

Welsh Congregational Church, Emporia, Kansas, 1882.

Identity, Culture Maintenance, and Social Mobility:

The Welsh in Emporia, Lyon County, 1870–1930

by Robert Llewellyn Tyler

Emporia, Kansas, is well known among our Welsh people through the country, chiefly on account of the strong and flourishing Welsh settlement, of which it is the centre. . . . The Welsh people are a strong element in the town population and have a fair share of the mercantile business.¹

In recent years, the Welsh in the United States have received increasing attention from historians and, quite understandably, these historians have focused on the greatest concentrations of Welsh settlement: the mining and metallurgical districts of New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.² Other states also attracted significant numbers of Welsh migrants, and micro-studies of smaller settlements can provide relevant insights into Welsh American communities and the ways in which they changed.³ If Pennsylvania, with 35,435 Welsh-born residents in 1900, and Ohio and New York, with 11,481 and 7,304 respectively, were the states exerting the greatest pull on Welsh immigrants in the second half of the nineteenth century, Kansas with its 2,005 residents has, unsurprisingly, yet to draw significant attention from students of Welsh immigration history. Nevertheless, Kansas provides opportunities for studies that produce significant insights, because although relatively few Welsh immigrants were drawn to Kansas, settlement patterns within the state made their presence in certain areas more noticeable (table 1).

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1. "Personal and Miscellaneous Notes," *Cambrian: A Magazine for Welsh Americans* 15 (February 1895): 59. During the years 1880 to 1919, the *Cambrian* was one of the most popular magazines read by Welsh Americans.

2. See, for example, William D. Jones, *Wales in America: Scranton and the Welsh, 1860–1920* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993); Anne Knowles, *Calvinists Incorporated: Welsh Immigrants on Ohio's Industrial Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), and Ronald L. Lewis, *Welsh Americans: A History of Assimilation in the Coalfields* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008). For a general survey of Welsh immigration to nineteenth-century America, see Edward George Hartmann, *Americans from Wales* (Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1967).

3. For a contemporary account of Welsh settlements in the U.S. in the second half of the nineteenth century, see R. D. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America* (Utica, N.Y.: T. J. Griffiths, 1872). A translation by Phillips G. Davies of the section on Kansas appeared in Davies, ed. and trans., "Welsh Settlements in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 43 (Winter 1977): 448–69. All statistical evidence for this article is drawn from United States Federal Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. A useful and interesting article is Carolyn B. Berneking, "The Welsh Settlers of Emporia: A Cultural History," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 37 (Autumn 1971): 269–82.

Table 1. Welsh Immigrants in Kansas

	1870	1880	1890	1900
Born in Wales	1,088	2,088	2,488	2,005
Total Population	364,399	996,096	1,428,108	1,470,495

The census returns from 1900 indicate a concentration of Welsh migrants within Kansas, with 451 of the state's Welsh-born residents to be found in Lyon County alone. Within Lyon County itself, the Welsh were further concentrated, with the vast majority, 356, residing in the town of Emporia and on its associated farms.⁴ What drew the Welsh to Emporia ahead of other locations within the state is by no means certain, although it has been suggested that the original town agreement, which proscribed the making and selling of alcohol, appealed to the religious and temperate Welsh. The area also received praise in the pages of the Welsh American newspaper, *Y Drych*, which attracted Welsh people already residing in the United States.⁵ Writing in 1929, Laura M. French was aware of the Welsh contribution to the development of the district from the earliest days: "While much of the settlement of Lyon County was made by immigrants from other States, as early as 1857 many Welsh were arriving, and they continued to come in large numbers throughout the sixties, seventies and eighties. . . . There were business men and mechanics among these people, and many of them at once became residents of Emporia, and many others moved to this town later."⁶

Emporia was founded on February 20, 1857, and became the county seat for Lyon County in February 1860. With the arrival of the Missouri-Kansas-Texas and the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroads in 1870, Emporia became an important center and grew rapidly. In 1872 R. D. Thomas could write of the city in his fascinating description of the Welsh in the U.S.:

Mae ynddi heolydd llydain, amrai a stores mawrion, llawer o dai da, amrai o gapelau rhagorol,

4. J. Neale Carman noted that the Welsh in the district were not particularly divided into town and country sections; movement in terms of residence and occupation was commonplace. J. Neale Carman, *Foreign Language Units of Kansas* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1962), 2:406.

5. Berneking, "The Welsh Settlers of Emporia," 270; Carman, *Foreign Language Units of Kansas*, 2:401. For a history of *Y Drych*, see Aled Jones and William D. Jones, *Welsh Reflections: Y Drych and America, 1851-2001* (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 2001) and Hartmann, *Americans from Wales*, 128-29.

6. Laura M. French, *History of Emporia and Lyon County* (Emporia, Kans.: Emporia Gazette Print, 1929), 187-88.

a masnach fywiog; ac y mae dwy reilffordd yn myned trwyddi. . . . Mae yn Emporia amrai o'n cydgenedl yn grefftwyr ac yn fasnachwyr cyfoethog, a rhai o'honynt mewn swyddi cyfrifol. . . . Bydd y dref gynyddol hon yn fuan yn ail i ddinas Lawrence. Mae llawer o dyddynwyr Cymreig yn byw yn agos ati.⁷ [It has wide streets, several large stores, many good houses some excellent churches and lively businesses and two railroads running through. . . . Emporia has several wealthy Welsh craftsmen and businessmen. Some of them in positions of responsibility. . . . This growing town will soon be second in size to Lawrence. Many Welsh farmers live nearby.]

Emporia's population of 2,168 people in 1870 had reached 4,631 by 1880 and 9,058 by 1910, and it was home to a number of prosperous business enterprises. Among the industries drawing people to the city were mills, foundries, factories, and plants producing wool, flour, cream, ice, machinery, wagons, brooms, bricks, tile works, and marble. The town also boasted several churches, banks, first-class hotels, one daily and two weekly newspapers, a post office, an opera house, and a telegraph service.⁸ Despite this growth, Emporia was not a huge magnet for immigrants, with only four nationalities reaching treble figures from its beginning (table 2). Until the arrival of Mexican immigrants to labor on the railroad, the largest number of foreign-born Emporia residents hailed from Wales. Indeed, at their numerical peak in

Table 2. Immigrants in Emporia

	1870	1880	1900	1910	1920
Welsh	310	290	356	272	182
German	51	126	209	161	140
English	59	113	202	103	80
Mexican	1	1	0	158	379

1900, the 356 Welsh immigrants, when added to the 377 American-born children with two Welsh parents, totaled 733 individuals and made up 8.9 percent of the town's population (table 3).

