



The Welsh in Oneida County, New York

By Paul Demund Evans

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About

The Electronic Edition

This is Electronic Edition 1.0 of the thesis, *The Welsh in Oneida County, New York*, originally presented in 1914 by Paul Demund Evans to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Cornell University for the Degree of Master of Arts. Electronic Edition 1.0 is available in HTML format and a text-only version. Minor changes were made to the content of the original thesis. Obvious spelling and typographical errors were corrected. Footnotes were renumbered and rearranged into a single notes section for each chapter rather than appearing at the bottom of each page as in the original manuscript.

Cover Illustration

The cover illustration shows the city of Utica, Oneida County, N. Y. circa 1840. Utica was incorporated as a city in 1832. By 1840 it had a population of 12,810 and had become a transportation point for roads and canals. Utica and nearby rural areas boasted large Welsh populations during the nineteenth century. Skilled craftsmen, and laborers settled in the urban districts, farmers and agricultural workers in the hills of Remsen-Steuben, 17 miles north of the city. Source: John W. Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New York*. New York: S. Tuttle, 1841.

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Barbara Henry
Electronic Edition Editor
Siloam Road eBooks

New Introduction

In the early 1990s while researching Welsh immigrants in western New York State, I came across Paul Demund Evans' 1914 master's thesis, *The Welsh in Oneida County, New York*. The work was important to my research because after 1840 large numbers of Welsh immigrants migrated from the Oneida Welsh settlements into the western part of the state. The thesis, however, had never been published and was available only by Interlibrary Loan (ILL) from Cornell University. Since then I have considered the Evans thesis a major source for Welsh history in New York State, one that should be made more available to readers and scholars.

Later research revealed that Paul Demund Evans had roots in the western New York Welsh settlement. An obituary led me to his son, Jean M. Evans who supplied me with invaluable information and materials relating to his father and his Welsh roots.

Paul Demund Evans' grandfather, Jenkin Evans was born in 1830 near Cilcennin, Cardiganshire, Wales, son of John Evans and Elizabeth Davies. His father was a laborer and he a servant when in 1849 he married Gwenllian Rees (later called

Winifred in America). She was born near Llanarth, Cardiganshire, Wales in 1825, daughter of Evan Rees and Anne Davies. In March 1870 the Jenkin Evans family immigrated to America from Cardiganshire, Wales. They settled in southwestern New York State where other family members already lived. The Evans family subsequently resided in Freedom and Farmersville, Cattaraugus County, and Hume, Allegany County. Their son, Evan Rees Evans, was born at Llangwnlle, near Lampeter/Llanbedr, Pont Steffan, Cardiganshire, Wales. He later studied at Pike Seminary in Pike, New York. He went on to Princeton and became an ordained minister of the Presbyterian Church. He married Anne Amelia McNair of Sparta, N. Y. While serving a church in Canaseraga in Allegany County, twins were born to the couple on January 1, 1892 – a son Paul Demund and a daughter Jeanette. Because of Reverend Evan's ministry, the family moved frequently, living in various communities in New York State.

In later years, Paul went on to attend Cornell University in Ithaca, New York where he received both his Master's Degree and Ph. D. in History. After finishing his Master's Evans spent a year studying at Harvard University. In 1916, Harvard, seeking to expand their Welsh collections, sent Evans to Oneida county to identify and acquire Welsh-American periodicals and other materials of historical value. The Welsh of Oneida already knew him as he had been amongst them just two years previous collecting information for his Master's thesis. Remarks in the *Utica Daily Press* in 1916 indicate that Evans intended to publish his master's thesis on the Oneida Welsh. But, as with many of our best intentions, life intervened and somehow the revisions and publication were never completed.

Paul Demund Evans went on to receive his Ph. D. in History from Cornell. His doctoral thesis on the Holland Land Purchase was published in 1924 and continues to be an important regional history. Then World War I came. Dr. Evans served in France (1917-1919) as a second lieutenant in radio communications. When the war ended he studied at the Sorbonne and married Marthe Elise Malot. After they returned to the states in 1919, Dr. Evans taught history at Syracuse University (1919-1922) and Yale (1922-1930) before joining the history department at the University of Vermont (1930-1974). During these years Dr. and Mrs. Evans raised two sons, Jean Malot Evans and Richard McNair Evans. Mrs. Evans died in 1954. Dr. Evans married his second wife, Ludell Sarah Benware, in 1956. After retirement, Dr. Evans remained active in various historical and academic pursuits until his death at the age of 91 in 1983.

We are pleased to fulfill Dr. Evan's expressed desire to publish *The Welsh in Oneida County, New York*. Obviously, he never could have envisioned his work as an electronic publication made easily available on the Internet to anyone in the world with a computer. This ebook is one of the first, if not the first, Welsh-American electronic book to be published and made available via the Internet.

The publication of *The Welsh in Oneida County, New York* is a fitting memorial to Dr. Paul Demund Evans' early pioneering work to document and preserve the history of the Welsh in New York State. What was said back then holds true now, "He has produced a work that should be invaluable for the data it preserves for future generations."

Barbara Henry
December 2000

Utica Daily News Article 1916

"Welsh Library at Harvard," *Utica Daily News*, 5 May 1916. Transcribed by Barbara Henry from a photocopy of the original article in the possession of Jean Malot Evans.

WELSH LIBRARY AT HARVARD

REPRESENTATIVE IN THIS CITY

Paul D. Evans Seeks Copies of Welsh Publications and Other Historical Material Relating to the Welsh People in This Country—Has Written a History Of the Welsh in Oneida County.

Paul D. Evans, instructor in modern European history at Cornell University, arrived in the city last evening and will remain until Sunday at Hotel Utica, spending his time in the meanwhile looking for files, or copies of periodicals in the Welsh language, suspended or now publishing. Mr. Evans was sent there by Harvard University, which is building up the Welsh section of its library. The Harvard library has already complete files of the *Cenhadwr Americanaidd*, which has published until a few years ago in the county, first in Utica in 1840, then at Remsen and later at Waterville under the editorship of the late Rev. Edward Davies. It has partial files of other publications. Mr. Evans is particularly interested in securing copies of the *Wawr*, a Baptist periodical, which was published for many years in this city. The *Cymro Americanaidd*, which was published in New York in 1832, he would also like to procure. *Y Beread*, New York, 1842, *Haul Gomer*, Utica, 1847, and other suspended publications, are missing from the Harvard library, and Mr. Evans would be pleased to communicate with any one who may have copies. In fact, he is seeking any Welsh work of historical value that is worth preserving, in addition to periodicals, and Welsh people should interest themselves in his quest. The Harvard authorities, purpose [sic] to make the library of the university a repository of not only Welsh-American literature but of the literature of Wales, thus placing at the disposition of the historian material relating to the Welsh in this country or at home. It already has a large collection.

Many of the Welsh residents of Utica will recall Mr. Evans as the young man who was here about two years ago gathering material for a history of the Welsh in Oneida County, which he wrote as a thesis for his mater's degree. This work he has completed and it brought him the desired honor. It comprises about 40,000 words and brings the history of the Welsh in this county down to the present time. Mr. Evans spent months in its preparation and visited public and private libraries in this city and county looking for the required material. He contemplates publishing when he has the time to make some revision of the material.

Mr. Evans spent last year as a student at Harvard, and it was through this connection that the librarian of the institution discovered him and the interest he has taken in Welsh. It was natural, therefore, that he should be selected to build up the Welsh department of the Harvard Library. He has entered into the work with enthusiasm, and the university and the Welsh people generally should be grateful to him for the service which he is rendering. Mr. Evans is now working upon a thesis for his doctor's degree, and has taken as his subject The Holland Land Company, which in the olden days owned land in the vicinity of Trenton, this county, as well as a few million acres in Western New York and Pennsylvania. In the pursuit of material for this work he expects to go to Holland next fall. The young man is a son of Rev. E. R. Evans of Ithaca, who some years ago was pastor of a Welsh church in Cattaraugus County. Until Sunday Mr. Evans will be at Hotel Utica, and after that a letter will reach him at Cornell University, Ithaca. He would be pleased

to get trace of any old Welsh periodicals, or books that have historical value. Doubtless he will receive ready assistance from the Welsh people of Utica now and in the future.

The Welsh in Oneida County, New York

By Paul Demund Evans

I. Emigration from Wales

Accounts of the Welsh settlements in America formerly began with the year 1170, when the good Prince Madog left the shores of Wales with a band of his retainers, looking for a new kingdom. Somewhere in this new world, tradition says, he and his men found a more pleasing country than the rocky hills of Wales. Here they staid and, eventually mixing with the natives, were absorbed by them and lost to the knowledge of the world. The historians have long since discredited this tale and the accounts of Welsh Indians which have originated to substantiate it. The present-day writer must abandon these mythical adventurers for the men who have come in more recent times.

From the beginning of the settlement of America Welshmen have been present among the pioneers. Enterprising Welsh antiquarians have found them among the immortal and ever expanding numbers brought to this country by the Mayflower. These same men have claimed William Penn as a son of old Gomer, but with little hope of substantiating their claim. Though Penn was not a Welshman, there came with him to this country the first body of Welsh to settle this side of the Atlantic. These for the most part were Quakers, men of the highest culture, training and ability, men who were driven from Wales by the oppressive laws against their sect. Their settlements in Diffryn Mawr, or the Great Valley, and in other places near Philadelphia were prosperous and happy, and from them have come many men holding high position in the life of Pennsylvania.

These in Pennsylvania were the only Welsh settlements of any size in America before 1800. Individuals and small groups were scattered among the various colonies but nowhere else in large enough numbers to deserve the name of a Welsh settlement. In New York individuals of the race were to be found all through the settled part of the state, the largest number being New York City. There were enough of them to be well represented in the group from New York which signed the federal constitution; Francis Lewis, an immigrant from Wales, was there, and William Floyd and Lewis Morris who were of mixed Welsh and English blood. Their numbers however were small in the state before 1800. The 19th century was to see them come in larger numbers, making settlements in the state which are distinctly Welsh. It is desirable before we take up the details of their settlement in Oneida County to make a general preliminary survey of conditions in Wales causing emigration, and to note the circumstances under which this emigration was carried out.

The primary cause of Welsh emigration to America, as of all large emigrations, has been economic pressure, hard times at home with the hope of improved conditions in the other land. Not that it has been this economic pressure along which has led to the emigration. Other causes of discontent there have been, chief of which is the dissatisfaction with the control exercised by the Established Church and with the monopoly of the ownership of land by a few rich holders. Rather than being

the moving causes of emigration, these have fostered a discontent born of hard living conditions, conditions which had merely to reach an acute stage to drive many to the relief afforded by emigration.

That economic pressure has played this important part in the emigration movement is demonstrated by the history of the two great economic crises in Great Britain during the last century one following the Napoleonic wars and the other in the middle of the century.

In the first of these there was a general depression all through Great Britain. "For six years after the end of the war the proverbial association of 'Peace and Plenty' proved a ghastly mockery to all classes of the community. To agriculturists peace brought only beggary. In the first rush of complaint some allowance must be made for disappointment at the immediate results of the end of the war. But the evidence of commercial depression was real and widespread. The disordered state of the currency continued to injure credit, to disturb trade, to create wild speculation instead of sound business. The labor market was glutted. Discharged sailors, soldiers and militiamen swelled the ranks of the unemployed. The store, transport and commissariat departments were put on a peach footing. Industries to which the war had given a feverish activity languished. Thousands of spinners, combers and handloom weavers were thrown out of work by the increased introduction of machinery into manufacturing processes. Continental ports were once more open to English trade but money was scarce and foreign merchandise excluded by heavy customs duties. It was soon found that home manufactures exceeded the demand. Warehouses were overloaded, markets overstocked. Produce was unsold, or unpaid for, or bought at prices unremunerative to employers." (1)

The laboring classes did not at first feel this depression, as the prices of necessaries had fallen after the war much more rapidly than had the wages of the laborers. (2) These favorable conditions lasted however for but a short time. During the year 1816 prices of provisions had again soared very high. Wheat, which in 1815 had sold as low as 52s. 6d. per quarter, rose in consequence of a bad season to the unprecedented price of 135s. per quarter. By this time also wages had reached the low level which they maintained for the following few years. The general depression had caused the failure of a great number of manufacturing concerns and the temporary suspension of many others. By thus throwing thousands of laborers out of work these failures aggravated the labor problem already brought to an acute stage by the addition of large numbers of men who for the preceding twenty years had been removed from the competition of labor by service in the army and navy.

"The crisis was particularly severe in the industries which had been stimulated by the demand for war stores. The iron and coal trades were especially depressed. Out of thirty-four furnaces in South Staffordshire twenty-four were out of blast and whole villages were reduced to starvation. Similar stories came from Newport, Tredegar, Merthyr Tydfil and other growing towns of Monmouthshire and South Wales, whilst thousands of iron works and colliers were suddenly thrown out of work." (3)

The high prices of grain during part of this period were of no more benefit to farmers than to the laboring classes. Brought about by bad harvests, they netted the farmers no more for their crops than in the periods of plenty. When to the general depression and lack of credit there was added violent fluctuation in prices the farmers found themselves nearly ruined. "Farmers who a few years ago were competing eagerly for farms were sending in notices to quit, and many farms were unlet; mortgagees found it difficult to realize; credit was collapsing; banks were failing in all directions; substantial farmers were becoming parish paupers. And while the producer was ruined the consumer derived no benefit." (4)

The chief industries of Wales, mining and iron working in the South, agriculture and quarrying in the center and North, as a result felt very keenly the economic depression and distress which was widespread over the Principality.

Moreover by this time the mal-administration of the Poor Law had greatly increased the general misery. It was customary for the parish to levy a tax each year for the benefit of the poor within their bounds and to give an overseer the charge of administering the relief. After 1795 the custom had become common in many parts of England and Wales to supplement wages out of the poor rates. Later under the Speenhamland Act provision was made for the apportioning of relief according to the size of the family. It was the operation of this Act which was partly responsible for the unprecedented increase in population in England and Wales during the two decades 1801-1821, in the first of which in spite of the war an increase of 21.5% was marked and in the next an increase of 18%. (5) In this way came about that redundancy of population which Malthus noted and would have relieved by state aided emigration. This mistaken kindness to the poor bore very heavily upon the thrifty and independent laborer who was thus forced to support both himself and his neighbor encouraged in idleness by the certainty of support from the parish.

With the crisis following 1815 and the consequent large number of laborers left without means of support save the parish, there is to be noted an enormous increase in the numbers thrown upon the parish relief. The year 1818 saw the highest point in the expenditure for poor relief. Where there had been in 1801 an expenditure of a little over twenty million dollars (\$20,000,000), in 1818 there was paid out on poor relief nearly forty million dollars (\$40,000,000). (6) The misery that was thus relieved was hardly greater than that caused by the burden of the rates upon those thrifty enough to be able to pay them.

One relief from the troubles in Wales was to be found in emigration. America had also suffered a temporary setback after 1814 but this was soon forgotten and a period of great prosperity set in. There was a large demand for laborers with consequent high wages and many of those who found conditions in the United Kingdom unbearable and who had the energy to seek a better country moved either to the United States or Canada. This movement went steadily on after 1815, reaching in 1818 a total of 27,787 from the whole United Kingdom, a number which was not again reached till a decade later. (7) In the statistics of emigration the numbers from Wales are grouped without distinction from those from England, so it is impossible to give any figures of the number of Welsh emigrants coming to the United States during this period. (8) There is no reason to believe that the proportion of the total population emigrating from Wales was either much larger or much smaller than that of the whole United Kingdom. We only know that there were large numbers that left at that time. There were no Welsh papers in the United States at that period to report the arrival of Welshmen from the Old Country, and the papers of Wales are not available to supply that want. Though we have not that direct proof that Welsh came in large numbers at this time, the frequency with which the obituaries of old Welshmen date their arrival in America between the years 1817 and 1821 leaves no doubt that it is true. It was then that the numbers in Oneida County were so greatly strengthened, all the records of the time showing that large numbers were being added to those already there.

Though there was recovery from this crisis following the Napoleonic Wars, still conditions in England were such as to make emigration to America economically profitable. Agriculture languished even when other industries had recovered, and the letters from friends in Oneida County reporting the fertility and cheapness of the land drew many to try their fortunes here. This particularly after 1830. Many colliers and ironworkers found better pay in Pennsylvania and the reports of

Welsh papers in America after 1838 show a steady increase in the numbers arriving from Wales. (9)

It remained for the great famine of 1848 and consequent hard times to bring the Welsh over in greatest numbers. While the Irish were suffering from the potato famine after 1845 and the Continentals were in the throes of revolution, Wales too was feeling the stress of hard times. Their potato crop had also failed in 1846 and hopes of a better season in 1847 were disappointed. Heavy snows of the winter; a late and cold spring and many storms thereafter had combined to cause poor harvests again. One Welshman of Aberteifi wrote his brother in New York in the early summer of 1847, "We are having very hard times in this section this year and we fear that it will go very much worse yet. There are thousands of Welsh already who are suffering for their daily bread. There is but very little grain among the farmers to be sold notwithstanding that they have seeded their ground." (10) The potatoes had again been blighted in the blow and the oats and barley had but slightly filled out. All nature seemed to have conspired against prosperity. Very destructive thunderstorms occurred during the summer of 1847, doing much damage to the crops. Many diseases broke out in consequence of the need and privation following the famine.

The harvest turned out better than expected and the laborers, aided by large importations from America, were partially relieved from the pressure of want. But the farmers gained little being affected at once by the lowered price of provisions. These low prices continued through the following year when in spite of a fairly good crop the farmers were much distressed and were crying out against the repeal of the Corn Laws which they claimed benefited all classes but themselves. (11) Farm laborers found their wages lowered and in some cases the hours of labor lengthened. (12)

By 1849 the distress had hit the manufacturing and mining interest in South Wales, and their laborers suffered accordingly. The following year brought only greater misery. The Welsh correspondent of *Y Cenhadwr* in the spring of 1850 had a gloomy account to give. "I have nothing new and comforting regarding economic conditions in our country. The condition of business is very low. The owners of the iron works in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire have during the month notified their workers that they are going to lower the wages again, notwithstanding their lowness at the present time. It is a mercy that the elements of food are cheaper than they have been, probably cheaper than in the remembrance of any now alive. Otherwise there would be thousands of workmen and their families starving." (13)

It is not surprising that with times as hard as these many were anxious to make a trial of fortune in America and that we find the Welsh coming in large numbers at this time than at any period before. The United States particularly was the destination of these sufferers. The Welsh papers in this country devoted much space to the consideration of affairs in the mother country and hardly an issue went by without notices of the arrival of new shiploads of emigrants. *Y Cenhadwr* in the late summer of 1847 reports the sailing from Aberystwyth of two hundred emigrants for America in the Tamerlane of 700 tons. (14) In the July number 1848 the same magazine announces the arrival of 90 emigrants from Montgomeryshire, 50 of whom were members of one Congregational church in the parish of Llanbryn-mair. (15) In April *Y Cenhadwr* received the following report from Merthyr Tydfil, the center of manufacturing interests in South Wales: "The present dark appearance of things in this vicinity is causing a great many of the coal miners to turn their thoughts to emigrating across the sea. A free voyage to Australia and good wages after getting there are being offered them, and a great many have accepted. Others are intending to emigrate to America." (16) The writer thought that many would go in the course of the succeeding spring.

The Mormon missionaries from America found the religious nature of the Welsh good ground for their seed, especially when as now they had hopes of earthly gain to hold out to their converts. During the year 1848 they were working in almost every town and village of Wales(17) and with what success is shown by a report in the *Cenhadwr* in the spring of 1849 from Merthyr: "Some scores or possibly hundreds of Mormons left this city and vicinity the beginning of last week for the Gold Country."(18) There was however too much opposition in Wales to the Mormons for them to get a very strong following and the numbers of Welsh in Utah do not support the idea that they came in very large numbers.

Each year as the distress became more acute the numbers of emigrants became larger. In the spring of 1849 a Congregational pastor of Lanegryn, Rev. Evan Griffith, later of some repute among the Welsh of New York state, proposed in a letter to *Yr Amserau* that, since such large numbers of Welsh were leaving for America, a special ship be chartered for their convenience. They would thus avoid the necessity of traveling with the English or Irish and probably get lower rates.(19) The scheme, fostered by a Welsh steamship agent in Liverpool, was early taken up by many preparing to go to America, attracted by the advantage of not having to travel with the "Children of the Swamp"---the Irish. The steamship *Jamestown* was chosen to take them out and arrived in New York June 10th after a voyage of one month from Liverpool with 274 Welshmen on board and -horrible dictu- 90 other emigrants beside, probably the detested Irishmen. Many other ships bearing Welsh emigrants are reported in the next two years.(20)

The number of the Welsh arriving in the United States is given in the tables at the end of the volume. Owing to the almost invariable failure of the port officers to class the Welsh separately from the English, it is impossible to get accurate statistics of the number arriving before 1847. The figures which are given for the Welsh by the United States officials up until recent times undoubtedly much understate the numbers, as will be seen from a comparison of the figures in the two tables from 1848 to 1890. After May 1847 we have accurate figures for the Welsh who arrived at the port of New York. At that date the state Emigration Commissioners took control of the port and careful statistics were kept of the nationality of the immigrants. It should be observed however that the figures are lacking for those landing at Philadelphia. Quite a number of Welsh, purposing to settle in Pennsylvania, entered by that port. Some few came by Boston and Baltimore, but not many, and a certain number entered the United States through Canada.

The effect of economic conditions on the emigration from Wales has been dealt with so far; it remains to note those other moving causes, the desire on the part of the farming classes to own the land they work and the general wish to be free from the exactions of the Established Church.

In common with most of England the mass of the Welsh farmers did not own their lands but were tenants. In some cases the landlord was a Welshman; in others he was English. In the first he was more likely to live on his own estate and manage it himself; if an Englishman, he probably managed it through a steward or agent, against whose oppressions are to be found very frequent complaints on the part of the emigrants. Various systems of renting were in vogue, a very common one being to lease for one or more lives.(21) The traditional spirit of independence in the Welsh was severely tried by this land system. The almost universal presence of entails made it impossible for the thrifty farmer, thought he had saved enough money, to buy the farm, which he worked. Long leases, particularly for two or three lives tended to give him the feeling of ownership and to encourage him in permanent improvements, but he still lacked the satisfaction of feeling the land to be absolutely his own, and the man of a shorter lease, continually harassed by an

officious steward, would lack that feeling entirely. It can then be easily understood what an attraction for the Welshman was exercised by the free or cheap lands of America, when it was considered that he could soon hold these in fee simple. The emigrants not infrequently rejoiced over this opportunity.

