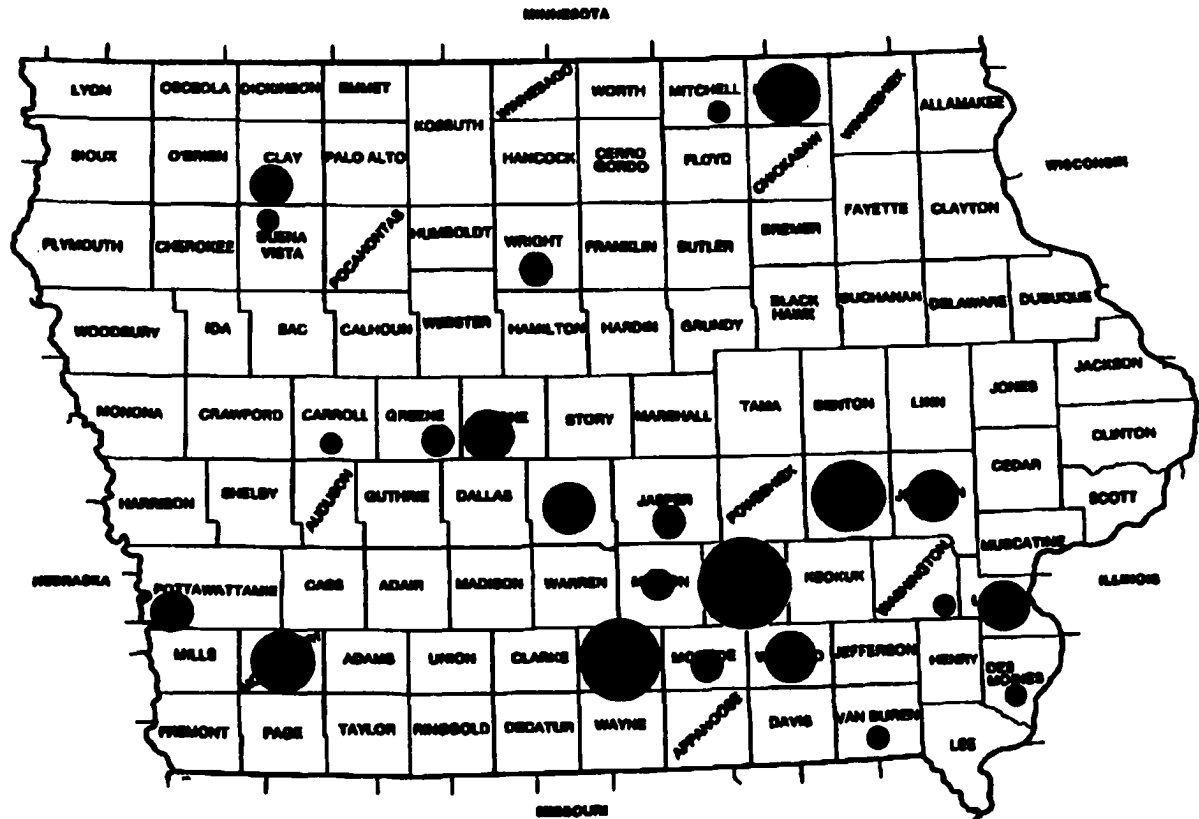


Figure 6. Distribution of People born in Wales. Iowa, 1856.

Distribution of Welsh in Iowa, 1885



Number of people born in Wales

Placement of circles within counties does not indicate location of Welsh community

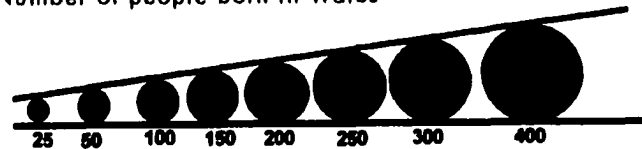


Figure 7. Distribution of People born in Wales. Iowa, 1885.

### Distribution of Welsh in Iowa, 1890

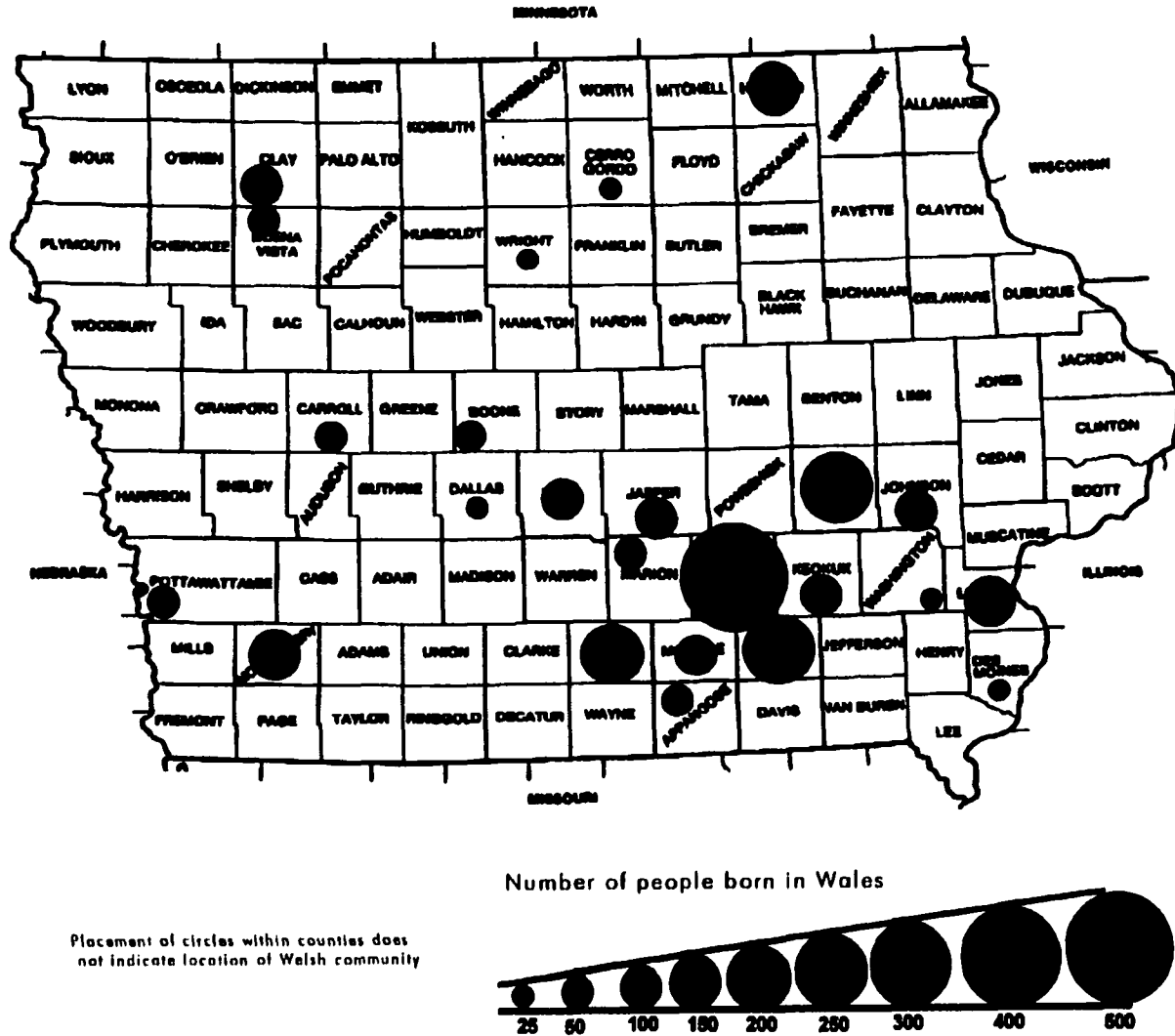
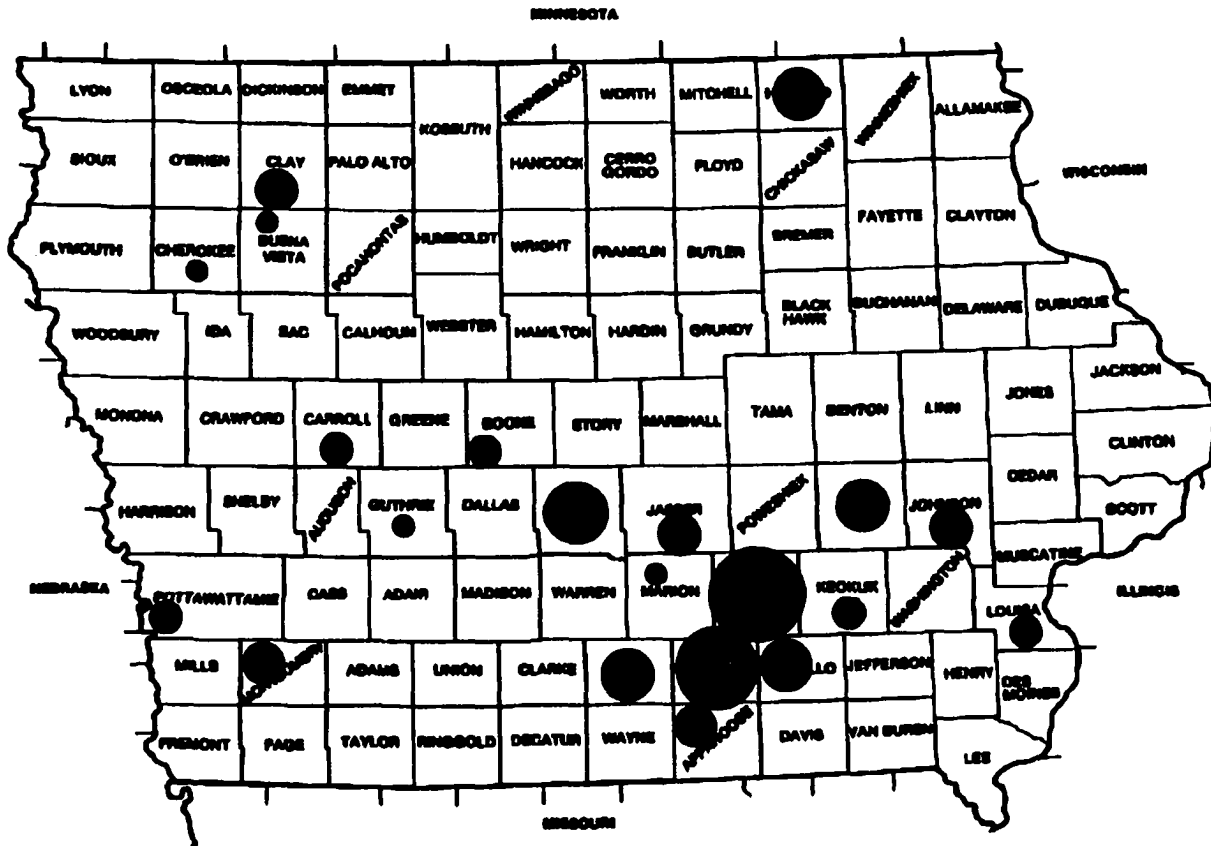


Figure 8. Distribution of People born in Wales. Iowa, 1890.

### Distribution of Welsh in Iowa, 1900



Number of people born in Wales

Placement of circles within counties does not indicate location of Welsh community

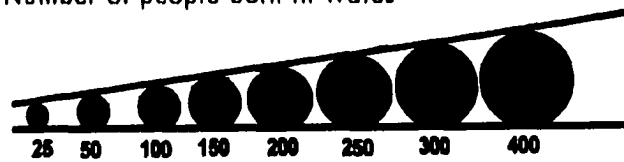


Figure 9. Distribution of People born in Wales. Iowa, 1900.

### Distribution of Welsh In Iowa, 1905

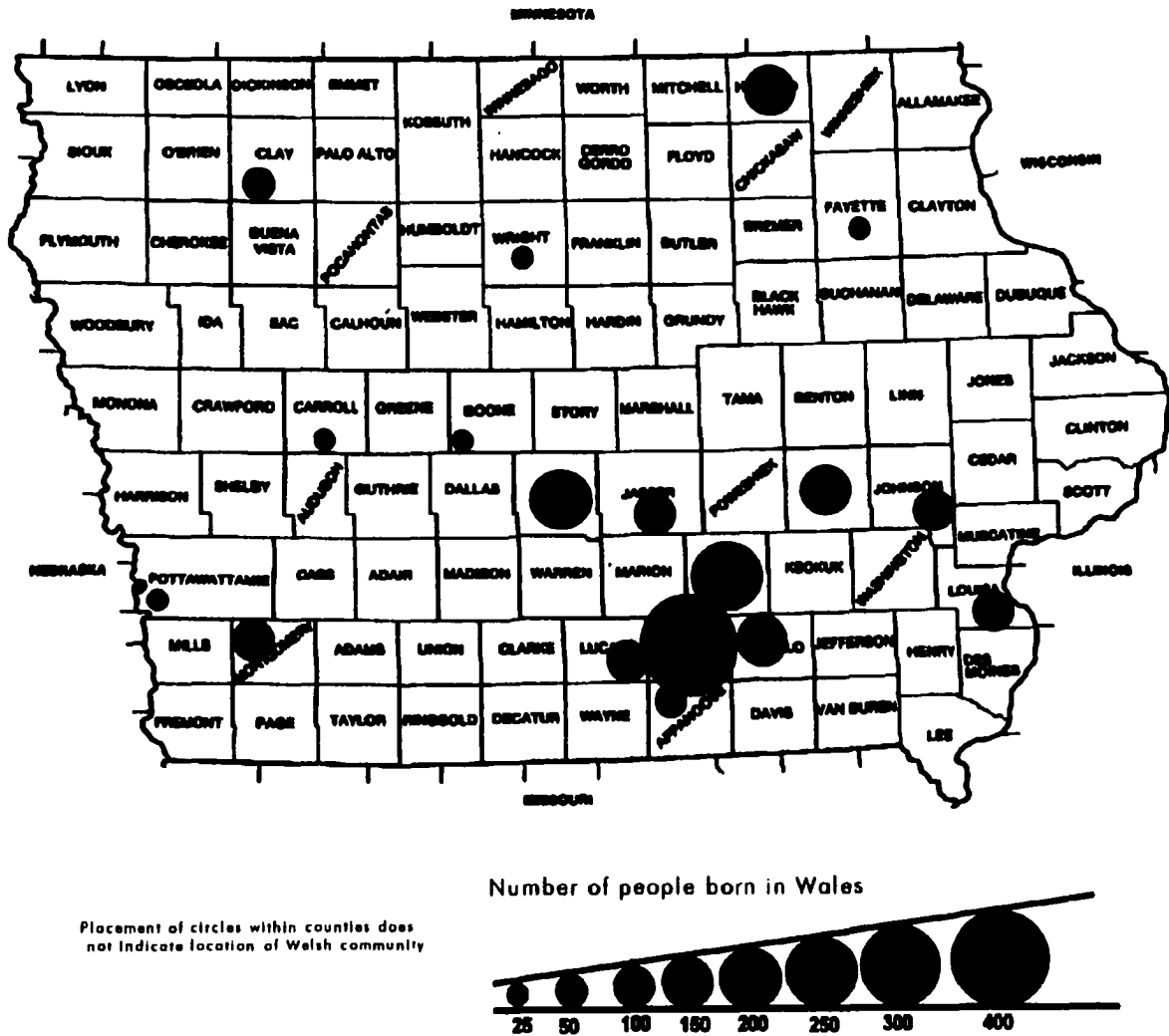


Figure 10. Distribution of People born in Wales. Iowa, 1905.



### Distribution of Welsh in Iowa, 1910

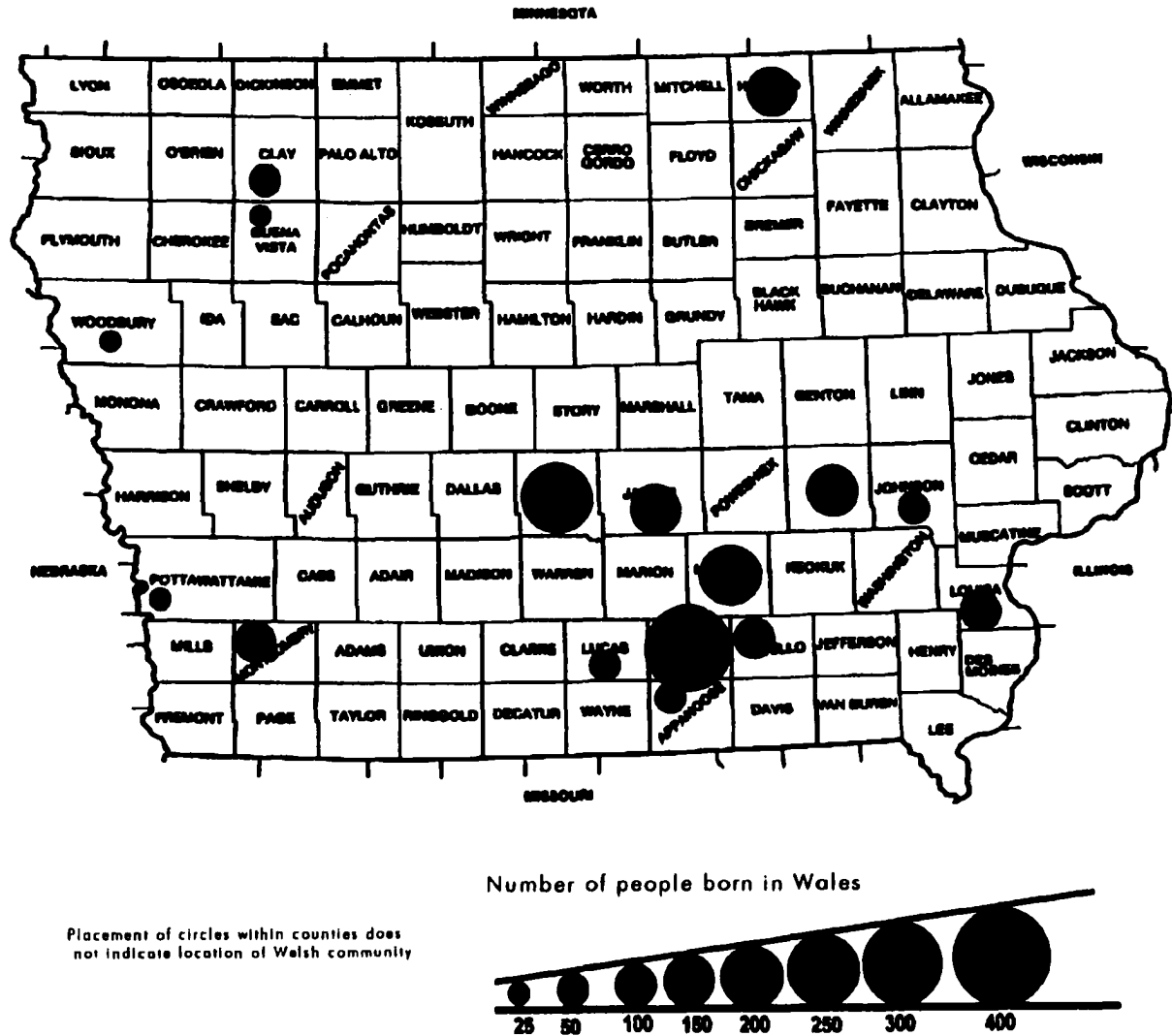
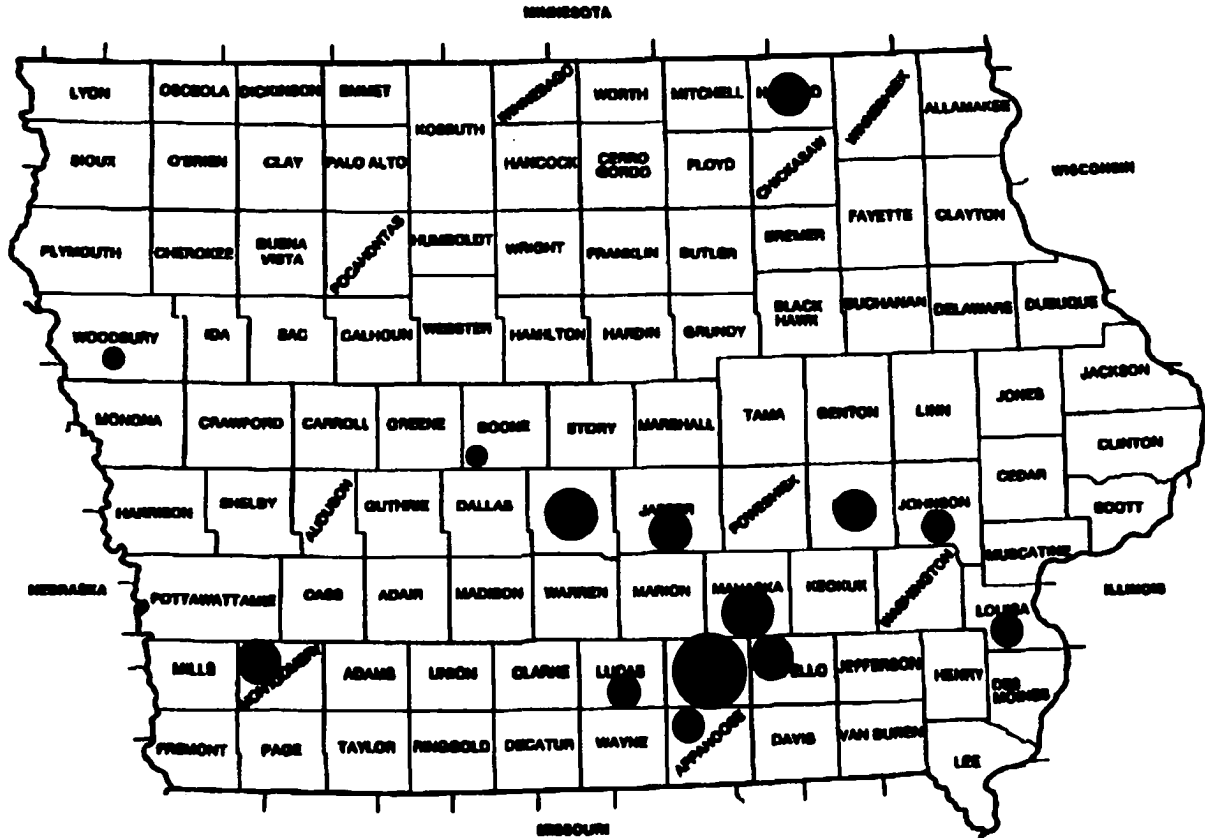


Figure 11. Distribution of People born in Wales. Iowa, 1910.

### Distribution of Welsh in Iowa, 1915



Placement of circles within counties does not indicate location of Welsh community

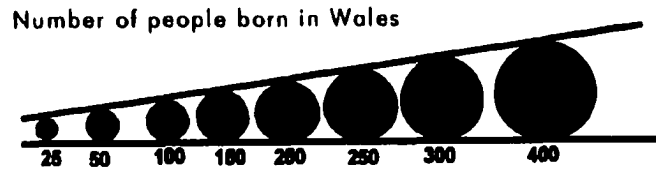
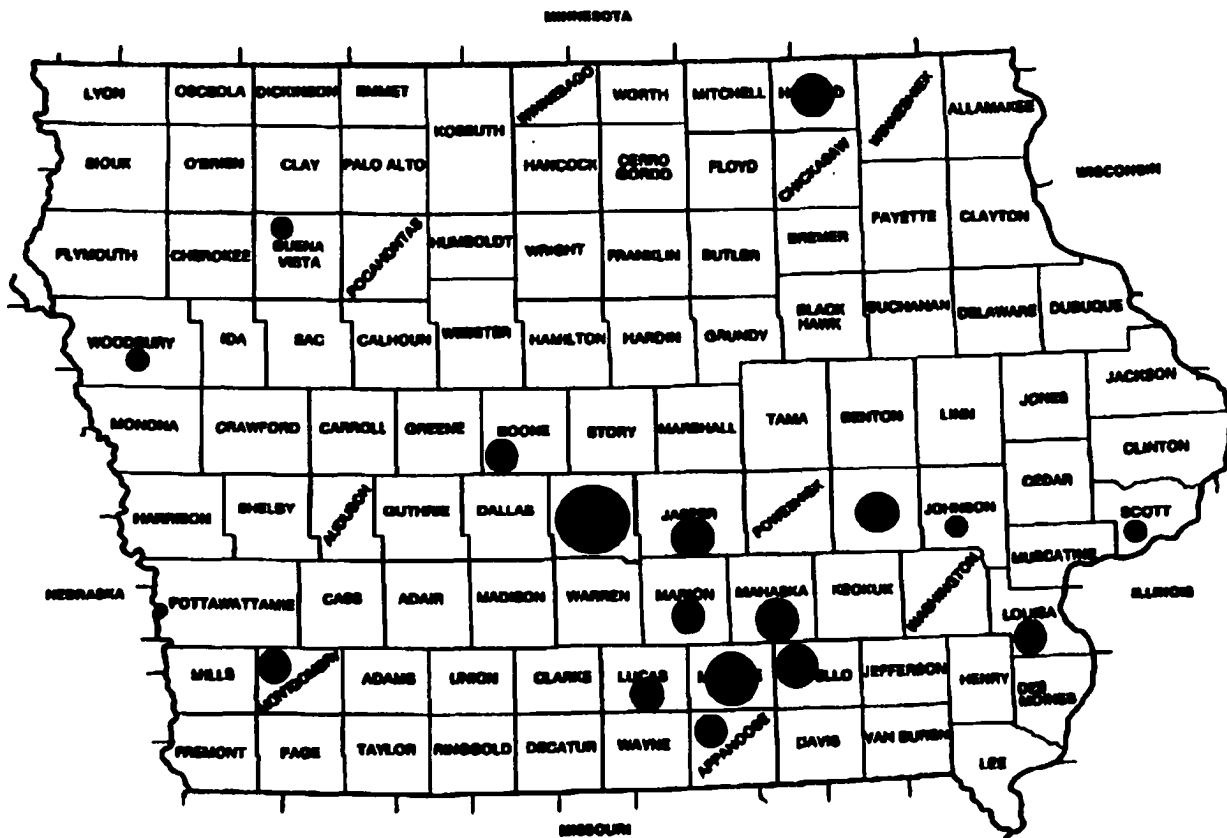


Figure 12. Distribution of People born in Wales. Iowa, 1915.

### Distribution of Welsh in Iowa, 1920



Number of people born in Wales

Placement of circles within counties does not indicate location of Welsh community

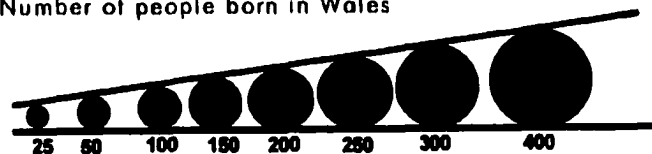
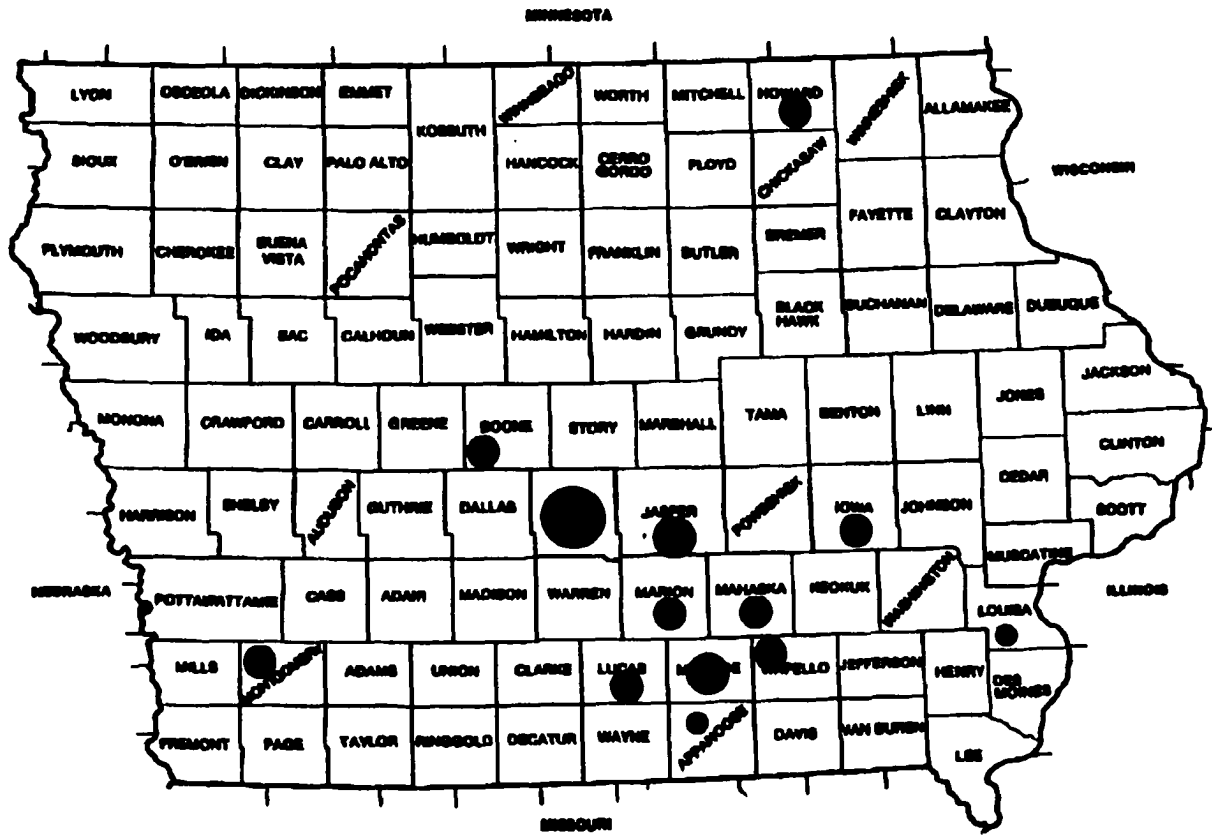


Figure 13. Distribution of People born in Wales. Iowa, 1920.

### Distribution of Welsh in Iowa, 1925



Placement of circles within counties does not indicate location of Welsh community

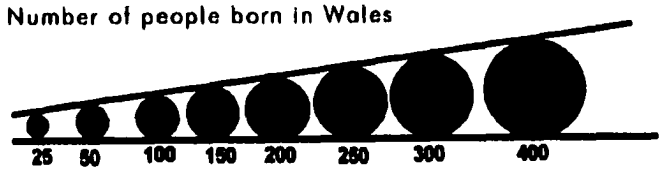


Figure 14. Distribution of People born in Wales. Iowa, 1925.



**Table 1. Welsh-born in Iowa, by County and Census Year**

<b>County</b>	<b>1856</b>	<b>1885</b>	<b>1890</b>	<b>1900</b>	<b>1905</b>	<b>1910</b>	<b>1915</b>	<b>1920</b>	<b>1925</b>	<b>1930</b>
<b>Adair</b>	4	17	16	14	14	9	8	6	2	1
<b>Adams</b>	0	13	11	10	10	8	5	6	3	1
<b>Allamakee</b>	16	5	7	4	8	5	3	1	2	2
<b>Appanoose</b>	6	11	47	79	49	55	61	48	26	21
<b>Audubon</b>	0	4	6	8	5	6	3	2	3	0
<b>Benton</b>	2	6	12	8	9	7	4	3	0	0
<b>Black Hawk</b>	3	6	11	11	8	8	12	12	7	12
<b>Boone</b>	0	136	45	53	35	24	25	40	46	36
<b>Bremer</b>	0	4	5	2	1	2	4	0	2	0
<b>Buchanan</b>	5	10	12	6	6	8	5	4	2	1
<b>Buena Vista</b>	0	34	43	31	21	35	24	26	20	15
<b>Butler</b>	0	2	3	4	2	0	0	1	0	0
<b>Calhoun</b>	0	7	10	7	8	7	9	3	4	1
<b>Carroll</b>	0	33	60	44	33	15	18	19	14	17
<b>Cass</b>	0	15	15	14	10	11	8	3	6	1
<b>Cedar</b>	0	6	13	5	5	4	4	1	2	2
<b>Cerro Gordo</b>	0	22	28	19	19	12	12	9	11	5
<b>Cherokee</b>	0	11	10	27	13	8	8	9	10	12
<b>Chickasaw</b>	1	1	2	2	4	4	2	0	4	2
<b>Clarke</b>	0	7	7	3	2	3	4	0	0	0
<b>Clay</b>	0	79	104	89	58	43	24	23	20	14
<b>Clayton</b>	5	23	19	10	5	9	3	0	0	1
<b>Clinton</b>	11	10	21	8	6	5	3	5	3	1
<b>Crawford</b>	0	10	14	7	11	12	6	4	2	7
<b>Dallas</b>	2	7	35	16	19	13	24	13	20	21
<b>Davis</b>	0	20	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Decatur</b>	3	10	8	10	19	17	16	14	11	6
<b>Delaware</b>	3	20	19	13	4	8	2	6	5	4
<b>Des Moines</b>	108	24	25	17	8	8	5	6	6	4
<b>Dickinson</b>	0	2	4	5	4	4	4	7	2	4
<b>Dubuque</b>	17	17	23	13	11	23	4	5	5	9
<b>Emmet</b>	0	1	1	4	1	8	3	1	4	2
<b>Fayette</b>	12	17	22	22	25	17	16	8	7	6
<b>Floyd</b>	1	3	4	5	2	5	7	7	4	5
<b>Franklin</b>	0	8	3	7	3	4	4	7	2	3
<b>Fremont</b>	0		1	1		0	0	1	1	1
<b>Greene</b>	1	64	32	21	17	14	12	8	5	9
<b>Grundy</b>	0	1	0	0		0	0	0	0	0
<b>Guthrie</b>	0	20	23	27	13	6	9	11	8	6
<b>Hamilton</b>	0	5	4	3	3	3	1	1	0	0
<b>Hancock</b>	0	2	6	5	4	3	1	1	2	3
<b>Hardin</b>	0	6	5	7	5	5	6	3	2	1
<b>Harrison</b>	1	13	23	17	14	13	12	17	6	2
<b>Henry</b>	46	17	15	14	10	14	2	6	4	7
<b>Howard</b>	0	185	169	149	133	133	88	82	61	48
<b>Humboldt</b>	0	3	4	4	2	2	3	3	0	1
<b>Ida</b>	0	4	8	4		3	1	4	2	1
<b>Iowa</b>	16	250	235	168	146	130	111	95	70	54
<b>Jackson</b>	14	2	3	2	2	1	0	2	1	1
<b>Jasper</b>	2	58	99	100	115	141	125	113	76	76

**Table 1. Welsh-born in Iowa, by County and Census Year (continued)**

County	1856	1885	1890	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920	1925	1930
Jefferson	3	9	5	3	3	5	5	4	4	0
Johnson	53	144	121	90	77	55	49	27	23	22
Jones	4	6	9	7	5	8	0	4	6	2
Keokuk	0	129	123	46	19	12	17	5	11	10
Kossuth	0	2	1	6	5	4	4	1	4	3
Lee	1	15	9	18	7	12	7	11	8	8
Linn	4	16	18	21	20	23	14	24	19	19
Louisa	62	156	169	120	96	89	69	52	34	39
Lucas	0	282	200	135	107	54	68	73	61	54
Lyon	0	2	5	4	4	2	2	3	7	1
Madison	7	4	9	7	5	2	4	2	5	4
Mahaska	7	406	487	377	236	193	157	103	74	77
Marion	6	51	72	31	24	24	18	42	46	37
Marshall	8	22	19	20	8	11	15	15	4	5
Mills	0	11	17	12	9	8	5	5	6	5
Mitchell	1	29	19	17	16	17	11	8	4	2
Monona	1	13	7	3	3	3	2	1	4	1
Monroe	19	50	99	303	362	341	256	149	97	43
Montgomery	0	200	170	124	95	90	87	53	45	30
Muscatine	24	13	13	9	5	8	16	3	7	3
O'Brien	0	11	10	14	9	13	7	7	14	9
Osceola	0	4	26	5	2	6	5	3	6	2
Page	0	7	5	7	3	2	1	3	1	2
Palo Alto	0	3	5	3	5	8	5	4	6	1
Plymouth	0	13	20	18	12	10	8	12	5	4
Pocahontas	0	4	6	7	5	4	3	3	3	2
Polk	11	132	120	188	194	239	237	249	224	185
Pottawattamie	12	93	68	48	34	35	21	23	12	13
Poweshiek	49	8	9	13	9	7	5	6	5	9
Ringgold	0	1	1	1	2	4	3	2	1	0
Sac	0	2	2	3		0	0	1	2	1
Scott	23	18	17	21	20	14	13	26	14	13
Shelby	0	4	4	2	2	1	3	0	0	1
Sioux	0	10	3	2	3	1	1	3	0	2
Story	0	3	11	15	16	13	7	7	8	11
Tama	1	14	10	10	7	7	2	2	5	2
Taylor	0	5	6	6	5	1	1	0	0	2
Union	0	19	12	5	4	4	4	6	5	4
Van Buren	1	27	21	18	12	11	11	5	6	4
Wapello	9	138	239	146	170	118	99	93	61	61
Warren	0	7	15	9	9	9	10	4	2	3
Washington	3	27	26	24	17	14	20	5	16	16
Wayne	4	5	3	5	5	9	7	4	5	7
Webster	1	20	22	16	17	12	7	9	5	3
Winnebago	0	3	2	2	4	2	2	1	2	1
Winneshiek	0	11	10	3	3	2	3	3	0	1
Woodbury	0	15	32	21	13	35	26	25	21	24
Worth	0	1	2	4	2	2	3	4	2	4
Wright	0	40	30	23	27	15	17	12	5	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>593</b>	<b>3436</b>	<b>3601</b>	<b>3091</b>	<b>2621</b>	<b>2434</b>	<b>2048</b>	<b>1753</b>	<b>1398</b>	<b>1183</b>

the Census Bureau practice of including the Welsh as part of the broader categories of either “English and Welsh” or “British Isles.” Unfortunately that policy prevents illustration of the crucial period of settlement between the Iowa State Census of 1856 and the Iowa State Census of 1885. Table 1 follows Figure 15, giving the number of people born in Wales by census year, organized by county.

Figure 6 shows the location and distribution of the major clusters of Welsh-born residents of Iowa in 1856. The Old Man’s Creek, Long Creek, and Flint Creek Welsh communities are indicated by the high number of Welsh-born in the corresponding counties. Other counties also possess unusually high numbers of Welsh-born residents, unusual because no record remains of Welsh communities in those locations. The Welsh population in Poweshiek County can probably be attributed to temporary settlements of Mormon pioneers on their way west. Poweshiek County is located directly west of Iowa City in Johnson County, which was a staging point for many Mormon wagon trains and handcart companies, of which the Welsh were a large part. The Welsh in Henry County were most likely at least in part members of the Flint Creek Welsh community. Their numbers, too, could have been boosted by the Mormon trek west, as Henry County is not far north of what would become known as the Mormon Trail.

Figure 7 shows the distribution of Welsh-born residents of Iowa in 1885. By this time, the agriculture-based Welsh communities were all well-established and large numbers of Welsh were forming communities in the coal mining region. The only county showing a significant Welsh population that is not accounted for by known Welsh communities is the one in Pottawattamie County. That population, too, can probably be attributed to the Mormon



trip west. Pottawattamie County was a primary staging area for the longest leg of the journey, from the Missouri River to Salt Lake Valley, Utah. The Winter Quarters settlement was located just across the river in Nebraska, but many Mormons lived in Pottawattamie County before moving west. Many Mormons, evidently including Welsh members, remained in Iowa long after the main body of Saints had arrived in Utah, some in order to help latecomers and others because they simply chose not to continue.

Figures 8 and 9 further illustrate the shift in native Welsh population from the agriculture-oriented communities to the coal fields of Iowa. By 1900 immigration from Wales to such communities as Foreston/Lime Springs and Long Creek had all but ceased, leaving only those Welsh immigrants who had settled earlier to be enumerated in the census as being born in Wales. The counties with a thriving coal mining industry, however, increasingly attracted Welsh immigrants. Polk County's Welsh population grew with the coal industry, as did that of Mahaska County.

Figures 10 through 12 show how the Welsh population shifted with the coal mining industry. Whereas in 1900 Mahaska County included the most Welsh miners, in 1905 Monroe County boasted the largest Welsh population. Between 1905 and 1910 the Welsh population not only continued to decline in Mahaska County, but mirrored the shift in coal mining to Polk County and Jasper County. By 1915 the coal mining industry was peaking in Iowa, and the number of Welsh in the coal mining counties correspondingly began to drop in most places. Boone County, however, began to experience a resurgence in its coal mining industry and that is reflected in the renewed presence of Welsh in the county.

The general decline in Iowa's Welsh population is further illustrated in Figures 13

through 15. As Welsh immigrants in agriculture-oriented communities died, and as the coal mining industry itself declined, the Welsh population entered its final stage. During the 1920s, every county lost native Welsh in a trend that has never been reversed. Indeed, by 1930 the Peterson/Linn Grove Welsh community had its native Welsh population dwindle to almost nothing. The Welsh communities themselves followed patterns of growth and decline very similar to those of their Welsh-born residents.

A community can be defined in many different ways and take many different forms. Even those designated as “ethnic communities” vary widely according to such characteristics as their geographic boundaries, language usage, internal divisions, religious affiliation and kinship patterns. Jon Gjerde points to voluntary association as another important factor in deciding who is and is not a member of an ethnic community. Those who possessed the characteristics of an ethnic group but did not associate themselves with the group placed themselves outside the community. Likewise, those lacking certain markers, such as language ability or church membership, could consciously include themselves as part of an ethnic community by emphasizing other characteristics, such as kinship ties or geographic location. This study considers people to be part of the Welsh community if they were of Welsh descent (or the spouse of such a person), and attended a Welsh church or otherwise voluntarily affiliated themselves with the Welsh community. For ease of reference and comparison, all people who do not belong to a Welsh community are considered to be part of the non-Welsh community. While this categorization does oversimplify the ethnic character of many communities, it would be prohibitively unwieldy to consistently identify every subgroup within the larger non-Welsh grouping.

The Iowa Welsh communities were part of a larger, national Welsh community based on common language, national origin, religious beliefs, kinship, and location within the United States. As was shown in chapter two, by the time Welsh immigrants arrived in Iowa, they already possessed a distinct ethnic identity. Their ethnicity had been invented hundreds of years ago and subsequently maintained in the face of English domination. When Welsh immigrants settled in Iowa, they had already existed in the Acculturation stage of Barkan's assimilation model for centuries. The Iowa Welsh were also part of the statewide Welsh community, which differed from the nationwide community primarily in geographic boundaries and immigration patterns. Within Iowa, the Welsh communities fell into five still smaller categories, further differentiated by geographic location, timing and patterns of settlement, economic purpose, and size.

The first type of Iowa Welsh community, the bounded settlement, was characterized by defined geographic boundaries, agriculture-oriented economy, and its inclusion of only one settlement. A settlement is here considered to be a geographically identifiable grouping of farms and/or dwellings commonly referred to by a single name. The three Welsh bounded settlements in Iowa were Old Man's Creek community of Johnson County, Wales community of Montgomery County, and Elba community of Carroll County. Each of the three communities consisted of a single settlement and the members of each community lived in geographic proximity to one another, within a set of clearly definable boundaries. The Old Man's Creek Welsh all lived in southern Union Township and northern Sharon Township. Members of the Wales community all resided in Lincoln Township, and all the Elba Welsh lived within a few miles of each other in Eden Township. The majority of the Welsh in all

three communities engaged in agriculture, and those that did not themselves farm made their living by serving those that did. Appendix A contains brief profiles of each community, as well as maps indicating their geographic boundaries.

The second type of Welsh community in Iowa was the unbounded settlement. The unbounded settlement differed from the bounded settlement only in the vagueness of the geographic boundaries delineating the community. The Flint Creek community of Des Moines County and the Georgetown community of Monroe County both exemplify the Welsh unbounded settlement. While the members of the unbounded settlement all resided in generally the same area, they were scattered enough to make geographic identification difficult. Members of the Georgetown Welsh community were scattered throughout Guilford and Troy townships, with some even residing in the city of Albia. Though their post office addresses varied, they were all referred to as part of the Georgetown Welsh community. The Flint Creek Welsh community covered portions of four different townships in Des Moines County, with some members of the community living several miles away from their nearest Welsh neighbor. In spite of the unbounded settlement's loose geographic definition, however, the Welsh community was identifiable and referred to by a single name. Individual profiles of the Flint Creek and Georgetown Welsh communities are also included in Appendix A.

The third type of Iowa Welsh community was the grouped settlements community. Though this type of Welsh community was oriented toward agriculture, like the bounded settlement and unbounded settlement type, the grouped settlements type of Welsh community not only lacked a defined geographic boundary, but actually consisted of two or more separate Welsh settlements. Four Welsh communities fit the grouped settlements criteria: Long Creek

in Louisa County, Williamsburg in Iowa County, Foreston/Lime Springs in Howard County, and Peterson/Linn Grove in Clay County and Buena Vista County. The Long Creek Welsh community consisted of Welsh settlements at Cotter and in Columbus Junction, as well as various Welsh farms in the surrounding areas. The Williamsburg Welsh community initially consisted of two separate Welsh settlements, the first based in and around Williamsburg itself, and the second, Welsh Prairie, located to the northeast in Iowa Township. Each settlement supported its own churches and considered itself to be distinct from the other. Eventually, however, members of the Welsh Prairie settlement either moved into Williamsburg or moved away altogether. The fourth grouped settlements community was the Peterson/Linn Grove Welsh community. Not only did this Welsh community straddle a county line, but it incorporated three distinct settlements, as well as numerous outlying farms. Churches were established in Linn Grove, Buena Vista County, and across the county line in southern Douglas Township. Members of the Welsh community, however, lived as far west as Peterson, on the banks of Willow Creek, throughout the entirety of Douglas Township, and even as far west as Poland Township in Buena Vista County. Individual profiles and maps of these four communities, too, are included in Appendix A.

The fourth type of Welsh community in Iowa was the coal camp. The coal camp Welsh community consisted of one or more small mining camps or towns whose existence was solely based on the coal mining industry. The coal camp Welsh community seldom lasted more than a decade or two, growing and declining in direct proportion to the local coal industry. Nine Welsh communities were of the coal camp type: Evans, Muchakinock, Carbonado, and Excelsior in Mahaska County; Cleveland in Lucas County; Angus in Boone

County; Hiteman in Monroe County; Keb in Wapello County; and Mystic in Appanoose County. Each of these Welsh communities existed only during the local mines' boom period, and disappeared soon after the mines closed. The Angus Welsh community, for example, was large enough to establish a Welsh church, but the community itself followed the city of Angus' fate and lasted less than ten years. The Welsh coal communities will be discussed in further detail in chapter six, but Appendix B also includes individual profiles of each of the coal camp communities.

The fifth, and final, type of Iowa Welsh community was the mining center. Although the mining center Welsh community owed most of its existence to the coal mining industry, it also included Welsh professionals, tradesmen, and farmers in the immediate area. The Welsh mining center communities were also located near or within an established town or city. Eight Welsh communities were of the mining center type: Kirkville in Wapello County; Givin and Beacon in Mahaska County; Lucas in Lucas County; What Cheer in Keokuk County; Albia in Monroe County; and Sevastopol in Polk County. Since the mining type community included miners, tradesmen, professionals, and farmers, the geographic and even economic boundaries are difficult to fix. These Welsh communities, more than any other type, seemed to heavily rely on voluntary affiliation. Welsh in smaller towns, such as Givin, usually associated through the local Welsh church, and found themselves increasingly interconnected by kinship ties. The Welsh in larger cities, however, attended both Welsh and non-Welsh churches and belonged to different economic and social circles. In that case, the Welsh community would primarily include those who went out of their way to participate in Welsh cultural events, such as the *eisteddfod*. Albia was just such a community. Each of the mining center Welsh

communities is described in more detail in Appendix B.

Although Iowa Welsh communities varied by type, they shared in a general pattern of immigration and settlement. Old Man's Creek was the first Welsh community in Iowa, but it was the last in a series of migration stages for those Welsh immigrants who first settled there. Like so many of Iowa's early immigrants, the Welsh of Old Man's Creek had first settled in the eastern United States, and arrived in Iowa only after a series of relocations, moving further west each time. In the case of the Oliver Thomas and Edward Williams families, the journey began in Llanbrynmair, Wales, paused in the Welsh Tract outside Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, then carried them to Ebensburg, Cambria County in the Allegheny Mountains of western Pennsylvania, and finally in 1839 across the prairies to Johnson County, Iowa.<sup>3</sup>

Those that followed the first Welsh immigrants often did so in stages, as well. For example, David R. Lewis took the first steps in his immigration when he moved with his parents from Wales to Delaware County, Ohio, in 1832. David later moved to Marion, Ohio, and apprenticed as a carpenter, then spent a few years in the mines of California. He returned to Ohio in 1853, where he met and married his wife. Still looking for economic stability, in 1855, David R. Lewis and his wife immigrated to Johnson County, Iowa, and in 1856 they finally settled in Union Township. Another Welsh couple, Thomas T. and Mary Evans, immigrated from Wales in 1833, stopped first in Ruscanee, New York, then Portage County, Ohio, and finally settled on 160 acres in Des Moines County, Iowa, in 1845.<sup>4</sup>

A popular destination for immigrants, Wisconsin not only attracted large numbers of Welsh immigrants, but contributed its share to other states, including Iowa. The Linn Grove/Peterson Welsh community on the Clay County/Buena Vista County border, was

founded by Welsh from Oshkosh, Wisconsin. In 1867, Thomas and David Evans moved their families from Oshkosh to Douglas Township, Clay County. They were soon followed by other Welsh from Oshkosh looking for available land. Some Welsh came to Iowa from other locations via Wisconsin. Reverend Evan J. Evans immigrated from Wales to New York as an adult, then moved to Racine, Wisconsin, where he was ordained a minister and married his wife. In 1858, Reverend Evans moved south to Williamsburg, Iowa County, Iowa, and built that community's first Welsh church. And in 1880, fully two hundred of the almost eight hundred members of the Howard County Welsh community had been born in Wisconsin.<sup>5</sup>

Chain migration played a vital role in the development of the Iowa Welsh communities. Pioneers in western territories communicated with others in the East and back in Wales, inviting them to join them in prosperity. The Old Man's Creek community succeeded because the Thomas and Williams families were soon joined by the families of Henry Clement, William Evans, and Joseph Hughes, all of whom also came from Ebensburg, Pennsylvania.

The Williamsburg Welsh community was founded on kinship ties, which are an important factor in chain migration, and strongly contribute to clustering patterns. The first Welsh to settle in Iowa County were all related: Evan D. Evans, his brother William Evans, and their brother-in-law Richard Pugh. The three families settled in Section 15 of Troy Township in 1844, weathering the winter together in a single hut. In 1846, David and Jane Evans, parents of the three Evans siblings, settled in Troy Township, but died soon after. They were followed in 1849, by John Watkins and his family, Watkins being Evan D. Evans' brother-in-law.<sup>6</sup>



Family connections were also responsible for the Linn Grove/Peterson Welsh settlement. The first few Welsh families to follow the Evans brothers to Douglass Township in Clay County were related to them by marriage. Thomas and David Evans had married sisters Martha and Sarah Lewis. When the two families moved to Iowa in 1867, the sisters' brother Lewis Lewis traveled with them as well. After establishing his homestead, in 1869, Lewis Lewis returned to Oshkosh and married Kate Ann Jones and brought her back to live in Iowa. News of the tiny Clay County Welsh settlement brought more Welsh from Wisconsin, including John Evans (unrelated to Thomas and David Evans) and Thomas Bevans in 1868. From this small beginning grew a prosperous community.<sup>7</sup>

The founding of the Foreston/Lime Springs Welsh community in Howard County is yet another example of the important role kinship and chain migration played in the growth of Iowa Welsh communities. Richard "Iowa Dick" W. Jones was the first Welshman to arrive in northern Howard County, coming in 1856. In 1858, he and his wife returned to Dodgeville, Wisconsin, and convinced the Thomas Evans family to return with them to Foreston, where Jones promised the Evans eighty acres of land. Then in 1860, "Iowa Dick" Jones visited the land office in Chatfield, Minnesota (the closest one to Foreston) and by chance met four Welshmen looking for land; in fact, the wives of two of the men were cousins of Dick's wife. Acting on Dick Jones' effusive praise of his home, the four families promptly turned their wagons toward that promising corner of the world, adding the names of Richard W. Thomas, John J. Jones, John R. "Curly Jack" Williams, and O. D. Owens to the list of local Welsh.<sup>8</sup>

Still more Welsh made their way from Wisconsin to the Foreston-Lime Springs area in 1861. David J. Davies and his brother, William P. Davies, brought their families in covered

wagons and crossed the Mississippi at Prairie Du Chien, Wisconsin. From there they made their way west to the Little Cedar River near Osage, Iowa, where they heard about the town of Lime Springs. Knowing of John J. Jones (who was brother-in-law to G. G. Roberts, a friend of the Davies in Wisconsin), and hearing that he had settled in Lime Springs, the Davies brothers were intrigued enough to make their way to the Lime Springs area. They came to the Thomas Evans farm and were there convinced that the quality of the land was good, and so decided to settle there. David J. Davies had prayed that morning for guidance in finding a place to settle, and seemingly found that guidance, for upon his return to camp, he reported to his wife "Wel dyma ni wedi gweld tir y addewid" (we have seen the promised land).<sup>9</sup>

Family relationships again came into play in 1862 when John D. Williams and William Lewis visited the Foreston/Lime Springs settlement. John D. Williams was David J. Davies' brother-in-law, and William Lewis was John D. Williams' neighbor in Wisconsin. While visiting, John D. Williams purchased several parcels of land, and William Lewis bought another eighty acres in Bristol, on the Minnesota border. The first Sunday of their visit they attended church with the English-speaking Presbyterians in Lime Springs. The next Sunday, however, John D. Williams preached at the John J. Jones home. Then in 1864, John J. Jones' sister and her husband, O. R. Jones, brought their family to live in Foreston. O. R. Jones had been called to be minister for the English of Foreston and the Welsh of the Bristol Grove area.<sup>10</sup>

Lending further credence to the observation that Iowa Welsh communities were the products of an informal communication network based on acquaintanceship and kinship is the tendency for Welsh settlers to congregate in communities comprised primarily of immigrants

from a particular region in Wales. Keeping in mind that most Welsh arrived in Iowa only after stopping over in another state, region-specific communities did emerge. According to R. D. Thomas's report in *Hanes Cymry America*, one-third of the Welsh families living in the Flint Creek Welsh community in Des Moines County, Iowa, in 1870 were originally from Anglesey, North Wales. The Long Creek, Louisa County and Williamsburg, Iowa County communities had large contingents from Montgomeryshire and Merionethshire, North Wales, although many residents immigrated from other parts of Wales, as well.<sup>11</sup>

Once Welsh immigrants decided to join their kin and acquaintances in a certain settlement, they had to choose their land in such a way as to achieve the goals that brought them to Iowa in the first place. One method of settlement was demonstrated by the Dutch of Sioux County in northwestern Iowa. The Dutch were careful to place their homesteads so that enough unoccupied land was available nearby to settle kin, friends, and grown children. This plan ensured that new immigrants and future generations would be able to settle within the community. In the same vein, the Dutch colonists were able to virtually ensure that their neighbors would be members of the same ethnic group, regional subgroup, and even family. Their strategy was designed to not only economically prosper, but very consciously to maintain their ethnic identity.<sup>12</sup>

In contrast, Welsh settlers in Iowa did not consciously plan their communities. For one thing, their settlements were not efforts at colonization. Without exception, Iowa Welsh settlements grew as the result of individual decisions converging in one geographic space. Instead of members of an existing community deciding to pick up and transplant themselves *in toto*, the Welsh came as individual families, if sometimes following on one another's heels. In

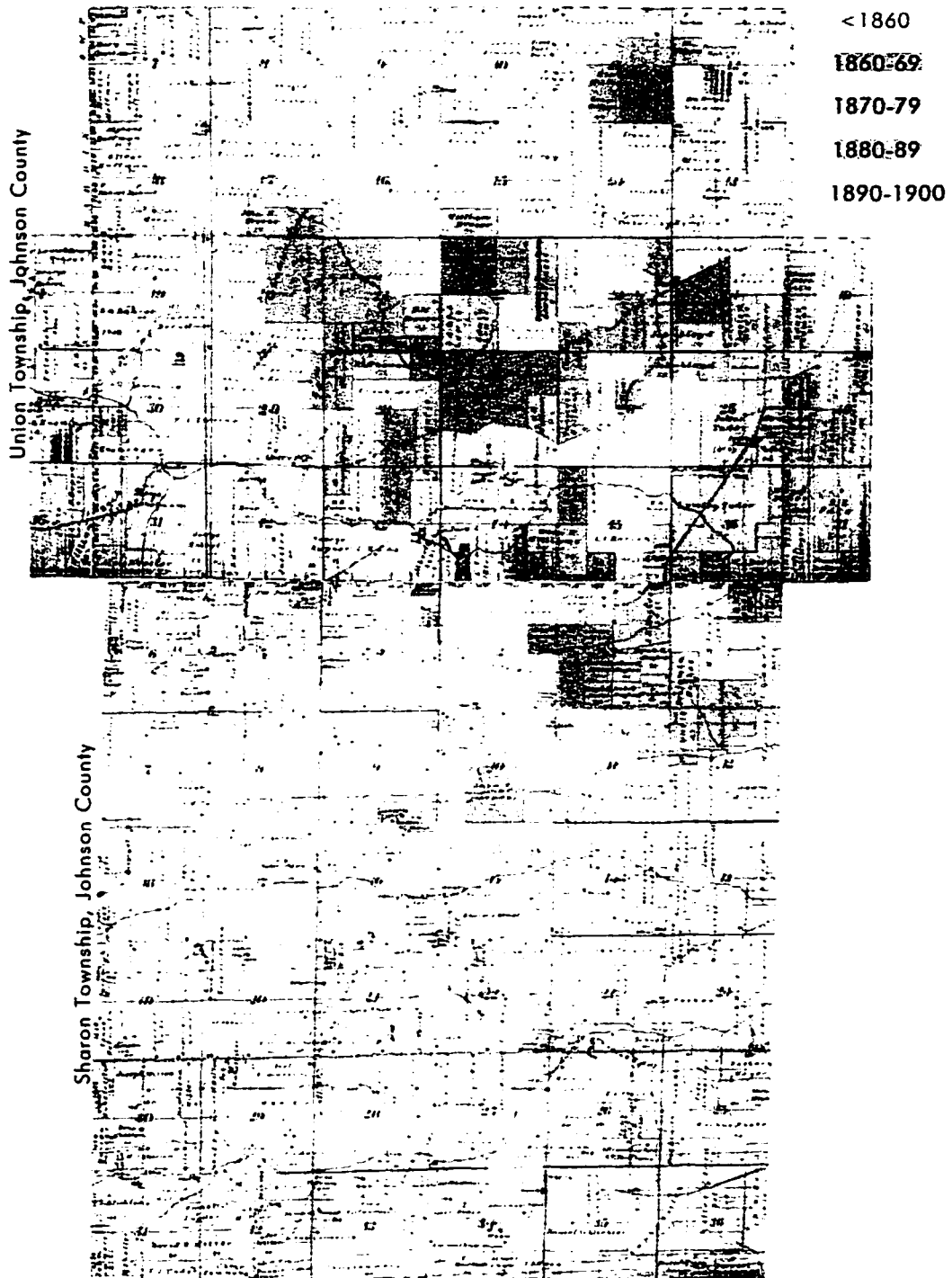
addition, since few Welsh immigrants were the first to arrive in an area, they did not have the opportunity to carve out a discrete space for their community. The Welsh claimed or purchased land as it was available, with an eye first to quality and second to neighborhood.

The Welsh who settled on Old Man's Creek in Johnson County first chose their land for its soil and proximity to the creek, and then to be near their fellow Welshmen, when possible. The first few Welsh to arrive purchased land along Old Man's Creek in southern Union Township and northern Sharon Township. As other Welsh joined the settled families, they purchased land upstream from their fellow countrymen, and along the branches splitting off from Old Man's Creek toward the northwest. By 1860, Welsh settlers were spread out in a general northwest scattering that originated near the Tudor farm in southeast Union Township, with occasional outlying farmsteads to the southwest. While many Welsh farms did border on one another, non-Welsh farms were also interspersed throughout the neighborhood. Those Welsh that arrived during the 1860s, the 1870s, and after had to decide whether to move outwards from the Welsh settlement or try and find land within the established neighborhood. A goodly number of the newcomers were able to acquire land next to older Welsh farms, but others located on the outskirts of the settlement. As Figure 16 shows, the geographic boundaries of the Old Man's Creek Welsh community changed only slightly between 1870 and 1900.

Although the original members of the Old Man's Creek Welsh community did not purchase large tracts of land for use by Welsh immigrants, later settlers were nonetheless able to acquire land in the neighborhood. As noted previously, nineteenth-century immigrants often moved west in stages. Many early Iowa settlers moved on to new homes further west,

# Old Man's Creek Welsh Community, 1900

Colors indicate date land acquired by current owner



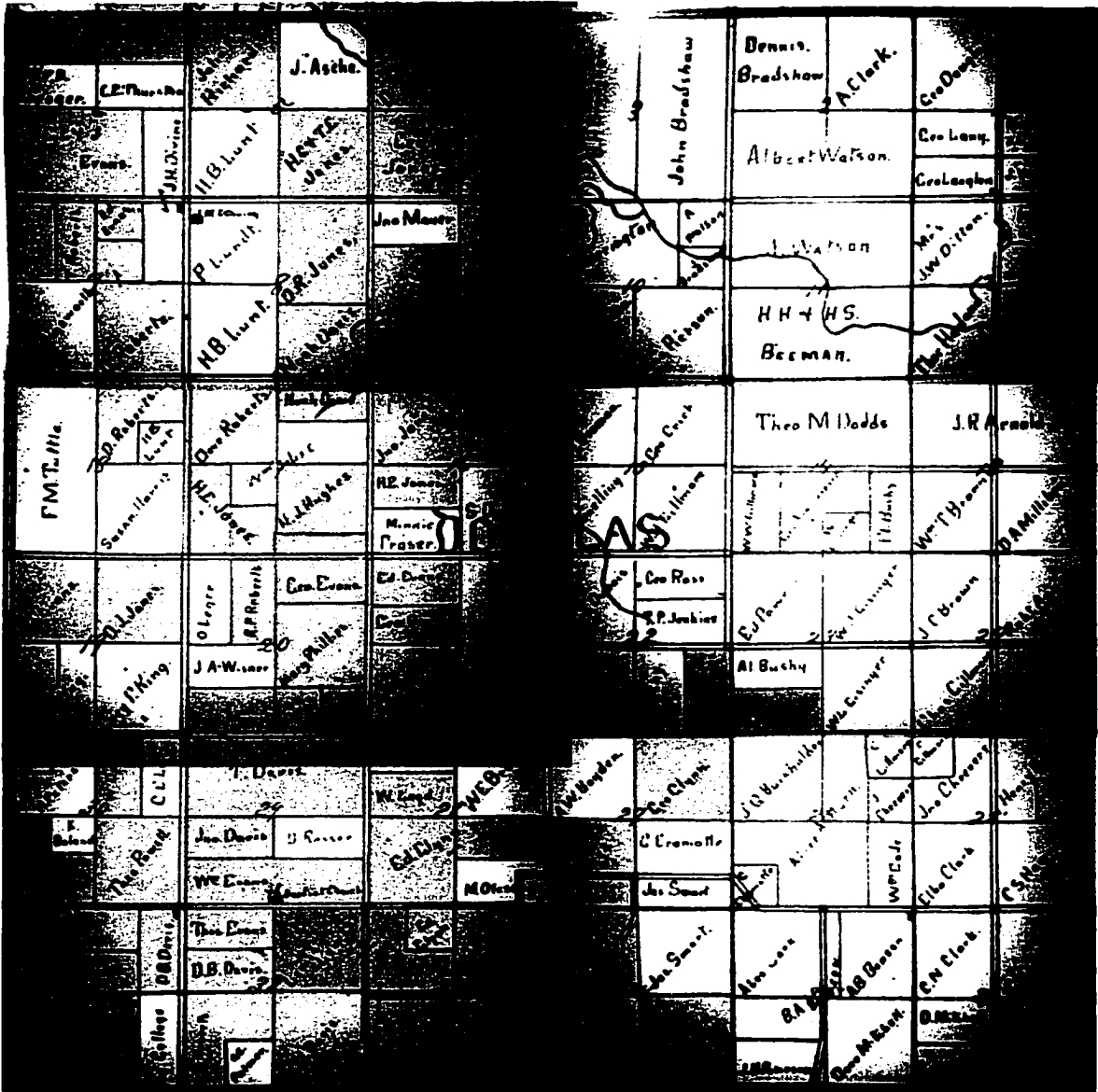
**Figure 16.** Old Man's Creek Welsh Community, 1900.

whether in western Iowa or beyond. Some of the early Welsh at Old Man's Creek moved on to other Welsh settlements in Iowa, leaving land available for purchase. Likewise, many non-Welsh settlers moved on, providing later Welsh immigrants with the opportunity to purchase land near the early Welsh settlers, thereby consolidating the Welsh neighborhood. In fact, only twenty-nine percent (sixteen out of fifty-six) of the non-Welsh heads family that resided in Union Township in 1860 were still there in 1870. In contrast, sixty-six percent (twelve out of eighteen) of Welsh heads of family persisted from 1860 to 1870. In that same ten-year period, the number of non-Welsh heads of family increased only fifty-seven percent (from fifty-six to eighty-eight) as opposed to the number of Welsh heads of family, which increased by one hundred and forty percent (from eighteen to forty-three).<sup>13</sup>

The Welsh community in Douglas Township, Clay County, reflected similar patterns of settlement. Although Welsh immigrants were among the first settlers in the township, they did not set out a rational plan for a Welsh dominated settlement. Instead, Welsh families chose their land on the basis of quality, availability, and personal relationships. Lewis Lewis marked out the first Welsh homestead in 1867, choosing land on the southern border of the township, north of the Little Sioux River. The Welsh that immigrated to Douglas Township in the following thirteen years did not gather around Lewis's farmstead. Rather, they acquired land throughout the west half of the township. Those Welsh that came after 1880 filled in between the earlier settlers until by 1900 almost half of Douglas Township was owned by members of the Welsh community. (See Figure 17.)

