



# Migrant Culture Maintenance: The Welsh Experience in Poultney, Rutland County, 1900-1940

*The Welsh comprised a highly visible ethno-linguistic community in Poultney, based on religion, language, culture, family ties, and participation in the area's slate industry.*

By ROBERT LLEWELLYN TYLER

The old slate-quarrying town of Poultney is situated on the western border of Rutland County in Vermont. It was chartered by Benning Wentworth on September 21, 1761, and the town was organized on March 8, 1775.<sup>1</sup> Poultney had few industries prior to 1800, and the town's population grew slowly: numbering 1,121 in 1791; 1,950 in 1810; 1,909 in 1830; and 2,329 by 1850. In 1851, Daniel and S. E. Hooker opened the first slate quarry about three miles north of Poultney village and the industry grew rapidly, assisted by the arrival of the railroad in the same year. By 1860, Poultney could boast 16 slate companies employing some 450 workers and, in the words of contemporary observers, by 1886 the prospects of the town were good: "Since 1875, it is said, the slate business of Poultney has more than doubled in volume, and has also greatly increased in profits. It is comparatively in its infancy yet, however, and if properly developed, will be a source of great wealth to the town."<sup>2</sup>

The town drew migrants from across the Atlantic, initially from the countries of the United Kingdom and later from central, southern, and

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eastern Europe.<sup>3</sup> Throughout, however, the largest number of foreign-born hailed from Wales.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, in 1910 when the Poultney population was at its zenith, no national group other than the Welsh was recorded as having more than 100 foreign-born residents, with only three of these groups—Irish, Italians, and Austrians—having over 50.<sup>5</sup> At their numerical peak in that year, the total Welsh-born of 479 when added to 382 U.S.-born children with both parents Welsh, totalled 861 individuals and made up 23.6 percent of the town's population.

TABLE 1 Welsh in Poultney

	<i>1880</i>	<i>1900</i>	<i>1910</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1930</i>
Welsh-born	151	411	479	258	225
Welsh stock	118	298	382	265	241
Total Welsh	269	709	861	523	466
Total Population	2,717	3,108	3,644	2,868	3,215
Percentage Welsh	9.9%	22.8%	23.6%	18.2%	14.5%

This study attempts to quantify the extent to which an identifiable Welsh community established and maintained itself in Poultney during the early decades of the twentieth century, the nature of that community, and the ways in which it changed. In doing so, I examine residential propinquity, economic specialization, the establishment of cultural and religious institutions, language retention, and levels of exogamy, thus providing a micro-level analysis of a Welsh community as it existed in a particular area during a specific period of time.<sup>6</sup> The Welsh comprised a highly visible ethno-linguistic community in Poultney, and a consideration of the characteristics of that community and the factors governing its long-term viability provides information of interest regarding the history of Poultney and the experiences of the Welsh who found themselves living and working in the town, and contributes to understanding Vermont's immigration experience in general.

#### RELIGION, CULTURAL LIFE, AND LANGUAGE

Much Welsh cultural activity was associated with religion, and by the middle of the nineteenth century religiosity, specifically Protestant Nonconformity, was regarded by many as a national characteristic and had become central to the idea of Welsh identity itself.<sup>7</sup> This image accompanied the Welsh in their migrations overseas, and areas where they settled in any significant number were soon characterized by the con-

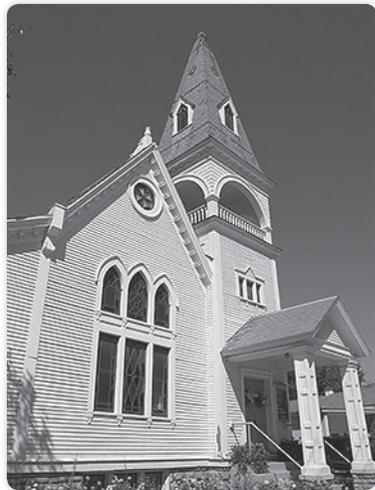
struction of Nonconformist chapels, which were the most immediate indicators of a Welsh presence. In the United States, it is estimated that as many as 600 Welsh Nonconformist chapels were built in the nineteenth century and, by 1872, the state of Pennsylvania alone had at least 102 that were served by 67 ministers and 39 lay preachers.<sup>8</sup> In 1854, *Y Drysorfa (The Treasury)*, the monthly periodical of the Calvinistic Methodists in Wales, noted:

Mae yn beth hynod a thra chysurus yn nodweddiad y Cymry, eu bod, i ba le bynag yr elont, os bydd rhyw nifer ohonynt gyda'u gilydd, yn sefydlu addoliad cymdeithasol yn yr iaith Cymraeg. Yn nhrefi mawrion Lloegr, yn y gweithfaoedd glo a hiarn yn Scotland, yn ngwahanol daleithiau America . . . rhaid i ymfudwyr o Gymru gael clywed yn eu hiaith eu hun am fawrion weithredoedd Duw yn iachawdwriaeth gras.<sup>9</sup>

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

The Welsh in Poultney followed this pattern and when they achieved sufficient numbers constructed a Welsh Presbyterian church in 1899 to cater to the spiritual needs of the emerging Welsh community. The church had its roots in the Calvinistic Methodist denomination before becoming a Presbyterian chapel, and for many years it was closely connected with Bethel Welsh Church, two miles away in South Poultney.<sup>10</sup> The high level of religiosity among the Welsh was duly noted with approval by their American hosts, with the *Poultney Journal* commenting in 1881, "Where you find the Welsh, you find a church."<sup>11</sup> Moreover, the fact that the Welsh worshipped in a different language proved to be no obstacle to acceptance in the wider community. As Protestants they were spared what

*The Welsh church at Poultney.  
Courtesy of the Poultney  
Historical Society.*



Paul Searls described, writing of the positive welcome given to Swedes in Vermont compared to that received by the Irish and Québécois, as the “pervasive anti-Catholic bias of the era.”<sup>12</sup> Indeed, much anti-Catholic feeling existed both within and outside Wales at this time, which usually manifested itself against the Irish.<sup>13</sup>

Although religion held a central position, Welsh culture was not confined to the religious sphere. The weekly newspaper, *Y Drych* (*The Mirror*), which served the Welsh community in North America from 1851, reveals the depth of Welsh secular and religious activity in Poultney.<sup>14</sup> The newspaper reported the activities of poets, musicians, and writers in the town and indicated that literary events and *cymanfaoedd canu* (singing festivals) were held, as was the *eisteddfod*, the great Welsh festival based on prose, poetry, and musical and choral competition. The importance of such events is illustrated by the account of the *Eisteddfod Ifo-raidd Poultney* (Poultney Ivorite Eisteddfod) that took place in November 1899.<sup>15</sup> The paper noted, “Y mae llanw y brwdfrydedd Cymreig yn uchel iawn drwy y dyffryn, a’r Eisteddfod yw ‘pwnc y dydd’ yn y chwarieli” (“The tide of Welsh enthusiasm is very high throughout the valley and the Eisteddfod is the ‘subject of the day’ in the quarries.”)<sup>16</sup> Such events were also reported in the local newspapers. An account from the *Middlebury Register* of February 1908 gives an idea of the nature of these competitions:

