CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE:

Welsh Migration and Settlement in the Newcastle Coal Mining District, New South Wales

1850 - 1914

Lesley Walker

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ABSTRACT

In the second half of the nineteenth century thousands of men, women and children moved from the valleys of South Wales and, through a process of stage, chain and niche migration, settled in the Newcastle Coalmining District of NSW. Of all the settlements in NSW, only here in the developing but relatively isolated coalmining villages, did they concentrate in sufficient numbers to establish themselves as a distinctive and stable group, with their own language, chapels, social structures, societies and identity.

But within two generations, in the context of increasing nationalism both in Wales and in NSW, their language, initially passed onto the second generation, did not survive the influences of education in English and the perception of English as the language of progress. Their institutions, the chapel and the eisteddfodau had become English, and Welsh identity became a matter of ceremony and nostalgic tokenism. Despite this absorption, aspects of Welsh culture were appropriated, developed and transformed by the majority Anglo-Australian protestant population of the Newcastle district.

This thesis will explore the pre and post-migration experiences of the Welsh community in the Newcastle Coalmining District, analysing both the society and communities from which they came and those into which they settled. In examining the process of their settlement and adaptation, the analysis seeks to establish the factors that fostered and supported continuity of language and identity. The Welsh migrants came predominantly in family groups or sponsored other family members, workmates, friends and neighbours to join them. For the majority the Newcastle Coalmining District was the final place of settlement in what for many was a series of staged moves along established migration streams. Here they formed Welsh communities with distinctive institutions and networked with Welsh communities within the Australian colonies and beyond. They maintained links with Wales linguistically, culturally and socially through ongoing contact, mining matters and Welsh publications in both English and Welsh. They imported Welsh-speaking ministers of religion who became community leaders and nurtured Welsh language during their lifetimes.

The thesis will demonstrate that late nineteenth-century migrants' individual and family life stories can be reconstructed from primary sources and, at least in the case of assisted migrants, by linking of records in both Britain and Australia. It will also demonstrate that many aspects of linguistic identity and practice can be reconstructed from fragmentary and incidental sources and that Welsh was the preferred language of many migrants, spoken, written and read. It will be shown that it was the loss of language in particular that marked the loss of their distinctive Welsh identity.

The thesis will argue that their absorption into the majority Anglo-Australian culture was inevitable, reflecting a similar and parallel process taking place in Wales. The Welsh community and their leaders aided the loss of language, identity and cultural distinctiveness as did the tension between their identities as Welsh and as miners, as British, and as emerging Australians.

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- "'Two Jobs for Every Man' - The Emigration Decision from Wales to NSW 1850-1900." *Australian Studies* 13.2 (Winter 1998).
- "'Your fair and sunny land...' An Emigrant Family from Blaenavon." *Gwent Local History Journal* 82 (Spring 1997).
- "In Search of the Coppersmelters." *Glamorgan Family History Society Journal* 45 (March 1997).
- "From the Monmouthshire Coalfield to the Newcastle Coalfield." *Newcastle (NSW) Family History Society Bulletin* (January 1997).
- "The 'For Wales See England Syndrome' - Locating Welsh Immigrants in Colonial Records 1870-79." *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 81.2 (December 1995).

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- "'You should speak in Welsh to me' - Evidence for the use and survival of Welsh in the Newcastle district 1850-1914." British-Australian Studies Association Conference, University of Wales, Lampeter 1998.
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ABBREVIATIONS

AACo	Australian Agricultural Company
AAM	Amalgamated Association of Mineworkers (UK)
AIL	Agents' Immigrant Lists
BIL	Board's Immigrant Lists
BPP	British Parliamentary Papers
CMPAHRD	Coal-Miners' Mutual Protective Association of the Hunter River District
GlamRO	Glamorgan Record Office
GwRO	Gwent Record Office
IDJ	Immigration Deposits Journals
MA	Miners' Advocate
NAPL	National Association for the Protection of Labour (UK)
NC	Newcastle Chronicle
NCCCo	Newcastle Coal and Copper Company, Wallsend
NCMD	Newcastle coal-mining district
NMH	Newcastle Morning Herald
NPBS	Northumberland Permanent Building, Investment, Land and Loan Society
NRPL	Newcastle Region Public Library
NWCCo	Newcastle Wallsend Coal Company
SAR	South Australian Register
SMH	Sydney Morning Herald
SRNSW	State Records Office of NSW
V&PNSWLA	NSW Legislative Assembly Votes and Proceedings

INTRODUCTION

". . . searching for whispers in that stony silence . . ."[1]

Françoise Barret-Ducrocq 1989

In 1873 both the *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian* and the Sydney newspaper, *The Empire*, reported on a deputation by three Welshmen to the New South Wales' Colonial Secretary, the Honourable Henry Parkes. An earlier meeting of Welsh colonists had argued that the colony's present land legislation did not meet the requirements of the Welsh people and a society was formed to urge the government to alter the laws so that tracts of land could be reserved for the purpose of *bonâ fide* group or community settlements. One of the speakers, Alderman Murphy pointed out

> that the Welsh were very clannish; they liked to be associated together; and from the experience of himself, and the other members of the deputation, they were persuaded that Welshmen were a very desirable class of immigrants to settle down in this country . . .

Captain Evans JP and John Robyns explained the American system of land being made available by railway companies to groups of settlers who formed large communities.

> Some of these are almost entirely Welsh, who are very fond . . . of their own kind of religious service in their own language, which they cultivate on principle. It was very deeply impressed on the Welsh mind that any appreciable number cannot be induced to emigrate anywhere, unless there be a chance of settling together, so as to cultivate their own manners and customs.[2]

The deputation is an appropriate introduction to this study of migration from Wales. The meeting was reported on both sides of the world, in New South Wales and old South Wales, and suggests certain traditional characteristics of Welsh migration and settlement: rural, land-based, clannish, conservative and with the aim of preserving "the Welsh way of life". Underpinning the conversations are certain accepted views on

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[1] Françoise Barret-Ducrocq, *Love in the Time of Victoria* (Penguin Books, 1992) 3.