It is significant that the Welsh in Emporia came from all parts of Wales and were not drawn to the area by

7. R. D. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America*, 122.

8. This brief outline of the emergence and development of Emporia draws on French, *History of Emporia*.

Table 3. Welsh in Emporia

	1870	1880	1900	1910	1920	1930
Welsh Immigrant	310	290	356	272	182	127
Welsh Heritage	n.a.	169	377	309	247	194
Total Welsh	n.a.	459	733	581	429	291
Total Population	2,168	4,631	8,223	9,058	11,273	14,067
Percent Welsh	n.a.	9.9%	8.9%	6.4%	3.8%	2.1%

one specific occupation. This differed sharply from most Welsh American communities at this time which were primarily centered on and associated with a particular industrial activity and drew migrants from parts of Wales where those industries were dominant. The slate district of eastern New York and western Vermont, for example, saw the overwhelming majority of its Welsh migrants coming from the slate quarrying towns and villages of northwest Wales. Similarly, the Welsh of the coal-producing areas of eastern Pennsylvania came largely from the coalfield communities of southeast Wales.⁹ Although in the Emporia district a large proportion was involved in farming, certainly larger than other foreign-born groups, agriculture was in no way dominant, and Welsh migrants engaged in a variety of occupations. This necessarily had an impact on social networks and culture maintenance and also provided a greater variety of economic opportunities.

This article attempts to quantify the extent to which an identifiable ethno-linguistic Welsh community was established and maintained in Emporia, the nature of that community, and the forces governing its long-term viability. In doing so, this study considers settlement patterns, the establishment of cultural and religious institutions, and provides a micro-level analysis of language retention and levels of exogamy. In addition to this, the Welsh were invariably cast as leading players in an immigrant success story that stressed a rapid improvement in socio-economic status, and Welsh migrants were constantly seen as being able to aspire to more influential and affluent positions in society in a relatively short space of time.¹⁰ Using both qualitative

9. The history of the Welsh in the Slate Valley of New York and Vermont has been provided by Gwilym R. Roberts, *New Lives in the Valley: Slate Quarries and Quarry Villages in North Wales, New York, and Vermont, 1850–1920* (Somerset: New Hampshire Press, 1998). For Welsh involvement on the coalfields, see Lewis, *Welsh Americans*. See also Carman, *Foreign Language Units of Kansas*, 2:402.

10. For a consideration of occupational mobility and culture

and quantitative evidence regarding occupation, this article considers the accuracy of this image by assessing the extent to which the Welsh in Emporia were able to move socio-economically upwards.

Much Welsh cultural activity was associated with religion, and by the middle of the nineteenth century religiosity, specifically Protestant Nonconformity, was regarded by many as a national characteristic, so much so, it has been argued, that it had become central to the idea of Welsh identity itself.¹¹ This image had accompanied the Welsh in their migrations overseas, and areas where they settled in any significant number were soon characterized by the construction of Nonconformist chapels, which were the most immediate indicators of a Welsh presence. In the United States, it is estimated that as many as 600 Welsh Nonconformist chapels were built in the nineteenth century, and by 1872 the state of Pennsylvania alone had as many as 102, which were served by sixty-seven ministers and thirty-nine lay preachers.¹² In 1854 *Y Drysorfa* (*The Treasury*), the monthly periodical of the Calvinistic Methodists in Wales, noted:

Mae yn beth hynod a thra chysurus yn nodweddiad y Cymry, eu bod, i ba le bynag yr elont, os bydd rhyw nifer ohonynt gyda'u gilydd, yn sefydlu addoliad cymdeithasol yn yr Iaith Gymraeg. Yn nhrefi mawrion Lloegr, yn y gweithfaoedd glo a haiarn yn Scotland, yn ngwahanol daleithiau America, . . . rhaid i'r ymfudwyr o Gymru gael clywed yn eu hiaith eu hun am fawrion weithredoedd Duw yn iachawdwriaeth gras.¹³ [It is a remarkable and comforting aspect of the Welsh character that no matter where they go if there are any number of them together they establish a social place of worship in the Welsh language. In the great cities of England, in the coal mines and iron works of Scotland, in the various states of America . . . the Welsh emigrant must hear of the great works of God in his own language.]

maintenance in an Australian context during the same time period, see Robert Llewellyn Tyler, "Occupational Mobility and Culture Maintenance: the Welsh in a Nineteenth Century Australian Gold Town," *Immigrants and Minorities* 24 (November 2006): 277–99.

11. For a discussion of this and related phenomena, see, for example, Prys Morgan, "Keeping the Legends Alive," in *Wales: The Imagined Nation: Essays in Cultural and National Identity*, ed. Tony Curtis (Bridgend: Poetry Wales Press, 1986), 19–41; R. Merfyn Jones, "Beyond Identity? The Reconstruction of the Welsh," *Journal of British Studies* 31 (October 1992): 330–57.

12. R. D. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America (1872): A History of the Welsh in America*, trans. Martha A. Davies and Phillips G. Davies (Wymore, Neb.: Great Plains Welsh Heritage Project, 2008), 320–25.

13. *Y Drysorfa*, August 1854, 266–67.



Although Emporia's population had grown to over 9,000 by 1910, its industries drew relatively few immigrants. However, Emporia's Commercial Street featured many local businesses run by Welsh immigrants and Welsh Americans, the city's largest immigrant group.

The Welsh in Emporia were in no way exempt from this phenomenon, and as early as 1857, in the absence of a formal place of worship, church services were being held in the homes of residents. By 1870 Welsh migrants were of sufficient strength in Emporia that a resident could write home to Wales, "There are five Welsh chapels in town, two Methodist, two independent, and one Baptist."¹⁴ Edward Hartmann, in his excellent review of Welsh settlements, lists the Salem Presbyterian, Sardis Congregational, Second Congregational, Second Presbyterian, and a Welsh Baptist church having been constructed by the mid-1880s.¹⁵ That religion had a central place in Welsh life in Emporia is undeniable, and the high level of religiosity was duly noted with approval by their American hosts. In 1868 a local newspaper remarked: "The Welsh in this vicinity are both an exceedingly industrious and also a religious people, bringing their principles with them

14. Alan Conway, "Welsh Emigration to the United States," *Perspectives in American History* 7 (1973): 132; Berneking, "The Welsh Settlers of Emporia," 271. Denominational differences appear primarily to have been less concerned with differences in ritual and more with the way in which the church was governed. See Hartmann, *Americans from Wales*, 113–25.

15. Hartmann, *Americans from Wales*, 172. For a concise history of the formation of Welsh churches in Emporia see Carman, *Foreign Language Units of Kansas*, 2:406–10.

from the mountains and the mines of the fatherland, and constitute a very valuable element in our community."¹⁶

As an agent for cultural preservation, religion played a large part in Emporia as it did in other parts of the U.S. and, indeed, elsewhere in the world. This was of course true of most other immigrant groups in the state such as the Germans and Swedes in Lawrence. Nevertheless, the inability of the Welsh to remain united within one congregation, as a result of ongoing denominational rivalry among Congregationalists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, saw Welsh worshipers divided into smaller congregations and consequently diluted as non-Welsh members were admitted.¹⁷ Unity as defined by denominational creed proved stronger than unity based on nationality or even language. Moreover, as Protestants they were spared what has been described by Paul Searls as the "per-

vasive anti-Catholic bias of the era." It has been noted that there existed much anti-Catholic feeling both within and without Wales at this time, which usually manifested itself against the Irish.¹⁸ These factors, along with other anglicizing agents, necessarily had a deleterious effect on the use of the Welsh language in services and in the general business of the Welsh churches in Emporia, with the language being superseded by English by the turn of the twentieth century. In 1925 a Mrs. Horace Jones summed up the situation, "Of course the older people still speak their language, and enjoy hearing Welsh sermons, but the younger generation is completely Americanized."¹⁹

16. *Emporia News*, March 6, 1868.