The Welsh people in Poultney, Pawlet and vicinity are interested in an eisteddfod which will be held in Granville, N.Y., the afternoon and evening of March 28. There will be 27 contestants and 48 prizes. The judges will be: Musical, Robert O. Owens, Granville, N.Y.; poetry and essays, the Rev. John W. Morris, South Poultney; translation, the Rev. B. G. Newton, Granville, N.Y.; recitations, William W. Thomas, West Pawlet, and the Rev. B. G. Newton.<sup>17</sup>

The cultural expressions of the Welsh frequently drew praise from their American contemporaries, with the *Poultney Journal* in 1875 describing them as “such good singers, musicians, thinkers, and speakers.”<sup>18</sup> These intellectual abilities were linked to the respectable nature of the Welsh community in general and reinforced the image of the Welshman and his family as desirable immigrants. They did not, as far as can be established, acquire the bad reputation of the eastern Europeans and Italians and were frequently praised for their positive characteristics.<sup>19</sup> The *Poultney Bulletin*, describing another Welsh literary and musical event, wrote of “the uniform good behaviour of the audience.”<sup>20</sup> This favorable view was in contrast to the image of other migrant groups who were frequently vilified in the pages of the local press for their rowdy and drunken behavior. The Welsh were also acceptable politically in an area



*Granville [N.Y.] Eisteddfod Tent, Labor Day [19]07. Photograph courtesy of the Slate Valley Museum, Granville, N.Y.*

where the Republican Party was dominant. In 1895, the Republican Governor of Vermont, Redfield Proctor, after describing the Welsh as “law-abiding citizens and earnest workers,” added that “they are usually on the right side in politics.”<sup>21</sup>

Welsh cultural life in the area was not the preserve of the affluent or highly educated but was patronized largely, if not overwhelmingly, by the working man and his family, and that working man was most likely to be found plying his trade at the slate quarry. In a report of an *eisteddfod* held at the Goodrich Hall in Poultney on January 1, 1898, the president for the morning session was Moses J. Jones, who is found in the census of 1900 as a manufacturer of slate.<sup>22</sup> The winner of the essay competition was Edwin Jones, a slate quarryman.<sup>23</sup> The president for the afternoon session, W. Nathaniel, is listed as a slate dealer and a quarry owner in 1900 and 1910; and the winner of the six-verse poetry competition, Thomas Edmunds, and the judge for the Psalms competition, Robert H. Parry, were both listed as slate quarrymen.<sup>24</sup> Slate quarrying was also the occupation of the conductor of the Poultney choir, W. W. Edwards; the joint winner of the recitation competition, W. O. Williams; and two of the conductors of the competing male voice choirs, Griffith E. Owens and Griffith H. Jones.<sup>25</sup>

Women and children from the same backgrounds were also active in this most Welsh of institutions. At the same *eisteddfod*, the winner of the recitation competition for under-fourteens was Miss Laura Roberts, the daughter of Welsh-born David O. and New York State-born, Welsh-American Elizabeth. David O. Roberts is recorded as an engineer in the

slate quarry in the census of 1900.<sup>26</sup> Seventeen-year-old Maggie A. Williams, who had arrived from Wales with her mother Jane and stepfather Owen Williams in 1891, won the speech competition. Owen, like so many of his countrymen in Poultney, was a slate quarryman.<sup>27</sup>

Welsh cultural activity in the town was not a short-term phenomenon, nor was its association with those involved in the slate industry.<sup>28</sup> At the annual dinner of Cymeithas Dewi Sant (St. David's Society) that took place on April 1, 1915, a number of participants listed in the pages of *Y Drych* were associated with the slate industry.<sup>29</sup> The president for the evening was T. P. Edmunds, who had started work in Poultney as a slate maker.<sup>30</sup> The gathering was addressed by quarry owner William Griffith, and was entertained by songs and recitations from Ezra Roberts, W. J. Edwards, and W. O. Williams, all of whom had been working or would be working in the slate quarries.<sup>31</sup> On December 6, 1917, another article in *Y Drych* written by John W. Morris, the minister of the Welsh Church in Poultney, described an event held to celebrate the paying off of the debt on the church. Presiding over proceedings was one Rhys Price, a working slate quarryman, who was in the same line of work as the leader of the choir, William W. Edwards.<sup>32</sup> The gathering was addressed by slate maker and deacon of the church, Owen R. Jones, and twenty-three-year-old Howell R. Roberts, the son of sometime slate quarryman, R. W. Roberts.<sup>33</sup> Entertainment was provided by soloists such as the aforementioned Ezra Roberts and recitations from Blodwen and Laura Roberts, the daughters of R. W.<sup>34</sup> Also involved in the proceedings was Ellen, the wife of quarryman Thomas O. Jones.<sup>35</sup>

It is important to note that most contemporary descriptions of Welsh cultural life in Poultney were written in the Welsh language and most Welsh cultural activity, both secular and religious, was, initially at least, practiced through the medium of Welsh. It is vital, therefore, to assess the strength of the language among the Welsh in the town.<sup>36</sup> By the end of the nineteenth century, the position of the Welsh language in Wales was far stronger than that of the other Celtic languages in Ireland and Scotland. The first official U.K. census that included a question on language in Wales was held in 1891 and revealed that 54.4 percent of people living in Wales, which included tens of thousands of English and Irish, spoke Welsh, and 56 percent of those were unable to speak English.<sup>37</sup> Establishing the extent to which the language was spoken in Wales prior to 1891 has been the subject of numerous studies. Thomas Darlington, in 1894, asserted that in 1801 approximately 80 percent of those living in Wales spoke the language, and in 1879 George Ravenstein estimated that by the early 1870s some 71.2 percent of the population spoke the language.<sup>38</sup> In addition to its proportional strength, the language also enjoyed a status far higher than the other Celtic tongues. By the mid-nine-

teenth century, Welsh had been established as the language of literacy and debate, and fulfilled all the requirements of modern living, both urban and rural.<sup>39</sup>