Daughter settlements also played an important part in the establishment and growth of Welsh communities in Iowa. Just as the Welsh Tract outside Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

## Welsh Land Ownership, 1889 Douglas Township, Clay County



Colors indicate date land acquired by current owner

1860-69

1870-79

1880-89

**Figure 17.** Welsh Land Ownership, 1889: Douglas Township, Clay County.

spawned daughter settlements in western Pennsylvania, and those communities in turn gave birth to new settlements in Ohio and beyond, Iowa Welsh communities were both born of, and gave birth to, daughter settlements of their own.

As has been alluded to, the Douglas Township, Clay County Welsh community owed its existence to the Welsh community of Oshkosh, Wisconsin. After the Civil War ended, grown sons returned to their families in Wisconsin and looked to establish homes of their own. As these men were just starting out, they sought available land at reasonable prices. To that end, the Evans brothers took their young families to northwest Iowa, where they had heard good land was available. Upon successfully settling in Iowa, the Evans brothers and their brother-in-law Lewis Lewis, communicated with the Welsh back in Oshkosh. The Oshkosh Welsh community was in its maturity, having been established more than a generation earlier, and could therefore supply the fledgling Clay County settlement with Welsh families seeking a new place to settle. In this way, the Oshkosh Welsh community gave birth to a daughter settlement in northwest Iowa.

Once Welsh communities were fully established in Iowa, they too began to parent new communities further west. A well-documented example is that of Wales, Lincoln Township, Montgomery County. The primary newspaper serving the Welsh community in Lincoln Township, Montgomery County, Iowa was *The Sun*, published in Red Oak. The column publishing news of and for Lincoln Township regularly carried items referring to Wayne County, Nebraska. In 1891, the news items indicate that members of the Lincoln Township Welsh community had already moved to Wayne County, Nebraska, and through their visits and reports back to Iowa, other Welsh families from Lincoln Township were joining them.



“Hugh Jones from Wayne, Neb., returned home this week, making the trip with a team.”<sup>14</sup>  
“Mr. and Mrs. Owen Price will move to Wayne, Neb., in the spring.”<sup>15</sup> “Everett Roberts, of Wayne, Neb., is visiting friends in the neighborhood.”<sup>16</sup> “Miss Lizzie Williams has returned home to Wayne, Neb.”<sup>17</sup> “Mrs. Richard Edwards and children left on Monday for Wayne county, Neb., where they will make their home.”<sup>18</sup>

Those that left Lincoln Township moved to where they knew land was available, knowledge they had gleaned from the Welsh communication network. Their decisions were primarily meant to put them in a place where they could enjoy economic success, and only secondarily where other Welsh were living. In this way, as a result of established communication networks, Welsh immigrants often clustered together in new settlements, even as they retained economic advancement as their primary motive in choosing where to live. Though the former Welsh residents of Montgomery County had not set out to form a daughter settlement born of their home in Lincoln Township, that was indeed the end result of their community-influenced individual decisions.

Once a new Welsh settlement took root, the residents were faced with the need for suitable institutions to fulfill their educational, economic, governmental, and religious needs. The county and state provided the required government, economic, and educational structure, and the Welsh seemed perfectly willing to support those institutions instead of forging their own. Welsh men sat in local office and served on the school boards. Robert Davis of the Old Man’s Creek Welsh settlement served as a trustee of Union Township and as School Director. Thomas D. Davis (no relation) variously served as Justice of the Peace, Township Treasurer and Township Assessor. In 1908, H. E. Jones of the Linn Grove/Peterson Welsh community

was elected a county supervisor. A. T. Jones, of Clay County, not only served on the local school board and as a delegate to Republican county conventions, but served as mayor of Everly for two years. With the Iowa Welsh community's wholesale adoption of public institutions, they collectively moved into and through the Adaption stage of Barkan's model for ethnic assimilation.<sup>19</sup>

The Welsh supported the local public schools, as well. While providing pupils, teachers, and sometimes property, for the local school, the Welsh did not seem to want anything but the standard public schooling offered by Iowa communities. Even if the teacher and pupils were all Welsh by accident of geography, school lessons were conducted in English. More common were schools where children of all backgrounds attended and lessons were taught in their common language, English. Those children whose parents spoke only Welsh at home often had to scramble to learn English in order to function at school. Mary Ann Elgan Edwards related that in her husband's case, "Welsh was the only language spoken in the home. Elgan started to school at [age] seven and had to return home to learn the English language." Bill Edwards recalled some of the challenges he and the other Welsh children of the Long Creek community faced at school: "We couldn't converse with the other kids very well. We couldn't understand what they meant. The teacher was really confused. She didn't know what we was saying. We didn't know what to do until we finally learned the English language. They were pretty good. They kinda showed us what we were supposed to do by manually getting a piece of paper or chalk. They'd hand the stuff to us, and that way we knew what [to do]." Such was the Welsh attitude toward education that, rather than establish a Welsh-language grammar school, some families would themselves change their

speech patterns. Rosella Williams Crawford's parents made just such an adjustment: "When my sister started to school, she couldn't understand English. So then [our parents] made up their mind, right then, that it was time for them to quit talking Welsh and go to talking English when we were around."<sup>20</sup>

Welsh participation in the economy was also an indication that they were comfortable with the established institutions. As was common in rural Iowa, most Welsh settlers farmed for a living. Though they had been hardscrabble farmers amidst the hills and valleys of Wales, with little mechanization and even less prosperity, the Welsh took quickly to the most modern farming methods in Iowa. David A. Jones was an early member of the Williamsburg Welsh community and, over the course of his adult life, successfully engaged in agriculture. He owned and operated a farm outside Williamsburg, growing cereal crops and raising shorthorn cattle and hogs. Morris Williams, of the same community, worked as a store clerk before joining his father in farming. To supplement his farm income, Williams ran a threshing machine, hiring out over twenty-three harvest seasons. From all indications, Welsh farming practices did not differ from those of their non-Welsh neighbors. And they took to other occupations just as well. The *1907 Directory of Montgomery County* lists Welsh men as clerks, carpenters, teamsters, laborers, engineers, marble cutters, sheriffs, and even some at the pinnacle of the employment ladder—retired. Nor were the Welsh women idle. Just as wage-earning opportunities were limited for rural non-Welsh women, some Welsh women had to support themselves or supplement their spouses' wages by taking in sewing, working as a maid, and even doing farm work. Gayle Edwards Rotter recalled that her grandmother worked at least as hard as her grandfather, and eventually even purchased land of her own:

“[Grandmother Owens] worked out. Lots of times she would take these two little children and walk clear to Cotter, four miles away, leading one, carrying the other, work all day, washing, cleaning house or something, get some money, and then walk the four miles back to the little house. But she was able to buy a little acreage and a little house and live there.”<sup>21</sup>

Institutions of religion were left to the discretion of the people, unaffected by the state. In some cases the Welsh arrived to find churches already established, while in other cases the Welsh came early enough to the region that they found no religious institutions at all. In any case, Welsh families were left to evaluate their own needs for established religion and to take the appropriate actions. The majority of Iowa Welsh decided to organize Welsh churches. In this way the Iowa Welsh continued to negotiate their ethnic identity.

The Welsh church fulfilled not only the spiritual needs of Welsh settlers, but provided them with an institution in which they could invest and preserve their culture and ethnic identity. By organizing Welsh churches, they built a public space in which they could use the Welsh language. They also ensured they could worship according to their own habits. Welsh religious beliefs did not call for separatism, as did the strict Dutch Calvinism, or especially strict lifestyles like the Amish. Indeed, as explained in chapter one, there was no uniform Welsh religion. What the Iowa Welsh did hold in common, however, was their preference, and initial need, for worshipping in the Welsh language.

Almost all of the rural Welsh communities in Iowa organized at least one Welsh church within ten years of the first Welsh settler's arrival. The first Welsh community in Iowa to organize a church was the Long Creek, Louisa County community. The first Welsh to settle on Long Creek were William Lewis and Evan Thomas, who came in 1843, but were

soon followed by John Griffiths and William and David Tudor. In 1845 Reverend David Knowles and his wife joined the small community of Welsh in Louisa County, and that same September gave the first Welsh-language sermon in the county. With a minister in their midst, the Long Creek Welsh were inspired to officially organize, and on January 15, 1846, the Welsh Zion Congregational Church of Long Creek was born.<sup>22</sup>

Less than one week after the Long Creek Welsh organized their church, the Old Man's Creek Welsh organized the First Welsh Congregational Church on Old Man's Creek, also under the direction of Reverend David Knowles. This church not only served the Welsh at Old Man's Creek, but also the Welsh located in Iowa County at Williamsburg. Not until 1856 did the Williamsburg Welsh organize their own church, the Welsh Congregational Church of Williamsburg, under the direction of the visiting Reverend Jonathan Thomas. With no permanent minister, the early meetings consisted primarily of Sunday School and prayer meetings held in members' homes.<sup>23</sup>

Few Iowa Welsh communities found that a single Welsh church completely satisfied their needs. The Welsh Zion Congregational Church of Long Creek served the entire community for its first nine years of existence, but in 1855, thirty members of the Zion Church broke off and organized an English Congregational Church. For a number of years the English church used the same pastor as the Welsh church, and even met in the same building, but maintained a separate identity. The breaking off of an English church from a Welsh was highly unusual, but the next offshoot was typical of Iowa Welsh communities. In 1859, another group left the Welsh Zion Congregational Church and organized a church more suited to their beliefs, the Salem Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church. Nor did even three churches

fully serve the needs of the growing Long Creek Welsh community, which by 1870, contained nearly three hundred people. In 1877, Reverend Owen Owens delivered a sermon in the Yankeetown schoolhouse north of Long Creek. From that meeting was born a Welsh Sabbath School, which, in 1879, became a branch of the Salem Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church. The congregation continued to meet in the schoolhouse until 1884, when they organized into the Bethel Welsh [Calvinistic Methodist] Church of Cotter and built their own chapel.<sup>24</sup>

The early Welsh of Howard County initially made do without church services, or by attending the English Congregational Church in Foreston. Wishing to be able to study the scriptures in Welsh, Richard Thomas organized a Sunday School in 1860 or 1861. The Welsh of the Foreston area (including Bristol, Minnesota) were occasionally visited by itinerant ministers, such as Reverend John D. Williams, who visited in 1862, and preached the first Welsh sermon in the area. The Welsh organized the Foreston Calvinistic Methodist Church in April, 1867, with Reverend Daniel T. Rowlands, recently of Dakota Territory, overseeing the congregation of thirty-five members. The settlement also supported a thriving Sunday School, with fifty students and six teachers. In the course of one year (1867), the students collectively recited 14,532 verses of scripture. By the 1872 publication of Reverend R. D. Thomas's *Hanes Cymry America*, the Foreston Sunday School membership had risen to 99. The church was served by various preachers on a circuit system, with services being held in homes or schools in each Welsh settlement. By 1874, the congregation had grown enough to support the construction of a church building, at the time reportedly one of the largest rural Welsh churches in the United States, with construction costs amounting to some \$3,000. In 1893, the membership of the Foreston Calvinistic Methodist Church stood at an impressive 157.<sup>25</sup>

The status of the Welsh language in a community, and even the community's stage of assimilation, was reflected in the local Welsh church. Most of the Welsh churches in Iowa were organized specifically to provide the Welsh speaking population with a familiar atmosphere for worship, both in terms of language and religious beliefs. Over the years, however, the composition of the Welsh settlements changed, and with it the importance of the Welsh language. Many Welsh communities experienced the change in terms of conflict over the use of English in church services. Sometimes, but not always, the congregations split along generational lines, as younger members either did not know Welsh or preferred English. Some Welsh churches made the transition to English earlier and quicker than others, but by the 1930s, the Iowa Welsh churches had almost completely abandoned Welsh services altogether. At this point, the Iowa Welsh community was in the later years of the Integration stage of assimilation.

One of the earliest Welsh churches in Iowa to consider the issue of English-language services was the Welsh Congregational Church at Old Man's Creek. In December 12, 1871, a committee was appointed to consider the question of introducing English-language sermons: *"Ar ol ir Pwyllgor ymgynghori ar wehanol fynd chynllinias mewn perthynas is trwbwyl Sic in yr Eglwys, penderfynwid trwi H. Edwards gwneud cynig fod i benderfyniadau blainonol yr Eglwys is Sefyll, Sef fod One fourths (1/4) or weinidogaith i fod yn yr iaith Saisneg..."*—roughly, "A committee was appointed to consult on various plans in relation to lessen trouble in the church over the resolution made by H. Edwards, to make a proposal concerning the resolutions before the Church, namely that one fourth (1/4) of the ministry be in the English language...". Evidently, H. Edwards had proposed to introduce English-language sermons

and the proposal had caused quite a stir in the congregation. In order to ease tensions and resolve the question, the matter was put to a general vote. Of the forty-seven members who voted, thirty-four voted in favor of introducing English sermons once every month, while thirteen voted against the resolution. The vote did not split along strict generational lines, as one woman twenty-seven years of age and born in Pennsylvania voted against English, while two men over age seventy and born in Wales voted in favor of English sermons. The resolution passed, and Reverend Cadwallader Jones began to offer one out of every four sermons in English. English songs were also added to the Sunday School singing, and English Sunday School classes were organized for those that did not know Welsh. When Reverend D. E. Evans was called to serve as the church's new pastor in 1883, his contract required that he deliver one sermon out of every four in English.<sup>26</sup>

Seventeen years after English services were introduced at the Welsh Congregational Church at Old Man's Creek, the English v. Welsh question arose once again. Minutes of the board meeting (this time recorded in English) held March 3, 1889, indicate that Edward Tudor proposed that one-half of the preaching be in English. The board took an immediate vote and with thirty-two votes for and thirteen against, the motion carried. The board must not have been fully confident in the first vote, for the congregation voted on the issue twice more in the following months and many members abstained altogether. Nevertheless, in 1889, the church made the transition to holding Sunday morning services in Welsh and Sunday afternoon services in English.<sup>27</sup>

Though the transition to English was made, and the Welsh Congregational Church at Old Man's Creek did not dissolve, the transition was not an easy one. Margaret Jones was a



member of the Old Man's Creek church and related the troubles to her fiancé David O.

Thomas: "We are having quite a time at our church at present trying to select a minister and the chief trouble is with Welsh and English language. It is a very difficult thing to settle.

They are to have half of each and now the Welsh [insist] that they will not help to support a minister if such as half of the ministry is to be English. But the majority are in favor of it so I don't know it will be. I hope you will keep that enemy out of your church for no church can prosper and enjoy peace while those two foes are in."<sup>28</sup> In fact, the previous year David O.

Thomas's church in Trenton, Nebraska, confronted the same problem: "Our meetings has got to be regular "Dick Shon Dafydd" now. The sermon is to be half English and the other half Welsh. I dislike it very much, but we must submit to the majority."<sup>29</sup> In spite of their clear preference for Welsh sermons, neither Margaret or David felt completely comfortable using the Welsh language. Margaret asked David to help her improve her Welsh language skills—"Do you ever write Welsh and if you do, let us write a Welsh letter some time. I am so anxious to learn, and I know you will look over my mistakes better than any other correspondent."—but David felt just as insecure: "I would like were I able to write you a Welsh letter, but I fear if I were to attempt it that it would be a miserable failure."<sup>30</sup>

The Welsh Congregational Church at Old Man's Creek was well into the transition to English by the 1890s, but the Lime Springs Welsh held off quite a bit longer. Founded in 1867, the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church of Lime Springs endured a number of transitions during its existence. Not only did it meet for thirty years in borrowed facilities, but because of an untimely fire they had to build their own chapel twice. An even more dramatic change came after World War I when all the Calvinistic Methodist churches in the United

States united with the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America. The Calvinistic Methodist Church's core doctrines were identical to the Presbyterians', and as English became more common in Welsh communities around the country, there seemed little reason to remain separate. Thus, sometime between 1919 and 1922, the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church of Lime Springs changed its name to the Welsh Presbyterian Church of Lime Springs. Then in 1923, the Welsh Presbyterian Church united with the English Presbyterian Church of Lime Springs, and by 1929, the transition was complete enough that the two congregations began meeting in a single building. Up until this point, the Welsh church had only introduced a single Sunday School class in English, continuing to offer only Welsh-language sermons. Not until the mid-1920s was one English-language sermon offered per month. In the early 1930s, the frequency of English sermons increased to twice a month. In 1933, the Bristol Church closed, leaving the Lime Springs Welsh Presbyterian Church as the only Welsh language church in the area. Welsh continued to be used in half the sermons until 1940, when a non-Welsh minister was hired, and the changeover to English was completed. Sometime between 1945 and 1949, the name of the church was changed to Westminster Presbyterian Church, the final transition away from the church's Welsh roots.<sup>31</sup>

Offering Welsh sermons was not the only way in which Welsh churches expressed and preserved cultural identity. The churches' Sunday Schools not only provided a foundation for later congregations and supplementary religious instruction, but also taught the Welsh language to Welsh children born in America. Though less formal and rigorous, and certainly less time consuming, than the Danes' folk schools, the Welsh Sunday Schools seemed effective and persisted for years. Emma Weeber recalled in 1938 that as a child she attended a

small Sunday School class held by Mrs. John E. Roberts at the Old Man's Creek church. Mrs. Roberts taught the children their Welsh letters and had them recite Bible verses in Welsh.<sup>32</sup>

In the Long Creek Welsh community the churches varied in their approach to the Welsh language, affording families differing experiences in spite of living in the same community. Gayle Edwards Rotter recalled her own experiences with the Welsh churches when she was a child: "Now my mother and father went to Zion Congregational Church. But when my sister was four and I was five years old, they quit preaching Welsh, and they quit the Welsh Sunday School classes. My folks wanted us to learn to read and speak Welsh, so they sent us over to the Salem Church. We were three-fourths of a mile from the Zion Church, one and a half miles from the Salem Church."<sup>33</sup> She noted that Salem Church held Welsh services until 1942, and Welsh Sunday School classes past 1959.<sup>34</sup> A number of older members of the Long Creek community recalled that as children they were required each Sunday to learn and recite Bible verses in Welsh. In this way America-born children were taught the Welsh religion and language of their parents.<sup>35</sup>

Inevitably, Welsh use declined at home and the Welsh churches had to follow. Donald Davis explained that "the kids that couldn't understand the Welsh sermon would get sort of annoyed. It'd get pretty tiresome." Several older members also mentioned intermarriage with non-Welsh as a reason for turning to English services. The non-Welsh spouses did not enjoy listening to sermons they couldn't understand, and rather than lose those members, the churches introduced more English. Yet the churches had to balance the needs of the new English speakers with those of the older Welsh speakers. Donald Davis's mother, though of Welsh descent, did not attend the Welsh sermons on Sunday mornings. His maternal

grandmother, however, lived with the family for a time and would attend the Welsh-language services with his father and himself.<sup>36</sup>

The presence of older Welsh-speaking people in some communities was no doubt a factor in maintaining use of the Welsh language well into the twentieth century. The fount of Welsh-language ability was also replenished by new immigrants from Wales, thereby extending the language's life past when it otherwise would have died out in Iowa. Even the Old Man's Creek Welsh community saw the arrival of new immigrants as late as 1888. Margaret Jones reported the arrival of a young laborer in her December 22, 1889 letter to David O. Thomas: "And today one of the boys had a straw-hat at church. He has come from Wales last spring and hardly knows what to wear I presume." The 1930 Federal Census of Iowa reported that Johnson County still contained twenty-two people born in Wales, Louisa County contained thirty-nine, Montgomery County contained thirty, Iowa County contained fifty-four, and Howard County still contained forty-eight residents who had been born in Wales.<sup>37</sup>

One of the more visible expressions of Welsh culture in both Wales and the United States was the Welsh church-sponsored *gymanfa ganu*. The *gymanfa ganu* festivals in Iowa began early in the history of Welsh settlements, and developed concurrently with the trend in Wales. In 1858, the churches of Old Man's Creek, Williamsburg, Long Creek and Flint Creek resolved to hold a yearly meeting for spiritual renewal and fellowship through sermons and singing. The *gymanfa ganu* would sometimes last two weeks, part of the time spent at each church: three evenings and two days in each place, with the remaining time spent traveling or doing chores at home. Each church community would host the out-of-town visitors, who

mostly camped out in revival style. Though the event did resemble a religious revival in some respects, the meetings were intended to strengthen members' faith, not convert new members. The fact that the meetings were in Welsh was also a barrier to conversion efforts. The program would include long sermons by the churches' pastors, as well as guest preachers from as far away as Pennsylvania and New York. It was the singing, however, that set the *gymanfa ganu* apart from a mainstream revival. As in Wales, the congregation looked forward to the hymn singing and participated with enthusiasm.<sup>38</sup>

For those that attended, the *gymanfa ganu* was a memorable occasion, filled with fervent preaching and singing. Rosina Williams Hawkins remembered that the Long Creek *gymanfa ganu* festival of her youth were popular events: "Sometimes they'd start on Friday evening, then it lasted all day Saturday and Sunday. Ministers came in to help out from New York, and Ohio, and Philadelphia or someplace like that.... The church would be more than full. There'd be some that didn't get in. They'd stand outside.... Preaching and singing! Oh, there were some wonderful sermons."<sup>39</sup> Welsh sermons evidently were an art form in themselves and are mentioned often in Welsh church and community histories. Gwen Reese used the Welsh word *hwyl* when describing the power of the *gymanfa* sermons she witnessed. Though *hwyl* does not directly translate to English, it connotes exceptional preaching ability combined with the melodic nature of the Welsh language. This seemed to be the quality the Welsh missed most in English sermons.<sup>40</sup>

Marriage patterns can also indicate something of a community's attitude toward ethnicity, and its relation to those not of the same background. For example, endogamy would seem to reflect the importance of preserving an ethnic identity, and a degree of

isolation from youth not of the same ethnic background. The Pleasant Hill Cemetery in Lime Springs, Iowa, is home to 162 couples where both spouses were Welsh. The cemetery is also home to 148 couples where only one spouse was Welsh. Just looking at those two numbers seems to indicate that over the life of the cemetery, 1853-1973, the Welsh were half as likely to marry a non-Welsh spouse as a Welsh one (considering that the Welsh/Welsh marriages represent two choices). Further insight into the community's pattern of partial endogamy comes with analysis of the dates of the marriages themselves. Of the 103 Welsh/non-Welsh marriages with marriage dates indicated, only twenty took place in the nineteenth century. The rise in the rate of Welsh/non-Welsh marriages can be attributed in part to increased interaction among youth as they associated while attending Lime Springs High School, which opened in 1889. While the grammar schools were not ethnic specific, the makeup of the studentbody was more affected by neighborhood ethnic patterns than was the high school. Young adults would have further interaction with peers of other ethnic groups as the Welsh Presbyterian Church began to merge with the English Presbyterian Church in Lime Springs in the 1920s. The Lime Springs Welsh community's marriage patterns would seem to indicate that the Iowa Welsh were never fully endogamous, and accepted marriage to non-Welsh, but the majority of Welsh did marry within their own community for the first decades of the community's existence. Inter-marriage with non-Welsh became more common as the community aged and ethnic boundaries blurred, moving the community from the Accommodation stage to that of Integration. Later generations spoke English as their native language, regardless of their ethnicity, and interacted with one another more often as educational and religious institutions became more integrated. This pattern fits with the

observation that the Iowa Welsh started out in the second stage of Barkan's model and quickly moved through subsequent stages toward full assimilation.<sup>41</sup>

News items in the *Red Oak Sun* give glimpses of Welsh/non-Welsh community interactions in 1891 Lincoln Township, Montgomery County. Young People's Christian Endeavor was a popular organization sponsored by Welsh and non-Welsh churches in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In June 1891, the Christian Endeavor society of the Congregational Church of Red Oak traveled to Wales, Lincoln Township and organized a daughter society at the Union Presbyterian Church.<sup>42</sup> Union Presbyterian had a large Welsh membership, but the society made it clear that it welcomed Welsh, non-Welsh, and non-Welsh-speaking-Welsh alike. On July 3, 1891, the following item ran in the *Red Oak Sun*: "The Young People's Christian Endeavor society has increased its membership to 40. The good attendance shows growing interest. The society promises to be a success. All young people, including those who are not able to talk the Welsh language, are cordially invited, as the meetings are held in either language."<sup>43</sup> Neither were the young adults of Lincoln Township restricted to local social opportunities. The August 31, 1891 issue of the *Red Oak Sun* carried the following items: "The campmeeting held by the Latter Day Saints near Henderson is well attended from this locality." "The Young People's Christian Endeavor society meeting was poorly attended last Sunday evening owing to so many of the young people attending the campmeeting."<sup>44</sup> Unfortunately, no record survives indicating how many marriages, and between whom, may have resulted from such trips.

The rural Welsh communities of Iowa shared a common life cycle. They were born from the economic dreams of a few families and grew through those families' influence on kin

and acquaintances. Settlements became communities as more Welsh joined those already in place, and neighborhoods developed as family settled by family and friends bought land from friends. Carrying with them their Chapel culture, Welsh communities organized Welsh churches as soon as they could. These churches both represented and promoted the Welsh language and ethnic identity. As time passed, the Welsh communities changed. New generations spoke English rather than Welsh, associated with non-Welsh as freely as with Welsh, and perceived themselves as native Iowans more than as members of an immigrant group. In adopting English, the Welsh churches both reacted to the decline in Welsh language and culture, and accelerated the trend. Soon, the Welsh churches were no longer Welsh, and through intermarriage the population itself grew less and less Welsh. The transition was not a drastic one, as their demographic characteristics were already similar to those of the non-Welsh population. Taking into account individual communities' development patterns, the Welsh as a group followed national and regional trends toward lower marital fertility rates and smaller households and families. In the end, the rural Welsh communities of Iowa disappeared except in the memories of its former children and in local histories. The communities did, indeed, reach the Assimilation stage of Barkan's model for ethnic change.



## NOTES

1. Elliott R. Barkan, "Race, Religion, and Nationality in American Society: A Model of Ethnicity—From Contact to Assimilation," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 14 (1995): 38-75.
2. Donna Nadyne Thomas DeBower and Margaret Ann Thomas Hall, eds., "The Letters of Margaret Ellen Jones and David Owen Thomas, 1887-1894," TMs [photocopy], 526, in possession of author.
3. R. D. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America: A History of the Welsh in America*, trans. Phillips G. Davies (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, Inc., 1983), 216; *Portrait and Biographical Record of Johnson County, Poweshiek and Iowa Counties, Iowa* (Chicago: Chapman Bros., 1893), 499-500.
4. *Johnson County*, 622-23; R. D. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America*, trans. Phillips G. Davies, 216; *Biographical Review of Des Moines County, Iowa* (Chicago: Hobart Publishing Company, 1905), 130-32.
5. Parker Historical Society of Clay County, *The History of Clay County, Iowa* (Clay Co., Ia.: Parker Historical Society, 1984), 32; James C. Dinwiddie, *History of Iowa County, Iowa and Its People*, vol. 2 (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1915), 112; "1880 Federal Census of Iowa, Howard County. Population Schedule."
6. Cheryl A. Walley, "The Old Man's Creek Welsh Community of Johnson County, Iowa," (M.A. thesis, Iowa State University, 1999), 23; *The History of Iowa County, Iowa* (Des Moines: Union Historical Company, Birdsall, Williams & Co., 1881), 607; "Welsh Pioneers First to Settle in Troy Township" in *A Century of Progress for Williamsburg, Iowa 1854-1957*, n.p.; R. D. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America*, trans. Phillips G. Davies, 219-33.
7. Parker Historical Society, *History of Clay County*, 32; W. C. Gilbreath, *The History of Clay County, Iowa, Containing a History of the County, Towns, Etc.* (n.p., 1889), 187-88.
8. *Lime Springs Then and Now* (Lime Springs, Ia.: Committee on History, for the Lime Springs Centennial Observance, 1968), 34-35, 144; R. D. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America*, trans. Phillips G. Davies, 75.
9. *Lime Springs Then and Now*, 144; Thomas E. Hughes and David Edwards, eds., *Hanes Cymry Minnesota, Foreston a Lime Springs, IA* (Mankato, Mn.: Free Press Printing Company, 1895), 142-43.
10. Thomas E. Hughes, *Hanes Cymry Minnesota*, 143-45.

11. R. D. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America* (Utica, N.Y.: T. J. Griffiths, Argraffydd, Exchange Buildings, 1872), Section 2, 64-66, 69-70, 73.
12. Brian W. Beltman, "Ethnic Territoriality and the Persistence of Identity: Dutch Settlers in Northwest Iowa, 1869-1880," *Annals of Iowa* 55 (1996), 114-119.
13. "1860 Federal Census of Iowa, Johnson County. Population Schedule"; "1870 Federal Census of Iowa, Johnson County. Population Schedule."
14. (*Red Oak*) *Sun*, 30 January 1891.
15. (*Red Oak*) *Sun*, 18 February 1891.
16. (*Red Oak*) *Sun*, 27 February 1891.
17. (*Red Oak*) *Sun*, 3 July 1891.
18. (*Red Oak*) *Sun*, 25 September 1891.
19. *Johnson County*, 558-61, 452-43; Samuel Gillespie and James E. Steele, *History of Clay County, Iowa* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1909), 254-57, 358-60.
20. *Lime Springs Then and Now*, 179; Iowa Welsh Society, *The Welsh Way: Oral History of the Long Creek Welsh Community in Iowa* (n.p., 1995), 43-44.
21. Dinwiddie, *History of Iowa County*, 17-18, 59; S. G. Hersman, *Directory of Montgomery County, Iowa. Edition 1907-1908* (Red Oak, Ia.: Express Publishing Company, 1907), 47-62; *Welsh Way*, 11.
22. R. D. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America*, trans. Phillips G. Davies, 227; Charles Beck, Treva Beard, and Mary Beth Carey, comps., *Churches of Louisa County* (Wapello, Ia.: Louisa Publishing Co. Ltd., 1993), 48.
23. Mrs. D. O. Thomas, "Church History" presented on May 3, 1932, containing history translated from "Llyfr Eglwys" by Mrs. D. O. Thomas, microfilm copy of manuscript (Reel #US/CAN 0986172 item 1, Utah Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah); "Highlights of Congregational Church History" in *A Century of Progress*, n. p.; "Llyfr Eglwys, Old Man's Creek, Johnson Co., Iowa," microfilm copy of manuscript (Reel #US/Can 0989452 item 1, Utah Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah).
24. *Churches of Louisa County*, 48, 54, 60; R. D. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America*, trans. Phillips G. Davies, 227.

25. Thomas E. Hughes, *Hanes Cymry Minnesota*, 79-85; R. D. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America*, trans. Phillips G. Davies, 238; *Lime Springs Then and Now*, 146.
26. "Llyfr Eglwys", n.p.; "1870 Federal Census of Iowa, Johnson County. Population Schedule."
27. "Llyfr Eglwys," n.p.
28. DeBower, *Jones /Thomas Letters*, 65, punctuation modified for clarity.
29. DeBower, *Jones /Thomas Letters*, 28.
30. DeBower, *Jones /Thomas Letters*, 88, 91.
31. *Lime Springs Then and Now*, 150-151.
32. "Homecoming" program presented October 16, 1938, microfilm copy of manuscript (Reel # US/CAN 0986172 item 1, Utah Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah).
33. *The Welsh Way*, 49.
34. *The Welsh Way*, 52.
35. *The Welsh Way*, 53.
36. *The Welsh Way*, 57.
37. DeBower, *Jones/Thomas Letters*, 112; Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, *Study 00003: Historical Demographic, Economic, and Social Data: U.S., 1790-1970* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, 1992).
38. "Llyfr Eglwys," n.p.; *Century of Progress*, 7.
39. *The Welsh Way*, 55.
40. "Homecoming," n.p.
41. Burton L. Nagel, *Marriage Dates and Spouses of Pleasant Hill Decedents: Lime Springs, Howard, Iowa 1853-1973* (n.p.), 4-27; *Lime Springs Then and Now*, 179, 182; Barkan, "Model of Ethnicity," 57-58.
42. *(Red Oak) Sun*, 19 June 1891.

43. *(Red Oak) Sun, 3 July 1891.*

44. *(Red Oak) Sun, 31 August 1891.*

## CHAPTER 5. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

When conducting community and ethnic studies, census records are invaluable tools. The Federal Government has enumerated the population of the United States every ten years, beginning in 1790. In 1850 the census schedules first began to record individual information for every member of the household, instead of just the head. It is true that the census records data about individuals, families, and households at only a single point in time, and leaves out important information about the individual's or family's development over time. When using census data to describe a community, however, it is hoped that statistical analysis of numerous individuals, families, and households at different stages of development will represent the community accurately. Being fully aware of the limitations inherent in census data analysis, the historical demographer can still use the information to shed light on issues that are otherwise difficult to study.

Three Welsh communities have been chosen for analysis because of their varying sizes, locations, and the time of settlement. The Flint Creek Welsh Community of Des Moines County provides opportunity to study one of the early settlements and gives insights into Welsh agricultural practices. The Old Man's Creek Welsh Community of Johnson County allows for the study of Welsh community development over time. The third Welsh community, Foreston-Lime Springs in Howard County, provides opportunity to delve deeper into household and family structures, and patterns of immigration and settlement.

**FLINT CREEK WELSH COMMUNITY, DES MOINES COUNTY**

The Flint Creek Welsh Community only existed for some thirty years and left very few records of its residents. However, the 1850 Federal Census of Des Moines County, Iowa provides enough information to partially reconstruct and study the Welsh community, and to draw some conclusions about the 144 Welsh in comparison to their 8,733 non-Welsh neighbors. Since the 1850 census also indicates each household member's relationship to the head of the household, family relationships can be deduced and then analyzed. A household is defined by the census as all persons residing in the same dwelling, while a family consists of those persons related by blood or marriage to the head of the household.<sup>1</sup>

**Household and Family**

Household and family size have long been standard demographic measurements in population studies. Accordingly, the 22 Welsh households enumerated in Des Moines County were tabulated and found to have a median size of six people. The median size of the 1,358 non-Welsh households was also six people, indicating that the Welsh resided in households similar to their neighbors'. Though their households were similar in size, the Welsh and non-Welsh differed somewhat more in their family sizes and number of children. The Welsh families had a median of five people per family, while the non-Welsh median was six people. The mean size of the two groups' families, however, was much closer at 5.6 and 5.8 people respectively. The larger difference in median size compared to average size indicates that the non-Welsh community had proportionally more larger-than-average families, while the Welsh community had only a few larger-than-average families, but those few were exceptionally

large and slightly skewed the mean for the community. Overall, the Welsh and non-Welsh of Des Moines County lived in very similar family and household situations.<sup>2</sup> (See Table 2.) The Welsh families that included children averaged the same number of children as the non-Welsh families, with the respective means being 4.1 and 4.0 children. Again, the figures for the median number of children per family differed more than the means, as the Welsh median was 3.5 and the non-Welsh was 4.0 children. Proportionally more non-Welsh families had more children than average than did Welsh families. None of the above calculations indicate significant differences between the Welsh and non-Welsh approach to having children and living together as families.<sup>3</sup>

### **Marital Fertility**

The difference between the Welsh and non-Welsh married fertility rates do, however, seem to indicate some contrast in behavior. The rates are derived by dividing the number of children zero through four years old by the number of married women aged fifteen through forty-four, and multiplying by one thousand for ease of statement. The Welsh community included twenty-six children in that cohort, and fourteen qualifying women, which produces a married fertility rate of 1,857. The non-Welsh community included 1,452 children and 1,086 wives, producing a fertility rate of 1,337. While this fertility rate only reflects the childbearing behavior of married women and their children who have lived to be enumerated, and of those only the children born in the previous five years, it does provide some indication of overall community childbearing attitudes and practices. In 1850, the Welsh married women of Des Moines County were bearing children at a higher rate than were the non-Welsh wives. Age

**Table 2. 1850 Des Moines County Family and Household Statistics**

	<b>Household Size</b>		<b>Family Size</b>		<b>No. Children</b>		<b>Marital Fertility</b>	<b>Total Population</b>
	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Median</b>		
<b>Welsh</b>	6.1	6.0	5.6	5.0	4.1	3.5	1857	144
<b>Non-Welsh</b>	6.5	6.0	5.9	6.0	4.0	4.0	1337	8766



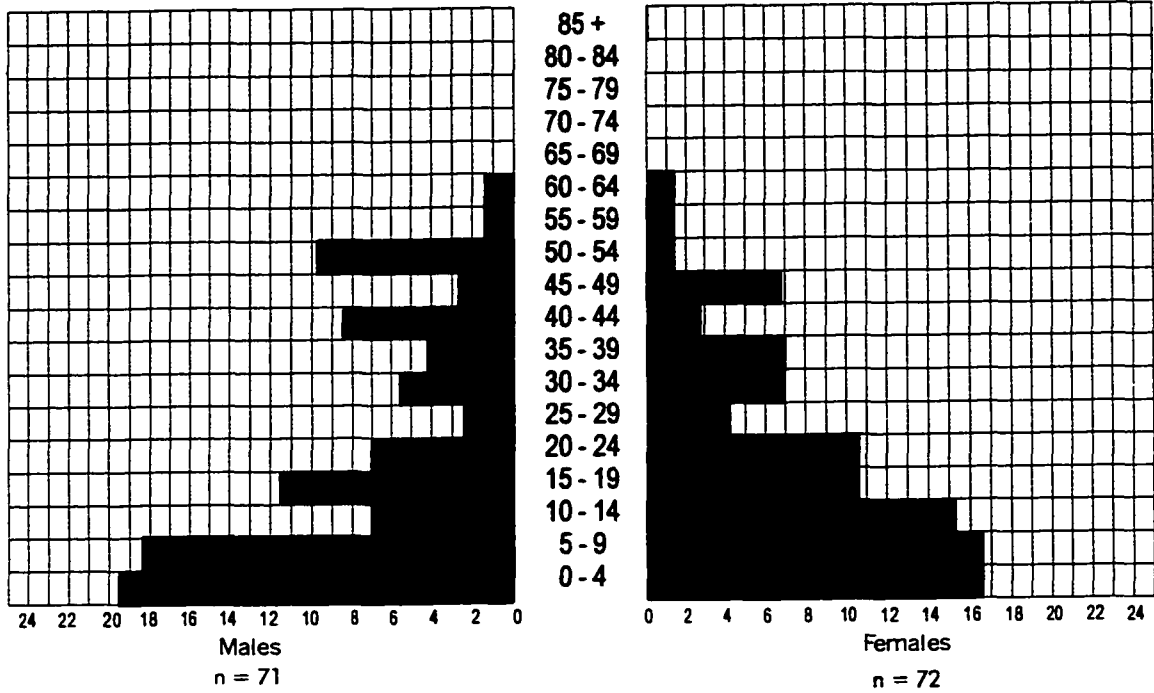
distribution in the two communities was similar, indicating still-growing settlements, so the fertility rates do not seem to reflect different stages of development. What is more likely is that Welsh childbearing attitudes and behaviors were actually very similar to those of the non-Welsh, but the small size of the Welsh sample allows the behavior of one or two women to skew the group's fertility rate. In their demographic study *To Their Own Soil: Agriculture in the Antebellum North*, Jeremy Atack and Fred Bateman calculated a general fertility rate of 1,519 for the 1860 Midwest. While this rate is not directly comparable to the marital fertility rates calculated above, it does indicate that both the Welsh and non-Welsh Des Moines County fertility rates were in keeping with the rural trend toward relatively high fertility.<sup>4</sup>

Age distribution studies further reveal community growth patterns over time. Charting the size of age cohorts over time can provide information about immigration and settlement patterns, childbearing trends in the community, and even out-migration patterns. Atack and Bateman determined that the age distribution across the Midwest in 1860 reflected a settled but quickly growing population. On the age distribution graph, the curve formed by the Midwestern population is smooth and unbroken by any statistical irregularities. The non-Welsh age distribution graph almost perfectly fits that description, reflecting the fact that by 1850 the southeast corner of Iowa was fully settled. The Welsh age distribution graph, on the other hand, seems to indicate a community in flux. The large 0 - 4 and 5 - 9 cohorts are in keeping not only with the high marital fertility rate, but with a young and thriving community. The 10 - 14 age cohort seems to be skewed by too many females, but the actual numbers are small: five boys and eleven girls, a difference easily attributed to statistical anomaly. The only other large discrepancy seems to be in the 30 - 34 through 50 - 54 age cohorts. These can be

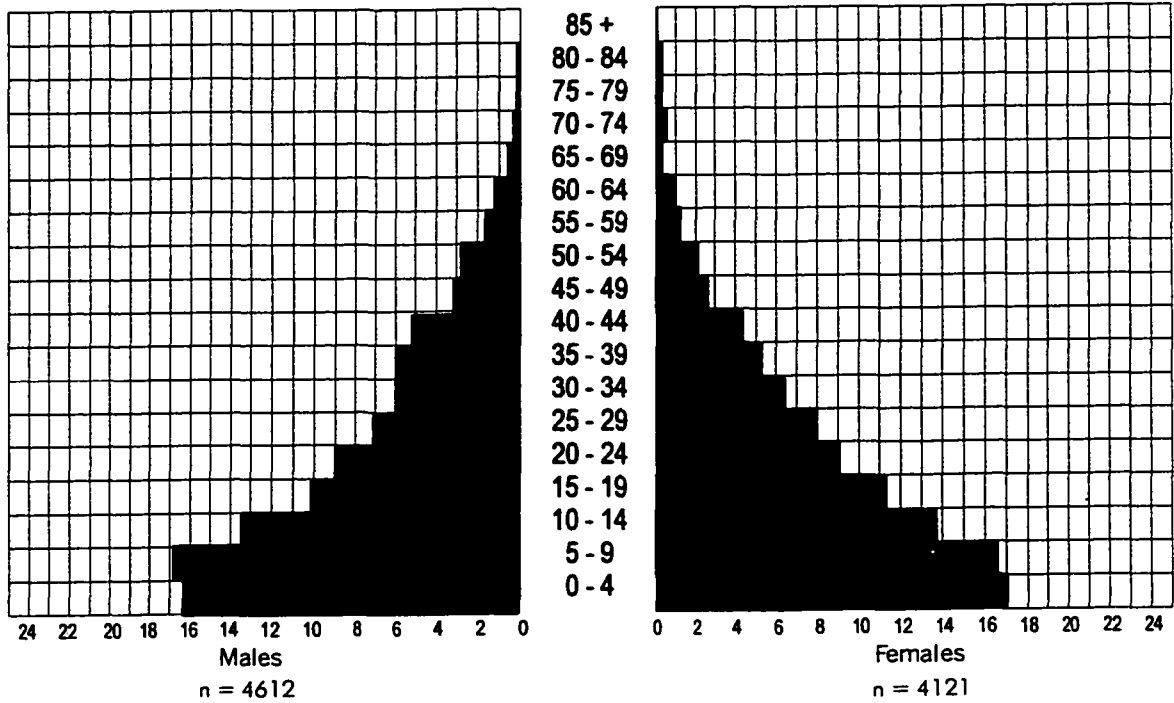
explained by the common age differential between husbands and wives. The large number of men in the 50 - 54 age cohort would be married to the large number of women in the 45 - 49 age cohort, and so on. Adjusting for this pattern, the age distribution graph falls in line with the young, growing community indicated by the children's age cohorts.<sup>5</sup> (See Figures 18 and 19.)

### **Agricultural Practices**

Besides living in similar household and family situations, the Welsh and non-Welsh shared similar places in the local economy. Of the nineteen Welsh males aged fifteen or older, fourteen (seventy-four percent) of them reported being farmers. Non-Welsh men farmed in almost identical proportions, with 1,205 of the 1,652 men with occupations being farmers. The two groups' agricultural practices were also similar. Only fifteen of the twenty-two Welsh households were included on the agriculture schedule of the census, which is drastically fewer farms than the 899 non-Welsh farms, so individual differences influence Welsh aggregates significantly more than non-Welsh individuals do. Even so, a comparison is useful. Both groups reported similar amounts of improved land, with the mean number of acres reported by the Welsh being 57.1 and the non-Welsh mean being 64.0 acres. The two communities' median number of improved acres was identical at fifty acres. On average, the non-Welsh owned more unimproved land, reporting a mean of 105.5 acres, while the Welsh mean was only 78.8 acres. The Welsh median was 80 acres, indicating fairly consistent parcels of unimproved land across the community, while the non-Welsh median was only 60 acres. In light of the high average and low median number of unimproved acres, the non-



**Figure 18.** Age Distribution Graph (percent of population by sex), Des Moines County 1850, Welsh. Source: 1850 Federal Census of Iowa.



**Figure 19.** Age Distribution Graph (percent of population by sex), Des Moines County 1850, Non-Welsh. Source: 1850 Federal Census of Iowa.

Welsh seemed to include a few owners of very large parcels of unimproved land and many who owned only small parcels. Indeed, the largest reported parcel of unimproved land consisted of 7,050 acres.<sup>6</sup> (See Table 3.)

The Welsh seemed to own land of average quality, and invest in machinery and implements at a standard rate. Keeping in mind that the few largest non-Welsh farms skew the non-Welsh statistics, the Welsh and non-Welsh levels of investment seem comparable, though not identical. The mean reported cash value of the Welsh farms was \$1,004, with the most valuable farm being worth \$1,600. The median value of the Welsh farms was \$900. The mean value of the non-Welsh farms was \$1,522 and the median \$1,000. The most valuable non-Welsh farm was worth \$20,000. The Welsh did invest in farm implements and machinery, and reported an mean value of \$67 per farm, with a median of \$50. The non-Welsh mean for implements and machinery was \$87 and the median \$75 per farm. Again, one non-Welsh farm reported implements and machinery valued at \$1,400, but that does not fully account for the difference between Welsh and non-Welsh investment. The lower rate of Welsh investment in implements and machinery is no doubt at least in part a reflection of their status as foreign immigrants. Where American-born farmers could accumulate implements over their entire working life, and take along whenever they moved, the Welsh would have been unable to transport any of their farm equipment from Wales.<sup>7</sup>

The Welsh and non-Welsh farmers engaged in similar agricultural practices. Both groups reported more bushels of corn than any other crop, with oats and wheat vying for second. Roughly half of the farmers in each community raised sheep for their wool. Welsh and non-Welsh farms alike reported a median of three milch cows and two horses. Both

**Table 3. 1850 Des Moines County Agricultural Statistics**

	No. Farms	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Value Farm	Value Implements /Machinery	Bushels Corn	Bushels Wheat	Pounds Wool	Milch Cows	No. Horses	Pounds Butter
<b>Welsh</b>											
mean		57.1	78.8	1004.7	67.3	489.3	100.8	33.4	2.9	2.9	180.0
median		50.0	80.0	900.0	50.0	400.0	100.0	32.0	3.0	2.0	150.0
n=	15	15	15	15	15	14	13	7	15	14	9
<b>Non-Welsh</b>											
mean		64.0	105.5	1522.0	86.6	665.1	181.6	51.7	3.3	3.0	190.9
median		50.0	60.0	1000.0	75.0	500.0	120.0	32.0	3.0	2.0	150.0
n=	899	899	893	899	893	877	751	494	887	840	767

communities' farms also reported a median of 150 pounds of butter per farm, with approximately two thirds of the farms reporting butter on their schedule. The only discernible difference between the Welsh and non-Welsh farms is that the Welsh farms were slightly less productive. Taking into account that virtually all farms raised corn, and given the common median of fifty acres of improved land, then dividing the median reported bushels of corn by the acreage, the Welsh farms were twenty percent less productive than the non-Welsh farms.<sup>8</sup>

Comparing both the Welsh and non-Welsh averages to those calculated by Atack and Bateman for their 1860 Iowa sample, the Des Moines County statistics seem to be in line with the regional average. Although the Des Moines County statistics were based on the 1850 census, the county was fully settled in that decade. Atack and Bateman based their analysis on the 1860 census in order to study the Midwest in its settled state and compare it to the eastern United States. Therefore, comparing Atack and Bateman's 1860 Iowa statistics to Des Moines County in 1850 seems reasonable. Atack and Bateman found that the average number of improved acres per farm was 55 acres, and the average number of unimproved acres was 95 acres, averages quite similar to those found in Des Moines County. Atack and Bateman's figures for farm produce are close to those of the non-Welsh in Des Moines County, with an average of 679 bushels of corn per farm and 103 bushels of wheat, indicating that Welsh crop productivity was slightly below average not only for the county, but also for the state. The Des Moines County farmers, both Welsh and non-Welsh, produced considerably more wool and butter than the Iowa averages of 11 and 178 pounds per farm. Livestock ownership was comparable across the board, with relevant state averages being 2.7 milk cows and 2.6 horses per Iowa farm.<sup>9</sup>

**OLD MAN'S CREEK WELSH COMMUNITY, JOHNSON COUNTY**

The longevity of the Old Man's Creek Welsh community in Johnson County allows it to be studied over the course of its development. Located in Sharon and Union Townships, the Old Man's Creek Welsh community increased steadily at first, growing from 144 people in 1860 to 316 people in 1870, an increase of 120 percent. By 1880, however, the Welsh population had begun to slowly decline, and in that census totaled only 291 people. While the Welsh population decrease between 1870 and 1880 seems precipitous compared to its drastic rise between 1860 and 1870, it closely reflects the population trends of the townships as a whole. The non-Welsh population of Sharon and Union Townships totaled 976 people in 1860 and increased by 63 percent to 1,594 people in 1870. Though the area's general population growth in the 1860s was not as drastic as that of the Welsh population, it was significant. In the 1870s, however, the non-Welsh population grew by only 3 percent, totaling 1,648 people in 1880. In light of the area's overall shift from a frontier stage of significant growth to one of a settled and almost static community, the 8 percent decline in Welsh population is not as startling as it initially seemed. The figures simply indicate that the Welsh community, too, had reached the point where it was fully settled and was now contributing people to newer communities further west.<sup>10</sup>

**Age Distribution**

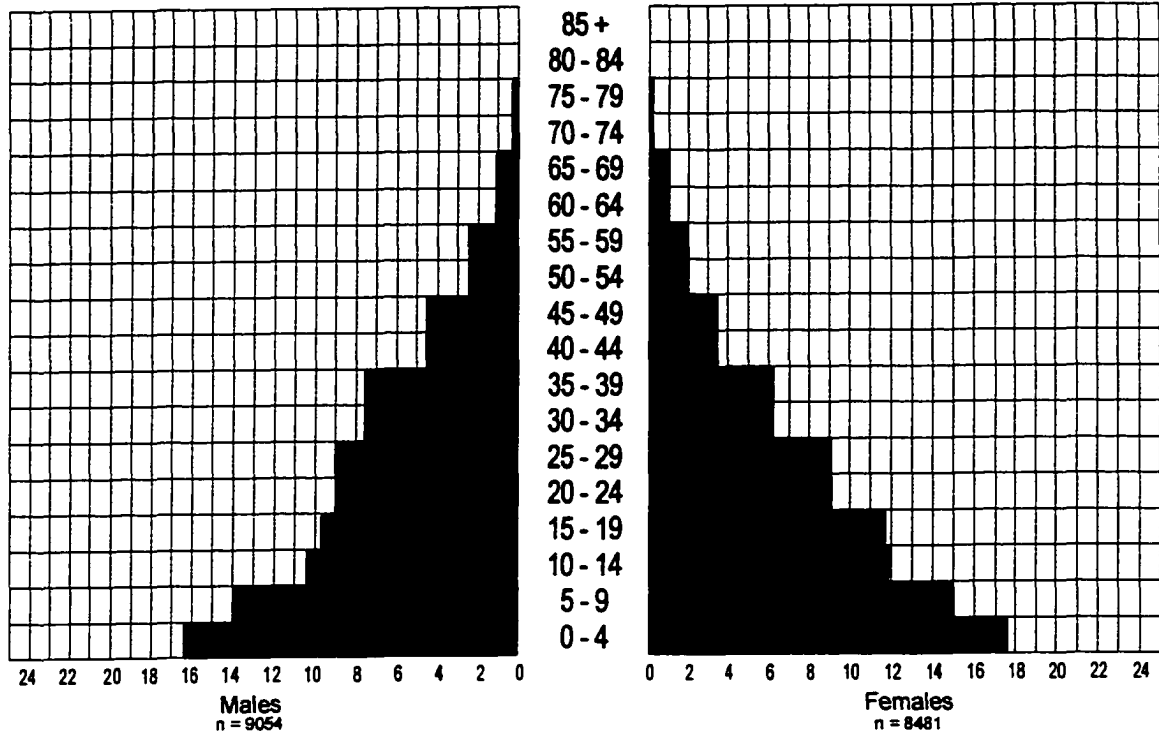
The age distribution graph for Johnson County, Iowa, resembles the age distributions Atack and Bateman calculated for the 1860 frontier populations of Kansas and Minnesota: both graphs have "bubbles" in the age twenty to forty populations. The bubbles are typically

attributed to the high number of single, young adult male immigrants. In the Kansas and Minnesota samples the distribution was also skewed toward the greater number of male settlers, but the Johnson County population breakdown appears to be fairly evenly divided between males and females. While Johnson County in did not have an unusually high number of single males in 1860, the general population did reflect frontier age distribution characteristics.<sup>11</sup> (See Figure 20.)

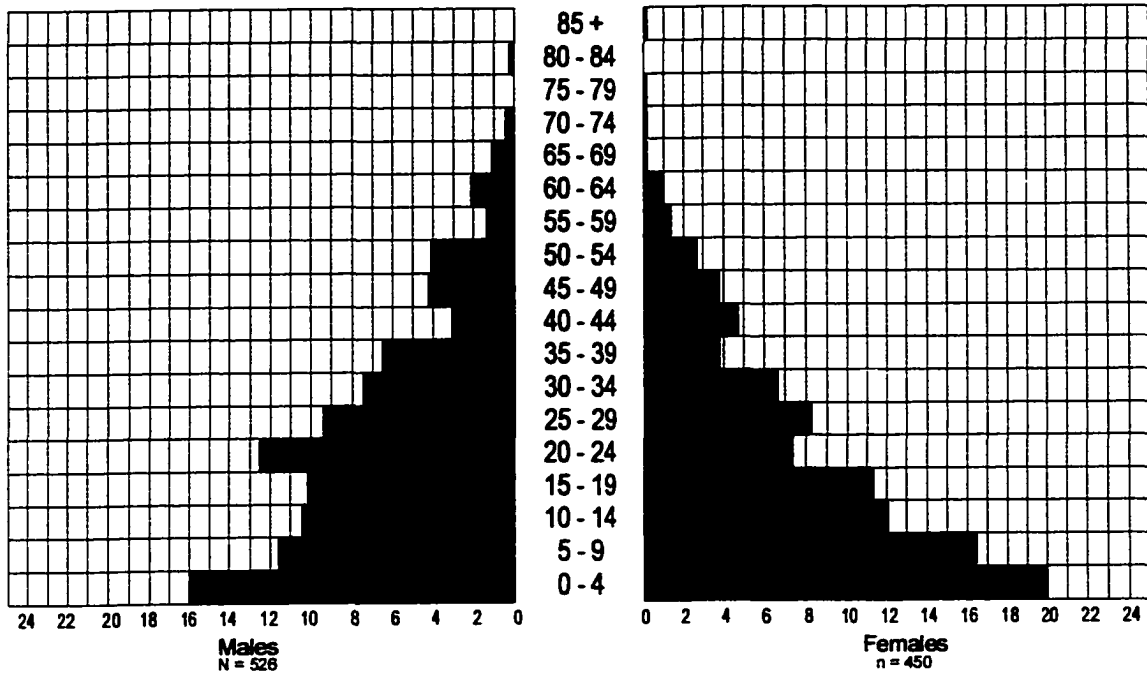
The Welsh and non-Welsh populations of Sharon and Union Townships exhibited different age distribution trends in 1860 than did Johnson County or the Midwest in general. The non-Welsh age distribution graph indicates a small "bubble" of young adult males, but the female age distribution is fairly smooth. The population did not suffer from the frontier's shortage of young adult females, though a slight imbalance does appear in the 20 - 24 age cohort. The imbalance seems to be caused by extra males instead of a shortage of females in that age group. In the next couple of age cohorts, 25 - 29 and 30 - 34, both the males and females resume their normal patterns and bring the age distribution graph back into balance. The graph of the Welsh population's age distribution, on the other hand, is almost erratic in its irregularity. Young children predominate by far, as befits a healthy, growing community. In the 5 - 9 age cohort, however, a distinct shortage of females appears. Then in the 10 - 14 age cohort, the number of females returns to expected levels but the number of males is much smaller than expected. In the 15 - 19 age cohort, the number of males increases to near normal levels, but the number of females escalates oddly. Similar patterns of unexpected fluctuations continue up through the age cohorts.<sup>12</sup> (See Figures 21 and 22.)

A number of factors could contribute to the irregularity of the Welsh age distribution.

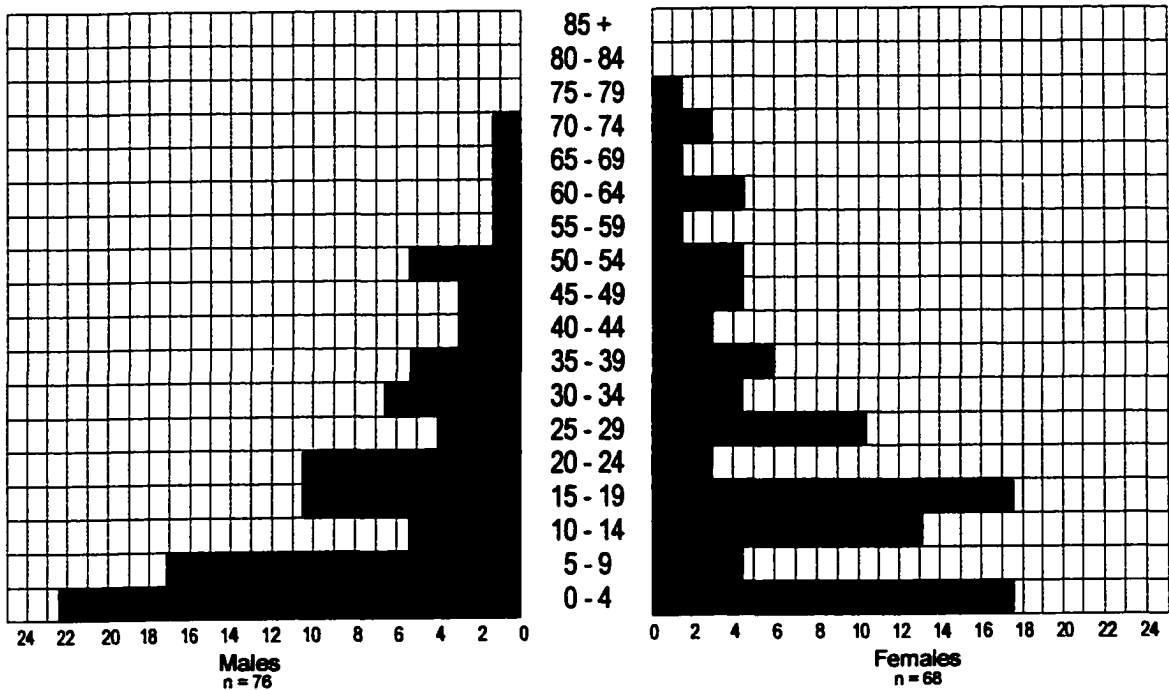




**Figure 20.** Age Distribution Graph (percent of population by sex), Johnson County, 1860. Source: Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860*, Vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 132 - 3.



**Figure 21.** Age Distribution Graph (percent of population by sex), Sharon and Union Townships 1860, Non-Welsh. Source: 1860 Federal Census of Iowa.



**Figure 22.** Age Distribution Graph (percent of population by sex), Sharon and Union Townships 1860, Welsh. Source: 1860 Federal Census of Iowa.

One explanation is statistical anomaly. The population sample is small, only 144 people in all, so the presence of even one or two statistically unusual families can upset the expected trends. In the lower age cohorts, the disparity between males and females should be attributed to the random factor of sex. In large samples, the number of males and females in any one age group tends to almost even out. In such a small sample as the 1860 Welsh population, the tendency toward boys or girls that appears in specific families is reflected in the aggregate figures.