[2] *The Empire* 23 September, 1873 and the *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian* 6 December 1873.

the nature of what it is to be Welsh and on Welsh migration; a reluctance to emigrate into non-Welsh communities and that the preservation of language and culture can only be achieved by settling in enclaves apart from others. By 1873 there were already small but identifiable Welsh communities in urban districts such as Sydney and the Newcastle coal mining district. Was this deputation a response to the community's fears of losing its identity? What happened to their identity and language if they settled within an English-speaking majority culture?

This study focuses on the very type of Welsh settlement that appeared to endanger identity and language: that of skilled and urbanised industrial workers from the South Wales valleys to the Newcastle coal mining district of New South Wales. It aims to discover the nature of that migration and settlement and its impact on the maintenance or loss of Welsh language and identity within a majority English-speaking and Anglo-Australian culture.

Up until the 1980s, studies of Australian migration followed a generalised, traditional and chronological approach, and, where particular groups have been the focus, have concentrated on the twentieth-century. With the possible exception of the Irish, Australian scholars have traditionally neglected the various national groups that make up the British Isles and from which came the vast majority of nineteenth-century migrants to Australia. This study aims to explore one of those groups, the people who emigrated from the counties of Wales including Monmouthshire, to New South Wales (NSW) from 1850 to 1914. As government-assisted migrants or as self-funding settlers, arriving directly or via other countries or colonies, these people came from a society with a distinct culture and language. There have been studies of the migration of the Irish and Scots, and the English are covered almost by default in migration studies, but the Welsh have been largely ignored, absorbed by the "British" and even "English" settlers in most studies and official documents.

This study, for the first time, distinguishes migrants from the counties of Wales in the official records, separates them from the English and considers aspects of their migration to NSW in the second half of the nineteenth century. Exploring issues of identity, use and survival of the Welsh language, the construction of Welsh community, identity and culture in the Newcastle coal mining district of NSW (NCMD), this study uses both qualitative and quantitative data and evidence to reconstruct working peoples' lives and experiences, both before and after migration.

In integrating local, national and global perspectives, using macro- and micro-level comparative studies, and a wide range of archival and primary source material from both sides of the world, it is possible to locate and analyse the life-stories and even voices of people usually hidden or silent.

Chapter 1 surveys the most recent literature and places this study within the global context of migration studies. It picks up where my preliminary exploration of the NSW shipping records for the years 1875-1885 left off.[3] This identified both the value of the NSW colonial government records as a source for the study of migration from Wales, and the NCMD as the most important destination in NSW in the nineteenth century. Developments in both Australian and international migration scholarship since the 1990s have provided fertile new ground for this study where both methodology and historiography are concerned. Locating Australian history in a global context, using archival and primary sources from both the receiving and the sending countries and exploring the possibilities of connecting the nineteenth-century British census returns and the NSW colonial immigrant records, provides an exciting and challenging opportunity to explore what could be discovered and uncovered about migration from Wales, and indeed Britain, to Australia.

Chapter 2 summarises the qualitative data extracted from my database of over 2500 people who left the 13 counties of Wales, including Monmouthshire, between 1850 and the 1890s as assisted migrants to NSW. The extracted data is explored in the context of what has been hitherto known, asserted or speculated about the nineteenth-century migrants from Wales with the aim of creating a more detailed and accurate profile of these migrants, their origins, marital status, occupations, skills, religion, literacy, age, sex, family ties and settlement patterns.

Chapter 3 presents three case studies of communities and localities from which some of the migrants to NSW originated. While other places could have been chosen, including Merthyr Tydfil, Dowlais, Rhymney, Tredegar, Aberdare and Garndiffaith, these three cover the copper-smelting, iron-working and coalmining industries and three different valleys within the two counties. Cwmafan and Cwmdu-Maesteg in Glamorganshire and Pwlldu and Blaenafon in Monmouthshire are explored in the

[3] Lesley Walker, "From Old Wales to New South Wales, Locating Welsh Immigrants in Colonial Records 1875-1885," MA thesis, U of Sydney, 1995.

years immediately before and during the emigration. Locating people within their pre-emigration environment may provide insights into the factors, both economic and social, that might have influenced them to leave for NSW. This may also make available information about the emigrants and their families that is usually not available to students of migration processes. Exploring occupation before migration, particularly for women, family constraints and considerations, language and cultural factors, economic status, work opportunities, kinship, neighbourhood and workplace ties may be able to shed light on the migrants' lives and background, their motivations to leave and whether migration ultimately fulfilled its perceived promises. This approach makes it possible to ascertain patterns in the migration process over time, whether chain, stage or niche migration. A knowledge of the physical, social and cultural contexts from which the migrants came might also make possible useful speculation on how foreign or familiar their new environment may have appeared.

Women's experiences are as central to this study as those of men and are considered throughout but Chapter 4 focuses particularly on the female stories, both of women who emigrated and of those who remained behind in Wales. In order to better understand the impact of migration on people's lives, it is important to look at the negative as well as the positive, at the people who, for one reason or another, despite the means and opportunity, did not leave for NSW. This negative makes up the other side of migration and includes the impact of migration on family and communities left behind. Because the official and surviving records lack details of women's working and personal lives, particularly for married women, attempts have been made to reconstruct what can be known from a multiplicity of sources, in order to build as full a picture as possible of the lives of the women who emigrated from Wales and their roles within family and community groups.

Chapters 5 to 8 explore issues of continuing and changing identity in the Welsh community within the NCMD in both a national and global context. Chapter 5 looks at the immigrant community in the NCMD and identifies factors in its construction including connections with other Welsh emigrant communities, both in Britain and the United States of America (USA), and in South Australia, Victoria and Queensland. This aims to establish whether or not the communities shared cultural, social or occupational links, to consider whether occupational pathways were established between Wales and various colonies in Australia and to what extent moving to the NCMD was part of a stage and networked migration.