The extent to which the Welsh language was spoken among the Welsh migrants who arrived in Poultney during the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is open to a certain amount of conjecture. In 1920, however, for the first time the United States census recorded the “mother tongue” of each resident foreign-born individual, along with the mother tongue of each foreign-born individual’s parents. Every single Welsh-born resident of Poultney was listed with Welsh as “mother tongue.”<sup>40</sup> The census of 1930 asked the question, “Language spoken in home before coming to the United States.” Of the 225 Welsh-born residents in Poultney, only four, David R. Jones, John R. Jones, and husband and wife, Elias W. and Laura J. Roberts, have English entered, constituting a mere 1.8 percent. The strength of the language in Poultney at this time is perhaps surprising, considering that the proportion of Welsh speakers in Wales at the census of 1921 was only 37 percent.<sup>41</sup> It is due primarily to the fact that the town drew its Welsh immigrants from the slate-quarrying areas of northwest Wales, an area that is overwhelmingly Welsh in speech today and was virtually universally so one hundred years ago.<sup>42</sup> “Welsh is the language of the home, the street, the quarry, the farm and the sanctuary,” claimed a guidebook to Bethesda in 1911; and the same was true of Blaenau Ffestiniog at that time.<sup>43</sup> In the census of 1891, 81.5 percent of the population of Blaenau spoke only Welsh, 16.7 percent spoke both Welsh and English, and a mere 1.7 percent spoke only English.<sup>44</sup>

Unsurprisingly, there is evidence of monolingualism in Poultney. The 1910 census asked for language spoken if unable to speak English and several Welsh-born declared they were able to speak only Welsh. Ann Williams, aged forty-four, who had migrated with her husband two years previously, is listed as monoglot Welsh, as is Jane Evans, aged thirty-two, who had arrived with her husband in 1907.<sup>45</sup> Another Ann Williams, who had arrived in the census year 1910, is listed as Welsh only, as are her children Jennie (19), Ann (16), and Evan (13). Her two youngest sons, Mathew and Glyn, were under 10 and thus their linguistic skills were not recorded.<sup>46</sup>

This phenomenon was not confined to new arrivals from Wales. Elizabeth Roberts, who had arrived in the U.S. in 1882 with her husband John and first child William, is recorded as unable to speak English, as is Ellen Hughes, who immigrated in 1886.<sup>47</sup> Men, such as Edwin J. Griffith, aged forty-two, who had arrived with his wife Kate in 1908, were also found unable to speak English.<sup>48</sup> Edwin was recorded as a slate maker and very likely worked with other Welshmen in the quarries, where his in-

ability to speak English would not have been an immediate hurdle. It is to be hoped that the same could be said for William J. Edwards, who had arrived in 1885, was still unable to speak English in 1910, and was working in the quarry as a signalman!<sup>49</sup>

Unfortunately, the census reports do not indicate the first language of the children of immigrants born in the U.S. However, it appears certain that Welsh was transmitted intergenerationally outside of Wales, especially in communities like Poultney, where the Welsh congregated in strength. One example is provided by Ella Evans, who was born in Canada to two Welsh parents in 1872. She arrived in the U.S. with her parents that same year and is recorded with Welsh as her first language in the census of 1910.<sup>50</sup> According to the census, the vast majority of the Welsh-born were able to speak English, but it appears likely that many, if not most, acquired that language following their arrival in the U.S.

#### TIES THAT BIND

Perhaps the most fundamental factor relating to long-term culture maintenance is residential propinquity, and it can be argued that, ultimately, it was the success of the Welsh immigrant group in establishing long-term enclaves that proved to be paramount in deciding the fate of Welsh ethno-linguistic identity in the area. A close perusal of the census returns for 1910, when the Welsh were at their most numerous in the town, reveals no specific areas or neighborhoods that were solely inhabited by Welsh-born or Welsh-American individuals and their families. This was in contrast to other ethnic groups in the area and in Vermont in general.<sup>51</sup>

That said, Poultney's small size and the hundreds of Welsh people living there meant that Welsh people were present throughout the town. Although the Welsh were not confined to particular districts and were never ghettoized, most Welsh families were living as neighbors or in close proximity to each other, their workplace, and spiritual centers.

Indeed, despite this relative diaspora, the Welsh were very much a part of the town's public face and their very dispersal was reflected in the distribution of the Welsh business community and those offering a variety of services. A visit to the post office could involve a meeting with Benjamin R. Jones, the postmaster.<sup>52</sup> Those of a literary bent, and there were apparently many of those in the area, could discuss the possibility of publication with publisher Robert J. Humphrey.<sup>53</sup> A variety of goods could be purchased from the general stores of Welshmen John A. Fraser or John P. Thomas.<sup>54</sup> Groceries could be obtained from Welsh-speaking David L. Jones and dry goods from Thomas J. Jones.<sup>55</sup> Those wishing to dine out could visit the restaurants of John M. Jones or Al-

bert Williams, and those seeking spiritual sustenance could find it at the Welsh Church, whose minister for over two decades from 1900 was John W. Morris.<sup>56</sup> Those in need of the services of a blacksmith could visit the shop of Hugh C. Roberts, a painter could be found in the person of Hugh Jones, and a new set of clothes ordered from Benjamin Hughes.<sup>57</sup> Boarding a train driven by John R. Evans might see an individual assisted by railroad baggage man Harry R. Williams, having bought a newspaper from newsboy John H. Williams.<sup>58</sup> Fire and life insurance could be obtained from Thomas P. Edmunds or William R. Williams, and if an untimely death occurred, a monument could be purchased, with the proceeds from the policy, from Robert Williams.<sup>59</sup> Fresh meat could be ordered from meat merchant Richard O. Jones and bread from William E. Hughes's bakery.<sup>60</sup> For most Welsh men in Poultney, however, their most regular port of call would have been the slate quarries owned by men such as William Nathaniel, Cadwalader W. Parry, Lewis Roberts, and William Griffith.<sup>61</sup> It was more than possible, therefore, to live a full Welsh life in Poultney, speaking Welsh to neighbours, socializing in the manner of the old country, worshiping in the same way and in the same language and, perhaps most significantly for men at least, working in a familiar industry with men from home who shared a highly skilled trade.

Further analysis identifies the marriage preferences of both males and females among the Welsh, which is vital in evaluating the ability of the group to maintain its cultural integrity and establishing the viability of culture and language transmission. Drawing on information contained in official census returns, Table 2 shows the proportion of males in Poultney for the period when the recorded Welsh presence was at its highest and clearly reveals a gender imbalance that surely would have had an impact on marriage preference. Simply if crudely put, there were not enough Welsh women to go around. It might be considered hubristic to assume the desire of group members to marry within their own group, but the linguistic and, indeed, religious characteristics of the Welsh at that time would have been strong factors influencing the choice of a marriage partner.<sup>62</sup>

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Table 2 Percentage of Males among Welsh Immigrants in Poultney

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	<i>1900</i>	<i>1910</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1930</i>
Total Welsh	411	479	258	225
Total Males	255	287	141	120
Percent Male	62%	59.9%	54.6%	53.3%

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Drawing on the census reports for 1910, at the peak of the Welsh presence in Poultney, information was collected for all those Welsh-born who had married in the U.S., thus excluding those who had married prior to their arrival and whose partners were overwhelmingly of the same nationality. Table 3 shows male marriage preference, insofar as the word preference is applicable.