17. This is a phenomenon that plagued the Welsh wherever they went in the world. See, for example, Robert Llewellyn Tyler, "Religiosity and Culture Maintenance: The Welsh in Colonial Australia," *Welsh Journal of Religious History* 3 (November 2008): 82–99; see also Carman, *Foreign Language Units of Kansas*, 2:574–83.

18. Paul Searls, "Major Valentine's Swedes," *Vermont History* 81 (Summer/Fall 2013): 141; Paul O'Leary, "When Was Anti-Catholicism? The Case of Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Wales," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 56 (April 2005): 308–25; Alan Conway, ed., *The Welsh in America: Letters from the Immigrants* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961).

19. Carman, *Foreign Language Units of Kansas*, 2:414–16.

Although religion held a central position, Welsh cultural expression was not confined to the religious sphere. The weekly newspaper, *Y Drych (The Mirror)*, which served the Welsh community in North America from 1851, reveals the depth of Welsh secular and religious activity in Emporia. The newspaper reported the activities of poets, musicians and writers in Emporia and indicated that literary events and *cymanfaoedd canu* (singing festivals) were held, as was the *eisteddfod*, the great Welsh festival based on prose, poetry, musical, and choral competition. Moreover, Welsh cultural life in the area was not the preserve of the affluent or highly educated but was patronized largely, if not overwhelmingly, by the working man and his family. The *Cambrian* magazine, which was published in English with varying regularity between 1880 and 1919 and covered Welsh communities throughout the U.S., reported the celebration held in Emporia in honor of Wales's patron saint, St. David, on March 1, 1888. Describing a large attendance, the magazine stated that the audience was "entertained with literary and musical exercises" by, among others, John R. Samuels, James E. Lewis, John Evans, David Williams, and William L. Roberts. The occupations of these men were listed in the 1880 census as carpenter, tailor, blacksmith, farmer and laborer.²⁰

Welsh cultural activity in the town was neither a short-lived phenomenon, nor was it the preserve of the great and the good.²¹ *Y Drych* provided a detailed report of the St. David's Day celebrations in 1895 held in Bethania church. The event consisted of a concert and a supper and was opened by the singing of the Welsh national anthem by John P. Lewis, a bridge builder for the railroad. The audience was entertained by recitation, addresses, singing, and music, which included a piano solo by railroad engineer Morris Jones and a quartet featuring the talents of grocery salesman David C. Jones and bookkeeper William W. Jones. The crowd heard an address by farmer William Rees, and the history of the Welsh national symbol, the leek, was given by John Evans, known by his bardic name Evans y Gof (Evans the Blacksmith). Although the St. David's Day event in 1900, also held in Bethania, was led by community stalwarts, railroad contractors, Lewis W. Lewis and his son Lewis H., the Welsh national anthem was sung by shoemaker

James P. Edwards, and one of the day's choirs was led by clothing salesman Thomas Lewis.²² The descriptions of these events contained in *Y Drych* were written in Welsh and a consideration of the place the language held in the cultural activities of the Welsh in Emporia is instructive.

J. Neale Carman, in his formidable work on foreign language groups in Kansas, identified what he termed as the "critical year" when the native language passed from habitual use among foreign-born communities in the state, a major milestone in the process of acculturation. For the Welsh in Emporia, Carman argued that that year fell sometime between 1885 and 1918. This period of change is not dissimilar to the experiences of other ethno-linguistic groups in Kansas. William D. Keel indicated that the German Mennonites of south central Kansas began switching to English following 1900 and Lawrence's Swedes a little later.²³ It would, of course, be foolish to suggest that linguistic change was an overnight phenomenon that applied to every individual and in every situation. Migrant languages, for a variety of reasons, lasted longer in some districts than in others and remained dominant in certain domains. Even as late as the 1970s, some German language Sunday school classes were still in operation.²⁴ Most Welsh communal activity in Emporia, both secular and religious, was, initially at least, practiced through the medium of the Welsh language, and it is vital to assess the strength of the language in the area in order to gain a full understanding of the unique nature of the community.²⁵

By the end of the nineteenth century, the position of the Welsh language in Wales was far stronger than that of the other Celtic languages in Ireland and Scotland. The first official UK census, which included a question on

20. *Cambrian* 8 (April 1888): 124–25; U.S. Census, 1880, Kansas, Lyon County, Emporia.

21. St. David's Day was still being advertised in the paper eighteen years later and was still being held in Bethania church. *Y Drych*, March 15, 1918.

22. U.S. Census, 1900, Kansas, Lyon County, Emporia; *Y Drych*, March 14, 1895, and March 15, 1900.

23. Carman, *Foreign Language Units of Kansas*, 2:234; William D. Keel, "Deutsch, Däätsch, Düütsch and Dietsch: The Varieties of Kansas German Dialects after 150 Years of German Group Settlement in Kansas," in *Preserving Heritage: A Festschrift for C. Richard Beam*, eds. Joshua R. Brown, Leroy T. Hopkins Jr., and William D. Keel (Lawrence, Kans.: Society for German-American Studies, 2006), 41–42. Emory Lindquist, "The Swedish Immigrant and Life in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 29 (Spring 1963): 11.

24. Keel, "Deutsch, Däätsch, Düütsch and Dietsch," 42.

25. William D. Jones and Robert Owen Jones discussed language retention in Welsh communities in Pennsylvania, U.S., and Patagonia, Argentina, in William D. Jones, "The Welsh Language and Welsh Identity in a Pennsylvania Community," ed. Jenkins, *Language and Community*, 281–86; Robert Owen Jones, "The Welsh Language," 287–316. Robert Llewellyn Tyler considered the position of the language in an Australian community in "The Welsh Language in a Nineteenth-Century Australian Gold Town," *Welsh History Review* 24 (June 2008): 52–76.