However, the predominance of females in the 15 - 19 age cohort, and to some extent the 10 - 14 age cohort, should not be entirely attributed to random factors. Young teenage boys may have been sent to work away from home more often than females, and therefore may have been missing from the Welsh community for a while. In the later teenage years, the young men were likely to strike out on their own in search of employment or adventure or even new land. Young women typically did not follow this same pattern. And in 1860 the Welsh community had not yet attracted large numbers of single men, which would have offset any out-migration in that age group. Some of the imbalance in the ratio of males to females should, however, be attributed to the reflection of irregularities that tend to appear in such a small sample. The actual difference in numbers is quite small: in the 15 - 19 age cohort, there were 8 females and 12 males. The same set of factors seems to explain a similar imbalance in the 25 - 29 age cohort. In that case, the males outnumbered females 7 to 3.<sup>13</sup>

The Welsh males in the 20 - 24 age cohort outnumbered the females, but again the actual numbers were small: 8 males and 2 females. The lack of females may be a random factor in the birthrate, but is more likely related to marriage patterns. If a young Welsh

woman married outside the community, either by marrying a non-Welsh man in Union or Sharon townships or even by marrying outside those geographic boundaries, she was not counted as part of the Welsh community. She either would not be included in the study at all, for living outside the township boundaries, or her status as a Welsh woman would be disguised by a new name. Young men in the 20 - 24 age cohort, on the other hand, would more likely be counted among the Welsh if they lived within the townships' boundaries at all. By retaining their Welsh surname regardless of marital status, the men were more easily identified as Welsh. With so few people under consideration, only 10 in all, these few factors can easily account for the disparity in sex representation.<sup>14</sup>

In the older age cohorts, the balance between males and females shifts back and forth. Again, the actual numbers are small so the imbalance can easily be attributed to specific irregularities and not to significant trends. For example, in the 30 - 34 age cohort there were 5 men and 3 women. In the 35 - 39 age cohort, however, there were 4 men and 4 women. The difference is so small, in the first cohort that two couples could account for the imbalance. The second cohort's balance seems to be simply a matter of luck, though they could be accounted for by the increased life expectancy for women. The same holds true for the rest of the upper age cohorts—the actual imbalances are so small that they should be attributed to individual differences.<sup>15</sup>

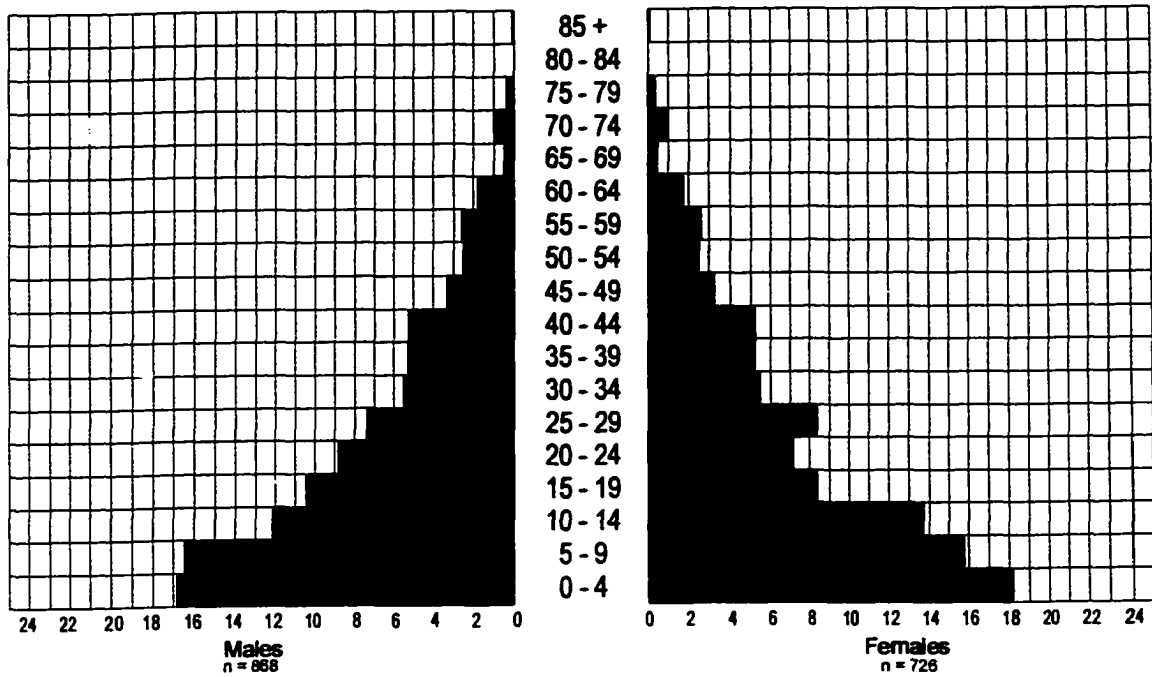
As the aggregate population figures above indicated, by 1870 the non-Welsh community of Sharon and Union Townships was at the end of its frontier period. The age distribution graph for the non-Welsh community reflects almost the ideal distribution curve, which corroborates the raw population data. With few exceptions, each age cohort was well

balanced between males and females and progressed from young to old parabolically. The first three age cohorts, 0 - 4, 5 - 9 and 10 - 14, seem to express the young, mostly settled nature of the population.<sup>16</sup> (See Figure 23.)

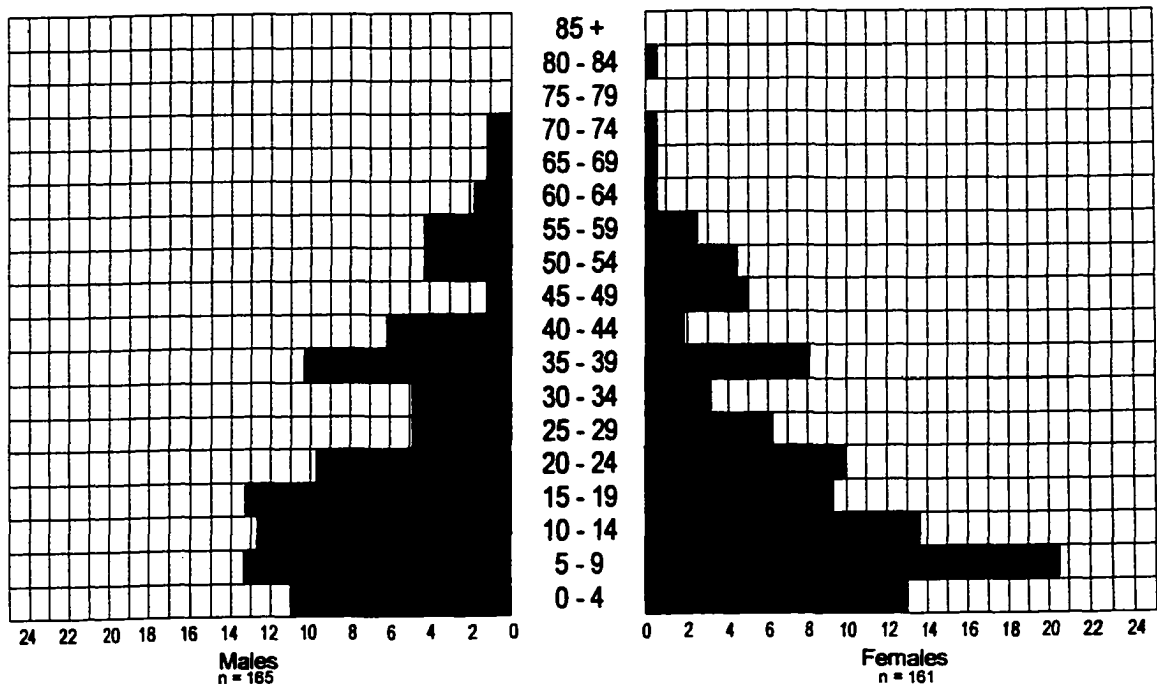
The Welsh population, however, once again exhibited unusual age distribution characteristics in 1870. During the previous decade the Welsh community had more than doubled in size to 326 people, so individual irregularities are less reflected in the 1870 age distribution graph than in 1860 graph. On the other hand, the graph does reflect the nature of the community's growth. (See Figure 24.)

The first noticeable irregularity in the graph is that the 0 - 4 age cohort contains far fewer children than the 5 - 9 age cohort. This is highly unusual behavior for any growing population. The high rate of immigration to the community seems to be the key, however. Immigration to the Old Man's Creek community could not have been high during the early 1860s because of the Civil War. Therefore, the majority of the new settlers must have arrived during the few years preceding the 1870 census. Childbirth could logically be put off during the year or years of immigration, thereby reducing the number of very small children among new immigrant families. The journey to Iowa could itself be arduous, perhaps taking a higher toll on the very young as well. A few instances of each scenario could easily account for the lack of small children in the sample, since the actual numerical difference between the populations in the two age cohorts was small. The 5 - 9 age cohort contained 33 girls and 22 boys, while the age 0 - 4 age cohort contained 21 girls and 18 boys. Small actual differences calculate to large proportional differences at that scale.<sup>17</sup>

The next irregularity in the Welsh age distribution seems to be in the 15 - 19 age



**Figure 23.** Age Distribution Graph (percent of population by sex), Sharon and Union Townships, 1870, Non-Welsh. Source: 1870 Federal Census of Iowa.



**Figure 24.** Age Distribution Graph (percent of population by sex), Sharon and Union Townships, 1870, Welsh. Source: 1870 Federal Census of Iowa.

cohort. This age group contained proportionally more males than females and the imbalance is on both sides; there are both more males and fewer females than expected. The lack of females can be at least partially explained by looking at the 1860 population. In that year, the 5 - 9 age cohort had significantly fewer females than it should have. Ten years later that same group of girls was still smaller than expected. The numbers were supplemented somewhat by immigrants, but the low female birth count in those years among this particular group of Welsh is still reflected in the 1870 statistics. The proportionate excess of males in the 15 - 19 age cohort is not surprising, either, since that age group would logically contain a number of single, young immigrant males.<sup>18</sup>

The Welsh community lacked some young men in the 25 - 29 age cohort, which is interesting. In 1860, the same irregularity appeared and the same explanations should hold true in 1870. The mid-twenties is a prime age for men to strike out on their own in search of new opportunities. Women of that age are usually married or are often reluctant to roam the country free, so they are adequately represented in this age cohort.

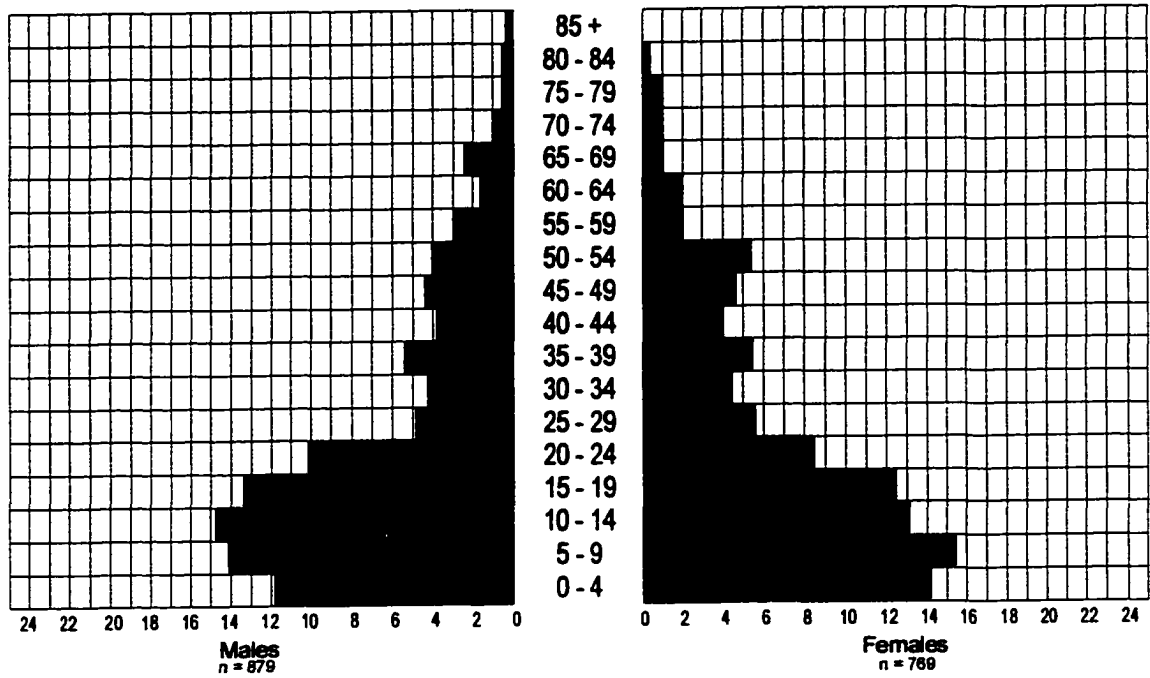
A surprising irregularity appears in the 35 - 39 age cohort for both males and females. Both men and women of this age group are present in excess of the usual proportions. Once again, immigration would seem to be the key factor. The middle-age years are a prime time for immigration, as couples have by that time had time to gather their resources for the journey. In addition, as their families grow they may begin to think more about available land for sons to settle on, and the couples decide to migrate to less densely settled territory. Whatever the reasons, many of the Welsh immigrants did make the journey in their thirties, which would help account for the statistical "bubble" in the 35 - 39 age cohort. Another

contributing factor is the coming of age of the children of the first wave of immigrants to Old Man's Creek in the 1840s and 50s. The rest of the Welsh age cohorts seem to follow generally normal patterns. The 40 - 44 age cohort had proportionally more men than women, but the 45 - 49 age cohort reverses that imbalance, so the general distribution seems to be balanced.<sup>19</sup>

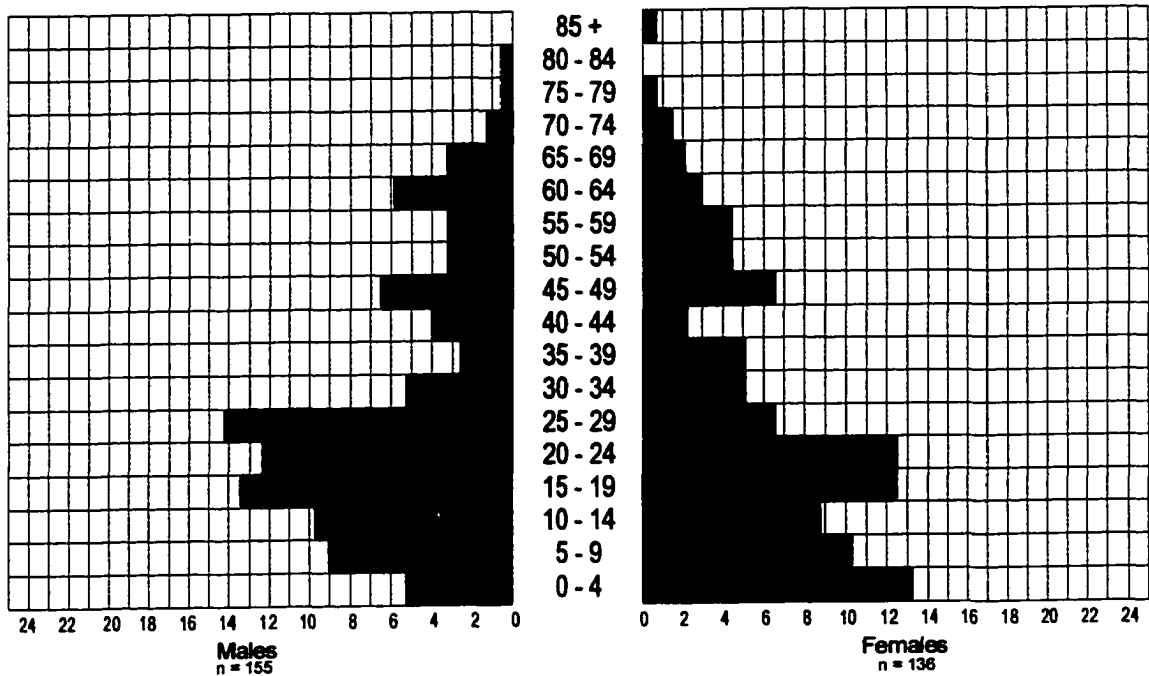
Comparing the 1880 non-Welsh age distribution graph to the 1870, it is readily apparent that the growth curve has been upset in some way. Instead of the almost perfect pyramid shape of the 1870 graph, the 1880 graph balloons out one or two steps from the bottom and then continues in a less than perfect parabolic curve. The 1880 0 - 4 age cohort is smaller than the 5 - 9 age cohort. Since women were still bearing children during the 1870s (albeit at a slightly reduced rate than in the previous decade), but the total population hardly grew overall, some out-migration must have occurred before 1880. The reduced number of both males and females in the 25 - 29 and 30 - 34 age cohorts seem to reflect this movement. Men and women in that age group would be the most likely to leave the townships in search of new land. Since the reduction in each cohort is well balanced between men and women, it would further seem that the out-migration was made by couples as they started their married life or as their families began to grow. The upper age cohorts were somewhat irregular, in that they do not fall as neatly on a parabolic curve as they did in 1870, but no clear pattern seems to be charted. The balance between men and women shifts between the two, but evens out in the end.<sup>20</sup> (See Figure 25.)

The 1880 Welsh age distribution graph appears erratic at best. The Welsh community declined in numbers overall, and some of that decline was due to out-migration. A lack of





**Figure 25.** Age Distribution Graph (percent of population by sex), Sharon and Union Townships, 1880, Non-Welsh. Source: 1880 Federal Census of Iowa.



**Figure 26.** Age Distribution Graph (percent of population by sex), Sharon and Union Townships, 1880, Welsh. Source: 1880 Federal Census of Iowa.

some people in the 30 - 45 age group may correspond with the lack of some small children as families left the townships for other communities. The 15 - 19, 20 - 24 and 25 - 29 age cohorts contain a surprising number of young men and young women, though. Possible explanations could be that as the Old Man's Creek Welsh community was completely settled by 1870, young single adults found employment there. A survey of the young adults themselves, however, indicates that only 14 of the young men and 3 of the young women were situated as servants in other households. Ten of the women and 7 of the men were married, and 5 other men were either heading their own households or living with relative. The majority of the young adults, however, were still living at home with their parent; 36 young men were listed as sons, and 31 young women were listed as daughters. The explanation for the large number of young adults, then, seems to be simply that the large number of youth in 1870 had aged ten years by 1880 and filled out the next group of age cohorts.<sup>21</sup> (See Figure 26.)

The 45 - 49 age cohort contains significantly more Welsh men and women than either the cohort below it or above it. Looking back at the 1870 age distribution graph, however, indicates that the 1880 irregularity is simply a reflection of the aging population. In 1870 the 35 - 39 age cohort was also disproportionately large for the population, which means that in 1880 it would be logical to see a similar "bubble" in the 45 - 49 age cohort. The upper age brackets seem fairly well balanced and only indicate that the Welsh community had more old people in 1880 than in 1870, which would make sense for a relatively recently settled community.<sup>22</sup>

### **Marital Fertility**

Another measurable difference between the Welsh and the non-Welsh was the fertility rates among their women. Overall fertility rates in America declined during the nineteenth century, and for the most part both the Welsh and the non-Welsh fit with that pattern. But when compared solely to each other, the Welsh and non-Welsh patterns of fertility differed widely. In 1860, the marital fertility rate for Welsh women of the Old Man's Creek community was 1813. The non-Welsh marital fertility rate was considerably lower, at 1220. In 1870 the Welsh ratio had plummeted to only 1182 while the non-Welsh ratio had actually increased slightly to 1487. In 1880 the Welsh ratio declined a bit more to 1083 and the non-welsh ratio modestly dipped down to 1469. The 1870 increase in the non-Welsh fertility rate may be explained by the increased immigration in the late 1860s. The Welsh rate's decline could be explained by the same phenomenon, though the two trends seem contrary. Recall that the age distributions in 1870 indicated a healthy, growing population among the non-Welsh but noted a distinct shortage of young children among the Welsh. The age distribution graphs merely indicate the same patterns as the marital fertility rates. (See Table 4.)<sup>23</sup>

**Table 4.** Fertility Rates (ratio of children age 0 - 4 to wives age 15 - 44 multiplied by 1,000), Sharon and Union Townships, Welsh (W) and Non-Welsh (NW), 1860 - 1880. Source: 1860, 1870, 1880 Federal Censuses of Iowa.

	1860		1870		1880	
	<i>W</i>	<i>NW</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>NW</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>NW</i>
Sharon	1500	1610	1429	1487	1571	1429
Union	2000	1220	1115	1485	882	1575
Combined	1813	1475	1182	1487	1083	1469

Since the Welsh age distribution anomaly is based on much the same data as the fertility ratio, the lack of children age 0 - 4 inevitably shows up in both calculations. The question is why so few? The timing of immigration seems to be the answer. As explained in the age distribution section, between 1860 and 1870 the Welsh community doubled in size. Most of those new settlers immigrated during the late 1860s, which would have upset child-bearing patterns. Thus, the fertility rate was depressed and the number of young children small. The non-Welsh community seemingly escaped a similar pattern of disruption. Perhaps the large size of the non-Welsh population disguised the lack of young children in a few families, whereas in the small Welsh population a few families equals half of the people under study.

By 1880, both the Welsh and the non-Welsh populations began to conform to national trends of gently declining fertility. The Welsh ratio declined only slightly relative to its previous drop, and the non-Welsh ratio finally did begin a downward trend. In both cases, the age distribution graphs reflect the drop in fertility as each community counted fewer children age 0 - 4 than in 1870.

### **Household and Family**

In 1860 the Welsh and non-Welsh communities in Sharon and Union Townships shared certain household and family characteristics while they differed on others. Household and family size were similar, but not identical, for the two communities. The 26 Welsh households contained an average of 5.7 people each and a median size of six people. The 167 non-Welsh households of both townships averaged 5.9 people in size but had a median of only

5 people each. Family size among both the Welsh and non-Welsh was close, the Welsh averaging 5.1 people and the non-Welsh 5.3 people, with both groups having a median family size of 5 people. The average size of all households in the United States in 1860 was 5.3 people, so the Welsh and non-Welsh households were slightly larger than the national average.<sup>24</sup> (See Table 5.)

Of the households in the townships, both Welsh and non-Welsh, the majority were nuclear families. 53.8 percent of the Welsh households (14 out of 26) contained only immediate family members, while 63.6 percent of non-Welsh families lived in such a manner (105 out of 165). Those households that could not be termed nuclear included either members of the extended family, had separate families sharing a dwelling, included servants or boarders, or contained various combinations of all those possibilities. Of the 26 Welsh households, 26.9 percent (7 households) included extended family members, while only 6.1 percent (10 households) of non-Welsh households included non-immediate family members. A significant proportion of Welsh households included parents of either the head of the household or his or her spouse: 11.5 percent (3 households) had an elderly mother or father living in the household. Only 4.8 percent (8 households) of non-Welsh households found themselves in the same situation.<sup>25</sup> (See Table 6.)

The number of Welsh households containing extended family might be at least partially explained as a carryover from practices in Wales itself. The Welsh economy was generally poor throughout the nineteenth century and the economic challenges could have forced families to take in destitute relatives. When the Welsh immigrated to America, they might have continued to include stray relatives and elderly parents in their households.

**Table 5. Household and Family Size: Welsh (W) and Non-Welsh (NW); Sharon and Union Townships and United States, 1860 - 1880. Source: 1860, 1870, 1880 Federal Censuses of Iowa.**

	Sharon Township						Union Township						United States		
	1860		1870		1880		1860		1870		1880		1860	1870	1880
	<i>W</i>	<i>NW</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>NW</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>NW</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>NW</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>NW</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>NW</i>			
<b>Household</b>															
Average size	6.8	6.1	5.9	5.8	6.7	5.9	4.8	5.5	5.6	5.8	5	5.9	5.3	5.1	5
Median size	7	6	6	6	6	6	5	5	6	6	5	6			
n =	11	106	17	175	14	180	15	59	39	95	42	92			
<b>Family</b>															
Average size	6.7	5.6	5.5	5.5	6	5.6	4.1	4.7	5.3	5.3	4.4	5.6			
Median size	7	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	4	5			
n =	11	106	17	175	14	180	15	59	39	95	42	92			

**Table 6. Household and Family Composition: Welsh (W) and Non-Welsh (NW), led by Foreign-born head of household (F) or Native-born head of household (N); Combined Sharon and Union Townships, 1860 - 1880. Source: 1860, 1870, 1880 Federal Censuses.**

	1860			1860			1870		
	W	W F	W N	NW	NW F	NW N	W	W F	W N
<b>Households</b>									
Average size	5.7			5.9			5.7		
Median size	6			5			6		
n =	26			165			56		
<b>Family</b>									
Average size	5.1			5.3			5.3		
Median size	5			5			5		
n =	26			165			56		
<b>Children</b>									
Average number	3.5			3.9			3.6		
Median number	3			3			4		
Families with children	22			138			49		
<b>Nuclear Households / Families</b>									
Average size	5.2	5.1	7	5.4	5.1	5.6	5.6	5.7	4
Median size	5	5	7	5	6	5	5	6	4
n =	14	13	1	105	52	53	31	29	2
<b>Children</b>									
Average number	4.1	4	5	4.1	4	4.2	3.9	4	2
Median number	4	3.5	5	4	3	4	4	4	2
Families with children	11	10	1	87	41	46	29	27	2
<b>Extended households</b>									
Average size	6.2	6.5	4.5	6.8	6	7.1	5.8	5.9	5.5
Median size	6.5	7	4.5	6	5	6	6	6	5
n =	12	10	2	60	17	43	25	19	6
<b>Families in extended households</b>									
Average size	5	5.5	2.5	5.1	4.1	5.5	5	5	5
Median size	5	5	2.5	5	4	5	5	5	4.5
n =	12	10	2	60	17	43	25	19	6
<b>Children</b>									
Average number	3	3.1	2	3.5	2.5	3.9	3.2	3.3	3
Median number	3	3	2	3	2	3.5	3.5	3.5	3
Families with children	11	10	1	51	13	38	20	16	4

NW	1870		W	1880		NW	1880	
	NW F	NW N		W F	W N		NW F	NW N
5.8			5.4			5.9		
6			5			6		
270			56			272		
5.4			4.8			5.6		
5			5			5		
270			56			272		
3.8			3.3			3.9		
3			3			4		
236			45			243		
5.3	5.5	5.1	4.5	4.8	3.9	5.5	5.5	5.5
5	5	4	4	5	4	5	5	5
175	95	80	29	21	8	175	89	86
4	4.2	3.8	3.6	3.7	3.2	4.1	4	4.3
4	4	3	3	3	4	4	4	4
148	81	67	21	16	5	153	80	73
6.7	7.2	6.5	6.3	3.2	6.7	6.7	7.1	6.4
6	7	6	6	5.5	7	6	7	6
95	33	62	27	18	9	97	34	126
5.6	6.1	5.3	5.1	5.1	6	5.8	6.4	5.4
5	6	5	5	5	5	5	6	5
95	33	62	27	18	9	97	34	126
3.6	3.9	3.4	3.1	3	3.3	3.5	3.9	3.3
3	4	3	3	2.5	5	3	4	3
88	32	56	24	16	9	90	31	59



A significant number of both the Welsh and non-Welsh households included people not apparently related to the primary family. Of the Welsh households, 23.1 percent (6 households) counted unrelated persons as part of the household. Non-Welsh households sheltered even more non-family members at a rate of 32.7 percent (54 households). The vast majority of the unrelated persons in both communities were servants to the household, being either field or domestic laborers. In the Welsh community, 23.1 percent (6 households) of the households included servants or laborers, but only 7.7 percent (2 households) sheltered people who appeared to be boarders. Of the non-Welsh households, 29.1 percent (48 households) included servants or laborers, while only 8.5 percent (14 households) included boarders. Two families each in the Welsh and non-Welsh communities shared a common dwelling.<sup>26</sup>

While the small size of the Welsh community makes statistical comparison with the non-Welsh community imperfect, such a comparison does make some distinctions evident. The nuclear households in both the Welsh and non-Welsh communities had comparable family sizes and numbers of children per household. In the extended household category, however, the two communities differed somewhat. When the households are broken down into those headed by foreign-born adults vs. those headed by native-born adults, patterns of dissimilarity emerge. The Welsh extended households headed by foreign-born adults had an average family size of 5.5 people and a median of 5 people. The non-Welsh extended households headed by foreign-born adults had an average family size of only 4.1 people and a median of 4 people. Those same Welsh households had an average of 3.1 children per family and a median of 3 children, while the non-Welsh averaged 2.5 children per family and a median of only 2 children. The extended households led by adults born in Wales were larger than non-Welsh

extended households led by foreign-born adults, but the difference does not seem to be significant.<sup>27</sup>

In both the Welsh and non-Welsh communities, extended households consistently contained fewer children than nuclear households. This phenomenon matches the findings of Deborah Fink and Alicia Carriquiry regarding frontier-stage households in Nebraska: that women who lived in extended households tended to have fewer children than did the women who lived in nuclear households. The average number of children in Welsh nuclear households in 1860 was 4.1 children (median 4), while extended households only averaged 3 children (median 3). The non-Welsh disparity was similar: nuclear households averaged 4.1 children (median 4) while extended households averaged only 3.5 children (median 3). The dichotomy held true for households led by foreign-born adults and those led by native-born adults. Whether this trend was due to reduced labor needs on the farm, increased awareness of birth control methods, reduced isolation, or simply a change in family dynamics due to another adult's presence, the wives of extended households bore fewer children than their neighbors in nuclear families.<sup>28</sup>

With the growth of both the Welsh and non-Welsh communities in 1870, some household characteristics changed. Contrary to national trends, the average size of the 56 Welsh households remained at 5.7 people, but the average non-Welsh household size declined slightly to 5.8 people (270 total non-Welsh households). The median household size in each community was six people. The average household size in the entire United States declined in 1870 to only 5.1 people per household from 5.3 people in 1860. Family size for both the Welsh and non-Welsh rose slightly to 5.3 people per family among the Welsh and 5.4 people

among the non-Welsh. each, but both communities' median family size was still five. The household and family growth between 1860 and 1870 can mostly be attributed to the large number of children being born to the increasingly settled families. While the nation was collectively seeing the effects of voluntary family limitation, settlement patterns temporarily boosted family size in Sharon and Union Townships. Families that had delayed childbearing during the war and during migration could now welcome new babes with open arms.<sup>29</sup>

The proportions of nuclear families and extended households changed slightly in both the Welsh and non-Welsh populations in 1870. Where 53.8 percent of Welsh households in 1860 had contained only nuclear families, 55.4 percent of Welsh households were nuclear in 1870. The non-Welsh community saw a similar rise from 63.6 percent to 64.8 percent of the households being nuclear in 1870.<sup>30</sup>

Extended household structures changed somewhat as well. The proportion of Welsh households including extended family decreased from 26.9 percent in 1860 to only 19.6 percent (11 households) in 1870, but non-Welsh extended family households rose from 6.1 percent in 1860 to 10.4 percent (28 households) in 1870. Nearly the same proportion of Welsh households included elderly parents as before, 12.5 percent in 1870 (11.5 percent in 1860), but at only 3.3 percent, proportionally fewer non-Welsh households included parents than they had in 1860.<sup>31</sup>

Proportions of households including unrelated persons switched between the Welsh and non-Welsh in 1870. Whereas in 1860 only 23.1 percent of Welsh households included servants or boarders, in 1870 29.1 percent of the households counted such people. The increase might reflect a higher degree of prosperity among the long-established Welsh settlers.

The proportion of non-Welsh households included unrelated persons declined, however, from 32.7 percent in 1860 to 29.3 percent in 1870. The majority of these households in both communities still contained servants or laborers, not boarders. Servants or laborers were counted in 28.6 percent of Welsh households and 28.5 percent of non-Welsh households. None of the Welsh households and a slim 0.4 percent of non-Welsh households took in boarders or lodgers. For the women in charge of cooking and cleaning, household, there could not have been much difference between the additional labor involved in housing a laborer or a boarder. The number of instances where more than one family shared a dwelling rose slightly in the Welsh community to six and in the non-Welsh community to eighteen families.<sup>32</sup>

Once again in 1870, the Welsh and non-Welsh nuclear households exhibited similar characteristics but their extended household patterns differed. Welsh and non-Welsh nuclear households averaged around 5.5 people each with a median of 5 people, and both communities averaged just under 4 children per family with median of 4 children. However, the extended households of the Welsh and the non-Welsh differed on several points. The extended households led by foreign-born adults in the non-Welsh community showed particular growth in comparison to the rest of the extended households in either community. While in 1860 the number of non-Welsh foreign-born extended households had lagged behind the Welsh with an average size of only 6 people to the Welsh's 6.5, in 1870 the tables turned; foreign-born headed Welsh extended households averaged only 5.9 people while the same group of households in the non-Welsh community averaged 7.2 people. Family size in extended households followed a similar pattern as the average size of families in foreign-born-

adult-led extended households in the non-Welsh community rose from 4.1 people to 6.1 people (the median rose from 4 to 6). The same group of Welsh families declined in average size from 5.5 people in 1860 to an even 5 in 1870 (both medians being 5).

The number of children in families also changed in 1870. The most significant growth occurred among the non-Welsh extended households led by foreign-born adults. In 1860 those households had averaged only 2.5 children per family (median 2) but in 1870 the average had risen to 3.9 children per family (median 4). The opposite trend occurred among the non-Welsh native-born-headed extended households: in 1860 those households averaged 3.9 children per family (median 3.5) but in 1870 they only averaged 3.4 children (median 3).<sup>33</sup>

The disparity between the number of children born to women living in extended households vs. nuclear households remained in 1870, but was no longer as dramatic as in 1860. The average number of children in Welsh nuclear families in 1870 was 3.9 (median 4) while the Welsh families in extended household situations averaged 3.2 children (median 3.5). The Welsh families' extended households had narrowed the gap somewhat. The non-Welsh community saw a similar evening out in the number of children various families had. Non-Welsh nuclear families averaged 4.0 children per family (median 4) while the extended households averaged 3.6 children per family (median 3). The gap between foreign-born headed nuclear households and extended households narrowed even further as in 1870 non-Welsh nuclear families averaged 4.2 children (median 4) and families in extended households averaged 3.9 children (median 4).

1880 brought still more changes to household composition in Sharon and Union Townships. The number of Welsh households held steady at 56, as did the non-Welsh

(mostly) with 272 households. The average size of those households fell, however. Welsh households averaged only 5.4 people (median 5) in 1880, which fit better with national trends than the 1870 statistics had (at an average of 5.7 people and a median of 6). Non-Welsh households also declined slightly from 5.8 people (median 6) in 1870 to 5.6 people in 1880 (median 5). Both the Welsh and non-Welsh were still above the national average of 5.0 people, though. Welsh family size decreased noticeably from an average of 5.3 people in 1870 (median 5) to only 4.8 people in 1880 (median 5). As the Welsh population aged, fewer children were born and consequently family size declined. The non-Welsh averaged 5.4 people in 1870 (median 5) but in 1880 their average rose to 5.6 people per family (median 5).<sup>34</sup>

While the number of households in each community remained virtually the same, the proportion of nuclear families declined ever so slightly. The 31 nuclear Welsh families in 1870 declined to only 29 ( 51.8 percent) in 1880. The non-Welsh community still contained 175 nuclear families in 1880, but the total number of households had risen by 2 so the actual proportion of nuclear families fell to only 64.3 percent (it had been 64.8 percent in 1870).<sup>35</sup>

Extended household composition continued to change during the 1870s. The proportion of Welsh households containing extended family rose again to 23.2 percent (13 households) after its decline in 1870. The proportion of non-Welsh households that included extended family continued to rise from 10.4 percent in 1870 to 16.5 percent in 1880 (45 households). Increasing from 12.5 percent in 1870, the proportion of Welsh households including an elderly parent rose to 14.3 percent in 1880, and the non-Welsh proportion similarly rose from 3.3 percent to 5.5 percent.

The relative proportions of households including unrelated persons in 1880 continued the trends they had established between 1860 and 1870. The proportion of Welsh households so composed rose from 29.1 percent in 1870 to 39.3 percent in 1880. The non-Welsh proportion again declined from 29.3 percent to 24.6 percent. The decline of unrelated household members may be in part a reflection of the low number of young adults. Of the Welsh households in 1880, 33.9 percent included servants of some sort, while 21.3 percent of non-Welsh households did. Those households including servants reflect an increased prosperity, especially in the Welsh community. Only 7.1 percent of Welsh households took in boarders, and an even smaller 4.4 percent on non-Welsh households included boarders. The number of families sharing dwellings is unavailable for 1880 because the census taker did not record all the dwelling numbers.<sup>36</sup>

Household compositions changed significantly in 1880. The average size of Welsh nuclear households declined from 5.6 people in 1870 (median 5) to only 4.5 people in 1880 (median 4), but the average size of non-Welsh nuclear households rose slightly from 5.3 people (median 5) to 5.5 people (median 5). The Welsh nuclear families also had fewer children than before, with an average of 3.6 children and a median of only 3 in 1880 while in 1870 the average had been 3.9 children and the median 4. The non-Welsh, on the other hand, slightly increased the number of children per nuclear family to an average of 4.1 children and a median of 4.<sup>37</sup>

Extended households continued to exhibit differences when broken down into Welsh and non-Welsh communities and subgroups. The average size of the Welsh extended households increased from 5.8 people in 1870 to 6.3 people in 1880 (both medians of 6). The

surprising increase was in the native-born-adult headed Welsh extended households, which rose in average size from 5.5 people to 6.7 people (the actual number households rose from 6 to 9, though). Among the non-Welsh, extended household size remained at 6.7 people (median 6) while family size in those households increased ever so slightly from 5.6 people to 5.8 people (both medians 5). Non-Welsh extended households were larger than Welsh extended households across the board, whether headed by foreign or native-born adults.

The number of children per family in extended households declined in some subcategories and rose in others. Among the Welsh, the average number of children per family declined from 3.2 children in 1870 (median 3.5) to only 3.1 in 1880 (median 3). Overall, the non-Welsh saw a similar decline from 3.6 children (median 3) to 3.5 (median 3). The number of children in Welsh extended households led by foreign-born adults, however, declined dramatically from 3.25 in 1870 (median 3.5) to only 3 children in 1880 (median 2.5). By 1880 the Welsh community was well established and the immigrants from Wales were aging, so the number of children would logically decline in those households. The number of children per family in foreign-born led non-Welsh extended households remained at 3.9 (median 4), while the children per family in households led by native-born adults declined from 3.4 children in 1870 (median 3) to only 3.3 children in 1880 (median 3). The decline is slight, but it continues the trend established between 1860 and 1870.<sup>38</sup>

Families in extended households continued to have fewer children than nuclear families. Welsh nuclear families averaged 3.6 children in 1880 (median 3), while Welsh families in extended households only averaged 3.1 children (median 3). The median number of children per family in the two types of household finally evened out, but the averages still



indicate differences between the household structures' influences on childbearing. The non-Welsh nuclear families averaged 4.1 children (median 4), while the extended households averaged only 3.5 children per family (median 3). Among families headed by foreign-born adults, however, nuclear and extended household patterns seemed to no longer make a significant difference. The nuclear families headed by non-Welsh foreign-born adults averaged 4 children per family (median 4), while the extended households averaged 3.9 children per family (median 4). The gap between nuclear and extended still yawned great among the households headed by native-born adults. The non-Welsh nuclear families headed by native-born adults averaged 4.3 children per family (median 4), while the extended households averaged only 3.3 children per family (median 3).

The Welsh community could be distinguished from the non-Welsh, but the two communities did share many characteristics in common. Both the Welsh and non-Welsh households of Sharon and Union Townships were consistently larger than the national average in 1860, 1870, and 1880, which reflected the townships' relatively recent settlement, though both Welsh and non-Welsh household sizes also consistently declined according to national trend. Significant proportions of both the Welsh and the non-Welsh households could be termed extended household situations. Within these extended households, proportionally more Welsh households included non-immediate family members than did non-Welsh households. Both Welsh and non-Welsh extended households consistently contained fewer children than did nuclear households. And among both the Welsh and the non-Welsh, the birthplace of the head of household significantly influenced the household size and the number of children contained therein.

**FORESTON/LIME SPRINGS WELSH COMMUNITY, HOWARD COUNTY**

The similarity of the Welsh to their non-Welsh neighbors was consistent across time and space. Information about the Foreston–Lime Springs Welsh Community, and its interaction with the larger non-Welsh community, can be obtained by comparing the Welsh population to their neighbors. The Foreston–Lime Springs Welsh Community incorporated parts of seven different townships, one in Fillmore County, Minnesota and six in Howard County, Iowa. In an effort to obtain a complete statistical picture of the Welsh community, families from all of the above townships have been grouped into one unit. To keep the comparison from becoming too unwieldy, however, the Welsh will only be compared to the non-Welsh population of Forest City Township, instead of the non-Welsh of all seven townships. Forest City Township was chosen because it served as the geographic and population center of the Welsh settlement. The two populations also turn out to be roughly the same size, making comparisons easy to understand, if not proportionally representative. According to figures gleaned from the 1880 Federal Censuses of Iowa and Minnesota, the Foreston–Lime Springs Welsh population totaled 771 people. Similarly, the non-Welsh population of Forest City Township numbered 679 people. Forest City Township contained a total of 968 people, but 289 (29.9 percent) of those were members of the Welsh community.<sup>39</sup>

**Birthplace**

One statistically identifiable characteristic of the Welsh community is the extent of the foreign-born population. Fully 34.8 percent of the Welsh community was born outside the United States, 33.2 percent in Wales itself. Only 15.5 percent of the Forest City Township

was born outside the United States, mostly coming from Norway (twenty-three people) and Canada (twenty-two people). Most of the foreign-born in both populations were adults, which is only to be expected. In fact, 59.9 percent (217 people) of the adults included in the Welsh community were born in Wales. Of the non-Welsh adults of Forest City Township, five percent (nineteen people) were born in Norway, five percent (nineteen people) were born in Canada, and 2.7 percent (ten people) were born in Sweden. Others countries' contributions to Forest City Township were even smaller. Within the Welsh settlement, then, foreign-born adults had a greater presence in their community far more than foreign-born adults in the non-Welsh community. The relatively high representation of Welsh-born adults within the community can only have served to strengthen the community's ethnic character.<sup>40</sup> (See Table 7.)

A study of the adults' birthplaces also reveals something of the geographic patterns of migration that brought settlers to northern Iowa. Among the Welsh born in the United States, those born in Wisconsin by far outnumbered the rest: twenty-four percent (87 people) of the Welsh community adults were born in Wisconsin. The next most represented state was New York, with just 7.7 percent of the adults (28 people). Among the non-Welsh adults of Forest City Township, those born in New York dominated the native-born population; fully 30.3 percent (114 people) of the non-Welsh adults were born in that state. Wisconsin ranked second with nine percent (thirty-four people) of adults, closely followed by Iowa with 8.5 percent (thirty-two people). Pennsylvania followed with 6.1 percent (twenty-three people) and Vermont with 5.6 percent (twenty-one people). In spite of the influence of established Welsh communities in Wisconsin and Iowa, Welsh immigrants to Howard County migrated

**Table 7. Foreston/Lime Springs Welsh and Forest City Township, Howard County: Birthplace Statistics**

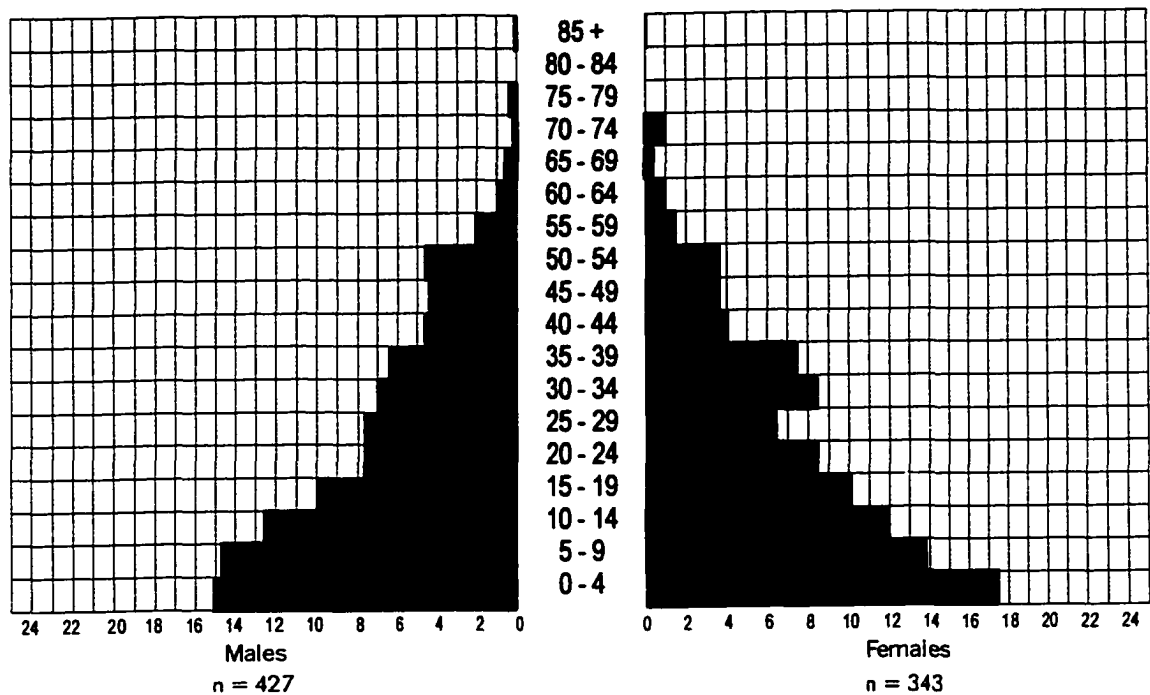
Birthplace	Welsh	Percent of Total	Welsh Adults 20+	Welsh Children	Welsh Heads	Non-Welsh Native-born	Non-Welsh Native-born Adults 20+	Non-Welsh Native-born Children	Non-Welsh Native-born Heads	Non-Welsh Foreign-born	Non-Welsh Foreign-born Adults 20+	Non-Welsh Foreign-born Children	Non-Welsh Foreign-born Heads									
Wales	771	33.2	217	59.9	39	9.6	17	76.5	3	.6	2	.7	1	.5								
Austria	1	0.1	1	.3		1	.7															
Canada	5	0.7	4	1.1	1	.3	1	7	6	1.3	5	1.8	1	.5								
Denmark																						
England	5	0.7	3	.8	2	.5		2	.4	2	.7											
Germany	1	0.1	1	.3				2	.4	2	.7											
Holland								1	.2			1	.5									
Ireland								1	.2	1	.4											
Norway								1	.2	1	.4											
Scotland																						
Sweden																						
Sweden										13	6.6	10	10.1	3	3.0	7	16.8					
Wales	256	33.2	217	59.9	39	9.6	17	76.5	3	.6	2	.7	1	.5								
Connecticut								3	3	1.1			2	1.6								
Iowa	184	23.9	5	1.4	79	43.9		184	.6	81	11.2	153	75.0	4	3.3	61	30.8	1	1.0	60	60.6	
Illinois	9	1.2	3	.8	5	1.2		16	38.3	11	4.0	5	1.5	3	2.5	2	1.0			2	2.0	
Indiana	3	0.4	2	.6	1	.3		7	3.3	6	2.2	1	.5	4	3.3							
Maine								7	1.5	5	1.8	2	1.0	3	2.5							
Maryland	1	0.1	1	.3				1	1.5	1	.4											
Massachusetts								5	2	5	1.8		4	3.3								
Michigan	5	0.7			5	1.2		1	1.0	1	.4			1	.5					1	1.0	
Minnesota	52	6.7	1	.3	51	12.5		16	2	2	.7	14	6.9		12	6.1	3	3.0	9	9.1		
Montana	1	0.1			1	.3					3.3											
New Hampshire								4	.8	4	1.4		2	1.6								
New York	38	4.9	28	7.7	10	4.5	9	5.9	10	22.9	107	38.6	3	1.5	58	47.5	8	4.0	7	7.1	1	1.0
Ohio	1	0.1			1	.3		19	4.0	19	6.9		8	6.6								
Pennsylvania	7	0.9	7	1.9			1	7	23	4.8	21	7.6	2	1.0	11	9.0	4	2.0	2	2.0	2	2.0
Tennessee								1	.2	1	.4		1	.8								
Vermont	1	0.1	1	.3			1	.7	20	4.2	19	6.9	1	.5	11	9.0	2	1.0	2	2.0		
Virginia	1	0.1	1	.3				1	.2	1	.4		1	.8	1	.5				1	1.0	
Wisconsin	200	25.9	87	24.3	113	27.7	23	15.0	47	9.8	27	9.8	20	9.8	10	8.2	18	9.1	7	7.1	11	11.1

from those two states, as well as other eastern states, in similar proportions to the non-Welsh.<sup>41</sup>

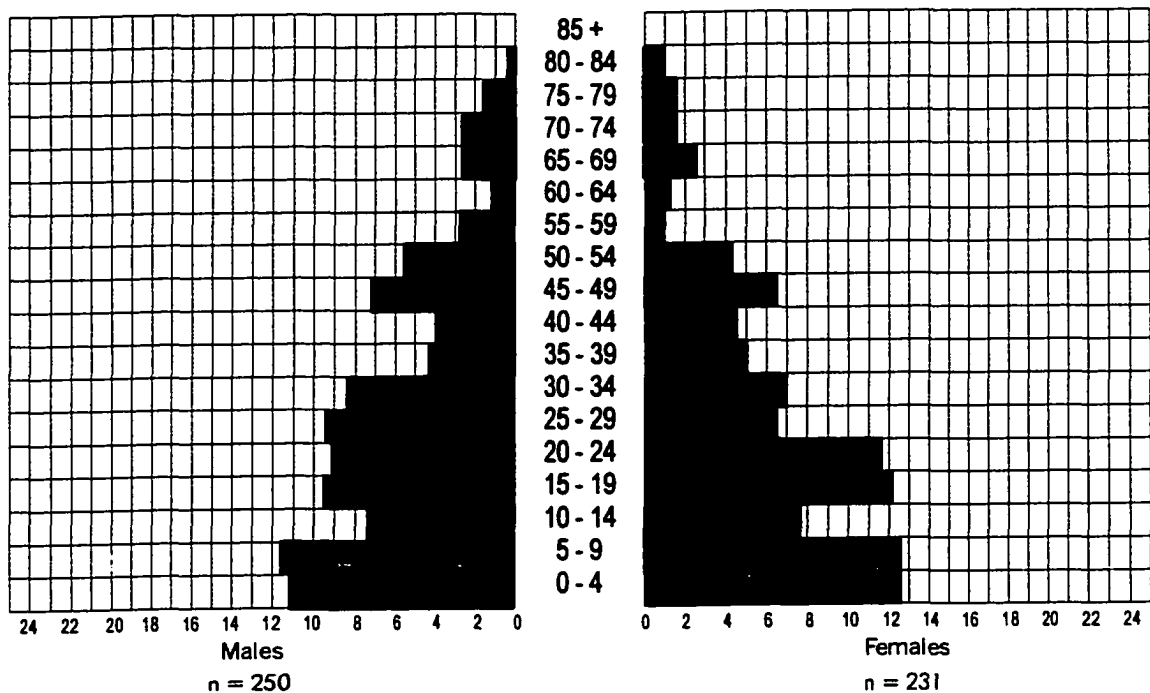
The children of both the Welsh and non-Welsh communities were by and large born in Iowa. Fully 43.8 percent (179 people) of the Welsh community's children were born in Iowa, 12.5 percent (fifty-one people) in Minnesota, 27.8 percent (113 people) in Wisconsin, and 9.5 percent (thirty-nine people) in Wales. Since the Welsh community was located in both Iowa and Minnesota, those children born in either state could be considered to be born after settlement in the community, bringing local births up to 56.3 percent (230 people) of the children. In the non-Welsh community, Iowa-born children were even more dominant, comprising 70.3 percent of the under-twenty population (213 people). Children born in Wisconsin amounted to 10.2 percent (31 people) of the non-Welsh children, and those born in Minnesota 7.6 percent (23 people). The above birthplace statistics indicate that the non-Welsh population of Forest City Township arrived earlier than did the Welsh settlers. The Welsh settlers were often either first or second-generation immigrants, their route to Iowa taking them from Wales through New York through Wisconsin to Iowa. The non-Welsh were mostly born in the United States and originally hailed from New York and, or by way of, Wisconsin. Although the Welsh and non-Welsh migration routes overlapped geographically, their immigration to Iowa took place at different times, putting the communities at different stages of development when the census was taken in 1880.<sup>42</sup>

### **Age Distribution**

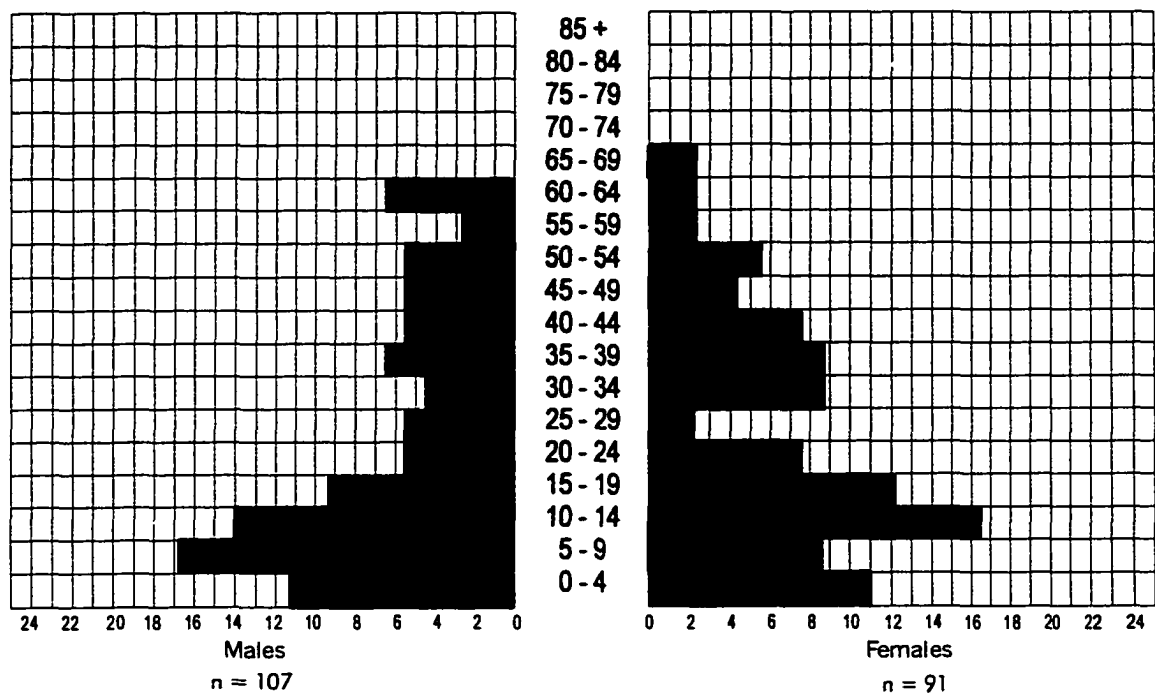
The age distribution of the Welsh and non-Welsh populations also indicates different stages of community development. The Welsh community exhibits the characteristics of a settled but growing population. The distribution curve progresses fairly smoothly through the age cohorts. In contrast, the non-Welsh native-born age distribution histogram reflects a community whose growth has slowed considerably. While there is a healthy population of young children, the birthrate has obviously tapered off in the five years before 1880. The young adult age cohorts (ages 15 to 24) are larger than their Welsh counterparts, indicating a population that experienced its last large increase almost a generation before. The bubble in the young adult cohorts matches the bubble in the 45-54 age cohorts, which would include the parents of the young adults. The non-Welsh foreign-born age distribution histogram reveals yet another community development model. The birthrate was drastically lower than would be expected in an established, growing community. The number of children ages 5 to 14, however, is quite large. The large number of children in that age group matches the consistently large number of adults in the 30 to 54 age cohorts, indicating a child-parent correlation. In summary, the Welsh community was settled and steadily growing, while the non-Welsh communities reflected their earlier development and subsequent stagnation.<sup>43</sup> (See Figures 27, 28, and 29.)



**Figure 27.** Age Distribution Graph (percent of population by sex), Foreston-Lime Springs Welsh. Source: 1880 Federal Census of Iowa.



**Figure 28.** Age Distribution Graph (percent of population by sex), 1880 Forest City Township Non-Welsh Native-born. Source: 1880 Federal Census of Iowa.



**Figure 29.** Age Distribution Graph (percent of population by sex), 1880 Forest City Township Non-Welsh Foreign-born. Source: 1880 Federal Census of Iowa.



### **Household and Family**

A study of households and families in 1880 reveals that approximately ninety percent of both Welsh and non-Welsh families in the area were nuclear, containing just parents and their children (91.5 percent of Welsh families, 89.3 percent of native-born non-Welsh, and 92.9 percent of foreign-born non-Welsh). Their household structures were also similar, with twenty-four percent of Welsh households including people not of the immediate family, twenty percent of native-born led households being so composed, and seventeen percent of foreign-born headed households including more than immediate family members.<sup>44</sup>

The calculations of the average size of the different groups' families does reveal slight differences, however. While the nuclear Welsh families of Howard County included an average of 5.0 people (both mean and median), the nuclear foreign-born families had a mean number of only 4.4 people (a median of 4.0 people), and the nuclear native-born families averaged only 3.6 people (a median 3.0 people). Likewise, the average number of children in the above categories of nuclear families were respectively 3.5 (Welsh median 3.0), 2.9 (foreign-born median 2.5), and 2.6 children (native-born median 2.0). Married fertility rates were consistent with the groups' average number of children, as they reflected the general tendency of each group to bear children. The native-born families had fewer children and a relative low fertility rate of 838. The foreign-born women's fertility rate was only 759, also consistent with their average number of children. Not surprisingly considering the recorded family sizes, the Welsh had the highest fertility rate of the three groups, theirs being 1250. The fertility rates also seem to reflect the fact that the Welsh community was at an earlier stage of development than the non-Welsh community.<sup>45</sup> (See Table 8.)

**Table 8. 1880 Foreston/Lime Springs Welsh and Forest City Township, Howard County: Family and Household Statistics**

	Household Size			Family Size			No. Children			Marital Fertility
	Mean	Median	n=	Mean	Median	n=	Mean	Median	n=	
<b>Welsh</b>	5.0	5.0	153	4.8	4.0	153	3.4	3.0	128	1250
Extended Household and Family	4.5	4.0	13	3.9	4.0	13	2.3	2.0	6	
Extended Household, Nuclear Family	5.7	5.0	24	4.5	4.0	24	2.8	2.0	21	
Nuclear Household and Family	5.0	5.0	116	5.0	5.0	116	3.5	3.0	101	
<b>Non-Welsh</b>	4.1	4.0	164	4.0	4.0	164	2.7	2.0	121	
<b>Non-Welsh Native-born</b>										838
Extended Household and Family	4.6	4.0	13	4.5	4.0	13	2.7	3.0	9	
Extended Household, Nuclear Family	5.5	4.5	12	4.1	3.5	12	2.6	2.5	10	
Nuclear Household and Family	3.7	3.0	97	3.6	3.0	97	2.6	2.0	66	
<b>Non-Welsh Foreign-born</b>										759
Extended Household and Family	7.7	9.0	3	7.7	9.0	3	4.7	6.0	3	
Extended Household, Nuclear Family	5.3	4.5	4	3.0	3.0	4	1.3	1.0	3	
Nuclear Household and Family	4.4	4.0	35	4.4	4.0	35	2.9	2.5	30	

Further differentiating the foreign-born non-Welsh community reveals that the Welsh household and family sizes most closely resembled those of the English. All of the eight English households were nuclear and both the average household and family size was 5.1 people (a median of 5.0 people), which is almost identical to the Welsh averages of 5.0. As would be expected, the two groups had a similar number of children, with the English averaging 3.6 per household and the Welsh 3.5 (both medians being 3.0). In spite of their similarities, however, the English and Welsh populations drastically differed in their marital fertility rates. While the Welsh rate was 1250, the English rate was only 429. The Welsh community was established and growing, but the English community was ageing and hardly increasing at all. In fact, the Welsh had the highest marital fertility rate of any immigrant group. At 500 the Irish rate was barely higher than the English, and the Swedish rate of 800 and Norwegian rate of 857 more closely resembled the native-born marital fertility rate than that of the Welsh. In *From Peasants to Farmers*, Jon Gjerde found that in the Midwest Norwegian marital fertility rates did, indeed, begin to decline after 1860. That the Forest City Township Norwegians followed a similar pattern indicates that their community, too, was older than the Welsh community. The Welsh community was still developing in 1880, while the native-born non-Welsh and various immigrant groups of non-Welsh were stagnating.<sup>46</sup>

## **SUMMARY**

The three Welsh communities studies above all demonstrate the importance of timing in demographic analysis. In each case, both native-born and foreign-born immigrants arrived in the settlements before the Welsh did, so that at each census enumeration the Welsh

communities were at different stages of development than were the non-Welsh communities. As the non-Welsh communities moved into later stages of their development, with slowed birthrates and skewed age distributions, the Welsh communities indicated continued growth and immigration. When each community's figures were adjusted to account for different immigration and settlement timelines, their age distribution, family and household characteristics were similar to those of the non-Welsh community. Just as such ethnic markers as language and religion indicate that the Iowa Welsh quickly and thoroughly assimilated into general American society, their demographic characteristics bear out the observation that the Welsh of Iowa were increasingly indistinguishable from their non-Welsh neighbors.

## NOTES

1. "1850 Federal Census of Iowa, Des Moines County. Population Schedule."
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.; Fertility rate calculated according to methodology explained by Deborah Fink and Alicia Carriquery in "Having Babies or Not: Household Composition and Fertility in Rural Iowa and Nebraska, 1900-1910," *Great Plains Quarterly* 12 (1992): 159; Jeremy Atack and Fred Bateman, *To Their Own Soil: Agriculture in the Antebellum North* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1987), 49-50.
5. Atack and Bateman, 39-43.
6. Ibid.; "1850 Federal Census of Iowa. Agriculture Schedule."
7. "1850 Federal Census of Iowa. Agriculture Schedule."
8. Ibid.
9. Atack and Bateman, 112-13.
10. "1860 Federal Census of Iowa, Johnson County. Population Schedule."; "1870 Federal Census of Iowa, Johnson County. Population Schedule."; "1880 Federal Census of Iowa, Johnson County. Population Schedule."
10. Atack and Bateman, 39-43; Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled From the Original Returns of the Eighth Census, under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior, Vol. 1* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), 132-133.
12. "1860 Federal Census of Iowa, Johnson County. Population Schedule."
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. "1870 Federal Census of Iowa, Johnson County. Population Schedule."
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.
20. "1880 Federal Census of Iowa, Johnson County. Population Schedule."
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, Part 1* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1975), 41; 1860 Federal Census of Iowa, Johnson County, Population Schedule.
25. "1860 Federal Census of Iowa, Johnson County. Population Schedule."
26. Except nuclear family designations, none of the household designations are mutually exclusive. A single household could contain extended family, servants and boarders, therefore falling into several categories at the same time. "1860 Federal Census of Iowa, Johnson County. Population Schedule."
27. "1860 Federal Census of Iowa, Johnson County. Population Schedule."
28. Fink and Carriquiry, "Having Babies or Not: Household Composition and Fertility in Rural Iowa and Nebraska, 1900 - 1910," 159; "1860 Federal Census of Iowa, Johnson County. Population Schedule."
29. *Historical Statistics*, 41; "1870 Federal Census of Iowa, Johnson County. Population Schedule."
30. "1870 Federal Census of Iowa, Johnson County. Population Schedule."
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. *Historical Statistics*, 41; "1880 Federal Census of Iowa, Johnson County. Population Schedule."
35. "1880 Federal Census of Iowa, Johnson County. Population Schedule."
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. "1880 Federal Census of Iowa, Howard County. Population Schedule."

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.; It should be noted, however, that while the population trends do seem clear, statistical anomalies could account for distribution irregularities. The non-Welsh foreign-born population is relatively small, including only 107 males and 91 females. The eight percent difference between the female 5-9 cohort and the female 10-14 cohort actually only represents seven people.

44. "1880 Federal Census of Iowa, Howard County. Population Schedule."

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid; Jon Gjerde, *From Peasants to Farmers: The Migration from Balestrand, Norway, to the Upper Middle West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 210-11.

## CHAPTER 6. WELSH COAL MINERS

While the first Welsh immigrated to Iowa in search of opportunities in agriculture, in the latter decades of the nineteenth century a new wave of Welsh arrived in Iowa. These were the Welsh coal miners. They were lured by the promise of work in Iowa's growing coal industry, by ties to already settled Welsh, and by Iowa's farmland. While Welsh coal miners shared a common heritage with the Welsh in non-mining communities, the nature of the coal mining industry ensured that the coal miners' lives would differ in a number of important ways. Aside from the harsh work environment and stark living conditions of coal camps, the Welsh found that Iowa mining communities were short-lived, existing only as long as the mines were prosperous. Miners and their families were often required to move at the very least once a decade, making it difficult to build and maintain community institutions. Nevertheless, Welsh miners clustered in certain towns and coal camps, making it possible to establish Welsh communities that lasted at least as long as the work did. As in the non-mining Welsh communities, the miners turned to the Welsh church as an institution of Welsh community and culture. The miners also turned to music as a manifestation of their cultural identity, echoing the connection between industry and choralism observed in Wales itself. Through their expressions of Welsh identity and affiliation with the larger Welsh community, the Welsh carved out a place for themselves in the ethnically diverse coal fields of Iowa.