Table 3 Marriage Preference of Welsh-born Men in Poultney, 1910

<i>Welsh-born Women</i>	<i>Welsh American, both parents</i>	<i>Welsh American, one parent</i>	<i>American</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
65	22	4	8	10	109
59.6%	20.2%	3.7%	7.3%	9.2%	100%

Of the 109 Welsh men who had married in the U.S. and were numbered in the census of 1910, 65 or 59.6 percent married Welsh-born women. While some of these couples must have been acquainted prior to departure, most, judging by marriage and immigration date, had met and married in the U.S. A further 22 or 20.2 percent married an American-born woman with both parents Welsh, and four married an American-born woman with one Welsh-born parent, a total marrying within the group of 91 or 83.5 percent. In addition, some of those in the American category may well have been of Welsh stock, although this is not revealed in the census reports. The “Other” category includes other foreign-born and ethnic Americans, including two women born in England of Welsh parentage, one of whom is listed as having Welsh as her first language.<sup>63</sup>

The situation for women (Table 4) was markedly different, with Welsh women overwhelmingly choosing men from Wales or Welsh Americans: 75 of 78 or 96.1 percent.

Table 4 Marriage Preference of Welsh-born Women in Poultney 1910

<i>Welsh-born Men</i>	<i>Welsh American, both parents</i>	<i>Welsh American, one parent</i>	<i>American</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
65	9	1	2	1	78
83.3%	11.5%	1.3%	2.6%	1.3%	100%

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When the figures are combined (Table 5), we see that of the 187 Welsh-born individuals who had married in the U.S. at this point in time, 130 or 69.5 percent married another Welsh-born individual and a further 36 or 19.3 percent married a Welsh-American, a total of 166 or 88.8 percent.

Table 5 Marriage Preference of Welsh-born in Poultney, 1910

<i>Other Welsh-born</i>	<i>Welsh American, both parents</i>	<i>Welsh American, one parent</i>	<i>American</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
130	31	5	10	11	187
69.5%	16.6%	2.7%	5.3%	5.9%	100%

Taking this analysis a step further, Tables 6-8 identify marriage preference among those born in the U.S. with both parents born in Wales, as revealed by the census of 1910. As is clear from Table 6, 21 of 30 Welsh-American men or 70 percent had married either Welsh-born or Welsh-American women. Welsh-American women were even more likely to be endogamous, with 33 of 38 marrying within the group, or 86.8 percent. Combining the figures (Table 8), we see that of the 68 Welsh-American individuals listed on the census of 1910 who had married, 54 or 79.4 percent married within their own community.

Table 6 Marriage Preference of Welsh American Men in Poultney, 1910

<i>Welsh-born Women</i>	<i>Welsh American, both parents</i>	<i>Welsh American, one parent</i>	<i>American</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
7	13	1	7	2	30
23.3%	43.3%	3.3%	23.3%	6.6%	100%

Table 7 Marriage Preference of Welsh-American Women in Poultney, 1910

<i>Welsh-born Men</i>	<i>Welsh American, both parents</i>	<i>Welsh American, one parent</i>	<i>American</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
17	13	3	4	1	38
44.7%	34.2%	7.9%	10.5%	2.6%	100%

TABLE 8 Marriage Preference of Welsh-Americans in Poultney

<i>Welsh-born</i>	<i>Welsh American, both parents</i>	<i>Welsh American, one parent</i>	<i>American</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
24	26	4	11	3	68
35.3%	38.2%	5.9%	16.2%	4.4%	100%

While it is clear that Welsh Americans, especially men, were more likely to marry outside the group than their parents, the second generation also showed an astonishingly high tendency toward endogamy. This is vital for the likelihood of intergenerational culture transference, upon which the maintenance of a distinct ethno-linguistic Welsh community ultimately depended.<sup>64</sup>



*Slate Yard, Poultney, ca. 1880. Photograph courtesy of FamilyHistoryFiles.com.*

### WELSH IN THE SLATE INDUSTRY

A common occupation and workplace could also have provided the networks necessary to affect culture retention and acted as a bulwark against acculturation; and, as noted above, evidence exists indicating that the Welsh men at social gatherings were primarily involved in the production of slate. Table 9 provides a cross section by occupation of Welsh-born men in Poultney for the census years 1900 through 1930, and clearly shows their concentration within the slate industry. In 1900,

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198 individuals or 80.2 percent were employed in skilled occupations within the industry, including splitters, trimmers, cutters, and pitmen. In addition, a further 11 or 4.4 percent were employed in the industry in white-collar jobs as manages, agents, and dealers; in blue-collar positions such as blacksmiths and engineers: and one as a laborer. Those involved in slate therefore, made up a total of 84.6 percent of employed men.

Table 9 First-generation Welsh-born Males by Occupation, 1900-1930

<i>Occupation</i>		<i>1900</i>	<i>1910</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1930</i>
Slate	Skilled	198 80.2%	204 77.6%	76 59.4%	93 86.1%
	White	6 2.4%	7 2.7%	0 0%	0 0%
	Blue	4 1.6%	15 5.7%	3 2.3%	3 2.8%
	Laborer	1 0.4%	2 0.8%	7 5.5%	0 0%
Subtotal		209 84.6%	228 86.8%	86 67.2%	96 88.9%
Non Slate	White	8 3.2%	11 4.2%	12 9.4%	5 4.6%
	Blue	5 2.0%	13 4.9%	10 7.8%	5 4.6%
	Laborer	10 4.0%	2 0.8%	8 6.2%	0 0%
	Farm	15 6.0%	9 3.4%	12 9.4%	2 1.8%
Subtotal		38 15.4%	35 13.3%	42 32.8%	12 11%
Total		247 100%	263 100%	128 100%	108 100%

The number of Welsh workers declined dramatically following a peak in 1910, as the following decade saw a decline in the strength of the Welsh population in general, and a dip in the proportion involved in the slate industry in 1920. The preminent position of slate had been regained by 1930, however, although with far fewer men involved.

Collecting data by tracing the occupation of Welsh-born men via the census throughout their working lives reveals the loyalty of the Welsh to the industry (Table 10). This analysis was problematic because the paucity of Welsh surnames makes definite identification of individuals from one census to the next difficult.<sup>65</sup> Nevertheless, despite a large sample fall off, it is clear that, intragenerationally, the Welsh-born in Poultney showed a remarkable loyalty to the industry. Of the 148 individuals who started their traceable working career as skilled slate workers, 122 or 82.4 percent were to be found in the same work at the end of their traceable working lives.