Chapter 6 examines the premise that, as many of the emigrants from Wales came from Welsh-speaking or bilingual areas within Wales, then many would have been Welsh-speaking or bilingual when they arrived in NSW. Locating evidence of minority language use in the nineteenth century, particularly when the speakers are ordinary, working people, is fraught with difficulty. This chapter explores, in the context of an archaeological excavation, surviving fragments of language use and aims to see if a nineteenth-century community language and the extent of its use can be reconstructed from the fragments and the context in which they survive. Is it possible to determine the extent of its use, the factors in its survival and/or loss and how that survival or loss impacted on the identity of the Welsh community in the NCMD?

Chapter 7 focuses on the cultural markers of the Welsh community in the NCMD, particularly the Cambrian Society and eisteddfodau, in order to determine how the community defined itself and how it was defined by others. How important was religion and their religious leaders, in maintaining a Welsh identity? Was acculturation, even assimilation, inevitable and was the community absorbed by the majority Anglo-Australian population so that it ceased to exist? Or was it possible that the Welsh settlers, both Welsh and English-speaking, took on additional identities and contributed something of their identity to the communities into which they settled? Many writers on the NCMD have identified its particular and distinctive British and protestant character in contrast with the rest of NSW and this may have some impact on the way the Welsh migrants adapted to their new communities.

Unlike the Welsh who emigrated to the USA, the Welsh in the NCMD were still located within the British world. How did their idea of being Welsh fit within the multiple identities of being Australian and British? Given the possible conflicting identities of the Irish and English and the Welsh and English in the British Isles, did the Welsh view themselves as Welsh-Australian rather than British or was it possible for them to accommodate to new perceptions of themselves as Welsh, as Australian and as part of the British Empire? In a comparative analysis of the Welsh in the USA, chapter 7 also investigates these issues of construction of identities within the new world.

Chapter 8 investigates the trade union and occupational baggage that the emigrants carried with them from the coalfields of South Wales and how that interacted with the dominant trade union history carried to the NCMD by the miners from the northern

English and Scottish coalfields. Were Welsh miners reluctant to join trade unions and to unite with other miners in the face of the coal owners and masters? Or did they embrace the possibility of a new and better world for working men in their new country by union membership, strike action and involvement in official capacities? It is accepted that people migrate in search of better opportunities, both for themselves and their children, and this chapter also considers issues of poverty and prosperity among the Welsh settlers. Did migration provide greater opportunities for social and occupational mobility, financial security, home ownership and increased prosperity for the migrants from Wales? To what extent did the Welsh involve themselves directly in local affairs and business, politics and government, in order to enhance these opportunities? Return migration, difficult to quantify, is thought by some scholars to have been substantial towards the end of the nineteenth century. Did some of the Welsh settlers return home to Wales, whether because they had achieved the prosperity they sought, or because they could not settle and achieve success in their chosen country?

This study focuses on the Welsh on three contextual levels: within the local communities of the NCMD, within the national context of the emigrant communities in other colonies and countries and the connections between them, and within the global context of nineteenth-century migration and communication.

These Welsh migrants then were neither rural nor segregated from others. They did not emigrate in organised groups and they settled within existing communities. Migration from one developing industrial area to another would seem to have distinctive features which sets it apart from more generalised and agrarian settlement, including the possibility that the new environment and society was, in many respects, similar to the old. How succesfully they constructed and maintained their identity in these settlements and for how long are the central concerns of this thesis.

CHAPTER 1

Worlds in Motion

"History in the richest sense must be . . . both a study and a story."[1]

Bernard Bailyn 1995

Migration has been an important, if not the most important, shaper of Australian society and culture and a vital theme in Australian history. As Burnley states, "With ten million immigrants having settled in Australia since 1788, Australia ranks as a country of immigration in terms of migrant volume after the USA, Brazil, Canada, comparable to Argentina, and ahead of South Africa and New Zealand among the major receiving countries."[2] This is aptly demonstrated in the second edition of *The Australian People* published in 2001, which details 125 settler groups alongside indigenous Australians.[3] Given this centrality, the absence of migration as an underlying theme in standard Australian histories is surprising, as is the lack of scholarly and academic works such as have been produced in the United States of America (USA) since the 1940s.[4] However in some ways this neglect has been fortuitous. The growing impact of international developments in migration historiography since the 1980s now provides Australian researchers with the groundwork and methodology for integrated, global, macro- and micro-level, comparative studies, using primary sources and based on the notion of "unidisciplinarity".[5]

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[1] Bernard Bailyn, *Context in History*, North American Studies, Bernard Bailyn Lecture 1 (Melbourne: La Trobe University, 1995) 27.

[2] Ian H. Burnley, *The Impact of Immigration on Australia, A Demographic Approach* (Melbourne: OUP, 2001) 27.

[3] James Jupp, ed., *The Australian People. An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: CUP, 2001).

[4] See for example Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860: A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961); Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted; The Epic Story of the Great Migration that Made the American People* (Boston: Little Brown, 1951); Maldwyn Allen Jones, *American Immigration* (Chicago: UCP, 1960) and *Destination America* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976); Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America, A Introduction* (New York: Knopf, 1986) and *Voyagers to the West* (New York: Knopf, 1987).

[5] Robin Cohen, introduction, *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996) 8. Cohen explains "unidisciplinarity" as the emerging dialogue of scholars working across disciplines, the result of a consensus emerging around a list of established disciplines in the social sciences and humanities. This will be discussed later in this chapter.

When reviewing the state of the literature and historiography of migration studies in early 1995, it was clear that new directions were being called for internationally which were only just starting to impact on migration studies within Australia.[6] At that time, despite migration's central importance as a theme in Australian history, the following were noted:

- There were no large and comprehensive works on migration to Australia similar to those written about migration to the USA. The use of primary and archival sources in migration studies was rare. Until 1988, Sherington's overview first published in 1980 (second edition 1990), was the only comprehensive guide covering the first 200 years of European settlement. Dated in its approach, which followed a traditional chronological pattern, his book focused on the part such migrations played in the formation of Australian society rather than on migration itself.[7]
- There was neglect of more specific and comparative studies of the diverse national groups which have formed part of Australian society over the past two hundred years. The introduction to a 1987 bibliography drew attention to the "neglected genre" of ethnic history – "the study of specific migrant groups' societies of origin, experiences in Australia and contribution to Australian life".[8]
- Several published bibliographies demonstrated the paucity of available sources on immigration.[9]
- Generally, Australian migration studies were not informed by a global perspective or international trends. Denoon, referring to the "isolation of Australian history", called for Australian research to be integrated with research on the other side of the globe, for approaches which would "reintegrate Australia into the history of humanity"[10] and insert the Australian experience into a global perspective.