language in Wales, was held in 1891 and revealed that 54.5 percent of those living in Wales, which included tens of thousands of English and Irish, spoke Welsh, with some 56 percent of those being unable to speak English.²⁶ Establishing the extent to which the language was spoken in Wales prior to 1891 has been the subject of numerous studies. Thomas Darlington, in 1894, asserted that in 1801 approximately 80 percent of those living in Wales spoke the language, and in 1879 George Ravenstein estimated that by the early 1870s the language was spoken by some 71.2 percent of the population. In addition to its proportional strength, the language also enjoyed a status far higher than the other Celtic tongues. Speakers of Welsh were not confined to rural occupations or locations but were also the inhabitants of large urban communities, and by the mid-nineteenth century the language had been established as the language of literacy and debate.²⁷ Indeed, Emporia was the home of *Colomen Coloumbia* (*The Dove of Columbia*, 1883–1893), one of the twenty-one Welsh American newspapers that emerged during the nineteenth century. It should be noted, however, that *Colomen Columbia* reported bilingually, thus acknowledging the increasing importance of English among the Welsh in Emporia, the West, and the U.S. as a whole. The publications of other groups mirrored this. The German newspaper *Germania*, published in Lawrence from 1877 to 1918, and the Swedish *Lindsborg Posten*, a weekly that appeared from 1897 to 1930, also exhibited the increasing use of the English language although they were initially established as monolingual publications.²⁸

If Welsh migrants had the opportunity to read local news in their own language, the extent to which these migrants spoke the language is open to a certain amount of conjecture. That Welsh was the language of the community in the early days was made clear by a

Table 4. Birth Decade of Welsh Immigrants in Emporia, 1910

1810s	1820s	1830s	1840s	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	Total
3	30	56	73	67	56	50	16	2	353
0.8%	8.5%	15.9%	20.7%	19%	15.9%	14.2%	4.5%	0.6%	100%

local newspaper that commented in 1868, “While most of them mingle freely with Americans and are able to communicate upon common topics, yet the Welsh is their devotional language.”²⁹ The United States Federal Census did not report the language spoken by foreign-born residents until 1920 when, for the first time, the census recorded the “mother tongue” of each foreign-born individual along with the mother tongue of each foreign-born individual’s parents. Of the 187 Welsh-born residents of Emporia in that year, only ten were listed with English as their “mother tongue,” a mere 5.3 percent. The census of 1930 asked the question, “Language spoken in the home before coming to the United States.” Of the 127 Welsh-born residents, only one responded with English. The strength of the language in the city at this time is, perhaps, surprising when considering that the proportion of Welsh speakers in Wales at the census of 1921 was only 37 percent. This is due primarily to the fact that Emporia’s Welsh immigrants were older. Information drawn from the census of 1910 shows that the great majority of Welsh residents in the town had been born prior to 1880, before much of Wales had experienced the full force of linguistic change (table 4).³⁰

Unfortunately, the census reports do not indicate the first language of the children of immigrants born in the U.S., although there is evidence of the language being passed on outside of Wales. In the census of 1910, the enumerator recorded that Welsh was the mother tongue of Robert J. Howe, who was born in Canada in 1856 and arrived in the U.S. with his parents that same year.³¹ Similarly, Rachel Hammond, who was born in Australia in 1867 and immigrated to the U.S. in 1872, is recorded in the censuses of 1920 and 1930 as Welsh-speaking. (Interestingly, so are both her Australian-born parents.)

26. Census of England and Wales, 1891, Vol. 4, General Report, 81–82.

27. Thomas Darlington, “Language and Literature of Wales,” in *The Welsh People: Chapters on Their Origin, History, Laws, Language, Literature, and Characteristics*, eds. John Rhys and David Brynmor-Jones (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900), 548–49; Ernest George Ravenstein, “On the Celtic Languages in the British Isles, a Statistical Survey,” *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 42 (1879): 579–636; for an excellent study of all issues relating to the Welsh language in nineteenth-century Wales, see Geraint H. Jenkins, ed., *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains, 1801–1911* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000).

28. The *Colomen Columbia* moved its operations to Chicago in the late 1880s and merged with *Y Drych* in 1894. Carman, *Foreign Language Units of Kansas*, 2:578–79; Lindquist, “The Swedish Immigrant and Life in Kansas,” 12.

29. *Emporia News*, March 6, 1868.

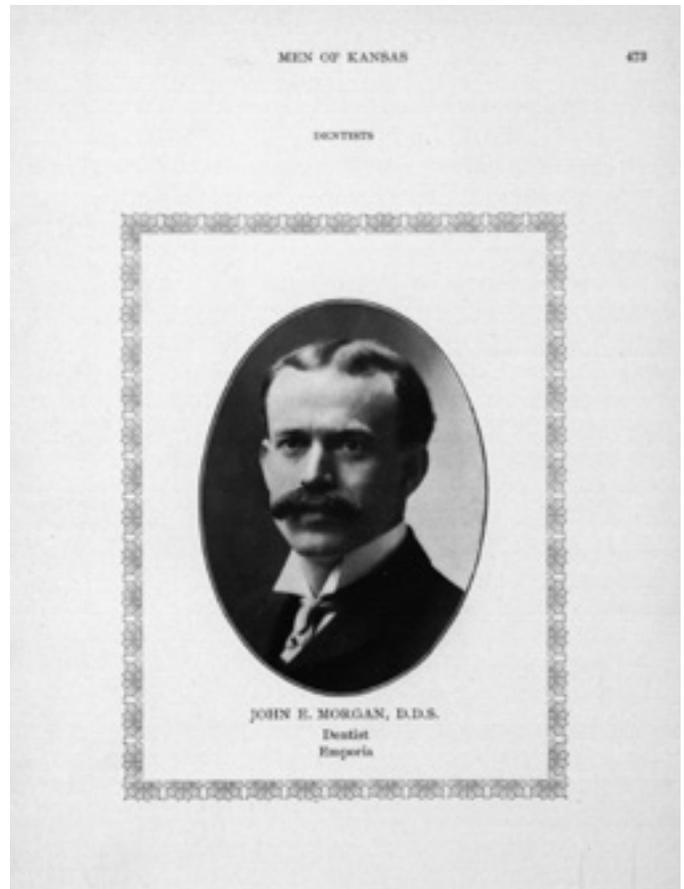
30. Census of England and Wales, 1921, General Report, 184. The discrepancy between the 356 Welsh-born residents in 1910 and the 353 in this sample is due to the fact that birth year was not listed for three individuals.

31. U.S. Census, 1910, Kansas, Lyon County, Emporia. It is interesting to note that most enumerators for the 1910 census recorded the language spoken by the immigrants in parentheses following place of birth, although this was not a designated question on the form.

Another is Mary C. Hughes, born in 1858 in England, who arrived in the U.S. with her parents in 1869. The census of 1930 also listed her as Welsh speaking.³² This must have been the case for other individuals born to Welsh-speaking parents in the U.S., and it appears certain that the language was transmitted intergenerationally in communities like Emporia where the Welsh congregated in strength. There is also anecdotal evidence of intergenerational language transmission. Carman quoted one immigrant who noted that although many children of Welsh immigrants “did learn English at home,” “many could talk only the Welsh language until they started to school.” The Sunday schools attached to the various Welsh churches also played a part in reinforcing the language among the children of Welsh immigrants, and the Bible study classes only gradually changed from Welsh to English. These schools did not, however, compare to the summer schools of the Swedes and Germans, where instruction in reading and writing was received in the home language for months at a time, although even these institutions were subject to the inexorable encroachment of the English language.³³

There is, however, little evidence of long-term Welsh monolingualism in Emporia. The 1910 census asked if respondents could speak English, and if not, which language they could speak. Only one individual, five-year-old Jane Jones, who had just arrived with her family, was listed as being able to speak only Welsh.³⁴ The Welsh-born immigrants in Emporia and their children were, therefore, able to speak English, but it appears likely that for many, if not most, that language was acquired following arrival in the U.S. Although Welsh was the language of social intercourse among the vast majority of those from Wales and their children, the high level of bilingualism as revealed by the census would have obviously aided the process of acculturation.