A more frequent cause of complaint of those coming to this country was what the Non-Conformists speak of as the oppression of the English Church. The system of tithes appears to have been more distasteful to the Welsh than to any other section of England. Beginning with voluntary gifts of a tenth part of their produce to the Church, the English people had gradually given to this system the force of law. Churches and monasteries were supported by the tithes of the surrounding district, or, in some cases of distant parishes. With the breakdown of the monasteries under Henry VIII, their lands and the right of their tithes passed for the most part to laymen, who were known as improvisators. Tithes then were no longer necessarily a tax to support religion but gift-money to men designated by the king as recipients. By the nineteenth century the inconvenience and expense of paying the tithes in kind had caused that system quite generally to disappear. Tithes had been commuted to money payment, and this was provided for by law in the tithes Commutation Act of 18[blank]. But whether they had paid in kind or money did not greatly matter to the average Welshman. He did not wish to pay at all to support a church of which he was not a member, and particularly did he hate to pay if the money went into the hands of an improvisator, the justice of whose claim to it no Welshman could understand. It is unlikely that the proportion of Non-Conformists in Wales to the whole population remained stationary through the nineteenth century, but it is no more likely that it has changed very much. At no time has a census been made to determine this, although since the question of disestablishment in Wales has become acute the partisans of the Church have strongly recommended it against the opposition of the Non-Conformists. Estimates at the end of the century placed that proportion anywhere from sixty to ninety per cent, and it is impossible to determine which is more nearly correct. Even should the minimum be the true proportion, one need not wonder at the violent protests which have been made in Wales against the support of the Church by the whole people, which serves but a minor part of them.

The bitterness of this was intensified in those parishes where vigorous missionary work of the Non-Conformists had left but a handful in the Established Church. Not only was the parish forced to continue the support of the Church of England, but also they had to pay the curates far better salaries than they could pay their own pastors - this in spite of the fact that there were very few to benefit from the services. In 1850 *Y Cenhadwr*, among its other news items from Wales, reported that T.B. Ll. Brown, who had been curate of Flint where he was getting £225 a year, had just been transferred to Bodffari in the bishopric of Llanelwy, where he was to get £296. Only from four to half a dozen hearers were accustomed to attend his services at the latter place. (22) Many other instances of this kind could be furnished.

In some cases this light attendance at the Established Church was not due to lack of members of that faith within the parish, but to the fact that the services were conducted in English and were not intelligible to the natives. Britain had showed little enlightenment in dealing with the Church in Wales. "Walpole's policy of appointing Englishmen to Welsh sees weakened the Church in Wales. From 1715 to 1870 no Welshman was made a bishop. The native clergy became demoralized; they either preached in English to congregations who understood nothing but Welsh, or did not preach at all. The gentry left off attending church, and when John Wesley preached in Wales, he found the people 'as little versed in the principles of Christianity as a Greek or a Cherokee Indian'. Wesley's teaching taken up by Welsh preachers [partially] converted the nation to Methodism. By 1800 the thirty-five [non-conformist] chapels of 1715 had become a thousand. The bane of the Church in

Wales for 150 years has been the introduction of an Episcopate and clergy ignorant of the Welsh language." (23)

Even so, the ire of the Welsh against that Church would not have been aroused to such a pitch as it has shown in the last century had it not been for the abuses in the church. A Welshman might look on with some complacence so long as the money he paid to the Church was used to support religious services, but when it was paid, as too often it was, to support in luxury the reverend holders of sinecures, his hot temper would get the best of him and he would breakout in violent denunciation of the oppressions of a foreign church. (24) On men suffering in this way, the effect was great of letters from friends or relatives in America telling of freedom from tithes and man's right to use his money for the support along of the church in which he believed.

There were other complaints, which the Non-Conformist Welshmen had against the Church of England. That which was most loudly voiced was the failure of the government to supply proper educational facilities through the Established Church. That the public schools were taught by Church of England men (25) was not so much a cause of complaint among the dissenting Welsh as the fact that no adequate provisions were made to maintain schools sufficient to accommodate the children of school age. Very few of the people had sufficient money to send their children to the private schools and yet large numbers had no other means by which to educate them. The advantage of the public school system in the United States appealed strongly to the Welsh and it is found frequently among the reasons for emigration given by the new comers to this country.

Between the paying of tithes, which until 1891 was the duty of the tenant and not the landowner, and the indifference to the people's interest and the abuses in the church, a large share of the Welsh were hostile to the Church of England, and, being unable to rid themselves of the yoke and still stay in Wales, nay preferred to emigrate.

A word remains to be said about the conditions of the passage and the events incident to emigration. Liverpool from the beginning was the port from which the majority of the Welsh sailed for America. This will already have been noticed in the references to vessels bringing Welshmen to New York. Before Bristol had lost so much of her sea-faring fame to the greater port in the North, some Welsh from the South of Wales, particularly, sailed from there. During the season of the greatest emigration from 1848-1852, there were large enough numbers leaving Wales to allow for the sailing of vessels from the smaller ports in the central part of the coast. From Aberystwyth vessels bearing emigrants sailed at various times for New York. From other ports like Carnarvon emigrants came during these years, frequently taking advantage of freighters to make the passage. (26) The greater frequency of sailing and the greater convenience of the regular line boats from Liverpool caused them to be used by a very large proportion of those coming out.

The ordinary emigrant found a voyage not a little painful and, in many cases, fatal. Those who were forced to take passage in the steerage, and these were the great majority, (27) found conditions especially hard. Many freight vessels were pressed into the passenger-carrying service, which were in no way constructed for the necessities of emigrants. Other vessels built for passengers were constructed with no more regard for the steerage passengers. Frequently too little space had been left in the steerage between decks and no windows or source of air other than the hatches were provided. When these were battened down in a storm, the atmosphere below became stifling and the air fetid. These conditions coupled with frequent reports of distress among those passengers who had failed to lay in store enough food to last them through a journey protracted by adverse weather led at various

times to Passenger Acts, both by the British and the American governments. The details of none of these can be given. In 1825 the British Parliament put through the Passengers Act, specifying the kind and amount of provisions that should be required for each passenger, regulating the number of passengers to be carried per ton and requiring that a surgeon be provided by the steamship company for each vessel. There was less suffering from lack of food after this (28) and less fatality from ship fever and other diseases, which the attention of a doctor could check in their early stages. Other Passenger Acts were passed in the years following with the same purpose in view, but without thoroughly accomplishing their end. The diligence of inspectors was relaxed when the act had been on the statute books a short time. While new vessels were built providing the required air space per passenger, yet the old condemned vessels were still in many cases in operation. The lure of extra profits encouraged the officers to overload their ships. Little care was taken to see that each passenger had the required amount of provisions for the journey. Insufficient and impure water was often taken for the ship's use, and above all, careless and irresponsible captains took few or no sanitary precautions and allowed the crowded quarters of the steerage passengers to become filthy and unfit for cattle.

The inevitable consequences followed. On vessels, which had evaded the provisions of the law, great suffering and many deaths occurred. Instances of this were frequently reported in the Welsh magazines of this country. On one slow sailing vessel from Liverpool in 1840 with some Welsh among the crowded passengers there was much sickness and death, made worse by delay from adverse weather. Provisions ran low, and when the vessel had been out a month, the Irish, who outnumbered the others, threatened to throw the English, Welsh and Scotch overboard that there might be sufficient provisions for those that were left. The captain had to send out fishing boats, selling the catch at high prices to the emigrants. Even this was not enough; extreme distress from lack of food continued until the captain was finally able to buy some flour from a passing vessel. With this they were able to hold out until Boston was reached, the boat putting in there on account of the lack of provisions instead of going to New York as planned. (29)

The failure to comply with the law and the consequences fearful distresses and mortality during the year 1847 when the numbers of immigrants increased so largely led to new and stricter Passenger Acts by both the British and American governments in 1848. The greater precautions and stricter enforcement led to immediate improvement, and the New York Commissioners of Emigration were able to report in that year a great decrease in the deaths of passengers and entire freedom from distress due to lack of provisions. (30)

To be sure these new laws did not by any means eliminate the dangers of the passage. They were still evaded in spite of the heavy penalties laid, and in 1849 we read of the arrival from Liverpool of the ship Guy Mannering, between fifty and sixty of whose 800 passengers had died on the journey. The vessel was overloaded and the quarters of the steerage densely crowded. One hundred and fifty Welsh had set out and of these seven or eight had died. Of one Welsh family consisting of a widow and her son, her nephew and his wife and two children, all had died at sea save the widow's son. (31) Such cases as these, however, became less and less frequent as the laws became stricter and as faster and more commodious vessels were brought into service.

When the Welshman had reached the port of New York, he still was not safe. There remained the danger of his being cheated by the boarding-house keepers and the forwarding agents who were attempting to sell him tickets for railroad and steamboat passage. And this was a live danger. The frauds committed on ignorant foreigners had become so notorious by 1847 that in that year the New York State Legislature

appointed a special commission to investigate them. Much evidence was presented and showed the actual conditions to be much worse than reported. In their review of the methods employed, the Commissioners gave an admirable account of affairs which I quote: "As soon as a ship with these emigrants reaches our shores, it is boarded by a class of men called runners, either in the employment of boarding-house keepers or forwarding establishments, soliciting custom for their employers. In order the more successfully to enable the latter to gain the confidence of the emigrant, they usually employ those who can speak the same language with the emigrant. If they cannot succeed in any other way in getting possession and control over their prey, they proceed to take charge of their luggage and take it to some boarding house for safe-keeping, and generally under the assurance that they will charge nothing for carriage hire or storage. In this way they are induced to go to some emigrant boarding-house of which there are a great many in the city, and then too often under a pretense that they will charge but a small sum for meals or board, the keepers of these houses induce there people to stay a few days and when they come to leave usually charge them three or four times as much as they agreed or expected to pay, and exorbitant prices for storing their luggage, and in case of their inability to pay, their luggage is detained as security.(32)

This was bad enough, but the emigrant bound inland was fortunate if he escaped with merely being fleeced by the boarding-house keepers. He was likely to lose much more to the forwarding agencies. These agencies also employed runners, in many cases the same as employed by the boarding-house keepers with whom they were in league. Many kinds of fraud were practiced in forwarding the emigrants to interior points, the most common being to overcharge for tickets and to give tickets purporting to take the bearer to his destination but in reality good for only a portion of the route. The runners were encouraged in the first form of fraud by being allowed in many cases by their employers to charge all they could get, the amount over a certain sum going to the runner. The emigrant thus had to pay to the forwarding agencies many times the price of the passage charged by the railway or steamship company. In many cases the tickets, which the emigrant paid for to take him to Buffalo or beyond by way of Albany were valueless, save for his passage to the latter place. Again he would be given a ticket purporting to furnish him cabin passage on the Erie Canal, only to find, when he reached Albany, that it was good only for steerage.

The evidence taken by the investigating committee showed no cases of fraud upon Welshmen by boarding-house keepers and I think that there was very little of that. There were Welsh emigrant hotels in New York but of an entirely reputable character. One of these was kept by Mr. Cadwalader Richards in Christie Street and it became known as a refuge for Welsh emigrants.(33)

The Welsh, however, suffered like the rest from frauds by the forwarding agencies. One Welshman paid at the wharf in New York \$25.75 for the passage by boat of himself and three others to Buffalo. This would have been a fair price, but when he reached Albany, and as directed went to the company's agent there, he was told that the tickets were no good beyond that point. They were taken from him and he was forced to pay \$21.11 more for steerage passage on a canal boat to Buffalo.(34) Another Welshman named Reese paid for two persons and 250 pounds of luggage from New York to Milwaukee \$27.36, but on arriving at Buffalo, the ticket was repudiated by the agent and Reese and several others in a like predicament had to their fare on the lake. Reese returned to Albany to seek redress, but in vain.(35)

There was the same chance for fraud on those Welshmen bound for Oneida County and doubtless at times they suffered. To any great extent, however, I doubt, or notices of the frauds would have appeared in the Welsh papers. And such was not the case. Various methods were used to save the immigrants from these frauds. Occasionally the kindly officers of the vessel bringing them here took care to see that they

were not overcharged or defrauded.(36) Emigrant aid societies were established among all the nationalities whose members were arriving in large numbers. The presidents of the German and Irish Emigrant Societies were ex-officio members of the New York State Board of Emigration Commissioners. David C. Colden, President of the Welsh St. David's Society in New York, was for the two years, 1847-49, one of the Emigration Commissioners.(37) There was also a British Protective Emigrant Society which worked in the interests of the immigrants from England, Wales and Scotland,(38) and in March 1854 was established the American and Foreign Emigrant Protective and Employment Society, with the aim of furnishing protection and employment for immigrants generally.(39)

The efforts of the societies were directed to the end of keeping the emigrants from the clutches of the sharpers; the emigration commissioners did more by recommending and getting through the legislature acts to prevent these frauds. April 11, 1848 was passed a law enacting that no keeper of an emigrant boardinghouse shall have any lien upon the baggage or effects of an emigrant for boarding, lodging, storage or any other account whatever, and the rates for boarding and lodging were required to be posted in several languages in the boarding-house and at the office of the Commissioners of Emigration.(40)

More effective than all else for which the Commissioners were responsible in preventing fraud was the establishment in 1855 of a single wharf for entry at Castle Garden. When this was done, the runners had no longer the same chance to get the emigrants into their clutches as when they were arriving at Manhattan at a number of different wharves. Moreover, the officials now too care to have agents who could speak the language of the emigrant to meet and direct him at Castle Garden and free carriage was provided him through the city. The agents of the railroads and steamship lines were given offices at Castle Garden and the immigrants could buy their tickets direct from there. So effective was this system that the Commissioners were able to report in 1857: "Very much has been done by judicious legislation and by the operation of the Castle Garden establishment to check these abuses until the parties in this system of imposition, finding these obstacles in their way in this country, changed the scene of their operations by opening offices in the seaport towns of Europe whence the emigrants chiefly embark and also in cities and towns in the interior of England, Ireland, Germany and Switzerland. The evil effects of many of these agencies and offices were soon manifest in the numerous cases of suffering falling under the notice of the officers of the board, or claiming aid from the Commissioners. Families and individuals who had been 'booked' in Europe for distant inland points in the United States were frequently grossly overcharged upon genuine tickets, and often imposed on by fraudulent ones, either wholly so, or conveying them but a small part of their intended journey. They were in many instances also consigned to other confederates in this country, and thus exposed to continued depredation."(41)

The Commission brought this abuse to the notice of Mr. Marcy, Secretary of State, who through the consuls and diplomatic officers made it known to the officials of the European countries, whence most of our immigrants came. "Although all that was desired had not been effected", reported the Commissioners, "still great good has been attained." Several of the German powers did all that was asked, and the emigration officials of Great Britain and France gave hearty and effectual cooperation. Most of the frauds thereafter came in France and England through the purchase of railroad fare inland in America, which fare was generally fraudulent. The selling of such tickets these two countries for some time refused to forbid. As a result it was necessary for the American Emigrant Societies to operate also in Europe. Even before this, in 1854, we find the American and Foreign Emigrant Protective and Employment Society, already mentioned appointing a Welshman, Mr. Eleazer Jones of Liverpool,(42) as their general agent for Great Britain and

Ireland. I am not able to say whether this practice was followed by other societies or not, but at any rate there was little complaint made of fraud upon emigrants after 1860.

II. The Coming of the Welsh to Oneida County

When the Welsh first came to Oneida County, it had not yet received that name but was included in the county of Herkimer. Herkimer had been made up from a part of that vast district lying west of Albany County, which was known before the Revolution as Tyron County and after it as Montgomery. When Oneida County was first taken from Herkimer, it included a large black of territory which now make up the counties of Jefferson, Lewis and Oswego. The first two of these were separated in 1805 and Oswego in 1816, leaving Oneida with substantially its present boundaries. (1) All of the Welsh settlements before that time had been made within the present boundaries of Oneida.

The honor of being the first Welsh settler in this county belongs, according to one of the historians of the Welsh in this district, to Captain Nehemiah Jones, the father of Judge Pomroy Jones, best known for his "Annals of Oneida County." (2) Captain Jones came from Berkshire county, Massachusetts in 1787 to the town of Westmoreland. Though a Welshman he could not claim birth in Wales, nor could the next Welshman who came to the county, Arthur Breese from New Jersey. The actual settlement of Welsh began with the arrival of a number of families from Wales in 1795. (3) They came from the Old Country in the spring that year, staying for some time in New York City. Two of their number preceded the others to Oneida County. These were William P. Jones and a young seaman, William Davies, who came up the Hudson in the summer. From Albany to Utica they walked a portion of the way in front of the boats on the Mohawk which were bringing their baggage. Reaching Fort Schuyler, as Utica was at that time known, they decided to go to Trenton, New York. There was only a path through the woods to connect the two villages, but when they reached Trenton they found a larger town than the other. (4)

The journey in those days from New York to Utica was tedious and rough. Up the Hudson to Albany the traveler might make a comfortable trip but he was fortunate if he could cover the rest of the journey in eight days. If encumbered by much baggage or delayed by bad weather or low water, he might spend ten days on the trip. After that the Welshman who was bound for the hills of Steuben found it necessary to spend a night or two in the woods before he reached the end of his journey.

In coming from Albany, some chose the narrow uneven paths through the forest and others came by boat up the Mohawk River. Many of the latter were obliged to walk much of the way along the banks of the river through the tangled forests, while those unable to walk would be carried slowly by boat along with their furniture. It is not surprising that their journey was so long when the best means of propelling the boats was by long poles pushed into the bed of the river. (5)

Jones and Davies were the vanguard of a small band of Welsh who came in 1795. The son of one of these early comers tells of their arrival: "In the month of March, 1795, they left their native land - and landed safely in New York after a voyage of fourteen weeks. After a short stay in New York, five of the above families, that is, Griffith Rolands, William Williams, Evan Davies, Hugh Roberts and Owen Griffiths, making in all eighteen persons, left the city for some more favorable place to start a settlement. (6) They took a small boat in New York, came up the Hudson River to Albany and from there overland to Schenectady, and there they took a kind of boat, called at that time a *bateau*. And so they came through the windings

of the Mohawk, very slowly till at the end they reached the place where is now the city of Utica." (7)

After a short stay in Utica, they decided to go to Steuben, and soon set out for their new home with a cart drawn by four oxen and a horse to lead, carrying thus their furniture and their children. But five to seven miles could be covered in a day over the forest trails, and so four days had passed before they reached their destination on the 15th of September, 1795. They were welcomed by a few American families who had come there the year previous.

They fell to work as soon as they had chosen sites for their new homes, to build log houses. Most of their furniture was made from the rough timber. A basswood log would be split in two, the flat side turned up and four stakes answering for legs were driven into the round or bottom part. Thus a serviceable sofa was complete. French bedsteads were made by driving four posts into the ground, laying cross sticks on them and then finishing off with elm bark for the bottom. In some instances, a building sport would be selected where there stood a large maple or birch. This would be felled, a part of the body used for one side of the dwelling and the large stump in the center made to serve as a table.

The nearest gristmill was in Whitesboro twenty miles away, and in the whole town but one horse, owned by an American, had to serve as a common carrier. The following year a new mill was erected close by and the former difficulties were thus overcome.

The expense of the long journey with their families had exhausted the store of most of the Welshmen, so that they found it necessary to leave their wives and children and search for employment with those who had been longer settled there. In this way they were able to live until they had cleared their own land and brought it into bearing.

In the next few years before the close of the century, other Welshmen came to join these already located in Oneida County. Most of the Welsh were in Steuben, and late in 1798 or early in 1799 several of those whom they had left in New York four years previous, attracted by the good reports of the settlers, arrived seeking homes. Among these were Deacon William C. Jones, William Griffith, Robert Griffith, John Parry, and others. The greater part of these were religious men and shortly after their arrival a prayer meeting was started at the house of William C. Jones. The prayer meeting served the religious needs of the people until 1801, when Rev. John G. Roberts of Ebensburg, Pa. came to the district and began preaching.

Meanwhile, in Utica, more Welsh had settled. Richard Frances, about 1797, had come from Pembrokehire, probably several other Welshmen with him. John Adams came in 1800 and in the same year John Williams and his family, a farmer from Pembrokehire. (8) And in 1801 there came a large number of energetic and enterprising young Welsh people, mostly from South Wales. Their number has been estimated at close to one hundred. They settled in and around Utica and in Steuben. (9) This was the first large immigration of Welsh and it is from this time (1801) that the Welsh of Utica date their settlement. From then on there was a continuous stream of Welsh coming to the country, a stream running low in its course at times, but again swelling when men in the distress of economic affairs in the old country were stimulated to emigrate through the glowing accounts in the letters of friends or relatives in America.

The Welsh mechanics among the early comers for the most part stayed in the villages (10), while the farmers settled on the hills to the north of Utica around March, Trenton, Floyd, Remsen and in Steuben. These small villages and the farming country around proved very attractive to the Welsh; we find Welshmen buying small

farms around South Trenton in 1808 from the Holland Land Company at \$8 an acre. (11) While the Welsh had settled on the hills of Steuben to the west of Remsen as early as 1795, they appear not to have stopped in that township till 1808, when David Mound, John James, Griffith I. Jones, John Owens and Hugh Hughes settled there. (12) This was the beginning of the Welsh in that township and they continued to go into Remsen until it was estimated in 1850 that three-fourths of the population were Welshmen (13); and in 1859 that seven-eighths of the population of Remsen and Steuben were Welsh. (14) In none of these districts were the Welsh the first comers, but when once their settlements had started, they increased rapidly until March, Trenton and Floyd, and Remsen and Steuben particularly, came to be as thoroughly Welsh as the Palatine settlements in Schoharie County were German. Other parts of the county also received a share of the Welsh immigrants. To the south of Utica in Waterville, in Paris Hill and Bridgewater and Plainfield were Welsh settlements. To the northwest in Rome and Oriskany, and nearer by, at New York Mills, many Welsh have made their homes, and in Deerfield and Frankfort Hill on the east other settlements have been made. North of Remsen in Boonville, the Welsh pushed their way and about 1840 they began settling in Lewis County, in Constableville, Turin and West Turin, Collinsville, Leyden and Lowville. (15) Other smaller settlements were made just over the line in Herkimer County as well as some in Madison.

After the land had been once taken up, the incoming Welshmen as a rule found it more advantageous to stay in the villages, and particularly in the city of Utica. More and more the tendency has been for the new comers, like the sons of the old settlers, to go to the city, and for the last forty years but few of the immigrants have settled outside the city.