As discussed earlier, in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century the rural population of Wales declined as the new industrial centers promised laborers not only work but cash wages. At the same time that improved agricultural conditions encouraged rural Welsh to immigrate to America, an industrial depression in the late 1840s and 1850s also



encouraged industrial workers to immigrate to America. With skills to offer the nascent American coal industry, thousands of Welsh colliers (coal miners) flocked to the coal fields of Pennsylvania. From there, many moved on to the coal fields in West Virginia, Ohio and Illinois, hoping for better wages, more work, or simply a change in scenery. The first Welsh miners to immigrate were soon followed by sons, brothers, nephews, cousins, and friends, all in search of opportunity, hoping it would be found at the bottom of an American coal pit.<sup>1</sup>

The Welsh miners' eyes were not solely focused on work below the earth. The majority of them saw immigration to America as a step toward owning their own farms and returning to their agricultural roots, if with better results than experienced in Wales. In fact, many Welshmen had entered the coal mines of South Wales in order to earn enough money to immigrate to America and eventually purchase farmland. To them, working in the American coal fields was just another step on the path to land ownership. To that end, many Welsh in America sought to combine their work in the mines with farming. This desire was certainly present in the Welsh miners who eventually made their way to Iowa.<sup>2</sup>

Even as the Pennsylvania coal industry sank into a depression in the 1850s, Iowa's coal industry was just getting underway. The first Iowa coal mines served local fuel and heating needs, but such markets were small and seasonal. As railroad companies crisscrossed the state with tracks in the late 1860s, they required more and more coal to fuel their trains. Private concerns and railway companies alike began to develop Iowa's largely untapped coal fields, which lay beneath the southern half of the state. Each new mine brought new jobs with it, attracting experienced coal miners from the eastern United States and even overseas. Attracted by jobs and perhaps by farmland, Welsh miners were among the first coal miners to

settle in Iowa. Mine operators valued the Welsh, as well as English and Scottish miners, for their coal mining experience and trade craft. Companies certainly would have encouraged Welsh miners to send for friends and family members with mining experience. In this way Welsh mining communities, too, took root in the soil of Iowa and became an important part of Iowa's ethnic landscape between 1860 and 1930.<sup>3</sup>

The Thomas Bowen family exemplifies the miners' often indirect journey from Wales to Iowa. Thomas Bowen and Sarah Hopkins were married in 1842, in the mining district Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, Wales. Both were children of colliers and after their marriage, Thomas Bowen himself continued to mine coal to support his ever growing family. Most likely to escape the depressed conditions of the Welsh coal industry, in 1847, Thomas and Sarah Bowen moved their three young children to Luzerne County, Pennsylvania. By 1850, the Bowens had relocated to Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, where Thomas Bowen again worked as a collier to support the still growing family. The Bowens moved again, in 1854, to Mercer County, Pennsylvania, and by 1860 had made their way to Van Buren County, Iowa. In 1865 the Bowens, by then consisting of two parents and twelve children, settled in Beacon, Mahaska County, Iowa. Once again Thomas Bowen worked in the coal mines, this time for only two years until his death in 1867. Sarah Bowen survived him until 1877, when she drowned in Muchakinock Creek. Though the Bowens did not live long in Iowa, their long journey from Wales was representative of many Welsh mining families' experiences.<sup>4</sup>

As the history of the Moses Thomas family illustrates, immigration from Wales to the coal fields of Iowa was often influenced by family members. Moses Thomas was born in Trap, South Wales on February 10, 1822. He grew up on a small farm and eventually learned

carpentry, a trade he was to follow intermittently the rest of his life. In 1847, Moses Thomas married the widow Jane Davies Smith in the mining district of Aberdare, Glamorganshire, Wales, where they continued to make their home for another twenty years. To the one daughter, Sarah (b. 1842), that Jane had by her first husband, Moses and Jane added nine more children: William C., Edward (died in infancy), Edward "Two", Gomer, Isaac, Annie, Amelia, David, and Ruth.<sup>5</sup>

In 1867, the Thomas family began a series of migrations in search of better circumstances and opportunities. The two oldest children, Sarah and William, had each previously married, and in 1867 decided to move their families to America. Sarah and her husband Henry Jones settled in Oskaloosa, Mahaska County, Iowa. In 1871, Moses and Jane Thomas and their remaining seven children followed Sarah to Mahaska County, Iowa. Two of those children, Edward and Gomer, were coal miners in Wales and upon immigrating to Iowa continued to work as colliers. On July 31, 1872, Moses and Jane Thomas purchased land from Sarah and Henry Jones and settled in the newly established town of Enterprise, located southwest of Oskaloosa on the Keokuk and Des Moines Valley Railroad. In 1874, the town was renamed Beacon. Moses Thomas became a United States citizen on April 16, 1877, and he and Jane lived in Beacon until their respective deaths in 1915 and 1904.<sup>6</sup>

That the Bowen and the Thomas families both settled in Mahaska County was no mere coincidence of geography. Iowa's coal deposits lay primarily beneath the central and south-central regions of Iowa, with the richest and most productive seams located beneath Mahaska, Marion, Monroe, Wapello, and Appanoose Counties. Although most coal mines came to be located in the southeast quadrant of the state, the mining operations were not developed in

any logical geographical order across the coal field. Iowa's first major mining company, The Des Moines Coal Company, was established in 1864, near Des Moines, Polk County. In 1873, the company opened the Black Diamond Mine, Iowa's first large-scale coal mine. Polk County would consistently remain near the top in coal output throughout the Iowa coal industry's existence. Sparking large-scale mining in the southern counties, the Whitebreast Fuel Company established mines in Lucas County in the early 1870s. By 1880, the company employed 360 miners to dig coal under the banks of Whitebreast Creek. The company was one of the most successful in Iowa, eventually opening mines in other counties and continuing to prosper into the 1900s. Yet the Des Moines Coal Company and the Whitebreast Fuel Company were only two of the many operations that began to mine Iowa's coal fields in the 1870s and early 1880s, including a number in Mahaska County. The vast majority of coal companies were small, with only one operator and confined to one community. In 1905, for example, four different coal companies operated exclusively in and around What Cheer.<sup>7</sup>

By the mid-1870s, the railroad industry purchased most of Iowa's coal output. The railroads eventually learned that their costs would be reduced if they owned the mines themselves, so they invested in what were referred to as captive, or shipping, mines, such those run by the Consolidation Coal Company. By 1895 approximately 342 coal mines dotted the land, and almost seven thousand men worked the coal field. The industry peaked in 1917 and World War I provided such a market that mining jobs were available for any able man. The Iowa coal industry was already declining in 1925, but in that year over eleven thousand miners worked in 354 mines. Though local mines consistently outnumbered shipping mines, it was the shipping mines that produced the most coal. Appanoose County mines sold

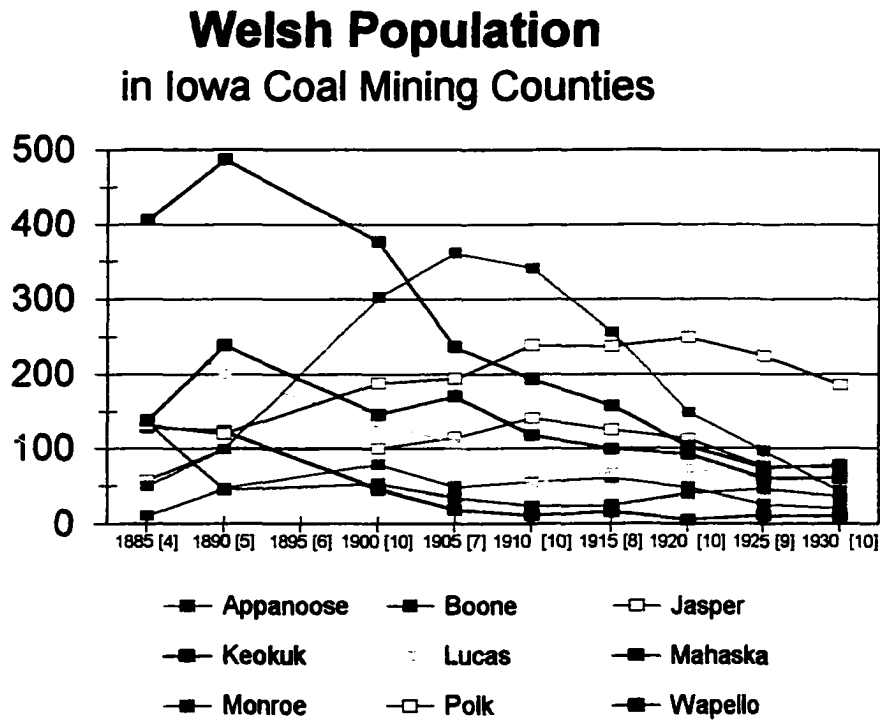
1,503,857 tons of coal in 1920. Of that total, only 83,176 tons of coal were sold locally. Railroad companies alone purchased 638,492 tons from Appanoose County mines in 1920. Still, that number foretold the coming decline of the Iowa coal industry. It was in the 1920s that Iowa railroads found that they could purchase higher quality coal at lower prices from other states.<sup>8</sup>

Iowa's coal mines attracted thousands of foreign immigrants looking for work and opportunity. In general, Iowa's immigration patterns matched those of the country as a whole: before 1880, most of the foreign-born miners came from Northern and Western Europe, primarily from the British Isles. Beginning in the 1880s, the national origins of new miners coming to Iowa increasingly reflected the general shift trend to more immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe. In 1880, for example, Iowa only had 122 residents who had been born in Italy. After 1900, however, Italian immigrants became an important part of Iowa's coal mining industry, and in 1905 Iowa was home to 1,645 Italians.<sup>9</sup>

In keeping with national and state immigration patterns, most of the Welsh miners immigrated to Iowa before 1890. The peak of Welsh immigration to Iowa occurred in the 1870s and 1880s, with roughly half of the increase due to the immigration of Welsh miners. The 1860 Census of Iowa listed only 961 people who had been born in Wales. That number more than tripled in the 1880 census, with 3,031 Iowa residents claiming Welsh birth. In 1885, the total stood at 3,346 people, and it peaked in 1890 with 3,601 Welsh-born. Of the 1890 total of 3,601 Welsh-born Iowans, 1,491 resided in counties where Welsh mining communities existed (Appanoose, Boone, Greene, Jasper, Keokuk, Lucas, Mahaska, Monroe, Polk, and Wapello). By 1905, only 1,304 Welsh-born were enumerated in those same

counties, with the number steadily declining from that point on.<sup>10</sup> (See Figure 30.)

The state census also provides an idea of the Welsh miners' migration patterns within Iowa. 1885 was the first year in which people born in Wales were enumerated separately from those born in England, so statistics are missing for the early years of the mining industry. Beginning in 1885, however, when the mining industry was on its first upswing in Iowa, a number of censuses did provide at least county-level data on residents born in Wales. A study



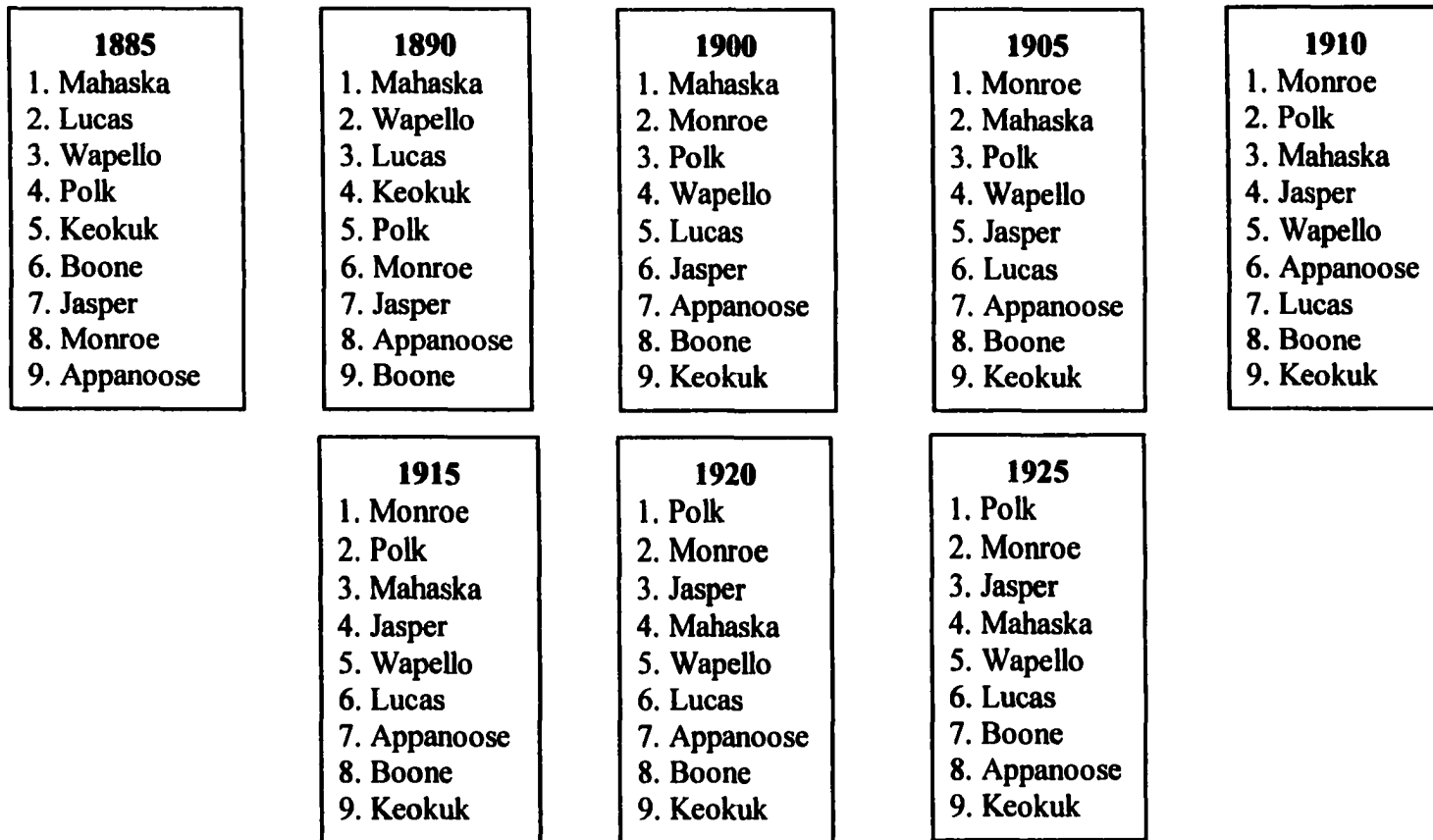
**Figure 30.** Welsh Population in Iowa Coal Mining Counties. Source: [4]Census of Iowa for 1885; [5]Eleventh Census: 1890; [6]Census of Iowa for 1895; [10]Consortium, Study 00003—Federal Censuses for 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930; [7]Census of Iowa for 1905; [8]Census of Iowa for 1915; [9]Census of Iowa for 1925.

of this data reveals that, as expected, the number of Welsh in any given mining-oriented county depended on the state of that county's coal industry. Like other struggling mining families, Welsh families moved where the work was, often relying on their network of family and friends for jobs and support.

The Edward and Gomer Thomas families were just two of the hundreds of Welsh families caught in the web of coal mine booms and busts. Edward Thomas began his Iowa coal mining career in Beacon in 1872. When the local mines slowed down in about 1878, he moved to the newly established town of Cleveland. Edward Thomas remained in Cleveland through the early years of its decline in the late 1880s until he returned to Beacon in 1891 to take advantage of Mahaska County's resurging coal boom. Edward Thomas moved his family one last time, to Colfax in 1908, again to benefit from that county's mining success. Gomer Thomas followed much the same path as his brother Edward. He began mining in Beacon in 1872 and followed the coal seam to Cleveland, where he remained until 1896, at which time he moved to Sevier.<sup>11</sup>

Each of the above cases of migration fits well with the general pattern of Welsh migration between Iowa coal mining counties. General correlations can be found between the rise of one Welsh community and the demise of another. Figure 31 illustrates the shifts in Welsh population between counties during the forty years between 1885 and 1925.

The case of David Davies illustrates yet another shift in Welsh mining population, this time from the coal fields to the corn fields. David Davis's coal mining career took him through the later years of Iowa's coal boom. He started out with his father Stephen Davis in Givin, Mahaska County, in 1888. When the Givin mines began to slow production in 1907,



**Figure 31.** Coal Mining Counties ranked in descending order of Welsh population, by Year. Source: *Census of Iowa for 1885; Eleventh Census: 1890; Census of Iowa for 1895; Consortium, Study 00003—Federal Censuses for 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930; Census of Iowa for 1905; Census of Iowa for 1915; Census of Iowa for 1925.*



David left his father and accompanied some friends to Idaho, where they sought work in that state's silver mines. David Davis returned to Iowa in 1909, and re-entered the coal mines, this time in Bussey, Marion County. Perhaps sensing that the Iowa coal industry would never again rise to its earlier heights, and perhaps in fulfillment of a long-held dream of independence, in 1910 David Davis returned to Givin and purchased a farm on which to raise his family. After twenty-two years of dangerous and difficult mining, David Davis seems to have finally saved enough money to buy a farm and become independent.<sup>12</sup>

John W. Bowen followed a similar path. If his parents, Thomas and Sarah Bowen, dreamed of moving out of the coal camps and onto a farm of their own, they were not able to achieve it in their lifetime. But their son, John W. Bowen, did make a successful transition, completing the journey his parents had begun so long before. John was born in Wales in 1844 and grew up in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. After fighting in Company E of the 15<sup>th</sup> Iowa Infantry Volunteers during the Civil War, John worked various jobs in Colorado until 1870 when he returned to Iowa and joined his mother in Beacon. John married that same year, Elleanor Burdess, the daughter of a coal dealer-operator, and to support himself and his new family he worked at his father's trade, coal mining. However, John would not be restricted to the mines, and soon served as the Beacon Postmaster, a job he held off and on throughout the 1870s. In the 1880s, John W. Bowen finally achieved land ownership by homesteading in Gage County, Nebraska. The couple moved several more times in the ensuing decades, before finally settling on a homestead in Scottsbluff, Nebraska. Some fifty years after Thomas and Sarah Bowen began their life together in the coal fields of Wales, their son John W. Bowen accomplished the goal of so many Welsh coal miners: John Bowen

owned and worked his own farm.<sup>13</sup>

Yet another example of the connection between Iowa's Welsh coal miners and Iowa's Welsh farmers can be found in the experience of Thomas Griffith Edwards. Thomas G. Edwards was born in Wales in 1853. Sometime before 1878, he immigrated to Ohio, where he met and married Welsh-born Lucy Davis. For their wedding trip, they packed their belongings and traveled to Muchakinock, Mahaska County, Iowa, where they settled. Thomas G. Edwards worked as a coal miner and followed the job opportunities to the coal mines of Muchakinock, What Cheer, Beacon and Oskaloosa. While coal mining was Thomas G. Edwards' trade, he also farmed a small acreage north of Beacon. Because coal mining was often seasonal, with slack periods during the summer, some miners were able to work for wages over the winter and then work their own land in the summer.<sup>14</sup>

In fact, it was not uncommon for Welsh farmers to work in the coal mines as well as farm some land. A comparison of the 1880 Federal Census of Iowa with an 1884 land ownership map of Des Moines Township, Mahaska County, provides evidence of how many families did both. Of the thirteen Welsh who could be identified in both the census and on the map, five of those identified themselves as coal miners but owned land. The other eight identified themselves in the census as farmers, but likely worked in the mines part time or at some time previously. That Welsh coal miners would cultivate land as well as work in the mines was in keeping with the industrial culture of Wales. When land was available, even in small infertile amounts, Welsh industrial workers pursued as much agriculture as possible, further indicating that they viewed industrial work as merely a means for survival, not their chosen way of life.<sup>15</sup>

The Iowa Welsh did not view coal mining as their ultimate occupational choice, engaging in it out of economic necessity rather than preference. That they saw the job as temporary may help explain why they tolerated the unpleasant and dangerous conditions that prevailed in every coal mine. The majority of workers were actual miners, but a number of men and boys also worked as engineers, carpenters, shot firers/examiners, trappers (who controlled air flow in the mine), and with the mules that pulled the mining cars. Coal miners worked in small, dust-filled rooms they personally carved out of coal and rock. For reasons of time, resources, and safety, the roof was usually too low to walk upright, and the miner often had to work on his knees or lying down on his back in order to work the coal seam. The work itself consisted of the skilled and dangerous work of setting explosive charges to loosen the coal from the face; the back-breaking labor of freeing the coal from the seams with picks, hammers and chisels; loading by hand the cars that would take the coal up to the surface for sorting and weighing; and "dead" work, such as erecting support timbers and cleaning debris from the work area. Dangers to all underground workers included falling slate and coal, uncontrolled blasts, dust, potentially lethal pockets of methane gas, and even accidents involving coal cars or the cage (which lowered or lifted men through the mine shaft). Between July 1, 1906, and June 30, 1907, Monroe County experienced five mining-related fatalities and twenty-one serious injuries. Only two of the fatalities and eight of the injured men were actual coal miners, the rest being support personnel such as mule car drivers, timbermen, and trappers.<sup>16</sup>

Especially susceptible to the dangers inherent in coal mining were the young boys sent down the shaft in hopes of earning a few dollars to contribute to the family budget. Stephen

Davis took his son David into the mines with him when David was ten years old. By taking David into the mine with him, Stephen was not only able to teach David the trade, but was also able to earn more money than he otherwise could have. When an established miner took on a young helper, the company allotted the miner half again as many cars as usually allowed, which potentially meant more money in the pay envelope at the end of the week. Once David gained more experience, the company might have even allotted him the full “turn” of cars, thereby doubling the family’s earnings. Even the boys who entered the mine as trappers, or working with the coal cars, earned enough to make a significant contribution to the family income. It was a proud day the first time a boy was able to turn over his pay packet to his mother.<sup>17</sup>

In spite of the immediate compensations, the practice of taking boys to work in the mines had a number of negative consequences. Once a young boy started working in the mines, it was difficult for him to leave the trade. It was not only difficult to give up the wages an experienced miner could earn, but because the boys left school at such a young age, they had a hard time finding a better job. While a boy’s mother may have been grateful for the extra money, she also had the added burden of supplying and caring for yet another miner. The issue of child exploitation was raised by the United Mine Workers in 1898. While the union did not go so far as to advocate hiring young boys, it did recognize the reality of families’ economic circumstances and asked that if boys had to work, they should be paid a fair wage. In 1880, the state raised the minimum age for mine workers from ten to twelve years old, but the law seems to have been observed mostly in the breach.<sup>18</sup>

While the companies generally valued Welsh coal miners for their experience and

skills, they may have also occasionally cursed their presence. The miners of Britain, including Wales, were great union men, and regarded organization as the only effective method for improving wages and conditions. When British miners immigrated to America, they not only brought their knowledge of mining, but also of union organization. With such a background, it is no surprise that in Iowa the Welsh were some of the biggest supporters of local unions, and eventually the United Mine Workers. Welshmen did not dominate the UMW, but did contribute leaders. John Reese served as the president of UMW District Thirteen, Iowa's district, in the early 1900s. And the future UMW leader, John L. Lewis, was born and raised by his Welsh parents in Lucas, Iowa.<sup>19</sup>

Regardless of the dangerous and migratory nature of coal mining, and the lure of farming, Welsh mining communities did take shape. Just as chain migration led to the clustering of agricultural immigrants to Iowa, so did chain migration lead to ethnic clustering within Iowa's coal camps. Iowa's coal mines were managed in such a way that a new miner was almost always hired on, even if the mine was not in need of workers. Instead of laying off miners during slow times, the mine would simply reduce everyone's work days. This practice ensured that new immigrants could join their kin in Iowa's coal fields and be sure of a job even in slow times, a guarantee that could do nothing but encourage chain migration. Those Welsh that depended on the coal mines but did not actually work for the coal companies also served to strengthen the Welsh communities. A number of Welshmen operated successful businesses in the mining communities, such as three of the four mercantile stores in mid-1870s Beacon: Phillips & Evans; Davis, Price & Co.; and M. Jones & Co.<sup>20</sup>

For the most part, the Welsh mining communities reflected the geography of Iowa's

coal industry. And like the coal industry itself, Iowa's Welsh mining communities did not develop in any coherent geographic pattern over time. Along those lines, the first mining community to develop any significant Welsh population was Kirkville in Wapello County. From the time its first coal mine opened in 1857 until the last one closed in 1890, the Welsh population grew along with the town. By 1885 the Kirkville area was home to 118 of Wapello County's 138 native Welsh, and just five years later the number of Welsh in Wapello County had risen to 239.<sup>21</sup>

Welsh communities continued to develop along with the coal mines. The late 1860s and the 1870s saw significant Welsh populations gather in Mahaska County and Lucas County. Welsh miners dominated the coal mines of Beacon until they went on strike in 1873 and the company brought in Swedish canal workers from nearby Keokuk to replace the strikers. The miners backed down and enough Welsh remained in Beacon to justify mention in a January 1876 *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald* article that reported that Beacon had a population of approximately eleven hundred "composed mostly of miners and their families, of Welsh and Swedish descent, although there [were] a goodly number of Americans."<sup>22</sup>

Welsh miners and their families settled in other coal camps and towns as well. Cleveland was located just east of Lucas in Lucas County, and Welsh miners flocked there to mine coal in the late 1870s. By 1885, Cleveland's population stood at over eight hundred, with 153 people being born in Wales. What Cheer in Keokuk County became a coal mining center in the 1880s, and subsequently became home to a small Welsh community. Hiteman, Monroe County, began its coal boom in 1890 and correspondingly developed a significant Welsh population by 1900. In the end, a total of fifteen Welsh coal mining communities were

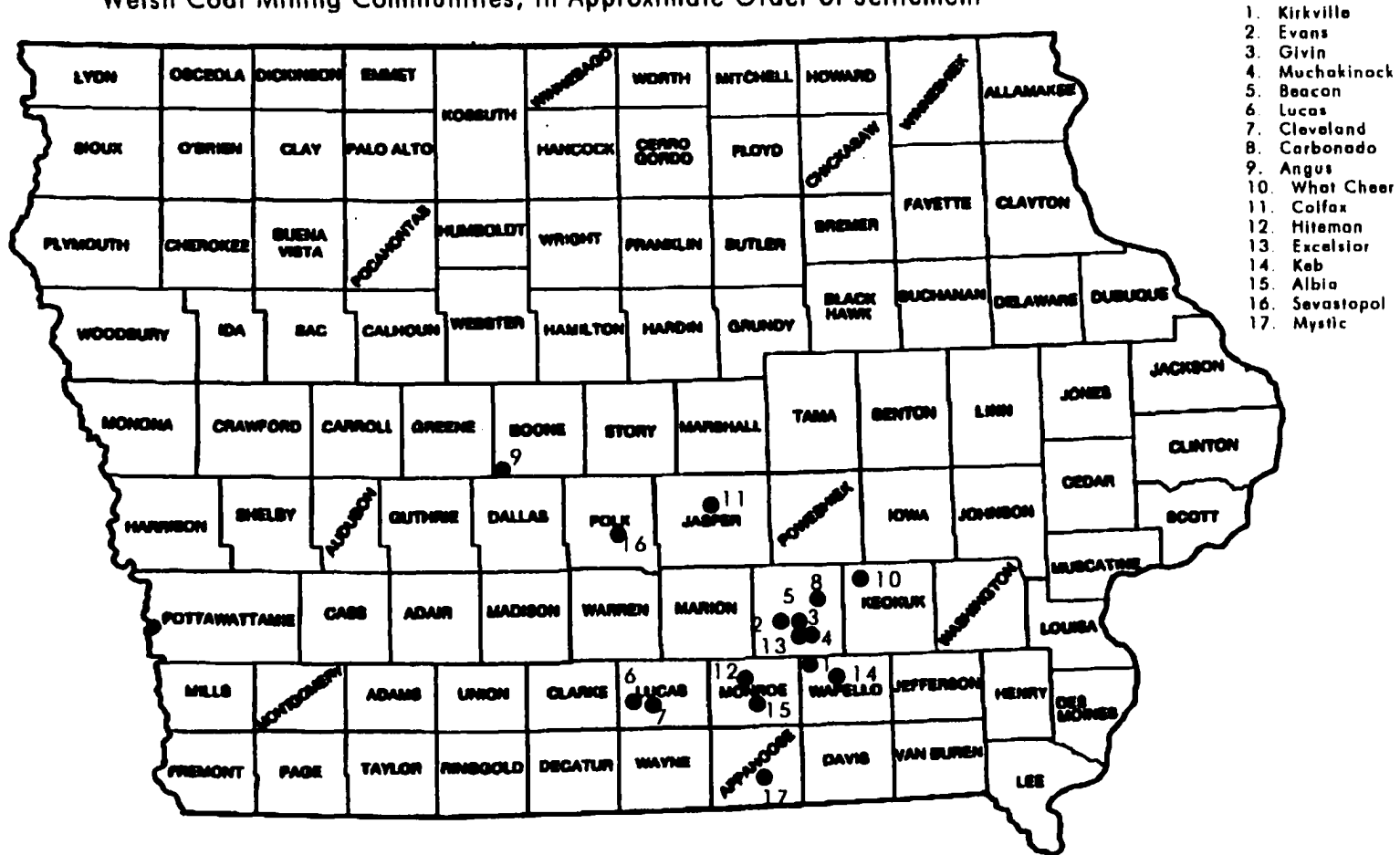
founded in Iowa: Kirkville, Keb and Albia in Wapello County; Evans, Givin, Muchakinock, Beacon, Excelsior, and Carbonado in Mahaska County; Lucas and Cleveland in Lucas County; What Cheer in Keokuk County; Angus in Boone County; Sevastopol in Polk County; and Hiteman in Monroe County. (See Figure 32.)

As their cousins in the rural agricultural Welsh communities did, the Welsh coal miners established Welsh churches soon after settlement. Even Angus in southwest Boone County (and southeast Greene County) had a Welsh church, in spite of the fact that Angus's coal boom lasted only five years and was in decline by 1885. In 1884, however, Angus had a population of over two thousand and was the leading coal mining town in the state. Approximately one hundred native Welsh lived in Angus, and enough of those families favored religion over Angus's eighteen saloons that, in 1884, they established the Welsh Congregational Church. Like Angus itself, however, the church was short-lived and only a few gravestones in the Angus Cemetery are left to indicate any Welsh lived there at all.<sup>23</sup>

The Welsh of Givin, Mahaska County, were more fortunate and were able to maintain a Welsh church considerably longer than in Angus. Givin was platted in 1870, and by 1875, enough Welsh lived there to merit a Welsh church. To that end, the Welsh Congregational Church was organized, specifically to provide a Welsh-language alternative to the local Methodist Church. Before the Givin church was established, the more devout Welsh would journey to Beacon in order to attend Sunday services and Sabbath School in Welsh. The Givin Welsh Church lasted long enough to establish traditions such as an annual "homecoming" celebration in the form of a *gymanfa ganu*.<sup>24</sup>

Hiteman's religious life quickly became organized, as well. The Swedish residents

Welsh Coal Mining Communities, in Approximate Order of Settlement



1. Kirksville
2. Evans
3. Givin
4. Muchakinock
5. Beacon
6. Lucas
7. Cleveland
8. Carbonado
9. Angus
10. What Cheer
11. Colfax
12. Hiteman
13. Excelsior
14. Keb
15. Albia
16. Sevastopol
17. Mystic

Figure 32. Welsh Coal Mining Communities in approximate order of settlement.



erected two Swedish-language churches soon after arriving: the Swedish Methodist Church in 1891, and the Swedish Lutheran Church in 1892. The Welsh were not far behind, and in 1892, the Welsh Congregational Church built a chapel under the direction of Reverend William Thomas. By 1896, membership stood at approximately forty people. The Welsh Baptist Church was also established in Hiteman in 1892, moving their building in from Chisholm where it had been used by the local Congregational church. In 1896, the Welsh Baptist membership stood at twenty-five people. Welsh miners were also active in the Hiteman congregation of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.<sup>25</sup>

In their participation in the larger Iowa and American Welsh community, the coal mining Welsh were similar to the rural Welsh. Items in the *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald* give a glimpse of the wider social life of the Beacon Welsh and reflect the wide network of relations and acquaintances that connected the Welsh to other communities. The “Beacon” column of April 22, 1886, included the following item: “Mrs. Morgan Jones is off for a brief visit with relatives at Coal Valley.”<sup>26</sup> The May 27, 1886, column reported that “Miss Sarah Griffiths, of Evans, Sundayed with friends,” and that “Mr. and Mrs. T. R. Lloyd, formerly of this place, are among those who suffered loss by the recent fire at Kirkville.”<sup>27</sup> An August 30, 1888, item revealed kinship connections between different Welsh mining communities: “Misses Nellie and Edith Williams are at Cleveland, Ia., visiting an uncle.”<sup>28</sup> Sometimes the paper even included items reflecting relationships with Welsh from beyond Iowa’s borders, such as these June 17, 1886, reports: “After spending a week here with relatives, Miss Cora Price returned to her home at Topeka, Kansas, on Thursday;” “J. J. Jones is off for a brief visit with relatives in Wisconsin.”<sup>29</sup> The forging of new relationships was also documented: “Mr. S. Jones, of

Nebraska, and Miss Mary Evans, of this city, were married December 28.”<sup>30</sup>

While the Welsh churches were an important part of life in Welsh mining communities, and visits kept different communities connected, other aspects of Welsh culture were also celebrated by the miners. The Welsh women of Hiteman held a Welsh tea each year in honor of St. David’s Day, inviting not only the town’s Welsh but the general public as well. John C. Thomas hosted a less formal Welsh event in the early 1900s when he threw a party for his numerous fellow Welshmen from Tredegar, South Wales.<sup>31</sup>

The most visible celebration of Welsh culture in the mining communities of Iowa was the *eisteddfod* and associated choralism. According to *Palimpsest* contributor Ben Hur Wilson, the *eisteddfod* in Iowa probably originated in Kirkville, where in 1888 Welshman Joe Reese organized the Chief Choral Society, and W. B. Powell directed the Male Glee Section. These and other groups from other Welsh settlements formed the Iowa Eisteddfod Association in 1889. Subsequently they held the first Iowa Eisteddfod in Oskaloosa Masonic Opera House in 1889. Choirs from Kirkville and Williamsburg joined the Oskaloosa contingent, and the meeting’s competitions ranged from full mixed choruses to male and female glees to soloists, as well as the traditional *eisteddfod* declamations. The full choir test piece (the music assigned to all choirs for competition purposes) for the 1889 Iowa Eisteddfod was Handel’s “Arise All Nations, Sing unto God.” As in Wales, choirs often chose to perform works by Handel, Haydn and Mozart. The Iowa Eisteddfod grew quickly and in 1892 so many people attended that special trains ran to Oskaloosa from Albia and Ottumwa.<sup>32</sup>

As Hiteman grew in importance as a mining town, it also became the center of Welsh *eisteddfod* activity. When workers sank Hiteman’s first shaft in April 1890, many of the

Kirkville miners moved to Hiteman and during the winter of 1890-91, the Welsh formed a choir. Prominent Iowa Welsh musicians Evan E. Thomas and W. B. Powell also moved to Monroe County and helped ready the Hiteman choir for competition.<sup>33</sup>

The Iowa Eisteddfod was so successful that the association decided to enter the Eisteddfod at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. The participating choirs held benefit concerts to raise travel funds, and the voices were chosen. As in Wales, male voice choirs were the preferred performance group. Accordingly, Iowa chose to enter only a male voice choir and, to fill the positions, drew singers from the Welsh and English laborers (mostly miners) in such communities as Hiteman, Albia, Ottumwa, Oskaloosa, Evans, Beacon, and Carbonado. Only two women were included in the contingent: pianist Sarah Ann Williams of Oskaloosa, and her alternate, Nellie Simpson of Albia. Through no small sacrifice on the part of the singers, the choir rehearsed in smaller groups and then every two weeks as a complete choir.<sup>34</sup>

After months of preparation, the World's Fair Male Party from Hiteman, Iowa, finally left for the International Eisteddfod held in Chicago, September 6-9, 1893. A grand photo of the group was taken before their departure from Ottumwa, where crowds of relatives and friends saw them off. The first event of the Eisteddfod was the male choral competition, promising \$1,000 to the winner, \$500 to the second place choir, and gold medals to other places. While the Iowa choir performed very well, it was outpaced by the Rhondda Glee Society, which had traveled all the way from South Wales. Nevertheless, the Iowa World's Fair Male Party of Hiteman, Iowa, returned home with enthusiasm and pride for having acquitted themselves well at the International Eisteddfod. Their participation remained a point of pride among the Iowa Welsh for decades after.<sup>35</sup>

The Hiteman Welsh clearly led the Iowans to the Chicago World's Fair, in no small part through the efforts of W. B. Powell, Joe Reese, and Evan E. Thomas. Then in 1900, Hiteman organized its own Eisteddfod Corporation, shares going for five dollars each. They sponsored their first *eisteddfod* in 1903, holding it in Albia on Thanksgiving Day. The competition brought participants from nearby communities like Albia, Hiteman, Cincinnati, and Kirksville, as well as from more distant settlements, such as Des Moines, Colfax, Red Oak, and Knoxville. Fifteen hundred people filled the Opera House and twenty events filled out the program, eight of which Hiteman won.<sup>36</sup>

Hiteman continued to dominate the Iowa Eisteddfod scene for years to come. In 1907 the Hiteman Male Quartet won first prize in that division, and in 1911, a judge dubbed the "Hiteman Singers best in the world." The society brought home all the main choral prizes in 1911. In 1912, the Iowa Eisteddfod returned to Albia and participants came from as far away as Pennsylvania. In 1914, Hiteman's presence was so felt that one of the *eisteddfod* judges commented, "Every American loves a Welshman, and they should, they brought in music and poetry! A special train from Hiteman to bring the people in for the Eisteddfod. Just about the entire population of the town is present. Whenever Hiteman starts to do anything, they never go halfway. Those Hiteman people are alright, always!"<sup>37</sup>

Just as the choralism movement of Wales rose with industrialization and migration to the southern valleys, so did choralism prosper in the coalfields of Iowa. A similar lack of entertainment options in the coal camps encouraged miners' participation in choirs at a much higher rate than observed in towns. Those living in coal camps found themselves in bleak surroundings unrelieved by even grass or trees. Churches were usually only organized in

incorporated towns, so usually even that distraction was unavailable to camp residents. With no more than a company store and a grade school, men living in coal camps no doubt welcomed any proposed organized activity. The Colfax Welsh fit just that pattern and for several years fielded a choir of sixty in the Iowa Eisteddfods. Other Welsh communities, however, were also attracted to the contest. For years Ellis Lloyd led the predominantly Welsh Williamsburg Choral Union to their share of first prizes at the state festivals. Then again, entertainment options were limited in early twentieth-century Iowa, no matter what the size of the community.<sup>38</sup>

The Iowa Eisteddfod continued for more than twenty years, usually close to Christmas Eve, with varying degrees of success and participation. Small program changes were made to adjust the *eisteddfod* format and content to its Iowa setting, such as replacing the motto “Wales Gwlad y Gan” (Wales the Land of Song) with “Columbia Gwlad y Gan.” Eventually the competition was moved to Thanksgiving time in order to avoid the inevitable bad weather of the Iowa winters.<sup>39</sup>

The final festival held by the Iowa Eisteddfod Association took place on Thanksgiving Day, November 27, 1919, in the King Opera House in Albia. That year life-long member W. B. Powell served as president of the association, with Evan E. Thomas as vice-president, R. J. Phillips as treasurer, and Thomas W. Evans as secretary. Daniel Protheroe of Chicago was again brought in as Adjudicator of Music, and David Strieff of Albia adjudicated the declamations section (dramatic orations). A silver cup was promised the choral society with the most firsts, and twenty-seven individual prizes were to be awarded in divisions ranging from Male Chorus to Children’s Chorus, and age-bracketed declamations. However, the

1920s was a decade of decline for the Iowa coal industry, and with it went the Welsh communities and the *eisteddfod*.<sup>40</sup>

Although Welsh miners and their families were members of a distinct ethnic group, and even held their own cultural celebrations, for the most part the lives of the coal mining Welsh mirrored the lives of their non-Welsh neighbors. They worked the same pits and slopes, they lived in the same drafty coal camp housing, and they suffered and prospered from the same industrial rhythms. In many ways, the Welsh coal miners had more in common with their Italian, Swedish, and African-American neighbors than they did with their own countrymen.

The coal mine itself dictated much of the life a coal mining family led. First and foremost of the restrictions imposed by the nature of the industry was the location and quality of the workers' housing. Coal mines in Iowa were almost all located in rural, undeveloped areas, or near small towns with no available housing for the inevitable influx of mine workers and their families. Of a necessity, most of the mine workers needed to live near the mine itself, to avoid a time consuming commute to work. In order to solve the problem of available housing and proximity, most mine companies either built tracts of company housing near existing towns or created coal camps. As a result, most mining families lived in relative isolation.<sup>41</sup>

Coal camps were communities wholly dependent on the coal mine for their existence. All housing was either owned or sold by the mine company, residents were usually required to trade at the company-owned store, and everyone's income was derived from the coal works. Due to the limited longevity of coal mines in Iowa, the average coal camp was only used for eight years. Knowing this, the company was loathe to invest more money in the camp than

was absolutely necessary. In fact, many companies viewed the camps as another branch of their business, one that could be very profitable. Most companies required their workers to live in company housing and charged rent for the privilege. Even if a family was able to purchase their own home, many mines required their workers to conduct business at the company store and pay higher prices than they might elsewhere in the community. So important was the store trade that it figured in Beacon's strike of 1873. In the spring of 1873 the Iowa Coal Company reduced its work force and ordered that the first workers to be fired should be those that did not patronize the company store. In response, the miners of Beacon struck and not only demanded that no miners be laid off, but that they be allowed to trade where they wished.<sup>42</sup>

Company housing was itself considered to be temporary in nature and was built with an eye to economy rather than quality. The houses usually consisted of four rooms and stood alone, though closely packed, on small dirt lots. They were made of wood and poorly constructed, proving drafty in the winter and hot in the summer due to complete lack of insulation. Sometimes the houses were moved in from abandoned camps, as was the case in Hiteman; houses in Hiteman had previously been located in Kirkville, Lucas, Hilton, Muchakinock, and Chisholm. The small square shacks had no running water, except that which leaked through the roof, and residents were forced to rely on community wells of questionable quality. Only in later years were camp houses provided with electricity. With only four rooms, a family of any size would have been cramped for space, a situation only made worse if boarders were present. Children were no doubt sent to play outdoors as much as possible, not only because they drove their mothers to distraction, but also for reasons of

privacy.<sup>43</sup>

Newly arrived Welsh, no doubt, had mixed reactions to the coal camp housing in Iowa. Those who came from eastern states had probably lived in similar, if more mountainous, camps with equivalent conditions. Those Welsh who came directly from the industrial areas of Wales, however, were most likely startled by their Iowa housing. On the one hand, the wooden houses would have seemed flimsy, compared to the stone and brick dwellings of Wales. Yet the four-room detached dwellings would have seemed in many ways luxurious, as well. The roomiest coal miners' home in Wales was a two-story, tiny four-room, row house built on a terrace in the coal valley. Most of the houses in actual industrial centers were two-story, two-room affairs in back-to-back rows: one row of six to ten houses would face the street, but shared back walls with another row of houses facing an alley or even a hillside. While Iowa's coal camp residents complained of too much ventilation, residents of Welsh industrial housing often fell ill from stagnant air and damp walls.<sup>44</sup>

Even as the Welsh men worked alongside their non-Welsh neighbors, Welsh women in coal mining communities led much the same life as the other women of the community. Dorothy Schwieder found that Italian-American women in coal camps often supplemented the income of their husbands and sons by keeping a garden and selling the surplus produce, raising fowl and pigs, and taking in sewing. There is no reason to believe the Welsh women would not have turned to similar work. Perhaps the most significant source of income for the women was taking in boarders. By providing room and board to single men in the camps, the women were able to earn much needed cash while remaining at home with their children. In the most extreme cases, boarders on opposite work shifts would share the use of a bed (one



sleeping while the other was at work), which meant the women had no break in the work of caring for the men. Of the sixty-five households in Cleveland in 1880, twenty-nine of them were Welsh (forty-five percent). Reflecting their representation in the community, six of the thirteen Cleveland households that included boarders were Welsh.<sup>45</sup>

The coal mines dictated the rhythms of the family's day. No matter what shift the men worked, the family's routine was built around their needs. The women and girls were in charge of not only providing substantial meals at home, but for stocking the men's lunch pails with enough food to keep allow them to do the physically demanding work of mining coal. This often entailed rising hours before dawn to light the fire and bake a pie or cake. While the men were at work, the women were busy with the multitude of tasks necessary to keeping house in the coal camps: sewing, repairing, and laundering heavy, coal dust-laden clothes; tending their gardens, canning, shopping; cleaning the house and airing bedding. Perhaps the most arduous daily chore was hauling and heating water not only for cooking and laundry, but for the daily bath required upon the miners' return home after work.<sup>46</sup>

The men themselves worked independently while at the coal face, but were still subject to the company's rules and the rhythms of the industry. Each miner was responsible for how much coal he mined a day, but he was limited by how many coal cars he was allotted. Consequently, a miner could easily earn less money than expected, but it was more difficult to earn more than expected on any given day. Then, too, the miners had to deal with times of the year when mine work was curtailed or completely unavailable. Many Iowa coal mines depended on the heating market for coal sales, which resulted in a sharp drop in demand during the summer months. When this happened, the company often had no choice but to

close the mines for three or four months. Even the captive mines, those that provided coal to the railroad that owned them, were subject to market forces. Overproduction would often cause mines to cut back on the hours or days that the mine was open, further cutting the mine workers' wages. Beacon experienced just such an event in 1878, as explained in this excerpt from the November 7, 1878 issue of the *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald*:

The coal trade is very dull for this time of the year, but strong assurances of a big thing next month. Good times always in the near future. A number of our miners have recently moved to Nickletown, Excelsior mines, where the company have just finished some 24 new houses for their employees, who are having all the work they can do. The Excelsior has been a God send to many of our miners this fall, during the very dull times we have had; many of them have had constant employment the past four months.<sup>47</sup>

In slack times, miners also turned to other work in order to survive. As stated before, many kept small farms and worked those during the warm months when the coal trade was a little slower. And some found work on projects away from home. The July 10, 1879, issue of the *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald* reported that the local concern J. R. Price & Co. had just won two contracts for railroad work in Missouri and Kansas, and were looking to hire all the Beacon men they could.<sup>48</sup>

Welsh families did differ from non-Welsh families in some ways. The average size of the Welsh family in Cleveland was 4.6 people, while the average for all the non-Welsh families was 5.5 people (both medians 5.0). This difference in family size seems to reflect the smaller average number of children found in Welsh families, 3.1 (median 3.0) as opposed to the non-Welsh average of 3.9 (median 3.5). By separating the non-Welsh foreign-born headed families from those headed by native-born parents, it becomes clear that the average number

of children born to Welsh families is much closer at 3.1 children (median 3.0) to the native-born average of 3.2 children (median 3.0), than to the foreign-born average of 4.0 children (median 4.0). The correlation continued, as the Welsh fertility rate stood at 1038, while the native-born fertility rate was higher, at 1333, and the foreign-born rate the highest, at 1400. Welsh household composition was closer to other foreign households than the native households. Three out of the seven native households included extended family members, but no non-family residents. Of the twenty-nine each Welsh and foreign non-Welsh households, the number that included extended family members was only five and four, respectively. Likewise, six out of the twenty-nine Welsh households included boarders, as did seven out of the twenty-nine foreign non-Welsh households. Taking in boarders seems to have been a practice only in the immigrant households.<sup>49</sup> (See Table 9.)

The Welsh of Iowa's coal mining communities seem to have differed from Iowa's rural Welsh only in their actual living conditions and profession. And while the life of a coal mining family did differ in many important ways from the life of a farm family, many Welsh miners were able to bridge the difference by carrying on both trades at once or moving from one to the other. Comparing the 29 Welsh mining households of Cleveland, and the 153 Welsh agricultural households in the Foreston/Lime Springs Welsh community, reveals that the two groups of Welsh were actually very similar. Both the Welsh in Cleveland and the Welsh in Howard County lived in households that averaged five people in size, and in families that averaged just under five people (4.6 in Cleveland, 4.8 in Howard County). Those families that included children did so at similar rates as well, with the Cleveland Welsh families including an average of 3.1 children per family, and the Howard County Welsh an average of 3.4 children.

**Table 9. 1880 Cleveland Welsh, Lucas County: Family and Household Statistics**

	Household Size			Family Size			No. Children			Marital Fertility
	Mean	Median	n=	Mean	Median	n=	Mean	Median	n=	
<b>Welsh</b>	5.1	5.0	29	4.6	5.0	29	3.1	3.0	23	1038
<b>Non-Welsh</b>	6.5	6.0	36	5.5	5.0	36	3.9	3.5	30	1467
<b>Non-Welsh Native-born</b>	5.3	6.0	7	5.3	6.0	7	3.2	3.0	5	1333
<b>Non-Welsh Foreign-born</b>	6.8	6.0	29	5.5	5.0	29	4.0	4.0	25	1400

The most significant difference between the two groups in terms of household composition was in the number of extended family situations. In Cleveland, 17.3 percent of the Welsh families included non-immediate family members, while only 8.5 percent of the Howard County Welsh families were so composed. This difference can perhaps be attributed to the higher number of single men working in the coal mines.

The fertility rate of Welsh women in Cleveland was 1,038, and that of the Welsh women in Howard County was 1,250, indicating that Welsh fertility in 1880 was fairly consistent, even as that of the non-Welsh varied. In Cleveland, both the native-born and foreign-born non-Welsh had significantly higher fertility rates than the Welsh. In Howard County, on the other hand, both groups had significantly lower fertility rates than the Welsh. The discrepancy may be explained by immigration patterns. In 1880 Howard County, the Welsh were relative newcomers to the community, largely immigrating in the 1870s, so that in 1880, many of their women were in their prime childbearing years. The already established native-born non-Welsh were both younger and older than the Welsh, with many of their young couples having moved on to other communities, thereby depriving the native-born population of Howard County of much of its youngest children and its most fertile women. Many of the foreign-born non-Welsh of the Howard County group immigrated after the Civil War, and upon settling began to have children. This meant that by 1880, their period of highest fertility had already passed. In Cleveland, the situation was reversed. The Welsh miners were the relatively old immigrants, often having stopped over in other states and communities before arriving in Cleveland. The non-Welsh, however, were newer immigrants and just entering their family-building years.

In fact, the Cleveland Welsh were much more similar to the Old Man's Creek Welsh than the Foreston-Lime Springs Welsh, reflecting the later immigration of the Welsh in Cleveland and Old Man's Creek. In 1880 the median sizes of both communities' households and families were identical at 5.0 people each, as were the median number of children per family (3.0). As would be expected, the similarities carry through in the marital fertility rates, with Cleveland's being 1,038 and Old Man Creek's 1,083. Although their living circumstances differed, when immigration patterns are taken into account, the Welsh of both mining and agricultural communities behaved in a similar manner when it came to matters of reproduction and family. (See Table 10.)

While the lives of Welsh residing in Iowa mining communities were in many ways ruled by the unique demands of the coal mining industry, the Welsh did manage to find ways to connect with one another and express their ethnic identity. The Welsh mining communities were established in much the same way as rural Welsh communities, the result of a combination of economic and personal forces converging in specific geographic locations. As clusters of Welsh families formed, they sought to provide themselves with that symbol and instrument of Welsh culture in America, the Welsh church. The Welsh churches provided opportunities to worship and socialize in the Welsh language, and supported other cultural activities, such as the *eisteddfod*. Many Welsh miners successfully made the transition from coal mining to farming, as well. Those who purchased land provided a sustaining influence in certain of the Welsh mining communities, whose populations would otherwise have abruptly departed when the mines closed. Those who remained, however, merely continued on the path to assimilation, completing the transitions begun by the miners.

**Table 10. Welsh Communities: Family and Household Statistics Summary**

	Household Size		Family Size		No. Children		Marital Fertility
	Mean	Median	Mean	Median	Mean	Median	
<b>Flint Creek, 1850</b>	6.1	6.0	5.6	5.0	4.1	3.5	1857
<b>Old Man's Creek, 1860</b>	5.7	6.0	5.1	5.0	3.5	3.0	1813
<b>Old Man's Creek, 1870</b>	5.7	6.0	5.3	5.0	3.6	4.0	1182
<b>Old Man's Creek, 1880</b>	5.4	5.0	4.8	5.0	3.3	3.0	1083
<b>Foreston-Lime Springs, 1880</b>	5.0	5.0	4.8	4.0	3.4	3.0	1250
<b>Cleveland, 1880</b>	5.1	5.0	4.6	5.0	3.1	3.0	1038

## NOTES

1. William E. Van Vugt, *Britain to America: Mid-nineteenth-century Immigrants to the United States* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 101-3.
2. Van Vugt, *Britain to America*, 96-97, 104-5.
3. Van Vugt, *Britain to America*, 103; Dorothy Schwieder, *Middle Land* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1996), 24, 164, 240; Leland L. Sage, *A History of Iowa* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1974), 18-19.
4. Keo-Mah Genealogical Society and Mahaska County Historical Society, *The History of Mahaska County, Iowa, 1984* (Dallas, Tx.: Curtis Media Corporation, 1984), 515.
5. *Ibid.*, 884.
6. *Ibid.*, 884-85.
7. Sage, *History of Iowa*, 19; Schwieder, *Middle Land*, 240; Dorothy Schwieder, *Black Diamonds: Life and Work in Iowa's Coal Mining Communities, 1895-1925* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1983), x-xi; *Twelfth Biennial Report of the State Mine Inspectors for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1905, to the Governor of the State of Iowa*, (Des Moines: Bernard Murphy, State Printer, 1905), 77.
8. Sage, *History of Iowa*, 19; Schwieder, *Middle Land*, 240-42; Schwieder, *Black Diamonds*, x-xi; *Report of the State Mine Inspectors for the Biennial Period Ending December 31, 1921* (Des Moines: The State of Iowa, 1922), 10.
9. Schwieder, *Black Diamonds*, 24; Schwieder, *Middle Land*, 242; Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880)* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), 494; Executive Council, *Census of Iowa for the Year 1905* (Des Moines: Bernard Murphy, State Printer, 1905), 517.
10. Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled From the Original Returns of the Eighth Census, under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior*. Volume 1. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), *passim*; *Tenth Census (June 1, 1880)*; Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890*. Part I., (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1895); *Census of Iowa for 1905*; Executive Council, *Census of Iowa for the Year 1915* (Des Moines: Robert Henderson, State Printer, 1915); Executive Council, *Census of Iowa for the Year 1925* (Des Moines: State of Iowa, 1925).
11. *History of Mahaska County, 1984*, 884-85.
12. *History of Mahaska County, 1984*, 551-53.



13. *History of Mahaska County, 1984*, 515-16.
14. *History of Mahaska County, 1984*, 582-83.
15. "1880 Federal Census of Iowa, Mahaska County. Population Schedule.;" "Mahaska County, Iowa, Land Ownership Map, 1884," Microfiche copy of manuscript, (Fiche #6079435, Utah Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah); Jeremy Lowe, *Welsh Industrial Workers Housing 1775-1875* (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1989), 62.
16. Schwieder, *Black Diamonds*, 32-58; *Fourteenth Biennial Report of the State Mine Inspectors for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1908 to the Governor of the State of Iowa* (Des Moines: Emory H. English, State Printer, 1908), 12-13.
17. *History of Mahaska County, 1984*, 551-53; Schwieder, *Black Diamonds*, 49-51.
18. Schwieder, *Black Diamonds*, 37-39, 116.
19. Schwieder, *Black Diamonds*, 126-29; Lucas County Genealogical Society, *History of Lucas Co., Iowa* (n.p.: Walsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1978), 36.
20. "Mahaska County—As It Really Is", *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald*, 6 January 1876.
21. Wapello History Committee, *Wapello County History* (Montezuma, Ia.: Sutherland Printing Co., Inc., 1987), 338-342; Frank D. Jackson, Secretary of State, *Census of Iowa for the Year 1885* (Des Moines: Geo. E. Roberts, State Printer, 1885); *Eleventh Census: 1890*; Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, *Study 00003: Historical Demographic, Economic, and Social Data: U.S., 1790-1970* (Anne Arbor, Mich.: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, 1992).
22. "Mahaska County—As It Really Is," *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald*, 6 January 1876; *The History of Mahaska County, Iowa, Containing a History of the County, its Cities, Towns, Etc.* (Des Moines: Union Historical Company, 1878), 514-15; "Mahaska County—As It Really Is", *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald*, 6 January 1876); *History of Lucas County*, 19-22; *Census of Iowa for 1885*.
23. N. E. Goldthwait, ed., *History of Boone County, Iowa*, Volume I, (Chicago: Pioneer Publishing Company, 1914), 342, 336; "Recalls the Iowa Town of Angus of Another Era—and Its Decline," *Des Moines Tribune*, 2 April 1948; *Census of Iowa for 1885*.
24. *Mahaska County 1984*, 194, 202; Keo-Mah Genealogical Society, Inc., *Mahaska County 2000* (n.p., 2000), 94-96; *History of Mahaska County, Iowa*, 529; *Des Moines Tribune*, 5 March 1981), included in Clipping File 2, SHSI; "Mahaska County—As It Really Is" *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald*, 6 January 1876.
25. Rosalie Mullinix, comp., *History of Hiteman: A Mining Town* (n.p., 1983), 28, 197; Frank Hickenlooper, *An Illustrated History of Monroe County, Iowa* (Albia, Ia.: n.p.,

1896), 321.

26. *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald*, 22 April 1886.
27. *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald*, 27 May 1886.
28. *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald*, 30 August 1886.
29. *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald*, 17 June 1886.
30. *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald*, 18 January 1888.
31. Mullinix, *History of Hiteman*, 30, 41.
32. Ben Hur Wilson, "The Iowa Eisteddfod," *Palimpsest* 12 (1941): 361-2; Gareth Williams, *Valleys of Song: Music and Society in Wales 1840-1914* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998), 114-5.
33. Wilson, "Iowa Eisteddfod," 362-64.
34. *Ibid.*, 364-65.
35. *Ibid.*, 366-68.
36. Wilson, "Iowa Eisteddfod," 369; Mullinix, *History of Hiteman*, 38.
37. Mullinix, *History of Hiteman*, 80-83, 88, 102-3.
38. Wilson, "Iowa Eisteddfod," 369; Grace M. Tripp, *A Home With a View: A Story of the Tripp Family, Life, and Times. Colfax, Iowa -- 1890-1910* (n.p., n.d.), 96; *Century of Progress*, 7.
39. Wilson, "Iowa Eisteddfod," 369-70.
40. Wilson, "Iowa Eisteddfod," 370-73.
41. Schwieder, *Black Diamonds*, 88-89, 100, 158.
42. Wilford Herman Fasold, *Some Sociological Aspects of the Coal Mining Industry in Iowa with Special Reference to Monroe County* (M.S. Thesis, Iowa State College, 1931), 21-22; Schwieder, *Black Diamonds*, 157-58; *Ottumwa Courier*, 11 March 1889.
43. Fasold, *Sociological Aspects*, 22-23; Schwieder, *Black Diamonds*, 88-91, 100; Mullinix, *History of Hiteman*, 20, 108.
44. Jeremy Lowe, *Welsh Industrial Workers Housing 1775-1875* (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1989), 1-64, *passim*.

45. Schwieder, *Black Diamonds*, 70, 95-97; "1880 Federal Census of Iowa, Lucas County. Population Schedule."
46. Schwieder, *Black Diamonds*, 92-95.
47. *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald*, 7 November 1878.
48. *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald*, 10 July 1879; Schwieder, *Black Diamonds*, 37-39, 23-25.
49. "1880 Federal Census of Iowa, Lucas County. Population Schedule."

## CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION

This study of the Welsh in Iowa has addressed a number of the questions that Kathleen Conzen poses to historians of rural ethnicity. Location, for example, was indeed an important factor for the Iowa Welsh. They found that Iowa was a land of opportunity, and the Welsh embraced those opportunities. But they also discovered that Iowa's position as a home for many different immigrant groups lessened their ethnic distinctiveness. While the contrast between agricultural and mining communities led to some differences in lifestyle, Welsh ethnic identity was remarkably consistent across space and situation. Both types of community progressed from inventing ethnicity in Wales to full assimilation in America.

Accordingly, this study has also shown how the Welsh in Iowa progressed through all six stages of Barkan's model for ethnic assimilation. Most Welsh immigrants to Iowa arrived in the state well into the Contact stage, and many were even in the second, Acculturation, stage. As the Welsh grew more familiar with general American society and began to interact more with the core culture, they moved through the Adaptation and Accommodation stages. Finally, ethnic Welsh in the fifth stage became fully integrated into general society, until they reached the point of complete assimilation. This concluding chapter will review the most significant of those transitions in ethnicity experienced by the Iowa Welsh, while also pointing out some of the distinctions between the Welsh and other Iowa immigrant groups.

Nineteenth-century Welsh identity was forged over long centuries of struggle against local deprivation and foreign domination. The Welsh common folk lived and died in the shadow of England, quietly retaining their unique language and culture in the face of acts and edicts designed to homogenize the whole of Britain. The invention of Welsh ethnicity that

began in the sixth century was only accelerated and strengthened by confrontation with a dominating society. Beginning in the seventeenth century, Nonconformity became yet another symbol of Welsh independence. Church was for the English and social climbers, while Chapel was for the simple folk. Chapel was for the pious Welsh who delighted in fiery sermons delivered in the language of heaven, the downtrodden who could yet praise God with angelic voices lifted in song. The Welsh renegotiated their ethnic identity in the face of internal and external pressures, but maintained a knowledge of themselves as a separate and distinct people.

It was this dearly held self-concept that the Welsh brought with them to Iowa: that as a people they were unique, set apart by their history, their religion, and their language. The Welsh were to discover, however, that in Iowa all immigrant groups regarded themselves in that same light, that oppression, piety, and linguistic differences were the birthright of nearly half of the state's population. In fact, the Welsh turned out to be closer to mainstream American culture than most of their neighbors, already being in the Acculturation stage of assimilation, and this was their ethnic downfall. Compared to many of Iowa's ethnic groups, the Welsh had but few barriers to full assimilation into mainstream American society.

In Wales those characteristics that defined Welsh identity were continually strengthened by struggle against adversity, whether internal or imposed from the outside, and their ethnic identity was constantly being reinvented. The Welsh language was to be spoken not only from habit, but as a national symbol of independence from England. Nonconformity, too, stood in opposition to the state-sponsored Church of England, and all related oppressions. Even singing festivals became defiant expressions of cultural pride. In America,

in Iowa, the Welsh held and enjoyed the occasional *gymnfa ganu* and *eisteddfod*, and properly considered them cultural celebrations, but the defiant edge was missing. Americans loved the singing Welsh and embraced them as their own. Welsh Nonconformity turned out to be identical to the dominant American Protestantism, and to be Chapel was no longer peculiarly Welsh. Their Celtic tongue was the most lasting aspect of Welsh identity in America, but even that weakened over time. To speak English in Iowa was less an act of cultural abandonment than a survival strategy and a symbol of fealty to one's adopted country. Over time, the characteristics that symbolized and strengthened Welsh ethnic identity atrophied from lack of opposition, and faded through sublimation to a new identity, until in the end the Iowa Welsh became simply Iowans. With little need to continually reinvent an ethnic identity, the Iowa Welsh experience became less an illustration of invention theory than an example of Barkan's model of ethnic assimilation.

Welsh immigrants to Iowa shared with other immigrants a number of common traits. All immigrant groups were to some degree interested in land. They chose Iowa largely because the time of their immigration coincided with Iowa settlement, and the availability and affordability of its fertile prairie land. Germans, Dutch, Scandinavians, and Welsh alike, concluded that Iowa offered excellent opportunities for long-term economic security and success. Most Iowa immigrants also arrived by the same process of chain migration, relying on kin and acquaintances for pertinent information and support. Whether the news was passed along in a Swedish lilt or a Welsh brogue, it was information gleaned from informal ethnic communication networks that led immigrants to Iowa. Most often, the news came from relatives and friends already in Iowa, telling of opportunities to be had. In this way,

immigrants followed leads back to their sources and settled nearby, creating clusters of immigrants connected by access to an ethnic communication network, and sometimes even related by blood. In the case of the Welsh, such clustering was responsible for the establishment of more formal Welsh communities. Unlike other immigrant groups, however, the Welsh were only secondarily interested in creating ethnic communities. Welsh settlement patterns in Iowa bear out Conzen's observations that clustering is the result of many individual decisions, and that clustering is both a result and an expression of ethnic identity. In every case, Iowa Welsh communities formed as a direct result of individual desires for prosperity and for kinship. Their clustering and the resulting communities were the result of individual decisions coinciding in a geographic space, not a group strategy for cultural preservation and transmission.