Perhaps the most fundamental factor relating to culture maintenance is regular contact between members of the same group, and it can be argued that, ultimately, it would have been the success or failure of the Welsh immigrant group to establish long-term enclaves that would prove to be paramount in deciding the fate of Welsh ethno-linguistic identity in the area. Although Welsh migrants had nothing that approximated the First Swedish Agricultural Company, which actively promoted settlement into particular areas of the state, or



Welsh immigrants in Emporia did not cluster in particular industries, instead engaging in a wide variety of trades and professions. Many Welsh immigrant men rose socially and economically, contributing to a positive popular perception of the immigrant group. For instance, Dr. John E. Morgan (above) served the Welsh community as a dentist and was notable enough for inclusion in Men of Kansas: A Collection of Portraits of Representative Men in Business, Professional and Official Life in the Great State of Kansas (1905).

an individual like Carl Bernhard Schmidt, the European agent of the Santa Fe Railroad who did the same for the Germans, they nonetheless congregated in specific districts.³⁵ On a micro level, however, that simply was not the case. A close perusal of the census returns for 1900, when the Welsh were at their most numerous in the city, reveals no specific areas that were solely or largely inhabited by Welsh immigrants or Welsh Americans and

32. U.S. Census, 1920, Kansas, Lyon County, Emporia; U.S. Census, 1930, Kansas, Lyon County, Emporia.

33. Carman, *Foreign Language Units of Kansas*, 2:408–9, 2:577; Lindquist, “The Swedish Immigrant and Life in Kansas,” 9.

34. U.S. Census, 1900, Kansas, Lyon County, Emporia.

35. Lindquist, “The Swedish Immigrant and Life in Kansas,” 6–7; Keel, “Deitsch, Däätsch, Dүүtsch and Dietsch,” 36–40.

their families. Nevertheless, most Welsh people lived close to others, frequently sharing the same residence. For example, the census of 1870 shows David Jones, his wife Catherine, and their four children at the same address as nine single Welsh-born men, a Welsh-born father and son, and two single Welsh women. (Also in residence were one Welsh American, three Swedes, one Englishman, a German, and a Scot.)³⁶ In addition, Emporia's small size and the hundreds of Welsh living in its environs meant that Welsh people were present throughout the town. Although they were not confined to particular districts and never ghettoized, most Welsh families lived as neighbors or in close proximity to each other and their places of work and of worship.

Indeed, despite this relative diaspora, the Welsh were very much a part of the town's public face, and their very dispersal was reflected in the distribution of the Welsh business community and those offering a variety of services. In 1900 fresh meat could be bought from John Atherton, groceries ordered from Isiah Jones and delivered by Harry Roberts, while those wishing to dine out could visit a restaurant to be served a meal cooked by Rollin Hughes. A suit of clothes could be cut by merchant tailor James E. Lewis, shoes could be repaired by cobblers James P. Edwards and Evan Evans or purchased new from John L. Lewis, the proprietor of a shoe store. A plasterer could be found in Stephen Evans, a painter in John W. Morgan, and a carpenter in Griffith W. Jones. If the services of a blacksmith coupled with a discussion of Welsh lore were required, a visit to John Evans (Evans y Gof) might be in order. Financial matters might be discussed with William B. Moses, who worked at one of Emporia's banks, and children of Welsh immigrants might receive their education from William H. Goodman. Dental problems could be discussed with and treated by Welsh-speaking dentist Dr. John E. Morgan, and something to soothe the pain obtained from druggist David W. Morris. Spiritual needs could be attended to by ministers and preachers William R. Griffith, John Jones, Griffith G. Pritchard, Henry Whitby, and Morgan Williams. All of these gentlemen could be visited on a bicycle made by Rees A. Jones.³⁷ Welsh speakers were specifically employed to deal with customers from Wales whose English was poor or nonexistent. This was the case for other linguistic groups in Kansas, and Carman reported that German remained an instrument of business in Lawrence until well into the twentieth century.³⁸ It was more than possible, therefore,

Table 5. Percentage of Males among Welsh Immigrants in Emporia

	1870	1880	1900	1910	1920	1930
Total Welsh	310	290	356	272	182	127
Total Males	193	168	189	142	98	67
% Male	62.3	57.9	53.1	52.2	53.8	52.8

to live a full Welsh life in Emporia, speaking Welsh to neighbors, obtaining a variety of goods and services, socializing in the manner of the old country, worshipping in the same way and in the same language.

Further analysis identifies the marriage preferences of both males and females among the Welsh, a vital factor in evaluating the ability of the group to maintain its cultural integrity and the viability of culture and language transmission. Drawing on information contained within official census returns, table 5 shows the proportion of males in Emporia during the period 1870–1930 and clearly reveals a gender imbalance that surely would have had an impact on marriage preference.³⁹ Simply if crudely put, there were not enough Welsh women to go round. It might be considered hubristic to assume the desire of group members to marry within their own group, but the linguistic and, indeed, religious characteristics of the Welsh at that time would have been strong factors in choice of marriage partners.⁴⁰ Information from the census reports was collected for all those Welsh immigrants who had married in the U.S. (thus excluding those who had married prior to their arrival whose partners were overwhelmingly of the same nationality), and table 6 shows male marriage preference, in so far as the word preference is applicable. Of the eighty-five Welsh men who had married in the U.S. and were numbered in the census of 1900, fifty-four, or 63.5 percent, had married Welsh-born women. While some of these couples must have been acquainted prior to departure, most, judging by marriage and immigration dates, had met and married in the U.S. A further fifteen, or 17.6 percent, had married an American-born woman with two Welsh immigrant parents, and one married an American-born woman with

39. The gender balance within the other two main groups in Emporia, the English and Germans, was somewhat different. In 1880 males constituted 67.5 percent of German and 54 percent of English immigrants. The figures for 1900 were 54.1 percent and 49.5 percent respectively. U.S. Census, 1880 and 1900, Kansas, Lyon County, Emporia.

40. For an analysis of this phenomenon, as it applied to the Welsh in Australia, see Robert Llewellyn Tyler, "Gender Imbalance, Marriage Preference and Culture Maintenance: The Welsh in an Australian Gold Town 1850–1900," *Llafur* 9, no. 3 (2006): 14–28.