Despite these limitations, from the 1980s there appeared to be a developing interest in migration studies in Australia. The impact of government multicultural policies

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[6] Walker, "From Old Wales", 1995.

[7] Geoffrey Sherington, *Australia's Immigrants 1788-1978* (1980; Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1990).

[8] A.W. Martin and I.H. Burnley, "Immigration and Demography," *Australians. A Guide to Sources*, ed. D.H. Borchardt (Sydney: Fairfax, Syme and Weldon, 1987) 315-324.

[9] James Jupp, ed., *The Australian People. An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, 1st ed. (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1988) and Martin and Burnley (1987).

[10] Donald Denoon, "The Isolation of Australian History," *Historical Studies* 22.87 (1986): 252-260. For a fuller discussion of the state of migration historiography in Australia up until the mid-1990s see Walker, "From Old Wales" Chs 1 and 2.

together with the lead-up to the Australian Bicentenary with its associated funding, and increased community interest in the ethnic and cultural diversity of Australian society, resulted in increasing publications and research interests. *The Australian People – An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins,* published in 1988, for the first time provided a history and assessment of the diverse origins of nineteenth and twentieth-century immigrants to Australia and aimed "to provide a groundwork for new studies rather than the final, definitive statements".[11] Most importantly for the purposes of this study, the *Encyclopedia* distinguished the emigrants from the British Isles as separate ethnic groups and drew attention to distinction in language and dialect, identity and culture as well as religious, economic and occupational differences.

By the mid-1990s there was an increasing body of work which was beginning to address these issues[12] and later twentieth-century attitudes to immigration and multiculturalism were starting to impact on the way nineteenth-century groups and aboriginal groups were being studied. Post-Second World War migrant arrivals "infinitely more varied in their origins than the Anglo-Celtic[13] migrants of the

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[11] Jupp (1988) 3.

[12] Eric Richards, Richard Reid and David Fitzpatrick, *Visible Immigrants: Neglected Sources for the History of Australian Immigration* (Canberra: ANU, 1989); David Fitzpatrick, *Home or Away? Immigrants in Colonial Australia, Visible Immigrants: 3* (Canberra: ANU, 1992); Eric Richards, ed., *Poor Australian Immigrants in the Nineteenth Century. Visible Immigrants: 2* (Canberra: ANU, 1991) and *Visible Women, Female Immigrants in Colonial Australia. Visible Immigrants: 4* (Canberra: ANU, 1995); Jupp (1988) and *Immigration Reconsidered* (Sydney: SUP, 1991).

[13] The term "Anglo-Celtic" has been used by Australian historians to indicate "belonging to the British Isles, including Eire; of British descent or provenance." It was first coined by an Australian-born of Irish descent, E.W. O'Sullivan in 1888 and began to be used by historians as an alternative to "British", particularly after the great post-Second World War migrations. *The Australian National Dictionary,* ed. W.S. Ransom (Melbourne:OUP, 1988) 9-10. Patrick O'Farrell explained O'Sullivan's use of the term as way "to compound his loyalties. There were Australian Irish and Irish Australians, who blended or combined the two allegiances in some way . . ." Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia* (Sydney: NSWUP, 1993) 7, 249. The more recent use of this term by historians to mean any Australian of British (as opposed to "the other" of European, Middle Eastern, African or Asian), descent is problematic. It is clear that from the beginning it was a term which meant Anglo-Irish, reconciling within the new country, old enmities which had previously appeared irreconcilable. It has come to be used, too conveniently as a homogeneous term, to mean anyone descended from migrants from the British Isles. The problematic nature of phrases such as "mainstream Anglo-Celtic Australia" and the "Anglo-Celtic core" (both used in Miriam Dixson, *The Imaginary Australian, Anglo-Celts and Identity - 1788 to the present* (Sydney: UNSWP, 1999) 1-3) being used where once "British", "English" or even "white Australians" would have been employed, is indicative of the danger of using such generalist terms. This is also shown when in 1993, O'Farrell wrote that " . . . as multiculturalism and Aboriginal claims began to trouble old Protestant Australia, and call its narrow assumptions and wilting hegemony into question, the once despised and excluded Irish did not seem nearly so undesirable. They were more like

previous century and a half, has made the migrant visible . . ."[14] Nineteenth-century migrants began to be distinguished from the homogeneous British "mainstream" that had rendered them invisible.[15] Researchers began exploring notions of regional, cultural and even linguistic differences, and also, like Erickson's work on British migration to the United States,[16] questioning established views about the nature of British migration.[17]

The need to distinguish the nineteenth-century migrants led to the posing of questions on who the migrants were, where they came from and why they came. It became obvious that the standard works on nineteenth-century migration could not answer even these basic questions.

While Charlotte Erikson, Bernard Bailyn and others working on both American and European migration have shown the richness of the information that is possible in recovering such detailed data from archival sources, it is only since the late 1980s that these sources have been tapped in Australia by historians such as Richard Reid, Eric Richards, David Fitzpatrick, Robin Haines and others.[18] Richards and Reid point out,

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'us' than those ethnic others, with some dynamic character and colour the threatened 'we' could parade as its own - 'Anglo-Celt'". O'Farrell 322-323. See also Note 50 below.

[14] Martin and Burnley 315.

[15] Ellen McEwen cautioned against generalising about nineteenth-century ethnic communities and their survival, adaptation or assimilation from one colony or region to another. When lumped together, such studies can "present a strong case for late nineteenth-century Australia as a British melting pot in which no group retained distinctiveness." McEwen's work suggested that different groups might behave differently in different areas and that just because there was a high rate of exogamy, this did not mean that ethnic groups lost their identity. She argued that "ethnic distinctiveness in Australia could be based either on primary groups like the family or on voluntary associations such as the churches and political organisations." Ellen McEwen, "Family History in Australia; some observations on a new field." *Families in Colonial Australia* ed. Patricia Grimshaw, Chris McConville and Ellen McEwen (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1985) 186-88.