In spite of such shared motivations for immigration, Iowa's immigrant groups were separate entities with recognizably distinct ethnic characteristics. The Germans' approach to land ownership, for example, set them apart as uniquely interested in establishing legacies for their descendants. The Dutch acquired land with an eye to recreating regional neighborhoods of kin and kind. In contrast, the Welsh bought and sold land with an eye more to immediate economic prosperity and security, than planned or long term community building. This important distinction is evident in the Welsh settlement patterns, where neighborhoods formed haphazardly as individuals chose land first for its quality and availability, and only second by its proximity to other Welsh. The Iowa Welsh experience bears out Frederick Luebke's observation that as an immigrant group, the Welsh exhibited patterns of mobility almost identical to those of "old-stock Americans." It is no surprise, then, that unlike other ethnic

communities, the Welsh communities in Iowa followed the frontier.<sup>1</sup>

Religion, too, helped define ethnic groups in Iowa. Germans were known to be mostly either Catholic or Lutheran, and to many the distinction was important. The Swedes and Norwegians were all initially affiliated with their national churches, the Swedish Lutheran Church and the Norwegian Lutheran Church. In America, however, both ethnic groups saw their unity destroyed by internal divisions based equally on doctrine and concepts of authority. For the Scandinavians, then, America and its ideas of freedom and democracy transformed ethnic identities and inspired new definitions of what it meant to be Norwegian or Swedish. The Pella Dutch adhered to a strict form of Calvinism that demanded they set themselves apart from the world, not just spiritually but physically, as well. Welsh religious life underwent its greatest transformation in Wales itself, so that by the time the Welsh settled in Iowa, they were secure in their beliefs and comfortable with their Chapel culture. The Welsh were quick to establish Welsh churches as institutions of religion and of ethnic culture, and supported the churches as a symbol of their own ethnicity. Perhaps they also expected that by establishing Welsh congregations in Iowa they would be declaring their individuality, much as they had in Wales, but they soon discovered that their churches differed from American Protestantism only in the language of their sermons. Once Welsh communities reached the point of delivering sermons in English, they found they no longer had a reason to remain separate from their American counterparts. Welsh congregations merged with English-speaking churches, and Welsh identity finally merged with American.

Unlike some of Iowa's other ethnic groups, the Welsh immediately embraced American institutions of education, economy, and government. Danish immigrants resisted



attending the local schools, instead opting to recreate the educational institutions they had established in Denmark. For many children, Danish day schools replaced public education, and provided them a curriculum intent on transmitting Danish language and culture. German Catholics often sent their children to parochial schools, where they would receive religious and cultural lessons, as well as academic. The Welsh, on the other hand, fully supported public education, and never made any effort to provide alternatives for their children. They confined their lessons in language and culture to Sunday Schools, organizations sponsored by Welsh churches and wholly separate from the matter of secular education. The Welsh also adapted quickly to American forms of government, actively participating on a local level without trying to become an ethnic force for change.

It was into Iowa's economy that the Welsh made the most seamless transition. They came to the state seeking economic opportunities and did what was necessary to prosper. Though in Wales farming was carried out on a small scale and involved raising flocks of sheep, the Welsh in Iowa quickly adopted the most modern farming methods and raised cattle and corn. Their farms were praised no more and no less than those of their Yankee neighbors, and the name on the mailbox was the only clue to Welsh ownership. When Welsh colliers began to work in Iowa's coal mines, they were praised for their skill and held up as examples in the trade. As in Wales, many miners tried to combine mining with agricultural work. Rather than setting the Welsh apart, however, this practice simply allowed them to further integrate into Iowa's economy. In the case of the Welsh, the road to assimilation was relatively easy and tension-free. As individuals responded favorably to assimilationist pressures, their cultural institutions correspondingly weakened, in turn enabling individuals to

move further away from an ethnic identity they no longer embraced.

As far as their history as an ethnic group is concerned, Iowa Welsh from all communities seemed to share similar experiences. The Welsh of the mining communities relied on kin and acquaintance to find employment in new mines and homes in new camps, just as the agricultural Welsh followed leads to good land. Both kinds of communities formed by developing first as immigrant clusters through the effects of chain migration, eventually growing into ethnic settlements as a result of the larger network of communication among Welsh. Whether miners or farmers, the Welsh built churches to satisfy their need for spiritual and cultural nourishment. Singing, too, remained a part of Welsh ethnic expression, whether the songs were sung at a *gymanfa ganu* or performed at an *eisteddfod*. The different Iowa Welsh communities exhibited the same sort of connectedness to one another, and to the wider Welsh community, that served to unify the Welsh as an ethnic group. All Iowa Welsh communities experienced similar transitions, from first establishing a common ethnic identity based on shared culture and language, through increased integration with general society and the resulting biculturalism, to the final stage in which the Iowa Welsh considered themselves to be members of general American society.

In the end, the experience of the Welsh in Iowa reflected the collective experience of the Welsh in America. To the Welsh, America represented freedom and opportunity. The immigrants' dream was well expressed in the Welsh folk song "Amerig", which dates from the 1850s.

*Amerig*

*Ar ôl eich myned dros y dŵr  
Trwy ddirfawr st ŵr a stormydd  
Peryglon mawr, a'r môr yn faith  
O'r diwedd daeth llawenydd  
Cewch gadw'ch gwenith ceirch a haidd  
Heb neb a faidd ei sbeilio,  
Na mynd trwy drais mewn llys na llan,  
A'r ddegfed rhan ohono*

*Cewch gadw'ch lloi a'ch ŵyn i gyd,  
A phawb o hyd yn fodlon,  
Heb gael eich dwyn ymlaen am hyn  
O flaen yr inquisition;  
Cewch god'ch gŵydd, heb neb yn gro's,  
A'i phobi nos g'langaea':  
Mor hyfryd byw o dan y nen  
Yn nhalaith Pennsylvania.*

*'Does yno neb yn canu clych,  
Yn fawr eu gwrych am daliad,  
Na neb yn dweud 'Amen' am hir  
Pan eloch i'r addoliad:  
Nac arian cwrw, yn ddi-ffael,  
Yn rhwym o gael ei dalu  
I neb, am ddod o bryd i bryd  
I'r llan ynghyd i ganu.*

*America*

*After you've crossed the sea  
Through terrible storms and thunder  
Great dangers, and the eternal sea  
At last, happiness is the outcome.  
You may keep your wheat, oats and barley,  
And no-one would dare plunder it.  
Nor take, through violence in court or church,  
The tenth part of it.*

*You may keep all your calves and lambs,  
And everyone's happy all the time,  
And you won't get brought up for this  
Before the inquisition.  
You may raise your goose, with no one stopping you  
And roast it at Hallowe'en.  
How wonderful to live under the sky  
In Pennsylvania state.*

*There's no one here who rings the bells  
Hoping for their payment  
Nor anyone who draws out the 'Amen'  
When you're at worship.  
Nor do you have to pay  
Your beer money without fail,  
To anyone just for going, now and again,  
To church together to sing<sup>2</sup>*

The song speaks of escaping economic oppression and of the bounties America promised to the Welsh immigrant. It also hints at the common Welshman's preference for Chapel over Church, and that in America one could attend the former without penalty. Welsh immigrants to America did, indeed, find prosperity and freedom, but it was those very blessings that led to the dilution of Welsh ethnicity. Less than a century after the song was penned, the same Welsh who dreamed of America and its glories had crossed the ocean, established farms, attended Chapel, sung hymns, and raised families. However, they also served in local office, joined non-ethnic community organizations, spoke English, attended public schools, joined

non-Welsh churches, lived in non-ethnic neighborhoods, and married spouses of a variety of backgrounds. Not only did the immigrants partake of all America had to offer, but they completed a long process of ethnic transition. In the end, they ceased to be Welsh and became Americans.

**NOTES**

1. Frederick C. Luebke, "Ethnic Group Settlement on the Great Plains," *Western Historical Quarterly* 8 (1997): 426.

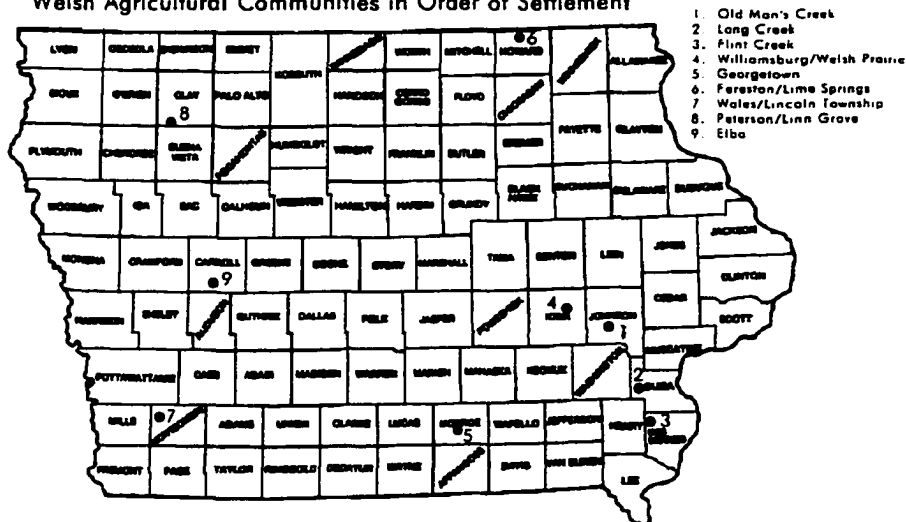
2. Siwsann George and Stuart Brown, *Mabsant: A Collection of Popular Welsh Folk Songs* (Talybont, Wales: Y Lolfa Cyf., 1991), 14-15, 100.

## APPENDIX A. AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITIES

The agricultural communities are arranged in order of settlement. Each community entry includes a brief history of the community, followed by pertinent data gathered in the course of research. Some figures from the text have been duplicated in the appropriate section of the appendix for easier reference.

Old Man's Creek, Johnson County	239
Long Creek, Louisa County	247
Flint Creek, Des Moines County	255
Williamsburg/Welsh Prairie, Iowa County	260
Georgetown, Monroe County	266
Foreston/Lime Springs, Howard County	269
Wales, Lincoln Township, Montgomery County	288
Peterson/Linn Grove, Clay and Buena Vista Counties	294
Elba, Carroll County	301

Welsh Agricultural Communities in Order of Settlement



**Old Man's Creek, Johnson County–1839<sup>1</sup>**

The first of the Iowa Welsh communities to be created was the Old Man's Creek Community of Johnson County, in eastern Iowa. The original Old Man's Creek settlers came from Ebensburg, Cambria County, Pennsylvania beginning in 1839. Like most of the other Welsh that migrated West in the 1830s, the Welsh who settled at Old Man's Creek sought land and opportunity. They found both in Union and Sharon Townships, Johnson County, Iowa. As the Welsh settlers arrived, they acquired farms near one another, both north and south of Old Man's Creek, creating a Welsh neighborhood in the county.

The first Welsh at Old Man's Creek not only came from the same town in Pennsylvania, but most had been members of the same Congregational Church in Ebensburg. As was standard practice among the American Welsh, the Old Man's Creek settlers formed their own church on January 20, 1846, the First Welsh Congregational Church on Old Man's Creek. The congregation officially incorporated in 1858, at this point possessing a chapel and a cemetery. Membership grew through the rest of the century, benefitting both from new immigrants and through the growth of resident families. The new settlers came from Wales and from other eastern states, sometimes even coming from other eastern states and from Wales. At the same time that new settlers arrived, others left to seek their futures elsewhere. Many moved to other Welsh settlements in Iowa and the Midwest, while others moved to cities in the Midwest and elsewhere, and others struck out for parts unknown. Thus, while the Welsh culture of the community was refreshed by new arrivals, it also suffered as older settlers left or died.

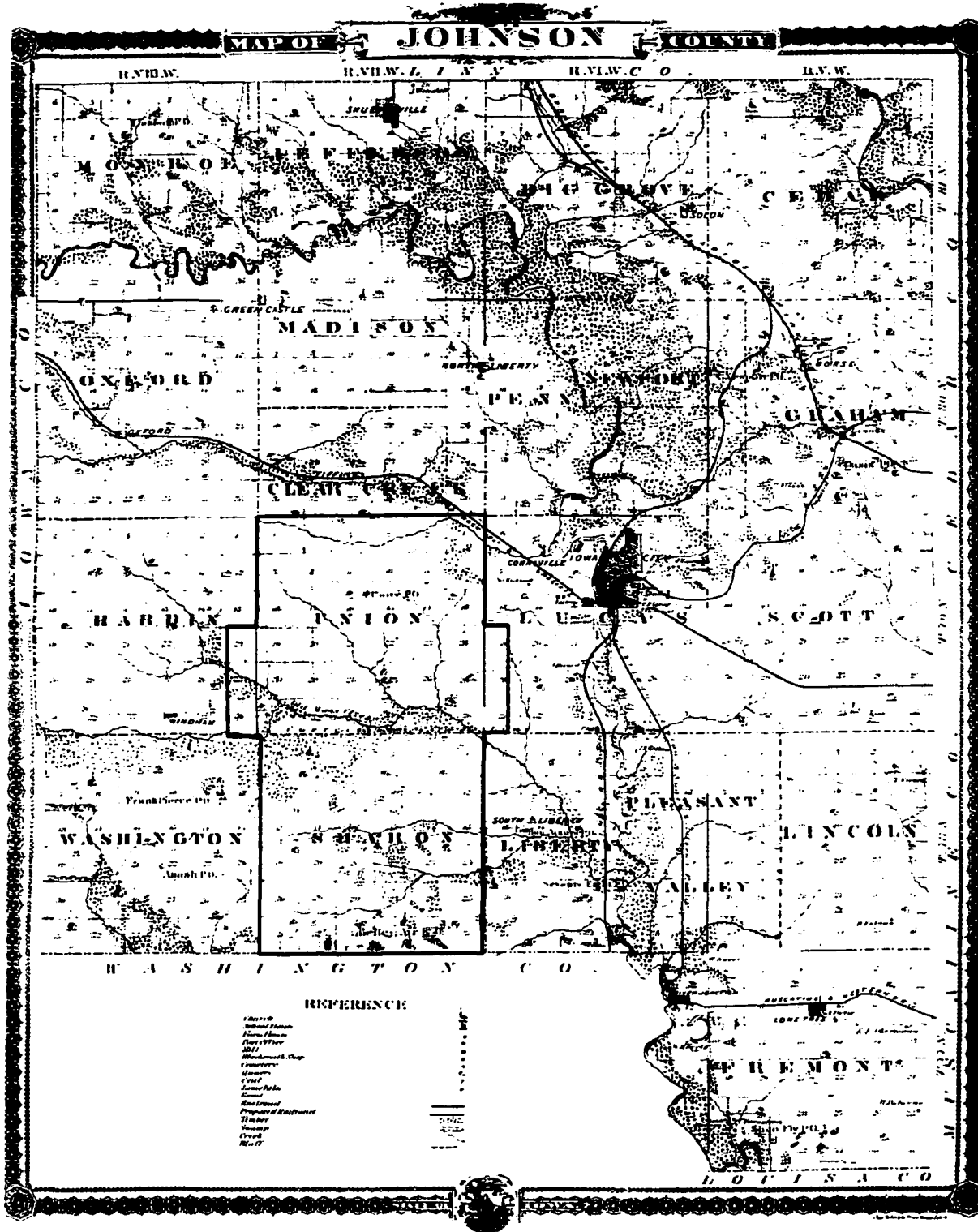
One of the fundamental characteristics that sets a Welsh community apart is its use of

the Welsh language. In Old Man's Creek, Welsh was spoken, along with English, from the beginning. The Welsh Church consistently held services in Welsh, though by 1871 the transition to English-language worship had begun. Within twenty years, one English sermon was required every Sunday, in addition to one in Welsh. The presence of so many English-speaking children, and the death of many of the native Welsh speakers, encouraged this change.

The fate of the Welsh language in the Old Man's Creek Community mirrored the fate of the Welsh community itself. The community grew through the 1870s, then began to decline slightly in the 1880s, a trend which continued into the twentieth century when the community virtually ceased to exist. The community's decline can be attributed to out-migration and death of Welsh family members, to intermarriage with non-Welsh, and to successful assimilation. The Welsh at Old Man's Creek successfully associated with their non-Welsh neighbors in school, in business, and eventually in religion, and as time passed the original ethnic differences faded. The Welsh Church still exists in the twenty-first century, but its name, its history, and the active memorialization by a few descendants of old Welsh members are all that distinguish it from the many other Christian churches in the area.

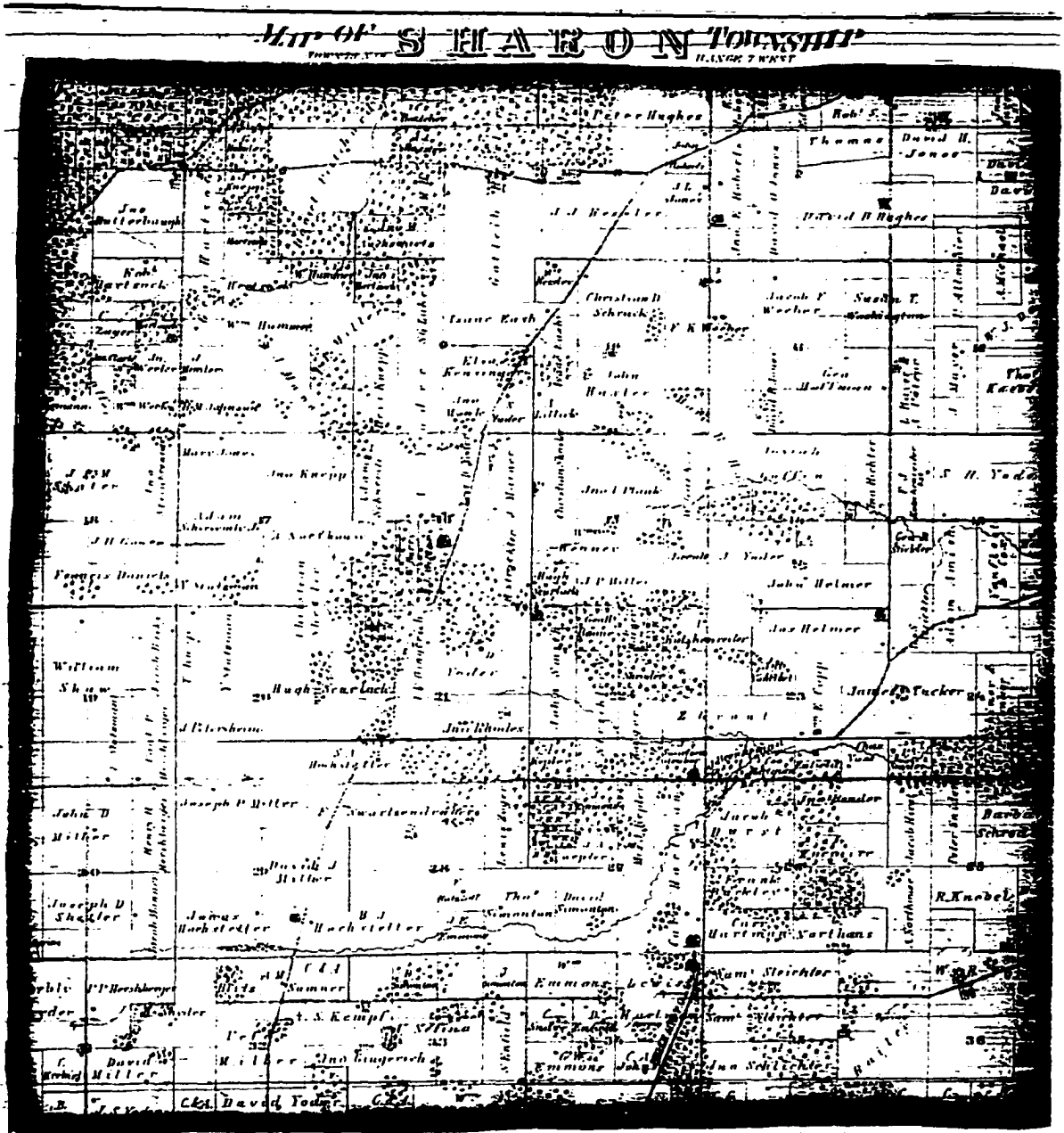
Refer to "The Old Man's Creek Welsh Community of Johnson County, Iowa," for a more complete history of this community.





Source: A. T. Andreas' *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (Chicago: Andreas Atlas Co., 1875).





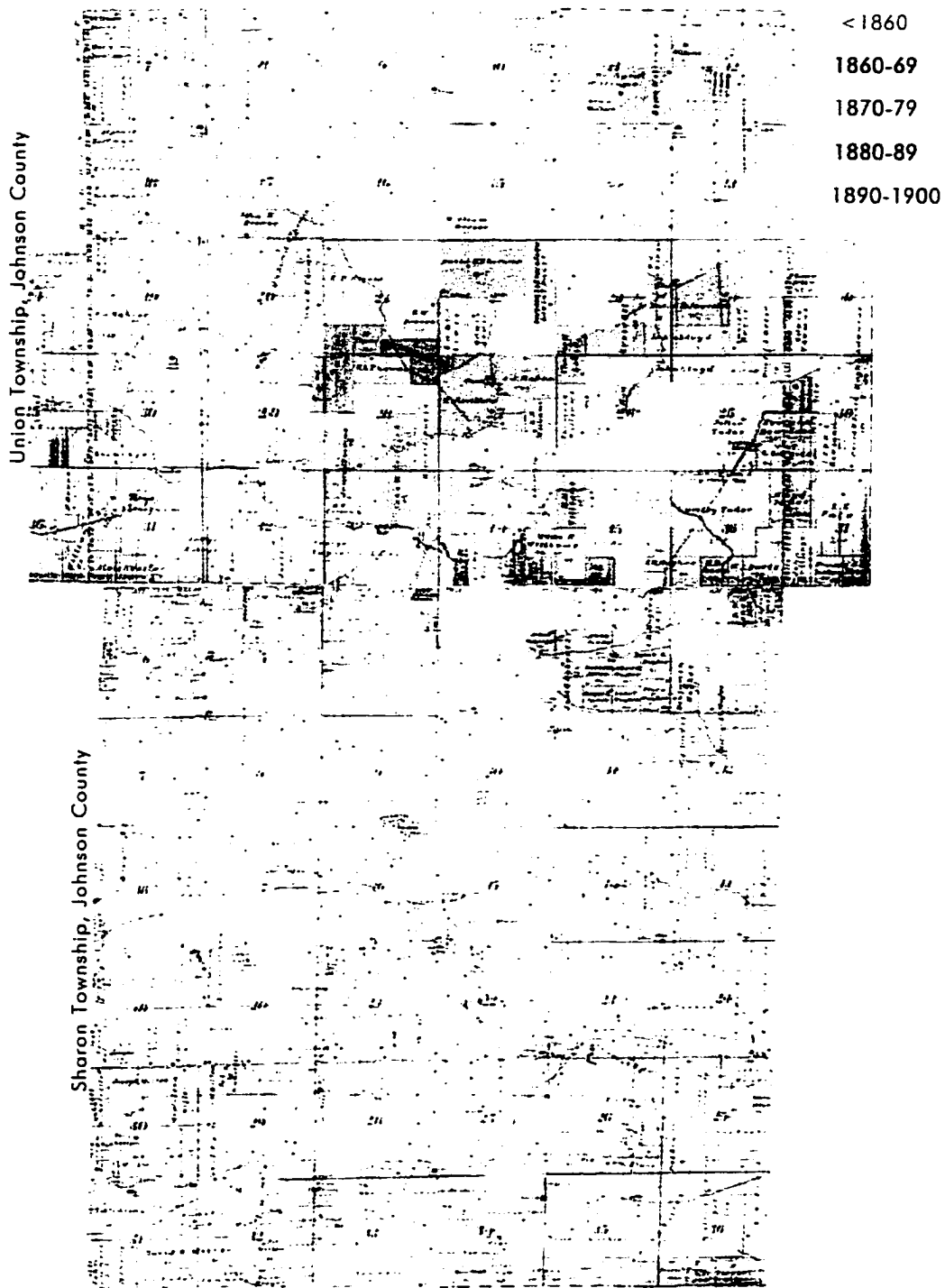
Sharon Township, Johnson County, 1870. Source: *Combination Atlas Map of Johnson County, Iowa* (Geneva, Ill.: Thompson and Everts, 1870).





# Old Man's Creek Welsh Community, 1900

Colors indicate date land acquired by current owner



**Long Creek, Louisa County—1842-1843<sup>2</sup>**

The Long Creek Welsh Community of Louisa County, Iowa grew as the region grew. According to Reverend R. D. Thomas's 1872 book *Hanes Cymry America*, the first Welsh settlers arrived in 1843. Thomas lists William Lewis and Evan Thomas as the first to arrive, both originally from Cardiganshire, South Wales. John Griffiths came from Penal, Merioneth, North Wales, and William and David Tudor hailed from Darowen., Montgomeryshire, Wales. These men reportedly bought land from the government at very reasonable prices (perhaps \$1 or \$1.25 per acre), and settled near one another on Long Creek, Columbus City Township, in western Louisa County.

The fruits of chain migration were soon harvested as John Griffith's brother Arthur Griffiths joined the community within a year, followed almost immediately by their parents David and Elizabeth Griffith, who brought with them a young boy named John A. Rees. In 1845 Reverend David Knowles and his wife joined the Long Creek Welsh. In quick succession, they were followed by William Arthur of Penal, Merioneth, North Wales, and Thomas Evans and his wife and her mother Mrs. Ann Tudor, from Darowen, Montgomeryshire. John Morgan brought his family from Penal, Merioneth, and William Jones arrived from Waunfawr, Caernarvonshire in 1847.

By the time Reverend R. D. Thomas visited in 1870, the Welsh community had grown to approximately sixty families and three hundred people. Most of the families lived south of Long Creek, while approximately eleven of them settled north of the creek. A few families lived across the county line in Washington County. Thomas provided a list of the community members and their Welsh origins.

<b>Names</b>	<b>From Where in Wales?</b>	<b>When Came?</b>
John Griffiths	Penal, Merioneth, North Wales	1843
Arthur Griffiths	Penal, Merioneth, North Wales	1843
Mrs. Mary Tudor	Penal, Merioneth, North Wales	1843
John A. Rees	Penal, Merioneth, North Wales	1843
Hugh Arthur	Penal, Merioneth, North Wales	1844
Evan Morgan	Merioneth, North Wales	1845
John Morgan	Merioneth, North Wales	1845
William Jones	Caernarvonshire, North Wales	1844
John S. Davies	Merioneth, North Wales	1852
Evan E. Davies	Merioneth, North Wales	1850
Evan H. Davies	Merioneth, North Wales	1852
Hugh E. Davies	Merioneth, North Wales	1850
Evan Davies	Montgomeryshire	1852
Edward E. Davies	Merioneth, North Wales	1852
William Anwyl	Montgomeryshire	1853
Mrs. Evan Anwyl	Montgomeryshire	1853
Thomas Anwyl	Montgomeryshire	1853
Evan Evans	Montgomeryshire	1853
John L. Thomas	Carmarthenshire, South Wales	1854
Benjamin Morgan	Breconshire, South Wales	1854
David N. Jones	Carmarthenshire, South Wales	1855
Robert T. Jones	Merioneth, North Wales	1855
Mrs. Elizabeth Jones	Merioneth, North Wales	1855
Rev. Thomas W. Evans	Cardiganshire, South Wales	1856
David H. Griffiths	Louisa County, Iowa	1846
Hugh Jones	Caernarvonshire, North Wales	1856
John A. Owen	Montgomeryshire	1857
Hugh O. Jones	Montgomeryshire	1857
David D. Jenkins	Cardiganshire, South Wales	1857
Lewis Jones	Montgomeryshire	1857
Hugh M. Jones	Montgomeryshire	1857
Thomas E. Jones	Montgomeryshire	1858
David J. Evans	Montgomeryshire	1858
John Jacobs	Cardiganshire, South Wales	1858
John R. Owen	Merioneth, North Wales	1860
William V. Davies	Montgomeryshire	1861
John H. Davies	Montgomeryshire	1861
Vaughan Davies	Merioneth, North Wales	1862
John Richards	Montgomeryshire	1863
Edward J. Davies	Merioneth, North Wales	1864
Robert Evans	Merioneth, North Wales	1865
Edward Williams	Merioneth, North Wales	1866



Elias Roberts	Caernarvonshire, North Wales	1867
Humphrey Jones	Merioneth, North Wales	-----
Richard Richards	Merioneth, North Wales	-----
John Jones	Cardiganshire, South Wales	1867
Jenkin Davies	Cardiganshire, South Wales	1867
David Davies	Cardiganshire, South Wales	1867
Thomas R. Jones	Cardiganshire, South Wales	1867
Lot Hughes	Caernarvonshire, North Wales	1867
Richard Thomas	Caernarvonshire, North Wales	1868
Rev. Owen Owens	Caernarvonshire, North Wales	1868
Richard J. Williams	Caernarvonshire, North Wales	1868
Richard Edwards	Montgomeryshire	1869
David Edwards	Montgomeryshire	1869
John J. Williams	Caernarvonshire	-----
Mrs. Elizabeth Norton	Merioneth, North Wales	1869
Edward E. Jones	Montgomeryshire	1869
Richard Williams	Caernarvonshire, North Wales	1869
Rev. G. Roberts (C. M.)	Penmachno, Caernarvonshire, North Wales	1870

Like the other Welsh communities in Iowa, the center of the Long Creek Welsh Community was soon established: The Welsh Zion Congregational Church. Reverend David Knowles gave the first Welsh sermon in the community in September 1845 at John Griffith's home. At that same time, the Welsh planned to organize a Congregational Church, which they accomplished on January 15, 1846. The charter members were as follows: Reverend David Knowles, Mrs. Elizabeth Griffith, Mrs. Margaret Griffith, Richard Williams, John Morgan, Thomas Evans, William Arthur, David Tudor, William Jones, Mrs. Ann Knowles, Arthur Griffith, Mrs. Elizabeth Griffith, Mrs. Jane Williams, Mrs. Catherine Morgan, Mrs. Sarah Evans, Mrs. Catherine Arthur, and Mrs. Ann Tudor.

The church continued to meet in John Griffith's home until 1848 when they actually purchased the house and remodeled it to use as a church. They met there until 1864 when they built a new churchhouse. This second chapel was used until 1887 when the congregation

built their third church and named it the Zion Congregational Church. In 1855 thirty members broke off from the Welsh church to form an English church. They met in the same building and used the same pastor for a while until they built their own building in Columbus City. In 1859 another group withdrew and formed a Calvinistic Methodist Church, later named the Salem Presbyterian Church.

Not until 1914 did The Welsh Zion Congregational Church introduce English-language worship, when the pastor was required to preach the morning sermon in Welsh and the evening in English. They continued in this pattern until 1923 when the Welsh sermons were dropped altogether in favor of the majority of English speakers in the congregation. The Zion Congregational Church finally closed in 1958.

**Pastors of the Zion Congregational Church:**

David Knowles	1846-1854
Thomas W. Evans	1856-1861
David Knowles	1861-1866
Rhys Evans	1866-1867
Owen Owens	1868-1871
S. Jones	1872-1875
I. C. Jones B. D.	1875-1877
Owen Owens	1877-1878
M. E. Davis	1878-1881
J. E. Jones	1882-1889
W. H. Jones	9 months
J. M. Richards	4 months
Lloyd Williams	1891-1900
James Jenkins	1901-1903
R. P. Roberts	1904-1908
T. P. Jenkins	1908-1916
Thomas Evans	1917-1920
M. G. Jones	1922-1925
W. G. Robertson	1930-1931
R. N. Chord	1935-1950

The Salem Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church sprang from the longings of a few families to return to their Welsh Calvinistic Methodist roots. These longings caused the families to withdraw from the Welsh Congregational Church they had been attending. In 1859 the families organized the Salem Calvinistic Methodist Church, those founding members including Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Griffith, Mr. and Mrs. William Jones and step-son John Thomas, Mr. and Mrs. William Arthur, and Mr. and Mrs. Evan H. Davis.

In 1860 the membership had grown enough to warrant the construction of a chapel. The congregation chose to build on the southwest corner of the Cambrian Cemetery. The church became known as the "Capel Bach," or Little Chapel. Soon after that the church's pastor, Reverend David Hughes, brought the heretofore independent church under the umbrella of the official Calvinistic Methodist Church. By 1875 the congregation had grown to one hundred and twenty members, once again requiring the construction of a new meetinghouse. This time the church was built at the northeast corner of John A. Rees's homestead, at the present-day intersection of X Avenue and 120<sup>th</sup> Street. At this time a sermon was given at ten in the morning and again in the sabbath evening, Sunday School met at two o'clock in the afternoon, and the Young People's Christian Endeavor society in the evening. The Salem Welsh Calvinistic Church again built a new church in 1910 at a cost of seven thousand dollars, not including donated labor. This new building seated five hundred and was filled during the dedication services.

**Ministers of the Salem Calvinistic Methodist Church / Salem Presbyterian Church<sup>3</sup>**

Hugh Davis	1860-1866
Griffith Roberts	1866-1874
Richard Hughes	1874-1885

Thomas H. Jones	1885-1887
J. Michael Hughes	1887-1889
J. R. Johns	1891-1897
J. F. Morris	1898-1900
W. Machno Jones	1901-1907
Hugh E. Jones	1909-1913
Humphrey W. Owens	1917-1923
W. Trevor Williams	1924-1933
David C. Davis	1936-1942

The Long Creek Welsh Community also supported the Cotter United Presbyterian Church. Its beginnings date from 1877 when Reverend Owen Owens gave a sermon in the Yankeetown school house. The Welsh families north of Long Creek then organized a Welsh Sabbath School, which continued to meet at various members' homes.

In 1879 Reverend Richard Hughes organized a branch of the Salem Calvinistic Methodist Church north of the river. Twelve people are considered charter members: Mrs. and Mrs. Hugh T. Arthur, Mr. and Mrs. Edward E. Jones, Mr. and Mrs. Humphrey Richards, Mr. and Mrs. D. R. Hughes, Mrs. Matilda (Davis) Jones, Mrs. Ann Richards, and Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Williams. Their numbers soon swelled with the arrival of the families of J. J. Davis, Richard Jenkins, Henry Daniels, E. J. Owens, and Edward J. Davis. The church continued to hold services in the Yankeetown school until 1884.

In 1884 the members, who by now numbered thirty-two, withdrew from the Salem Church and organized an independent Bethel Welsh [Calvinistic Methodist] Church of Cotter. They began to build their own house of worship that same year and located it one mile south of Cotter on land donated by Evan J. Owens. Reverend Richard Hughes preached the first sermon in the new church on December 24, 1884, and the building was dedicated in May 1885. Lightning struck the Bethel Church in 1906 and a new building was erected and

dedicated in 1907. The new church was located on land donated by Mr. Hugh O. Jones, nearer Cotter itself. In 1922 the Bethel Welsh Church changed its name to the Cotter Presbyterian Church.

**Ministers of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church/Bethel Welsh Church of Cotter**

Richard Hughes	1879-1883
J. R. Jones	1883-1897
J. T. Morris	1898-1900
W. Machno Jones	1900-1906
Hugh E. Jones	1909-1913
R. P. Richards	1914



**Flint Creek, Des Moines County--1842<sup>4</sup>**

Except for a few references in county histories, almost all traces of the Flint Creek Welsh Settlement have disappeared. The most complete available account of the settlement can be found in Reverend R. D. Thomas's *Hanes Cymry America*, which reports on the state of the settlement in 1870, and also gives a brief history of the community.

According to Reverend Thomas, the first Welsh people to settle in the Flint Creek area were John Jones and his wife in 1842, both coming originally from Anglesey, North Wales. They both died about 1855, but their sons Edward and John J. Jones remained in the area at least through 1870. John Jones was a devout Calvinistic Methodist and in 1848 built the first Welsh Church in the community, locating it in the northwest corner of Section 31 of Yellow Springs Township. Fittingly, John Jones and his wife were both buried in the Welsh churchyard.

Soon other Welsh began to arrive, strengthening the community. Jonah Morris and John Jacobs arrived with their families in 1843, as did Robert Jones and his family. Robert Jones came from North Wales and settled right away in Yellow Springs Township, purchasing land on the creek just northeast of where John Jones would build the Welsh church. Robert Jones' eldest son, John R. Jones, accompanied the family and purchased eighty acres of his own in the same area. Isaac N. Jones was born to his parents in Yellow Springs Township in 1844 and remained as a farmer at least through 1870, as did his brother David R. Jones. Sarah Jones married the Reverend Thomas W. Evans, who arrived in 1845 and eventually served as the minister of the Calvinistic Methodist Church for a total of fourteen years.

By 1848 enough Welsh had settled in the Flint Creek area that they felt they needed a

Welsh church. Though not all of the same denomination, they compromised and formed a Congregational Church. As mentioned above, John Jones built the meetinghouse, almost completely at his own expense. The Welsh congregation grew enough by 1868 to warrant a new building, which was completed at a cost of \$1,100. In 1870 official church membership stood at forty, with fifty people regularly attending Sunday School and approximately eighty attending Sunday services.

No records have been located which chart the continuation or demise of the community. Local historian J. W. Merrill made only passing reference to the Welsh in his 1897 book *Yellow Springs and Huron, A Local History*. Merrill recounted the establishment of the Welsh church in approximately 1851 (according to his records), and remarked, "... the church which is yet known as the Welsh chapel." His statement would seem to indicate that the Welsh Church was no longer active in 1897, though the building still stood. That seems to be the last published mention of the Flint Creek Welsh community to survive. Indeed, neither the 1905 *Biographical Review of Des Moines County* nor the 1915 *History of Des Moines County, Iowa and Its People* mentions the existence of a Welsh community.

#### **Flint Creek Welsh in 1870<sup>5</sup>**

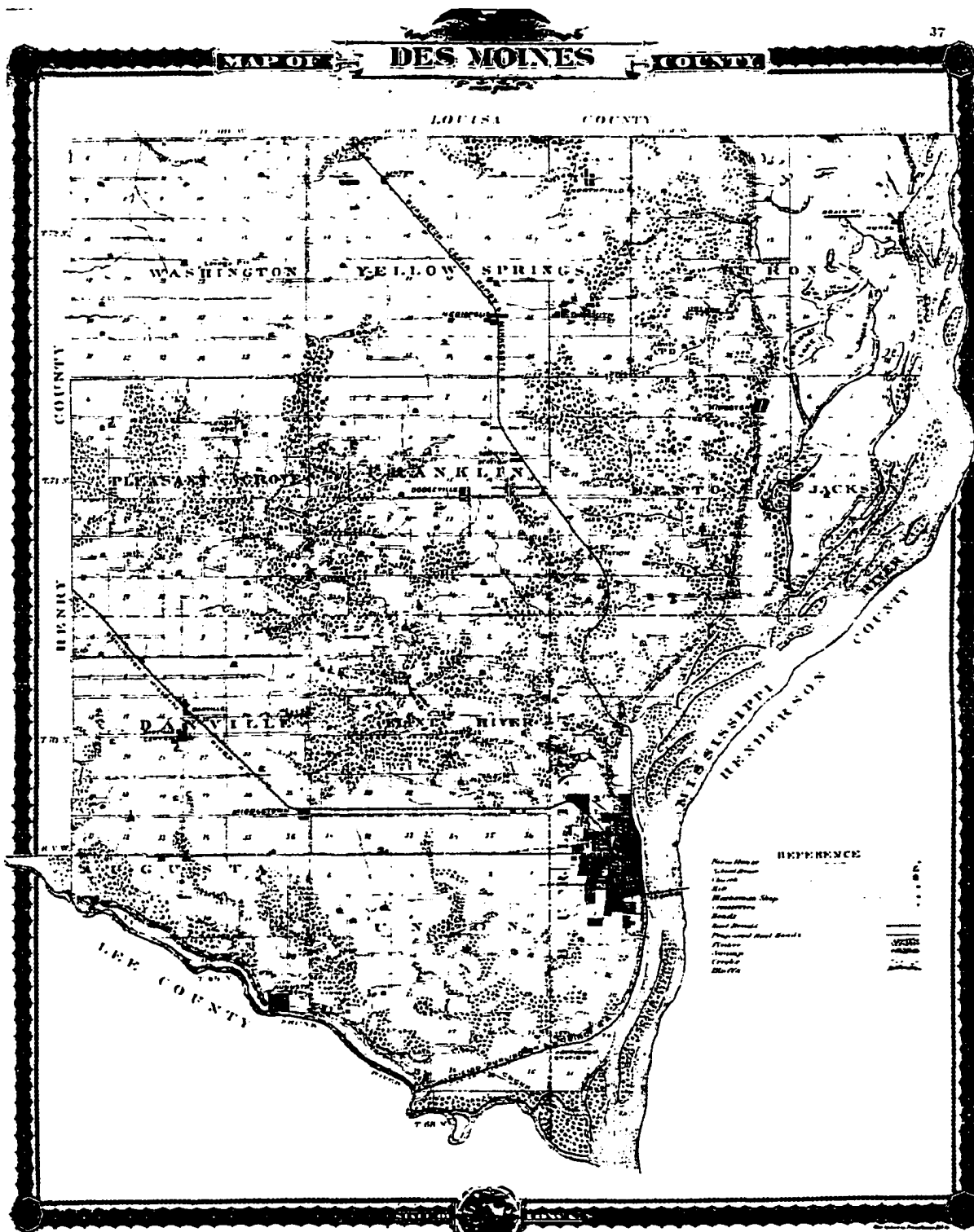
<u>Name</u>	<u>Where From</u>	<u>Date Arrived</u>
Robert Jones	Anglesey, North Wales	1843
John R. Jones	Anglesey, North Wales	1843
David R. Jones	Anglesey, North Wales	1843
Mrs. Joshua Jones	New York, NY	1843
Isaac N. Jones	Des Moines Co., Iowa	b. 1844
Mrs. Ann Thomas	Carmarthenshire, South Wales	1845
Henry Evans	Cardiganshire, South Wales	1845
Benjamin Jones	London, England	1845
Mrs. Jacobs	London, England	1845
Thomas Jones	Iowa	1847



Edward P. Hughes	Liverpool, England	1850
William E. Jones	Flintshire, North Wales	1852
Edward Jones	Anglesey, North Wales	1855
John J. Jones	Anglesey, North Wales	1846
William W. Williams	Anglesey, North Wales	1853
William Lloyd	Ohio	1858
William James	Carmarthenshire, Wales	1858
William W. Jones	Caernarvonshire, North Wales	1858
Thomas H. Evans	Ohio	1865
William L. Roberts	Merioneth	1868
Hugh Jones	Anglesey, North Wales	1867
Richard Jones	Anglesey, North Wales	1868
William D. Roberts	Merioneth	1869

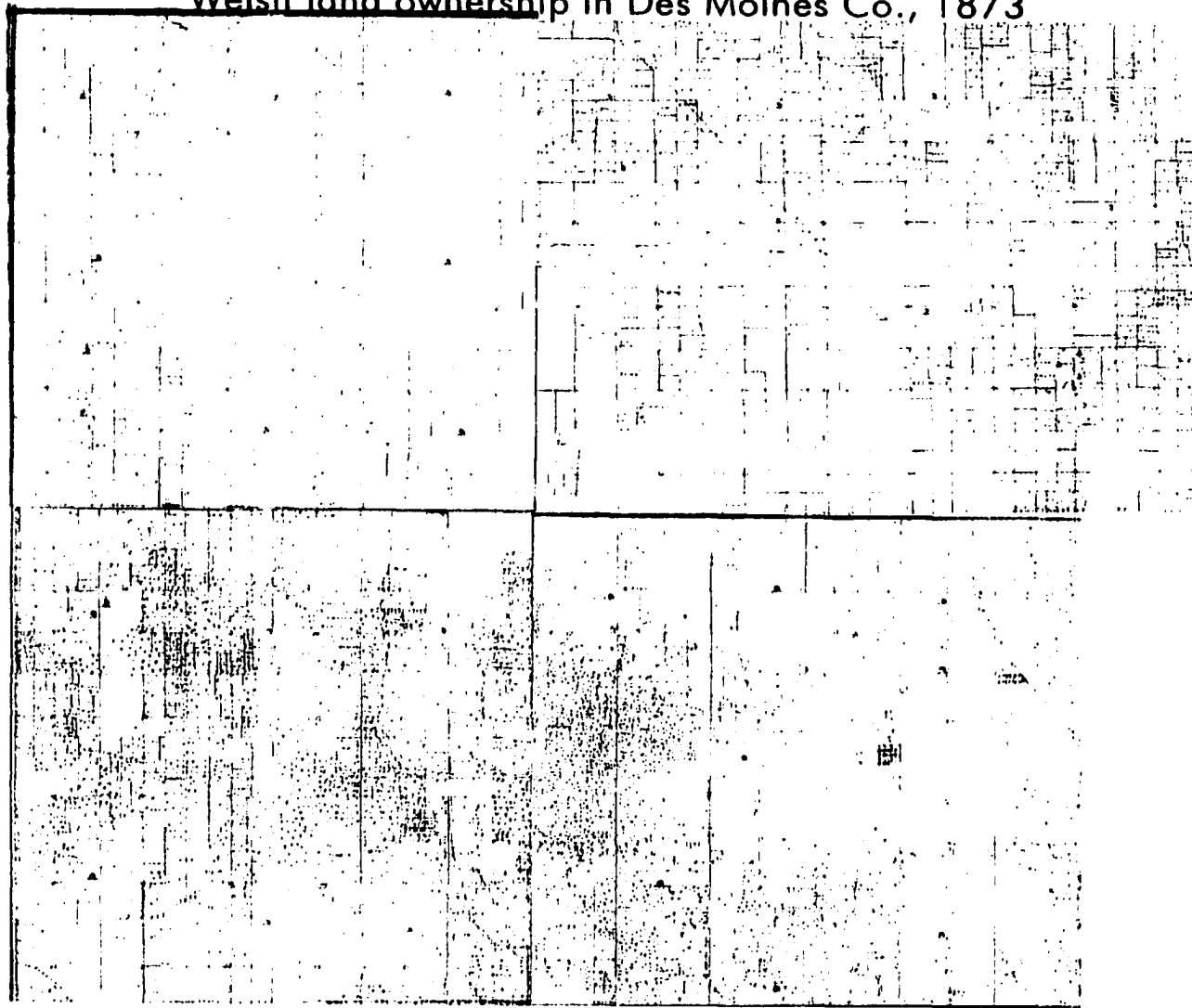
**Flint Creek Welsh -- not included in *Hanes Cymry America* list**

<u>Name</u>	<u>Where From</u>	<u>When in Flint Creek</u>
Hugh Edwards	Denbighshire, NW	1870
John Jones & wife	Anglesey, NW	1842-1855
Edward Jones	son of John Jones & wife	1870
John J. Jones	son of John Jones & wife	1870
Jonah Morris	Carmarthenshire, SW	1843-1868
John Jacobs	Carmarthenshire, SW	1843-1850
Joshua Jones	New York	died 1856
Benjamin Jones, Sr. & wife	London, England	1845-1846
Thomas Thomas (Baptist) & wife		1870
Thomas Evans & family	Cardiganshire	1845
Mrs. Gowdy	daughter of Thomas Evans	1870
Mrs. Thomas W. Evans & wife	daughter of Robert Jones	1845
Erasmus Evans & family	Caernarvon, NW	1845
Thomas Lewis & family	Pembrokeshire, SW	1848
John Davies		1850
David Williams		1850
Thomas Edwards		1870
John Price		
Evan Griffiths		
Rev. Robert Evans	of Waukesha Co., WI	1870
David Knowles		
George Lewis		
John Pryce Jones		



Source: A. T. Andreas' *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (Chicago: Andreas Atlas Co., 1875), 56.

Welsh land ownership in Des Moines Co., 1873



Source: *An Illustrated Atlas of Des Moines County, Iowa* (Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1873). Individual maps follow, without shading.

### **Williamsburg and Welsh Prairie, Iowa County—1844<sup>6</sup>**

Welsh settlers arrived in Iowa County in the Fall of 1844, settling in Troy Township, just southeast of what would become Williamsburg. The first to arrive were the families of Evan D. Evans, William Evans, and Richard Pugh, all of whom were related: Evan and William Evans were brothers, and Richard Pugh was a brother-in-law. They pulled together and shared a hut that first winter in the north-central part of Section 15. The next spring that hut became home to the Evan D. Evans family and the other two families built new homes of their own—Richard Pugh a bit to the East, also in Section 15, and William Evans further West in Section 15 on Old Man's Creek. All three families first left Wales in 1840 or 1841 and spent a few years in Cincinnati, Ohio before migrating to Iowa.

Like other Welsh settlements, the Williamsburg Welsh community owes its success to the drawing power evident in chain migration. Soon after the Evans brothers (Evan D. and William) and their sister (Mrs. Richard Pugh) settled near Williamsburg, they were joined by their parents. David and Jane Evans arrived in the spring of 1846, but both died that next fall within half an hour of one another. In 1849 Evan D. Evans's brother-in-law John Watkins brought his family to join the Williamsburg Welsh community. The surrounding area began to fill with unrelated Welsh, as well, including Hugh Evans and his wife in 1855 (from Penegoes, North Wales), and John Hughes and family in 1856 (from Penllys, Montgomeryshire, North Wales via Palmyra, Ohio). According to Reverend R. D. Thomas, at the end of 1870 the Williamsburg Welsh numbered 350 people and seventy families.

#### **Williamsburg, Iowa County**

Evan D. Evans	Carno, Montgomeryshire, North Wales	1844
Mrs. R. Williams (formerly Pugh)	Carno, Montgomeryshire, North Wales	1844
Mrs. William Evans	Carno, Montgomeryshire, North Wales	1844

John Watkins	Carno, Montgomeryshire, North Wales	1849
Lewis H. Williams	Machynlleth, Montgomeryshire, NW	1854
John D. Evans	Machynlleth, Montgomeryshire, NW	1855
Hugh C. Evans	Montgomeryshire, NW	1855
John Hughes	Machynlleth, Montgomeryshire, NW	1855
Rowland Davies	Merioneth, North Wales	1856
John W. Jones	Merioneth, North Wales	1856
Lewis Jones	Montgomeryshire, North Wales	1856
Thomas Ellis	Montgomeryshire, North Wales	1856
Benjamin Harris	Monmouthshire, South Wales	1857
Edward Edwards	Monmouthshire, South Wales	1857
William R. Jones	Carmarthenshire, South Wales	1858
William Jones	Carmarthenshire, South Wales	1858
David Jenkins	Aberdar, North Wales	1858
Rev. Evan J. Evans	Llanegryn, Merioneth	1858
William E. Evans	Flintshire, North Wales	1859
John L. Hughes	Anglesey, North Wales	1860
Robert L. Hughes	Anglesey, North Wales	1860
Mrs. William D. Jones	Anglesey, North Wales	1860
John J. Jones	Ffestiniog, Merioneth	1862
Thomas Evans	Merthyr, South Wales	1863
Thomas Perkins	Llangyfelach, Glamorgan	1863
Roger Jones	Ruthin, North Wales	1863
David T. Jones	Dowlais, South Wales	1864
Richard Richards	Merthyr, South Wales	1864
Thomas Rogers	Carmarthenshire, South Wales	1864
John Jones	Breconshire, South Wales	1864
Thomas A. Jones	Montgomeryshire, North Wales	1864
John J. Jones	Breconshire, South Wales	1864
David J. Jones	Breconshire, South Wales	1864
John Davies	Pembrokeshire, South Wales	1864
Mrs. Henry Davies	Carmarthenshire, South Wales	1865
Robert W. Roberts	Ffestiniog, North Wales	1866
Thomas Hughes	Treffynon, Flintshire	1866
Thomas M. Davies	Carmarthenshire, South Wales	1865
Morgan Thomas	Carmarthenshire, South Wales	1867
Lewis D. Jones	Carmarthenshire, South Wales	1867
William M. Davies	Maldwyn, North Wales	1867
Nicholas Lewis	Pontypridd, Glamorgan	1868
David R. Evans	Aberdar, South Wales	1868
John James	Glamorgan, South Wales	1868
Thomas J. Jones	Breconshire, South Wales	1868
Job S. Williams	Cardiganshire, South Wales	1868
Robert Powell	Caernarvonshire, North Wales	1868

Edward H. Jones	Oneida County, New York	1868
Edward Roberts	Merioneth, North Wales	1868
John Roberts	Merioneth, North Wales	1868
Edward Blythyn	Flintshire, North Wales	1868
James Thomas	Monmouthshire, South Wales	1868
Richard Thomas	Llanidloes, North Wales	1868
Mr. Richard J. Jones (C.M.)	Merioneth, North Wales	1868
Owen R. Jones	Steuben, New York	1868
David Roberts	Ffestiniog, Merioneth	1869
William Williams	Ffestiniog, Merioneth	1869
Richard Gittins	Llanfihangel, Montgomeryshire	1869
Rev. David Price (Cong.)	Denbigh, North Wales	1869
John O. Hughes	Anglesey, North Wales	1869
Thomas J. Davies	Glamorgan, South Wales	1869
David Morgan	Aberdar, South Wales	1869
Robert Thomas	Aberdar, South Wales	1869
Robert C. Jones	Caernarvonshire, North Wales	1869
Henry Jones	Caernarvonshire, North Wales	1870
Moses Edwards	Denbigh, North Wales	1870
Richard W. Thomas	Oneida County, New York	1870
David H. Jones	Montgomeryshire, North Wales	1870
John D. Evans	Denbigh, North Wales	1870

Upon settling in Iowa, the Evans brothers and their wives first affiliated with the Welsh Church at Old Man's Creek, being added to the rolls between 1846 and 1849. The first congregation at Old Man's Creek dissolved in 1849 or 1850 and the Evans families of Iowa County did not rejoin the church when it was reorganized in 1855, perhaps no longer able to make the twenty-six mile trek to the Old Man's Creek settlement. Instead, they were motivating forces in the establishment of the Welsh Congregational Church of Williamsburg in 1856. On October 26 of that year the founding members met in the home of William Evans and the visiting Reverend Jonathan Thomas organized the church. Early meetings consisted primarily of Sunday School and prayer meetings, and were held in members' homes until they could meet in the school house built in 1858.

In 1856 Richard Williams platted the town of Williamsburg in the southwest quarter of Section 10 and the southeast quarter of Section 9. In 1859 Richard Williams donated a town lot to the Welsh Congregational Church and the church was able to construct their own meetinghouse. Though few members of the Williamsburgh Welsh Congregational Church actually lived in Williamsburg in 1870, the Welsh were willing to travel in from their scattered farms and according to Reverend R. D. Thomas, the church was strong.

By the 1860s enough Welsh had also settled in neighboring York Township for the northeast corner to be known as "Welsh Prairie." Little is known of this settlement. Mention has been found, however, of the Welsh Prairie Church located on Owen M. Edwards' farm in the center of Section 2 of York Township, organized in 1867 to serve local Welsh Calvinistic Methodists (also known as the Welsh Presbyterian Church of Welsh Prairie, Iowa). When Reverend R. D. Thomas visited in 1870, membership in the Welsh Prairie Church stood at twenty, with thirty people attending Sunday School, and Sunday Service attendance numbering approximately eighty. At that time, Reverend R. D. Thomas also reported that the Welsh Prairie Community consisted of twenty-two families, totaling 110 people.

#### **Welsh Prairie, Iowa County**

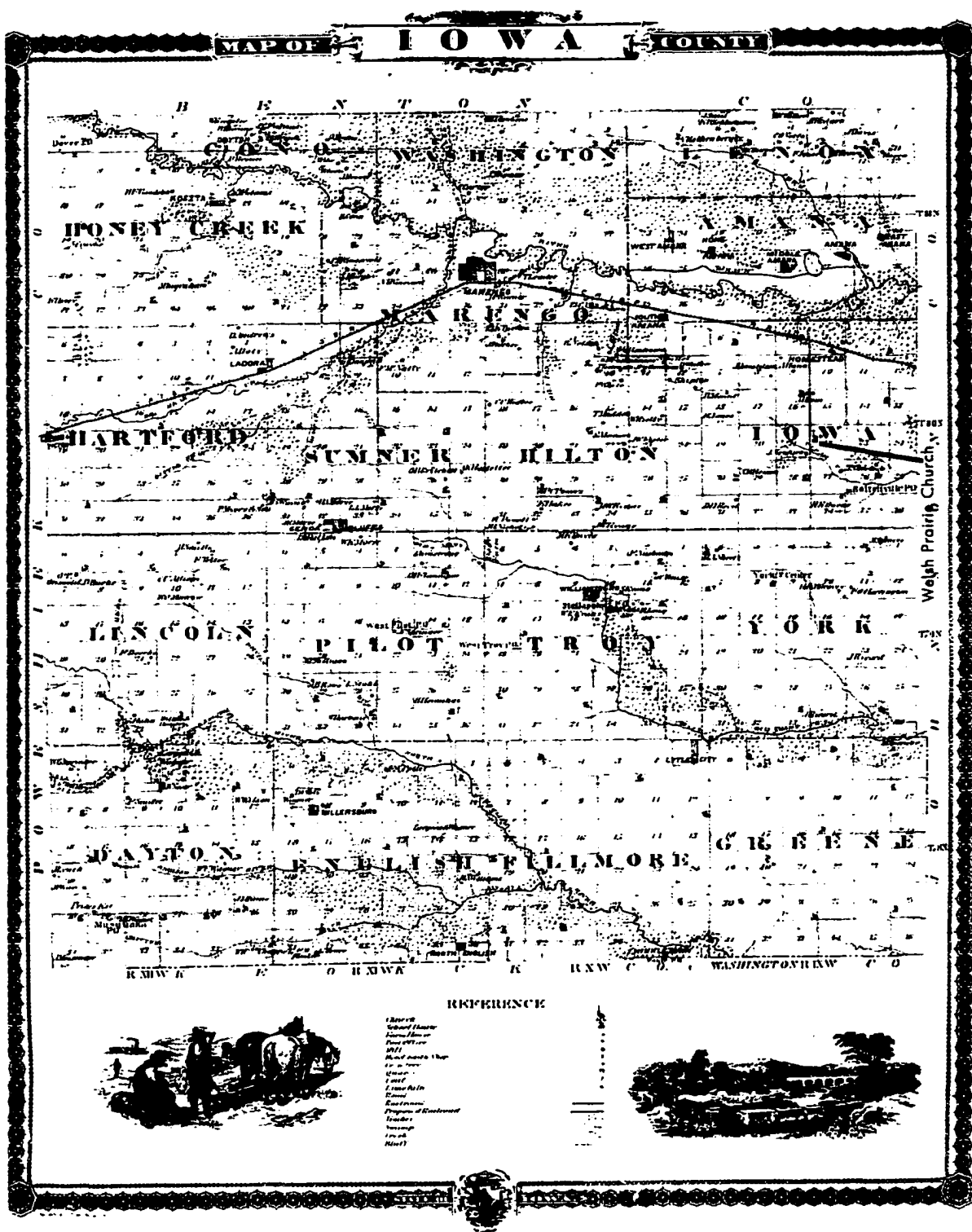
Howell Rees	Dolgellau, Merioneth, North Wales	1860
Evan Pugh	Aberllyfeni, Merioneth, North Wales	1860
Owen Edwards	Anglesey, North Wales	1861
Edward Pugh	Aberllyfeni, Merioneth, North Wales	1863
John Jones	Dyffryn, Merioneth, North Wales	1863
John Roberts	Anglesey, North Wales	1863
Arthur Williams	Aberllyfeni, Merioneth, North Wales	1863
Evan Lewis	Montgomeryshire	1865
Ishmael Parry	Anglesey, North Wales	1865
Evan Jones	Big Rock, Illinois	1865
John Edwards	Cardiganshire, South Wales	1866
Thomas Evans	Denbigh, North Wales	1866
Mrs. Edwards	Denbigh, North Wales	1867

Robert Owen	Anglesey, North Wales	1867
Rev. E. Salisbury	Oneida County, New York	1867
Samuel Jones	Oneida County, New York	1867
Richard Jones	Cemaes, Montgomeryshire	1867
Griffith Rees	Dolgellau, Merioneth	1867
Mrs. Owen	Anglesey, North Wales	1868
Rev. Robert Evans (Congr.)	Denbigh, North Wales	1869
Robert Jones	Dyffryn, Merioneth	1868
William Edwards	Anglesey, North Wales	1868

A sister church to the Welsh Prairie Church was organized in Williamsburg in 1868, when Reverend Richard J. Jones arrived. For years, Reverend Richard J. Jones shared the pulpit with two other local residents, James Thomas and Reverend Ebenezer Salisbury. The Calvinistic Methodist minister served both churches, preaching in Welsh Prairie on Saturday afternoon and Sunday morning, then traveling to Williamsburg to deliver the Sunday afternoon and/or evening sermons. In 1870 the Williamsburg Calvinistic Methodist Church claimed a membership of thirty-one, a similar number attending Sunday School, and a small congregation gathering for Sunday services. Records are unclear on when the Welsh Prairie Church disbanded, but the Williamsburg Calvinistic Methodist Church remained active until 1919 when the church disbanded and the members joined the Presbyterian Church.

As the region grew and changed, so too did the Welsh community. The Williamsburg Welsh Congregational Church enlarged their church building in 1871 and built an entire new building in 1890. By 1897 enough of the church members lacked Welsh language skills to require that while the morning service continued to be given in Welsh, the evening service needed to be offered in English. By 1911 Welsh had entirely given way to English in the Church, a reflection of the changes in the Welsh community itself. The Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church of Williamsburg clung to Welsh until 1919 when it disbanded.





Source: A. T. Andreas' *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (Chicago: Andreas Atlas Co., 1875).

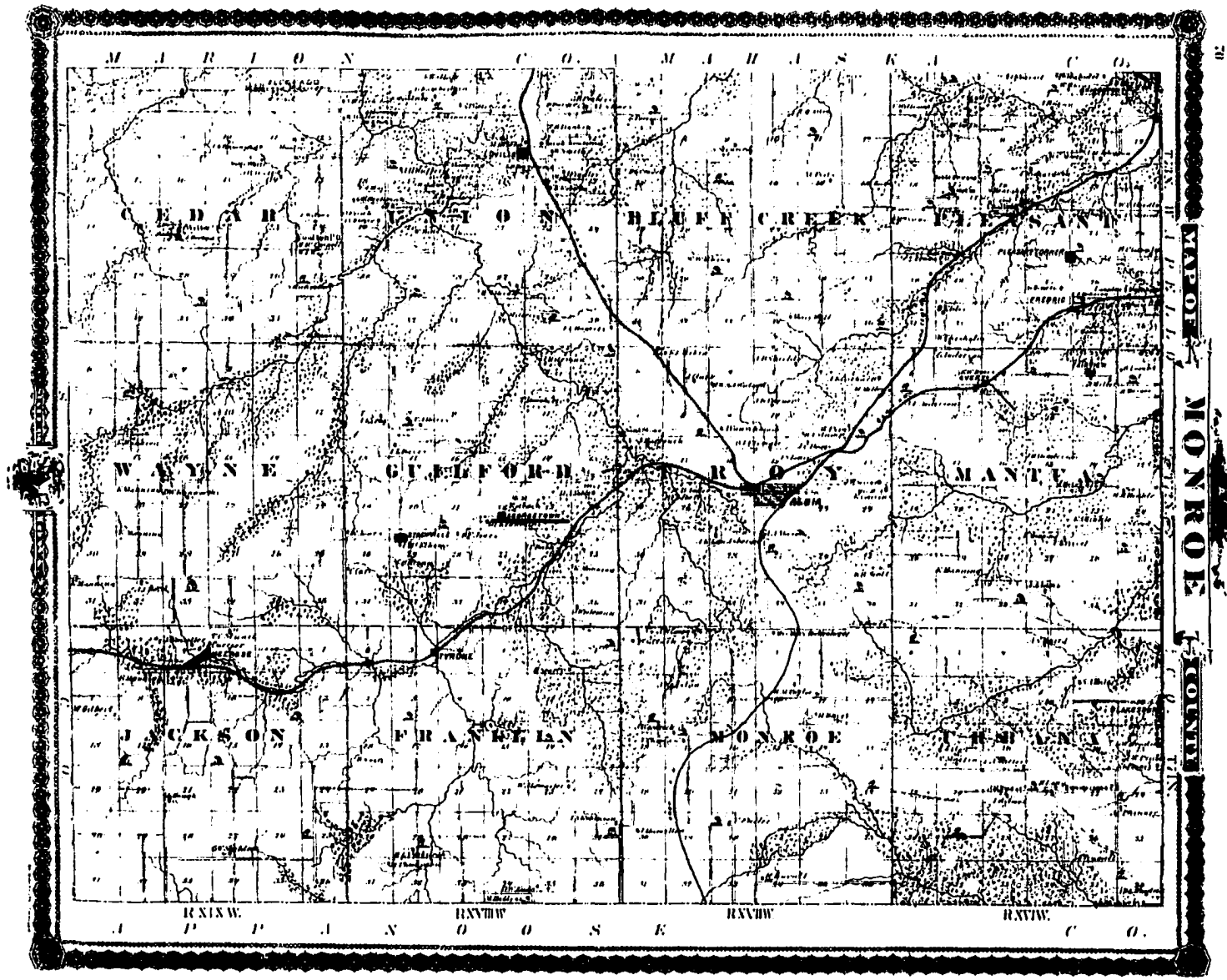
**Georgetown, Monroe County–1854<sup>7</sup>**

R. D. Thomas visited a small settlement of Welsh near Georgetown in 1870. The actual heart of the settlement was located approximately four miles north of Tyrone Station on the Burlington & Missouri Rail Road, west of Albia. Between Albia and the Georgetown settlement, Thomas estimated that 100 Welsh lived in the area in 1870. In his account of the first settlers' arrivals and departures, Thomas also noted that the land was "good and rich, but the greatest problem for the religious Welsh is that there are so many Irish Catholics there. They have caused many to sell their farms and move aaway to places which are more Welsh and religious." This is the only such comment Thomas makes about the Welsh in Iowa.