Many of the early settlers came from Pennsylvania, some of these recent arrivals from the old country, others natives there who were looking for cheap lands. This latter class was by no means small. The best farming lands in East Pennsylvania had been early taken up. Around 1800 the prices of land near Philadelphia, where were located the Welsh settlers, were rapidly increasing, and the sons of large families were eager to find land at low prices where they could set up for themselves. Many landowners even were induced to sell their farms at high prices and invest in a cheaper locality. Those who did not wish to go out to Western Pennsylvania or to Ohio were interested in the lands being sold in New York State. The Cambrian gives a sketch of one of the leaders in this movement, Richard Jones from Cardigan. He had preached to the Welsh in Philadelphia for a time before 1800. "When the Welsh people began to buy lands from the Holland Land Company in Oneida County, New York, and began to settle Remsen, Steuben and Utica -- Priest Jones, as he was called by them in those early days, was selected by the Welsh people of Philadelphia to go on to New York and look after their interests in that vicinity." (16) More numerous than the Welsh natives of Pennsylvania who came to Oneida were the Welshmen who came from the old country to Philadelphia and the vicinity and then removed to New York. (17)

More vessels sailed at that time for Philadelphia than at present and consequently many Welsh went to that city without intending to stay definitely. They frequently found prospects not as good as expected in Pennsylvania, and the attraction of cheap lands combined with the contagion of numbers going thither drew many of the new comers to Oneida.

Why the Welsh came to Oneida County is as interesting a question as it is difficult. Nowhere have there appeared facts which would warrant a definite answer. There is no evidence that General William Floyd had anything to do with the coming of the Welsh to the county. He purchased in 1784 a valuable tract of wild land in which is now the town of Western, Oneida County, going there himself to live in 1803. (18) Many of the patentees in this district had in early times exerted much effort to

get settlers to take up their land and it has appeared not at all impossible that Floyd as a Welshman would have induced the Welsh to go to Oneida and settled on his estate. This, however does not seem to be the case. The early settlers stayed in Steuben (which at the time, it is true, included Western, but their settlements were made in the eastern half) or in Trenton or Utica. The Welsh did not settle near Floyd's lands till they had already made numerous settlements in other parts of the county.

It seems much more probable that it was the efforts, either of the Holland Land Company or of Benjamin Walker, one of the heirs of Baron Steuben, who brought the Welsh to Oneida. The Holland Land Company(19) had early acquired small blocks of land in this district, blocks which were small at least in comparison with their enormous holdings in the western part of the state. Gerrit Boon, agent of the company and responsible for the purchase of much of the land in this district, made the first settlement in Trenton in 1793. Most of the land about the village belonged to the company and it was to their interest to get settlers who would purchase. What methods, if any, were used to attract emigrants from Wales, I am unable to say. The first two Welsh settlers in the county, W. P. Jones and William Davies, went to Trenton, though probably not as purchasers of land from the company. Jones, at least, went soon after to the Steuben lands. In the early years of the next century many sales were made by the company to Welshmen(20); but this is not proof that the company had inspired the Welsh to come to Oneida. However, the central office of the Holland Land Company was in Philadelphia(21) and many of the Pennsylvania Welshmen bought lands when they came to Oneida from the company. It is not at all improbable that they were directed to that county by the efforts of the company's officials.

No better evidence is at hand to show the part, if any, which Benjamin Walker had in bringing the Welsh to Oneida. As a secretary to Baron Steuben and his most intimate friend, he had aided Steuben largely in the care of his patent which New York State in 1786 had granted him. This tract of land included a quarter of a township or 16,000 acres and was later erected into a separate township called after the Baron.(22) Steuben died in 1794 and left by will much of his land in Steuben to Walker.

Most of those Welsh who came in 1795 settled in Steuben, supposedly upon Walker's land. I find, however, no sales made by him to Welshmen before 1803 and then but one in that year. In 1805 and 1806 sales to me with Welsh names were numerous.(23) Here again there is no proof that the land owner had anything to do with the bringing to Oneida of the Welsh. The first settlers might very well have gone to Utica relying on the information that land was for sale there cheap.(24) Once settled their letters bearing news of their satisfaction with the new location would be sufficient to bring more of their countrymen and so start that settlement which was destined to grow ever faster and faster.

There was at one time a very materials attraction for the Welsh to the center of New York State and that was the labor afforded by the building of the Erie Canal. The Canal was started in 1818 at the same time that the exceedingly hard times following the Napoleonic wars were driving the laboring classes from Wales in such large numbers. Many of them found work on the various parts of the canal.(25) There was a great demand for masons and carpenters as well as common laborer, and Welshmen of mechanical skill, especially if they spoke English, had little trouble in finding paying jobs. The scarcity of work in Wales forced the laborers to seek it elsewhere and the Erie Canal furnished it for many at much higher wages than were to be obtained even if work could be had in the old country.(26) These men were likely to make their homes in Utica and the vicinity and work from there as a center, or if they had come alone, to settle there when the work was completed or when they had

accumulated enough to send for their relatives in the old country, and then find a permanent home among others of their race.

III. The Welsh Churches

The church has occupied such an important part in the life of the Welsh people, its pastors have been so truly the leaders of their flocks when those flocks have included nearly every Welshman outside of English churches, and its history has received so much attention from the Welsh themselves and so little from the English that its growth and decline are deserving of a separate chapter in any account of the Welsh people. It is a national peculiarity, this Welsh love of religion and the church. The Welsh children have been born and raised in it and they have brought it with them to this country where they have clung to it tenaciously. Around the church has been centered the main interest in the Welshman's life. Poetry and music have been his recreation, theology his food and religion his life. His magazines have been homiletic reviews, his theatre has staged only dramatized Bible stories, and his music has been hymns and oratorios. It is natural that men of this character should turn early to the task of founding churches for themselves in the new land. And so we find it.

The first church organized in Oneida County was the Utica Welsh Baptist Church. Up until 1801 there had been no church organization of any kind in the town, though the Presbyterians and Episcopalians had held services there before. Two or three years previous several Welsh Baptists had come to Utica and had commenced religious meetings. "On the 12th of September, 1801, several persons met at the log house of John Williams upon the road opposite the Lunatic Asylum and formed the First Baptist Church of Utica. Of their number were Elder James Harris and Elder John Stevens, who officiated as ministers. In 1806 Abraham Williams, James Morgan and William Francis were elected the first trustees, and it was in this year that the church erected a house of worship." (1) So reads the account given by the historian of early Oneida.

No other Baptist church was formed in the city for years and in the meantime many of the English Baptists, instead of uniting with the Methodists who carried on the only English services, preferred to attend the Welsh church. They were encouraged in this and the Welsh pastors, anxious for their support, began preaching in both Welsh and English. (2) By 1819 these English Baptists had become sufficiently numerous to form a church of their own, and with the consent of the Welsh church, seventeen of them withdrew, including two Welsh. (3)

The Welsh Congregationalists were a little behind the Baptists in organizing themselves in a church body. About the same time that the latter founded their church, ten Welshmen from Utica joined the English Presbyterian Church at Whitesboro. A number of other Welshmen were unable to understand the English and so did not care to go with the rest to Whitesboro. Fourteen of these met at the home of Mrs. Jones on Main Street, January 1st, 1802, to consider the formation of a Welsh Congregational Church. When the church was established, the ten who had gone with the English Presbyterians joined it, this even when they had no pastor. In November of that year at the call of this little body, Reverend Daniel Morris, minister of the Welsh Church in Philadelphia, became their pastor. They numbered thirty-three communicants at the beginning of 1803. At that time they were without a church building but worshipped from house to house. By 1804 they felt themselves able to erect a house of worship and this they did before the end of the year. (4)

The Calvinistic Methodists who are of substantially the same character as the English Presbyterians, though they later become the strongest of the Welsh Churches in Utica were slow in starting. Those of that denomination worshipped at first with the Congregationalists until they could organize a church of their own. This took place in March 1830, when, with the aid of members of their denomination from Steuben, they established the Utica Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church. There were then twelve members. The church at first had no settled pastor, being supplied from Steuben and Remsen. In 1831 they built a small church edifice where they grew rapidly, especially under the pastorate of Rev. William Rowlands, editor of *Y Cyfaill*, who became their pastor in 1841. (5)

The Welsh Wesleyan Methodists, never a strong organization, did not have enough adherents in Utica to form a church until July 1849. Meeting at first in an upper room, they were able in 1850 to build a small church, and in 1858, a much larger one. They have had some able pastors, among them R. L. Herbert and Humphrey Humphreys, but have never had a large membership. In 1872 there were sixty members. (6) Of this church I have no further history. The others already mentioned will be considered later on.

In Steuben, that Welsh settlement which was begun earlier even than Utica, religious organizations were formed almost as early. The settlers who came to this region in 1795, being joined by others in 1798 or 1799, soon established a prayer meeting which was held at the home of William C. Jones, one of the later arrivals. In 1801, with the arrival of Rev. John G. Roberts, a Congregational pastor from Edensburg, Pa., regular preaching services were held besides the weekly prayer meetings. There was no regular church organization until 1804, when a Union Church was incorporated with Roberts as pastor under the name of the "First Welsh Methodist Society of Steuben", there apparently being more Calvinistic Methodists among the members than Congregationalists. Soon more Congregationalists settled in Steuben and with the advice of their society in Utica they joined with the members of that denomination who attended the Union Church to form themselves into a Congregational Church. This was in April 1805. All of the Calvinistic Methodist members of the Union Church were present at this organization meeting and, seeing that by themselves they would be unable to maintain a church, consented to join with the new one being formed. The church organization thus went out of existence and a new one on the Congregational system was instituted. The name, however, still remained the "First Welsh Methodist Society of Steuben", this until April 1829, when, the Methodists having separated and founded churches of their own, the name was changed by state action to "The First Welsh Congregational Society of the town of Steuben".

In 1804 this Union society had built a log church in Steuben designed to serve also as a schoolhouse. When this burned, Christmas night, 1804, a new frame building was erected, which gave way in 1820 to a stone church, known thereafter as Capel Careg or more frequently as Capel Ucha. This was much larger than its predecessor, for now the influx of new settlers from Wales required more room. This building stood until 1904 when a new chapel was built on the same spot, much smaller now, as it was fitted to the needs of a dwindling congregation. (7)

The Baptists were a little behind the others in organizing their church. Beginning about 1800, Morgan Williams had preached to them occasionally in different places, and upon the arrival of Rev. Richard Jones from Philadelphia in 1806, the First Welsh Baptist Church of Steuben was formed. They soon built a log church about half a mile from the Union Church, this, like the later buildings on the same spot, was known as Capel Isel (the Low Church - it was in a hollow).

The numbers of the Calvinistic Methodists who were members of or attended Capel Ucha, the former Union Church, were continually growing larger as new settlers arrived. By 1824 several felt themselves strong enough to organize a church of their own, and aided by Mr. James Owen of Trenton, they incorporated in February of that year and by August had completed Ben-y-caerau, their first church in this vicinity. This was located about a mile east of Remsen village on the hill opposite Capel Ucha, which stood about half a mile west of Remsen in the town of Steuben. Though their building was completed, they did not leave Capel Ucha entirely, as they had no pastor. One of their members, Benjamin Davies, rose to the occasion, began preaching in 1826, and from that date served as the pastor of the church. (8)

Thus were the first churches of the three principal denominations established in the district around Steuben and Remsen. This region was essentially agricultural. The villages of Steuben and Remsen were small, as were the other villages round about. Most of the people, like their churches, were located in the country. Nothing can better illustrate the religious character of the Welsh than the multiplicity of their churches in this section. It is undesirable to give an account of the founding of the various churches which followed those already mentioned. Brief mention of them will answer the purpose.

The Calvinistic Methodists established the following churches. In 1828 a church was established known as Pen-y-graig on the road from Remsen to Boonville, three miles from Remsen village in the town of Steuben. In the same year, Capel Nant was built in Steuben about three miles southwest of Remsen village. In 1828 also they organized a church at French Road in Steuben township about two miles north of Pen-y-graig. They were not able here to erect a church building until 1835. Three years after these three Calvinistic Methodist churches were organized, another was formed, this in the village of Remsen in 1831, known as Capel Careg (Stone Church). (9) All of these churches had an acre of land for sheds and a cemetery. There were still other churches of this denomination organized. In 1837 a church at Enlli about two miles and a half from Pen-y-caerau and east of Remsen was established and in 1841, two miles away, another at Ninety-Six. These were never strong enough to have church buildings, but met in schoolhouses. (10) A number of the members of Pen-y-caerau resided in the village of Prospect, a mile or so to the south. For greater convenience they organized a Calvinistic Methodist church of their own in 1857, erecting a building in 1860. (11)

While the Calvinistic Methodists were thus multiplying their organization, the Congregationalists were not idle. Many of the members of Capel Ucha lived on the hills to the north and west. For their benefit in March 1832 Penymynydd (Top of the Mountain) was organized, and a building erected about three miles north of Capel Ucha. This church almost to the present time has been served by the pastor at Capel Ucha. Six years after this two other Congregational churches were founded in the neighborhood, Peniel and Bethel. Morris Roberts, the pastor, was turned out of Capel Careg, the C. M. church in Remsen village, on account of liberal views. A large number of his congregation went with him and established a Congregational society in the village in 1838. A church was erected called Peniel. A number of those Congregationalists who before this time had attended Capel Ucha now joined Peniel. Roberts, having broken away from the C. M. organization, organized another church soon after at Bethel, four or five miles beyond Penymynydd. This church and Peniel were served by the same pastor. Not long after at Ninety-six, about six miles southeast of Remsen was established another Congregational church and four miles south of it, another in the village of Prospect in 1856.

The Baptists also were scattering their churches through this district, though not in such large numbers. Capel Isel, their first church, was built in Steuben about a mile and a half west of Remsen village. But it was super-Calvinistic and

those who leaned more toward the Arminian views soon became dissatisfied, broke away from the old church and established Capel Coch (Red Church), half a mile northwest of Capel Isel. This church did not flourish, and so to reach a district not quite so well supplied with religious services, the building was moved to a site about a mile north of Remsen village. Some time later it was abandoned and a building erected in the village in its stead. In a short time another Baptist church was established at Bardwell in the town of Remsen about four miles to the east of the village. In Prospect alone, two miles south of Remsen, was built a Baptist chapel where services were held for many years.

In this district the Welsh Wesleyan Methodists had two churches, one at Sixty in Steuben township about four miles from Remsen, and the other at Ninety-Six, neither of them very strong.

In all of the surrounding country where the Welsh settled there were Welsh churches. In Trenton there was a Congregational church and in South Trenton, both a Baptist and a Wesleyan Methodist church. In Holland Patent, to which Welsh did not go until 1836, there were two churches, one a Calvinistic Methodist, the other a Congregational. At Quaker Hill there was for years a C. M. church, and in Floyd, seven miles to the south, there was first a Union church and later a separate organization for both the C.Ms. and the Congregationalists. To the north of Floyd in Western there was a Congregational church. (12) The Welsh did not go to Rome until 1840, but after that a strong C. M. church was built up and a little later a Congregational church. In Oriskany there was a Calvinistic Methodist church and in New York Mills an Independent or Congregational society. Marcy had a Welsh Congregational church as well as a Calvinistic Methodist and a Baptist. (13) Deerfield also had a Congregational church. And there were a number of others near Oneida in the Welsh settlements in Herkimer, Lewis and Madison Counties. (14)

The details of the lives of these churches would be of little value to us if we had them, but it is interesting to note the effect upon the churches of the amalgamation of the Welsh into the body of English-speaking American citizens. As the experience of most of the Welsh churches though the county outside of Utica has been similar to that of the churches in Steuben and Remsen, it will be sufficient to examine so far as possible the progress of the churches in that neighborhood.

The great number of Welsh churches around Steuben and Remsen has already been noticed. In these two townships in 1872, it was estimated that there were 3,000 Welsh people, and for these 3,000 people there were twenty churches. (15) As well as being evidence of the religious propensities of the Welsh, this shows the tendency which they have everywhere exhibited of dividing into small bodies. The satisfaction of having a church building in their midst as well as the convenience seems to have caused many of the divisions. Pen-y-caerau, the first Calvinistic Methodist church in the district, stood about half way between Remsen and Prospect, a mile and a half from each. The people in and near Remsen village left this church in 1831, though there were still but few of them, to set up their own Capel Careg in the town. The members of Pen-y-caerau, who lived in Prospect, remained satisfied somewhat longer but in 1857 they too left to build a church of their own.

A certain amount of criticism of these divisions is disarmed by the loyal support which the Welsh gave their churches. Their families were large, and when the Sabbath came all the members attended service. Half a dozen families could make a fair sized congregation. But a preacher could not be supported by as small a group as that and as a consequence it was usually necessary for two churches to unite in the support of a preacher. How common that custom was is shown by the statistics of the Calvinistic Methodist church in 1854. At that time in New York State there were fifteen preachers of that denomination, while there were twenty-six regularly

organized churches for them to serve. (16) Moreover, the small number of heads of families making up the churches did not allow for a liberal salary for the pastors, this, even when the farmers for the most part were prosperous and when the two churches combined to support one preacher. After 1830 on the Sundays when Benjamin Davies did not preach at Pen-y-caerau, he was accustomed to hold service in the Utica C. M. church, which could not yet sustain a regular pastor. He spend Saturday covering the distance between Remsen and Utica, some twenty miles of difficult forest road, preached on Sunday, and returned in the same way he came. For this he received one dollar a week. (17) In many cases the salaries were too small to live on and the pastor had some kind of secular business with which to support himself. The first pastor of the Utica Congregational Church was a book-binder as well, (18) and carried on the work regularly. Many of the preachers had farms and from them were able to piece out a small salary. (19) This was particularly true of the occasional preachers, those supplies who carried on most of the services of the weak churches that were usually unable to support a regular pastor. (20)

In a number of cases the weak churches have had to call on the home missionary boards in America to aid them. Early in the history of these churches, the American Home Missionary Society began giving slight aid to the Welsh Congregational churches. In 1836 we find aid being given the Utica Congregational Church; (21) in 1848 the church at Western Hill; (22) in 1854, to the Waterville church; (23) in 1859 to the Congregational churches in Prospect and Ninety-Six, which had the same pastor; (24) and again in the following year to Prospect alone; (25) from 1865 to 1869, to the church at New York Mills; (26) and to the church at Rome from 1865 to 1871, and probably longer. (27)

In most of the churches, the separation of a portion of the body to form another church has been carried peaceably, often aided by the main body. This, however, has not always been the case. The schism in the Baptist church of Capel Isel has already been noted, as has that in the C. M. Church of Remsen, Capel Careg. In the Utica Congregational Church a break occurred in 1862, when about seventy of the members left to form a Second Welsh Congregational Church. This lasted for seven years and then the two churches were reunited. The tragic history of the Welsh churches of New York City, which have been many times weakened by schisms, is evidence enough of the Welsh tendency to make their theological differences take a practical form. Fortunately, Oneida has been comparatively free from the evil results of that tendency.

There are not at hand records to show the growth of these churches or at what time they began to decline. The great causes of this decline have been, first, the falling off in the numbers of the immigrants fresh from Wales who have come to the small villages and the country and, second, the decrease of the country population as it has been drained off into the city and to the west and, third, the education of the children away from the Welsh language and Welsh church services.

It seems that between 1850 and 1860 the tendency for the incoming Welshmen to stay in the city instead of settling in the country became marked. It was then that our cities began the period of their most rapid growth, and the incoming Welsh were alive like the rest to the advantage which the city offered.

Not only did the movement from the farm to the city take away from the hills of Remsen and Steuben many who before that time would have stayed in the country and supported the country church, but the opening of new lands in the west proved a great attraction to many. Free lands under the Homestead Acts drew hosts away from the east and the biographies of residents in Welsh settlements in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa and Kansas show that hundreds of the Welsh were lured from the

hills of Oneida to the great plains of the Mississippi valley. (28) This current had set strongly enough by 1872 so that Thomas observed in that year that there were fewer Welsh in Steuben than formerly. (29)

In these ways were the churches weakened and had we their records we might expect a constant falling-off in the membership. Many of them had to combine for strength. The Baptist Church of Remsen was the successor to that group which had left Capel Isel, the Steuben Baptist Church, and established Capel Coch. The two churches had been accustomed to have separate pastors, but by 1875 the weakness of both forced them to combine to the extent of one pastor for both churches. (30) It was not long after that before the numbers of Capel Isel, the country church, fell off to such an extent that the church had to be given up and some twenty years ago its building was torn down. The church in the village still continued, though with difficulty. It still retained the Welsh language, though there was a strong movement among the younger people to substitute the English in the services. Finally, when the building burned, the new edifice was raised chiefly by the party favoring the English, and when services were renewed, they were in that language. Their pastor now also preaches Sunday afternoon at Bardwell, which has long been without a regular pastor. (31)

Capel Ucha, the originally Union and later Congregational church in Steuben, just above Remsen village, was one of the strongest in the region. It had prospered from its establishment and afterward, during the long ministry of Dr. Everett, the editor of *Y Cenhadwr*. But before the end of his ministry, which lasted from 1838 to 1875, the church had begun to weaken. Thomas in 1872 said there were seventy-five members of the church, twenty-six in the Sunday school and a congregation of about one hundred, observing at the same time that neither the church nor the congregation was as large as formerly. (32)

The condition of the Sunday school would indicate this particularly. Its sister church, Penymynydd, a few miles to the north, had suffered from the same causes, deaths and removals without the infusion of new blood. It numbered at the time but fifty members and had a small congregation and Sabbath school. The details of this steady progress of dissolution cannot be told from the available facts; the same causes have continued at work with a fatal result. Penymynydd has now given up its services, save in the summer, when a few sermons are preached in English. Capel Ucha has done better but is now with little prospect of continued existence. For the last twenty years the church has centered around one old lady, Dr. Mary H. Everett, the daughter of the former pastor. It was her effort and support which built the new church when in 1904 the old stone structure had to be removed because of undermined foundations, and it has been her effort that has kept it still alive. When she is able to attend, the preacher who supplies also in Peniel, the Congregational church in Remsen village, holds service in Capel Ucha. A handful are gathered to attend and when the support of Dr. Everett fails, there is little chance of the church continuing. Services have always been held in Welsh there.

Peniel, the Congregational church in the village of Remsen has dwindled from a congregation of well over a hundred in the time of Morris Roberts between 1840 and 1870, to a handful at present. They are supplied on two Sundays in the month by the same preacher who serves at Capel Ucha. None but Welsh is used in these services. The difficulty which the Welsh have always shown in combining for religious purposes is well exemplified here. These two churches belonging to the same denomination, situated within a mile of each other, drawing their members for the most part from the same village or its immediate surroundings and served by the same preacher, have yet been able to unite their weakness to procure some strength. They have preferred to maintain the church of their fathers and of their

childhood, though it has meant fewer services, than to abandon either edifice and to unite in common meetings.