36. U.S. Census, 1870, Kansas, Lyon County, Emporia

37. U.S. Census, 1900, Kansas, Lyon County, Emporia.

38. Berneking, "The Welsh Settlers of Emporia," 273. Carman, *Foreign Language Units of Kansas*, 2:426, 2:580.

Table 6. Marriage Preference of Welsh Immigrant Men in Emporia, 1900

Welsh Immigrant	Welsh American, Both Parents	Welsh American, One Parent	American	Other	Total
54	15	1	8	7	85
63.5%	17.6%	1.2%	9.4%	8.2%	100%

Table 7. Marriage Preference of Welsh Immigrant Women in Emporia, 1900

Welsh Immigrant	Welsh American, Both Parents	Welsh American, One Parent	American	Other	Total
54	5	0	4	3	66
81.8%	7.7%	0%	6.1%	4.5%	100%

Table 8. Marriage Preference of Welsh Immigrants in Emporia, 1900

Welsh Immigrant	Welsh American, Both Parents	Welsh American, One Parent	American	Other	Total
108	20	1	12	10	151
71.5%	13.2%	0.7%	7.9%	6.6%	100%

one Welsh-born parent. In all, a total of 70 Welsh men, or 82.3 percent, married within the group. In addition, some of those in the American category may well have been of Welsh heritage, although this is not revealed on the census reports. The “Other” category includes other foreign-born and ethnic Americans.

The situation for women was somewhat different, with Welsh women overwhelmingly choosing men from Wales or Welsh Americans; fifty-nine of sixty-six, or 89.4 percent, did so (table 7). When the figures are combined, we see that of the 151 Welsh-born individuals who had married in the U.S. at this point in time, 108—71.5 percent—married another Welsh-born individual, and a further twenty-one—13.9 percent—married a Welsh American, a total of 129, or 85.4 percent (table 8).

Concerning the second generation, the census of 1920 reveals that only twenty-two of sixty Welsh American men had married either Welsh-born or Welsh American women (36.7 percent). Welsh American women were more likely to be endogamous with thirty of sixty-three marrying within the group, but this comprised only 47.6 percent. Combining the figures, we see that of the 123 Welsh American individuals who had married and were listed on the census of 1920, fifty-two, or 42.4 percent, had married within their own community. While it is clear, therefore, that the Welsh-born residents of Emporia, especially women, were very likely to marry within the

group, the second generation showed a much greater tendency toward exogamy. This was, of course, a vital factor for intergenerational culture transference upon which the long-term maintenance of a distinct ethno-linguistic Welsh community was ultimately dependent.

The Welsh community in Emporia was culturally, linguistically, and religiously distinct. Residential propinquity was sufficient to ensure that networks existed to make the continuance of the ethno-linguistic community viable, and endogamy rates were high. Nevertheless, while Welsh immigrants were active in organizing cultural associations they developed nothing that approached the German Immigrant Aid Society, established in Lawrence in the late 1860s. Nor did the Welsh, unlike the Germans, offer instruction to migrant children in their native tongue beyond the Sunday schools. Moreover, whereas the establishment of several foreign language newspapers in the Swedish, German, and Russian-

German areas in the 1880s and 1890s helped maintain cultural integrity and slowed the adoption of English, *Colomen Columbia* was produced bilingually from the outset and may well have had the opposite effect.⁴¹

Furthermore, from the census report of 1920, the immigration year of most Welsh-born residents in Emporia can be established, and it is clear from table 9 that immigration from Wales had tailed off since the Welsh had reached their peak, with the vast majority, 91.8 percent, of those residing in the town in 1920 having arrived prior to 1900. In fact, only one individual had arrived after the year 1910. The Welsh community was not being bolstered by the continuing influx of new arrivals from Wales and would, therefore, have had to rely on culture maintenance rather than an ongoing infusion of Welsh culture from immigrants. It was this factor that was to prove decisive.

In the words of one nineteenth-century observer, the Welsh in the United States were, among other things, “intensely industrious, provident, studious, religious, ambitious, musical, persistent, independent, affectionate,

41. Carman, *Foreign Language Units of Kansas*, 2:575, 2:577; Norman E. Saul, “The Migration of the German-Russians to Kansas,” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 40 (Spring 1974): 57.

Table 10. First Generation Welsh Males by Occupation, 1870–1910

	1870	1880	1900	1910
White-Collar	10%	15.6%	23.3%	34.2%
Blue-Collar Skilled	35.3%	38.8%	44.3%	33.3%
Blue-Collar Unskilled	26%	12.9%	7.8%	8.8%
Farmers	20.7%	32.6%	21%	20.2%
Tenant Farmers	8%		3.4%	3.5%
Totals	150	147	167	114

Table 9. Immigration Decade of Welsh in Emporia, 1920

Pre-1850	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910s	Total
9	20	33	58	14	4	8	146
6.2%	13.7%	22.6%	39.7%	9.6%	2.7%	5.5%	100%

grateful, and spontaneous.”⁴² This particular individual was not alone in his perceptions, and the literature concerning the Welsh migratory experience in the United States is suffused with assumptions regarding the positive attributes of the Welsh and concentrates heavily on stressing that nationality’s contribution to its adopted country.⁴³ Certainly, they were well regarded by their hosts in Kansas. “The Welsh people of this community have lived here for over a generation,” wrote William Allen White in the *Emporia Gazette* in 1911. “They have been the best single strain of blood in our Emporia life. They have Americanized, but have retained their strong qualities of thrift, of honesty, of industry, of deep moral qualities.” Central to this positive image was the idea that the Welsh were able to achieve, maintain and improve upon their social and economic position in every area in which they made their presence felt.⁴⁴

42. Rowland Tappan Berthoff, “Welsh,” in *The Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephen Thernstrom (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1980), 1017.

43. See, for example, Ebenezer Edwards, *Facts about Welsh Factors: Welshmen as Factors* (Utica, N.Y.: T. J. Griffiths, 1899) and F. J. Harries, *Welshmen and the United States* (Pontypridd: Glamorgan County Times, 1927). William D. Jones has addressed this phenomenon as it applied to the Welsh in the United States in *Wales in America* and in Australia in “Welsh Identities in Ballarat, Australia, during the Late Nineteenth Century,” *Welsh History Review* 20 (December 2000): 283–307.

44. *Emporia Gazette*, February 11, 1911. For a consideration of this in an Australian context, see Tyler, “Occupational Mobility and Culture Maintenance.”