Thomas also made note of the spiritual state of the Georgetown Welsh. The Congregational Church was established in 1856, having been preceded by informal preaching in English and Welsh by Rev. John L. Richards. In 1859 the congregation erected a small wooden church building, measuring only 25 feet by 30 feet. Between 1856 and 1870 four ministers had served the congregation: Thomas Matthews, Tudor Jones, David Knowles, and David Thomas. In 1870 membership stood at 20, the Sunday School had approximately 25 attendees, and about 50 attended Sunday services.

**Early Welsh in Georgetown area, Monroe Co.**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Where From</b>	<b>Arrival Date</b>	<b>there in 1870</b>
John A. Edwards			
Stephan Lloyd	Pembrokeshire, South Wales	1858	
Moses Edward			
Morgan Edwards			
Morris Baines	Llanerfil, Montgomeryshire	1858	
Benjamin F. Jones	Llandysil, Cardiganshire, SW	1854	yes
Lewis Jones	North Wales	1854	
David Jones	North Wales	1854	
Thomas Evans	Carmarthenshire, South Wales	1854	yes
William Griffiths	Carmarthenshire, South Wales	1854	yes
David Thomas	Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	1854	
Owen Thomas	Llangranog	1856	
Watkin Williams	Cardiganshire, South Wales	1856	
John Williams	Carmarthenshire, South Wales	1857	
William Phillips	South Wales	1857	
David Jones	Pembrokeshire, South Wales	1858	
Thomas John	Carmarthenshire, South Wales	1859	
William Davies		1859	yes
Thomas Davies		1859	yes
Isaac Davies		1859	yes
Richard Jones	Merioneth, North Wales	1859	yes
Thomas Beynon			yes
Thomas Watkins			yes
Samuel Williams			yes
William Lewis			yes
Thomas Stevens			yes
Thomas Morgan			yes
William Williams			yes



Source: *A. T. Andreas' Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (Chicago: Andreas Atlas Co., 1875), 70.

**Foreston/Lime Springs, Howard County–1856<sup>8</sup>**

The Foreston–Lime Springs Welsh settlement [hereafter collectively called the Lime Springs settlement, since that is the town which remains] was one of the most significant Welsh settlement in Iowa. Located in Howard County on the Minnesota border in Northeast Iowa, the Lime Springs Welsh were part of both the larger Iowa Welsh community and the even larger Minnesota Welsh community. A number of Welsh migrated from Wisconsin to southeast Minnesota and in the 1860s enough Welsh had settled in Fillmore County, Minnesota and neighboring Howard County, Iowa to form the loosely defined Foreston–Lime Springs Welsh Community. The community was comprised of six settlements: Foreston (Forest City Township), Old Lime Springs/Newbury (Forest City Township), Lime Springs Station (Forest City Township), Saratoga Prairie (Saratoga Township), Priscairon (Chester Township), Bristol (Fillmore County, Minnesota), and various farms surrounding the above communities, including some in Albion and Howard Center townships.

Foreston became the center of this Welsh settlement, reportedly one of the largest west of the Mississippi River. The settlement began in 1856 with the construction of the Foreston Mill by the A. W. Rice Construction Company on land preempted by James G. Upton. In August of 1856 Forest City was officially platted (though commonly called Foreston), and the town grew quickly. Foreston's first post office opened January 6, 1857, and by 1861 the town consisted of at least fifty buildings, both residences and businesses.

The early Welsh were located within a circle with radius of approximately 14 miles, with Foreston at the center. Welsh families could be found in Old Lime Springs, just four miles southwest of Foreston; Proiscairon, which was a small territory northwest of Old Lime

Springs; Saratoga Prairie, also known as “Canaan Land”, was to the southwest between Lime Springs and Saratoga; and in Bristol, across the Minnesota border approximately six miles northeast of Foreston.

Among the early settlers of Bristol Grove, on the Minnesota/Iowa state line, were John Jones (which?), John R. Williams, Richard Thomas, Richard P. Jones “Y Gelli” (Richard P. Jones came in 1865 with his family). After them came Owen Jones and his family, John D. Williams and his, John Williams “Plas-y-blaenau,” Robert Owen “Gareglwyd”, Robert Jones, and Hugh H. Morris. Bristol Grove, too, saw an influx of settlers in 1867–1868.

D. J. Davies “Yr Indiaid”, brother of William P. Davies, and his family were the first Welsh to settle in the Proscairon area. Next came R. W. Hughes and John D. Williams, Jr. in 1866, settling on the state line. Others followed in the influx of 1867–1869, namely Daniel Theophilus the musician, and William H. Thomas “dyn sengl”, from South Wales; H. T. Jones, R. P. Roberts, and D. D. Davies of Ixonia, Wisconsin; Thomas P. Rees of Milwaukee; John Evans of South Wales; Richard P. Jones of Bristol Grove, Minnesota; Thomas Roberts, and others. In 1869 the pioneer William P. Davies moved *to* Foreston, selling out to the above Thomas Roberts.

The Saratoga Prairie Welsh neighborhood began in 1875, when Rowland Evans brought his family to live on the land he had purchased in 1874. Rowland Evans then sold some of that land to Robert R. Jones and Hugh H. Jones, bringing them to the neighborhood. Following those two, a number of other Welshmen bought land in the Saratoga Prairie area: John Ll. Jones, John J. Jones, Owen Thomas, and R. W. Williams. Between the beginning of 1875 and the end of 1876, many other Welsh came to look at the land of this new settlement,

some of them purchasing the land they had heard about. The poor crops of 1878 and 1879 devastated the Saratoga Prairie settlement, too, and when the outflow ceased only eight Welsh families had stayed—down from twenty-five families before the tragedy.

A new wave of Welsh settled in the Foreston–Lime Springs area beginning in 1866 and the tide lasted into the 1870s. In 1867 came John Howells, William H. Jones, Hugh G. Jones, Thomas D. Roberts, R. I. Roberts, William F. Williams, Ben Davies, Reverend David Jones, William T. Lewis, Reverend Daniel T. Rowlands, Griffith Owen, John Lloyd, Hugh Roberts and son Edward, Robert Williams, and another, unspecified, Lewis family. To Foreston proper came Hugh Edwards “Bodwrog” from Cambria, Wisconsin, and Reverend John D. Williams from Proscairon, Wisconsin. In spite of such newcomers, however, Foreston began to decline even as the settlement grew. As with most things in the nineteenth century Midwest, the gravitational center of the community had followed the railroad.

The original town of Lime Springs was platted in 1858 as Newbury. However, in 1867 the McGregor-Western Railway Company built a line just south of Newbury. That same year the McGregor-Western was incorporated into the Iowa and Minnesota Division of the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railway, and the company constructed a freight and passenger station and a mere one mile south of old Lime Springs, dubbing it Lime Springs Station (Glen Roy post office). Over the next few years, the residents of old Lime Springs, Newbury and Foreston moved bundles and buildings to Lime Springs Station, establishing the new Lime Springs as the new and permanent center of the community and ensuring the demise of the earlier-settled towns. Lime Springs officially incorporated in 1876, by which time the town had already grown considerably from its origins as a railway station. Lime Springs’

location on the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad established the town as not only a trade center for local farmers, but also as a popular stop/market for traveling salesmen and supply houses.

The summer of 1878, however, brought an end to the region's prosperous streak. For three days in July, heavy rains, humidity and intense heat fell on the ripening crops, literally cooking the grain heads on the stem. Farmers lost their crops and the ability to pay back the debts they had incurred to expand and plant. The effect rippled though the community as storekeepers could not collect from destitute farmers and therefore could not pay their wholesalers. Businesses closed and families left in the night, fleeing debt and shame. Those that stayed behind set about tightening their belts and weathering the hard times. The farmers belatedly began to diversify and found salvation in corn, though they still suffered from the ever-present plagues of chinch bugs, grasshoppers, and high interest rates.

Along with the rest of the region, the Welsh community suffered from out-migration as a result of the agricultural recession. Many of the Welsh migrants left for more hopeful, if not greener, pastures in the Dakota Territory, including the families of William H. Williams, John B. Jones, Henry Jones, Thomas Lewis, William J. Williams, Robert R. Morris (and sons Hugh and Robert), Thomas H. Hughes, Owen E. Williams, Hugh Humphreys, Morris Evans, and Philip Jones. Except for Owen E. Williams, none of the above-named families returned to live in the Foreston–Lime Springs area.

The Welsh community certainly suffered from the out-migrations, but it soon benefitted from the in-migration of new settlers able to acquire vacated farms at low prices. Some of the best known newcomers arrived at this time. John D. Morgan and his family



came from Dodgeville, Wisconsin; Benjamin T. Roberts from Proscairon, Wisconsin; Thomas J. Jones and his family from Ixonia, Wisconsin. Other men, such as, R. E. Davies, William M. Jones, David J. Jones, Humphrey Jones, and Edward T. Jones, also made their way to the settlement.

Welsh immigrants to America are well known for their piety and the Foreston--Lime Springs Welsh were no different. Most of the early Welsh in the area had been raised in the Calvinistic Methodist Church, which was the Welsh version of Presbyterianism. They used "Calvinistic Methodist" to differentiate themselves from the better-known Methodists (Wesleyan). Thus, the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists interacted quite freely with the local Presbyterians. While Presbyterian services were offered in 1859 at the Craig Academy, many Welsh found travel to be difficult and soon organized local services. These services had the added advantage of being in the Welsh language, which was often an important factor in Welsh parishioners' worship; thus the Welsh ministers were important figures in the history of Welsh settlement.

Reverend J. A. Jones was one of the early ministers in the community, having been called to serve the English Congregational Church of Foreston, Iowa. Being fluent in both Welsh and English, Reverend Jones followed his Sunday morning English services with an afternoon service in Welsh, especially for the benefit of the Welsh families in nearby Bristol, Minnesota. In the beginning, those services were held under the trees near John R. Williams' house. Seven Welsh families attended these early Congregational meetings: Reverend David Davies and family; deacon W. P. Davies and family; John J. Jones and family; John R. Williams and his family; Owen Jones and family; Richard W. Jones and family; and Reverend

J. A. Jones and family. Reverend Jones also solemnized the first marriage in the settlement, held in his home on Christmas Eve, 1866 for Jane Davies, daughter of early settler William P. Davies, and her new husband Reverend R. W. Hughes.

Another early minister was Reverend J. D. Williams, who served as a part-time preacher for the Calvinistic Methodist Church and has the distinction of in 1862 giving the first local Calvinistic Methodist sermon in Welsh. He eventually owned and operated the Foreston Mill and offered ministerial services for free. One story tells that the Proscairon congregation offered him \$36 in compensation, but he stipulated that it be donated to the American Bible Society.

The Calvinistic Methodist Church at Foreston was finally established in 1867 with the help of Reverend Daniel T. Rowlands. He preached at the Foreston church until 1871 when he joined the Welsh community in Blue Earth County, Minnesota. His departure left the Foreston church without a regular pastor for three years, but the parishioners continued to hold services anyway. They were no doubt occasionally served by Reverend Owen R. Morris, who moved his family to Bristol Grove, Minnesota in 1866. He not only served the Calvinistic Methodists of Bristol Grove, but preached to other Welsh nearby Welsh settlements. Reverend J. M. Morgan likewise served the Calvinistic Methodists for three years before he moved to Powell, South Dakota. And very early on, Reverend W. W. Davis served the local communities for two years, in fact encouraging the eventual building of the churches in Foreston and Bristol.

The most tragic episode involving one of the early Welsh ministers was the demise of Reverend John J. Evans and his family in 1873. The incident left such an impression on the

community that it has been recounted in every single published history of the settlement. In brief, the John J. Evans family settled in the Foreston area in 1869, having previously lived in Welsh Prairie, Wisconsin. On January 7, 1873 the family was caught out in a severe blizzard and in spite of Reverend Evans' best efforts to get his family to the safety and shelter of home, the blizzard and the cold overcame the father, the mother, and the baby and they were found the next day frozen. The histories record that Reverend Evans had been scheduled to preach in Foreston that Sunday, but Reverend Owen R. Morris gave the Evans' funeral sermon instead.

Churches do not revolve around reverends alone, of course, and each church has its own history that transcends those who serve it. The Foreston–Lime Springs area supported five Welsh Calvinistic Methodist churches. These five were just a few of the sixteen Welsh Calvinistic Methodist churches located in southern Minnesota and Howard County, Iowa, all of which were members of the Blue Earth Presbytery of Minnesota. The five churches of the Foreston–Lime Springs settlement were located in Foreston, Lime Springs, Proscairon, Saratoga Prairie, and Bristol.

***Ministers of Lime Springs:***

**Pioneer Ministers:** Reverends J. A. Jones, J. D. Williams, D. T. Rowlands, D. O. Jones, O. R. Morris, J. J. Evans

**Pastors:** Reverends O. R. Morris, R. Isaac, R. W. Hughes, J. W. Morgan, W. W. Davies, Edward Joseph

**Young Ministers:**(those of Lime Springs who entered the ministry) Reverends R. W. Hughes, Daniel Williams, J. T. Evans, T. H. Lewis

***Elders***

**Bristol Church:** J. J. Jones, H. H. Morris, W. J. Williams, perhaps also William Williams (father-in-law to W. J. Williams)

**Foreston:** Hugh Edwards, W. T. Lewis, H. G. Jones, O. E. Williams, H. O. Roberts, W. W. Williams, W. R. Williams, E. T. Jones, J. H. Jones

**Lime Springs:** D. K. Jones, E. H. Jones, J. Price

***Singers/Choristers:***

Reverend J. A. Jones led singes in early times; Daniel Theophilus “great musical genius”; W. T. Lewis chorister in Foreston 25 years; Rev. Edward Joseph; present (1895) choristers: Foreston—W. W. Williams; Bristol—William Thomas; Lime Springs—G. G. Thomas

***Poets***

Reverends J. T. Evans, J. H. Roberts, J. R. Williams, and Noah Hughes, R. H. Jones

The earliest of the churches were organized in Foreston and Bristol. The Welsh organized the Foreston Calvinistic Methodist Church in April, 1867, with Reverend Daniel T. Rowlands of Aberdeen, South Dakota overseeing the congregation of thirty-five members. The settlement also supported a thriving Sunday School, with fifty students and six teachers. In the course of one year (1867), the students collectively recited 14,532 verses of scripture. By the 1872 publication of Reverend R. D. Thomas’s *Hanes Cymry America*, the Foreston Sunday School membership had risen to 99. The church was served by various preachers on a circuit system, with services being held in homes or schools in each Welsh settlement. Reverends Daniel T. Rowlands, Owen R. Morris, John D. Williams, and John J. Evans were the preachers that visited Foreston most often. Elders of the Foreston Church included Hugh Edward “Brodwrog”, William T. Lewis, Henry G. Jones, Owen E. Williams, H. O. Roberts, William Williams, W. R. Williams, E. T. Jones, J. H. Jones, and Robert H. Jones. By 1874 the congregation had grown enough to support the construction of a church building, at the time reportedly one of the largest rural Welsh churches in the United States, with construction costs amounting to some \$3,000. In 1893 the membership numbered 147, and the church continued to flourish until 1922 when many members transferred to the church in Lime Springs and the Foreston Church was disbanded. The building was subsequently sold and

dismantled.

The Welsh of Bristol, Minnesota began organized religious worship even before the Foreston Welsh. A Sunday School was organized in 1860–61 under the supervision of Richard Thomas of Lime Springs. Before the Bristol Calvinistic Methodist Church was officially organized, the local Welsh were served intermittently by various ministers. Reverend John D. Williams visited the settlement and preached the first Welsh sermon in the Bristol Grove area in 1862. In 1863 a Methodist preacher by the name of Morris came to spend a Sunday with the Welsh. After that, John A. Jones preached to the English and on occasion to the Welsh. In 1866 Reverend John D. Williams and his family settled in the Bristol Grove area, and Daniel T. Rowlands preached some Sundays. For a few years between 1868 and 1873, the Bristol Grove Welsh met for worship in the “School-house log”, or log schoolhouse.

Once the Bristol Church was organized, the congregation grew until in 1873 it could support the building of a church house. H. H. Morris traveled to Minneapolis and purchased a carload of lumber, and the congregation itself constructed the church at an approximate cost of \$2,000. Reportedly the members arrived early the first Sunday the church was in use so they could choose the pews they would habitually occupy forever after.

By 1893 the membership had grown to 150, and serving elders included J. J. Jones, William J. Williams, H. H. Morris, D. B. Jones, R. T. Jones, Isaac Davies, Levi Jones, and Richard W. Jones. Music was an important part of the church’s activities, and directors of singing included William Thomas, William Williams, William Morris, and D. I. Davies. Though men seemed to monopolize the job of director of singing, women seemed to have a

corner on the job of church organist, including Dina Williams Harries, Mary Anna Jones Davies, Nellie Williams, Maggie E. Owens, and Lydia Parry Jones.

Mrs. Pugh, Reverend Pugh's wife, organized the Dorcas Society, which was a women's service society, which outlasted the church itself. After the Bristol Church's disbandment in 1933, the society changed its name to Bristol Ladies' Aid and continued serving the community into the 1960s.

The Welsh settlement at Proscairon also supported a Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church, and had twenty-two members by the end of 1870. Richard R./P. Jones "Y Gellŷ", formerly of Bristol, organized the church in his home, beginning with a Sunday School. The usual format of worship was Sunday School and a prayer service, and the first such service was held in a schoolhouse one mile northwest of Old Lime Springs, with Reverend John J. Evans preaching. John J. Evans had previously been a missionary among the Omaha Indians in Nebraska and after seven years there spent some time in the Lime Springs area. Other preachers to serve the Proscairon church were Robert W. Hughes, Thomas P. Rees, Rowland Evans, R. P. Roberts, and Griffith Jones, and Daniel Theophilus led the singing. The Proscairon Church disbanded in 1882, with most of the members joining the Lime Springs Church.

The Saratoga Prairie Welsh organized a Sunday School and prayer service in 1876 in the home of Richard W. Williams. The nineteen founding members were as follows, both young and old: Rowland Evans, Ann Evans, Maggie Anna Evans, Mary Evans, Richard W. Thomas, Ann Thomas, Elizabeth Thomas, Willie Thomas, Mary Thomas, Richard W. Williams, Alice Williams, Emma A. Williams, Edwin R. Williams, Albert F. Williams, Willie R.

Williams, John J. Jones, Ann Jones, John Ll. Jones, and John D. Jones. Owen R. Morris of Bristol Grove visited the Sunday School the following May. Reverend John D. Williams officially organized the Saratoga Prairie Church on June 13, 1877, with the following members: Rowland Evans and family, Richard W. Williams and his wife, Thomas R. Thomas, Jane Thomas, Edward S. Williams, Hannah Williams, John J. Jones, Ann Jones, John Price, Hugh E. Jones, John E. Jones, Mary Jones, John Ll. Jones, Robert R. Jones, John Howells, Mary V. Jones, John S. Jones, Mrs. William W. Jones, Samuel Howells, and Owen D. Thomas. The congregation was weakened by so many selling out to people of other nationalities. Of the founding members, only one remained after the troubles of 1878/9: John D. Jones. In 1893 the church disbanded with a membership of only twenty-five. Reverend Edward Joseph was serving at the time.

The Lime Springs Welsh took a little more time to establish their own church. Many of them attended the English Presbyterian Church, which had been built in 1870. The church even chose a Welshman, T. W. Hughes formerly of Chicago, to be Superintendent of the Sunday School. He held special Sunday afternoon classes in Welsh, the first Welsh-language services in the town. On January 15, 1877 Reverend Richard Isaac preached the first Welsh sermon at the church, which seemed to inspire the Welsh congregants to hope for their own church. In that same decade, the local Congregational Church, which included many Welsh, disbanded and joined with the other Welsh to found a Calvinistic Methodist Church. In June of 1877 fourteen men (surely along with their families) organized the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church of Lime Springs: Evan H. Jones, John Price, Owen E. Thomas, D. K. Jones, G. G. Thomas, R. W. Williams, R. W. Thomas, Mathias Hughes, William J. Williams,

R. J. Roberts, Owen E. Williams, William R. Jones, Lewis Lewis, and R. O. Thomas.

Reverend Edward Joseph was hired to serve as pastor of the four local Calvinistic Methodist Churches at Lime Springs, Foreston, Saratoga Prairie and Bristol.

The Lime Springs Welsh were not completely without opportunities to worship in Welsh in the early years of the settlement. In the summer of 1860, the few local Welsh organized a Sunday School at the home of J. J. Jones. However, the school disbanded later that year when Superintendent R. W. Thomas and J. R. "Jack" Williams returned to Wisconsin. When David J. Davies and his family settled near Thomas Evans in 1861, the Welsh revived their Sunday School.

For a while the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church of Lime Springs met in the old Baptist Church and the English Presbyterian Church, but eventually the members raised enough funds to construct their own building. The much anticipated day of dedication came in August, 1892. The night before the church building committee was to take possession, the church house mysteriously burned to the ground. The scheduled visiting speakers arrived to find only ashes, but they rallied and in their sermons (given in the English Presbyterian Church) they encouraged the congregation to rebuild. Within a week, members had subscribed \$2,000 toward the new meeting house. The new church was finally dedicated as "The Calvinistic Methodist Church" on February 12, 1893, with fifty people on the rolls.

Reverend Edward Joseph shepherded his congregation through organization, two building efforts, and served long enough to make sure the church was well established. In 1896, however, Reverend Joseph returned to Wales. He was followed in turn by Reverend H. M. Pugh (1897–1898), Reverend R. V. Griffith (1899–1907), Reverend D. L. Griffith



(1908–1909), Reverend H. F. Williams (1910–1913), and Reverend H. F. Owen (1914–1916).

During the pastorate of Reverend David Edwards (1919–1922), the church underwent a significant change of identity. Along with all the other Calvinistic Methodist churches in the United States, the Calvinistic Methodist Church of Lime Springs united with the Presbyterian Church of United States of America and was thereafter called the Welsh Presbyterian Church. The Welsh Presbyterian Church continued their previous patterns of worship, holding a session of Sunday School in English in the morning and one in Welsh in the afternoon, and the general sermon was given in Welsh. In about 1922, many of the Foreston Welsh transferred their membership to the Lime Springs Welsh Presbyterian Church, and in 1923 the Foreston church was dissolved. Reverend William Jones (1922–1923) oversaw the uniting of the Welsh Presbyterian Church with the English Presbyterian Church in Lime Springs.

Reverend John Hammond (1924–1930) presided over the beginning of the transition from Welsh language services to English. Welsh sermons had been offered for so long partly out of the Welsh preference for Welsh-language preaching, and partly to accommodate the elderly members who could not understand English preaching as well. With Reverend Hammond, however, the church began to offer one service a month in English. By 1929 the merger of the English and Welsh Presbyterian Churches was settled enough that the English Presbyterian Church building was sold and dismantled, though their 910 pound church bell was transferred to the Welsh Presbyterian Church building.

With Reverend R. Lewis Jones (1931–1935) the frequency of English sermons increased to twice a month. In 1933 the Bristol Church closed, leaving the Lime Springs

Welsh Presbyterian Church as the only Welsh language church in the area. The next pastor, Reverend S. E. Prytherch (1936–1938), likewise served in both languages, as did the temporary pastor that followed, Reverend Trevor Williams. It was with the hiring of Reverend Charles Rasenberg (1940–1944) that the Welsh Presbyterian Church changed completely over to English. The next pastor, Reverend W. H. Evans (1945–1949), oversaw the changing of the church’s name to the Westminster Presbyterian Church. Aside from the heritage of many of the congregants, the last bit of Welshness of the original Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church of Lime Springs was gone.

The Welsh churches provided more to the community than religious services. They also served as a cultural focal point for the Welsh by holding such events as the traditional Welsh Eisteddfod.. Initially called Literary Meetings, the Foreston settlement held an English-language literary and musical competition as early as Christmas 1866 in the schoolhouse. In 1880 Foreston held a larger meeting, attracting participants from neighboring communities. A local critic calling himself “Taffy” (a common reference to Welshmen, much like “Paddy” for Irishmen) wrote this review for the Howard County Times:

“Not a single part was carried through to the end of the hymn by the Saratoga singers. Foreston was perfect as to tone, but lacked any life and expression. Lime Spring was excellent but had a hard time getting off to a good start. Had the judge been present, the results would have been different. (note, the audience decided, in favor of Saratoga.)”

The Lime Springs Welsh Church also held unadjudicated Literary Meetings and sponsored Eisteddfods in later years, such as the one held in the Baptist Church in 1882.

Another Welsh cultural tradition also made its appearance in the Foreston–Lime Springs Welsh community. Because the Welsh used such a small variety of names for their

children, duplicate names were inevitable. The most common names, both first and family, could only be combined in so many different ways, after all: Thomas Jones, John Evans, Evan Thomas, Richard Williams, William Hughes, Hugh Richards, etc. To clarify the matter, people were often given nicknames in addition to their given names, sometimes reflecting residence or a special personal characteristic. Thus, Foreston–Lime Springs had the following residents: Hugh Jones “Canaan” (living in Canaan Land, or Saratoga Prairie), David D. Davis “Y bont” (lived just West of Davis’ bridge) , Dick “pen llyn”, Bill “Caer Gybi”, Tom “Hwntw” (from South Wales), Jack “Plas” (palace/mansion), Jack “Gelli” Jones (grove, also known as Hickory Jack), and Bob “Goblin” Evans (goblin in English, too).

The practice of using nicknames continued well into the twentieth century, and applied to women as well. In 1935 a poor confused newcomer inquired at the post office for the home of Mrs. Jones. The people at the post office merely grinned and asked which Mrs. Jones? The newcomer replied as specifically as she could that she wanted Mrs. Tom Jones. The locals could not help but smile more and ask *which* Mrs. Tom Jones? The newcomer finally said that she wanted the Mrs. Tom Jones that was the president of the school board. With that the locals are said to have exclaimed, “Oh, you mean Tom Emma!” and directed the newcomer to the home of Emma Hewitt Jones.

At times a Welshman’s nickname became so commonly used that it was fully adopted as his real name. Reverend Will Harries told how he acquired the surname “Harries”, which is not a common Welsh name:

“When I was a boy in Wales, I had not gained the qualities of honesty and integrity which I now demonstrate so well! One of our neighbors took pride in his apple orchard, where, at the proper time, the trees were weighed down with shining beauties, red, yellow and green. It was too much of a temptation for me

and I was caught, several times and had to make an undignified exit, with the disgruntled owner pursuing me, and shaking his fist, while he rent the air with cries of, "Ha, Rees, I've caught you now, Ha Rees, stop, there, HA, Rees!" The name stuck, though it has been slightly corrupted into Harries!"

In the 1895 history *Hanes Cymry Minnesota, Foreston a Lime Springs, Ia.* (History of the Welsh in Minnesota, Foreston and Lime Springs, Iowa), the authors gave the following assessment of the status of the Welsh language in the Foreston–Lime Springs Welsh community:

"Of the future of this Welsh settlement we dare not speak. The Welsh language is used about as extensively as it was a quarter of a century ago. Yet the older people, natives of Wales, are dying; and their places taken by the young people, natives of America. Though the same language is used by them it is less pure. In the course of time, judging from the history of Welsh settlements in the east, the Welsh here will give place to the language of the land; and at some period, in the future, the "language of Cambria" will not be living, even "in song." It is to be hoped, however, that the churches will be kept up, and that the pure, scriptural religion, introduced by the pioneers, will hold its ground from age to age and flourish from generation to generation."

Further information about the Foreston–Lime Springs Welsh Community can be obtained by comparing the Welsh population to their neighbors. The Foreston–Lime Springs Welsh Community incorporates parts of seven different townships, one in Fillmore County, Minnesota and six in Howard County, Iowa. In an effort to obtain a complete statistical picture of the Welsh community, families from all of the above townships have been grouped into one unit. To keep the comparison from becoming too unwieldy, however, the Welsh will only be compared to the non-Welsh population of Forest City Township, instead of the non-Welsh of all seven townships. Forest City Township was chosen because it served as the geographic and population center of the Welsh settlement. The two populations also turn out

to be roughly the same size, making comparisons easy to understand.

According to figures gleaned from the 1880 Federal Censuses of Iowa and Minnesota, the Foreston–Lime Springs Welsh population totaled 771 people. Similarly, the non-Welsh population of Forest City Township numbered 679 people. (Forest City Township contained a total of 968 people, but 289 (29.9%) of those were members of the Welsh community.)

One statistically identifiable characteristic of the Welsh community is the extent of the foreign-born population. Fully 34.8 percent of the Welsh community was born outside the United States, 33.2 percent in Wales itself. Only 15.5 percent of the Forest City Township was born outside the United States, mostly coming from Norway (twenty-three people) and Canada (twenty-two people).

Most of the foreign-born in both populations were adults, which is only to be expected. In fact, 59.9 percent (217 people) of the adults included in the Welsh community were born in Wales. Of the non-Welsh adults of Forest City Township, five percent (nineteen people) were born in Norway, five percent (nineteen people) were born in Canada, and 2.7 percent (ten people) were born in Sweden. Others countries' contributions to Forest City Township were even smaller. Within the Welsh settlement, then, foreign-born adults influenced their community far more than foreign-born adults in the non-Welsh community.

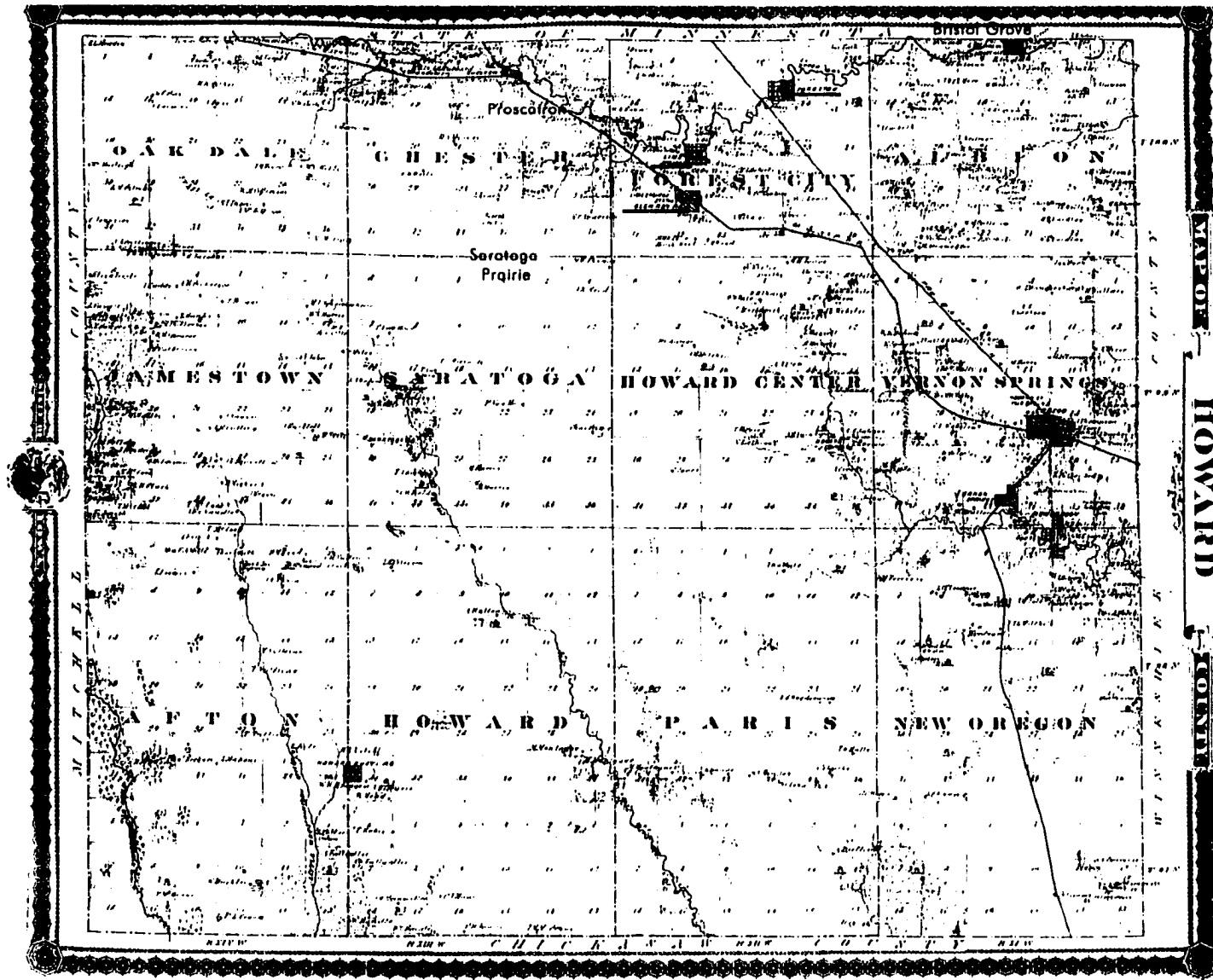
A study of the adults' birthplaces also reveals something of the geographic patterns of migration that brought settlers to northern Iowa. Among the Welsh born in the United States, those in Wisconsin by far outnumbered the rest: twenty-four percent (87 people) of the Welsh community adults were born in Wisconsin. The next most represented state was New York, with just 7.7 percent of the adults (28 people).

Among the non-Welsh adults of Forest City Township, those born in New York dominated the native-born population; fully 30.3 percent (114 people) of the non-Welsh adults were born in that state. Wisconsin ranked second with nine percent (thirty-four people) of adults, closely followed by Iowa with 8.5 percent (thirty-two people). Pennsylvania followed with 6.1 percent (twenty-three people) and Vermont with 5.6 percent (twenty-one people).

The children of both the Welsh and non-Welsh communities were by and large born in Iowa. Fully 43.8 percent (179 people) of the Welsh community's children were born in Iowa, 12.5 percent (fifty-one people) in Minnesota, 27.8 percent (113 people) in Wisconsin, and 9.5 percent (thirty-nine people) in Wales. Since the Welsh community was located in both Iowa and Minnesota, those children born in either state could be considered to be born after settlement in the community, bringing local births up to 56.3 percent (230 people) of the children.

In the non-Welsh community, Iowa-born children were even more dominant, comprising 70.3 percent of the under-twenty population (213 people). Children born in Wisconsin amounted to 10.2 percent (31 people) of the non-Welsh children, and those born in Minnesota 7.6 percent (23 people).

The above statistics indicate that the non-Welsh population of Forest City Township arrived earlier than did the Welsh settlers. The Welsh settlers were often either first or second-generation immigrants, their route to Iowa taking them from Wales through New York through Wisconsin to Iowa. The non-Welsh were mostly born in the United States and originally hailed from New York and, or by way of, Wisconsin.



Source: *A. T. Andreas' Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (Chicago: Andreas Atlas Co., 1875).

**Wales/Lincoln Township, Montgomery County—1855, 1870<sup>9</sup>**

In keeping with general Iowa settlement patterns, the Wales/Red Oak Welsh community was one of the later to be settled in the state. Benjamin Thomas and David and William Harris were the first Welshmen in Lincoln Township, arriving in the spring of 1855 in search of available land. They braved the frontier virtually alone for years, then in 1870 another Welshman, Llewellyn Evans, joined them from Coal Valley, Illinois. Evans soon convinced other Welsh to settle in Lincoln Township, and thus the Welsh community began to grow.

1870 and 1871 were the watershed years for the Wales settlement, as at least thirteen Welsh families chose Lincoln Township as their new home. By the summer of 1871, enough pioneers had arrived that they held the first church meeting ever in Lincoln Township. Reverend David Thomas conducted that meeting, and in 1872 helped organize the Welsh Congregational Church of Gomer. In 1876 the Congregationalists erected a chapel on land donated by John L. Thomas.

***Original Members of Welsh Congregational Church at Gomer***

Samuel Davis & wife & son  
 William Pryce & wife  
 David J. Williams & wife  
 Edward Edwards & wife  
 Daniel Williams & wife  
 John Davis & wife  
 David W. Reece & wife  
 Griffith Jones  
 pastor: David Thomas

Sources also mention a Welsh Baptist Church existing in the 1870s, at least as early as



1874 and lasting at least through 1880. Mention is made that a Welsh-language Sunday morning sermon was held at ten o'clock in the morning in the Welsh school house, and evening services were held in English at the Fairview school. The Welsh Baptist Church of Lincoln Township official incorporated on July 10, 1880. The Baptists may have merged with the Gomer Congregational Church at some point, as sources often make interchangeable references to the two churches.

In 1874 a group of eleven broke away from the Gomer Church and founded the Wales Calvinistic Methodist Church, that they might be able to worship according to their particular beliefs. Though lacking a regular minister, for two years the Calvinistic Methodists met in various members' homes for prayer meetings. They also carried long benches between houses in order to accommodate the Sunday School classes of up to twenty-five attendees. All meetings were held in the Welsh language. In 1876 the Reverend John E. Jones helped the Wales Calvinistic Methodist Church build a meetinghouse on land donated by John G. and Margaret Jones.

***Original Members of Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church***

John H. Roberts & wife  
 Hugh Edwards & wife  
 Hugh H. Edwards & wife  
 Evan H. Edwards & wife  
 John H. Edwards  
 Eler H. Edwards  
 David J. Davis

According to local history, in 1877 a Reverend Owens arrived in Lincoln Township, accompanied by an entourage of Welsh families. This would help explain the sudden rise in membership of the Wales Calvinistic Methodist Church, which in 1877 numbered sixty-seven,

and in 1879 totaled seventy-five. It was also in 1877 that the Wales Church first introduced English language services. They started out by offering one English sermon out of every four, but over the years English usage grew until Welsh services were offered every Sunday morning, and English every Sunday evening. In 1900 the church built a new meetinghouse and parsonage. After World War I, membership began to decline to the point where the church was in financial trouble. In 1921 the congregation voted to join the Corning Presbytery and become a Presbyterian Church.

In about 1891 the Welsh Community of Lincoln Township experienced significant outmigration. A great number of those who left made their way to Wayne County, Nebraska. *The Sun*, Red Oak's newspaper, made almost weekly references to families leaving for Wayne County, or to friends and family visiting from that county. In the March 6, 1891 issue alone, the Lincoln Township column listed four departures for Wayne County--William Jenkins and family, Osgard Edwards, Owen Pryce, and Griffith Williams.

<i>1891 Out-Migrations from Wales, Lincoln Twp.</i>	<i>date in (Red Oak) Sun</i>
Henry Thomas checked his farm in Wayne Co., NE	Jan. 30, 1891
Rev. O. Owens moves to Wisconsin	Feb. 27, 1891
Mrs. Matthias Jones moves to Wayne Co., NE this week	Feb. 27, 1891
Mrs. Owen Pryce moves to Wayne Co., NE this week	Feb. 27, 1891
Mrs. William Roberts moves to Wayne Co., NE this week	Feb. 27, 1891
William Jenkins and family move to Wayne Co., NE this week	Mar. 6, 1891
Osgard Edwards moved to Wayne Co., NE last week	Mar. 6, 1891
Owen Pryce moved to Wayne Co., NE last week	Mar. 6, 1891
Griffith Williams moved to Wayne Co., NE last week	Mar. 6, 1891
Rev. D. E. Evans will leave next week for Coal Creek, CO	May 22, 1891
Richard Edwards will soon join family in Wayne Co., NE	Jul. 17, 1891
Bertha Edwards visited father Richard Edwards, returned to Wayne Co.	Aug. 7, 1891
Mrs. Howell Rees (maiden name Jones) lives in Wayne Co., NE	Aug. 7, 1891
E. J. Davis married Mary Williams, left for Wayne Co., NE to live	Sep. 4, 1891
Richard Edwards never made it to Nebraska -- he died	Sep. 11, 1891
Vaughn Davis "went to" Wayne Co., NE	Sep. 25, 1891
Mrs. Richard Edwards and 8 kids left for Wayne Co., NE to live	Sep. 25, 1891

Mr. & Mrs. Joseph Jones will move to Wayne Co., NE

Oct. 18, 1891

***Migration Histories of Some Wales Residents***

**William Jenkins:** b. 1851 Newark, OH; when young to Louisa Co., IA with parents Jenkin and Elizabeth Jenkins; later moved to Lincoln Twp., one of early settlers; m. 1884 to Susan Hughes at Red Oak, lived in Lincoln Twp.; 1891 moved to Carroll, NE [1933 obit.]

**Margaret Evans Jones** b. 1862 Wales to Morris and Ann Evans; 1874 family to Cotter, Louisa Co.; 1877 to Lincoln Twp.; 1884 m. D. G. Jones and lived Lincoln Twp. [obit. 1935]

**William Owens** b. 1854 Holyhead, Anglesey, North Wales; came to US and to Lincoln Twp. 1872 at age 17; parents Owen and Ellen Owens; 1881 m. Maggie E. Richards at Columbus Junction

**Ed Englebert Jones** b. 1864 New York, son Edward E. Jones and Elizabeth Evans Jones; 1871 family moved to Iowa, 1880 family to Lincoln Twp; 1893 m. Elizabeth Williams; brother Spencer Jones and sister Mrs. Enos Davis both live in Nebraska [obit. 1936]

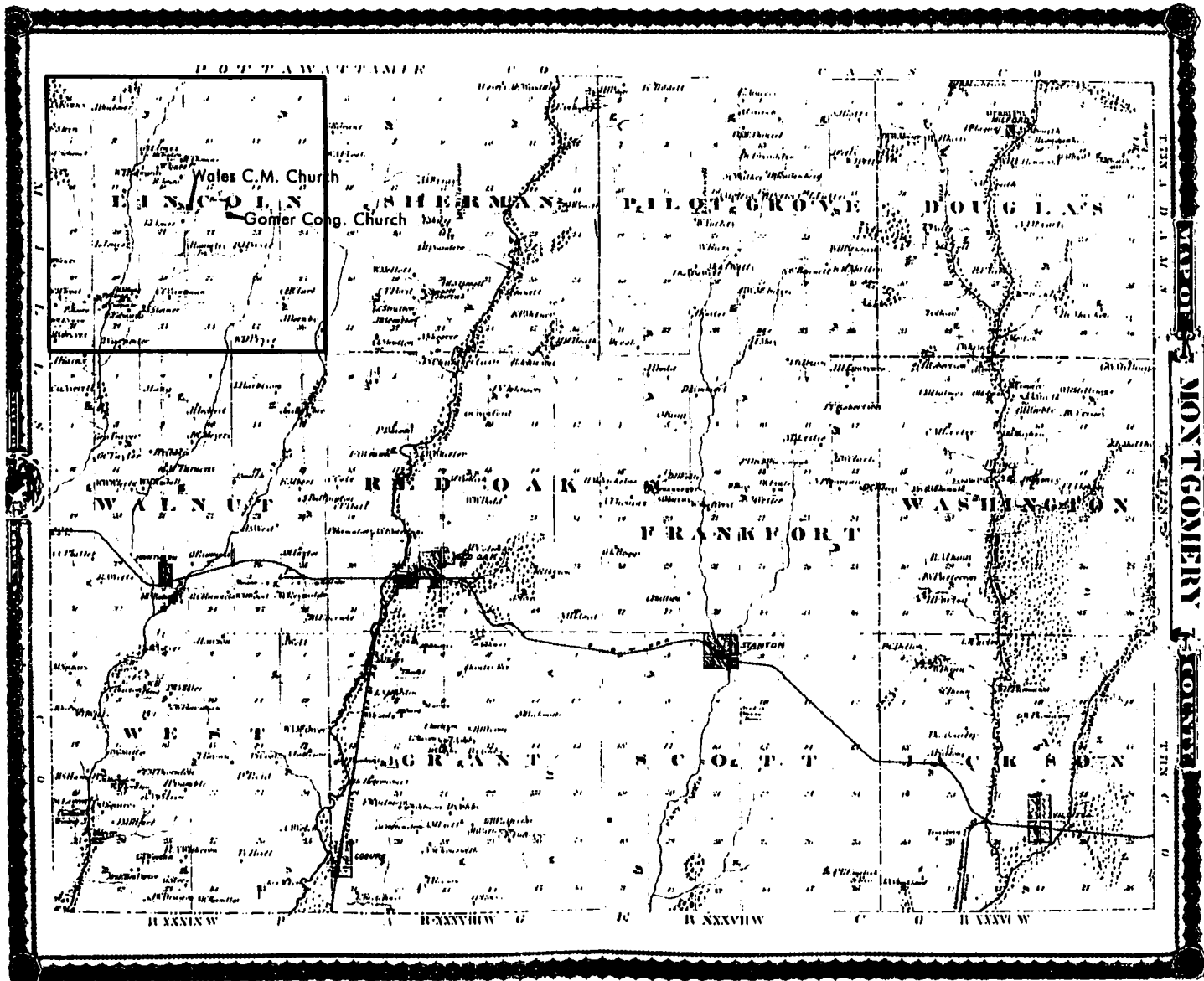
**Eleanor Price** b. 1862 Cymarn, Anglesey, North Wales; m. in Wales to Owen Price; 1884 they moved to Long Creek, Louisa Co.; later moved to Lincoln Twp. [obit. 1935]

**Elizabeth L. Jones** b. 1860 Wales; 1890 to USA, Utica, NY; 1891 to Lincoln Twp.; 1891 m. Henry Jones 1891; 1894 to Carroll, NE and Canada; 1901 back to Lincoln Twp. [obit. 1937]

***Wales, Lincoln Township, Montgomery County—Early Welsh Residents***

<i>Name</i>	<i>Where from</i>	<i>Arrival</i>
Benjamin Thomas		1855
David Harris		1855
William Harris		1855
Mrs. Jane McGee, Sec.6		~1855
Llewellyn Evans	Coal Valley, Illinois	1870
James Gardner		1870
Samuel Davis		1870
Richard P. Jones		1870
David M. Davies	Montgomeryshire, NW; NY, PA, OH, IL	1870
James D. Davis		<1871
John M. Davis		<1871
John E. Wood		<1871
John G. Jones	GB (1849), WI, MI, Iowa Co., Iowa (1863)	1871
Henry Thomas		1871
William T. Edwards		1871
Griffith Thomas		1871
Griffith Jones		1871

<b>William Williams</b>		<b>1873</b>
<b>Reverend Owens &amp; company</b>		<b>1877</b>
<b>David Woods</b>		<b>1877</b>
<b>George Cooper</b>		<b>1897</b>
<b>Robert Owens</b>		<b>1892</b>
<b>Thomas Jones</b>		<b>1894</b>
<b>William B. Hughes</b>	<b>built country store in Wales</b>	<b>1882</b>
<b>John Owens</b>	<b>purchased Wales general store</b>	<b>1892-1924</b>
<b>E. M. Owens</b>	<b>operated store w/ father John Owens</b>	<b>1892-1924</b>
<b>Ward &amp; Bill Jones</b>	<b>ran Wales general store</b>	<b>1924-1934</b>



Source: *A. T. Andreas' Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (Chicago: Andreas Atlas Co., 1875).

**Peterson/Linn Grove, Clay and Buena Vista Counties—1867<sup>10</sup>**

From the beginning of settlement in the Linn Grove area of northwest Barnes Township, Buena Vista County, a Welsh presence was noticeable. The majority of Barnes Township was settled in the 1860s by Norwegians, and the Linn Grove area began to fill in when Moses Sweet built a mill there in 1866. As the settlement grew, an ethnic division developed as the Welsh settled north, east and west of the Little Sioux River, while the Norwegians and the Swedes chose to settle south of the river.

At the same time as northern Buena Vista County was filling up with settlers, adjacent southern Clay County was also becoming a popular pioneer destination. Welsh settlers congregated in southern Douglass Township to the point that W. C. Gilbreath's late nineteenth century *History of Clay County, Iowa* identified the west half of the township as being populated mostly by Welsh. As usual, the motivating factor for Welsh settlement was land. The Douglass Township settlers had earlier lived in Wisconsin, and in the mid-nineteenth century a prosperous Welsh community had formed near Oshkosh, Wisconsin. After the Civil War, men returned from fighting and wanted to get on with their lives. Many heard of available prairie land in Iowa and decided to take advantage of the 1862 Homestead Act to make a new home for themselves. The first to arrive in Douglass Township, Clay County were the brothers Thomas and David Evans and their wives, the Lewis sisters Martha and Sarah, and their small children. Lewis Lewis, the sisters' brother, also accompanied them, and in 1867 this group of kinfolk laid the foundation for a Welsh community.

Just south of the county line, Mr. and Mrs. Joe Evans arrived in northern Barnes Township, Buena Vista County in 1867, establishing the first Welsh presence in the Linn

Grove area. As the word of good, available land spread, more and more Welsh families traveled from Wisconsin and settled in Linn Grove and Douglass Township.

As in other communities, the Welsh soon began forming church congregations. In the early years of this settlement, the Welsh met for church at Lewis Lewis's cabin. In approximately 1870, the Pioneer Welsh Baptist Church was officially organized, and until 1873 was the supposedly the only church in Clay County. By 1875 enough Welsh Calvinistic Methodists had settled in the area that they were able to establish their own church. On December 20, 1875 the Zion Church purchased four acres of land in Section 8 in central Douglass Township and there built a small chapel. Services were originally held in Welsh and the church was led by various traveling ministers until 1892 when Zion shared a minister with Peniel Church. As did all the Welsh churches, Zion Church eventually made the transition to English language services. In 1913 Zion Church joined the Presbytery of Sioux City and became the Presbyterian Church of Zion. The Zion Church finally closed for good in 1926 when it no longer had enough members to sustain it.

The Peniel Church was founded in 1892 by members of the Pioneer Welsh Baptist Church who decided they would rather worship as Calvinistic Methodists. They first met in the Valley Point School building, but later in the year purchased half an acre of land just northeast of the school house and in 1894 were able to build their own meetinghouse. The Peniel Church never officially incorporated as a Calvinistic Methodist Church, and in 1913 they, too, joined the Presbytery of Sioux City and became the Peniel Presbyterian Church. The Peniel Church finally closed in 1923 and in 1924 the building was sold, moved, and incorporated into the Riverside Presbyterian Church in Linn Grove.

***Peterson Township Directory***

**Thomas Bevans:** b. South Wales 1817, 1854 moved to Baltimore, 1864 moved to Wisconsin, then 1868 to Clay Co. and opened general store; postmaster 1868–1886; bought house from Henry Rice in 1868, which was first frame house built in Peterson (originally meant to be a tavern)

**John Bowen,** Dimler & Co. merchants, Main St., Peterson

**J. W. Breese** carpenter, resides on Third St., Peterson

**John Evans,** farmer, resides Fourth St., b. Wales 60 yrs prev. to book, 1852 moved to Baltimore and worked in smelting; 1861 moved to Oshkosh, WI and farmed; 1868 came to Clay Co. and homesteaded Sec. 24 of Peterson Twp.; on and off township trustee, school board, board of supervisors; 1850 married Margaret Harris, one child W.E.

**W. E. Evans** merchant, Main St., Peterson; b. Wales 6 July 1854 (52?), moved with parents as infant to Baltimore, then to Wisconsin and then Iowa; farmed for ten years in Clay Co., in 1883 moved into Peterson and clerked for Thomas Bevans at his Pioneer Store, then bought Bevans out in 1886; 1878 m. Phoebe Kerr: kids Earl, Oma, Archie, Thomas

**B. Evans,** compositor, Peterson

**John Evans** farmer, resides NE 1/4, Sec. 24, a240, Peterson

**L. Glynn,** laborer, Peterson

**Thomas J. Jones,** farmer, resides W1/2, Sec. 35, a280, Peterson

**R. Owen,** farmer, residence E1/2 Sec22, a160, Peterson

**John Owen** farmer, residence E Side Sec. 22, Peterson

**H. H Powell** farmer, SE1/4 Sec.36, a160, Peterson

**Powell, W.O.**

**A Prew** blacksmith, Fourth, Peterson

**J. I. Williams** engineer, res Fourth, Peterson

***Douglas Township Directory***

**R. O. Bowen** farmer p.o. Sioux Rapids

**Noah Davis** farmer NE1/4 Sec 17, 200-100, po Sioux Rapids

**Timothy Davis** farmer, m3, SE1/4 Sec29, 440–300, po Linn Grove, b. Wales 1830

**John Davis** farmer, s, SE1/4 Sec29, po SR, b. Wales 1865

**D. B. Davis** farmer NW1/4 Sec32, m 10-1, 160-130, po Linn Grove, b. Wales 1846

**W. J. Davis** farmer SE1/4 Sec32, m5, 160–125, po Linn Grove, b. Wales 1832

**David Davis** farmer, s, res NE1/4 Sec29, po LG, b. Chicago 1876

**William Evans** farmer m 4–1, SE1/4 Sec29, 160–80, po LG

**Joseph Evans** farmer m 4–1, SW1/4 Sec32, 80–84, po LG

**E. L. Evans** farmer m5, W1/2 SE1/4 Sec61, a20, po LG

**James Evans** farmer m res W1/2 NW1/4 Sec32 a80, po LG

**George Evans** farmer m res S1/2 SW1/4 Sec16, a160, po Linn Grove

**C. J. Hughes** farmer m8, Se1/2 Sec6, 160–75, po Willow Creek, b. Wales 1842

**John Hughes** farmer m 4 NE1/2 Sec24, 80–80, po SR, b. Dodge Co., WI in 1847

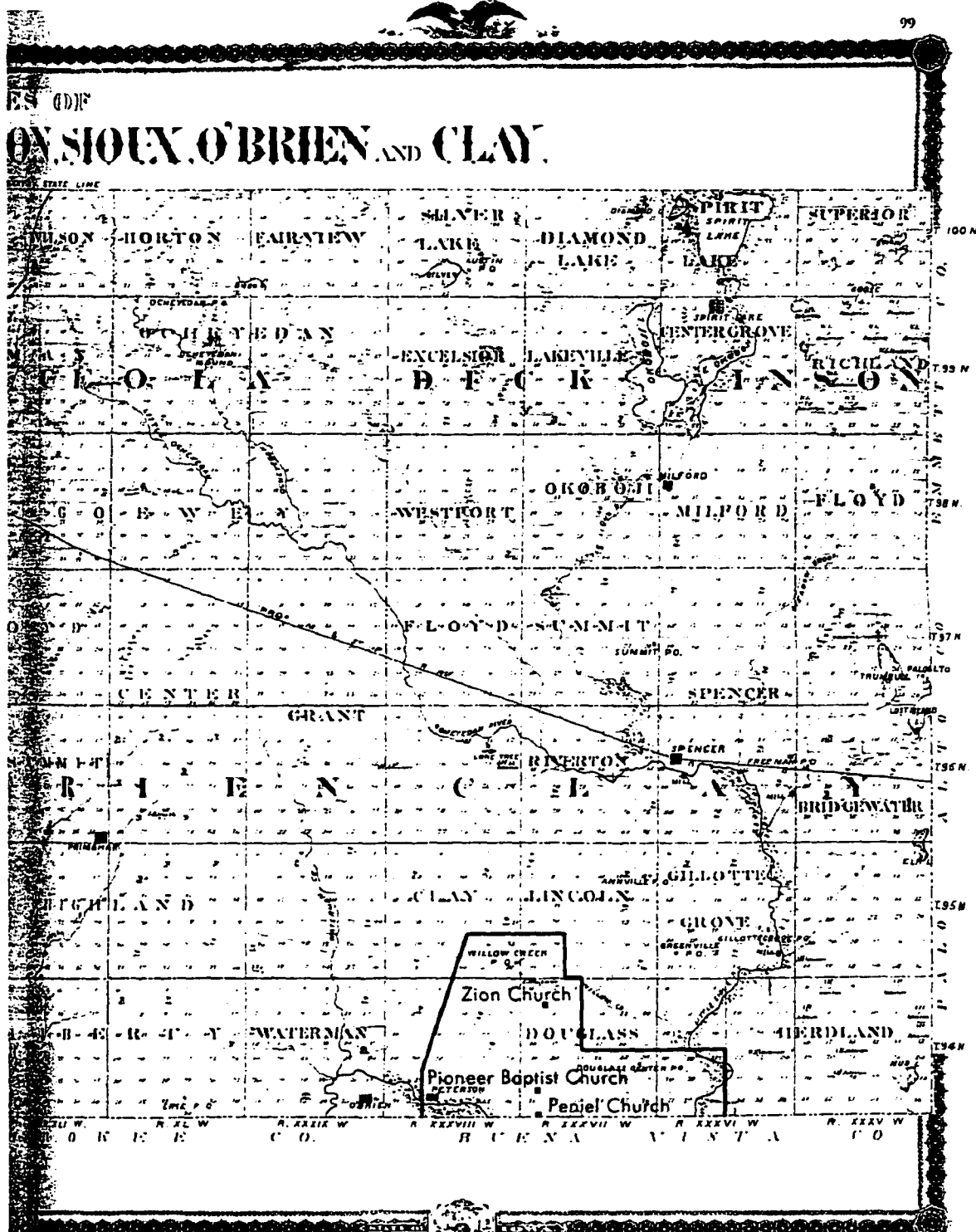
**John Hughes, Capt.** farmer m E1/2 SE1/4 Sec7 and E1/2 N1/4 Sec 7, 180–100, po Willow Creek



**D. D. Jones** m 2-1, NE1/4 Sec8, 360-180, po LG, b. Wales 1832  
**Evan Jones** farmer m NE1/4 Sec 9, 240-120, po LG  
**Thomas E. Jones** farmer m 5 SE1/4 Sec5, 160-130, po Willow Creek, b. Wisconsin 1844  
**Griffith Jones** farmer N1/2 NW1/4 Sec6, 80-80, po LG  
**Rev. J. W. Jones** NW1/4 Sec16, a 160, po LG  
**Hugh E. Jones** farmer m N1/2 SE1/4 Sec 16, a120, po LG  
**David G. H.** farmer m2 SW1/4 Sec4, 160-160, po Willow Creek, b. Oshkosh, WI 1869  
**David R. Jones** farmer m 3, NE1/4 Sec8, r, po LG b. WI 1857  
**Martha Lewis** SE1/4 Sec33 po LG  
**Lewis Lewis** farmer po LG b. Wales 1844, 1867 homesteaded SE1/2 of Se1/4 Sec.32  
 Douglas Twp  
**Edward Long** farmer m 2 NW1/4 of NW1/4 Sec30, 40-40, po LG, b. Wales 1825  
**T. W. Morris** farmer m NE1/4 Sec16, 240-120, po SR  
**W. H. Morris** farmer m po SR  
**Robert T. Morris** farmer po SR  
**John Owens** farmer m 7, rents 80-40, po LG; b Wisconsin 1854  
**William Phillips** farmer m 5, NE1/4 Sec20, 160-120, po LG; b. Wales 1837  
**David Phillips** farmer m, NW1/2 Sec9, 320, po LG  
**W W Powell** farmer m 7 W1/2 of SW1/4 Sec30, 120-60, po LG, b. England 1855  
**Llewellyn Powell** farmer m 2, Sec31, po LG, b. WI 1862  
**Theophilus P. Powell** farmer m 5, SE1/4 Sec30, 240, po LG  
**Henry Reese**, farmer m 5-1, E1/2 NW1/2 Sec33, 140, po LG; b. WI 1851  
**Evan Richards** farmer m NW1/4 Sec5, 80-60, po Willow Creek  
**G. H. Roberts** farmer m 2 NE1/4 Sec4, 160-95, po WC  
**Jane Roberts**, farmer w 5, SE1/4 Sec8, 240-150, po LG, b. Wales 1849  
**Hugh Roberts** farmer m SW1/4 Sec28, 200-120, po LG  
**R. P. Roberts** farmer po LG  
**David Roberts** farmer m NW1/4 Sec17, 280-140, po LG  
**V. R. Thomas** farmer m S1/2 of SW1/2 Sec23, 80-60 po SR  
**David S. Williams** farmer m 6, SE1/4 Sec34, 200-110, po LG, b. Wales 1840

### *Clay Township*

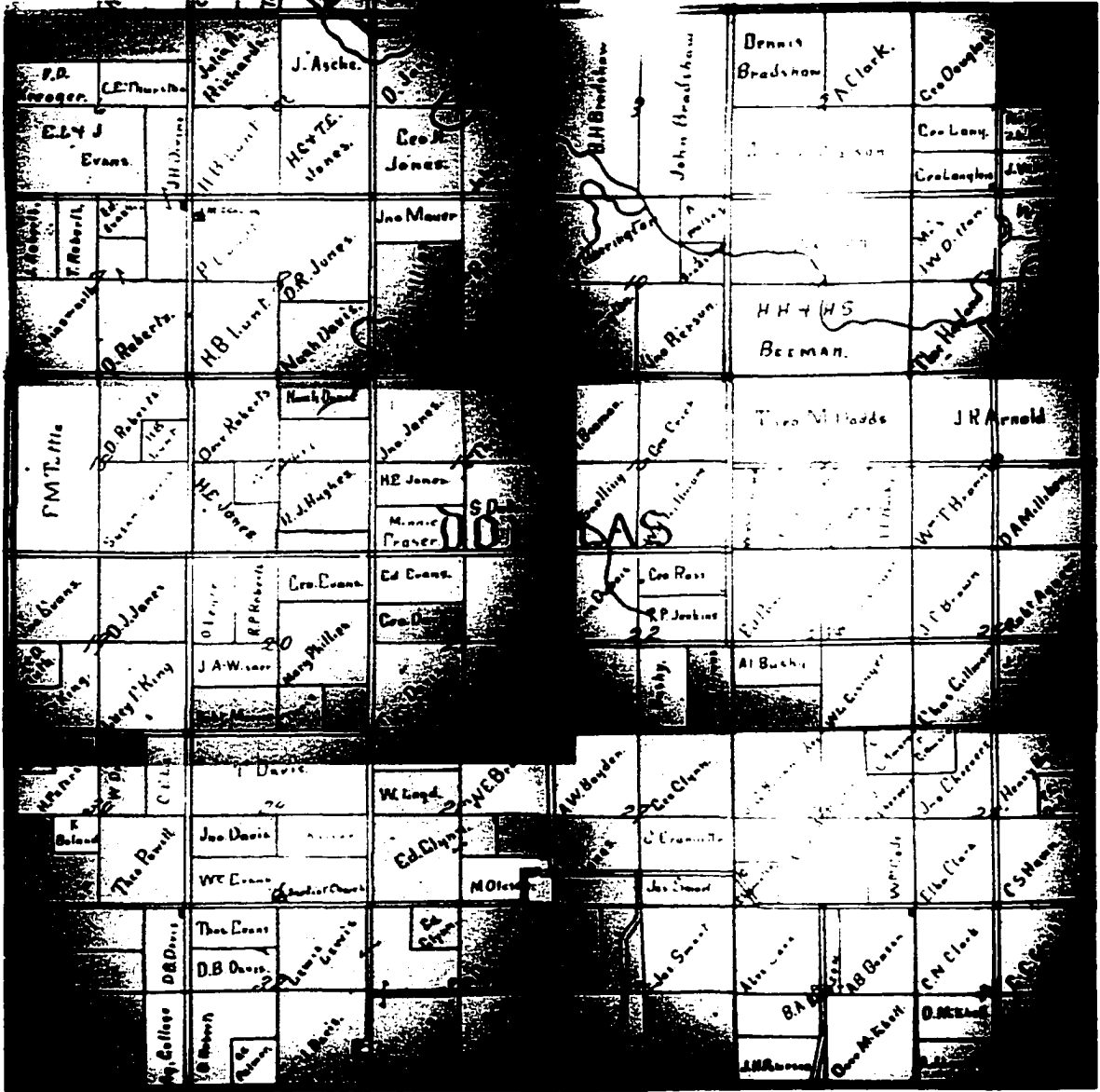
**E. P. Griffith** farmer m 8-2, SE1/4 Sec25, 160, po Willow Creek; b.near Pwelhle, Carnarvonshire, Wales 1838, came to Columbus Co., WI 1866, 1869 moved to Clay Co.  
**William C. Roberts** farmer m 12-2, NW1/4 Sec36, 160-160, po Willow Creek; b. Canarvon, Wales 27 Sep 1829, came to US 1859 and settled in Columbia Co., WI; 1869 came to Clay Co.  
**Mrs. Mary Roberts** NW1/4 Sec2 , po Trimello; b. Meryther, Wales, came to US 1846, lived in WI until 1870, when with husband moved to Clay Co. -- is one of oldest settlers in township  
**Phillip Roberts** farmer m 2, NW1/4 Sec2, po Trimello; b. Wisconsin came with parents to Clay Co. 1870



Source: A. T. Andreas' *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (Chicago: Andreas Atlas Co., 1875), 99.