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Table 10 Intragenerational Occupational Change among Welsh-born Males, 1900-1930

<i>Initial Occupation</i>	<i>Final Occupation</i>								
Slate	Slate				Non slate				Total
	Skilled	White	Blue	Laborer	White	Blue	Laborer	Farm	
Skilled	82.4%	0.7%	1.3%	3.4%	2.7%	5.4%	0.7%	3.4%	148
White	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	4
Blue	0%	0%	60%	0%	0%	0%	0%	40%	5
Laborer	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2
Non-slate									
White	33.3%	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	0%	16.7%	6
Blue	33.3%	0%	33.3%	0%	0%	33.3%	0%	0%	3
Laborer	66.7%	0%	16.7%	0%	0%	0%	0%	16.7%	6
Farm	44.4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	9
Total	135	5	7	5	7	9	1	14	183

This loyalty to the industry can be illustrated by the experiences of numerous individuals. Thomas Hughes with his wife Annie arrived in the U.S. in 1899. In the census reports of 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930 he is listed as a slate quarryman or slate maker.<sup>66</sup> John Jones, born in Wales in 1857, migrated to the U.S. in 1882, where he met and married Welsh-born Jane, seventeen years his junior, in 1904. Jones is also listed as a quarryman in the same census reports, as is William G. Morris, who arrived in 1870 at age two and married Welsh-born Jennet in 1908.<sup>67</sup> Other individuals had more meandering career paths but found themselves in the field of skilled quarry work at the end of their working lives. William W. Owens, born in Wales in 1882, arrived in the U.S. in 1891 and married Vermont-born, Welsh-American Sadie, in 1906. The census of 1900 sees him working as a day laborer, in 1910 as a slate maker, in 1920 as a laborer in a foundry, and in 1930 as a slate quarry foreman.<sup>68</sup> Similarly, William O. Parry, born in 1884, who arrived in the U.S. in 1902, where he met and married Welsh-born Sarah in 1905, is recorded as a quarryman in 1900, an engineer in 1910, a farmer in 1920, and is again found plying his original trade in the quarry in the census of 1930.<sup>69</sup> There were other individuals who, while rising to positions of greater status, remained in the industry. Cadwalader Parry, for example, is listed

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in the census of 1900 as a slate maker, but a decade later he is recorded as being the owner of a slate quarry.<sup>70</sup>

Again, drawing on the wealth of information contained within the census reports, Table 11 links the last known occupation of the Welsh-born father to that of his U.S.-born son or sons. This analysis establishes the intergenerational occupational relationship and reveals some movement away from the slate industry and into other blue-collar and white-collar work. William D. Hughes, born in Wales in 1858, is recorded as a quarryman in the censuses of 1900 and 1910.<sup>71</sup> With his Welsh-born wife, Mary, he had two Vermont-born sons whose occupational histories can be traced. David W., born in 1893, is listed in 1940 as the operator of a stationary engine in a slate quarry, and his brother James, born 1896, was a truck driver for road construction.<sup>72</sup> The last listed occupation of Morris P. Williams, born in Wales 1865, is quarryman in the census of 1930.<sup>73</sup> His son, Edward G., born in Vermont in 1902, is listed as a bank clerk on the census of 1920.<sup>74</sup>

Table 11 Intergenerational Occupational Change First- to Second-generation Welsh Males, 1910-1940

<i>Occupation of Fathers (n=78)</i>		<i>Occupation of Sons (n=109)</i>								
Slate	Total	Slate				Non-slate				Total
	# / % of 78	Skilled	White	Blue	Lab	White	Blue	Lab	Farm	# / % of 109
Skilled	55 70.5%	49 66.2%	1 1.3%	5 6.8%	0 0%	3 4%	11 14.9%	4 5.4%	1 1.3%	74 67.9%
White	4 5.1%	6 66.7%	1 11.1%	1 11.1%	0 0%	1 11.1%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	9 8.3%
Blue	4 5.1%	4 100%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	4 3.7%
Laborer	1 1.3%	0 0%	0 0%	1 100%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 0.9%
Non-slate										
White	3 3.8%	1 33.3%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 33.3%	1 33.3%	0 0%	0 0%	3 2.7%
Blue	2 2.6%	1 14.3%	1 14.3%	0 0%	0 0%	4 57.1%	1 14.3%	0 0%	0 0%	7 6.4%
Laborer	4 5.1%	2 50%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	2 50.0%	0 0%	0 0%	4 3.7%
Farm	5 6.4%	5 71.4%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 14.3%	0 0%	0 0%	1 14.3%	7 6.4%

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*Workers in a slate yard, Poultney, c. 1880. Photograph courtesy of FamilyHistoryFiles.com.*

In general, however, intergenerationally the Welsh again showed remarkable loyalty to the slate industry, with 49 of 74 sons born to fathers working as skilled slate men also to be found following that profession, or 66.2 percent. One qualitative example well illustrates this scenario. William M. Roberts, born in Wales in 1861, arrived with his wife Ella in 1887 and had three sons born in New York before arriving in Poultney and finding work in the quarries.<sup>75</sup> Morris, born 1891, William, born 1888, and Evan, born 1894, were all listed as slate workers at the end of their traceable working lives.<sup>76</sup>

This adherence to slate is reinforced by a consideration of the occupational fortunes of the second-generation Welsh, sons born in the U.S. with both parents born in Wales. Table 12 shows that second-generation Welsh men in Poultney were still strongly associated with the industry, if not quite to the same extent as their fathers, with over half listed as skilled slate workers as late as 1940.

Table 12 Second-generation Welsh Males by Occupation, 1910-1940

<i>Occupation</i>		<i>1910</i>		<i>1920</i>		<i>1930</i>		<i>1940</i>	
Slate	Skilled	70	60.3%	49	53.3%	72	73.5%	42	52.5%
	White	3	2.6%	1	1.1%	3	3.1%	3	3.8%
	Blue	16	13.8%	1	1.1%	5	5.1%	4	5%
	Laborer	0	0%	5	5.4%	1	1%	0	0%
Subtotal		89	76.7%	56	60.9%	81	82.7%	49	61.3%
Non-slate	White	10	8.7%	7	7.6%	5	5.1%	9	11.2%
	Blue	13	11.2%	13	14.1%	11	11.2%	12	15%
	Laborer	2	1.7%	12	13%	1	1%	9	11.2%
	Farm	2	1.7%	4	4.4%	0	0%	1	1.2%
Subtotal		27	23.3%		39.1%	17	17.3%	31	38.7%
Total		116	100%	92	100%	98	100%	80	100%

Intragenerationally, the occupational experience among the second generation also reveals continuity, as over 75 percent of skilled slate workers, 43 of 57, remained in that category at the end of their traceable working lives (Table 13).