[16] Charlotte Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants* (Florida: University of Miami Press, 1972); "Who were the English and Scots Emigrants to the United States in the Late Nineteenth Century?" *Population and Social Change*, ed. D.V. Glass and R. Revelle (London: Edward Arnold, 1972) 347-381; "Emigration from the British Isles to the USA in 1831," *Population Studies* 35.2 (1981): 175-197; "Emigration from the British Isles to the USA in 1841: Part 1. Emigration from the British Isles," *Population Studies* 43.3 (1989): 347-367; "Emigration from the British Isles to the USA in 1841: Part 2. Who were the English Emigrants?" *Population Studies* 44.1 (1990): 21-40; *Leaving England. Essays on British Emigration in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1994).

[17] " . . . they came to escape from the industrial revolution; that they settled mainly in the cities; that they were middle class rather than pioneering farmers and miners; that they were politically conservative; that they were more snobbish and deferential than 'Australians' . . . All are either quite untrue or must be seriously questioned." Jupp, *Immigration* 7.

[18] Richards, Reid, Fitzpatrick, *Visible Immigrants*; Robin Haines, *Indigent Misfits or Shrewd Operators? Government Assisted Emigrants from UK to Australia 1831-1860* (Adelaide:

as was ably demonstrated by Bailyn, that the detailed and statistical work which results from such analysis of the archival sources, is only the beginning:

> The primary task . . . is to put flesh on the statistical skeletons of Australian immigration. The literary and the quantitative materials, taken together, present a fine body of sources, enough to encourage new work in the history of immigration in Australia, and, not least, to foster creative connection with historical research on the other side of the globe.[19]

In the case of some migrant groups like the Welsh, the "statistical skeletons" needed to be excavated. My preliminary study on migrants from Wales submitted as an MA thesis in 1995 and informed by the work of Richards et al, made available reliable statistical information and also provided the framework for more detailed reconstructive work on pre- and post-emigration communities in this study.[20]

The call for synthesis of methodologies and approaches became more evident in the literature from the 1990s.[21] A conference, "Migration and Settlement in a Historical Perspective: Old Answers and New Perspectives", held in the Netherlands in September 1993, resulted in the publication of *Migration, Migration History, History* in 1997. There were two Australian contributors to the papers and this work remains a seminal text for new directions in migration studies.[22] The papers present responses to the new paradigm that migration is part of the general human pattern rather than a disruption, a response to crisis or a symptom of uprootedness.

Isolation is seen as one of the great dangers in migration studies. There is a need for such studies to be comparative, global, cross-sectional and informed by, and referenced to, work across a variety of disciplines and methodologies. In their introduction Jan and Leo Lucassen note that typologies, intended to inform and explain the "intricate migration phenomenon", too often become fixed dichotomies such as free versus coerced, refugee versus labour migrants, which restrict and inhibit

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Flinders University Working Papers in Economic History, 61, 1993); *Emigration and the Labouring Poor: Australian Recruitment in Britain and Ireland 1831-60* (London: Macmillan, 1997)

[19] Richards, *Annals of the Immigrant* 7.

[20] Walker 1995.

[21] See, for example, Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, ed., *Immigration Reconsidered. History, Sociology, and Politics* (New York: OUP, 1990).

rather than clarify and explain. This can be seen, for example, in some Australian studies that have separated free and coerced, assisted and non-assisted, British and non-British. More recent works consider these categories as part of a continuing pattern of migration or comparative methods to enrich knowledge of both categories.[23]

Studies of ethnic group settlement have also been restricted by the development of a dichotomy of ethnicity versus assimilation. What Ewa Morawska calls an "'ethnicity-forever' approach",[24] developed in reaction to the too simplistic assimilation paradigm, which characterises an ethnic group in isolation as unique and different. These studies tend to focus on the contributory aspects of the group to the receiving culture, concentrate on the first generation and discount or ignore the experiences of other ethnic groups. They often also characterise an ethnic identity as a single and fixed entity and ignore those members of the group who do not conform to that identity.[25] The process of acculturation is far more complex than this dichotomy suggests and Morawska argues for more integrated studies which acknowledge that the assimilation and ethnicisation processes are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The Lucassens suggest that researchers avoid "an *a priori* focus on ethnicity" and remain "open to other kinds of affiliations".[26]

Dudley Baines, speaking generally about the nineteenth-century migrants from the British Isles, called for more cross-sectional studies of migrants.[27] Such studies of particular localities or groups would add more "flesh" to the "statistical skeletons" provided by immigration data and shed some light on the multicultural nature of

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[22] Jan and Leo Lucassen, eds., *Migration, Migration History, History. Old Paradigms and New Perspectives* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1997).

[23] See for example, Ralph Shlomowitz, "Coerced and Free Migration from the United Kingdom to Australia, and Indentured Labour Migration from India and the Pacific Islands to Various Destinations: Issues, Debates, and New Evidence", and Eric Richards, "Migration to Colonial Australia: Paradigms and Disjunctions", Lucassen 131-176; Deborah Oxley and Eric Richards, "Convict Women and Assisted Female Immigrants Compared 1841 - a turning point?" *Invisible Immigrants 4* 1-58.

[24] Ewa Morawska, "Labour Migrations of Poles in the Atlantic World Economy, 1880-1914," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31.2 (1989): 218.

[25] For a fuller discussion and some examples of this approach see Walker 28-30. See also Bob Reece, "The Welsh in Australian Historical Writing," *The Historical and Cultural Connections and Parallels Between Wales and Australia*, Welsh Studies 4, ed. G. Edwards and G. Sumner (Lampeter: Centre for Australian Studies in Wales, 1991) 15.

[26] Lucassen 23.