## Welsh Land Ownership, 1889 Douglas Township, Clay County



Colors indicate date land acquired by current owner

1860-69

1870-79

1880-89

**Elba, Carroll County–1871<sup>11</sup>**

Elba was the most shortlived of the Welsh agricultural communities. It was the first village established in Eden Township, Carroll County, and had its inception with the arrival of John Guy in 1871. John Guy was quickly followed by ten more families, which comprised the core of the Welsh community. A post office was established in 1872, and in 1877 the post office began to stock goods for sale, elevating its status to that of general store. That and the blacksmith shop were the extent of the commercial establishments in the village. By 1874 the population of Elba had risen to 172, sixty-six of which were children under age twenty-one.

The eventual demise of Elba was foreshadowed when Templeton was platted in 1881. On May 1, 1882 the Elba post office was removed to Templeton, as was the blacksmith shop. And on May 31, 1882 the first train cars rolled into Templeton, sealing Elba's fate. Perhaps ironically, in 1880 the Welsh of Elba decided to build their own church and in 1882 built the Welsh Congregational Church in the southwest corner of Section 12. The church became the center of the Welsh community until it was destroyed, at which time the members transferred to the Methodist Church in nearby Dedham. All that is left today to mark the site of Elba is the Elba Cemetery and a memorial marker.

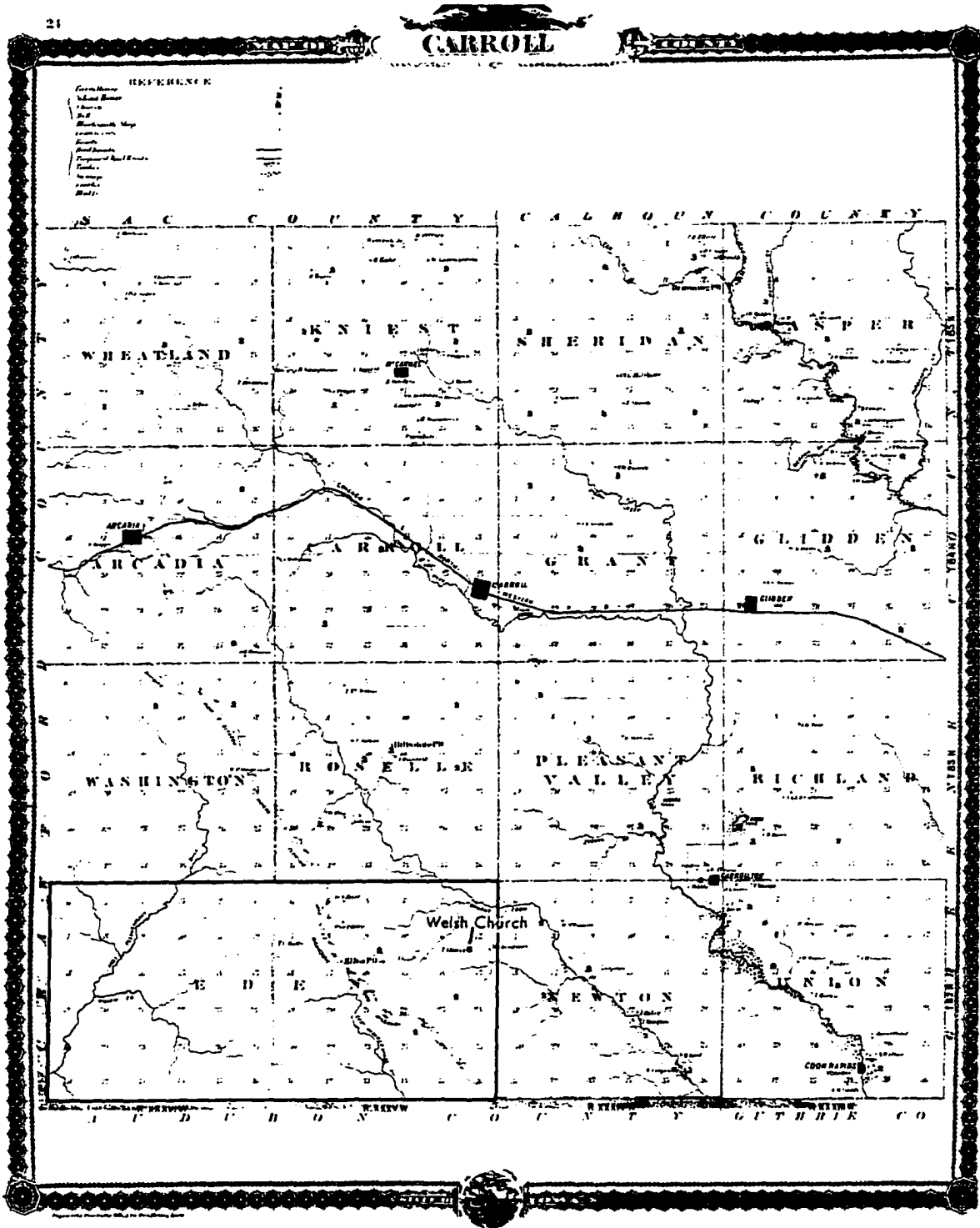
***Residents***

John Guy arrived in 1871, followed by the following families: Orin Jerome, Miller, Galloways, Campbell, Spear, Miskimin, Moses & Barbary Robert, Henek, Schrum, Davis

1873 map shows following Welsh residents: John Guy, T. I. Davies, Daniel Christmas, G. S. Hart, William Overmire, T. C. Wolfe

**10 Feb. 1877:** list of residents of Elba pledging money to help Susan Galloway with her husband's funeral expenses:

John Guy  
E. S. Gray  
Moses Roberts  
William Spears  
Taylo Guy  
William Overmire  
M. Hanford  
W. E. Guy  
G. L. Guy  
E. Cole  
Charles Miller  
Japheth Miller  
Albert Miskimins  
J. J. Overmire  
D. W. Chase  
Harman Hart  
Orin Jerome  
C. W. Lincoln  
John N. Miller  
Silvester Miller  
R. L. Wolfe  
B. E. Hart  
J. W. Hart  
H. C. Hayward  
George B. Bennett  
J. Stevenson  
Thomas Wolfe  
C. C. Chase  
J. H. Ayrhart  
Josef Heneks  
Alfred Andrews  
J. D. Shuman  
J. P. Cuner  
Daniel Christmas  
David Edwards  
David Hardee  
Thomas Rodricke  
C. E. Homans  
J. E. Thompson  
Charles Greler  
H. B. Thompson



Source: A. T. Andreas' *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (Chicago: Andreas Atlas Co., 1875).

## NOTES

1. Cheryl Walley, "The Old Man's Creek Welsh Community of Johnson County, Iowa," (M.A. Thesis, Iowa State University, 1999).
2. R. D. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America: A History of the Welsh in America*, trans. Phillips G. Davies (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, Inc., 1983), 227-28; Charles Beck, Treva Beard, and Mary Beth Carey, comps., *Churches of Louisa County* (Wapello, Ia.: Louisa Publishing Co. Ltd., 1993), 48-60.
3. *Ibid.*, 60.
4. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America*, 229-232; J. W. Merrill, *Yellow Spring and Huron. A Local History* (Mediapolis, Ia.: n.p., 115-16, 345-69).
5. R. D. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America*, Section 2, (Utica, N.Y.: T. J. Griffiths, Argraffydd, Exchange Buildings, 1872), 73.
6. *The History of Iowa County, Iowa* (Des Moines: Union Historical Company, Birdsall, Williams & Co., 1881), 607, 611; *A Century of Progress for Williamsburg, Iowa 1854-1957* (n.p., 1957); R. D. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America*, Phillips G. Davies, trans., 219-26; "Llyfr Eglwys: Old Man's Creek Congregational Church, Johnson Co., Iowa," (Microfilm copy of manuscript, Reel # US/CAn 0989452, Utah Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah); "Church History" included with "Llyfr Eglwys"; Harley Ransom, *Pioneer Recollections* (Cedar Rapids, Ia.: Historical Publishing Company, 1941), 226-27.
7. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America*, 234-36.
8. *Lime Springs Then and Now* (Lime Springs, Ia.: Committee on History, for the Lime Springs Centennial Observance, 1968), 31-36, 49-50, 55, 69, 73-77, 144-53, 293-95; Thomas E. Hughes, *Hanes Cymry Minnesota, Foreston a Lime Springs, Ia.* (Mankato, Mn.: Free Press Printing Company, 1895), 75-80, 84-86, 93-98, 142-43, 158; R. D. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America*, Phillips G. Davies trans., 238; "1880 Federal Census of Iowa, Howard County. Population Schedule."
9. "Lincoln Township History" in "Wales" binders (Montgomery County Historical Society, Red Oak, Iowa), 34-36, 40-41; "Wales Church" in "Wales" binders, 2-4; "History of Wales Presbyterian Church" in "Wales" binders, 63.
10. *Buena Vista County History 1858-1983* (Storm Lake, Ia.: Buena Vista County Historical Society, 1984), 63-64; *The History of Clay County, Iowa* (Clay Co.: Parker Historical Society; 1984), 31-33; W. C. Gilbreath, *The History of Clay County, Iowa, Containing a History of the County, Towns, Etc.* (n.p., 1889), 187-96, 219-27, 264-65; Samuel Gillespie and James E. Steele, *History of Clay County, Iowa* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke



Publishing Company, 1909), 93, 163.

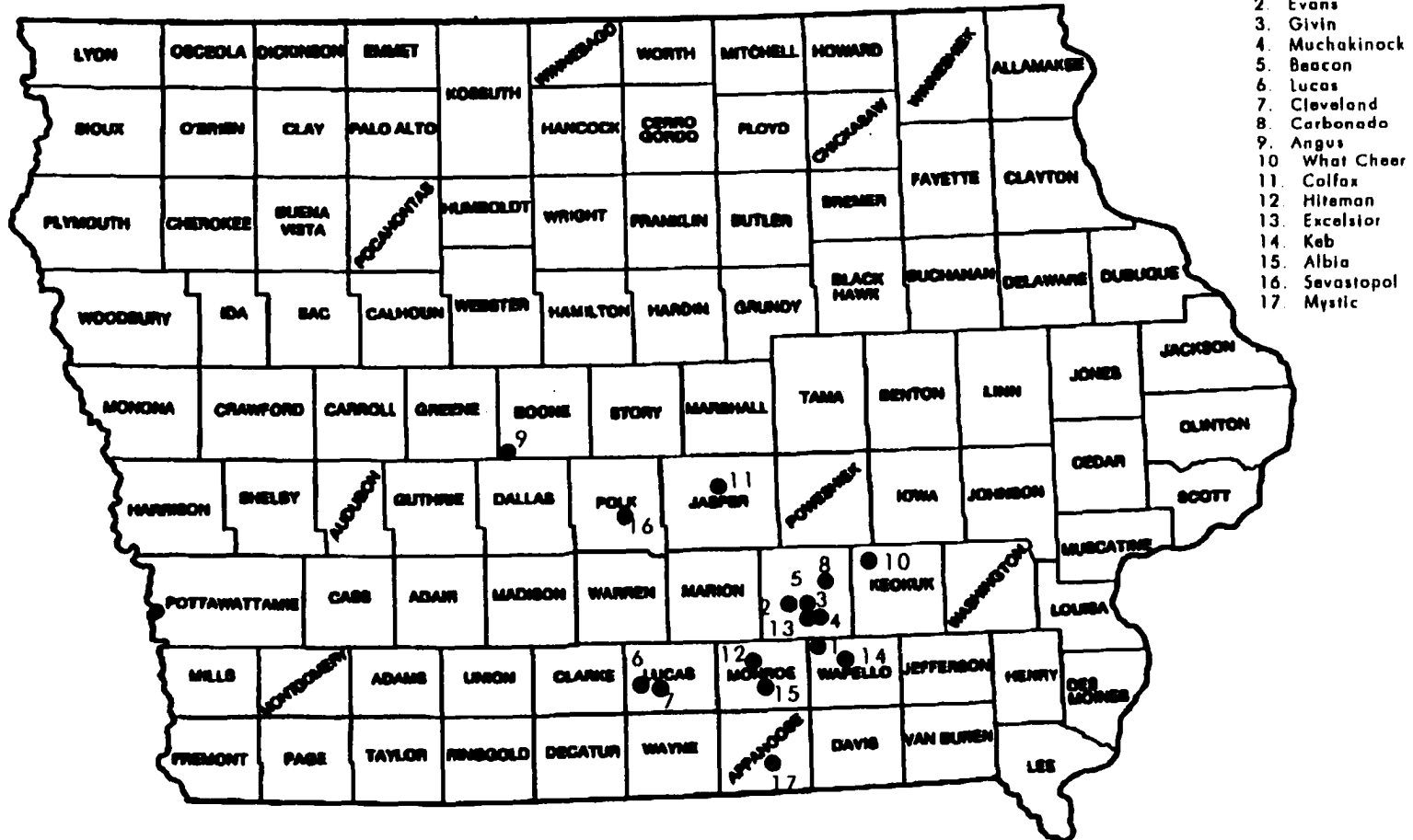
11. *A Century of Memories: Templeton, Iowa 1888-1982* (n.p., 1982), 9-17, 267.

**APPENDIX B. MINING COMMUNITIES**

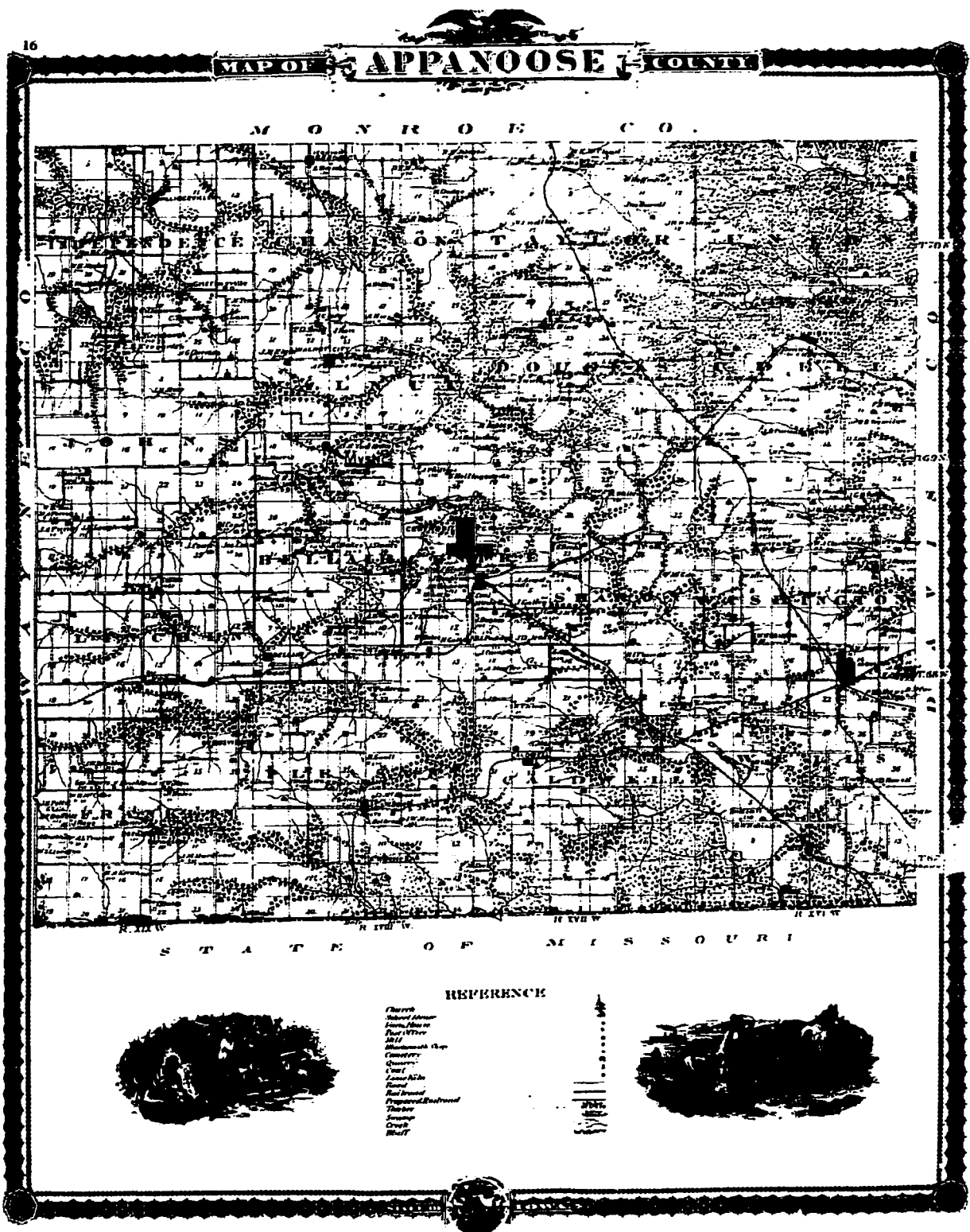
The mining communities are arranged alphabetically by county. Each entry includes a brief history of the community, followed by pertinent data gathered in the course of research. Some figures from the text have been duplicated in the appropriate section of the appendix for easier reference.

<b>Map of Welsh Mining Communities</b>	<b>307</b>
<b>Appanoose County</b>	<b>308</b>
<b>Boone County</b>	<b>312</b>
<b>Jasper County</b>	<b>316</b>
<b>Keokuk County</b>	<b>318</b>
<b>Lucas County</b>	<b>321</b>
<b>Mahaska County</b>	<b>324</b>
<b>Monroe County</b>	<b>336</b>
<b>Polk County</b>	<b>341</b>
<b>Wapello County</b>	<b>343</b>

Welsh Coal Mining Communities, in Approximate Order of Settlement



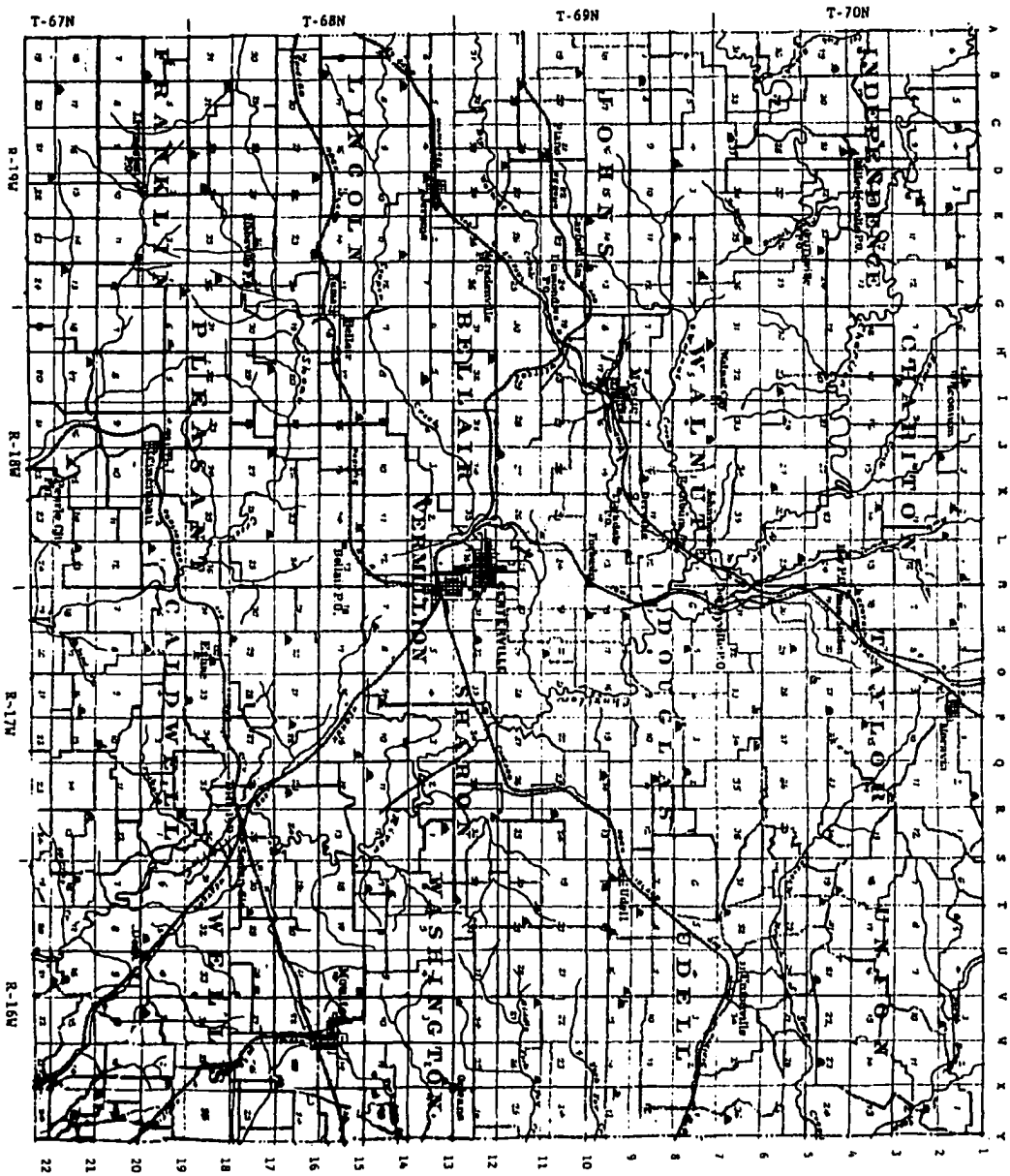
Welsh Coal Mining Communities in approximate order of settlement.

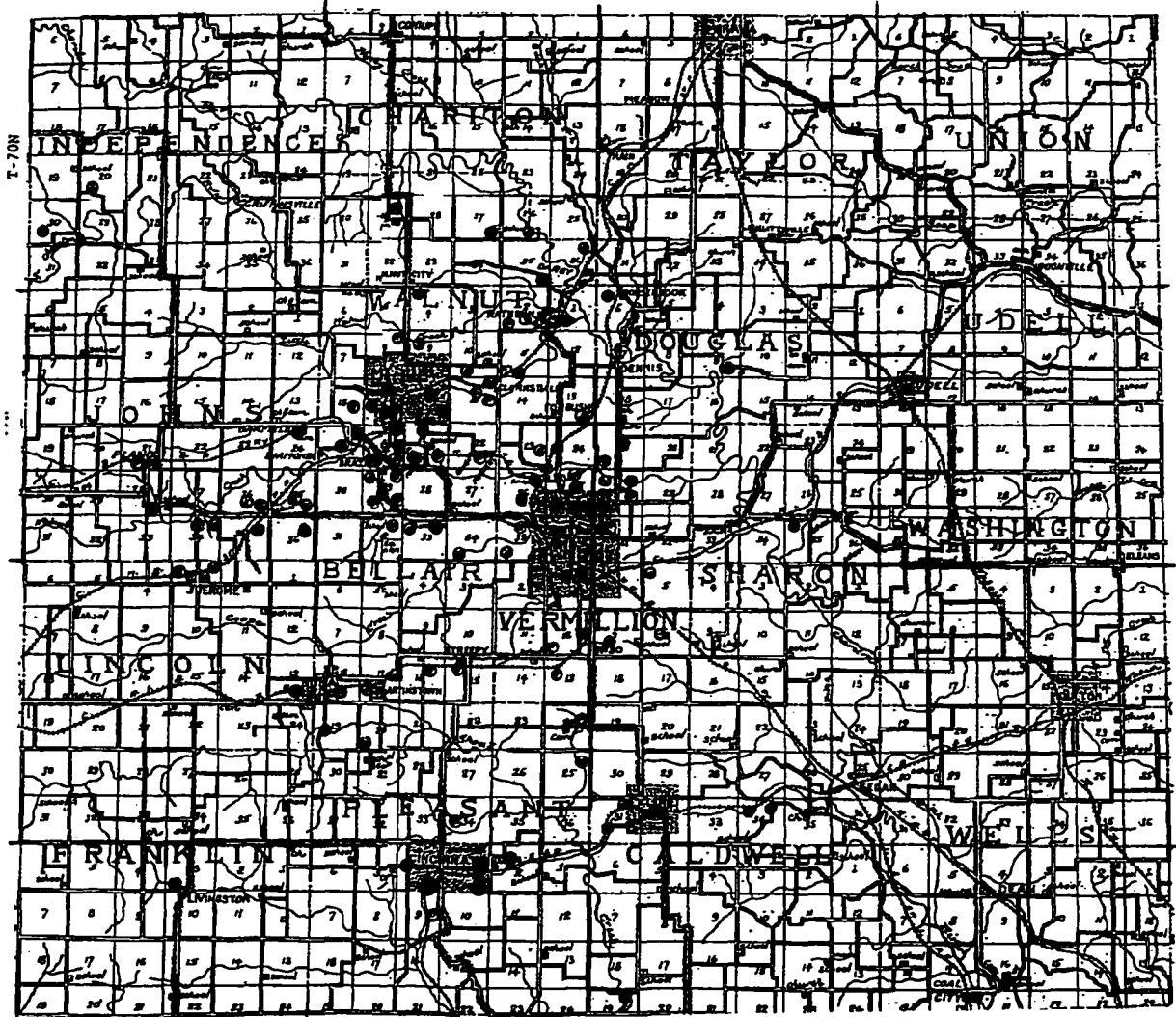


Source: *A. T. Andreas' Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (Chicago: Andreas Atlas Co., 1875), 16.



OUTLINE MAP OF  
**PALMOSSE COUNTY**  
1888.

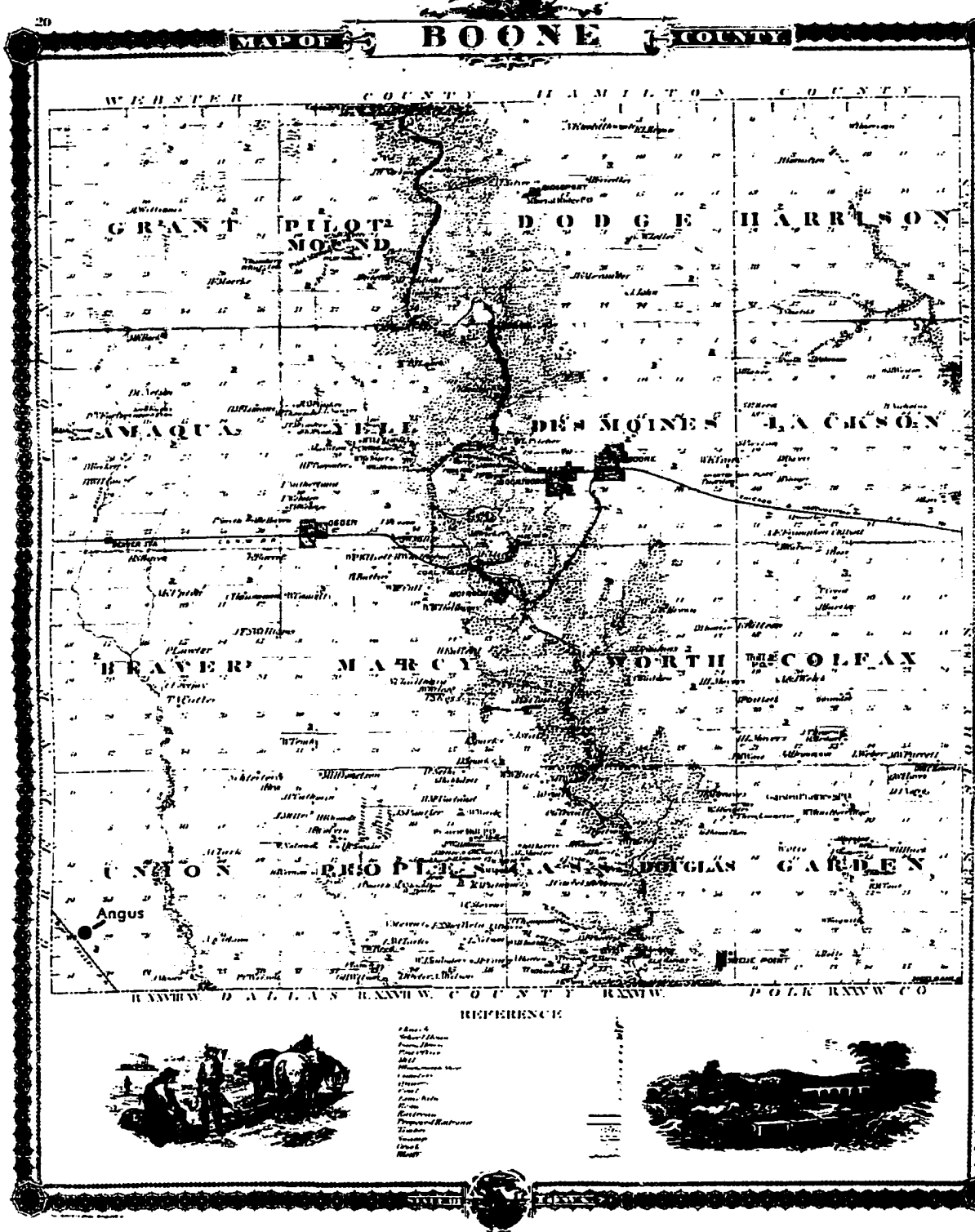




Appanoose County, 1915. Mines marked.

**Mystic, Walnut Township, Appanoose County<sup>1</sup>**

Although county histories do not go into any detail about a Welsh community in Appanoose County, rumors indicate that one existed in the vicinity of Mystic. Census figures seem to bear out the rumor. The number of native Welsh in Appanoose County rose from 11 in 1885 to a high of 79 in 1900. After the turn of the century the numbers fluctuated, to 49 in 1905, 55 in 1910, up to 61 in 1915, then back to 48 in 1920 and a more drastic drop to 26 in 1925.



Source: A. T. Andreas' Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa (Chicago: Andreas Atlas Co., 1875).



**Angus, Union Township, Boone County<sup>2</sup>**

In 1879 Angus became the newest manifestation of Iowa's expanding coal boom. In its previous life as Coaltown, the community grew up along an extension of the old Des Moines Valley Railroad. In 1880, Union Township only contained 856 people, but by 1885 its population had grown to 2257, a direct result of the coal boom. The town quickly grew to hold 1,673 residents in 1885, at least one quarter of those being actual miners. And of the 1,673 residents of Angus in 1885, 97 were of Welsh birth, to say nothing of their native-born family members. The immigrants born in Wales represented almost twelve percent of the town's foreign-born population.

In response to the growing population, the mining companies erected housing for the miners and their families, and neighborhoods were often known by the company that owned them: "the yellow houses of the Standard Company" and "Milwaukee Company houses." Businessmen soon established a hotel, hardware store, jewelry shop, clothing store, and a lumberyard. By 1884 Angus contained fully twenty-five stores and even had two suburbs: Gibson on the west, Milwaukee to the southeast. Its most productive mine, Climax Mine No. 2, averaged forty cars of coal per day. Angus also served as the southern terminus of the Minneapolis and St. Paul Railroad, so the town served as a headquarters for engine and train crews.

By all signs, Angus was destined to be a major industrial center. By 1884 it was the leading mining town in the state and was considered to be destined for great things, even major city status. Angus's entertainment district certainly qualified; its "Whisky Row" was lined with approximately eighteen saloons. The town's future may have been bright, but its

contemporary reputation was one of wildness. "Whisky Row" was strategically placed to allow the miners to fully enjoy the offerings. The street itself lay on the county line between Boone County and Greene County. When the police raided establishments on one side of the street, the customers merely crossed to the other side and into another county.

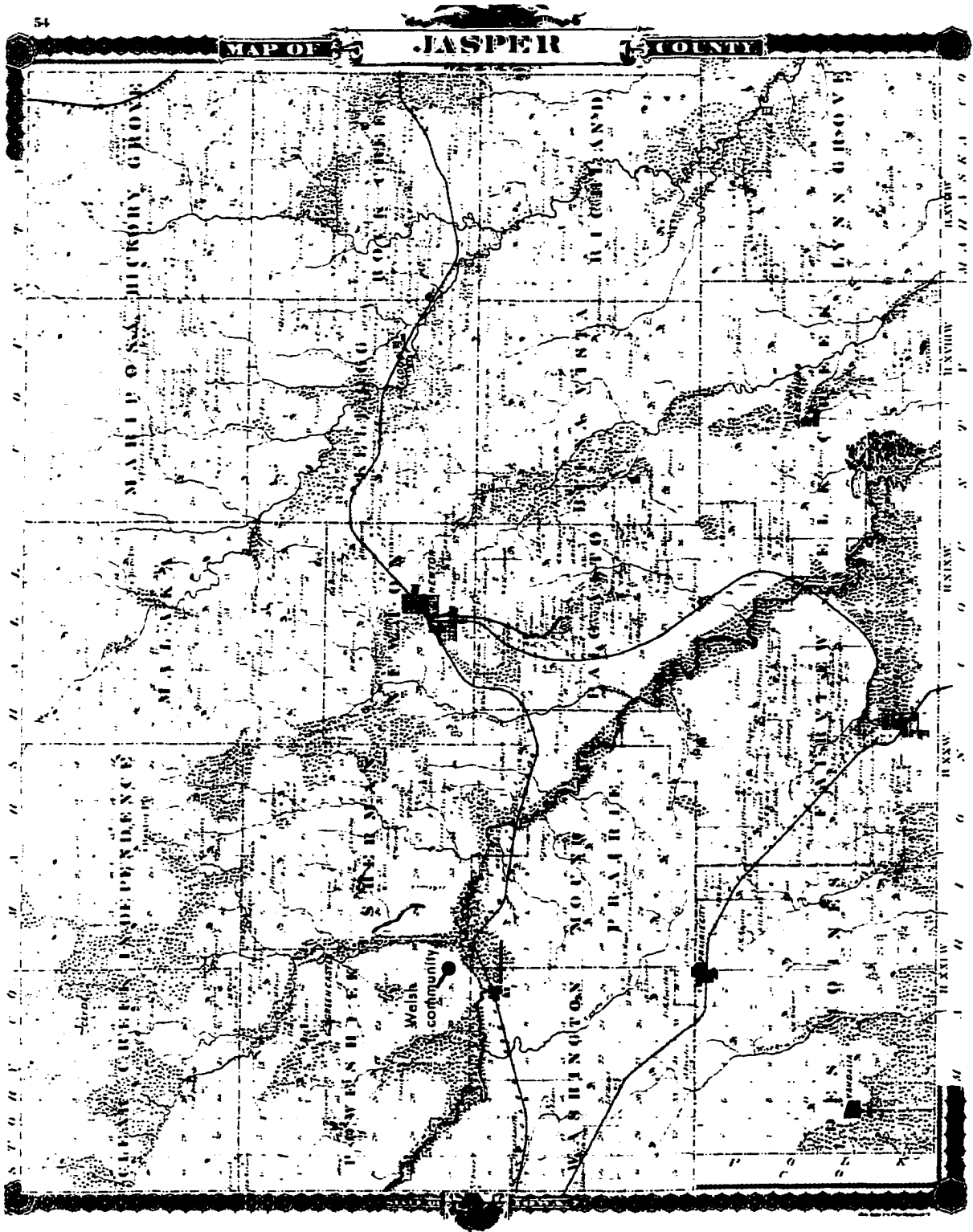
As further evidence of people's anticipation of future prosperity, Angus soon supported a number of churches. The Swedish Lutherans build first, then the Welsh established a Congregational Church in 1884, near the town center. They held all their services in Welsh. The Methodists built the third church in town, and later the Reorganized Latter Day Saints and the Salvation Army also held services.

Unfortunately, Angus's dreams of greatness were destined to go unfulfilled. In the Fall of 1884, the miners went on strike. When the miners did not receive the usual 12.5 ¢ increase in pay, the Knights of Labor encouraged and supported a strike. The Climax Coal Company brought in strike breakers, locally referred to as "black-legs", to work the mines. The Angus miners resented the move and took out their frustration on the strike breakers, destroying their lodging house and driving the "black-legs" out of town. Authorities mustered two militia companies from Des Moines to quell the riot, but by the time they arrived early the next morning, the violence had already subsided.

The strike was eventually settled by arbitration and after a difficult three months, the miners returned to work. However, the ramifications of the strike and surrounding circumstances led to the decline and eventual disappearance of Angus. The Climax Coal Company closed their mines and left in early 1885, and one by one the other companies followed. By 1890 the town's population had dropped by half, and by 1895 the population

totaled a mere 493 people. The result was that the Welsh population of Boone County dropped from 136 in 1885 to a mere 45 in 1890. Many of the shacks formerly occupied by Angus mining families were moved to Perry and other nearby communities. Some were even cut into sections and removed to other mining camps around Des Moines, where they were reconstructed and once again used to shelter mining families.

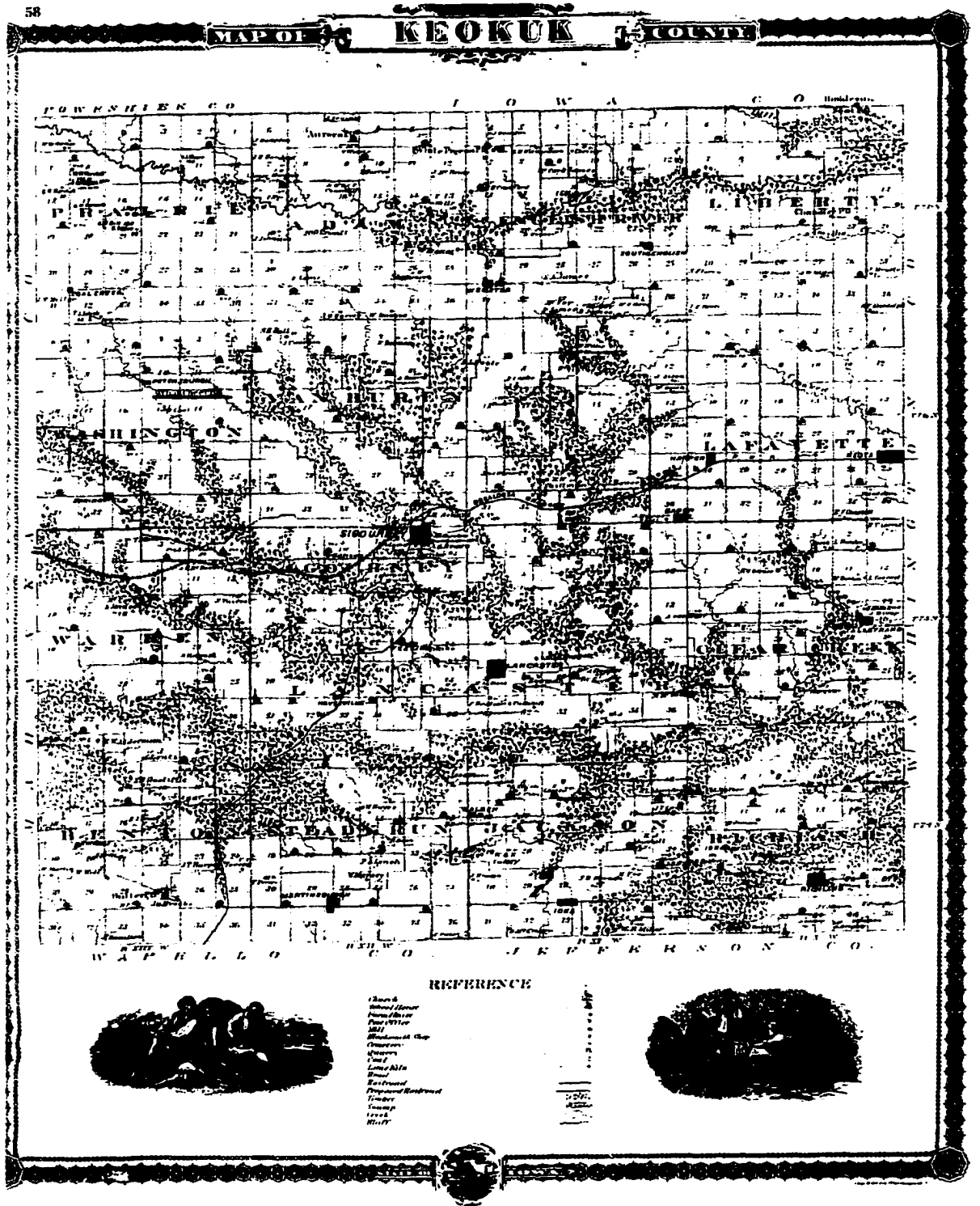
Though a few mines continued to serve the local population, often supplying household and businesses in Perry, by 1900 Angus was well on its way to obsolescence. When in 1905 the Minneapolis and St. Paul Railroad leased the local Des Moines & Fort Dodge line, which was the one that ran through Angus, the merger resulted in the removal of the train crews from Angus. This was the last industry propping up the town, so its disappearance ensured the town's demise. By 1910 the population had declined to 248, and by 1914 only the Methodist Episcopal and Primitive Methodist churches were left to serve the religious community. The post office finally closed in 1954, and the last store, that of William Simpson, closed in 1961.



Source: *A. T. Andreas' Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (Chicago: Andreas Atlas Co., 1875), 54.

**Colfax, Washington and neighboring Poweshiek Township, Jasper County<sup>3</sup>**

Jasper County's coal boom came later than most of the other coal mining counties in Iowa. Assuming that the Welsh had no collective reason to live in Jasper County other than coal mining, the fluctuations in the county's Welsh-born population roughly reflected the county's coal mining cycle. In 1885 Jasper County contained 58 people who had been born in Wales, 42 of which lived in Poweshiek Township near Colfax. By 1890 the number of Welsh in Jasper County had risen to 99. The number changed very little over the ensuing twenty years, but in 1910 Jasper County experienced another spike in Welsh immigration, bringing the number up to 141. The Welsh population then tapered off again, falling to 125 in 1915, 113 in 1920, and finally 76 in 1925.



Source: A. T. Andreas' *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (Chicago: Andreas Atlas Co., 1875), 58.

### **What Cheer, Washington Township, Keokuk County<sup>4</sup>**

What Cheer was at the center of the coal industry in Keokuk County. Originally named Petersburg, What Cheer was in the middle of Washington Township and in the 1880s became surrounded by mining operations. In 1880 the town's population totaled a mere two hundred people, with only a few coal mines just beginning to operate. However, within three years the population of What Cheer had grown to over three thousand people and the community had become a major center of the Iowa coal industry. The population later peaked at more than 5,000 people.

Of the 3,524 residents of What Cheer in 1885, 111 were born in Wales. The most represented nations among the miners were England with 398 miners, Scotland with 280, Ireland with 147, and Wales with 111. The Welsh were noticeable enough to be recognized in a 1965 local history as one of the early ethnic groups among the What Cheer miners. Welsh-born John Evans Thomas arrived to work in the What Cheer mines in approximately 1880 by way of Canada, Pennsylvania, and Newton, Iowa. Thomas Charles Phillips and his wife Leah Evans were both born and married in Wales. They immigrated to Maryland in 1869, later moved through West Virginia and Illinois, and in 1882 moved to What Cheer, where Phillips worked in the mines.

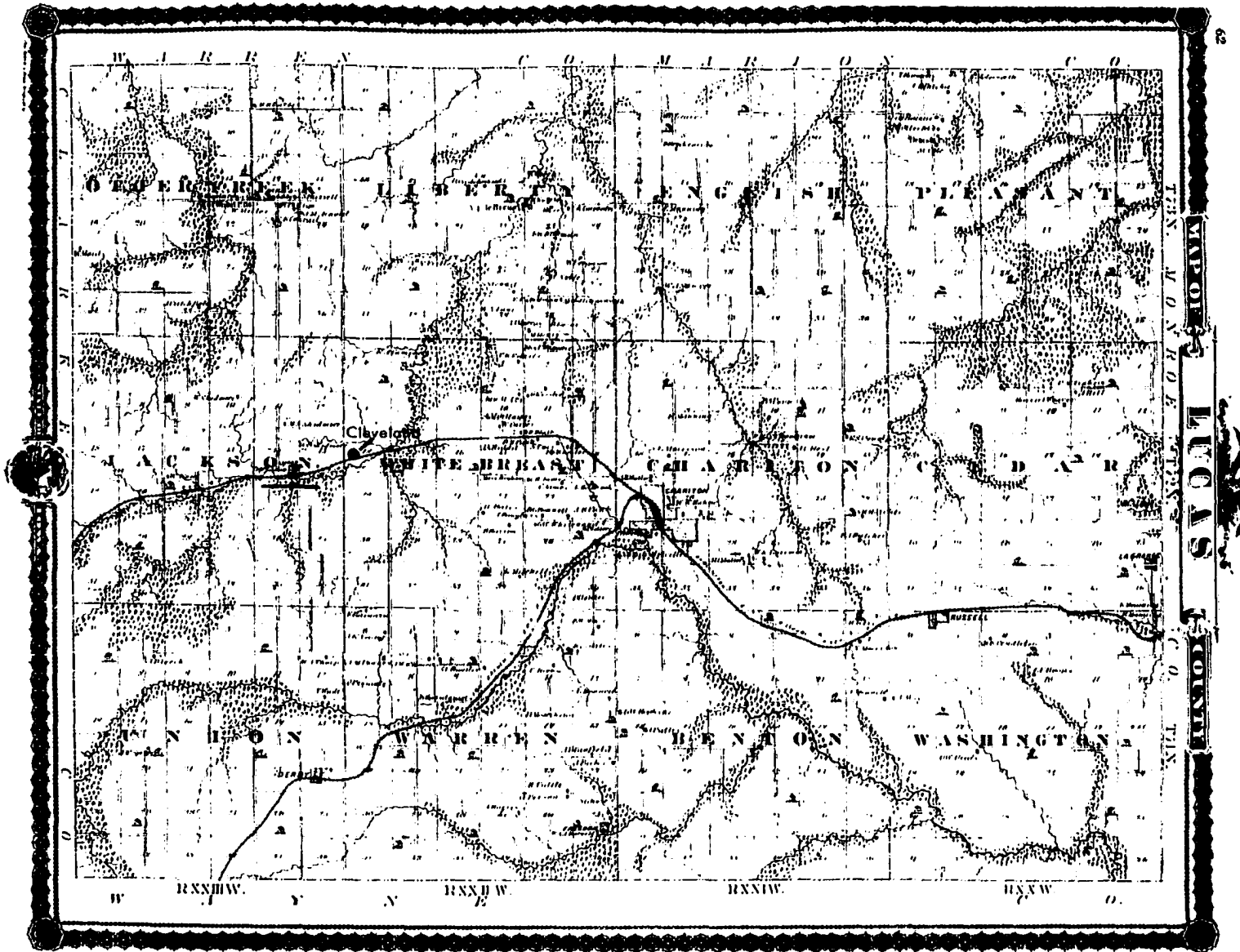
What Cheer owed its prosperity to the railroad industry. When the railroads learned of easily accessible coal deposits, they began to take measures to take advantage of the fuel source. Originally, What Cheer was located an inconvenient distance from the Oskaloosa Branch. When news spread of the area's coal potential, other lines began to vie for the What Cheer right-of-way. Eventually the town was served by the Burlington, Cedar Rapids and

Northern Railroad (later named the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific) and the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad.

Though mining in and around What Cheer started out as a number of independent operations, they soon consolidated into the What Cheer Coal Company. What Cheer itself consisted of various coal camps and neighborhoods, and supported several coal-related industries. What Cheer became known for quality mining tools produced by such companies as the What Cheer Miners Drill and Tool Company and the Star Manufacturing Company owned by Sam Jones. Other established concerns in What Cheer included iron foundaries, blacksmiths, creameries, and even breweries. The breweries supplied the many saloons in and around What Cheer, numbering upwards of thirty-five.

The mining in What Cheer declined as the coal seams became too difficult to work, and by 1900 most of the miners had moved on to other coal camps, such as Blyth, Buxton, White City, and Albia. Many of those who stayed behind found hope in the newly developed clay industry. The 1900 Federal Census counted only 46 Welsh-born residents in the entire county, and by 1905 that number dropped to 19.





Source: *A. T. Andreas' Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (Chicago: Andreas Atlas Co., 1875), 62.

**Cleveland, Jackson Township, Lucas County<sup>5</sup>**

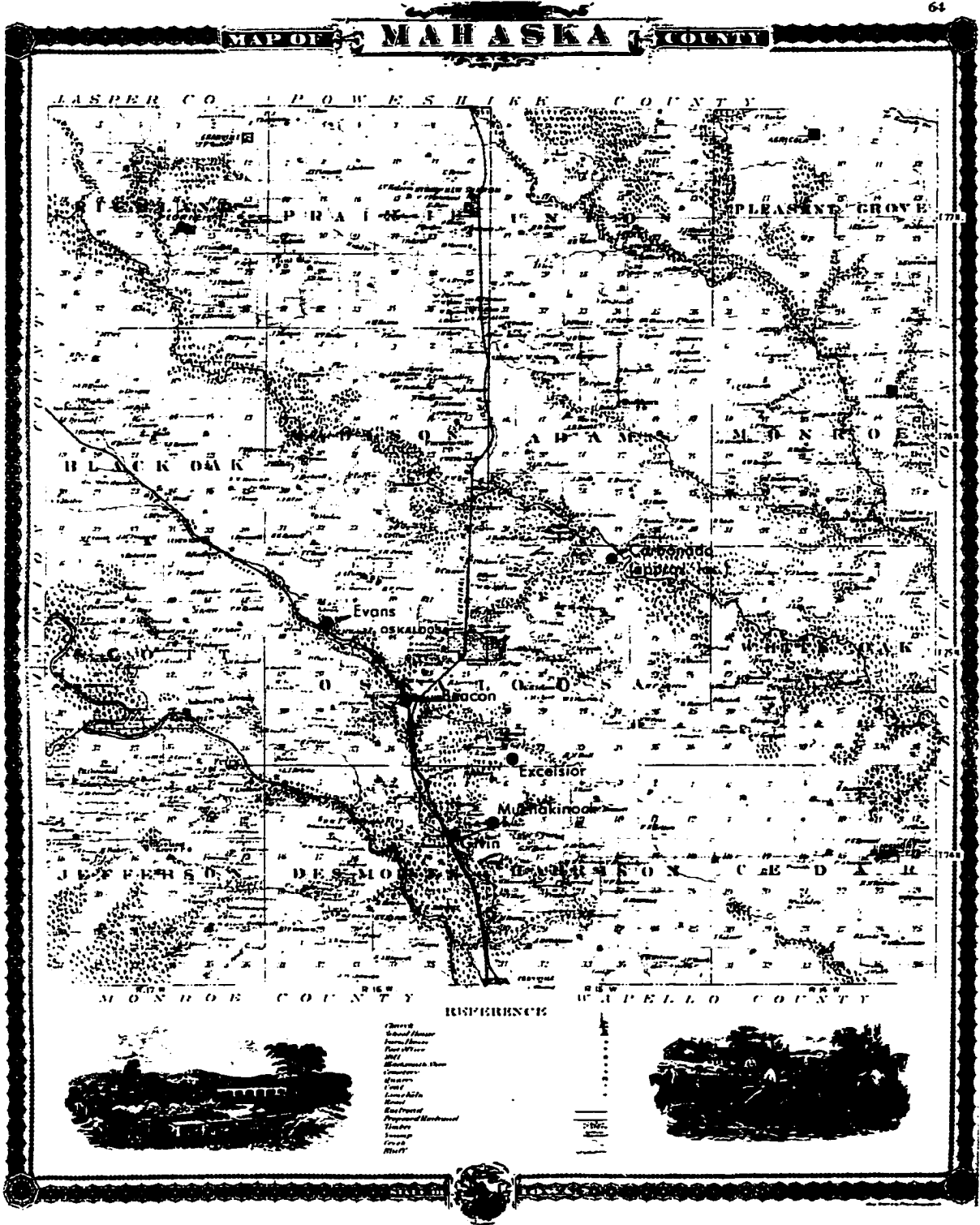
With the discovery of coal in Wapello County in 1873, shafts were soon sunk in eastern Jackson Township and western Whitebreast Township. The White Breast Fuel Company established a company town for their miners in 1878, approximately one mile east of Lucas. Soon the town was filled with mining families, many of them Welsh. By 1880 the population of Jackson Township had risen to 1,985 people, most of those living in either Cleveland (380 residents) or Lucas (981 residents). Within another five years, Cleveland's population grew to 858, 153 of whom were born in Wales. In fact, the Cleveland Welsh accounted for fifty-four percent of the county's 282 Welsh immigrants. When the mines began to slow down in the late 1880s, the Welsh began to move on with everybody else, so that in 1890 only 200 native Welsh lived in Lucas County. The mines closed down for good in 1891 and by 1900 the total number of native Welsh had dropped to 135. By 1910 only 54 people reported being born in Wales.

In 1878 the Welsh miners organized a Welsh Congregational Church in Old Cleveland. By 1887 the congregation was equal parts English and Welsh speaking, so they alternated Welsh and English sermons by Sunday.

**Lucas, Jackson Township, Lucas County<sup>6</sup>**

Lucas was first platted in 1868, but did not begin to grow until 1873 when coal was discovered nearby. The population grew quickly, even more so when in 1876 Cleveland Mine No. 1 was sunk. By 1880 Lucas boasted a population of 981, and by 1885 an astonishing 1,519 people lived inside the town limits. Of those residents, 88 had been born in Wales, with another 22 living in the township outside any incorporated town. While not as large or as influential as the Cleveland Welsh community, the Lucas Welsh were noticeable enough to be mentioned in local histories. Of course, the fact that mine union leader John L. Lewis was born and raised in the area did no harm to the Welsh community's reputation.

The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints established a local branch in Lucas on February 17, 1877 with a membership of twenty-eight, many of them Welsh-born or related. Services were initially held in members' homes, but in 1880 they built a meetinghouse on the east side of town. By 1881 the congregation numbered 115, and by 1886 it totaled 277. When the Old Cleveland mines closed in 1891, however, many of the members left.



Source: A. T. Andreas' *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (Chicago: Andreas Atlas Co., 1875), 64.

**Beacon, Oskaloosa/Garfield Township, Mahaska County<sup>7</sup>**

Though born of humble beginnings, with nothing much to differentiate it from other townsites in the area, Beacon was destined to become one of the more important coal towns in Mahaska County. Situated southwest of Oskaloosa on the old Keokuk and Des Moines Valley Railroad, on the east side of the Muchakinock Creek, and on top of the Muchakinock Coal Field, Beacon was perfectly situated to profit from the coal boom of the late nineteenth century.

In its first incarnation, Beacon was platted in 1864 by E. J. Evans as the town of Enterprise. Enterprise was also known as Oskaloosa Station, as it was the nearest station to Oskaloosa on the Keokuk and Des Moines Valley Railroad. Within a few years, the name of the post office was changed to Beacon, and for a number of years the town was known variously as Oskaloosa Station, Enterprise (not to be confused with the Enterprise in Polk County), Beacon, and even just The Depot. The town was finally incorporated in 1874 as Beacon.

Coal mining at Beacon was initially carried out under the direction of private parties, primarily by J. W. Rodefer of Keokuk. In 1872 most of the mines came under the control of the Iowa Coal Company, and thrived under the company's management. Within a few years the company owned three hundred acres of land around Beacon, with the coal vein averaging five to eight feet in thickness. Coal was mined using both the shaft and slope methods, with mules down the shafts and in the slopes. In 1876 the Iowa Coal Company employed 190 men at its Beacon operation, with a payroll of approximately ten thousand dollars per month. A spur led from the mines to the Keokuk and Des Moines Valley Railroad, making that railroad

the company's primary buyer. The Mahaska Coal Company also commenced coal mining just west of Beacon in 1875. By January of 1876 the Mahaska Coal Company employed one hundred men and four mules at a monthly payroll of approximately six thousand dollars. These men and mules were additionally blessed by an unusually dry mine shaft, one that did not suffer from the usual seepage that so often left the miners to work in puddles and mud. The Mahaska Coal Company utilized a track connecting to the Central Railroad of Iowa mainline. The Consolidation Coal Company purchased the Mahaska Coal Company in 1877.

Originally the Welsh dominated mining in Beacon, but when the miners went on strike in 1873 the Iowa Coal Company brought in Swedish workers from Keokuk, where they had been working on the canal. The Welsh were well-established by that time, however, and when the *Oskaloosa Herald* did a story on the community in January of 1876, the paper reported that the population numbered approximately eleven hundred "composed mostly of miners and their families, of the Welsh and Swedish descent, although there [were] a goodly number of Americans." Of the four stores in Beacon, three had Welsh connections: Phillips & Evans, Davis, Price & Co., and M. Jones & Co. successfully served those who did not trade at the Iowa Coal Company Store.

In 1867 the more religiously minded Welsh organized the Welsh Congregational Church. They built a frame chapel in 1870, and in 1878 claimed a membership of fifty and a successful Welsh-language Sunday School. Sermons were given morning and evening in the Welsh language, conducted in 1876 by Reverend C. D. Jones. The Beacon Methodist Episcopal Church, whose building was erected in 1875, provided the residents with another option for Sunday worship.

The Welsh residents of Beacon were not shy about continuing their traditions and celebrating their culture. The last issue of the short-lived newspaper, *The Beacon Battle-Axe*, was published in April 1875. In the middle of the front page of that issue was a bold-headed piece describing the Eisteddfod and Tea Party recently held in Beacon's new schoolhouse. Besides providing an opportunity for entertainment and socialization, the event raised approximately ninety dollars for repairs on the Welsh chapel. In keeping with the traditional format of the eisteddfod, prizes were awarded for various competitions, including best essay, best declamation, best soprano solo, and best tenor solo.

Mahaska County's population peaked in 1900 with a total of 34,273 residents. The Welsh presence in the county peaked approximately ten years earlier, as the 1890 census lists the total number of people born in Wales at 487. The county Welsh numbered 406 in 1885, with Beacon hosting 79, Garfield Township containing 87 exclusive of Beacon, Des Moines Township being home to 90, and Harrison Township another 76. Many of the Welsh moved around within the county as mines opened and closed, but by 1900 their numbers were definitely declining in the county as a whole, with only 377 native Welsh residing in Mahaska County. The numbers dropped even more dramatically in 1905, when only 236 Welsh were enumerated, and then in 1910 when only 193 were found. The number of native Welsh continued to decline through the 1920s.

R. D. Thomas gives the following account of Beacon in his 1872 history *Hanes Cymry America*: "John S. Morgan and Watkin Williams of Cardiganshire, South Wales came here from the Welsh settlement in Monroe Co. to work in the coal fields in 1856. Americans had opened the mines whose veins were 5 to 7 feet thick. But the above men did not move their

families here until the end of 1865. Both before and after that many miners came to work and to settle.... Several respected and wealthy Welshmen live on their own farms and as overseers in the coal mines.... About 43 families and 215 Welsh people.”<sup>8</sup>

***List of Welsh in vicinity of Beacon, 1872, recorded by R. D. Thomas***

<b>Name</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Where From</b>
John S. Morgan	miner/mine employee	Cardiganshire, South Wales
Watkin Williams	miner/mine employee	Cardiganshire, South Wales
John G. Jones	storekeeper	
Watkin Price	farmer/mine owner	Glamorganshire, South Wales
Joshua Price (brother Watkin)	farmer/mine owner	Glamorganshire, South Wales
John Price (brother Watkin)	farmer/mine owner	Glamorganshire, South Wales
Jenkin Price (brother Watkin)	farmer/mine owner	Glamorganshire, South Wales
Watkin Price (brother Watkin)	farmer/mine owner	Glamorganshire, South Wales
Peter Lloyd	Baptist reverend	
Mrs. Lloyd	farmer	
David S. Davies	mine boss	Pont-y-Pridd, South Wales
David Evans	miner/mine employee	Pomeroy, Ohio
Thomas Parry	miner/mine employee	Monmouthshire, South Wales
Morgan Howells	miner/mine employee	Monmouthshire, South Wales
William Bowen	miner/mine employee	Monmouthshire, South Wales
Daniel Jones	miner/mine employee	Aberdar, South Wales
Isaac Jones	miner/mine employee	Aberdar, South Wales
Henry Jones	miner/mine employee	Aberdar, South Wales
William Phillips	miner/mine employee	Aberdar, South Wales
Morgan Phillips	miner/mine employee	Aberdar, South Wales
William Davies	miner/mine employee	Aberdar, South Wales
Moses Thomas	miner/mine employee	Aberdar, South Wales
John Williams	miner/mine employee	Brynmenyn, South Wales
John T. Williams	miner/mine employee	Brynmenyn, South Wales
Ebenezer Jones	miner/mine employee	Merthyr Tydfil, South Wales
Joseph Sanders	miner/mine employee	Merthyr Tydfil, South Wales
Shadrach Morgan	miner/mine employee	Merthyr Tydfil, South Wales
Thomas T. Davies	miner/mine employee	Tredegar, South Wales
Evan Evans	miner/mine employee	Tredegar, South Wales
Christmas Evans	miner/mine employee	Tredegar, South Wales
Lewis Lewis	miner/mine employee	Tredegar, South Wales
Daniel W. Davies	mine boss	Llanelli, Carmarthenshire
Owen Thomas	miner/mine employee	Cardiganshire, South Wales
John Thomas	miner/mine employee	Cardiganshire, South Wales
William Lewis	miner/mine employee	Hirwaun, South Wales



**Carbonado, Oskaloosa/Spring Creek Township, Mahaska County <sup>9</sup>**

Carbonado was born in May 1890, located approximately three miles northeast of Oskaloosa. That same month the Welsh Presbyterians Church of Beacon moved their chapel to Carbonado and Reverend E. H. Williams held their first service in Carbonado on May 18, 1890. The Excelsior Coal Mine Company sank the first mine shaft in 1891 and employed approximately 150 miners. The Iowa Central Railroad built a spur to Excelsior, connecting the mine to the main line. At their peak, the Carbonado mines produced about twelve hundred tons of coal a day. The mines declined in the late 1890s, and in 1897 the owners moved the operations to their new Klondike Coal Camp.

**Evans, Oskaloosa/Garfield Township, Mahaska County<sup>10</sup>**

First called Elida after the Elida Coal Company, Evans was located on Muchakinock Creek in Section 17 of Oskaloosa Township, approximately three miles west of Oskaloosa. When the postal department approved a post office, the office was named Evans after D. J. Evans, whose land was one of the first to be mined for coal in the area. For a while Evans was also known as Knoxville Junction by the railroad men, since the tracks of the Des Moines Valley Railroad and the Knoxville branch of the Rock Island Railroad crossed there. Originally the Elida Coal Company operated two slope mines. In 1884 the American Coal Company acquired not only the Elida Coal Company, but the Western Union Coal Company and the Knoxville Junction Company, that operated nearby.