Better than any of the other Welsh churches in the vicinity, the Calvinistic Methodist church of Remsen village, Capel Careg, has maintained itself. It has felt the same influences that have brought the others so low, but being in the village has been better able to resist them, and is still able to support a regular pastor. Its persistent refusal to allow English services has been its greatest weakness. Though the majority of the members have not continued the use of the Welsh in their homes nor educated their children in it, yet they have not felt that they could properly carry on their church services in the English. The young people have protested and many have joined the English Methodist church, and even some of the middle aged members, those who have been born in Welsh homes in this country and yet have gained but an imperfect knowledge of the language, have felt the inconvenience of the Welsh services. This has been true only recently, however. Dr. Evans, their pastor for a number of years before 1910, came to America as a young man, was educated in American schools and, like many other Welsh Americans, used the Welsh language in a form corrupted by a large infusion of English words. He could thus be understood by many whose knowledge of the Welsh was imperfect. Very recently Capel Careg has called a new pastor, a man born in Wales and educated in the pure language of that country. His sermons have been couched in the strong Welsh of Christmas Evans and have made no concessions to limited knowledge of that speech among some of the hearers. Several of these have had some difficulty in understanding, but naturally can make little complaint. But though his services are more thoroughly Welsh than before, the new pastor has appreciated the needs of the church and, though against the will of many of the old members, some of whom have refused longer to attend, he has in the last six months introduced English services in a portion of the meetings. (33) The morning service is always in Welsh; the pastor preaches in the evening only every other Sabbath, but that service is always in English. It is too early to tell whether this will have the effect of keeping the young people in the church. It seems probable that it will be but a few years when all of the services will have to be conducted in English.

None of the Calvinistic Methodist churches in this district have retained as much life as Capel Careg. Nant, or Cobin, which in 1872 had forty-six members (34), has lost many with but few recruits. It is served by the pastor of Capel Careg, who gives one Sunday a sermon in the afternoon and the next Sabbath one in the afternoon and another in the evening. Services have been conducted there in English for the last three years. (35) French Road and Pen-y-graig, two other Calvinistic Methodist churches, a short distance apart northwest of Remsen, are in hardly as favorable circumstances. These two in the early days had the same pastor, but for forty years have had to be content with supplies. French Road, never very strong, has had no regular services in eight or ten years, and now is open only during the summer. Recently Pen-y-graig has combined with the Congregational church, Bethel, to support a supply for the two churches. If the preacher is a Congregationalist, he will give two sermons at Bethel and one at Pen-y-graig. If he is a Calvinistic Methodist, Pen-y-graig will get the two sermons and Bethel but one.

Similar reports come from the churches to the east and south of Remsen. Enlli has still a few members and combines with the two other Calvinistic Methodist churches nearby, Pen-y-caerau and Prospect, to support a supply. The Congregational church at Ninety-six has been abandoned for nearly thirty years. The Welsh Wesleyan church there is still open. It had been given up for some years when about fifteen years ago the last member, a wealthy farmer's wife, had the church repaired. This was completed only in time for her funeral. The people present at that service resolved to keep open the church and since that time services in English have been held there on Sunday afternoon by the pastor of the Methodist Episcopal church in Remsen.

So of all the twenty churches in this district of Steuben and Remsen but two, Capel Careg and Nant, have a settled pastor and these have combined to support him. All but the two Congregational churches of Capel Ucha and Peniel have compromised with the young element to have a part of their services in English. That these country churches have weakened and that some of them have disappeared is not surprising; it is remarkable that in spite of their diminished numbers and failing resources, they have so long kept up, and that against all inducement of circumstances, they have retained their original independence and have refused to combine either within or without the bounds of denomination. How much longer this spirit of independence can exist against continued adversity from which there appears no escape, it is only for the future to tell.

The story of the Welsh churches in Utica is not so sad. Circumstances have aided rather than opposed them. They have benefited by that movement from country to city which has transfused the blood so sorely needed in the rural chapels into the veins of the city church. They have not felt, as have their country sisters, the drain on their resources by the westward movement and, above all, they have been able to recruit the ranks made vacant by losses of young members to English churches from the numbers of those newcomers from the old country who no longer seek the country but are content to settle in the city.

We are not surprised, therefore, to find some of these city churches prosperous. The record of the Calvinistic Methodist church, the Moriah church, has been one of almost unbroken prosperity. Its numbers have constantly grown and its strength increased. Twice it built new church buildings to accommodate the growing numbers and at present, with a membership of six hundred, its church building can accommodate but five hundred of them. Arrangements are even now being made to take care of the surplus. (36)

The Congregational Church, Bethesda, has also had in the main a prosperous career, though it has met with some reverses from which the other has been free. Their ministers after 1811, with one exception, were brought from Wales, and the vacancy of usually two years incident to this change caused frequently a falling-off in the number of the communicants. The church was torn also by a schism in its body when in 1862 about seventy of the members left the old body to establish a second church. This rent was healed with the reunion of the two bodies in 1869. Since that time the church has grown in numbers and increased its strength. (37)

In both of these churches Welsh has always been the language of the services. New members from Wales have been continually arriving to add to the supporters of the Welsh services, and little strength appears ever to have developed in the demand for English. The young people born in this country have been continually dropping out and going to the English churches, but, sure of continued support from Wales, these churches have found it unnecessary to introduce English into even part of their services.

It has not been so with the Baptists, for though their church was founded before the other two, it was soon overtaken and out-distanced by them in its work for members. There have never been as many Baptists among the Welsh Non-Conformists as Calvinistic Methodists and Congregationalists, and, as no larger proportion of them have come to this country than of the other two denominations, they have always been weak in the United States. The history of the Welsh American churches has been one of a fight for life and the weak have been pushed to the wall. So it has been with the Welsh Baptist church in Utica. Its growth was not large in the fifty years after its establishment. Jones estimated in 1850 that there were about one hundred communicants as compared with the three hundred in the Congregational church at the same time. (38) Its services were all in Welsh, as they

have been since the withdrawal of its English members in 1819. They gained their share of the large numbers of incoming Welshmen in 1850 and following. But after that unusual influx it appears to have been stationary and this in a Welsh church was decline, for meantime its old members were dying and its young people were growing up in the English. Before 1875 even its prospects were dismal and prophecies freely made of its speedy dissolution. (39)

In that year the former pastor, J. Edred Jones, returned to his charge and prepared to revive the cause there. But he found his work discouraging. "Our numbers are but small and our circumstances low, as craftsmen and laborers in this hard time", (40) wrote the church to the Welsh Baptist Assembly in 1877. The pastor himself gave voice to the difficulties that beset him: "This is our condition at present the church weakened from the death of its old members in 1877, and it is natural to ask what can we hope for the future. This is a difficult question to answer without being acquainted with the condition of things here. Welsh immigration has completely ceased here. (41) The children of the old citizens are growing up in the English and when they profess religion they join one of the English churches. They feel above doing anything with the Welsh. This is not without honorable exceptions, but it is the feeling of the great majority of the young people. As the old members are dying, the Welsh cause is getting weaker and weaker, and the time cannot be distant when the Welsh church will have ceased to exist in Utica. It is too weak now to support a minister except as he has something else to depend upon for his daily bread.

"In order to keep our young people in the church we are holding an English service every second Sunday night. We have recently purchased a small organ for the service of the singers, (42) but after all we have no legitimate right to expect the church to grow in numbers, power and influence, unless many of those Welshmen, who are today members of the English churches but who are much better versed in the Welsh language than they are or ever can be in the English, return to the old fold where they ought to be for their own personal advantage as well as for the honor of the church of the living God. If fifteen or twenty of the good, industrious and faithful men would see their duty toward the old mother church and return from the churches where they are not and cannot be of any real matter and where they are not needed, to this one where they can be of the greatest advantage, we would still have a strong church on Broadway." (43)

But these sturdy Welshmen were fighting against circumstances stronger than they. It was not in the nature of things that they could succeed in winning back those of their number who had gone with the English. The facts are not at hand to show how the church continued to decline, but the fate of so many others in similar circumstances does not leave us ignorant of the way by which the end was reached. It struggled on for several years, fighting in vain the forces that were working for its downfall, until in recent years it has been forced to close its doors and to scatter its members among the English Baptist churches or the Welsh churches of the other denominations.

It is of interest to know what connection has been maintained between these Welsh churches and the organizations of their respective denominations in America. Here again I approach the question with an insufficient knowledge, but the facts collected will throw some light upon the subject.

For none of the denominations has this connection been very close. The Calvinistic Methodists, being peculiar, will be passed over for the moment. At no time does it appear that any representatives from the Welsh Baptist or Congregational churches have been sent to the state or national assemblies of their denomination among the Americans. (44) On the contrary, the Congregationalists maintained a

"Welsh Congregational Association of the State of New York", which looked after the interests common to the Welsh churches of that denomination in the state. The tiny thread that bound the Welsh and English Congregationalists so loosely together was that of missions. The American Home Missionary Society, a Congregational organization, (united with the Presbyterians before 1861) gave frequent aid to the Welsh Congregational churches.(45) Whether or not their contributions to missions went in turn to the Foreign Missionary Society of the American Congregational church or whether they were sent to Wales, I do not know. The former appears more likely. The Welsh Congregationalists had a foreign missionary society for the state with the treasury in Utica. But this was rather for the reception of funds than the dispensing of them.(46) The Baptists also had a missionary society in Oneida County which collected funds, but I am unable to learn where they were sent.

The Calvinistic Methodists, though practically identical in doctrine and government with the Presbyterians were yet not a part of their body and so far as New York State Welsh are concerned, have had no connection with it. They have organized themselves into a separate national body, the "Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church in the United States"; they hold their General Assemblies, their synods and their local assemblies in every way as an independent body. There has always been friendly intercourse between the body of Calvinistic Methodists in America with that in Wales. When the Welsh body in 1838 established a society for foreign missions, the Oneida Calvinistic Methodists at once began collecting for the purpose and sent their contributions to Wales.(47) This was continued until 1892, when the American body established their Board of Home and Foreign Missions. From that date this board administered the funds collected in the United States, supporting missionaries independently of the body in Wales.(48)

When the Christian Endeavor Societies became established in the Welsh churches, they had of necessity to maintain a certain connection with the National Society at Boston. They did not, however, meet with the English in their county assemblies. They carried on their own societies in Welsh and held the county conventions by themselves, the delegates coming only from Welsh societies in Oneida and the surrounding counties.

The Bible Societies among the Welsh in Oneida from their inception in 1816 have been branches of the American Bible Society, to which they have sent their collections. These have never been sent to the British and Foreign Bible Societies.

There are a few characteristics of the Welsh churches peculiar to themselves which are deserving of mention. One of these is their Cymanfa or Assembly. These church assemblies, at which the regular business of the organization was carried on, were something more than mere business meetings, such as the meeting of a Presbytery, Synod or the assemblies of other churches. They were great preaching festivals. The custom was brought by the people from Wales, and as soon as their churches had got a foothold, it was established here. With the Baptists and the Congregationalists, it was an annual meeting, being begun by the latter, in Oneida, at least, on the second Monday in September. The Calvinistic Methodists held theirs at first quarterly and then semi-annually.

The Baptists included in their Cymanfa both Pennsylvania and New York, holding the meeting alternate years in the two states. Their meeting lasted nine days. As many outside preachers as possible were induced to attend and all the preachers of that denomination in the neighborhood were present. The Cymanfa moved from one church to another, holding preaching services and business meetings in each. Great crowds came from all around to attend the annual preaching festivals and often,

when the church was small, the windows and doors had to be thrown open to allow those crowded outside to hear.

The Congregationalists always endeavored to have a preacher from Wales at their *Cymanfa*, and this was not particularly difficult, as many were coming continually to this country, either as settlers or travelers. At each church services were held one evening and the whole of the day and evening following. Two sermons were preached in the morning, two in the afternoon and two more in the evening, the last sermon in the evening always being reserved for the most noted preacher. Whether this was the result of the Welsh sense of the fitness of things or an artful device for keeping the congregation assembled is not known.

Another peculiarity of their churches was a kind of home missionary work they carried on - the collecting of funds for a church among its neighbors of the same denomination. In 1838 *Capel Careg* had a debt of over a thousand dollars and to pay this off subscriptions were taken in *Pen-y-graig*, *Pen-y-caerau* and *Nant*, the other C. M. churches in the vicinity. These three churches contributed together over five hundred dollars for their sister church. (49) These contributions were very frequently made more often for a church at a distance than for one of the neighboring organizations. In the summer of 1839 William Morgans of the Welsh Baptist Church in Pottsville, Pennsylvania, collected one hundred and sixty eight dollars among four Baptist churches in Oneida. (50) During 1856 Rev. James Davies, pastor of the *Cambria Congregational Church* of Allen, Ohio, visited and preached in churches of all denominations among the Welsh in Oneida, and collected almost five hundred dollars. (51) This system was expanded even further. Pastors from Wales came collecting in America. We find the following account: "Rev. Robert D. Thomas the author later of *Hanes Cymry America* having been preaching since 1843 in *Penarth*, *Jerusalem*, *Maedog*, *Canaan*, *Bryrwydd*, *Welshpool* and *Newtown*, in 1851-52 he visited almost all the Welsh settlements in the United States of America, teaching, preaching and collecting donations for nearly twelve months in New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio. He was greatly welcomed everywhere and returned to the people of his charge in Wales rejoicing, having collected a sufficient sum of money to pay all the Balance Debt on all his church edifices there." (52)

Some of the churches in Oneida collected for themselves among the churches in the other states, as well as contributing to the agents of these churches when they came through. (53) It does not appear however that they ever collected in Wales. The consent of the *Cymanfa*, when it was in session, was obtained before collecting was begun and, that this consent might be obtained the collector's visit was usually timed so that he might be present at its meeting. The churches welcomed the visiting collector, especially if he were a good preacher, and they contributed liberally to his cause. Even those churches which were receiving aid from the Home Missionary Society gave with no niggard hand. All gave according to their ability, and many a weak or young church was thus placed upon its feet.

It may seem at first strange that the pastors who fill the Welsh American pulpits at present have, almost to a man, been called to this country from Wales to the charge of either their present, or a former, pastorate. Do not their churches rear any preachers from their members?, it is asked. When that question is answered, there is laid bare that enemy against which the Welsh churches have been fighting for their lives these many years, which has conquered the most of them, and which is now only waiting for the rest of its prey. It is not that the Welsh churches have failed in their duty of rearing pastors; but that they have failed to keep their sons with them. It is not that their religion has lacked the germ to perpetuate itself; but that the seed, planted in alien ground and reared in strange conditions, has brought forth a product which has differed from the parent stock in form. Many and many have been the pastors produced by the Welsh churches, but their field

of labor has been the English and not the Welsh church. Can we ask why these young Welsh-Americans, after an education in American colleges and American theological seminaries, have not returned to the ever-narrowing field of the Welsh church? Instead we find them filling the ranks of the English Presbyterians and Congregationalists and Baptists. The number of Welsh preachers in these denominations in New York is out of all proportion to the small number from which they have been drawn. From Oneida and Cattaraugus have come forth a great body of men to preach that same gospel, though in a different tongue, which their fathers brought from the hills of Wales to the hills of the newer country. Can one say that these little churches have failed? It is their children that make up their body, and their sons that are the leaders, of many of the English churches which have grown up around them. Can they ask more, when their work of the transition has been done, than to be perpetuated in the life of the churches of the newer order?

IV. The Welsh Press

Oneida County has from the beginning been the center of Welsh printing and publishing in the United States. A large part of the periodicals issued in Welsh have come from Utica, and the vicinity, and most of the Welsh books published in this country have come out of the presses of Oneida County printers. If in this account I am forced to overstep the boundaries of the county, it is because those publications issued outside of the county had many subscribers within it, and many of them even had a portion of their existence there.

The Welsh literature reflects the character of the people; it is essentially religious. Aside from works of poetry, which moreover have been for the most part of the same spirit, there have been but few books published in Welsh that have not been either written by clergymen or about them. Books of sermons and theological discussions, a profusion of biographies of clergymen, which by their numbers testify strongly to the high esteem in which these men were as a class held, many accounts of travels, which for the most part deal with the various church organizations encountered in the course of the journeys, these make up the bone and sinew of the literature of the Welsh Americans. One, therefore, expects to find the earliest printed volumes of that nature and he is not disappointed.

The first Welsh book printed in Oneida County, if the existing evidences are complete, was a hymnbook printed in Utica in 1808 and known as *Pigion O Hymnau* or *Selections of Hymns*. By that time the Baptists and Congregational Churches of Utica felt the need of hymns appropriate to their worship and so the Rev. Daniel Morris, pastor of the Welsh Congregational church, undertook the work of editing such a book. (1) In this work he was assisted by John Roberts and Evan Davies, local preachers of Utica, and by Walter G. Griffiths and Timothy Griffiths of Steuben, who proved very diligent in the labor of selecting hymns for the purpose. (2) The printing was done by Ira Merrell (3) , Mr. Morris binding them himself.

Two other hymn books are among the early Welsh publications. One of them printed in Utica in 1827 by William Williams is an American edition of a Welsh hymnal. It was a small volume of 342 pages with the title of *Caniadau Sion*. The third hymnal was published for the Baptists by W. G. Thomas under the title of *Casgliad O Hymnau*, an American edition from the Welsh of J. Harris, Abertawe. It was printed in Utica by W. C. Rogers in 1838.

These are not the only Welsh books published in Oneida before 1840, but from lack of definite information it is not possible to tell of what character or how numerous the others were. There were several printers before that time who were turning

out material in Welsh. One of these was T. Walker in Utica, who in 1822 printed a pamphlet of twenty-three pages giving a history of the Welsh Bible Society in Utica and Steuben from 1816 on.

It was after 1840 that most of the publishing of Welsh books was carried on. For over a score of years following that date books and pamphlets were being issued in large numbers from the Oneida County presses. There were several competing printers at the time, the largest being E. E. Roberts in Utica. R. W. Roberts and D. C. Davies were also printing in Welsh at Utica and R. R. Meredith at Rome printed a large number of books. After 1862 the printing house of T. J. Griffiths gradually acquired the leading place among the Welsh printers. The two houses of Roberts disappeared about that time and Meredith moved to Chicago, devoting most of his attention thereafter to music publishing. The same thing has been true in New York, where much Welsh printing was formerly done. There the Welsh printers have disappeared as the demand for their services has fallen off. This has left a clear field for the Griffiths house, of which it has taken almost complete possession. Welshmen in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Wisconsin and other states as well as New York have for the past forty years had their books and others productions of any size printed by Griffiths. While the other Welsh printeries have gradually dropped out, the house of Griffiths has continually expanded, taking up the places left by others until at present most of the Welsh printing in the United States is done by that company. Aside from his printing, Griffiths has also built up a publishing business, having purchased the two periodicals, *Y Drych* and the *Cambrian*, both of which he printed before becoming the owner. An account of these papers will be given later.

What is of much more interest than the subject of the printers is that of the publishers, the men who took the financial responsibility of the books which those already named have printed and who had charge of distributing them. The proprietors of the various Welsh magazines have all published a number of books. John M. Jones, the publisher of *Y Cymro Americaidd*, published Welsh books from his office in New York. Robert R. Meredith, a printer in Rome, published several books besides his magazine, *Yr Arweinydd*. Robert Everett, from the office of *Y Cenhadwr*, published a number of small books beside *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which was an American edition of a translation made in Wales. He also published at the instance of the Congregational organization of the county a hymnal which ran to three editions and an American edition of a memoir of one of the foremost preachers of their denomination in Wales, William Williams of Wern. The first three publishers named had their own presses and were both printers and publishers. Rowlands and Ellis, like J. M. Jones, an early proprietor of *Y Drych*, had their books printed by the printers of their papers.

The greatest publishers, however, were men who neither had printing presses nor who published papers. Among them there stand out preeminently two Welsh preachers of the Calvinistic Methodists, Thomas R. Jones, for sometime a resident of Rome, and Thomas T. Evans, who lived in Floyd and Holland Patent. A large part of their publications was made up of American editions of Welsh books. A few of the books which Evens brought out were: *An Essay on the Sabbath*, by Rev. John Elias, in 1845; Gurnal's *Christian in Full Armour*, originally in English and translated into Welsh in Wales, in 1850; a biography of Mr. Jenkin Thomas, Penhydd, Glamorgan, in 1864. All of these were printed for the publisher by E. E. Roberts of Utica. Jones has similarly a long list to his credit, printed by Meredith and other printers in Rome. In 1877 we find Jones publishing Daniel's *Life of D. L. Moody*, which he had translated into the Welsh, and which was printed by T. J. Griffiths.

In the publishing of these books, Evans and Jones bore the whole responsibility, the printers being paid just as the modern printers for publishing houses. But

these publishers had no organization for the disposal of their books. Their method was by simple colportage. In this their profession of the ministry was rather a help than a hindrance. Neither was for long a settled pastor. During much of the time they served only as supplies and so were free to travel much through the country, carrying their books with them and selling them in the churches they supplied on the way and to the Welsh people they could reach. They distributed in this way a great many books among the Welsh who were eager to purchase, and did a vast amount of good. Not all of their books were disposed of in this way. Both advertised their publications in the Welsh periodicals and sold many copies by mail. (4)

These men found the business profitable and Evans, at least, was able to make a small fortune from it. (5) For the ordinary author, however, the difficulty in disposing of his book was a great hardship. He had to be of necessity both the author and the publisher. The publishers already mentioned published only their own books and books from Wales, and there was nobody who would accept the responsibility of distributing a new book by a Welsh American author. The printers, when paid, would print and bind the books, and then it was for the authors to sell them. They had as a rule to employ the same methods as Jones and Evans, but with less success, for they were less free to travel about than these two and having but the one book, they found the profits from the sales not much greater than the traveling expenses. The clergymen were accustomed to take copies of their books to churches where they might go to supply and to the various church meetings, which would take them into new territory among new men, who would be prospective purchasers. Sales were also made through the mail as the result of advertising in the Welsh papers. Whether Jones or Evans or other men of the same type in other parts of the country even undertook to dispose of books published by others I am unable to say, though it seems probable.