[27] Dudley Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy - Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales 1861-1900* (Cambridge: CUP, 1985) 4.

nineteenth-century NSW society. Cross-sectional studies of migration from particular Welsh communities would also be able to focus on language spoken and retained, the transference of cultural and traditional practices across the globe and the recreation of community, religious and cultural values in a new society. Consideration should be given to the impact on this group of the predominantly English society in which they found themselves and their impact on that society. Taking Morawska and Lucassens' recommendations into account, any study of the Welsh as a distinct group in NSW, must be in the context of the society in which they settled, of the occupational and social groups of which they were part, and referenced to the experiences of similar settlement groups in other countries.

The more recent migration historiography addresses issues of international migration and looks for patterns and processes within a global context. Rather than the traditional push and pull theoretical model, and the limiting study of purely economic motivations, recent work calls for more detailed examination of individual migrant motivations and behaviour, for micro-studies grounded within the bigger picture of the global context.[28]

Comparative studies are also a feature of new migration historiography. Comparing the settlement characteristics of migrants from a common country or place of origin in different destinations offers new perspectives both on the behaviour and adaptation of the national groups themselves and on the possible differing contexts of their receiving society. The benefits of a comparative approach are shown by the recent work of Eric Richards. In comparing the experiences of Highland migrants in Canada to those in Australia, he concludes that

> in the long run, the less successful of the two – those in eastern Canada – were able to retain and sustain their social markers and culture much longer than those in Australia, who were ostensibly more successful. The maintenance of

[28] See for example Richards, "Annals" 7-11; Baines, *Migration* 151-176 and Bernard Bailyn, "The Challenge of Modern Historiography," *American Historical Review* 1 (1982): 5, 24 and *Voyagers* xx; Walter D. Kamphoefner, "German Emigration Research, North, South and East: Findings, Methods and Open Questions," *People in Transit. Gerrman Migrations in Comparative Perspective, 1820-1930,* ed., Dirk Hoerder and Jorg Nagler (Cambridge: CUP, 1995) 33.

the scatterlings' identity was, at least in part, contingent on the reproduction of old social and economic conditions in the receiving country.[29]

Comparisons are also being made between the differing national groups from within the British Isles. Jones and Payton have usefully compared the experiences of the Cornish and Welsh in South Australia and Ballarat, Victoria[30] and Payton has also explored the differences and similarities between the Welsh miners in Scranton Pennsylvania and the Cornish miners in South Australia.[31]

The importance of immigrant networks has been consistently pointed out by scholars since the 1980s.[32] The move away from the earlier contributory and even laudatory approach to the study of migrant peoples has meant that there is less focus on the individual in isolation and more on the role of the group. The new migration paradigm is demanding another change of focus, "toward the social relations of exchange . . . instead of individuals assimilating or achieving, we have group strategies and networks. What we might call a network-exchange theory seems to be emerging as a potential alternative to assimilation and human-capital theory".[33] My earlier study of Welsh migration concluded that family, community, geographical, occupational and even national networks were crucial in determining the nature of the migrant experience.[34] Consideration of the network structures in the old world and how they might operate in the new and determination of other networks (for example, between different geographical settlements, both within a country and internationally, between

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[29] Eric Richards, "Ironies of the Highland Exodus, 1740-1900," *Scatterlings of Empire,* ed., Wilfred Prest and Graham Tulloch, *Journal of Australian Studies*, 68 (St Lucia: UQP, 2001) 83.

[30] Bill Jones and Phillip Payton, "Industrial Skill and the Construction of Ethnic Identities: Australia's Welsh and Cornish Compared," paper, *Mining: Communities and Cultures Conference*, Newquay, Cornwall, 27 January 2001.

[31] Philip Payton, "Cousin Jacks and Ancient Britons: Cornish Immigrants and Ethnic Identity," *Scatterlings of Empire,* ed., Wilfred Prest and Graham Tulloch, *Journal of Australian Studies*, 68 (St Lucia: UQP, 2001) 54-64.

[32] A. Gordon Darroch. "Migrants in the Nineteenth Century: Fugitives or Families in Motion?" *Journal of Family History*. 6 (1981): 257-277 and Philip N. Jones, "Population Migration into Glamorgan 1861-1911: a Reassessment" *Glamorgan Society 1780-1980*, ed. Prys Morgan, *Glamorgan County History Vol. VI* (Cardiff: Glamorgan History Trust Ltd, 1988) 185. See also Erickson, Baines, Richards, et al.

[33] Yans-McLaughlin 12. See also Leslie Page Moch, "Dividing Time: An Analytical Framework for Migration History Periodization", Lucassen 44, Dirk Hoerder, "Segmented Macrosystems and Networking Individuals: The Balancing Functions of Migration Processes", Lucassen 73-84; Richards in Lucassen 172; Morawska 266-7.

[34] Walker 121-2.

family members living in different countries, religious and occupational) is critical to understanding immigrant adjustment and acculturation.

Finally what of the impact of gender studies on migration? "The reader of almost any scholarly work on labor migration will leave it assuming that all immigrants were, and are, men."[35] The individual and even group approaches have tended to reinforce the dominance of the male experience in migration or assumed no differentiation between male and female experience. Valuable studies of female immigrants are now redressing the balance[36] but these can also be problematic in that they often isolate the female in the migration process. As so many women migrants were part of family migration, particularly where Welsh migration is concerned,[37] it is essential to also consider the female experience within the context of family, kin and group, to not ignore married women because they do not feature in occupational groups in the records. Women's agency within the family and kin group needs to be explored in the context of both migration and acculturation.