Table 10 provides a cross section by occupation of Welsh-born men in Emporia for the census years 1870, 1880, 1900 and 1910, and clearly shows their favorable position in the local economy. The categories are simple. The white-collar category includes professionals, proprietors, managers, officials, clerks, salesmen, and inspectors; the blue-collar category includes all skilled, manual, and service workers except those who could be identified as being self-employed proprietors of small businesses (although this cannot always be done with certainty); and the unskilled category includes all farmhands, watchmen, janitors, and laborers. Farmers are split into tenants and land owners but cannot be differentiated in 1880.⁴⁵ By 1900 it is possible not only to differentiate between farmers and tenant farmers but also between farmers who owned their farms and those who were still paying a mortgage. Of the thirty-five farmers in 1900 (21 percent), twenty-two owned their land and thirteen were still paying a mortgage. In 1910, of the twenty-three farmers (20.2 percent), eleven were mortgage-free. Of course, it is impossible to extrapolate socio-economic status from these data, as renting a large acreage of fine land was superior to owning a small patch of unproductive land. In addition, the correct assignment of status to occupation is, of course, perilous in the extreme, and it is accepted that a movement from one occupational category to another did not necessarily indicate socio-economic mobility and, as argued by Ileen DeVault, even a blue collar/white collar divide is overly simplistic.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, even at this analytically superficial level, it is clear that the Welsh-born population was experiencing occupational change. What initially stands out is the large proportion of Welsh-born males in the skilled blue-collar and farming categories and the increasing proportion in white-collar work. Indeed, the percentage of unskilled workers, while not insignificant, is low and in decline.

By tracing the occupation of Welsh-born men via the census throughout their working lives, the occupational fortunes of individuals and the Welsh as a group is revealed (table 11). This was not unproblematic with the paucity of Welsh surnames making definite identification of individuals from one census to the next difficult.⁴⁷

45. The numbers involved do not allow for an effective comparison with other ethnic groups in the area. The census of 1880, however, does indicate that those in the farming category accounted for a significantly smaller proportion of German and English men: 10.5 percent and 14.3 percent respectively.

46. Ileen DeVault, *Sons and Daughters of Labor: Class and Clerical Work in Turn-of-the-Century Pittsburgh* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1995).

47. There is a paucity of names among the Welsh, although this is frequently due to official reluctance in recording “difficult” Welsh names,

Table 11. Intragenerational Occupational Change for Welsh Immigrant Males, 1870–1910

	White-Collar	Blue-Collar Skilled	Blue-Collar Unskilled	Farmers	Tenant Farmers	
White-Collar	87%	8.7%	0%	4.3%	0%	23
Blue-Collar Skilled	26.3%	64.9%	1.7%	5.3%	1.7%	57
Blue-Collar Unskilled	0%	14.3%	42.9%	35.7%	7.1%	14
Farmers	3%	6%	9.1%	81.8%	0%	33
Tenant Farmers	0%	16.7%	0%	33.3%	50%	6
Totals	36	44	10	38	5	133

Nevertheless, despite a large sample fall off, it is clear that, intragenerationally, the Welsh-born residents in Emporia showed a remarkable ability to maintain their socio-economic position, as indicated by occupation, and to rise, sometimes quite dramatically.

Of the fifty-seven individuals who began their traceable working careers in skilled, blue-collar work, fifteen—26.3 percent—are to be found in white-collar occupations at the end of the sample period or as far as they could be traced. For example, Lewis William Lewis is recorded as a stonemason in 1870 and 1880 but as a railroad contractor in 1900. Similarly, Richard Thomas is listed as a carpenter in 1870 and as a retail grocer in 1880 but as an insurance agent in 1900 and 1910. Moreover, although six of the fourteen men in the unskilled category are to be found performing the same tasks at the end of the period or as far as they can be traced, the remaining eight have moved into the ranks of farmers or skilled blue-collar workers. Dwight Morgan and Hugh Williams are listed as day laborers in 1870. By 1880, however, Morgan is recorded as a carpenter and Williams is listed in 1900 as a farmer with a mortgage. Very few have fallen into the unskilled category, but this was not unheard of. For example, Evan L. Jones is found farming his own land in 1870 but working as a day laborer in 1900.⁴⁸ These findings, therefore, tend to reinforce the ideas put forward by contemporary Welsh leaders who strove to emphasize the industriousness and upward mobility of their compatriots.

and the ranks of David Joneses, John Davieses, William Thomases, and Thomas Williamses, not to mention the John Joneses and William Williamses, take some untangling (this author once encountered a Hugh Hugh Hughes). For a comprehensive clarification of the Welsh surname see T. J. Morgan and Prys Morgan, *Welsh Surnames* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1985).

48. U.S. Census, 1870, 1880, 1900, and 1910, Kansas, Lyon County, Emporia.

The next step of this analysis establishes the intergenerational occupational relationship and reveals significant upward movement. Again, drawing on the wealth of information contained within the U.S. census reports, table 12 links the last known occupation of the Welsh-born father (90 individuals) to that of his American-born son or sons (109 individuals). As is clear, American-born sons of Welsh fathers generally maintained or improved upon the economic position achieved by their fathers. The

largest proportion of the sons of blue-collar workers, 39.4 percent, achieved the same economic status as their fathers, frequently in the same trade. James George, the son of teamster Edward, and Frank R. Hughes, son of Richard F., a foreman on a bridge-building gang for the railroad, are both recorded as following exactly in their fathers' occupational footsteps. Furthermore, thirteen of the nineteen sons of white-collar fathers were to be found in the white-collar category (68.4 percent) where they were joined by ten sons of blue-collar workers (30.3 percent), the sons of eight farmers and one unskilled man. J. B. Samuel, son of furniture dealer J. R., is found on the census of 1900 as a furniture salesman and in 1930 as the proprietor of a book store. Idris N. Jones, the son of locomotive engineer Morris, is listed as a railroad clerk in 1910 and as the manager of a confectionary in 1930. Walter E. Hughes, son of stonemason Peter, made a career for himself in the newspaper business, rising to the position of manager by 1930.

There are exceptions to this general pattern of upward mobility. Five sons of white-collar workers are found in blue-collar and unskilled work and five sons of skilled blue-collar workers are recorded as unskilled men at the end of the sample period. William J. Roberts, the son of tailor shop proprietor William O., is listed as a car driver in 1920 and a brakeman in 1930. David Thomas, the son of stonemason Owen, is listed on the census of 1930 as a school janitor while his brother Edward is recorded as a caretaker at the YWCA.⁴⁹ In general, however, intergenerationally the Welsh again showed a remarkable level of economic success. (A large proportion of farmers' sons are found in the unskilled category because fifteen out of sixteen were recorded as laboring on the family farm).