Before leaving the subject of Welsh book publishers, there should be mentioned two organizations which have issued a number of books for the Welsh in this country, the American Bible Society in New York. In 1821 the New York Society was distributing Welsh Bibles (6) probably at this time obtained from the British Bible Society. Shortly after that the American society began publishing Welsh Bibles and Testaments and has continued this until recent times. These were distributed among the Welsh through the agency of the various Bible societies which came to be established. The American Tract Society was established in New York in 1825. So far I have been unable to learn exactly when they began the publication of Welsh books, though it seems it was about 1845. (7) Their publications were Welsh translations of famous religious books in English, such as Baxter's *Saints' Rest*, President Edwards' *Work of Redemption*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and John A. James' *The Anxious Enquirer*. These books sold for from twenty to fifty cents. The society issued also a series of penny tracts in Welsh that were largely circulated.

The Welsh early felt the need of a paper in their own language devoted to the interests of their people in this country. Many of them knew no language but the Welsh and those who spoke English were, but a few of them, able to read the written language. They were as a consequence unable to benefit from the American journals and they found the periodicals from the old country expensive and, as they gave little attention to things in this country, far from satisfactory. A paper was needed which would give the news of both Wales and America.

The lack of such a paper was partially filled for those who could read English by *The Old Countryman*. This was a weekly newspaper devoted to the interests of the emigrants from the British Isles. It had separate columns for the news from each of the four countries, England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, and also gave the news of the world in general. This paper was started in 1830 and in 1835 Edgar

W. Davis was editor. (8) Soon after this it was united with the *Emigrant* and went under the title of *The Emigrant and Old Countryman*. It maintained an agent in Utica and single copies were on sale at one of the news-stands. (9) This paper, however, was never satisfactory to the Welsh, and it is unlikely that it ever circulated to any large extent among them.

The first attempt to issue a Welsh newspaper in this country was begun by J. A. Williams (Don Glan Towy), a printer in New York. This was a fortnightly newspaper entitled *Cymro America*, and made its first appearance at the beginning of the year 1832. It was to sell at two dollars a year. There appear to be no copies of it in existence and little is known of the paper save that at first it was printed wholly in Welsh and later in Welsh and English. (10) Mr. Williams started the paper with insufficient capital and when business in New York was demoralized as a result of the cholera in the year 1832, he was forced to give up the paper after but a few months of publication. (11)

After the suspension of the *Cymro America*, the Welsh were again without a paper. This continued until 1838, when *Y Cyfaill o'r Hen Wlad* or *The Friend from the Old Country* made its appearance. This, the oldest of magazines in the Welsh language in America and the only one still existing, has with the exception of *Y Cenhadwr*, been the best. Its first issue came out in January 1836 under the editorship of its founder, Rev. William Rowlands, pastor of the Calvinistic Methodist Church in New York City. It was printed by William Osborn of that city.

Rowlands, the founder of *Y Cyfaill*, was born of Welsh parents in London in 1807. He was brought up in Wales and after finishing school taught for a time, for a short while was a printer and a little later was proprietor of a coal mine. His most serious attention, however, was given to the ministry, and he preached for some time with the Calvinistic Methodists in South Wales before accepting in 1836 a call from the Calvinistic Methodist Church in New York City, to be their pastor.

Rowlands, before leaving Wales, had thought that he could serve the Welsh in America through his literary efforts. Soon after his arrival in New York and during the following year, 1837, he traveled extensively in New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio among the Welsh to see if there was a demand for a Welsh periodical and to prepare the ground for one, should he decide to publish it. He found a general desire among the Welsh for a paper in their own language and returned to New York resolved to supply the need. The first copy came out in January 1838. (12)

Though Rowlands was a Calvinistic Methodist minister, he did not design *Y Cyfaill* as a denominational paper. It was to serve all denominations and all parties, professing in the first number to be independent of both. This purpose Rowlands was not able to maintain. The body of Welsh papers was made up of theological discussions and accounts of church meetings and doings. Rowlands found it impossible to print a paper serving three denominations when the bulk of its contents was religious and *Y Cyfaill* soon became frankly Calvinistic Methodist. Especially was this true after the Congregationalists had founded a paper of their own in 1840 and the Baptists in 1844. So long as Rowlands lived *Y Cyfaill* did not show in its title page or cover that it was a denominational paper, though during that time it was in reality and was considered so. Shortly after his death, his widow sold it to the Calvinistic Methodist body and since then (1869) it has appeared as their organ.

Rowlands' purpose of making *Y Cyfaill* independent in politics was less difficult to follow out. Comparatively small space was devoted to political affairs and Rowlands kept that non-partisan. His columns were open for letters discussing political questions. In 1839 the relative merits of colonization of the negro and

of abolition were warmly discussed in contributions from his readers. Only when the correspondence became too violent was it excluded. (13) The editor took no part in the discussions and *Y Cyfaill* remained non-partisan.

From the beginning the paper was a strong advocate of temperance, articles frequently appearing directed against the rum traffic. One of the most commendable features was the publication during 1839, in a question and answer form, of an explanation of the working and composition of the national government. The most common legal terms and customs were made clear, and the federal constitution explained. No better method of enlightening the recent immigrant on the principles of our government could have been devised.

Rowlands carried on the editorial work of *Y Cyfaill* during an active life in the ministry and so it is not surprising to see the paper published and printed in a number of different places and at times published in one place and printed in another. (14) As he moved from one charge to another, he took his paper with him and published it from his new field. The work of the ministry and of his paper proved too much for him to bear alone and in 1855, while preaching in Rome, he sold a part interest in the paper to Rev. Thomas Jenkins, a minister with the Calvinistic Methodists in Utica, and the latter became a fellow editor with him. He held this position until Rowlands bought his share in the paper in 1861 and again assumed complete charge of it. (15) During this time, Rowlands was for over two years in Scranton, far away from the point where the paper was printed and Jenkins managed the publication of it. It was during this time also that Jenkins for a short space was sole owner of the paper. (16)

Before his death in 1866, Rowlands had chosen Rev. M. A. Ellis as his successor to carry on the work. This arrangement was carried out and when the Calvinistic Methodist organization bought the magazine from Mrs. Rowlands in 1869, Ellis was continued in his position. At the General Assembly of the Calvinistic Methodists in 1871, Rev. William Roberts was made editor, with Ellis as associate editor. Dr. Roberts became sole editor later and when he became pastor of the Calvinistic Methodist church in Utica, published *Y Cyfaill* in that city where T. J. Griffiths printed it. He edited it until 1887, when Rev. H. P. Howell of Columbus, Ohio was elected editor. During his editorship, which lasted until 1900, the paper continued to be issued from Utica. In 1891, T. Solomon Griffiths of that city was elected manager of the paper and, in 1895, associate editor. He carried on the active work of getting out the paper in Utica. When Mr. Howell gave up the editorship, Mr. Griffiths continued the work, keeping it until 1910, when Rev. Joseph Roberts of New York was appointed editor and Josuah T. Evans, manager.

The paper has been a monthly all during its existence save for eleven months, February 1865 to December 1865, when it came out on the 1st and 15th of each month. Like *Y Cenhadwr*, *Y Cyfaill* has never obtained a very large circulation. In 1872 it had close to 1800 subscribers; (17) after that it grew slightly until it had as high as 2200, but for some years it has been about 2000. (18) The Calvinistic Methodist Church furnishes the capital for the paper and receives any profits left after the expenses of the management are paid. (19) These profits, when there are any, go to the Board of Missions.

Its influence was not measured by the number of its subscribers. Rowlands, Roberts and Griffiths were leaders of their denomination and their words carried great weight. Many Welsh homes had no other paper. Its monthly appearance was eagerly awaited, the whole of its contents carefully read, and much of it treasured for future reading and thought. In many homes it was a constant companion for long years, and the respect and esteem in which it was held was unbounded.

Y Cyfaill had seen but two years of life when *Y Cenhadwr Americanaidd* (*The American Messenger*) appeared. This, a Congregationalist paper, became the best Welsh periodical in this country and was worthy to stand beside the best of the products of Wales. During its long life of over sixty years, it was the leader in reform among the Welsh people. It was in advance of its times, but educated the people in the principles it advocated. Under the editorship of its founder, Robert Everett, it attained an influence, not only in this country but in Wales itself, which none of the other Welsh American paper ever approached.

Born in Flintshire, North Wales, January 2, 1791, of mingled Welsh, Scotch and English blood, Everett had preached for some time with the Congregationalists, beside aiding in the publication of the *Dysgedydd*, the organ of that denomination, when he accepted a call in the spring of 1823 to the pastorate of the Welsh Congregational Church of Utica. After leaving this church in 1832 and preaching first to the English in West Winfield and then in Westernville, he became pastor in April 1838 of the two Welsh Congregational churches of Steuben and Penymynydd. Here he stayed for the rest of his life. (20)

It was in January 1840 that the first number of *Y Cenhadwr* appeared. The Oneida Assembly of Welsh Congregationalists had for some time had under consideration the establishment of a monthly magazine for their denomination. In their Assembly in September 1839, Robert Everett, James Griffiths and Morris Roberts, the three strongest ministers of the district, were given the work of founding and editing such a paper. Circular letters were sent out asking support for the enterprise. The burden of the work from the first, as well as the expense, rested upon Dr. Everett, and in the Assembly of 1842 it was resolved that *Y Cenhadwr* was the property of Robert Everett and that from that time it should be carried on in his name and at his expense. The ministers resolved to support him in this in every way possible, beginning by addressing a letter to the people saying that they had seen by that time the difficulty of carrying on a magazine through a society, that no monetary return as to be expected, Dr. Everett having given his services as editor for the first two years without pay and even without his expenses paid. (21) Though after this time the connection of the Congregational organization with *Y Cenhadwr* was severed, it still remained, under Everett's management, devoted to the interests of that denomination.

The first two volumes of *Y Cenhadwr* were printed in Utica by R. W. Roberts, but this arrangement Everett found very burdensome. There was no railroad between Steuben and Utica and the frequent journeys between the two places on horseback, necessitated by the need for his oversight when the paper was in the press, were very onerous for a man who, beside his editorial work, had the charge of two churches. He was therefore glad to avail himself of the services of his sons, John and Robert, Jr., who had just graduated from Oneida Institute at Whitesboro, where they had learned the printer's art. After being printed in Remsen village for two years, *Y Cenhadwr* was moved to their house. In the parlor of the little parsonage, which stood off alone on his little hill farm a short distance from his Steuben church, Everett set up the printing press. The whole work of getting out the paper was after that done in his own house. As *Y Cenhadwr* grew and other things beside were being printed at its office, the quarters in the parlor became cramped and a new room had to be found. To provide the needed space an addition was built to the house, in the lower part of which the press was set up and in the upper half story the extra copies of *Y Cenhadwr* were stored with the exchanges that were always coming in.

Everett and his sons, John and Robert, were not the only ones in the family who took part in getting out the magazine. All save the youngest children had some share in the work. The mother was as interested in the continuance and success

of *Y Cenhadwr* as was Everett himself, for it was missionary work among the Welsh in America of the most necessary kind. It was by her insistence that the little fortune left her from Wales was used to support *Y Cenhadwr* when the receipts from subscribers were not sufficient to meet running expenses. The children with their mother aided in the preparation of the loose sheets of the magazine for mailing by sewing them together with the covers and then wrapping and addressing them. (22) They aided also by doing much proofreading and one of the daughters by typesetting. The third son, Lewis, also helped in the publication as soon as he had finished school. It was a family affair in which all of the members took as large a part as they were able.

In this way was *Y Cenhadwr* published. Its influence was growing continually in Wales (23) as well as in this country. Like *Y Cyfaill* the paper never obtained a large circulation, (24) but like it also, and for the same reasons, its influence was not measured by the number on its subscription lists. It was not a paying business, but a philanthropic enterprise on Everett's part. The use of Mrs. Everett's funds has already been mentioned. Not until the early seventies did there begin to be a profit from the paper, and even then it was not large.

Dr. Everett continued the publication of the paper until his death in 1875. His son, Lewis Everett, who had for some years assisted his father, then took up the management of the paper at his father's house. In a year he bought the paper of his mother and removed it to his own home nearby. He continued to publish it until his death, when Rev. Edward Davies, a Welsh Congregational minister, bought it in 1882. He was pastor of Peniel and Bethel churches at Remsen, where he published *Y Cenhadwr*. He later had charge of the Steuben church, Dr. Everett's old pastorate. Davies remained here until 1898, when he removed to Waterville, taking *Y Cenhadwr* with him. In these later years, Mr. Davies was unable to do the work of the paper and the burden of the publication fell upon his son-in-law, Hugh Hughes, now of the Utica Press. The paper was suspended in 1901, because of the decrease in Welsh readers and the difficulty in securing help familiar with the Welsh language. (25)

Y Cenhadwr from the beginning had been strong for temperance. Davies was a Prohibitionist, and the paper under his editorship reflected his views. Its part in the movement against slavery is discussed elsewhere. As befitted a paper for the Welsh and especially denominational paper, a large part of the space was given to religious subjects; theological points were discussed at length; notable sermons were frequently printed; much space was given to the memoirs of clergymen in Wales and America and many columns were filled with reports of the various church meetings held by the Welsh Congregationalists throughout the country. Always a part of the paper was given to news from Wales and Europe and usually some space was given to the general news in America, as well as to the missionary news in various parts of the world. The Welsh love of poetry and music was appealed to by two or three pages monthly of verses and, at intervals, the score of a new hymn. There were no stories nor anything that resembled them, save at times an account of a trip from Wales to America or between two points in America. Anything of lighter character would have been out of keeping with the spirit both of the paper and of the bulk of the people who received it. This was the character of the paper which for sixty years held the foremost place among the Welsh American publications.

Everett's fame rests upon *Y Cenhadwr* and the brilliance of that paper has outshone that of two other papers which for a time Everett edited, *Y Dyngarwr* (*The Philanthropist*) and *Y Detholydd* (*The Eclectic*). *Y Dyngarwr*, an eight page monthly devoted to anti-slavery and temperance, was issued for one year from January to December 1843. (26) It was in a way an overflow from *Y Cenhadwr*. The abolition sentiment so strongly expressed in that magazine had alienated many of its

subscribers, particularly those who lived in the South. Everett, appreciating above all the importance to his denomination of a religious paper, did not think himself justified in jeopardizing the life of that publication even for the great principle of freedom. So *Y Dyngarwr* was started and during its existence much of the material which otherwise would have gone into *Y Cenhadwr* or have been rejected because of the lack of space, was incorporated in it. The price of the paper was fifty cents a year; to ministers of all denominations it was sent free. It did not obtain a large circulation (27) and soon proved to be too expensive a luxury. Everett had to give it up at the end of one year.

Y Detholydd also was a kind of overflow from *Y Cenhadwr*. It had a somewhat longer life than *Y Dyngarwr*, coming out monthly from July 1850 to June 1852. It was for the most part made up of selections from the Welsh publications of Wales. Most of the periodicals from the principality were now coming to *Y Cenhadwr* office in exchange and there was much in them which Everett wished to give to the Welsh in America but for which there was not room in *Y Cenhadwr*. Such selections, religious, historical and biographical, as well as much of a miscellaneous character, were brought together in *Y Detholydd*. It was a sixteen page paper and sold at fifty cents a year.

Of the three chief denominations among the Welsh Americans, it has now been seen how two acquired a magazine in their interest. The Baptists were yet to find an organ for their denomination. They have been weaker in numbers than the Calvinistic Methodists and the Congregationalists and this accounts for their failure to maintain successfully the magazine started in their interest.

Y Cyfaill had at first circulated widely among them and reports of their church meetings were given much space in its columns. It soon, however, became unsatisfactory for the Baptists and there was a general demand among them for a paper of their own. This appeared in *Y Beread; neu Drysorfa'r Bedyddwyr* (*The Berean; or The Treasury of the Baptists*). The first number was issued in January 1842, a sixteen page fortnightly, edited by the Rev. D. Phillips and printed by William Osborn in New York. It was two dollars a year. Mr. William Lewis, a grocer in New York, was the treasurer. In the last issue, that for December 1842, the paper had changed to a monthly. The editor expected to continue it the following year but it does not appear that any other copies were issued after this. Its death was due probably to lack of financial support.

The Baptists did not remain long without a periodical devoted to their interests. In July 1844 appeared the first number of *Seren Orllewinol* (*Western Star*) edited by W. F. Phillips, a Baptist minister of Utica, and printed by Evan E. Roberts. Mr. David R. Morgans of Utica was the treasurer. It was a sixteen page paper bound in yellow covers. After February, 1845, the *Seren* was issued from the press of R. W. Roberts of Utica. In May the editor left Utica and in the July issue there appeared the following notice; "Considering the removal from Utica of the Rev. W. F. Phillips, recent editor of the *Seren*, it was thought necessary by the Assembly of the Baptists in New York and the eastern part of Pennsylvania, which met last month at Pottsville and Carbondale, to choose new officers for the *Seren* and therefore it was resolved that Rev. J. P. Harris of Minersville should be the editor and the Rev. W. Morgan, Pottsville, the treasurer, and because of the settlement of the editor near Pottsville, it is necessary to move the office of the *Seren* from Utica..." (28) The next three or four copies were issued from the press of William Osborn, New York City; beginning December 1845, they were printed at the office of the *Miners' Journal* at Pottsville, Pa. J. P. Harris continued to edit the paper from Minersville until the end of the year 1848. With the January issue 1849, Richard Edwards took charge of it as publisher and editor. The paper continued under Edwards' editorship till the end. It never was of either the size

or the importance of *Y Cyfaill* or *Y Cenhadwr*. Its circulation was small, less than a thousand, (29) and not very many of the subscribers were in Oneida County. Edwards finally gave up the paper with the December issue of 1867, selling it for one hundred dollars to Rev. J. J. Morton of Summit Hill, Penna. (30) The latter changed the name to *Y Wasg* (*The Press*) and issued seven numbers, when the publication of it was suspended. (31)

The Baptists were again without a denominational organ and they had to depend upon the Welsh newspapers for reports of their church meetings. This continued until April 1876, when appeared the first number of *Y Wawr* (*The Dawn*) under the editorship of Rev. Owen Griffiths (Giraldus) of Utica, printed by T. J. Griffiths. Griffiths was a well known literary man and his magazine was of high quality. He was Republican in politics and *Y Wawr* expressed his sentiments strongly. Its publication was suspended about 1885. (32)

In order to carry through the account of the denominational papers, I have passed over others which, if given in chronological order, would have been mentioned first. In another place has been mentioned the Whig newspaper, *Seren Oneida*, published by R. W. Roberts, Utica, and edited for the most part by Lewis Jones, a china merchant of that city. (33) The first number came out the 22nd of October 1844, before the election, supporting the Whigs and attacking Birney, the abolitionists, and those Welsh abolitionists in particular who were gathered around Everett of *Y Cenhadwr* as a leader. No further issue of the *Seren Oneida* was made until that abortive paper, *Haul Oneida*, which had its beginning and end in the same number, stung the *Seren* to a reply. The second issue, on slightly larger paper than the first, appeared on May 20th, 1845. The excitement of the campaign was over, but the publisher now had hopes of making his paper permanent and announced in the second number that he proposed to make the *Seren Oneida* a monthly newspaper containing essays and general news. His purpose was put into execution and the third number came out in August 1845 a Vol. I, Number 1, a monthly Welsh newspaper of four five-columned pages. To the editor of the *Seren Orllewinol* the chances of this new paper for success seemed good. (34) There were no Welsh newspapers at the time, only three denominational magazines, and a strictly Welsh newspaper should have found a ready place for itself, especially as it advocated the political principles held by a large proportion of the Welsh. The *Seren* was, however, fundamentally in error. A newspaper which comes out but once a month can hardly be satisfactory. The *Seren* did not meet the success it needed and with the issue of July 1846, it died.

Shortly after this an attempt was made in Utica to build up a Welsh literary newspaper. This was the *Haul Gomer*, or the *Gomerian Sun*, published semi-monthly by Evan E. Roberts, a successful Utica printer. The terms were one dollar a year. Roberts himself was editor and the poetry was placed under the editorship of John Edwards (*Eos Glan Twrch*), the most famous among his people of all the Welsh American bards. It was a small paper but a good one. Still it did not succeed. Eighteen numbers came out beginning December 25th, 1847, the last one appearing September 10th, 1848. (35) Its failure was due probably to lack of support from the Welsh. (36)

We have seen the failure of all the newspaper attempts of the Welsh, first the *Cymro America*, then the *Seren Oneida* and finally the *Haul Gomer*, which was as much a newspaper as a magazine. It is pleasant to pass on to the establishment of one which not only survived but has continued to the present day, becoming stronger each year. This is *Y Drych* (*The Mirror*), the first Welsh weekly newspaper in this country. The first number of this paper was published in New York City, January 2nd, 1851, by John M. Jones, its owner and editor. Edward O. Jenkins was the printer. The paper contained eight three-columned pages and was to be sent for one dollar

a year. John M. Jones continued the publication of *Y Drych* over three years. In the spring of 1854, he sold the paper to a company of publishers. Though he was to receive the receipts from it until the end of that year, it is doubtful whether he continued as its editor until that time. (37) During the four years since its establishment, *Y Drych* had steadily grown, until at the time of this transference its subscribers numbered 2750. (38) In two years it passed into the hands of J. W. Jones, having already absorbed *Y Gwyliedydd* (*The Watchman*), a newspaper published in Utica, of which more hereafter, and having then taken the title of *Y Drych a'r Gwyliedydd*.

J. William Jones continued the publication in New York until about 1860 when he removed it to Utica. Soon after its removal, Jones sold *Y Drych* to J. Mather Jones, though he remained as its editor, T. B. Morris, who for two or three years had been an associate editor, being also retained. When J. Mather Jones and J. W. Jones went in 1869 to Arvonia, Kansas, to establish a Welsh settlement there, J. C. Roberts was called to Utica from New York to be the manager of the paper. At about the same time, Joseph William Nichols (Neifim) was made editor, Morris having gone to Scranton to be the chief editor of *Baner America*, another Welsh newspaper recently established. John W. Jones, the old and famous editor, after his return from Kansas, again took up his editorial work. He later traveled a great deal, but always remained until his death a contributing editor. J. Mather Jones continued to own the paper until his death in 1874, when it was purchased by its printer, J. J. Griffiths. (39) Griffiths has remained proprietor to the present time. When he purchased *Y Drych* there was a subscription list of over five thousand, (40) and it has grown steadily ever since. He has purchased and combined with *Y Drych* the other two Welsh newspapers established in recent times, *Baner America* in Pennsylvania and *The Columbia* in Kansas. It is now the only Welsh newspaper in the country and is larger and better than ever.