The developments in the study of migration present scholars with opportunities to move beyond traditional disciplinary limits. Even in the early 1980s American historian Bernard Bailyn declared that "No effective historian of the future can be innocent of statistics, and indeed he or she should probably be a literate amateur economist, psychologist, anthropologist, sociologist, and geographer."[38] In his prologue to *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration* published in 1996, Robin Cohen pointed out that "the study of migration confirms, *par excellence*, the newer emphasis in the social sciences and humanities on commensurability and mutual intelligibility across disciplines" and sums up the emerging dialogue in the expression "unidisciplinarity".[39] The limitations of earlier approaches to the study of migration and populations through single disciplines are being overcome as the advantages of such unidisciplinary approaches become more evident. Cohen recognises that

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[35] Yans-McLaughlin 15.
[36] See for example, Trevor McClaughlin, ed., *Irish Women in Colonial Australia* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1998); Jan Gothard, *Blue China. Single Female Migration to Colonial Australia* (Melbourne: MUP, 2001) and Richards, *Visible Women*.
[37] Walker 91-97.
[38] Bernard Bailyn, "The Challenge of Modern Historiography," *American Historical Review* 1 (1982): 24.
[39] Cohen 8.

> the study of world migration connects biography with history and with lived social experience. The well-established . . . dualism in social theory of agency versus structure, subjective versus objective factors, micro versus macro perspectives, voluntarism versus determinism, feeling free and also constrained – these contradictory tensions are rehearsed, reflected and occasionally resolved in the migration experience.[40]

The increasing scholarly and popular interest in migration over the last ten years in Australia has begun to respond to the need for more unidisciplinary, integrated, cross-sectional and global approaches. This has meant that nineteenth-century migrant groups are now being studied as formerly only more recent migrants have been studied; from the perspectives of language retention and loss, cultural and community associations and issues of national identity. Consideration is being given to settlement factors such as concentration and dispersion, occupational pathways, mobility and migration patterns: chain, stage and niche migration. This approach requires the use of a wider range of source material and the linking of records and sources from both the receiving country and the country of origin.

The Australian People, An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins was revised and republished to mark the centenary of Federation by Cambridge University Press in 2001. This is still to date the most comprehensive and detailed study of the diverse groups that make up the Australian population from pre-1788 until the present. The histories of 125 different national groups are explored within an Australian context: their ethnic and geographical origins, the history of their migration to Australia, their location and concentration within Australia, their languages, associations, publications and other aspects of their cultural lives. In his introduction to the second edition Jupp acknowledges "giving less space to those derived from the British Isles than they might feel 'entitled' to by their numerical presence" and justifies this on the grounds that "the literature on the British and Irish 'mainstream' . . . is already immense" when compared to that on many other ethnicities.[41]

This is a generalisation worth examining. As far as the Irish are concerned there is a huge and increasing body of literature available (the bibliography lists 115

[40] Cohen 8.

references)[42] and much that has ever been written on the Australian people covers the British "mainstream" in general. However there is still little systematic published research on people from distinct areas within the British Isles and even within England itself. Philip Payton's work on the Cornish (seven of the 22 references on the Cornish are Payton's) is redressing this. But a survey of the 100 works listed for the English in the bibliography indicate that apart from Ross Duncan's work on immigrants from Cornwall and Gloucestershire[43] and Holt's on Port Phillip immigrants from Cambridgeshire,[44] most of the works are concerned with the "British" mainstream, with the implication that the terms "British" and "English" are interchangeable and that English migration can still be understood only in generic and general terms. The Scots have 52 works listed and the Welsh 28, more than for many of the more recent arrivals but this can be compared with 74 works on the Germans, 59 on the Greeks, 110 on Italians, 54 on the more recently arrived Vietnamese and 100 on the Chinese. Jupp's Bibliography is not presented as exhaustive but it is the most accessible and up to date reference guide to recent works. While not arguing with Jupp's stated emphasis on "the ethnic variety of Australia and the role of immigration in building the nation,"[45] it is still the case that migration from the British Isles has not been systematically examined at micro-level or in studies that take account of county and district origin, occupational groupings, language and dialect and interconnecting links between specific areas and communities in Britain and settlements and communities in Australia.

These "mainstream immigrants", despite their numbers, have also been described as "invisible".[46] In their introduction to *Scatterlings of Empire*, a collection of papers from a 1998 Adelaide conference, the editors take up this point:

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[41] Jupp, *Australian People* (2001) 1, 890-1.

[42] Some of the more recent works include David Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation. Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia* (Cork: Cork UP, 1994); McClaughlin, *Irish Women*; Malcolm Campbell, *The Kingdom of the Ryans. The Irish in Southwest New South Wales 1816-1890* (Sydney: UNSWP, 1997); Thomas Keneally, *The Great Shame: A Story of the Irish in the Old World and the New* (Sydney: Random House, 1998).

[43] Ross Duncan, "Case Studies in Emigration: Cornwall, Gloucestershire and New South Wales 1877-1886." *Economic History Review* 16.2 (1963) 272-289.

[44] S.C. Holt, "Family, Kinship, Community and Friendship. Ties in Assisted Emigration from Cambridgeshire to Port Phillip District and Victoria, 1840-67". MA thesis, La Trobe University, 1988.

[45] Jupp, *Australian People* 2001:1.

[46] Richards, *Visible Immigrants* 7-22.

> Although immigrants from Britain have been . . . described as "invisible" immigrants because of the way in which they have . . . submerged their identity within a broader "Australianness", it is also clear that for many of them a strong sense of difference remained, sometimes over more than one generation.[47]

Indeed, in a shipboard diary kept during the journey to Australia in 1876, the immigrants did not so much categorise themselves as British or English, but rather based on the specific areas from which they had come:

> There is one North country man, one Welshman, one West and one has been at work near Alton Towers and them two chaps from Hednesford . . . they will find fault with one another's twang especially the Durham man's language. It is a very wrong thing to make game of one another's twang, it will cause a row . . . a word about the London Cockneys I don't [know] what to call them, words will not express my mind . . .[48]

Being Welsh was seen in the same light as being Geordie, West Country, a Londoner or from the Midlands. Highlanders and Lowlanders from Scotland were also distinct groups with very different cultural backgrounds. This personal categorisation continued in the colony where Geordies in the Newcastle district were clearly distinct from other English groups, along with Lowland Scots and Welsh.[49] Burnley's recent work also makes the point that migration from the United Kingdom was not homogeneous:

> . . . there was considerable diversity within the flow in terms of region, culture, social class, dialect or language, and world outlook . . . it did not result in one monolithic "Anglo-Celtic" bloc to which all other immigrant groups had to relate.[50]

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[47] Prest and Tulloch 1.