Table 13 Intragenerational Occupational Change Second-generation Welsh Males, 1910-1940

<i>Initial Occupation</i>	<i>Final Occupation</i>								<i>Totals</i>
	Slate				Non-slate				
	Skilled	White	Blue	Laborer	White	Blue	Laborer	Farm	
Skilled	75.4%	3.5%	3.5%	0%	1.7%	7%	8.8%	0%	57
White	33.3%	33.3%	0%	0%	33.3%	0%	0%	0%	3
Blue	54.5%	9.1%	18.2%	0%	0%	18.2%	0%	0%	11
Laborer	66.7%	0%	33.3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3
Non-slate									
White	0%	0%	0%	0%	66.7%	33.3%	0%	0%	6
Blue	11.1%	0%	0%	0%	11.1%	66.7%	11.1%	0%	9
Laborer	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2
Farm	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	0%	50%	2
Total	55	4	5	0	8	14	6	1	93

Some second-generation Welsh did, of course, move out of the quarries. Edwin Jones, born in 1889 in Vermont, is listed as a core maker in a foundry in the census reports of 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1940.<sup>77</sup> Howell R. Roberts, born in Vermont in 1884, is listed as a clerk in a furniture store in 1910, an undertaker in a furniture store in 1920, a proprietor of a furniture store in 1930, and working on his own account as an undertaker in 1940.<sup>78</sup> Howell's father, the aforementioned Robert W., born in Wales in 1854, was listed as a slate maker in 1900 and as a janitor in 1910.<sup>79</sup> There are other examples of the plurality of experiences among the second generation. As noted above, Cadwalader Parry is listed as the owner of a quarry on the census of 1910. Three of his Vermont-born sons whose working lives can be traced—Ellis, born 1884, William C., born 1890, and John C., born 1891—reveal them to have achieved, respectively, the positions of drug store clerk, superintendent in a quarry, and block cutter of slate.<sup>80</sup> The most common experience, however, even among the second generation, was that of William W. Edwards, born Vermont in 1870, and Griffith S. Morris, also born in Vermont in 1871. Both men were listed as skilled quarrymen throughout their trace-



*Welsh and Irish slate workers, Rutland County, c. 1880.  
Photograph courtesy of FamilyHistoryFiles.com.*

able working lives.<sup>81</sup> The numbers of working men of other nationalities in Poultney are insufficient to enable an effective quantitative comparison with the Welsh. Nevertheless, even a cursory glance at the census reports indicates that the Irish, Italians, and eastern and central Europeans were similarly concentrated in the area's primary industry, albeit occupying a lower rung on the occupational ladder than the Welsh, who had arrived forearmed with skill and experience in slate.<sup>82</sup>

Women participated in the workforce in Poultney too, and Table 14, drawing on information contained in the census for 1920, indicates that, for unmarried women at least, employment opportunities were becoming available outside the home. Nevertheless, almost 80 percent of Welsh-born women (over 15) and more than 95 percent of those who were married stayed at home. Of course, some of the older women could simply have left the workplace due to age, but only three individuals were listed as over 68 years old, and one of these, Margaret Jones, was still employed as a servant to Ellis W. Powell and family at age 80.<sup>83</sup>

TABLE 14 Welsh-born Women in Poultney by Occupation, 1920

	<i>Married</i>	<i>Widowed or Divorced</i>	<i>Single</i>	<i>Totals</i>
Working	3	5	10	18
Not Working	62	12	4	78
Percent Working	4.6%	29.4%	71.4%	18.7%

Welsh-American women—those born in the U.S. with both parents Welsh—were more likely to have jobs; more than three quarters (29 of 38) of single women over the age of 15 were reported in the workplace in 1920 (Table 15). However, married Welsh-American women were overwhelmingly confined to the Welsh-speaking hearth.

Table 15 Welsh-American Women in Poultney by Occupation, 1920

	<i>Married</i>	<i>Widowed or Divorced</i>	<i>Single</i>	<i>Totals</i>
Working	1	4	29	34
Not Working	37	2	9	48
Percent Working	2.6%	66.7%	76.3%	41.5%

Interestingly, most working women were occupied in one particular industry in the town—shirt making—with 9 of 10 single, Welsh-born and 17 of 29 Welsh-American working women being so employed. This may have gone some small way toward language and culture maintenance. Unfortunately, due to surname change upon marriage, it is impossible to perform further analysis for the female part of the Welsh community.

Generally, therefore, Welshmen and their sons showed great allegiance to the industry that had brought them to the U.S., and this surely was a factor in language and culture maintenance. The numbers involved in slate were, however, in decline from 1910 onwards. This was not a case of skilled Welsh workers being undercut and subsequently replaced by eastern Europeans who were willing to work longer, harder, and for less, but rather is attributable to a major decline in the slate industry itself as an employer. As the above analysis indicates, most of those Welshmen who remained in Poultney remained in slate, and this suggests a lack of alternative employment opportunities in the area. For the Welsh immigrant to move upward economically meant moving out of Poultney. The years 1907-1910 saw the peak in slate sales by Vermont producers and were followed by a sudden and dramatic decline, as artificial materials challenged slate as the primary roofing material. This decline in sales was mirrored by a reduction in the numbers employed by the industry in the area from 2,579 in 1910 to 1,039 in 1920.<sup>84</sup> The consequent collapse in the Welsh-born presence the town from 479 in 1910 to 225 in 1930 was a major blow to the long-term viability of a discernible and vibrant Welsh and Welsh-speaking community.

Both contemporary observers and modern historians have specifically identified Poultney as a center of Welsh settlement and culture in Vermont in the early decades of the twentieth century. From the outset, however, the cultural integrity of the Welsh community was threatened by a variety of forces. Furthermore, despite the distinctive nature of the Welsh community, migrants from Wales experienced a relatively painless acculturation; and although the new Welsh arrivals were described by a local as “the strangest people dressed in costumes and who spoke in a very strange language,” they encountered little hostility and no discernible barriers were erected to their integration.<sup>85</sup> Welsh immigrants were well regarded by the host community and not subject to the resentment faced by other immigrant groups. The *Poultney Bulletin* in the early days of the Welsh presence was able to welcome the Welsh “as being a class of whom, on account of their intelligence and steady habits, we may be proud.”<sup>86</sup> Nevertheless, although never ghettoized or excluded, the Welsh did live in close proximity, the slate industry retained

its hold on the majority of Welsh workers, and they and their families spoke Welsh. They attended religious services and cultural events that were exclusively Welsh in language in large numbers, and they also, by and large, married within their own group. The legacy of those drawn to Poultney, and to the Vermont/New York slate district in general, is still evident today, but maintenance of the ethno-linguistic Welsh community was no longer viable following the decline of slate. This study suggests that language and culture maintenance were not initially seriously challenged by levels of exogamy and economic diversification. The long-term prospects of community cohesion were undermined by the cessation of immigration from Wales and the departure from the district of many from Wales and their children, which was ultimately, indeed ironically, linked to the decline of the industry that had brought so many of them together in the first place.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This brief outline of the emergence and development of Poultney draws on J. Joslin, B. Frisbie and F. Rugles, *A History of the Town of Poultney, Vermont, from its settlement to the year 1875, with family and biographical sketches and incidents* (Poultney, Vt.: Journal Printing Office, 1875); and H. P. Smith and W. S. Rann, eds., *History of Rutland County, Vermont, with illustrations and biographical sketches of some of its prominent men and pioneers* (Syracuse: D Mason and Co., 1886). I would like to thank Martha Davies and Meredith Rehbach for their invaluable assistance in the completion of this article.