When John M. Jones, the publisher of *Y Drych*, sold it in 1854, he already had in mind another Welsh newspaper. This was *Y Cymro Americaidd*. It made its first appearance in New York City in May 1855, (41) a four page weekly at fifty cents a year. Like the old *Cymro America*, it was designed to serve the second generation as well as the other Welsh, and for this purpose it had one of its four pages in English. Jones had decided while editing *Y Drych* that there was room for some kind of paper to serve the young people among the Welsh who read only English and he hoped to make the same paper do for both classes. The English section was not a reprint of the Welsh which preceded it in each number, but contained entirely different matter, extracts from English papers in Welsh settlements and in Wales, news of Welsh doings and often literary sketches. The English section was not, however, a fixed part of the paper. During the campaign of 1855 when *Y Cymro* was overflowing with Republican campaign arguments and when the mass of the Welsh had become members of that party, *Y Drych a'r Gwyliedydd* had not come out unequivocally for Fremont and had even allowed a Welsh Democratic newspaper to be issued from its office. Its dissatisfied subscribers looked to the rival *Y Cymro* as a substitute. In the issue for November 1st, 1856, that paper announced to its readers that with the next number the English department would be abandoned, "for a while at least. Our fellow countrymen have been so disgusted with the double-dealing course pursued by our contemporary in the present campaign that several hundreds of them have determined to withdraw their support from it and on account of their unfamiliarity with the English language desire to have the *Cambro* all in Welsh." Accordingly the next number appeared without an English section and it remained so until October, 1857, when new series was begun. The paper was then changed from four to eight pages and again a page was printed in English. (42) This continued until February or March 1859, when the paper again became all Welsh. It continued to be published until the outbreak of the Civil War, when it was suspended. (43) Jones' plan to renew the publication and bring *Y Cymro* out again in May 1856 (44)

does not appear to have been effected.

Jones was at first both publisher and editor. By August 1856 (45) Thomas Gwallter Pryse or Price (Cuhelyn) was fellow editor with Jones of the Welsh section and J. Henry Puleston, M. D., a recent arrival from Wales, had charge of the English section. Both Puleston and Price appear to have been part owners of the paper, for in the issue of August 23rd, under the heading "Proprietors and Editors", appear their names in the order: Puleston, Jones and Price. Beginning with the issue of November 8th, Price's name no longer appeared with the others, and with the issue of December 13th, Jones appeared as sole proprietor and editor. Some time during 1858 or the first of 1859, Benjamin F. Lewis, later editor of *Y Drych*, became editor and continued until the English department was again given up. Jones then took up the editorial work for a third time. So far as can be learned, it appears that he continued this the paper was suspended. *Y Cymro* gave much attention to the news from the various Welsh settlements and particularly to that from Pennsylvania. Letters from a correspondent in Wales appeared regularly, as well as extracts from the Welsh periodicals. Each number contained two or three short essays on various subjects, some of good quality, sent in by readers, many of whom contributed regularly. In the last volumes, much attention was devoted to temperance. Hughes says that is at one time had a circulation of 5,500. (46)

Mention has been made of *Y Gwyllyddydd Americanaidd* which was united with *Y Drych*. The first number came out in the beginning of the year 1854 under the editorship of Rev. Robert Littler, of South Trenton, New York. The paper was published by an association of Welshmen, several members of which lived in Utica. It was printed by Ellis M. Roberts at the office of his paper, the *Utica Morning Herald*. Littler remained as editor for but a short time. He was succeeded by Rev. M. A. Ellis. The paper, when it was purchased by *Y Drych* in 1855, had a circulation of 1800 copies. (47)

The decade following 1850 was a flourishing one for Welsh periodicals. The great influx of new Welsh blood from across the sea seemed to rouse the enthusiasm of the Welsh spirit and to waken the business instincts of the thrifty Welshman. *Y Cenhadwr*, *Y Cyfaill*, *Y Seren Orllewinol* were at their best; there were three Welsh newspapers being published in 1855 and in 1850 to 1852 Everett's literary monthly, *Y Detholydd*, was coming out. This paper had not been dead long before its place was more adequately taken by *Y Cylchgrawn Cenedlaethol (The National Magazine)*. The first number of this monthly appeared in New York City in July 1853, edited and published by J. M. Jones, the publisher of *Y Drych*. Competent men were chosen to edit the different departments. Poetry was under the editorship of Mr. William J. Williams (Gwilym ab Ioan); literature under the editorship of Thomas Ingraham Jones and music, what there was of it, was edited by Rev. John M. Thomas of Tamaqua, Pa. A large part of the paper was given up to selections from other Welsh periodicals. Each issue contained as its first article as selection from *Y Traethodydd (The Essayist)*, the leading Welsh literary magazine, and this fact was used in advertising the magazine. Essays on literary subjects, on philosophy, science and travel, all appeared, sometimes copies from publications in Wales, more often original. At just what date this paper suspended publication, I have been unable to learn. It was still being issued in August 1857. (48)

The Welsh were not to remain, however, without a purely literary magazine. In 1857 Rev. William Roberts of New York started to publish *Y Tracthodydd yn America*. This was a reprint of the famous Welsh quarterly with copious American additions. These were made by the most able of the Welsh Americans who for the most part were clergymen, as were the authors in the British section. Discussions of religious and philosophical subjects predominated. Considering the character

of the magazine, its circulation of 750 in 1860 was large. (49) Soon after that date the editor was forced to give up its publication because the receipts were insufficient to sustain it.

There had in the meanwhile been started in Oneida County another fortnightly paper, *Yr Arweinydd* (*The Leader*) published by R. R. Meredith, the printer at Rome. Rev. Thomas T. Evans of Floyd was the editor and John Edwards (Eos Glan Twrch) had charge of the poetry. The first number appeared January 10, 1858. At the end of two years, the Editor, Mr. Evans, was succeeded by Rev. William Hughes, a Calvinistic Methodist preacher of Utica. Under his guidance the paper was enlarged (50) and improved. Most of the articles were religious, either furnished by clergymen or taken from their works. Beside news from America and Wales, there was a large quantity of miscellany, short sketches on various topics. It is credited with 1000 subscribers. (51) Some time after, October 1861, it suspended publication when the editor moved to Racine, Wisconsin.

In 1870 there was established a Welsh paper of a different type than any before mentioned. This was *Yr Ysgol* (*The School*), published by Hugh J. Hughes in New York City. This was a little magazine for the young people. At Hughes' death in 1872, Mr. T. Solomon Griffiths of Utica purchased the paper and renamed it *Blodau yr Oes a'r Ysgol* (*Flowers of the Age and the School*). This was a monthly publication, the first number being issued April 1872 from the press of T. J. Griffiths of Utica. W. Ap Madoc, a man renowned in music among the Welsh, and T. S. Griffiths were the publishers. The little magazine was popular and was a profitable enterprise. After three or four years, the publishers sold it to Rev. Morgan A. Ellis, who published it for a time and then suspended it.

There remains to be mentioned one other magazine which does not belong exactly in the category of the Welsh American press. This is *The Cambrian*. It is an English magazine devoted to the interests of the Welsh in America. Founded in 1880 in Cincinnati by P. T. Schultz and D. I. Jones, the latter editing it, it was purchased by Rev. E. C. Evans of Remsen in 1886 and moved to the office of *Y Drych* in Utica. From there issued the first number under the new management. Dr. Evans continued to edit it until about 1900, when it was purchased by T. J. Griffiths, its printer and publisher of *Y Drych*. He continues to publish it.

The Cambrian has been a magazine interesting to the Welshman from the first. It has had sketches of Welsh history and of the local history of Welsh American communities. Biographies of Welshmen here and abroad have been included. Descriptions of travel in Wales and short extracts translated from the Welsh periodicals, giving the new from Wales, have been common. There are many in America who can speak Welsh without being able to read it, who are thoroughly interested in things Welsh but cannot use the Welsh periodicals. With them *The Cambrian* has proved very popular, and for the publishers it has been a source of profit.

In Pittsburgh at present there is published a magazine similar to *The Cambrian*, known as *The Druid*. It does not circulate to any extent among the Oneida County Welsh and so does not need further attention.

To complete the list of Welsh papers which have circulated in Oneida, there yet remain to be mentioned three political papers: *Cyfaill yr Undeb*, *Yr Amserau* and *Y Gwron Americanaidd*. Little is known about any of them. All were probably very short lived. The first two were issued in Utica. For the *Cyfaill yr Undeb* (*The Friend of the Union*) I have been unable to find either the time of its publication, the principles that it advocated or the names of the publishers. *Yn Amserau* (*The Times*) was published by Evan E. Roberts during the administration of Governor

Morgan. It supported Governor Seymour, a Democrat. (52) This is reason enough for its failure among the Welsh. *Y Gwron Americanaidd* (*The American Hero*) was another Democratic paper. It was edited by Rev. W. C. Edwards and issued from the office of *Y Drych a'r Gwyllydydd* in New York City. The first copy came out October 4, 1856 and, containing violent attacks on Fremont and campaign arguments for Buchanan, it received little encouragement from the Welsh. (53) It is not known whether more than the single issue was published. I think not.

One of the striking peculiarities of the Welsh publications, books as well as periodical, is the total absence of any light literature. There are no stories or novels. This is as true of the papers, such as *Haul Gomer* and *Y Cylchgrawn Cenedlaethol*, as of the religious magazines *Y Cyfaill* and *Y Cenhadwr*. The publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the former as a serial in 1853-4 and in book form in 1854 by the editor of the latter was for the purpose of stirring up anti-slavery sentiment rather than to amuse the readers. The only book approaching the character of a novel published in Welsh in America was written by Rev. W. R. Williams. Its title is sufficient indication of its character, *David Morgan, or the Influence of Fireside Instruction*. This lack of light literature has been due to the character of the Welsh people. Religious things have occupied their attention; they have considered time spent on stories as wasted or worse. The editors and readers alike have had no desire for romances and none have been written.

Most of these Welsh papers have long since suspended publication as have the few minor papers published outside of this state and not mentioned. There exist at present in New York state but one Welsh weekly and one monthly, *Y Drych* and *Y Cyfaill*, and one monthly in English devoted to Welsh interests, *The Cambrian*. And these, save for an English monthly in Pennsylvania, *The Druid*, which is devoted to things Welsh, constitute the whole of the periodical issue for the Welsh in this country. The reason for the death of these Welsh papers which were once flourishing, particularly *Y Cenhadwr* and *Y Wawr*, is obvious. It has not been that the numbers of incoming Welsh have fallen off to any great degree but during the last half-century the people of Wales have become better and better acquainted with the English language. Fewer and fewer are ignorant of it and the knowledge among those emigrating to America combined with the ignorance of Welsh among the members of the younger generation in this country has taken away the need for the many Welsh papers. These people can read the larger and better American papers and prefer them to the Welsh. If *Y Drych* is larger and better than ever, it is because it has a clear field. *Y Cyfaill* is finding difficulty in keeping its subscription list up to normal. It is unlikely that either this or *Y Drych* will be able to continue their Welsh publication many years longer.

V. The Welsh and Politics

Two branches of the same stock could hardly differ more than do the Welsh and the Irish, and if there is one point of difference more marked than another, it is the attitude of the two peoples toward politics. That inborn aptitude for political things which characterizes the Irishman is lacking in the Welsh. Why that is so is no part of our subject, but the fact remains and is as true of the Welshman in America as of his brother in Wales. Where he has not been indifferent to politics, he has been opposed to the taking of any part in them further than voting. Particularly has he had a prejudice against his preachers or members of the church intermeddling in political affairs. (1) As a result the strongest and the best men among them in America have paid little attention to the arts of politics and their race has had but slight representation in the affairs of government. Not that the Welsh have stood calmly by when any moral question had stood out clearly

as an issue. The part they played in such cases will be considered presently. This indifference to politics has not been so marked in recent years; the younger generation has been educated by the schools, the older by the Welsh newspapers and both by their intercourse with those who are active in politics, to a fuller appreciation of their rights and duties as citizens. As they have become amalgamated with the Americans, they have tended to develop a larger interest in the governmental affairs of the country.

It is interesting to see what are the offices which have been filled by Welsh in Oneida County. (2) Up to 1850 no Welshman had been sent to the New York State Assembly from Oneida County; none of the sheriffs, save perhaps they ran elected that year, was a Welshman and none of the county clerks had been of Welsh blood. The only Welsh district attorney could claim but a portion of his ancestors among the Welsh and they had long lived in America. The same was true of the only Welshman among the surrogates of the county. (3) This almost total absence from the politics of the county must not be ascribed entirely to the Welsh distaste for politics. It is to be remembered that among the early comers but a small proportion was familiar with the English language and had, therefore, little opportunity to mix in politics. And for the most part they were farmers and mechanics unfitted by education to fill the offices of surrogate, county clerk, district attorney or member of assembly.

The next half-century, when the second generation had matured, saw a much greater number of Welsh in the politics of the county, but the records are not available to demonstrate it. The Welshman took a somewhat larger part in local politics. In Remsen none of the offices of account was filled by a Welshman until 1839, when Evan Owens became supervisor. From then on this office was held almost continuously by Welshmen. (4) But it is to be remembered that for the most of this time three-fourths at least of the inhabitants were Welsh. In Floyd township there was a strong settlement of Welsh and yet not until 1874 do we find a Welsh name among the supervisors. (5) We can hardly imagine, if there had been a similar settlement of Irish in the town, that the list would not have been well filled with O'Briens and Murphys long before 1874.

Tradition has it in Oneida County that the Welsh voted with the Whig Party so long as that party lasted. But this is much to be doubted. It is more likely that they were nearly evenly divided, though any preponderance would be with the Whigs. The votes in Remsen and Steuben for governor of the state furnish good evidence for an estimate. In these two townships during the period it seems fair to count the Welsh as close to three-fourths of the total vote, (6) and the results obtained do not warrant the statement that the Welsh as a body of Whigs. The table from Pomroy Jones shows the votes in Remsen and Steuben for governor of New York State from 1836 to 1850. (7)

So the Welsh stood in politics in 1840, a small majority perhaps for the Whigs. In that year was begun the abolition movement among them which was destined to excite more political feeling than any thing before or after. Up to that time little attention was paid by the Welsh to the subject of slavery. They were opposed to the institution on principle but it did not immediately concern them and they were content to leave it alone. They had no more love for the abolitionist than the ordinary Northerner at that time. The few abolitionists among the Welsh in Oneida who had agitated the subject during 1839 had received very little sympathy. (8) They were thought a group of dreaming radicals and ignored. The Welsh were soon, however, to find this small group growing, and the principles of abolition were soon to become a live issue among them.

Robert Everett, the editor of *Y Cenhadwr* from its establishment in 1840, had been

interested in the cause of the slave even before coming to this country. He had welcomed anti-slavery speakers in his church at Winfield and had observed keenly the slavery controversies in Congress. By 1840 he had concluded that there was no hope for action against slavery in the Democratic or Whig parties and so had abandoned the Whigs for the Liberty Party, formed that year. (9) He was not of that radical type of abolitionist that was represented by William Floyd Garrison. He urged the sin of slavery and considered it would be a great gain for the South should their slaves be emancipated at once, but he recognized the limitation of government and was content to urge the abolition of the interstate slave trade and the slave trade in the District of Columbia and slavery in the districts under the jurisdiction of the federal government.

When Everett began editing *Y Cenhadwr* in 1840, he found the Welsh nominally hostile to slavery, but really paying little attention to it and voting regularly with the Whig and Democratic parties which refused to do aught for the limitation or destruction of it. Indeed both parties were resolutely ignoring the slavery question. Nothing was being done by either of the parties to aid the slave and Everett, with the power of his magazine to work with, felt unable to remain quiet. He had to show to his fellow Welshmen the need for action in the cause of the slave and to convince them that abolition measures were necessary. In the first year of *Y Cenhadwr* he gave but little space to anti-slavery articles, perhaps because he was restrained by the two other editors, (10) but with the second year, when he had almost complete control, the whole power of the paper was brought to the support of anti-slavery. At first with articles showing the sin and cruelty of slavery, the *Cenhadwr* soon was demanding reform, that abolition measures be taken. Everett had to educate his brother Welshmen to the position he occupied and it was not to be done in a day.

Through Everett's efforts in *Y Cenhadwr* and the work of the English abolitionists in the *Friend of Man*, which was published in Utica, a few Welsh began gradually to come over to the cause led by their pastors. December 27th, 1841 there was organized in the Welsh Congregational Church of Utica a Welsh Anti-slavery Society. Seventeen members made up the society and at a second meeting, January 10th of the following year, twenty more joined. The Society among other resolutions voted: "That it is a duty resting upon as a Welsh nation to endeavor to free the slaves in the United States" and took the following pledge: "We whose names are below for the purpose of securing the freedom to the slaves in America and the restoration of freedom to the country, bind ourselves to exhort to the extent of our power; to enlighten and convince our fellow countrymen of the truth of human freedom; we promise to consider the cause our very own for the purpose that we may endeavor to the extent of our power to win others to the cause of anti-slavery; and we who have the suffrage, promise to vote for those nominated for office by the anti-slavery party, unless we believe that the candidate or candidates are unfit for office. (11)

The example of the Utica society was soon followed by the band of converts which followed Everett's lead in Steuben. At Capel Ucha, his church, they met in the evening of January 27, 1842 and formed the "Welsh Anti-Slavery Society of Steuben, Remsen, Trenton and Vicinities". Everett was made president and Reverend J. W. Jones treasurer. The resolutions adopted were similar to those of the Utica society. It is not known how many joined the society, but the number was small. (12) Two years later a third anti-slavery society was established among the Welsh, this one in Holland Patent. (13)

The *Cenhadwr* supported and encouraged these societies and in January 1843 Everett began issuing *Y Dyngarwr*, a small monthly devoted to the interests of anti-slavery and temperance. Many articles showing the evils of slavery and the need of abolition

were given, for which there was not room in *Y Cenhadwr*. Everett, recognizing the important part which the Welsh ministers could play in forming the ideas of their people, send *Y Dyngarwr* to them free. When, from lack of support, he was forced to give up its publication at the end of 1843, he still continued his work for anti-slavery in *Y Cenhadwr*.

Though Everett and his co-laborers were working diligently, they found but few converts and met with much opposition. In 1840 the Liberty Party, which was the party of the abolitionists, save those of the radicals like Garrison, received but two votes in Remsen and three in Steuben. A year's work by the abolitionists showed slight results when at the next election in 1841 seven from Remsen and six from Steuben were with the Liberty Party. (14) Everett had felt opposition keenly in the falling off of the subscription list of the *Cenhadwr*. Most of the Welsh in the south and the border states refused longer to take the magazine after anti-slavery articles began appearing in it and many of their northern sympathizers also ceased their support. Everett's family had to exist on the smallest sum possible, while all available funds were used in the support of *Y Cenhadwr*, which showed a deficit each year. It was partly the fear that his list would continue to fall off and he would have to give up altogether the publication of the magazine, primarily a religious paper for the Welsh Congregationalists, that induced Everett to establish *Y Dyngarwr*, putting in it many anti-slavery articles that otherwise would have appeared in *Y Cenhadwr*.

Everett and the others kept up their fight for abolition and the Liberty Party and soon they had won to their support Morris Roberts of Remsen, aside from Everett himself, the strongest and most influential of the Welsh Congregational ministers of Oneida. It was a movement in which the leaders were at first far ahead of their followers, and though it was joined shortly by James Griffiths and Samuel Williams, the Congregational pastors at Utica and Deerfield respectively, the rank and file still remained faithful to the old parties.

With Birney's nomination for president in 1844 by the Liberty Party, the contest grew more exciting. The abolitionists among the Welsh held frequent meetings, encouraging each other in the work and endeavoring to win converts. In a religious meeting at Penymynydd made up mostly of Congregational pastors, strong resolutions against slavery were taken. (15)

Early in the year the anti-slavery men among the Welsh of the county met in Utica Welsh Congregational church to discuss plans and to encourage each other. The preponderance of clergymen on the various committees and on the program was a striking evidence of the leading part taken by them in the movement. At this meeting a petition was formulated by Everett and accepted by the assembly, calling the attention of the government to the cause of the slave and praying on the part of the Welsh that governmental action be taken in the slave's behalf. This was circulated for signatures among the various Welsh settlements. No record of its fate is obtainable.

Y Cenhadwr was stronger than ever in the cause, for now beside the slaveholders it had the two old parties to assail. Both the Whigs and the Democrats had ignored the question of slavery in their platforms. The old stock difference in principles still remained, and a new issue had been injected into the campaign. President Tyler in the spring of 1844 had completed a treaty for the annexation of Texas, that slave state which in 1836 had seceded from Mexico and had been endeavoring since to enter the American Union. Though the treaty had been rejected by the Senate, Tyler's action had made the annexation of this vast slave territory a vital question. The Democrats with Polk had come out squarely for the reception of Texas. Clay before his nomination had declared in his Raleigh letter his opposition to

annexation and it was generally considered by the public and the Whigs as well, although the platform had said nothing of it, that this was the party's platform.

This satisfied the anti-slavery Whigs who were opposed to the reception of more slave territory. It was Clay's attempt during the campaign to placate feeling in the South (that wanted Texas) by declaring that he was desirous of the annexation of Texas provided it could be accomplished by the United States with honor, and that the subject of slavery ought not to affect the question. That alienated many of these anti-slavery Whigs and gave the Liberty Party a chance to draw these into their ranks.

The Liberty Party favored the annexation of Texas, but as a free state, not as it was, and they had certain definite ideas concerning legislation for slavery which Congress was to make. They wanted the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 repealed, believing that the opportunity thus afforded the slave of freedom in the free states would make slavery so insecure that it would soon crumble. They wished Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and the slave trade between the states. They believed that the constitution by guaranteeing a republican form of government to the states had given Congress the right to abolish slavery in the states, since the two were incompatible. They did not, however, urge that Congress take such action. That was a radical step to be taken only after their other ends should be gained.

Everett found the principles of the Liberty Party entirely satisfactory and he urged them in *Y Cenhadwr* to the best of his ability. He printed many articles sent in the form of letters to the *Cenhadwr* from supporters of the Liberty Party in the county. Birney was vigorously defended and Polk and Clay as vigorously attacked. Clay in particular suffered. A duelist, a slave master, a gambler and a drinker he is called (16) with the usual logic of campaign argument. Everett shows the inconsistencies Mr. Clay had exhibited so freely during that campaign and, for the benefit of the well wishers of the slave in the Whig Party, declares that Clay's Alabama letters have shown that he has no real interest in the cause of the slave. (17) Clay was more fiercely assailed than Polk, perhaps because a larger proportion of Welsh were within the Whig ranks, more likely because the Whigs were more opposed to slavery than the Democrats and as a consequence more easily won to the Liberty Party.