The first miners to work and live in Evans fit the general profile of Mahaska County miners, primarily coming from England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. In 1879 black miners were brought in, as well. The town grew throughout the 1870s, 1880s and into the 1890s. Additions to the original plat were added in 1879, 1881, 1888, and 1891. At its height, the population neared three thousand and supported several stores, saloons, two schools, three churches, and the ubiquitous company store. The coal mines around Evans enjoyed prosperity into the twentieth century, but by the 1910s the mines were petering out and the town began to decline. Once the miners had all left, the population numbered only 350. The railroads still needed servicing, which prevented Evans from disappearing altogether.

**Excelsior, Oskaloosa/Spring Creek Township, Mahaska County<sup>11</sup>**

Established in April 1878, The Excelsior Coal Company established mines in Section 31 of Spring Creek Township (formerly east Oskaloosa Township) about two miles south of Oskaloosa. By November the company had put up thirty dwellings and all necessary structures necessary to operate the mines, and employed 150 men. The post office was established in 1879. W. A. Durfee bought the mines in 1888 and later ownership transferred to a railroad concern.

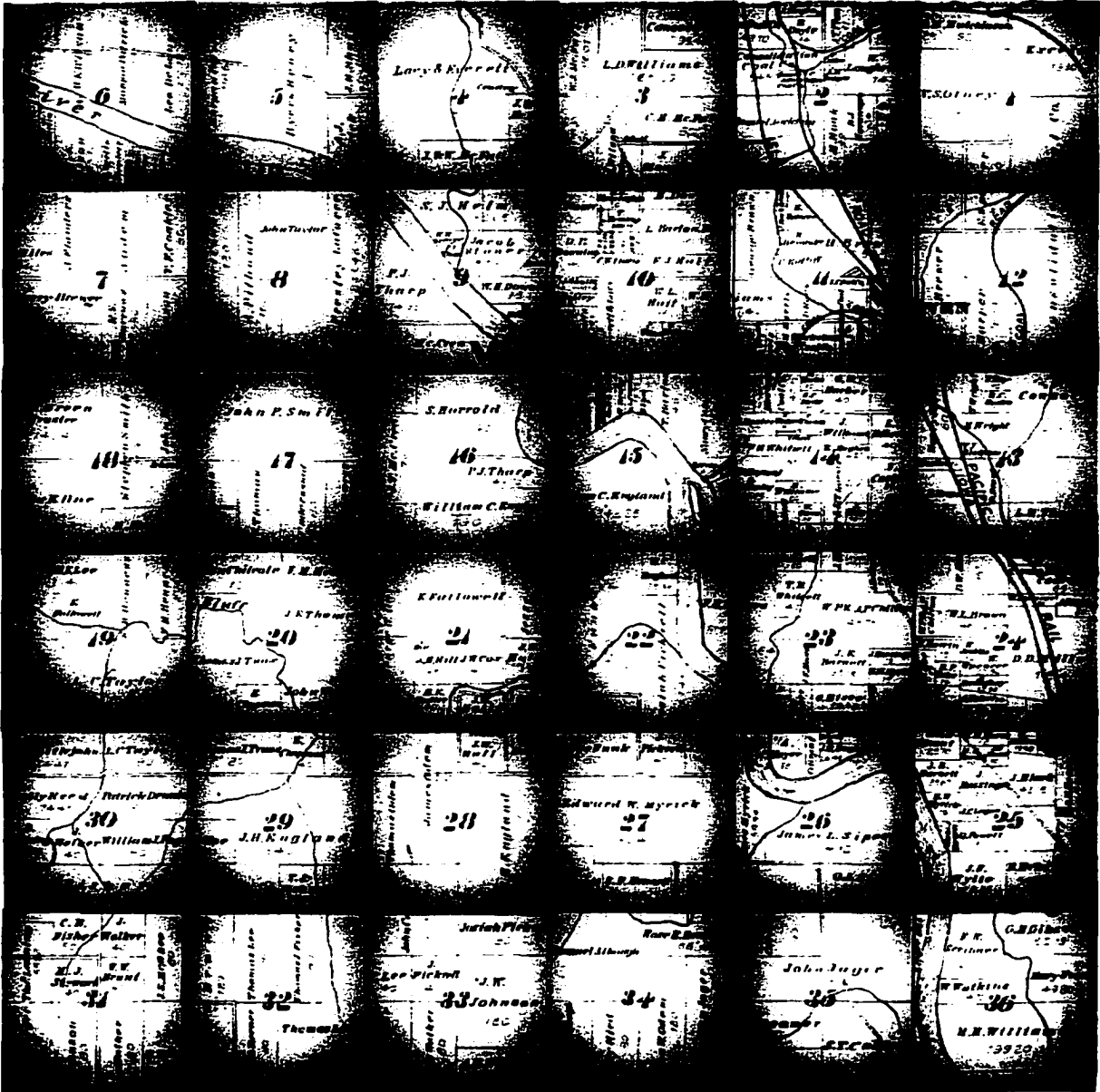
### **Givin, East Des Moines/Harrison Township, Mahaska County<sup>12</sup>**

Givin is located to the west of Oskaloosa along the old Keokuk & Des Moines Valley Railroad in East Des Moines Township, Mahaska County. The area's first coal was dug out of slope mines in the 1860s. The post office was established in 1862, a town platted in 1870, and by 1871 the village warranted a railway station. The Blackstone-Snake Company operated a mine just south of Givin in 1881.

In 1867 the Welsh residents organized the Welsh Congregational Church as a Welsh-language alternative to the local English-speaking Methodist church. As was true for many Welsh communities, the Givin Welsh Church became the activity center of the Welsh community. The Givin Welsh Church held yearly "homecomings" each fall, primarily in the form a *Cymanfa*. Much of the preaching was in Welsh, and many of the songs as well. The Givin church also held its own *eisteddfod* and holiday programs. Many of the Welsh children also attended Sunday School at the Methodist Church and participated in related programs and even in the popular revival meetings. Older residents also recalled that the Givin Welsh lived up to their reputation for musicality. Before they organized their own church, the Givin Welsh would trek to Beacon for Sunday services, singing Welsh hymns along the way.

R. D. Thomas wrote in *Hanes Cymry America* that the Givin Congregational Church was founded in 1867 by Reverend David L. Davies, and in 1870 the minister in residence was David Lewis "Dewi Mynwy" of Tredegar. Reverend Lewis held services in the school house and in his own home. Membership in 1870 stood at 16, with 25 members of the Sunday School and 30 people attending services. Thomas listed the following heads of family in November 1870: Ebenezer Williams, John Davies, Watkin Williams, David Morris, Joseph Shelton, William Jenkins, and David Evans.

## Des Moines Township, 1884



Source: Byron V. SeEVERS, *Map of Mahaska County, Iowa* (Des Moines: Western Lithographing Company, 1884).

**Muchakinock, East Des Moines/Harrison Township, Mahaska County<sup>13</sup>**

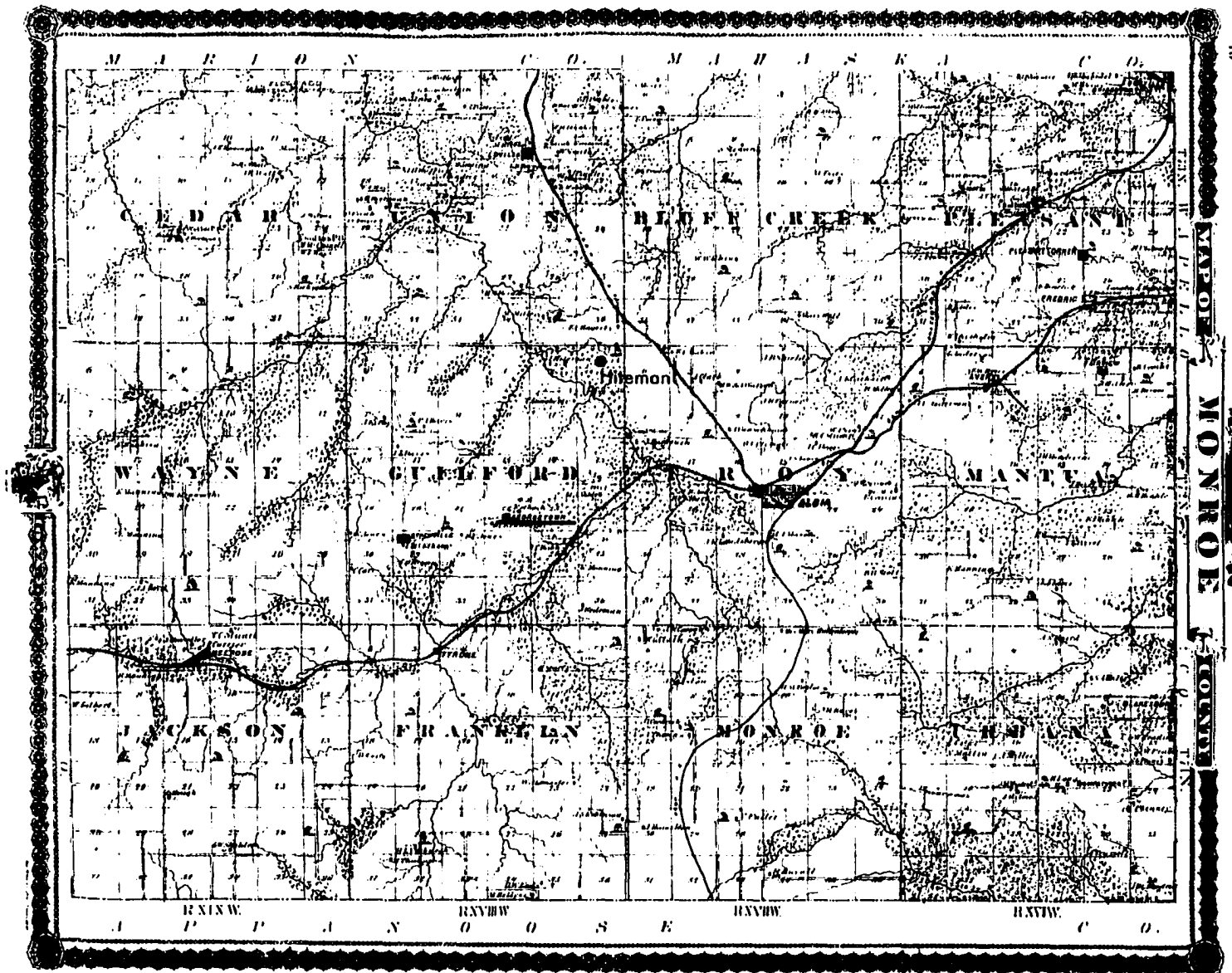
Locally known as “Muchy,” Muchakinock was a coal mining camp on the banks of the Muchakinock Creek in Section 7 of Harrison Township, Mahaska County. Muchakinock owed its existence to the efforts of the brothers H. W. and W. A. McNeill. In 1873 the McNeills purchased large coal fields in central Mahaska County, including coal beds in Harrison Township. They organized the Iowa Central Coal Company and went about developing their holdings.

The Iowa Central Coal Company soon platted the town Muchakinock to serve Mine No. 2, which had opened in about 1871. By 1874, when the post office was established, the camp had grown into a full town, complete with churches, mining offices, saloons, stores, schools, and doctors and lawyers. As the Muchakinock Mine prospered, its ownership changed hands several times. First, in 1877, the Iowa Central Coal Company was reorganized as part of the Consolidation Coal Company. Then in 1881 the McNeills sold their shares and the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad Company became the owner of the Consolidation Coal Company. Thus, Muchakinock became a captive mine for the Northwestern Railroad.

The Chicago and Northwestern Railroad completed a spur from What Cheer to Muchakinock in 1884, and by 1887 the town had grown to a population of at least fifteen hundred. The residents were primarily African-Americans miners recruited from Virginia in 1881 to break a strike, or miners of Welsh or Swedish descent. Accounts vary on the details, but all records agree that the black families attended at least one and perhaps two “black” churches. The Swedes attended the Methodist Church, and the Welsh attended the Welsh Congregational Church, for many years served by Reverend Jones of nearby Beacon. The schools were also segregated between blacks and whites, and even between the Swedes and

the Welsh because of geography. The majority of the Swedish miners settled on top of the hill north of Slope No. 2, and the neighborhood became known as Swede Row.

Racial tensions in the town erupted in 1891 when approximately three hundred members of the Iowa Mineworkers Union attempted to forcibly unionize or drive out the black miners of Muchakinock. Superintendent John Buxton armed the miners and called in militia reinforcements to quell the possible fight, and the union movement failed. The town continued to prosper and reportedly had a population of between 2500 and 4000 at some point in the 1890s, with nine mining shafts operative. Even more quickly than it had appeared, the town disappeared in the early 1900s, when the entire Muchakinock operation was transferred to Buxton. The *Oskaloosa Herald* noted on April 28, 1904 that "Old Muchakinock is about a thing of the past. The store has been moved to Buxton, and a general exodus of the inhabitants has taken place recently. Old 'Muchy' has been a good old town, but the coal has all been mined out and the town will soon be off the map." The African-American miners, especially, remained with the company and Buxton soon became the coal camp with the largest number of African-Americans in the state. The Welsh and Swedish miners moved on to other mines in the area, left the region, or took up farming.



Source: *A. T. Andreas' Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (Chicago: Andreas Atlas Co., 1875), 70.



**Albia, Troy Township, Monroe County<sup>14</sup>**

Albia, too, had its share of coal mines and Welshmen, both miners and non-miners. While the Welsh did not make up a large part of the population, the Welsh culture did make an impact on Albia. While in 1885 only 50 native-born Welsh could be found in Monroe County, by 1900 the number had risen to 303, and by 1905 it was up to 362. With such an congregation of native Welsh, it was no surprise that Albia became the center of Welsh culture in Iowa. Once the Iowa Eisteddfods began to be held in the Albia Opera House in 1903, the city became known for the event among Welsh and non-Welsh alike. The Eisteddfods were no longer held in Albia after 1916, suffering from the end of the coal boom, World War I, and assimilation. The number of native-born Welsh declined steeply from the 1915 total of 256 to the 1920 enumeration of only 149, followed by a another drop to 97 in 1925 and finally to 43 in 1930.

Many of the more prominent Welsh residents were not members of the mining community. J. A. Edwards was born in Wales in 1821 and immigrated in 1838 to Gallia County, Ohio (a large Welsh community). In 1855 J. A. Edwards moved to Albia, Iowa, where he built a milling business. By 1878 he had risen to the position of President of the Monroe County Bank and left the management of the mill to his son Moses Edwards. Thomas Beynon also made his way from Wales to finally settle in Albia in 1855, this time by way of Pennsylvania and Ohio. Beynon and his family, however, became farmers.

**Hiteman, Guilford Township, Monroe County<sup>15</sup>**

Hiteman developed into one of the most important of Iowa's coal mining centers. In the process, it also turned into an important Welsh community. Located at the heart of Iowa's coal field, Monroe County was destined to be a significant part of the industry. Hiteman itself became pivotal in the fulfillment of that destiny. When the Kirkville mines petered out at the end of the 1880s, the Wapello Coal Company moved west to Monroe County. They established a mining camp at Hiteman in 1890 and sank its first mine in Guilford Township to serve the C. B. & Q. RR, Mine No. 1 on Section 11.

The Hiteman coal camp was mostly constructed from buildings from former camps in Kirkville, Lucas, Hilton, Muchakinock, and Chisholm. Once the houses were placed on new lots in Hiteman, each could be leased from the company by miners' families. The company also leased empty lots at seven dollars per year, allowing families to build their own houses. For those who opted to lease land, the company included a disclaimer saying that the company was not responsible for any damages resulting from coal removal underneath the lot. Hiteman residents built and bricked their own wells, and dug caves for cold storage.

As was the case with most of the mining towns, Hiteman grew quickly. The Heffron School originally handled the local population without trouble, but when mining families began to arrive in 1890 the school soon became overcrowded. By that fall attendance was up to seventy-five students. The next March the school district voted to erect a new four-room school building. The district's expectations for growth were soon exceeded, and by 1892, Hiteman had 389 school-age children, once again outgrowing the available facilities. In 1894 the district arranged to house some of the advanced students in the nearby Welsh Church. The district added high school classes in 1895, and in 1896 the students were divided into

grades.

As discussed in the main text, in 1892 the Hiteman Welsh established chapels for both the Welsh Congregational Church and the Welsh Baptist Church. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints also attracted a number of Welsh.

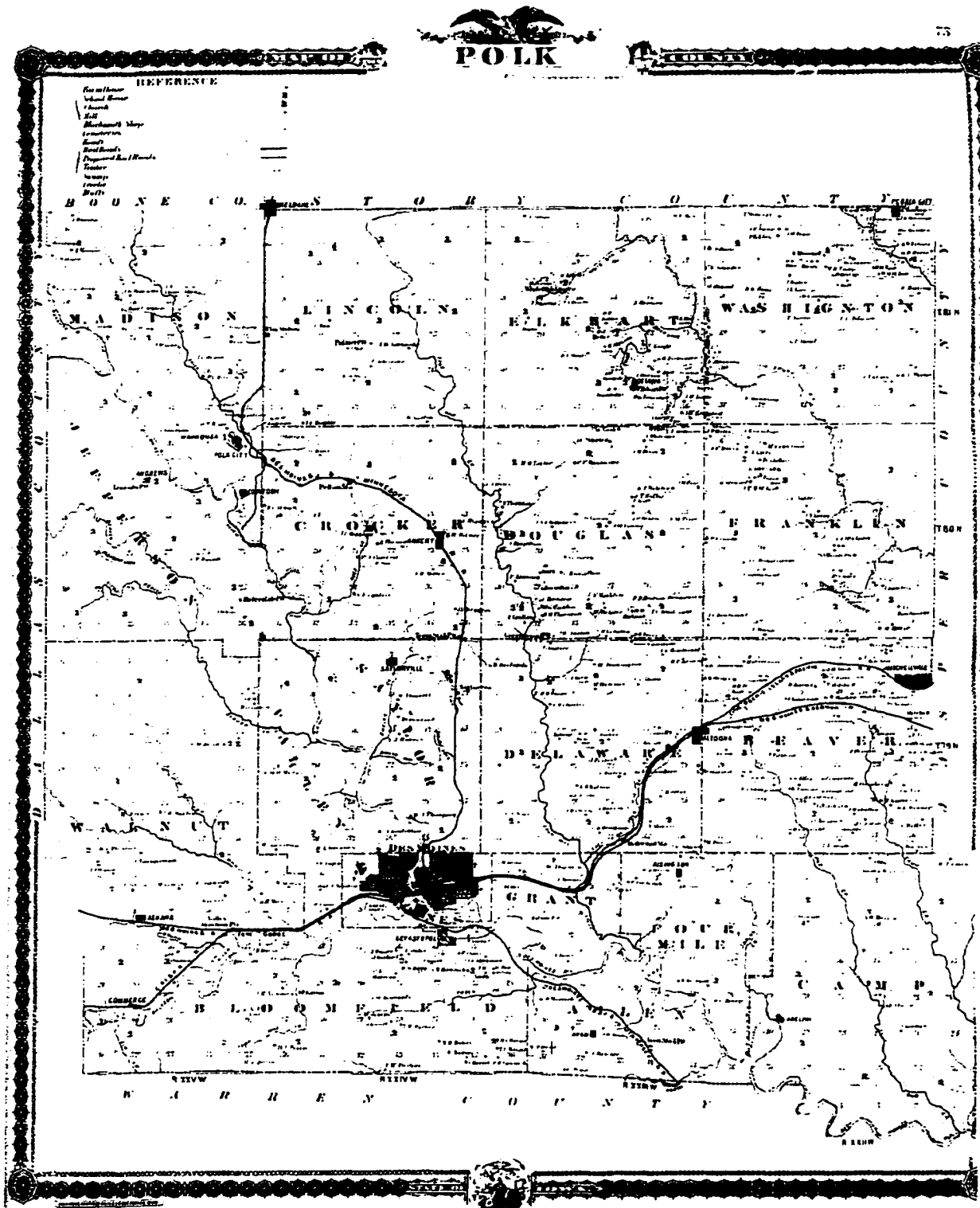
The Welsh also congregated for reasons other than worship. Each March 1<sup>st</sup> the women of the Welsh churches hosted a tea in celebration of St. David's Day, inviting not only the town's Welsh but the general public. In the early 1900s, John C. Thomas hosted a party for his numerous fellow Welshmen from Tredegar, South Wales.

Most important of all to the Hiteman Welsh community was its annual participation in the Iowa Eisteddfods. In 1900 they organized Eisteddfod Corporation at five dollars per share, the proceeds going toward participation expenses for the Hiteman contingent. By 1903 the center of the Iowa Welsh Community had shifted toward the mining districts, and the *eisteddfod* site shifted with it. On November 26, 1903, Thanksgiving Day, the first *eisteddfod* in the area was held in Albia. Participants came from all around the state and a crowd of 1,500 filled the Albia Opera House to witness the contest. Welsh choirs and declaimers traveled to Albia from Des Moines, Colfax, Oskaloosa, Ottumwa, Red Oak, Knoxville, Hocking, Hilton, Cincinnati, Hiteman, and even from Missouri. Much to the Hiteman Eisteddfod Corporation's pleasure, Hiteman participants won eight out of the twenty judged events. According to one newspaper account, the Hiteman's Children's Chorus's rendition of "Stand Up for Jesus" was particularly memorable. The Iowa Eisteddfod continued to be held in Albia for a number of years, its success in no small part due to the enthusiastic participation and attendance of the Hiteman Welsh.

The fate of the Welsh community was tied to the fate of Hiteman, and Hiteman's fate

depended on the fate of the Wapello Coal Company mines. From 1890 to 1915 mines opened and closed. Mine No. 1 opened in 1890 and closed in 1903, Mine No. 2 opened in 1896 and closed in 1904, Mine No. 3 opened in 1901 and lasted into the peak year 1910. Between August 1909 and March 1910, Hiteman had four mines operating at the same time, employing approximately 600 men and supporting a population of approximately 4500. Mine No. 4 opened in 1902 and also closed in 1910, signaling the end of Hiteman's status as a boom town. Mining continued at Mine No. 5 (opened 1902) and Mine No. 6 (opened 1909), but the settlement began to lose people anyway. In 1915 the Wapello Coal Company sold out to the Smoky Hollow Coal Company. Smoky Hollow brought in their own miners from Avery and Hynes, pushing many of the Hiteman miners off of their company-owned land. When Mine No. 6 closed that same year, more miners were left without work and Hiteman's population declined even further. Mine No. 5 finally closed in 1916, spelling the end of the Hiteman coal industry.

As were most Welsh, the Welsh residents of Hiteman were fond of using nicknames, whether for fun or for more certain identification in the face of so many similar names. Some of the more colorful names have survived: Chicken Thomas, Pidgeon Powell, Spike Thomas, Rooster Dick Thomas, Rip Price, Duke (John) Plant, Chuck-um-in Joe Davis, Little Joe Davis, Cumro Thomas, Lefty Thomas, Smoky Moses, Far-away Moses, Di Lewis, Mock Lewis, Sippy Lewis, Shorty Morgan, and Jogie Morgan.

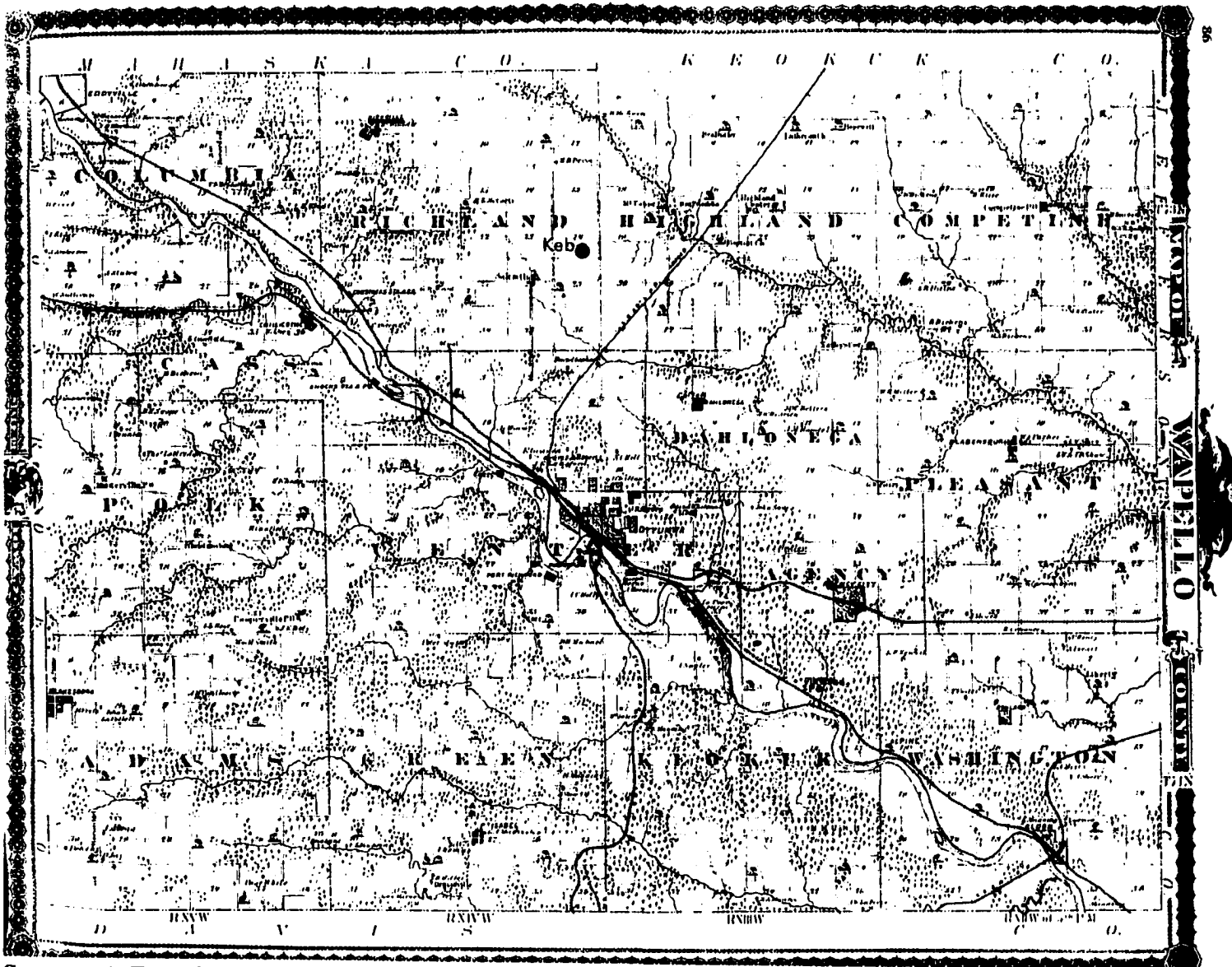


Source: A. T. Andreas' *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (Chicago: Andreas Atlas Co., 1875), 75.

**Sevastopol, Bloomfield Township, Polk County<sup>16</sup>**

Named after a local Swedish farmer, Sevastopol was a small village located in what is now South Des Moines. Before Des Moines absorbed the community, it served both farmers and the miners attracted by the developing coal industry. Among those miners and farmers were a few Welsh. No evidence remains to indicate that the Welsh were an especially strong presence in the community, although they were present in high numbers in the latter nineteenth and early twentieth century..

That Sevastopol included native Welsh at one time is evident in the 1885 state census. Polk County contained a total of 132 people born in Wales, primarily residing in the city of Des Moines. Bloomfield Township itself contained 38 native Welsh, 37 of whom lived in Sevastopol proper. In that year, a total of 190 of Sevastopol's residents were foreign-born. With nineteen percent of the foreign-born population being born in Wales, the Welsh influence in the town in 1885 was indeed high. Unfortunately, soon after 1885 Sevastopol was absorbed into Des Moines proper, so further comparisons prove difficult. The city of Des Moines proved to be a population magnet, though, and the Welsh were not immune to its effects. While many other counties were losing native-Welsh, Polk County gained significantly. In 1890 the native Welsh population totaled only 120, but by 1900 it had increased to 188. 1920 proved to be Polk County's peak census year for native Welsh, with 249 being so enumerated.



Source: A. T. Andreas' Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa (Chicago: Andreas Atlas Co., 1875), 86.

**Keb, Richland Township, Wapello County<sup>17</sup>**

The small mining town of Keb was founded in 1891 in Section 24 of Richland Township, Wapello County, five miles directly north of Ottumwa. At its height, the town had over three hundred residents, many of whom were of Welsh heritage. Though little evidence survives of the Welsh presence, Welsh names are referred to throughout the town's history: David Richards, T. D. Williams, Evan Jones, John Daniels, and a place known as Jones Grove.

W. E. Williams was the most influential Welshman in Keb. Born in South Wales in 1844, he immigrated to the United States in 1869 and worked as a miner in Missouri, Indiana, and Illinois. Williams moved on to Kirksville and worked the mines there for seven years before moving to Keb in 1892. He worked down in the Keb mines for two months before being promoted to Outside Boss. He eventually rose to the position of Superintendent of the Keb Coal Mine, where he served for eight years.

When the Kirksville mines closed down, many of the Welsh miners relocated to Keb. Others joined them, bringing the county's native-born Welsh population to 170 in 1905, up from 146 in 1900. After the the Keb Coal Mine closed in 1905, and with it the school and eventually the town, the county Welsh population settled into a steady decline that continued through the 1920s.



**Kirkville, Richland Township, Wapello County<sup>18</sup>**

The village of Kirkville was platted in 1848 in north central Wapello County. It was not until 1857, however, that the first coal mine in the county was established. With the mining industry came jobs, and to fill the jobs came miners, among them the Welsh. Throughout the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s, the Kirkville area prospered. So did the Welsh community. By 1885 Wapello County included 138 native-born Welsh, 102 of which lived in Kirkville proper and 16 more in the surrounding township. By 1890 the number of Welsh in Wapello County had grown to 239, with the Kirkville Welsh community no doubt growing at a similar pace. Though few details of that Welsh community have survived, records do indicate that some time before 1892 the Welsh had established a church and erected a building. In 1892 that building was purchased by the Presbyterians. It was no longer needed by the Welsh since the mines closed in 1890 and the Welsh moved on, many to nearby Keb but some to other places as well. By 1900 the number of Welsh in Wapello County had declined to 146.

## NOTES

1. Frank D. Jackson, Secretary of State, *Census of Iowa for the Year 1885* (Des Moines: Geo. E. Roberts, State Printer, 1885); Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, *Study 00003: Historical Demographic, Economic, and Social Data: U.S., 1790-1970* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, 1992); Executive Council, *Census of Iowa for the Year 1905* (Des Moines: Bernard Murphy, State Printer, 1905); Executive Council, *Census of Iowa for the Year 1915* (Des Moines: Robert Henderson, State Printer, 1915); Executive Council, *Census of Iowa for the Year 1925* (Des Moines: The State of Iowa, 1925).
2. *Census of Iowa for 1885*; *Des Moines Tribune*, 2 April 1948; Eugene N. Hastie, "The Rise and Fall of Angus," in *History of Perry, Iowa* (Fort Dodge, Iowa: Walterick Printing Co., 1966?): 101-8; N.E. Goldthwait, ed., *History of Boone County Iowa*, Volume I (Chicago: Pioneer Publishing Company, 1914), 336-44; Consortium, *Study 00003*; Historical Marker at old site of Angus.
3. *Census of Iowa for 1885*; *Census of Iowa for 1905*; *Census of Iowa for 1915*; *Census of Iowa for 1925*; Consortium, *Study 00003*.
4. Dwain Mueller, *What Cheer—100 Years; A History of What Cheer and Neighboring Towns and Communities* (What Cheer, Iowa: Centennial Committee, 1965), 21-22; *What Cheer and Its People* (Montezuma, Ia.: Sutherland Printing Company, n.d.), 1-3, 169, 188; *The History of Keokuk County, Iowa* (Des Moines: Union Historical Company, 1880), 587-88.
5. Lucas County Genealogy Society, *History of Lucas County, Iowa 1978* (Marceline, Missouri: Walsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1978), 19, 22, 128; "1880 Federal Census of Iowa, Lucas County. Population Schedule."
6. *History of Lucas County, Iowa 1978*, 36, 130; *Census of Iowa for 1885*; *Census of Iowa for 1905*; *Census of Iowa for 1915*; *Census of Iowa for 1925*; Consortium, *Study 00003*.
7. *History of Mahaska County...* (Des Moines: Union Hist. Co., 1878), 512-15; Margaret L. Ademeit, *Beacon News: Book I* (Oskaloosa, Iowa: p.p., 1998), 15, 23-24; Keo-Mah Genealogical Society, *The Heritage of Mahaska County, Iowa 2000* (Oskaloosa, Iowa: Keo-Mah Genealogical Society, 2000), 76; Margaret L. Ademeit, *Businesses of Beacon 1865-1997* (Oskaloosa, Iowa: p.p., 1998), 27; *Census of Iowa for 1885*; *Census of Iowa for 1905*; *Census of Iowa for 1915*; *Census of Iowa for 1925*; Consortium, *Study 00003*.
8. R. D. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America: A History of the Welsh in America*, Phillips G. Davies, trans. (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1983) 232-33.
9. Keo-Mah Genealogical Society and Mahaska County Historical Society, *History of Mahaska County, Iowa, 1984* (Dallas, Tex.: Curtis Media Corp, 1984), 360-361, 370.

10. Manoah Hedge, *History of Mahaska County* (Oskaloosa: n.p., 1905), 86; *Mahaska County, 1984*, 36, 218-19.
11. *Mahaska County, 1984*, 202-3.
12. *Mahaska County, 1984*, 194, 202; *Mahaska County 2000*, 94-96; *History of Mahaska County* (1878), 529; Ademeit, *Businesses of Beacon*, 85; *Des Moines Tribune*, 5 March 1981; R. D. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America*, 234.
13. *Mahaska County, 1984*, 197-200; *Mahaska County 2000*, 73-74.
14. *Historical Sketchbook of Albia and Monroe County 1859–1959* (Albia, Iowa: Albia Centennial Corporation, 1959), 42; *History of Monroe County, Iowa...* (Chicago: Western Hist. Co., 1878), 462-63, 498; R. D. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America*, 234-36.
15. *Historical Sketchbook*, 70-77; Rosalie Mullinix, comp., *History of Hiteman: A Mining Town* (p.p., 1983), 20, 30, 38, 41, 64, 108, 111-14, 131, 197, 298; Frank Hicklooper, *An Illustrated History of Monroe County, Iowa...to 1896* (Albia: n.p., 1896), 321.
16. *Census of Iowa for 1885; Census of Iowa for 1905; Census of Iowa for 1915; Census of Iowa for 1925*; Consortium, *Study 00003*.
17. Wapello History Committee, *Wapello County History* (Montezuma, Iowa: Sutherland Printing Company, Inc./Publishing, 1986), 332, 342-43; Chris D. Baker, *In Retrospect: An Illustrated History of Wapello County, Iowa* (Virginia Beach, Virginia: The Donning Company/Publishers, 1992), 57, 63; *Census of Iowa for 1885; Census of Iowa for 1905; Census of Iowa for 1915; Census of Iowa for 1925*; Consortium, *Study 00003*.
18. *Wapello County History*, 338-342; *Census of Iowa for 1885; Census of Iowa for 1905; Census of Iowa for 1915; Census of Iowa for 1925*; Consortium, *Study 00003*.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

#### Federal Census Material (chronological order)

DeBow, J. D. B., Superintendent of the United States Census. *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850*. Washington, D. C.: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853.

*1860 Federal Census of Iowa, Population Schedule.*

Kennedy, Joseph C. G. *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled From the Original Returns of the Eighth Census, under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior. Volume 1*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1864.

*1870 Federal Census of Iowa, Population Schedule.*

Walker, Francis A. *Ninth Census—Volume I. The Statistics of the Population of the United States*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1872.

*1880 Federal Census of Iowa, Population Schedule.*

Department of the Interior, Census Office. *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880)*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1883.

Department of the Interior, Census Office. *Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890. Part I*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1895.

Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research. *Study 00003: Historical Demographic, Economic, and Social Data: U.S., 1790-1970*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, 1992.

#### State Census Material (chronological order)

Census Board. *The Census Returns of the Different Counties in the State of Iowa, for 1856*. Iowa City: Crum & Boye, Printers, 1857.

Frank D. Jackson, Secretary of State. *Census of Iowa for the Year 1885*. Des Moines: Geo. E. Roberts, State Printer, 1885.

McFarland, W. M., Secretary of State. *Census of Iowa for the Year 1895*. Des Moines: F. R. Conaway, State Printer, 1896.

Executive Council. *Census of Iowa for the Year 1905*. Des Moines: Bernard Murphy, State

Printer, 1905.

Executive Council. *Census of Iowa for the Year 1915*. Des Moines: Robert Henderson, state Printer, 1915.

Executive Council. *Census of Iowa for the Year 1925*. Des Moines: The State of Iowa, 1925.

### **Original Documents and Manuscripts**

“Llyfr Eglwys: Old Man’s Creek Congregational Church, Johnson Co., Iowa.” Microfilm copy of manuscript, Reel # US/CAN 0989452, Utah Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

DeBower, Donna Nadyne Thomas and Margaret Ann Thomas Hall, trans. “The Letters of Margaret Ellen Jones and David Owen Thomas, 1887-1894.” ms. in possession of author.

Iorthryn Gwynedd (R. D. Thomas). *America or A Variety of Notes on the United States of Value to Emigrants, May 1851-May 1852*. Translated and transcribed by The National Library of Wales. Manuscript 9521A, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

### **Published Records**

Conway, Alan, ed. *The Welsh in America: Letters from the Immigrants*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961. (Transcribed collection of original letters.)

*Fourteenth Biennial Report of the State Mine Inspectors for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1908 to the Governor of the State of Iowa*. Des Moines: Emory H. English, State Printer, 1908.

Iowa Welsh Society. *The Welsh Way: Oral History of the Long Creek Welsh Community in Iowa*. n.p., 1995.

Jones, Edward. *Y Teithiwr Americanaidd: neu Gyfarwyddyd i Symudwyr of Gymru i'r America (The American Traveler: or Advice to Emigrants from Wales to America)*. Aberystwyth: Argraffwyd ac ar Werth Gan E Williams, 1840.

*Report of the State Mine Inspectors for the Biennial Period Ending December 31, 1921*. Des Moines: The State of Iowa, 1922.

Thomas, R. D. *Hanes Cymry America*. Utica, N.Y.: T. J. Griffiths, Argraffydd, Exchange Buildings, 1872.

Thomas, R. D.. *Hanes Cymry America: A History of the Welsh in America*. Davies, Phillips G., transl. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, Inc., 1983.

*Twelfth Biennial Report of the State Mine Inspectors for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1905, to the Governor of the State of Iowa*. Des Moines: Bernard Murphy, State Printer, 1905.

### **Newspapers**

*Des Moines Tribune*, 5 March 1981.

*The Beacon Battle-Axe*, April 1875.

*Waterloo Courier*, 2 March 1980.

*Des Moines Tribune*, 2 April 1948.

*Oskaloosa Weekly Herald*, 1875-1892.

*Des Moines Tribune*, 7 June 1946.

*(Red Oak) Sun*, 1891.

### **Maps and Atlases**

Andreas, A. T. *A. T. Andreas' Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa*. Chicago: Andreas Atlas Co., 1875.

Andreas, A. T. *An Illustrated Atlas of Des Moines County, Iowa*. Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1873.

*Appanoose County Atlas, 1896*. n.p.

*Atlas of Howard County, Iowa*. Chicaglo: W. H. Lee, 1915.

*Atlas of Johnson County Iowa: Containing Maps of Villages, Cities, and Townships of the County, State, United States and World*. n.p., 1917.

*Atlas of Johnson County Iowa: Containing Maps of Villages, Cities and Townships of the County*. Davenport, Iowa: The Huebinger Survey and Map Publishing Co., 1900.

*Atlas of Boone County, Iowa.* Des Moines: Kean Map Co., 1930.

*Atlas of Clay County, Iowa.* Mason City, Ia.: The Anderson Publishing Co., 1919.

*Atlas of Howard County, Iowa.* Minneapolis: Title Atlas Company, 1969.

*Buena Vista County, Iowa Land Ownership Map, 1891.* Microfiche copy of manuscript, Fiche #6079417, Utah Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

*Clay County, Iowa Land Ownership Map, 1896.* Microfiche copy of manuscript, Fiche #6079420, Utah Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

*Combination Atlas Map of Johnson County, Iowa.* Geneva, Illinois: Thompson and Everts, 1870.

*Novak's New Map of Johnson County, Iowa.* Revised and compiled Feb. 1889. n.p., [1889].

*Plat Book of Boone County, Iowa, July, 1949.* Mason City, Iowa: Joe C. Johnson Map Co., 1949.

*Road Map of Carroll County.* Iowa State Highway Commission, 1905.

Seevers, Byron V. *Map of Mahaska County, Iowa.* Des Moines: Western Lithographing Company, 1884.

Williams, Dale, Ben Jones, and Dell Wiedeman. *Lincoln Township Then and Now.* n.p., 1988.

## SECONDARY SOURCES

### Journal Articles

Alba, Richard D.. "Comment." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 14 (1995): 82-90

Barkan, Elliott R., "Race, Religion, and Nationality in American Society: A Model of Ethnicity—From Contact to Assimilation." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 14 (1995): 38-75.

Beltman, Brian W. "Ethnic Territoriality and the Persistence of Identity: Dutch Settlers in Northwest Iowa, 1869-1880." *The Annals of Iowa* 55 (1996): 101-37.

Bergmann, Leola Nelson. "Scandinavian Settlement in Iowa." *The Palimpsest* 37 (1956): 129-161.

Bergmann, Leola Nelson. "The Norwegians in Iowa." *The Palimpsest* 40 (1959): 289-369.

Birch, Brian P. "The Editor and the English." *The Annals of Iowa* 47 (1985): 622-43.

Conzen, Kathleen Neils. "Historical Approaches to the Study of Rural Ethnic Communities," in *Ethnicity on the Great Plains*, Frederick C. Luebke, ed.. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980.

Conzen, Kathleen Neils, David A. Gerber, Ewa Morawska, George E. Pozzetta, and Rudolph J. Vecoli, "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A.." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12 (1992): 3-41.

Davies, H. M. "'Very Different Springs of Uneasiness': Emigration from Wales to the United States of America During the 1790s." *Welsh History Review* 15 (1991): 368-98.

Davies, Phillips G., transl. "William D. Davies' Travels to the Welsh Settlements of Iowa in 1886 and 1891." *Annals of Iowa* 46 (1982): 279-97.

Davies, Phillips G. "The Welsh Settlements in Minnesota: The Evidence of the Churches in Blue Earth and Le Sueur Counties." *Welsh History Review* 13 (1986): 139-54.

Davies, Phillips G. "The Welsh in Kansas: Settlement, Contributions and Assimilation." *Western History Review* 14 (1989): 380-98.

Davies, Phillips G. "The Growth and Assimilation of the Welsh Settlements in Iowa." *Iowa State Journal of Research* 60 (1985): 107-28.

Davies, Wayne K. D. "Falling on Deaf Ears? Canadian Promotion and Welsh Emigration to the Prairies." *The Welsh History Review* 19 (1999): 679-712.

Ellis, David Maldwyn. "The Assimilation of the Welsh in Central New York." *Welsh History Review* 6 (1973): 424-50.

Evans, E. C. "The Welsh People in America." *The Cambrian* 31 (1911): 4-7.

Evans, E. C. "Census Reports of the Welsh Population in the United States from 1850-1890." *The Cambrian* 13 (1893): 131-39.

Fink, Deborah and Alicia Carriquiry. "Having Babies or Not: Household Composition and Fertility in Rural Iowa and Nebraska, 1900-1910." *Great Plains Quarterly* 12 (1992): 157-68.

Fisher, Sydney George. "The Welsh Element in Pennsylvania." *The Cambrian* 17 (1897): 115-17.



Fraser, Marianne. "Warm Winters and White Rabbits: Folklore of Welsh and English Coal Miners." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 51 (1983): 246-258.

Friedberger, Mark W. "Handing Down the Home Place: Farm Inheritance Strategies in Iowa, 1870-1945." *The Annals of Iowa* 47 (1984): 518-36.

Gans, Herbert J.. "Comment: Ethnic Invention and Acculturation, a Bumpy-Line Approach." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12 (1992): 42-52.

Gjerde, Jon and Anne McCants. "Fertility, Marriage, and Culture: Demographic Processes Among Norwegian Immigrants to the Rural Middle West." *The Journal of Economic History* 55 (1995): 860-88.

Griffith, John T. "A Few Facts Respecting the Founders of Ebensburg and Beulah, PA." *The Cambrian* 22 (1902): 217-18.

Griffith, John T. "The Last Enterprise of Morgan John Rhees." *The Cambrian* 21 (1901): 545-48.

Hawley, Charles Arthur. "Asa Turner and the Welsh." *The Palimpsest* 18 (1937): 10-19.

Hoelscher, Steven D. and Robert C. Ostergren. "Old European Homelands in the American Middle West." *Journal of Cultural Geography* 13 (1993): 87-106.

Hudson, John C. "North American Origins of Middlewestern Frontier Populations." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 78 (1988): 395-413.

James, Thomas L. "The Welsh in America." *The Cambrian* 13 (1893): 68-77.

Jones, William Harvey. "Welsh Settlements in Ohio." *The Cambrian* 27 (1907): 196-98.

Kneller, Pamela. "Welsh Immigrant Women as Wage Earners in Utica, New York, 1860-70." *Llafur: Society for the Study of Welsh Labour History* 5 (1991): 71-8.

Melloh, Ardith K. "New Sweden, Iowa." *The Palimpsest* 59 (1978): 2-19.

Noble, Allen G., ed. *To Build in a New Land: Ethnic Landscapes in North America*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Roberts, George. "Rev. Rees Lloyd. One of the Early Settlers of Ebensburg, Cambria Co., PA." *The Cambrian* 9 (1889): 228-29.

Rokkan, Elizabeth. "America as Idea and Reality in the Context of Welsh Settlement." *American Studies in Scandinavia* 19 (1987): 85-91.

Taylor, Clare. "Paddy's Run: A Welsh Community in Ohio." *Welsh History Review* 11 (1983): 302-16.

Thomas, Brinley. "A Cauldron of Rebirth: Population and the Welsh Language in the Nineteenth Century." *Welsh History Review* 13 (1987): 418-37.

Thomas, T. D. "Gomer, Iowa." *The Cambrian* 2 (1882): 120-21.

Van Vugt, William E. "Welsh Emigration to the U.S.A. During the Mid-Nineteenth Century." *Welsh History Review* 15 (1991): 545-61.

Vecoli, Rudolph J.. "Comment." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 14 (1995): 76-81.

Whitaker, James W., ed. and Phillips G. Davies, transl. "'Welsh Settlements in Iowa' from *Hanes Cymry America (A History of the Welsh in America)*." *The Palimpsest* 59 (1978): 24-32.

Williams, Stephen Riggs. *The Saga of Paddy's Run*. Oxford, Ohio: Miami University Alumni Association, 1972.

Wilson, Ben Hur. "The Iowa Eisteddfod." *The Palimpsest* 12 (December 1941): 357-73.

Zunz, Olivier. "Comment." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 14 (1995): 91-94.

### Books

Ashton, E. T. *The Welsh in the United States*. Hove, Sussex: Caldra House, 1984.

Atack, Jeremy and Fred Bateman. *To Their Own Soil: Agriculture in the Antebellum North*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1987.

Berthoff, Rowland. "Welsh." In *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephen Thernstrom. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980: 1011-17.

Blackwell, Henry. *A Bibliography of Welsh Americana*. Aberystwyth: The National Library of Wales, 1977.

Christensen, Thomas Peter. *A History of the Danes in Iowa*. Solvang, Calif.: Dansk Folkesamfund, 1952.

Conway, Alan, ed. *The Welsh in America: Letters from the Immigrants*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961.

Conway, Alan. "Welsh Emigration to the United States." *Perspectives in American History* 7 (1973): 177-271.

Davies, Phillips G. *The Welsh in Wisconsin*. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1982.

Davis, Evan E., ed. *Our Heritage: Early History of Tyn Rhos Welsh Congregational church and Its Neighborhood*. Oak Hill, Ohio: Privately published, 1979.

Dennis, Ronald D. *The Call of Zion: the Story of the First Welsh Mormon Emigration*. Provo: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1987.

Easterlin, Richard A. "Immigration: Economic and Social Characteristics." In *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephan Thernstrom. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980: 476-86.

Gjerde, Jon. *From Peasants to Farmers: The Migration from Balestrand, Norway, to the Upper Middle West*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Gjerde, Jon. *The Minds of the West: Ethnocultural Evolution in the Rural Middle West, 1830-1917*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Griffiths, T. Solomon. *A History of the Calvinistic Methodists in Utica, New York*. Translated by Phillips G. Davies. Originally published 1896. Ames: Sigler Printing and Publishing, 1991.

Hareven, Tamara K. and Maris A. Vinovskis, eds. *Family and Population in Nineteenth-Century America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Jones, Rev. David. *Memorial Volume of Welsh Congregationalists in Pennsylvania, U.S.A.: Their Churches, Periodical Convocations, Clergy and Prominent Lay Members*. Utica, NY: Press of Utica Printing Company, 1934.

Jones, William D. *Wales in America: Scranton and the Welsh, 1860-1920*. Scranton, PA: University of Scranton Press, 1993.

Jones, Aled and Bill Jones. *Welsh Reflections: Y Drych and America*. Llandysul, Wales: Gomer Press, 2001.

Knowles, Anne Kelly. *Calvinists Incorporated: Welsh Immigrants on Ohio's Industrial Frontier*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Lowe, Jeremy. *Welsh Industrial Workers Housing 1775-1875*. Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1989.

Luebke, Frederick C.. *Immigrants and Politics: The Germans of Nebraska, 1880-1900*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969.

Mott, David C. *Abandoned Towns, Villages, and Post Offices*. Council Bluffs, Iowa: J. W. Hoffman and S. L. Purington, 1973.

Nelson, O. M. *Swedish Settlements in Iowa*. n.p., 1931.

Qualey, Carlton C. *Norwegian Settlement in the United States*. Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1938.

Reschly, Steven D.. *The Amish on the Iowa Prairie, 1840 to 1910*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

Robbins, Keith. *Nineteenth-Century Britain: England, Scotland, and Wales; The Making of a Nation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Roberts, Gwilym R. *New Lives in the Valley*. Milo, Me.: The Paper Pusher, 1998.

Roderick, A. J., ed. *Wales Through the Ages*. 2 vols. Swansea, Wales: Christopher Davies, 1975.

Schwieder, Dorothy. *Patterns and Perspectives in Iowa History*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1973.

Schwieder, Dorothy. *Black Diamonds: Life and Work in Iowa's Coal Mining Communities, 1895-1925*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1983.

Schwieder, Dorothy. *Iowa: The Middle Land*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1996.

Swierenga, Robert P. *The Dutch in America: Immigration, Settlement, and Cultural Change*. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1985.

Swierenga, Robert P. *Faith and Family: Dutch Immigration and Settlement in the United States, 1820-1920*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 2000.

Tripp, Grace M. *A Home With a View: A Story of the Tripp Family, Life, and Times. Colfax, Iowa -- 1890-1910*. n.p., n.d.

Van Vugt, William E. *Britain to America: Mid-nineteenth-century Immigrants to the United States*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

Van der Zee, Jacob. *The British in Iowa*. Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1922.

Williams, Gareth. *Valleys of Song: Music and Society in Wales 1840-1914*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998.

Williams, Gwyn A. *The Search for Beulah Land: The Welsh and the Atlantic Revolution*. New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1980.

### **Unpublished Sources**

"Center Ridge Church." Located in "Wales" binders at Montgomery County Historical Society, Red Oak, Iowa.

"History of Welsh Congregational Church at Old Man's Creek." Microfilm copy of manuscript, Reel # US/CAN 0986172, Utah Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

"History of the Wales Presbyterian Church." Located in "Wales" binders at Montgomery County Historical Society, Red Oak, Iowa.

"History-Salem Welsh United Presbyterian Church, Long Creek, Iowa." n.p., 1999.

"Lincoln Township History." Located in "Wales" binders at Montgomery County Historical Society, Red Oak, Iowa.

"Lincoln Township." Located in "Wales" binders at Montgomery County Historical Society, Red Oak, Iowa.

"Settlement of Ebensburg By Welsh in Year 1796." *The Mountaineer-Herald*, Ebensburg, Pa. Newspaper clipping in folder marked "Ebensburg (General History) Pioneer Period pre-1797 - 1859." in possession of Cambria County Historical Society, Ebensburg, Pennsylvania.

"Wales Presbyterian Church: 125 Years 1874-1999." n.p., 1999. Located in "Wales" binders at Montgomery County Historical Society, Red Oak, Iowa.

"Wales Church." n.p., 1955. Located in "Wales" binders at Montgomery County Historical Society, Red Oak, Iowa.

*Centennial Program of the Welsh Congregational Church, Columbus Junction, Iowa 1846-1946*. n.p., 1946.

Davies, Phillips G. *Welsh Settlements in the State of Iowa: Materials Collected in the Absence of a More Organized and Complete History of the Welsh in Iowa*. Ames, Ia.: n.p., 1979.

DeBower, Donna N. Thomas. "History of the Welsh Congregational Church of Old Man's Creek." Microfilm copy of manuscript, Reel # US/CAN 0986172, Utah Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Fasold, Wilford Herman. *Some Sociological Aspects of the Coal Mining Industry in Iowa with Special Reference to Monroe County*. M.S. Thesis. Iowa State College, 1931.

Knowles, Anne Kelly. "Welsh Settlement in Waukesha County, Wisconsin 1840-1873." M.S. Thesis. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1989.

Thomas, Mrs. W. W. *The Centennial History of the Westminster Presbyterian Church of Lime Springs, Iowa 1877-1977*. n.p., 1977.

Walley, Cheryl A. "The Old Man's Creek Welsh Community of Johnson County, Iowa." M.A. Thesis. Iowa State University, 1999.

*Westminster Presbyterian Church, Lime Springs, Iowa: The Service of Dedication for the Renewed Sanctuary*. n.p., 1967.

### **Community and County Histories**

*A Biographical Record of Boone County, Iowa*. New York: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1902.

*A History of the First Congregational Church of Ebensburg, Penna. 1797-1947, One Hundred and Fifty Years of Service*. Privately printed, 1947.

*A Century of Progress for Williamsburg, Iowa 1854-1957*. n.p., 1957.

*A Century of Memories: Templeton, Iowa 1888-1982*. n.p., 1982.

Alexander, W. E. *History of Chickasaw and Howard Counties, Iowa*. Decorah, Ia.: Western Publishing Company, 1883.

Antrobus, Augustine M. *History of Des Moines County, Iowa and Its People*. Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1915.

*Appanoose County, Iowa: 1986*. n.p., 1986.

Artlip, Elaine. *Rural Churches of Montgomery County*. Red Oak, Ia.: Montgomery County Historical Society, 1996.

Baker, Chris D. *In Retrospect: An Illustrated History of Wapello County, Iowa*. Virginia Beach, Va.: The Donning Company/Publishers, 1992.

Beck, Charles, Treva Beard, and Mary Beth Carey, comps. *Churches of Louisa County*. Wapello, Ia.: Louisa Publishing Co. Ltd., 1993.

*Biographical History of Montgomery and Adams Counties, Iowa*. Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1892.

*Biographical Review of Des Moines County, Iowa*. Chicago: Hobart Publishing Company, 1905.

Boone Today and Boone County Historical Society. *A Pictorial History of Boone County 1865-1960*. Marceline, Mo.: Heritage House Publishing, 1995.

Brett, Charlotte M. *Cemeteries of Clay County, Iowa*. Spencer, Ia.: Speed Printers, 1983.

Brigham, Johnson. *Des Moines, the Pioneer of Municipal Progress and Reform of the Middle West, Together with the History of Polk County, Iowa*. Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1911.

Buena Vista County Historical Society. *Buena Vista County History 1858-1983*. Storm Lake, Ia.: Buena Vista County Historical Society, 1984.

Carroll County Genealogical Society. *Carroll County Iowa. Cemeteries—Eden Township. Elba and Sacred Heart*. Des Moines: Iowa Genealogical Society, 1992.

Cedar Valley Retired School Personnel. *Memories of One-Room Schools in Howard County, 1999*. n.p., 1999.

*Cemeteries: Yellow Spring Township, Des Moines County, Iowa*. Burlington: Des Moines County Genealogical Society, n.d.

*Centennial: Spencer, Iowa 1871-1971*. n.p., 1971.

Denny, Robert R. and LeRoy G. Pratt. *Historical Highlights of Polk County, Iowa*. p.p., 1973.

Denny, Robert R., LeRoy G. Pratt, and Bill M. Clark. *Perspectives of Polk County History*. n.p., 1988.

Dinwiddie, James C. *History of Iowa County, Iowa and Its People*. Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1915.

*Portrait and Biographical Record of Johnson, Poweshiek and Iowa Counties, Iowa.* Chicago: Chapman Bros., 1893.

Dixon, J. M. *Centennial History of Polk County, Iowa.* Des Moines: State Register, Printers, 1876.

Fairbairn, Robert Herd. *History of Chickasaw and Howard Counties, Iowa.* Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1919.

Gilbreath, W. C. *The History of Clay County, Iowa, Containing a History of the County, Towns, Etc.* n. p., 1889.

Gillespie, Samuel and James E. Steele. *History of Clay County, Iowa.* Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1909.

Goldthwait, N. E., ed. *History of Boone County, Iowa. Volumes I & II.* Chicago: Pioneer Publishing Company, 1914.

Hastie, Eugene N. *History of Perry, Iowa.* Fort Dodge, Ia.: Walterick Printing Co., 1966.

Hedge, Manoah. *Past and Present of Mahaska County, Iowa.* Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1905.

Hedge, Manoah. *History of Mahaska County.* Oskaloosa, Ia.: p.p., 1905.

Hersman, S. G. *Directory of Montgomery County, Iowa. Edition 1907-1908.* Red Oak, Ia.: The Express Publishing Company, 1907.

Hickenlooper, Frank. *An Illustrated History of Monroe County, Iowa.* Albia, Ia.: p.p., 1896.

*Historical Sketchbook of Albia and Monroe County 1859-1959.* Albia, Ia.: Albia Centennial Corporation, 1959.

*History of Montgomery County, Iowa, Containing a History of the County, its Cities, Towns, etc.* Des Moines: Iowa Historical and Biographical Co., 1881.

Hughes, Thomas E. and David Edwards. *Hanes Cymry Minnesota Foreston a Lime Springs, Ia.* n.p., 1895.

*Iowa W. P. A. Grave Records of Allamakee, Johnson, Howard and Lucas Counties.* n.p., 1930.

Iowa Genealogical Society. *Louisa County Early Marriage Records Wapello Iowa.* Des Moines: Iowa Genealogical Society, 1983.



Keo-Mah Genealogical Society, Inc. *The Heritage of Mahaska County, Iowa 2000*. n.p., 2000.

Keo-Mah Genealogical Society and Mahaska County Historical Society. *The History of Mahaska County, Iowa 1984*. Dallas, Tx.: Curtis Media Corporation, 1984.

Keokuk County Historical Society. *Our Place in History, 125 Years, 1844-1969*. n.p. 1969.

Lillie, Pauline. *Iowa County Cemetery Stones & History 1844-1975*. n.p.: Iowa County Historical Society, 1976.

*Lime Springs Then and Now*. Lime Springs, Ia.: Committee on History, for the Lime Springs Centennial Observance, 1968.

Louisa County Genealogical Society. *Louisa County Taxes 1847-1850, 1853, 1854 & 1859*. Des Moines: Iowa Genealogical Society, 1999.

Lucas County Genealogical Society. *History of Lucas County, Iowa 1978*. Walsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1978.

Maclean, Paul. *History of Carroll County, Iowa*. Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1912.

Merrill, J. W. *Yellow Spring and Huron. A Local History*. Mediapolis, Ia.: p.p., 1897.

Merritt, W. W., Sr. *A History of the County of Montgomery from the Earliest Days to 1906*. Red Oak, Ia.: The Express Publishing Company, 1906.

Mitchell County Historical Society. *The Story of Mitchell County 1851-1973*. Mason City, Ia.: Klipto Printing Co., 1973.

Mueller, Dwain. *What Cheer—100 Years: A History of What Cheer and Neighboring Towns and Communities*. What Cheer, Ia.: Centennial Committee, 1965.

Mullinix, Rosalie, comp. *History of Hiteman: A Mining Town*. p.p., 1983.

Nagel, B. L. *The Lime Springs, Iowa Independent High School Directory 1889-1960*. p.p., 1996.

Nagel, Burton L. *Pleasant Hill Cemetery, Lime Springs, Howard, Iowa 1848-1998*. p.p., 1998.

Nagel, Burton L. *Marriage Dates and Spouses of Pleasant Hill Decedents; Lime Springs, Howard, Iowa 1853-1973*. n.p.

Oskaloosa Herald. *Pictorial History of Mahaska County*. Marceline, Mo.: Heritage House Publishing, 1994.

Parker Historical Society of Clay County. *The History of Clay County, Iowa*. Clay Co., Ia.: Parker Historical Society, 1984.

Pecinovsky, Bradley J. *The Early Years: Howard County's Rich Heritage*. n.p.: Howard County Commission for Iowa Sesquicentennial, 1996.

Phillips, Semira A. *Proud Mahaska. 1843-1900*. Oskaloosa, Ia.: Herald Print, 1900.

*Polk's Iowa State Gazetteer and Business Directory 1903-1904. Volume XII*. Des Moines: R. L. Polk & Co., 1903.

*Polk's Iowa State Gazetteer and Business Directory 1905-1906. Volume XIII*. Des Moines: R. L. Polk & Co., 1905.

*Portrait and Biographical Album of Louisa County, Iowa*. Chicago: Acme Publishing Co., 1889.

*Portrait and Biographical Album of Des Moines County, Iowa*. Chicago: Acme Publishing Company, 1888.

*Portrait and Biographical Record of Jasper, Marshall and Grundy Counties, Iowa*. Chicago: Biographical Publishing Co., 1894.

Ransom, Harley. *Pioneer Recollections*. Cedar Rapids, Ia.: The Historical Publishing Company, 1941.

*Red Oak: At the Dawn of the Twentieth Century*. Red Oak, Ia.: Thomas D. Murphy Co., 1901.

Springer, Arthur. *History of Louisa County, Iowa From Its Earliest Settlement to 1911*. Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1911.

Taylor, L. L., ed. *Past and Present of Appanoose County, Iowa*. Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1913.

Templeton, Karen and Thomas H. Gibb, comps. *First Church: A Bicentennial History of Ebensburg's First United Church of Christ*. Ebensburg, Penn.: The Mountaineer-Herald, 1997.

*The History of Des Moines County, Iowa*. Chicago: Western Historical Company, 1879.

*The History of Polk County, Iowa, Containing a History of the County, its Cities, Towns, Etc.* Des Moines: Union Historical Company, Birdsall, Williams & Co., 1880.

*The History of Appanoose County, Iowa.* Chicago: Western Historical Company, 1878.

*The History of Iowa County, Iowa.* Des Moines: Union Historical Company, Birdsall, Williams & Co., 1881.

*The History of Howard County, Iowa.* Cresco, Ia.: Howard County Historical Society, 1989.

*The History of Keokuk County, Iowa.* Des Moines: Union Historical Company, 1880.

*The History of Mahaska County, Iowa, Containing a History of the County, its Cities, Towns, Etc.* Des Moines: Union Historical Company, 1878.

Wapello History Committee. *Wapello County History.* Montezuma, Ia.: Sutherland Printing Co., Inc., 1987.

Waterman, Harrison L., ed. *History of Wapello County, Iowa.* Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1914.

Weaver, James B., ed. *Past and Present of Jasper County, Iowa.* Indianapolis: B. F. Bowen & Company, 1912.

Wesselhoeft, Conrad. *Ten Towns in Mahaska County.* Oskaloosa, Ia.: Oskaloosa Herald, 1980.

*What Cheer and its People.* Montezuma, Ia.: Sutherland Printing Company, n.d.