<sup>2</sup> Smith and Rann, *History of Rutland County*, 788.

<sup>3</sup> For analyses of the emigration decision from the U.K. see Brinley Thomas, *Migration and Economic Growth: A Study of Great Britain and the Atlantic Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973); Dudley Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy: Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1861-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); and Dudley Baines, *Emigration from Europe, 1815-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

<sup>4</sup> For a general survey of Welsh immigration to the U.S. in the nineteenth century see Edward G. Hartmann, *Americans from Wales* (Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1967). For a contemporary account of Welsh settlements in the U.S. in the second half of the nineteenth century, see R. D. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America* (Utica, N.Y.: T. J. Griffiths, 1872). An English translation is provided by Martha A. Davies and Phillips G. Davies, *Hanes Cymry America (1872). A History of the Welsh in America* (Wymore, Nebraska: Great Plains Welsh Heritage Project, 2008).

<sup>5</sup> U.S. census, Poultney, Vt., 1910. All statistical evidence for this paper is drawn from United States Federal Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

<sup>6</sup> The definitive history of the Welsh in the Slate Valley of New York and Vermont has been provided by Gwilym R. Roberts in his excellent work, *New Lives in the Valley: Slate Quarries and Quarry Villages in North Wales, New York, and Vermont, 1850-1920* (Portland, Maine: Maine Printing Company, 1998).

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion of this and related phenomena, see, for example, Prys Morgan, "Keeping the Legends Alive," in *Wales the Imagined Nation: Essays in Cultural and National Identity*, ed. Tony Curtis (Bridgend, Mid Glamorgan, Wales: Poetry Wales Press, 1986), 19-41; Merfyn Jones, "Beyond Identity? The Reconstruction of the Welsh," *Journal of British Studies* 31 (1992): 330-357.

<sup>8</sup> Davies and Davies, *Hanes Cymry America (1872)*, 320-325.

<sup>9</sup> *Y Drysorfa*, August 1854, 266-7.

<sup>10</sup> For the history of the church see John S. Ellis, *A Centennial History of the Welsh Presbyterian Church of Poultney, Vermont, 1901-2001* (Poultney: Green Mountain College Welsh Heritage Program, 2001).

<sup>11</sup> *Poultney Journal*, 14 January 1881, quoted in Roberts, *New Lives*, 83.

<sup>12</sup> Paul Searls, "Major Valentine's Swedes," *Vermont History* 81 (2013): 141.

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<sup>13</sup> Paul O’Leary, “When Was Anti-Catholicism? The Case of Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Wales,” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 56 (2005): 308-325; Alan Conway, ed., *The Welsh in America: Letters from the Immigrants* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961).

<sup>14</sup> For a history of *Y Drych*, see Aled Jones and William D. Jones, *Welsh Reflections: Y Drych and America, 1851-2001* (Ceredigion, Wales: Gomer Press, 2001) and Hartmann, *Americans from Wales*, 128-129.

<sup>15</sup> The Independent Order of True Ivorites was a mutual benefit society founded in Wales in 1836, which subsequently followed the Welsh in their migrations overseas. See Hartman, *Americans from Wales*, 159-160. For an outline of the society’s history in the Slate Valley see Roberts, *New Lives*, 303-305.

<sup>16</sup> *Y Drych*, 16 November 1899.

<sup>17</sup> *Middlebury Register*, 14 February 1908.

<sup>18</sup> *Poultney Journal*, 6 January 1875, quoted in Roberts, *New Lives*, 285.

<sup>19</sup> Roberts, *New Lives*, 260-263, 325-329, 332-339. Roberts discusses the negative attitudes toward these groups in their host communities.

<sup>20</sup> *Poultney Bulletin*, 28 May 1868, quoted in Roberts, *New Lives*, 286.

<sup>21</sup> Quoted in Roberts, *New Lives*, 314.

<sup>22</sup> *Y Drych*, 6 January 1898. U.S. Census, Poultney, Vt., 1900, Roll 1694, page 12B.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 1900, Roll 1694, page 19B.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 1900, Roll 1694, page: 1A; 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page: 8B; 1900, Roll 1694, pages 3A, 13A.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 1900, Roll 1694, pages 2A, 11A, 21A, 5B.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 1900, Roll 1694, page 4B.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 1900, Roll 1694, page 2A.

<sup>28</sup> Well into the 1930s, the community was of sufficient strength to organize the Poultney Welsh Male Chorus, which became one of the outstanding male choirs in the country. Poultney Area St. David’s Society, *The Poultney Welsh Male Chorus, 1930-1955: A Welsh Heritage Memory, the History* (Poultney, Vt.: Journal Press, 2001).

<sup>29</sup> *Y Drych*, 8 April 1915. St. David is the Patron Saint of Wales.

<sup>30</sup> U.S. Census, Poultney, Vt., 1900, Roll 1694, page 3A.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 7B; 1930, Roll 2430, page 15B; 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 3B; 1900, Roll 1694, page 11A.

<sup>32</sup> *Y Drych*, 6 December 1917. U.S. Census, Poultney, Vt., 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 5A; 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 26A.

<sup>33</sup> U.S. Census, Poultney, Vt., 1920, Roll T625\_1874, page 16A; 1900, Roll 1694, page 2B.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 6B.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 23B.

<sup>36</sup> William D. Jones and Robert O. Jones discuss language retention in Welsh communities in Pennsylvania and Patagonia, Argentina, in Geraint H. Jenkins, ed., *Language and Community in the Nineteenth Century* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998); see William D. Jones, “The Welsh Language and Welsh Identity in a Pennsylvanian Community,” 281-286, and Robert O. Jones, “The Welsh Language,” 287-316. Robert L. Tyler considers the position of the language in an Australian community in “The Welsh Language in a Nineteenth-Century Australian Gold Town,” *Welsh History Review* 24 (June 2008): 52-76.