Table 13 provides a simple cross-section of occupation among American-born males with two Welsh parents and

49. U.S. Census, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930, Kansas, Lyon County, Emporia.

Table 12. Intergenerational Occupational Change from First to Second Generation Welsh Males, 1870–1930

Occupation of Fathers		Occupation of Sons						
Category		White- Collar	Blue-Collar Skilled	Blue-Collar Unskilled	Farm Owner	Farm Mortgaged	Tenant Farmer	Totals
White-Collar	18.9%	68.4%	21%	5.3%	0%	0%	5.3%	19
Blue-Collar Skilled	31.1%	30.3%	39.4%	15.1%	9.1%	3%	3%	33
Blue-Collar Unskilled	2.2%	50%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2
Farm Owner	26.7%	17.2%	0%	20.7%	48.3%	6.9%	6.9%	29
Farm Mortgaged	21.1%	11.5%	15.4%	38.5%	23.1%	7.7%	3.8%	26
Tenant Farmer	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0
Total	90	32	22	22	23	5	5	109

shows that second-generation Welsh men were involved in white-collar work to an even greater extent than their fathers. By 1930 over 40 percent were in occupations such as teachers, proprietors, dealers, managers, and lawyers, and approaching a third more were in skilled blue-collar work. Indeed, the proportion classed as unskilled—such as laborers, farm hands, and janitors—was in decline and included only five individuals by 1930, a mere 6.2 percent. It should be noted that in 1900, ten of the twenty-three men in the unskilled category were farm laborers working on their fathers’ farms, five of the sixteen in 1910 and three of the twelve in 1920. Of the twenty individuals listed as farmers, nine owned their land and eleven had a mortgage in 1900; eight of twenty were free of mortgage in 1910, while in 1920, ten were land owners and seven were still in the process of paying a mortgage. In 1930 every individual in the category was a landowner.⁵⁰

Intragenerationally, the occupational experience among the second generation also reveals major upward mobility (table 14). The large majority of white-collar workers were to be found in the same category at the end of the sample period, twenty-four of twenty-seven and an additional ten individuals had moved into white-collar work from the other categories. William J. Williams, born in Kansas in 1877, is recorded as a farm laborer in 1900 but by 1910 is listed as a bank clerk, and 1920 sees him as secretary of a trust company.

Similarly, most skilled blue-collar workers maintained their status, with three (12.5 percent) rising into white-collar work and four (16.7 percent) in unskilled work, although the latter could have been due to the advancing years of the individuals involved rendering them unable to fulfill more demanding skilled tasks. William J. Lewis, born in Kansas in 1878, is recorded on the census of 1900 as a foreman working on railroad construction. By 1920, however, he is recorded as an employer working as a railroad contractor. Eight men who began their traceable working lives in unskilled work had made the move upwards into farming, whether as land owners, mortgagees, or tenant farmers. Several of these had begun their working lives as laborers on the family farm, no doubt taking over on the retirement or death of their fathers, but others had struck out alone. Fred Thomas, born in Kansas in 1879, is recorded as laboring on his father’s farm in 1900. By 1910 he was renting land on his own account and by 1920 he is found farming his own land. Of the twenty individuals who started out as tenant farmers or with a mortgage to pay off, ten are landowners at the sample’s end. Some second generation Welsh had, of course, moved downwards. David Thomas, born in Kansas in 1892, is listed in 1910 as a cigar maker and

Table 13. Second Generation Welsh Males by Occupation, 1910–1930

	1900	1910	1920	1930
White-Collar	23.5%	30.1%	35.8%	40.7%
Blue-Collar Skilled	27.5%	23.3%	24.2%	30.9%
Blue-Collar Unskilled	23.5%	15.5%	12.6%	6.2%
Farmers	20.4%	19.4%	17.9%	19.7%
Tenant Farmers	5.1%	11.6%	9.5%	2.5%
Totals	98	103	95	81
Total	90	32	22	22

50. U.S. Census, 1910, 1920, and 1930, Kansas, Lyon County, Emporia.

Table 14. Intragenerational Occupational Change of Second Generation Welsh Males, 1900–1930

	White-Collar	Blue-Collar Skilled	Blue-Collar Unskilled	Farm Owner	Farm Mortgaged	Tenant Farmer	Totals
White-Collar	88.9%	7.4%	0%	3.7%	0%	0%	27
Blue-Collar Skilled	12.5%	70.8%	16.7%	0%	0%	0%	24
Blue-Collar Unskilled	11.1%	33.3%	11.1%	27.8%	5.5%	11.1%	18
Farm Owner	0%	14.3%	0%	85.7%	0%	0%	7
Farm Mortgaged	22.2%	22.2%	0%	55.5%	0%	0%	9
Tenant Farmer	27.3%	0%	0%	45.4%	9.1%	18.2%	11
Totals	34	28	6	22	2	4	96

generation coupled with the cessation of immigration from Wales. The consequent collapse in the number of individuals of Welsh heritage, from 733 in 1900 to 291 in 1930, ensured the eventual dilution, acculturation, and absorption of the Welsh as a distinct community in the area. Furthermore, unlike other areas strongly settled by Welsh people, Welsh males were not concentrated in one particular industry.

again in 1920. The census of 1930, however, has him working as a janitor when he would have been only thirty-eight.⁵¹ Yet Thomas was very much an exception, and generally Welsh workers and their sons showed a remarkable ability to improve upon their position in the economy of Emporia and did, by and large, succeed in fulfilling the positive images propagated by community leaders. This was certainly noted in the local press. In an obituary for a Welsh Emporian, a correspondent for the *Emporia Gazette* wrote in 1936: “For sixty years the Welsh had pretty much their own way commercially in this town. They dominated the clothing trade, the hardware trade and led in drugs and groceries. The second and third generations have gone into professions. Teachers, preachers, lawyers, doctors of Welsh blood stand well toward the top in these callings.”⁵²

Both contemporary observers and modern historians have specifically identified Emporia as a center of Welsh settlement and culture in Kansas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Here the Welsh were to be found in sufficient numbers to enable the emergence of a vibrant, identifiable, ethno-linguistic community. The Welsh lived in close proximity, and they and their families spoke Welsh. They attended religious services and cultural events in large numbers which were, initially at least, exclusively Welsh in language, and the first generation largely married within their own group. This study suggests that language and culture maintenance were not immediately seriously challenged by levels of exogamy or a lack of economic opportunity in the area that caused many to leave. What undermined the long-term viability of a discernible Welsh and Welsh-speaking community was natural loss through the death of the older

In the coal mines of eastern Pennsylvania, the iron mills of Pittsburgh, and the slate quarries of Vermont, a dominant industry provided a common and frequently familiar workplace, producing networks that could have been replicated in social settings. This was not the case in Emporia, where Welsh men were spread throughout a wide range of occupations. Indeed, their economic success could have gone some way in undermining social unity. Despite the inevitable, the Welsh community in the city had a long-lasting and generally positive impact, and the legacy of those drawn to Emporia is still evident today. They were economically successful and justified the accolades awarded them by contemporary observers who admired their assiduousness. Indeed, this economic success eased the process of acceptance and acculturation that saw the Welsh become “good Americans.” Perhaps the final word should go to the *Emporia Gazette* of February 1911, which stated: “The Welsh people in Emporia and vicinity probably number several thousand souls; yet there are no Welsh paupers, no Welsh criminals, no Welsh loafers, no Welsh snobs; they are the salt of the earth, and Emporia is a better, cleaner, kindlier town because it is the home of these people.”⁵³

51. U.S. Census, 1910, 1920, and 1930, Kansas, Lyon County, Emporia.

52. *Emporia Gazette*, November 25, 1936.

53. *Emporia Gazette*, February 11, 1911.