Everett is met with the argument that to vote for Birney is but to throw away the vote because there is no chance of election. "It is true", he answers, "that the cause is weak, but it is our privilege to stand for a good cause, though it is weak, and there is no hope for any good cause in the present evil world, unless some will stand for it in its weakness and humility. And moreover this cause, though beginning weak, is growing rapidly and through the unwavering righteousness of God its success is certain. (18)

The great mass of the Welsh did not take kindly to this active part in politics, which the abolitionists of their race were taking, and Everett with his followers suffered persecution for their cause. Their meetings were usually held in the church buildings, the social center for the Welsh, and it was not uncommon for the speakers to be assailed by hymn books and rotten eggs from the gallery. (19) One evening Everett drove to a Welsh settlement above Steuben where he was to speak, his two sons, John and Robert, accompanying him to protect him from possible violence. During the meeting, while the three were within and Everett was eulogizing Birney and his principles, some ruffians got at their horse, hacked the mane off unevenly, cut the tail short and broke up the harness. Everett and sons were able to repair the harness sufficiently to reach home again, but they could not so easily restore their horse to his proper appearance. From that time

forth the poor steed formed the butt for the shafts of the hostile countryside and was generally known as "Bobtail Birney".

These petty annoyances were not, however, the most serious results of Everett's anti-slavery propaganda. But a small proportion of his congregation sympathized with him and they were much aroused by the active part he was taking in politics. Everett would make no compromises and as the opposition strengthened against him, merely redoubled his efforts. Matters finally came to a crisis when in the summer of 1844 a meeting was called of the church to consider the question of Everett's removal. The forces against him were strong and at one time it looked as though he would have to go. But his old friends, forgetting the cause of their complaint, rallied to his support and it was voted that he be retained. The other preachers already mentioned, though not so prominent in the work as Everett, had to bear their share of the persecution.

As Election Day grew nearer the excitement among the Welsh grew more intense. The Whigs, the party that had been most bitterly assailed in *Y Cenhadwr* and in the public meetings, were not content to remain quiet under these attacks. On the 22nd of October there appeared from the press of R.W. Roberts in Utica the first number of the *Seren Oneida (Oneida Star)*, a Whig newspaper. But the single issue appeared before election and that was devoted entirely to the campaign with particular reference to the Welsh abolitionists in Oneida County. (20) The leading article was written by D.E. Morris, a man of the highest character and some prominence among the Welsh in Utica, becoming in the following year an alderman of the city, and withal an earnest friend of the slave. But like most of the Welsh at the time, though they belonged to the anti-slavery branch of their parties, they were still loyal to the old organization and looked only with dislike upon those radicals who were advocating the principles of the Liberty Party. This party he dubs the "Libel Party". The *Cenhadwr*, he thinks, has either given or sold itself to that party. He takes exception to several articles that have appeared in *Y Cenhadwr* and he bemoans the fact that the abolition sentiment is making their ministers politicians and that as such they are open to telling untruths. Better than any other he expresses that Welsh hatred of their church being in any way connected with politics. He had thought more of the editor of *Y Cenhadwr* than of any one who had crossed the Atlantic. He is sore at heart that this dear friend has gone into Oneida County and become a disgrace and a shame to his countrymen. "It is a pity that a minister of the gospel has turned a politician. He is doubtless the cause of the greatest disturbance that has ever taken place among our people in this community." He goes on to say that the cause of the slave can find its champion only in Clay, that the Democrats are working to admit Texas merely to get more slave territory and that Birney has no chance of election.

Such was the burden of the leading article in the *Seren*. A number of others followed attacking Birney and repeating from the Detroit papers the fable that he had turned locofoco. Toward the later part of the paper the weapons of the editors were turned against Polk and the Democrats.

That a newspaper should have been founded with the express purpose of combating the arguments of the abolitionists indicates the pitch to which the feeling of the Welsh had been aroused. The Whigs had feared that which actually took place, that the Liberty Party would be able to draw enough support from the Whig ranks to give the electoral vote of New York to Polk and so give him the election, but it was the feeling that the principles of the Liberal Party were striking at the vitals of the Whig organization, that in that party lay the seed of forces which, if they were to develop, would eventually undermine the Whig Party, and it was the fear of the potential power of these abolitionists that struck deep into the Whig mind and caused the bitterness of this campaign among the Welsh. Measured

by the size of the vote they polled in the November election - Remsen gave Alvin Stuart, the Abolition candidate for governor, 31 votes and Steuben gave him 37 - these Welsh abolitionists had little over which to rejoice. But it was a large increase over any vote they had received before and even if that had not been true, they might yet have felt satisfied, for they were working for the future. The seed which Everett and his followers were sowing in 1844 was to bear fruit a thousand fold in 1856. They were preparing the field for the Republican Party which, with its doctrine of the limitation of slavery, was to command the support of the Welsh in Oneida almost to a man.

While *Y Cenhadwr* during this campaign and during the years preceding was fighting valiantly for the abolition cause, *Y Cyfaill*, the other Welsh paper, had adhered closely to its policy of neutrality as between the parties. Its columns were open letters, many of which, in their size, amounted to contributed articles, on both sides of the slavery controversy, but the editor himself took no part in the discussion, consistently refusing to take one side or the other. *Seren Orllewinol*, which was started in July of 1844, ignored the slavery question at that time.

Though the space devoted to abolition was reduced after the election of 1844, *Y Cenhadwr* still continued to work for the cause. Beside Everett's own articles there were many contributions from Morris Roberts, and the other supporters of the party. Aid was even received from the old country. In the issue for June 1845 appeared a long letter from W. Rees of Liverpool, in which he expressed great surprise and sorrow that any of the Welsh in the United States should give their votes for slavery and urged them to vote for Congressmen who were opposed to slavery. (21) Such letters appeared frequently.

The endeavor always was to convince the Welsh that action for the aid of the slave was necessary and that such action could not be looked for in the Democratic or Whig parties, but must be sought through the Liberty Party. When in 1848 the Free Soil Party was formed with its principle of no slavery in the territories, Everett like most of the others in the Liberty Party was willing to put aside for the time his more radical doctrines and joined it. He would have preferred John P. Hales to Martin Van Buren as candidate for president, but he rejoiced to see Van Buren and thousands of others, who had in times gone by worked on the side of the slave masters, now changing to the side of freedom. (22) Among these thousands there were many Welsh. In Oneida the work of Everett and his followers was telling. The abolition sentiment was strong enough in September of 1848 so that the Oneida *Cymanfa* of the Congregationalists passed a resolution that they would oppose the extension of slavery and do what they could to end slavery in the districts where the general government had authority. (23) The votes in Remsen and Steuben in 1848 showed a strong support for Fish, the Whig nominee for governor; the vote for Dix does not indicate that his supporters were all Free Soilers, for certain divisions of the Whigs and Democrats supported him also. At any rate, the anti-slavery men had largely increased their vote. When the Congressional *Cymanfa* a second time passed resolutions against slavery in 1849, though had to admit that "our people generally consider themselves opposed to slavery and for the freedom of the slaves, but the greatest part of them continue to give their votes to the slave holders and assert at the same time that they are indeed standing for the cause of the slave", (24) yet there was evident among them greater confidence in the success of the cause. Indeed with the majority of the ministers behind the movement, it could be but a short time before the mass of the people were drawn into line.

For lack of the necessary facts one cannot follow in detail the development among the Welsh of that anti-slavery spirit which was not satisfied with the refusal of both Whigs and Democrats to take action against slavery and was angered by their weak-kneed concessions to the South in the Compromise of 1850. The publication

of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, first as a serial in 1853 in *Y Cyfaill* and then in book form by Everett, was calculated to stir up a more active anti-slavery spirit among them.

But it was for the Kansas-Nebraska Act to bring the Welsh as a body to the anti-slavery cause. There was no refuge for the anti-Nebraska Democrats and Whigs among the Welsh in the Know Nothing party; they had to seek the ranks of the Free Soilers. Though but few of the Oneida Welshmen had responded to Everett's exhortations that they should go to Kansas to aid in making it a free state, there was a general opposition among them to this last encroachment of the slave power upon the north and a general opposition to the Democratic party which had put through this act. The Whig party disappeared and its members, like the old Democrats, were ready for a new party organized on the basis of opposition to slavery extension by Congressional action, and when the Republican Party was organized, they were behind it almost to a man.

The Campaign of 1844 had stirred up the Welshmen in Oneida, but now in 1856 they were really aroused as well as all the other Welsh settlements in the country, and in this campaign they were all ranged together. All of their periodicals save *Y Cyfaill*, which was neutral, were strong for the Republican Party. (25) All through the summer of 1856 *Y Cymro Americanaidd* had its columns filled with Republican campaign arguments and reports of the founding of Fremont clubs and the holding of Republican meetings among the Welsh. Political tracts of many kinds were gotten out in the Welsh, Summer's *Crime Against Kansas* was translated and circulated as campaign material and a Welsh *Life of Fremont* was scattered among them. Never had the Welsh been so roused over a political issue; and they were unanimous now. From Troy, New York came the word that in their little settlement there "The Welsh are as true as steel to freedom; (26) the *Carbondale* (PA where there was a large Welsh settlement) *Transcript* said: "In all our political experience we have never known the Welsh as a class so thoroughly aroused to the importance of action as at the present crisis. It is general throughout the extensive Welsh settlements in various parts of the Union. They have established Fremont Clubs in most of their settlements and we learn that our Welsh citizens intend holding one or two Republican meetings during the fall, when it is expected that they will be favored by addresses from some distinguished Welshmen from abroad." (27)

In Oneida County there was the same general union of the Welshmen in the new party as elsewhere. They held a meeting in Holland Patent, October 11, 1856, at which were present delegates from all the Welsh settlements in the county. Reports from these delegates "showed that in many of the towns nearly every Welsh voter was openly for Freedom and Fremont while in several others the 'black list' was hopelessly small. The committee of arrangements reported that inasmuch as they were advised that the Welsh electors of Oneida County were almost universally for Freedom and Fremont, they deemed it unnecessary to call a county mass meeting, but recommended the holding of a series of town and school meetings to sympathize with and aid the oppressed freemen in Kansas and further the Republic cause. Town committees of three were appointed for the calling of school district meetings and the circulation of Republican documents. (28)

The Welsh were now united in one party and that party organized on the principle of opposition to slavery. It was what Everett and his supporters had worked for and the work, once done, was permanent. To this day the Welsh have stayed close to the Republican Party, voting with it regularly until a portion of them broke away to follow Roosevelt in 1912.

The excuse for giving this account of the Welsh in politics in some detail is the interest which attaches to the process of absorption by the American body of an alien people, especially a people who speak a different tongue. The interest which

they take in current political affairs, the ease or lack of it which they show in adopting the political methods they find here, and the strength of the feeling aroused in them by political issues, all these indicate the adaptability of the race to new and changed conditions, and the development of any of these characteristics over a period of time makes an interesting study in amalgamation. The facts are too scattered at present to allow for a complete study of this kind in connection with the Welsh. This chapter has served its purpose if it has indicated what have been the tendencies of the Welsh in political affairs in America.

The growth and the decline of the Welsh church and the Welsh press, as well as the causes for both, serve to show the process of amalgamation and if they have indicated how these Welshmen have been absorbed into the American body, giving up to a certain extent the special institutions they brought with them, these chapters will have served their end.

Appendix
Numbers of Welsh Immigrants to the United States

Year	NYC	U.S.	Year	NYC	U.S.	Year	U.S.
1846	—	147	1868	699	—	1890	650
1847	472	145	1869	1111	660	1891	424
1848	1054	348	1870	545	1011	1892	729
1849	1782	272	1871	—	899	1893	1043
1850	1520	242	1872	644	1214	1894	1001
1851	2189	211	1873	621	840	1895	1602
1852	2531	741	1874	1226	665	1896	1581
1853	1182	222	1875	849	449	1897	870
1854	1288	816	1876	451	324	1898	1219
1855	1118	1176	1877	348	261	1899	1324
1856	1376	1126	1878	651	243	1900	764
1857	887	769	1879	2899	543	1901	701
1858	566	316	1880	3588	1173	1902	763
1859	500	332	1881	4207	1027	1903	1275
1860	811	610	1882	4451	1656	1904	1730
1861	697	461	1883	3840	1597	1905	2503
1862	1062	536	1884	1776	901	1906	1841
1863	1143	705	1885	1108	1127	1907	2660
1864	659	628	1886	1043	1027	1908	2287
1865	505	146	1887	5449	1820	1909	1584
1866	540	231	1888	1269	1654	1910	2120
1867	142	143	1889	745	1181	—	—

The tables above show the number of incoming Welsh as given for the port of New York by the New York State Commissioners of Emigration and for the United States

by the United States commissioner of Immigration. The figures for New York from May, 1847, when they were begun, to December, 1889 are probably as nearly accurate as it was possible to make them, and after April, 1890, when the United States Treasury Department took control at the New York port, the figures in the column under U.S. are also probably correct. Before that date no reliance whatever can be placed upon the statistics collected by the federal authorities. From 1820 to 1845 they reported the arrival of only 462 Welsh; there were however many more than that in several single years between those dates. The failure to record a larger number of the Welsh is due mostly to the custom either of classifying them with the English or of leaving them entirely unclassified. This custom among the federal officials continued at least until 1890 as is shown by the tables above where for most years fewer Welsh immigrants are reported for the whole United States than for the single port of New York.

Number of Foreign-born Welshmen
(See the United States and New York Census Reports)

	1850	1855	1860	1865	1870
United States	29868	----	45763	----	74533
New York State	7582	----	----	----	----
Oneida County	----	4195	----	3148	----
City of Utica	----	860	----	811	----
	1880	1890	1900	1910	
United States	83302	100079	93856	82488	
New York	7223	8108	7304	7464	
Oneida County	----	3106	2536	----	
City of Utica	----	1314	1165	1188	

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Notes: I. Emigration from Wales

¹Rowland E. Prothero: *English Farming Past and Present*, p. 317.

²Thomas Tooke: *History of Prices*, p. 13, vol. II. To him I owe the figures quoted on prices hereafter.

³Marriot: *England Since Waterloo*, p.25.

⁴Id. p. 24.

⁵*Report of the Poor Law commissioners 1909*, note p. 304 and Marriot, p. 18.

⁶Nicholls: *English Poor Law II*, pp. 165-287.

⁷Nicholls: *English Poor Law II*, p. 439. He gives a list of the numbers emigrating from the United Kingdom, of which the following is an extract.

Year	to United States	Total
1815	1209	2081
1816	9022	12501
1818	12429	27787
1822	4137	20429
1825	5551	14891
1829	15678	31198
1832	32872	103140
1836	37774	75417
1840	40642	90743
1842	63852	128344
1846	82239	129851
1847	142154	258270
1850	223078	280849

⁸For the numbers of Welsh arriving in New York after 1847 see Appendix.

⁹See *Y Cyfaill* I: p. 192 and p. 348; *Y Cenhadwr*: 1840, p. 221 and 1844: p. 318; *Y Beread*: July 15, 1842.

¹⁰*Y Cenhadwr*: 1847, p. 221.

¹¹See preface to James Caird: *English Agriculture*.

¹²*Y Cenhadwr*: 1848, p. 333.

¹³*Y Cenhadwr*: 1850, p. 194. A letter from John Rees.

¹⁴*Id.* 1847, p. 254.

¹⁵*Id.* 1848, p. 306.

¹⁶*Y Cenhadwr*: 1848, p. 127.

¹⁷*The Old Countryman*: Jan. 1, 1848.

¹⁸*Y Cenhadwr*: 1849, p. 127.

¹⁹*Id.* 1849, p. 138.

²⁰*Y Cenhadwr*: 1849, p. 248 notes the landing in July of the *Guy Mannering* with 800 immigrants, 150 of whom were Welsh, 3 being Welsh preachers. The same magazine 1850: p. 165 announces from *Yr Amserau* that large numbers of Welsh were preparing to leave Liverpool for New York between the 16th and 20th of April, most of them intending to go to Wisconsin. Their purpose was to come on the same ship--none but Welsh; this for religious advantages, peace and other comforts of the voyage. *Y Cenhadwr*: 1850, p. 195 copies from *Yr Amserau* the report of the sailing from Liverpool of the Welsh steamer *Forest Queen* on April 18th, 1850 with 375 Welshmen on board, 97 English, 19 Irish and 3 Germans. Rev. John Phillips of Bangor came on board before the sailing and in an address in Welsh, urging them to cling to their religion and encouraging them in their new venture, he enumerated the causes of their misery, "Rents are high, taxes are high, tithes are oppressive and the prices of products of the soil are remarkably low." When the *Forest Queen* reached New York it was reported as having 400 Welsh on board. *Y Cenhadwr*: 1850, p. 200

announces the arrival in the spring of 1850 of the *Higgison* which sailed from Carnarvon with slate, reaching New York May 16th with 160 Welsh immigrants.

²¹My great grandfather, about 1830, took a lease for three lives of a large estate in Cardigan, and this appears to have been not unusual. The rents he received from the smaller farms enabled him to live comfortably, even without the return from his own large share of the estate.

²²*Y Cenhadwr*: 1850, p. 198.

²³Cornish: *English Church in the 19th Century*, II, p. 338.

²⁴Henry W. Clarke: *A History of Tithes*, p. 220. In speaking of the diocese of St. Asaph, which included Denbigshire and Flint with parts of Montgomeryshire, Carnarvonshire, Merionethshire, Cheshire and Salop, the author says: "There were fifteen sinecure rectories in this diocese in 1836 with incomes amounting in the aggregate to 6227 commuted value. The rectors of these benefices had no duties whatever to perform. They received handsome incomes and nothing to do for them. Here was the rich harvest for the bishop's sons and other relatives. The benefices were all in the bishop's patronage. Bishop Luxmore, who was bishop of St. Asaph from 1815 to 1830, had an income of £12,000 per annum, and his two sons and two relatives had between them £15,000 a year from the diocese, i.e. £27,000 per annum received by the father, his two sons and two relatives at a time when the total net receipts by all the working clergy of this diocese amounted to only £18,000 per annum."

²⁵See R.D. Thomas: *Hanes Cymry America*, Part III, p. 143, for an instance of the discharge of a teacher for attending dissenting churches.

²⁶*Y Cenhadwr*: 1850, p. 200.

²⁷For the most part they came by steerage as the following figures from the reports of the New York State Commissioners of Emigration will show:

Year	Steerage	Cabin	Total
1876	428	23	451
1877	341	7	348
1878	632	19	651
1879	2759	140	2899
1880	3563	25	3588
1881	4060	147	4207
1882	4434	117	4451

Before 1876 the figures do not show the mode of travel but all reports would lead to the belief that the proportion of steerage passengers to the whole before that date was much the same as after. The following advertisement in the issue of *The Emigrant and Old Countryman* for January 20, 1841 shows the cost of steerage passage with a reputable firm at that time: "Passengers will be found in provisions for the passage [from Liverpool to New York] for \$10 extra, or \$26 for passage, provisions and hospital money. Passages can also be engaged from Liverpool to Philadelphia, Baltimore and Boston at \$20 for each adult."

²⁸*Parliamentary Papers and Abstracts*, 1826, p. 259.

²⁹*Y Cyfaill*: Vol. III, p. 279 ff.

³⁰*Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of New York State for 1848*, p. 6.

³¹*Y Cenhadwr*: 1849, p. 248

³²*Report of the Select Committee to investigate frauds on Emigrants*. Assembly Document, New York State, #250, December 6, 1847, p. 2.

³³*Y Cenhadwr*: Jan. 1857. On the third page of the cover appears the advertisement of Cadwalader Richards. Three of the most noted Welsh pastors in New York and Pennsylvania warmly recommend him as a general guide for Welsh immigrants landing in New York. Dr. Mary Everett of Remsen, who knew him, told me that he was for some time a government official at Castle Garden.

³⁴*Report of Select Committee*, p. 72

³⁵*Id.* p. 108

³⁶*Y Cyfaill*, vol. I, p. 192, for an instance of this with Welsh immigrants.

³⁷*Report of the Select Committee to investigate frauds*, p. 58

³⁸*Id.*, p. 38-39. Mr. Charles H. Webb, Superintendent of the British Protective Emigrant Society, at 42 Cortlandt Street, New York, in his testimony before the Committee said that the Society endeavored to protect English, Welsh and Scotch emigrants (who "generally have large amounts of money") from the cupidity of the runners. The effectiveness of their efforts, he said, was evidenced by the very small number of these nationalities who had made application to the Commissioners of Emigration for relief as compared with the Irish and Germans.

³⁹*New York Daily Tribune*, Dec. 21, 1854, p. 6, col. 6.

⁴⁰*New York Assembly Document*, #99, 1850.

⁴¹*Report of the Emigration Commissioners of New York State for 1857*, p. 26.

⁴²Jones sometime before had established in Liverpool an agency for his emigrating countrymen, and he is frequently mentioned in the Welsh papers with praise for his kindness to emigrants. At this time he was in New York seeking information of desirable locations for emigrants, of modes and costs of transportations, and of other matters. His friends and those whom he had aided gave him a banquet in New York, presenting him with a valuable watch as a token of his esteem. In acknowledging this, he spoke of the exemplary manner in which the government agents at Liverpool discharged their duties and asserted positively that it was impossible to exercise more care to carry out literally the provisions of the Passenger Act, in order to insure to the emigrant the greatest comfort and protection possible.

Notes: II. Coming of the Welsh to Oneida

¹See chapter I passim of Pomroy Jones: *Annals of Oneida County*.

²Erasmus W. Jones: "Early Welsh Settlers of Oneida County", Vol. 5 *Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society*.

³Moses Bagg: *Pioneers of Utica*, p. 38 says that in 1794 a blacksmith, Thomas Jones, arrived in Utica from Carnarvonshire, Wales.

⁴See the Cofiant of William P. Jones in *Y Cenhadwr* 1846, p. 277. Ll. D. Howell says he went from New York to Albany with S. Rowland, from there with another man, probably Davies.

⁵Llewellyn D. Howell: *Dechreuad a Chynydd y Cymry yn Utica a'i Hamgylchoedd*, p. 6.

⁶*Y Cyfaill*, Vol. II, p. 44, Iago ab Owain in a letter says that these early settlers were from Leyn, Carnarvonshire. He says they reached Steuben Sept. 3rd, 2½ days from Utica.

⁷L. D. Howell gives a complete sketch of the journey from Griffith O. Griffith in Welsh. The *Utica Morning Herald*, April 29, 1879, gives a translation of the sketch.

⁸Moses Bagg, *Pioneers of Utica*, p. 301, and E. W. Jones, "Early Welsh Settlers of Oneida County." The family was in easy circumstances and defrayed the expenses of several of their neighbors coming in the same ship. They settled on Frankfort Hill.