<sup>37</sup> Census of England and Wales, 1891, General Report, 81-2.

<sup>38</sup> Thomas Darlington, “Language and Literature of Wales,” in *The Welsh People: Chapters on Their Origins, History, Laws, Language, Literature, and Characteristics*, eds. John Rhys and David Brynmor-Jones (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900), 548-549. Ernest G. Ravenstein, “On the Celtic Languages in the British Isles, a Statistical Survey,” *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 42 (1879): 579-636. For an overall statistical survey of the language in nineteenth-century Wales see Dot Jones, *Statistical Evidence Relating to the Welsh Language, 1801-1911* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1988). For an excellent study of all issues relating to the Welsh language in nineteenth-century Wales see Geraint H. Jenkins, ed., *The Welsh Language and Its Social Domains, 1801-1911* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000).

<sup>39</sup> Geraint Evans writes of Gaelic in Ireland and Scotland: “For the most part it was not the language of education or, for many, even the language of the church, and among Gaelic speakers literacy tended to mean literacy in English. For the Welsh, however, this was not the case. Religion was Non-Conformist and vernacular, and literacy, which was widespread by the eighteenth century, was built around a Christianity which was almost totally Welsh-speaking.” Evans, “Welsh Publishing in Australia,” *Bibliotews and Australian Notes and Queries* (1993): 99.

<sup>40</sup> It is interesting to note that most enumerators for the 1910 census filled in the language spoken by the immigrants in parentheses following place of birth.

<sup>41</sup> Census of England and Wales 1921, General Report, 184.

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<sup>42</sup> Although the quarries are almost all gone, the old slate quarrying towns of, for example, Blaenau Ffestiniog and Bethesda still record Welsh speaking percentages of 78.6 and 77.5. U.K. Census 2011, tables KS208 and QS206.

<sup>43</sup> Quoted in R. Merfyn Jones, *The North Wales Quarrymen 1874–1922* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1982), 56.

<sup>44</sup> Geraint H. Jenkins ed., *A Social History of the Welsh Language: The Welsh Language and the 1891 Census* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), 398.

<sup>45</sup> U.S. Census, Poultney, Vt., 1910, Roll T624\_1616, pages 1A, 23B.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, page 11A.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pages 3B, 24B.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, page:10B.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, page 26A.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, page 10B, as written in by enumerator.

<sup>51</sup> There is ample evidence of ethnic clustering in Vermont at this time. See, for example Susan L. Richards, “Making Home Pay: Italian and Scottish Boardinghouse Keepers in Barre, 1880-1910,” *Vermont History* 74 (2006): 54. Roberts describes this phenomenon among Slavs and Italians in Poultney and elsewhere in the valley in *New Lives*.

<sup>52</sup> U.S. Census, Poultney, Vt., 1900, Roll 1694, page 1B.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, page 13A.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 1910 Roll T624\_1616, pages 25A, 24B.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pages 6B, 10A.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, page 11B; 1930, Roll 2430, page 4A; 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 25B.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 24B; 1930, Roll 2430, page 5A; 1900, Roll 1694, page 9B.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 1900, Roll 1694, page 1B; 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 13A; 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 4A.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 10B; 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 1A; 1920, Roll T625\_1874, page 17A.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 1920, Roll T625\_1874, page 19A; 1930, Roll 2430, page 9B.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 8B; 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 23A; 1910, Roll T624\_1616, pages 25B, 7B.

<sup>62</sup> For an analysis of this phenomenon, as it applied to the Welsh in Australia, see Robert L. Tyler, “Gender Imbalance, Marriage Preference and Culture Maintenance: The Welsh in an Australian Gold Town 1850-1900,” *Llafur* 9 (2006): 14-28.

<sup>63</sup> U.S. Census, Poultney, Vt., 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 13A.

<sup>64</sup> See Tyler, “Gender Imbalance.”

<sup>65</sup> The relatively small number of both first and surnames among the Welsh, at least as officially recorded, causes some confusion, and the ranks of David Joneses, John Davieses, William Thomases, and Thomas Williamses, not to mention the John Joneses and William Williamses, take some untangling (this author once encountered a Hugh Hugh Hughes). For a comprehensive clarification of the Welsh surname, see T. J. Morgan and Prys Morgan, *Welsh Surnames* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1985).

<sup>66</sup> U.S. Census, Poultney, Vt., 1900, Roll 1694, page 3A; 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 22A; 1920, Roll T625\_1874, page 8A; 1930, Roll 2430, page 4A.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 1900, Roll 1694, page 4B; 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 3A; 1920, Roll T625\_1874, page 1A; 1930, Roll 2430, page 4A; 1900, Roll 1694, page 2B; 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 25B; 1920, Roll T625\_1874, page 15A; 1930, Roll 2430, page 15B.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 1900, Roll 1694, page 2B; 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 22A; 1920, Roll T625\_1874, page 22B; 1930, Roll 2430, page 4A.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 1900, Roll 1694, page 6B; 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 24B; 1920, Roll T625\_1874, page 8A; 1930, Roll 2430, page 3B.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 1900, Roll 1694, page 2A; 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 23A.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 1900, Roll 1694, page 3B; 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 11A.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 1940, Roll T627\_4235, pages 4B, 1A.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 1930, Roll 2430, page 1B.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 1920, Roll T625\_1874, page 14B.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 1920, Roll T625\_1874, page 7A.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 1930, Roll 2430, page 13B; 1940, Roll T627\_4235, pages 2A, 12A.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 19A; 1920, Roll T625\_1874, page 10A; 1930, Roll 2430, page 5B; 1940, Roll T627\_4240, page 4A.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 2B; 1920, Roll T625\_1874, page 17B; 1930, Roll 2430, page 10B; 1940, Roll T627\_4235, page 2B.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 1900, Roll 1694, page 2B; 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 5A.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 4A; 1940, Roll T627\_4235, pages 15A, 5B.

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 8A; 1920, Roll T625\_1874, page 12A; 1930, Roll 2430, page 8B; 1940, Roll T627\_4235, page 9A; 1910, Roll T624\_1616, page 25A; 1920, Roll T625\_1874, page 20A; 1930, Roll 2430, page 3A; 1940, Roll T627\_4235, page 10B.

<sup>82</sup> Gwilym Roberts gives an account of the employment patterns of the other national groups in the valley, see *New Lives*, 249-265.

<sup>83</sup> US Census, Poultney, Vt., 1920, Roll T625\_1874, page 1A.

<sup>84</sup> Roberts, *New Lives*, 374-375.

<sup>85</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, 35.

<sup>86</sup> *Poultney Bulletin*, 28 May 1868, quoted in *ibid.*, 286.