⁹Ll. D. Howell, pp. 8-9. He gives the names of those he has been able to ascertain. These were the ministers, John Stephens and James Harries, two ministers with the Baptists, and the Messrs. Abraham Williams, John Reed and six sons, Joseph Harries, David Thomas, William Rees, Simon John, John Nicholas, John Rees, Nathaniel Davies,

James Philips, James Jones, David Reed, Daniel Richards, Evan Owens, Rees Jones and Samuel George. Several of these had their families with them.

¹⁰A great many of the Welsh are artisans and from the beginning they are to be found at their trades in Utica and the smaller places outside. Many in the former place have developed large businesses. In 1802 there came to Utica by way of Baltimore a Welsh carpenter, Edward Baldwin from Monmouthshire. His reputation as a builder grew rapidly; he was entrusted with the building of the academy and the courthouse, and though he might have had it on much better terms than other mechanics, as a good Baptist and Welshman, he refused "for conscience sake" the contract for the erection of the Catholic church soon after built. See Bagg: *Pioneers*, p. 145.

¹¹*Centennial Address at Trenton* by Seymour--a statement of W. C. Rowley, p. 144.

¹²Daniel Wager: *Our County and its People*, p. 508. He says that David Jones was the first Welshman to settler in Remsen; that he took up the so-called Billings lot on the Steuben road. Date of his coming unknown.

¹³P. Jones, p. 306.

¹⁴L. d. Howell, p. 18.

¹⁵See a sketch of the churches in these Welsh settlements by Rev. Lewis Williams in *The Cambrian*, 1905, p. 372.

¹⁶*The Cambrian*, 1880, p. 191.

¹⁷See Erasmus W. Jones: "Early Welsh Settlers", for many instances of short stays in Philadelphia. Obituary notices in *Y Cenhadwr* give us many more. A few follow: *Y Cenhadwr*, 1844, p. 125, John W. Roberts and his wife came to Philadelphia in 1800 from Carnarvon in the spring and in the fall of the same year they moved to Steuben. Id. 1846, p. 211, John R. Jones came to Philadelphia in 1801, and in 1804 moved to Remsen. p. 372, William R. Evans landed in Baltimore in 1800 or 1801; went to Philadelphia where he and Andrew Williams took care of the float bridge over the Schuylkill. Here he was a member of the Welsh church, of which the pastor, Daniel Morris, later moved to Utica. Mr. Evans moved to Steuben in 1805.

¹⁸Pomroy Jones: *Annals*, p. 706.

¹⁹It should be remembered that the Holland Purchase, that land owned by the Holland Land Company, was entirely distinct from the Holland Patent. The latter consisted of about 20,000 acres which lay in the southwest part of the town of Trenton, being a patent granted to Lord Holland by the British Crown and was in no way connected with the Holland Land Company's purchase in the same territory.

²⁰From the records in the County Clerk's Office at Utica. Nov. 6, 1804 is recorded a deed to Rowland Griffiths from Adam G. Mappa, who succeeded Boon as agent of the Company. Oct. 13, 1809 another deed to Griffith R. Griffiths, et al. from Peter Van Eegen, et al, the chief members of the company. And in March 11, 1812, a deed from the same Richard Griffiths. Others appeared in later years and only a lack of time in the office prevented a complete list of sales made by the Holland Land Company to Welshmen.

²¹See Orsamus Turner: *History of the Holland Purchase*.

²²Friedrich Kapp: *Life of Steuben*, pp. 577-8.

²³Taken from the records of the county Clerk's office at Utica.

²⁴Bagg: *Pioneers of Utica*. He says that some of the old Welsh residents thought Walker, appreciating the industry of the Welshmen, induced the first of them to come to Oneida.

²⁵Ellis H. Roberts told me that his father who came to this country in 1816 worked as a stone mason for some time on the locks at Little Falls.

²⁶Bowley: *Wages*, p. 32. Weekly wages in Glamorgan in 1821 were 9s 6d for agricultural workers or about \$2.25 per week. The year 1821 represents a fair wage during the time of depression. The common laborer on the Erie Canal was getting 87¢ per day or \$5.25 per week, the skilled laborers, like masons and carpenters, getting more. See Laws of the State of New York in relation to the Erie and Champlain Canals, vol. II, p. 200. It should be remembered, however, that in many parts of Wales during this period wages were habitually supplemented out of the poor rate to an extent sufficient to keep the laborer and his family alive.

Notes: III. The Welsh Churches

¹P. Jones: *Annals*, p. 573. This apparently is reliable for Ll. D. Howell, the Welsh historian, embodies it in his account.

²Moses Bagg: *Pioneers*, p. 134.

³P. Jones: *Annals*, p. 575, and J. Edred Jones in *Y Wawr*, Vol. II, p. 78.

⁴W. R. Edwards: *Cofiant Rhys Gwesyn Jones*, pp. 102 ff. An account furnished by W.W. George, an officer of the church. See also the *Cambrian*, 1902, p. 96.

⁵T. S. Griffiths: *Hanes Y Methodistiaid Calфинаidd*, pp. 17 ff.

⁶R.D. Thomas: *Hanes*, p. 85.

⁷See Chapter III in Ll. D. Howell: *Hanes Cymry Utica*. This forms the foundation of the account in R.D. Thomas: *Hanes Cymry America*. See also an article by Dr. Mary H. Everett in *The Cambrian*, 1904, pp. 419 ff.

⁸William Rowlands: *Dechreuad a Chynnydd Y Methodistiaid Calфинаidd Yn America*, p. 8. This is from the diary of James Owen of Trenton.

⁹*Y Cyfaill*, Vol. II, p. 45. This was a letter from Iago ab Owain (James Owen) of Trenton.

¹⁰See the tables of data concerning the C. M. churches in New York, 1842, in Rowlands: *Dechreuad a Cynnydd*.

¹¹R.D. Thomas: *Hanes*, I, p. 94.

¹²*Y Cenhadwr*, 1846, p. 57.

¹³*Y Cyfaill*, Vol. I, p. 124.

¹⁴See sketches of these in Thomas, *Hanes*, pp. 86-94.

¹⁵R. D. Thomas: *Hanes*, pp. 98 and 100. In the twenty churches the three churches in Prospect just over the line in Trenton township are counted. Thomas estimates the Welsh population there at 300.

¹⁶William Rowlands: *The Welsh Calvinistic Methodists*, p. 28.

¹⁷T. S. Griffith: *Hanes*, p. 18.

¹⁸Bagg: *Pioneers*, p. 136.

¹⁹Beginning in 1833, Morris Roberts, one of the most noted of the Welsh American clergymen, began farming and preaching in Remsen. Edward Davies in his biography of Roberts gives a statement by him at this time (p. 161). "Pen-y-caerau was our church and the [Calvinistic] Methodists had traveling preaching in different places. The wages at this time were a dollar in Pen-y-caerau, half a dollar in Nant and a dollar in Remsen; this made two dollars and a half for that Sunday; French Road gave a quarter of a dollar and Pen-y-graig, half a dollar or about that; it was a dollar and a half to two dollars for going to Utica." This was in the early days and salaries later became larger, though I am unable to give the figures. Mrs. E.C. Evans of Remsen says that at present the recognized price for a sermon in the churches that have supplies is three dollars.

²⁰Roland Griffiths, who supplied in the Welsh Congregational church in Utica in the early days, was a tailor. See Bagg: *Pioneers*, p. 146, and Edwards: *R.G. Jones*, p. 102. Thomas T. Evans, who supplied in Floyd and elsewhere, supported himself publishing books. Rev. Dr. Williams of Remsen in recent times has carried on a drug business together with his preaching.

²¹See the annual *Reports of the American Home Missionary Society*--10th report.

²²*Id.*, 23rd report.

²³*Id.*, 29th report.

²⁴*Id.*, 34th report.

²⁵*Id.*, 35th report.

²⁶*Id.*, 40th to 43rd reports.

²⁷*Id.*, 42nd to 46th reports. I have not seen the yearly reports after May 1872, so do not know how long aid continued. It is at first sight strange to see that the records show in benevolent offerings of these churches sums often nearly as large as they received from the Society as aid and at times even larger (Rome, in 46th report). They found it easier to contribute to outside causes than to the

support of their own ministers.

²⁸See the Obituaries in *The Cambrian* for recent years and biographies in Thomas E. Hughes' and David Edwards' *Hanes Cymry Minnesota*, which furnish abundant evidence of this. There was a constant movement westward from Pennsylvania and from the New York settlements to the Welsh settlements of the states above named and to California.

²⁹Thomas: *Hanes*, p. 98.

³⁰*Y Wawr*, vol. III, p. 14.

³¹I am indebted for these facts to Rev. Dr. Williams of Remsen.

³²R. D. Thomas: *Hanes Cymry America*, I, p. 97.

³³There are less than a third of the inhabitants of Wales at present who do not know the English, and the educated clergymen are able to use it fluently.

³⁴R. D. Thomas: *Hanes*, I, p. 98.

³⁵For the facts relating to the present day condition of these churches, I am indebted to Rev. Dr. Williams, who has preached in many of them as a supply for the last thirty years.

³⁶T. Solomon Griffiths: *Hanes Methodistiaid Calfinaid*, Utica, N.Y., gives a complete history of this church.

³⁷See Chap. III, Pt. II, in Edwards: *R.G. Jones*.

³⁸P. Jones: *Annals*, pp. 573 and 575.

³⁹*Y Wawr*, Vol. I, p. 275.

⁴⁰*Id.*, Vol. II, p. 154.

⁴¹This is probably an exaggeration, but the tide of immigration was temporarily low in 1877.

⁴²One can imagine the pangs of conscience this concession to necessity cost many of those strict Baptists.

⁴³*Y Wawr*, Vol. II, p. 84.

⁴⁴This is true for New York State but it does not hold good for Wisconsin and perhaps some of the other states. See the *Congregational Quarterly*, Vol. II, p. 401, and R.D. Thomas: *Hanes*, III, pp. 137-8. It is difficult to tell in what status the American Congregational Church has regarded the Welsh. In their Yearbook for 1856 none of the New York or Pennsylvania Welsh churches were included, save that in New York City. In 1859 all were there of any size but in the list of ministers in New York as given in the *Congregational Quarterly* for 1860, the names of none of the Oneida pastors appear.

⁴⁵See p. 60.

⁴⁶*Y Cenhadwr*, 1857, pp. 262 and 385.

⁴⁷*Y Cyfaill*, Vol. II, p. 212; Vol. III, p. 245.

⁴⁸This information has been furnished me by T. Solomon Griffiths, Chairman of the Board.

⁴⁹*Y Cyfaill*, Vol. II, p. 147.

⁵⁰*Y Cyfaill*, Vol. III, p. 23.

⁵¹*Y Cenhadwr*, 1857, pp. 66-68.

⁵²*The Cambrian*, Vol. II, p. 64.

⁵³Morris Roberts in 1846 collected for Peniel among the churches in Pennsylvania \$670 and \$170 in New York City with expenses of \$44, and in 1857 G. Griffiths reported a collection of \$143.75 from three Welsh settlements in Pennsylvania. This was for the New York City church.

Notes: IV. The Welsh Press

¹W. R. Edwards: *Cofiant Rhys G. Jones*, p. 105.

²B. F. Lewis in a manuscript on Welsh publications in Utica from 1808 to 1850 in the Oneida County Historical Society Library, gives this information which he obtained from Mr. H. P. Jones of Remsen in 1855.

³Bagg: *Pioneers*, p. 161. He says that Merrell also printed a catechism in Welsh.

⁴*Y Cenhadwr*, 1848, p. 269. The difficulty of distributing the books does not appear

to have caused high prices, however, for the book advertised in *Y Cenhadwr* was of 480 pages and sold at \$1.25.

⁵T. Solomon Griffiths informs me that Thomas Evans was at one time worth \$10,000, which he made probably in his publishing work.

⁶See *Hysbysiad Cyntaf y Bibl Gymdeithas Gymreig yn Steuben ac Utica*, Jan. 1822, p. 9.

⁷In *Y Cenhadwr*, 1845, p. 187, the Society announces the early publication of the penny tracts mentioned above and on the fourth page of the cover of *Seren Orllewinol*, June 1845, appeared an announcement from Samuel Jones of New York that Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* was nearly ready for distribution and that one of Baxter's books was soon to be published.

⁸*The Cambrian*, 1897, 311.

⁹In 1841, J. H. Rathbone was agent in Utica and J. B. Loak sold single copies of it.

¹⁰B. F. Lewis in *Newspaper and Periodical Press of the United States in the 10th Census*, 1880, p. 129.

¹¹R. D. Thomas: *Hanes*, Part III, p. 48.

¹²See for a full account of this Howell Powell: *Cofiant William Rowlands*, especially pp. 391-2.

¹³*Y Cenhadwr*, 1847, p. 171. There is here printed a column and a half which the editor of *Y Cyfaill* had refused.

¹⁴The following is a list of the places in which Rowlands resided, with dates, taken from Powell: *Rowlands*, p. 283. The printers names have been obtained from the papers themselves:

Place	Date	Printer
New York	August 1836 to May 1841	William Osborn (N. Y.)
Utica	May 1841 to May 1844	Evan E. Roberts (Utica)
New York	May 1844 to May 1845	William Osborn
Rome	May 1854 to May 1856	R. R. Meredith (Rome)
Scranton	May 1856 to Sept. 1858 and after Jan. 1858 when Jenkins moved there from Rome	R. R. Meredith (Rome) David C. Davies (Utica)
Holland Patent	Sept. 1858 to Mar. 1862	D. C. Davies and T. J. Griffiths (Utica)
Rome	Mar. 1862 to April 1863	T. J. Griffiths (Utica)
Utica	April 1863 to his death in 1866	T. J. Griffiths

¹⁵Powell: *Rowlands*, p. 392.

¹⁶This was probably during the year 1858 or a portion of it. Before that year it was requested that payments be made to Rowlands at Scranton; in the March number, 1858, the subscribers and agents were asked to send their payments to Jenkins.

¹⁷H. J. Hughes in R. D. Thomas: *Hanes*, Part III, p. 50.

¹⁸So T. S. Griffiths, its former editor, writes me.

¹⁹In the *Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Calvinistic Methodists for 1899* (Utica, N. Y.) is noted the receipt of \$250.00, profit from *Y Cyfaill* for that year.

²⁰See Rev. E. Davies: *Cofiant Robert Everett*, Chaps. I to III.

²¹Davies: *Everett*, p. 29.

²²Davies: *Everett*, p. 188.

²³As early as 1843 frequent letters from Wales were printed in *Y Cenhadwr* taking exception to or supporting articles or other letters in the magazine, and at times dealing with entirely new subjects.

²⁴In 1871, R. D. Thomas thought there were about two thousand subscribers. See his *Hanes Cymry America*, Part III, p. 64. B. F. Lewis in the Census Report for 1880 thought neither paper had reached 2000 subscribers.

²⁵*The Cambrian*, 1905, p. 37.

²⁶It has been said in many places that it was published for about two years, but I find no evidence of that. I have been through the papers kept by Everett above his printery and while many copies of Vol. I appeared, there was no sign of a second volume.

²⁷I have been unable to find a copy of it save in the attic of Everett's print shop.

²⁸*Seren Orllewinol*, Vol. II, July 1845, 2nd page cover. This appointment of the editor and treasurer by the Baptist Assembly would indicate that the paper was the property of the Church. I have not seen the first copy issued and those later mention nothing of the ownership of the paper. In *Y Wawr*, Vol. II, p. 331, Rev. James R. Price of Kingston, Pa. says that Edwards was the publisher from the beginning. It is difficult to reconcile this with Lewis' statement in the Census Report for 1880, p. 129, that Edwards was one of the compositors of the paper some time before he became its owner.

²⁹Its subscription list about the time that it was sold to Morton was placed at 750 by Hugh J. Hughes: *Hanes*, Part III, p. 50.

³⁰See *Y Wasg*, Vol. I, Jan. 1868, 2nd page cover. This was not that *Wasg* established at Pittsburgh, 1873, and issued weekly.

³¹Numbers for February and March did not appear on account of fire in the publishing office.

³²This is an estimate. I cannot determine accurately.

³³Ellis H. Roberts, brother of the publisher, gave me the information concerning Mr. Jones.

³⁴*Seren Orllewinol*, July 1845, p. 4 of cover.

³⁵That is the last number in the Oneida County Historical Society Library, their file being complete to that date. I have found no copies later than that and Lewis, in the Census Report, says it lasted but nine months.

³⁶Lewis thinks it was on account of the difficulty in securing Welsh compositors. There is reason to doubt that for at this time Roberts' presses were busy turning out Welsh books as the publications of Thomas T. Evans show.

³⁷See the announcement on the 3rd and 4th pages of the cover on the May (1854) number of *Y Cylchgrawn Cenedlaethol*, a literary monthly Jones was publishing at this time.

³⁸R. D. Thomas: *Hanes*, Part III, p. 47.

³⁹Wager: *Our County*, pp. 358 ff.

⁴⁰R. D. Thomas: *Hanes*, Part III, p. 63.

⁴¹I have not seen the first issue. Jones announced in *Y Cychgrawn Cenedlaethawl*, May 1854, p. 4 of the cover, that the first issue of *Y Cymro* would be dated the first Saturday in April, 1855. Lewis in the Census report of 1880 says that the first number came out in May 1855; he was later editor of the paper and should have the date correct.

⁴²In its first form there were four pages of five columns, the paper being 18" x 24". It was now changed to eight pages of four columns each, being 12"x 18".

⁴³B. F. Lewis in *United States Census, 1880*.

⁴⁴*Y Wasg* (Morton), Jan. 1868, p. 2 of cover.

⁴⁵I have seen no copies of the paper before that date so do not know how long these men were connected with it.

⁴⁶R. D. Thomas: *Hanes*, Part III, p. 48.

⁴⁷R. D. Thomas: *Hanes*, p. 48.

⁴⁸In the issue of *Y Cymro Americanaidd* for Aug. 29, 1857, Jones asks that all orders or payments for *Y Cylchgrawn Cenedlaethol* be sent to the *Cambro American*, New York.

⁴⁹Thomas: *Hanes*, Part III, p. 51.

⁵⁰For the first two years it had contained sixteen pages, 5" x 8"; after that there were twenty pages, 6" x 10". When the change in form was made the price was raised from fifty cents to a dollar.

⁵¹Thomas: *Hanes*, Part III, p. 49.

⁵²T. S. Griffiths gave me this information.

⁵³*The Cambro American*, Nov. 1, 1856.

Notes: V. The Welsh and Politics

¹R. D. Thomas: *Hanes Cymry America*, Part III, p. 67.

²In this work I have had to rely on the names as an evidence of Welsh blood. Though this is a notoriously fallible guide, yet it is the only one available and must serve.

³See the lists in P. Jones: *Annals*, pp. 37 ff.

⁴Jones: *Annals*, p. 310 and Wager: *Our County*, p. 508.

⁵Wager: *Our County*, p. 439.

⁶P. Jones said of Remsen in 1850: "Competent residents of the town believe that at least three-fourths of its population are Welsh" and the same author thought a majority of the people in Steuben were Welsh. See his *Annals*, pp. 306 and 429. Ll. D. Howell in 1859 said: "It is said that in the two places above [Steuben and Remsen] there are at present seven Welshmen to every one of another nationality. See his pamphlet, p. 18. As there were always some not yet naturalized, the Welsh in the list of voters were a smaller proportion than in the whole population.

⁷See P. Jones: *Annals*, pp. 33-35 for complete tables of Oneida County.

	1836		1838		1840		1842		1844			
	William L. Marcy	Jesse Buell	William L. Marcy	William H. Seward	William C. Bouck	William H. Seward	William C. Bouck	Luther Bradish	Silas Wright	Millard Fillmore	Alvan Stewart	
Remsen	85	71	67	163	94	214	91	140	120	202	31	
Steuben	135	60	116	141	138	195	124	117	140	190	37	
	1846		1848		1850		Table from P. Jones showing votes in Remsen-Steuben for Governor of New York State 1836-1850. The name at the left of each year is that of the Democratic candidate, the next is that of the Whig.					
	Silas Wright	John Young	R. H. Walworth	Hamilton Fish	John A. Dix	Horatio Seymour						Washington Hunt
Remsen	63	156	32	158	116	132						196
Steuben	53	142	58	124	94	141						141

⁸Y Cyfaill, 1839, p. 334.

⁹E. Davies: *Robert Everett*, pp. 183 ff.

¹⁰See page 96.

¹¹*Cenhadwr*, 1842, p. 62.

- ¹²*Cenhadwr*, 1842, p. 125.
- ¹³*Id.*, 1844, p. 84.
- ¹⁴*The Friend of Man*, Nov. 9, 1841.
- ¹⁵*Cenhadwr*, 1844, p. 213.
- ¹⁶*Cenhadwr*, 1844, p. 216.
- ¹⁷*Cenhadwr*, 1844, p. 280.
- ¹⁸*Cenhadwr*, 1844, p. 216.
- ¹⁹Davies: *Everett*, pp. 184 and 185.
- ²⁰For its later history see pp. 105-6.
- ²¹*Cenhadwr*, 1845, p. 167. In 1837 before *Y Cenhadwr* was established, Everett had received a long letter which he had published in the *Friend of Man* in Welsh and English, from the Welsh people convened in county assemblies in Merionethshire, Carnarvonshire and Montgomeryshire, urging the Welsh in America "to use all suitable and lawful means in cooperation with your fellow citizens to remove this curse from your fair land". See *The Philanthropist*, Nov. 7, 1837. In 1857 we find Rev. D. Price of Dynbych lecturing in Birkenhead against slavery. The chairman then expressed the desire that the lecture might be given all through Wales as a means to prepare the minds of those Welsh emigrating to America to turn their influence against slavery. *Cenhadwr*, 1857, p. 39.
- ²²*Cenhadwr*, 1846, p. 299.
- ²³*Cenhadwr*, 1848, p. 306.
- ²⁴*Cenhadwr*, 1849, p. 310.
- ²⁵*The Cambro-American* (The English section of *Y Cymro Americanaidd*), Aug. 23, 1856.
- ²⁶One issue of a Democratic newspaper, *Y Gwron Americanaidd* (*The American Hero*) was sent out from New York supporting the Democrats, but only the keenest opposition met it. See *The Cambro-American*, Nov. 1, 1856.
- ²⁷*Id.*, Aug. 23rd, 1856.
- ²⁸*The Cambro-American*, Oct. 11, 1856. An article taken from *The Oneida Herald*.