[48] *Diary of Will Sayer,* (Parkes and District Historical Society, c1989) 27-8. Sayers was a passenger on the *Samuel Plimsoll* in 1876. The Welshman was John Lloyd, 29, a joiner from Cardigan. *Board's Immigrant Lists* 1876, SRNSW 4/5001.

[49] These categorisations continued into the twentieth century. In the NCMD Abermain and Pelaw Main were known as "Australian" mines, the Hebburn mine was Geordie, Richmond Main was Scots and Stanford Merthyr was the "Welsh" mine. Andrew Metcalfe, *For Freedom and Dignity. Historical Agency and Class Structures in the Coalfields of NSW.* Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1988. 45.

[50] Burnley 66. The use of the term "Anglo-Celtic" to describe Australia's nineteenth-century mainstream population, like the term "British" is fraught with danger. Miriam Dixson's study *The Imaginary Australian. Anglo-Celts and Indentity - 1788 to the present* (Sydney: UNSWP,

Some recent publications in Australia have reflected the new approaches to migration studies. Considerations such as nationalism and identity, language and dialect, definition by self and by others, cultural baggage and community are beginning to augment the more traditional discussion of numbers, place names, community leaders and other accomplished or successful migrants, religious and national associations and representative national icons. The notion of cultural baggage directly links the pre-emigration lives and context of migrants with their post-migration settlement and experiences[51] and calls for more serious and critical examination of the circumstances of their emigration from their homelands.

There are increasing opportunities for comparative studies of Welsh migration. While books and articles have been consistently published on the Welsh in America,[52] in the last few years there have been two important studies published, both based on PhD theses and both on migration to the USA.[53]

Knowles traces a community of rural Welsh immigrants from Cardiganshire to Jackson and Gallia counties in southern Ohio from 1795 until 1850. She explores reasons for their emigration to that specific destination and their involvement in the charcoal iron furnace industry. At the basis of her study are the nominal identification

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1999) illustrates this danger. Miriam Dixson refers to a "core culture" of "Anglo" and "Celtic", and although she explains that "Celts" means Irish, Scottish, Cornish, Welsh and Manx Australians, she confines her discussion exclusively to the Irish. English versus Celtic became the culturally formative dynamic, according to Dixson, yet what she means is English versus the Catholic Irish. In a search for homogeneity in the Australian population up to the mid-twentieth century, Dixson deliberately ignores the possibilty of pluralism in the identities and culture of the nineteenth-century British population. In so doing, she creates a "monolithic 'Anglo-Celtic' bloc" which effectively makes the diversity of Australia's nineteenth-century population invisible.

[51] See for example Bill Jones, "Welsh Identities in Colonial Ballarat," Prest and Tulloch 34-43 and "Welsh Identities in Ballarat, Australia, During the late Nineteenth Century," *Welsh History Review* 20.2 (December, 2000) 283-307; Hugh Dan MacLennan, "*Gu Fearann an Òir*: To the Land of Gold," Prest and Tulloch 44-53; Payton, "Cousin Jacks", Prest and Tulloch 54-64; Richards, "Ironies of the Highland Exodus, 1740-1900," Prest and Tulloch 74-85.

[52] See for example Elwyn T. Ashton, *The Welsh in the United States*, (Sussex: Caldra House, 1984); Alan Conway, ed., *The Welsh in America: Letters from the Immigrants* (Minneapolis: UP, 1961); D. Maldwyn Ellis, "The Welsh in Oneida County in New York State," *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymrodorion (TransHSC)* 1 (1961): 115-124 and "The Welsh in Utica," *TransHSC* (1981): 127-135; E.G. Hartmann, *Americans from Wales,* (Boston: Christopher, 1967); Emrys Jones, "Some Aspects of Cultural Change in an American Welsh Community," *TransHSC* (1952): 15-41; William E. Van Vugt, "Welsh Emigration to the U.S.A. during the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Welsh History Review (WHR)* 15.4 (1991): 545-561.

[53] Bill Jones, *Wales in America: Scranton and the Welsh 1860-1920* (Cardiff: UWP; Pennsylvania: U of Scranton Press, 1993) and Anne Kelly Knowles, *Calvinists Incorporated. Welsh Immigrants on Ohio's Industrial Frontier,* (Chicago and London: U of Chicago Press, 1997).

of the immigrants and the creation of life stories linking records and sources in both Wales and America. Knowles located the immigrants within their parish or county of origin, tracked their mobility across America and constructed detailed life histories from a variety of sources. This level of detail enabled her to consider both pre- and post-migration, the motivations for leaving and the migration process, settlement and the construction of community within America and the interaction of these communities with each other and with the wider American society in which they settled. The importance of Knowles' work in the context of this study is the demonstrated value of "a life-path approach to migration history". Knowles found that

> reconstructing emigrants' movements over their lifetimes facilitates detailed analysis of the local economic and cultural contexts in which they reached their decisions. The method also introduces a level of complexity into the analysis of migration patterns that raises intriguing questions . . .[54]

This "life-path" approach will be discussed in the next chapter.

Jones' study focuses on the Welsh community in industrial Scranton, Pennsylvania in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and provides a useful comparative study for the Welsh in the Newcastle coalmining district (NCMD) of NSW. Like Knowles, Jones criticises the conventional "antiquarian and hagiographic" approach to Welsh-American migration based on "crucial assumptions regarding the nature of Welshness which effectively removed integral features of immigrant life during the golden age of the Welsh presence".[55] In search of a more complex migration and settlement picture, Jones sets out to locate the Welsh immigrants in the context of a total culture, using a greater variety of sources and examining the Welsh in the microcosm of the Scranton community. He found that the Welsh community leaders in Scranton promoted "a public image of the Welsh which saw them as models of American citizenship by virtue of their perceived national characteristics and their contemporary standards of behaviour".[56] However, as was occurring at the same time in Wales, this public image was being challenged and bypassed by the real experience of the Welsh and "by alternative definitions of Welshness" which the elite failed to

[54] Knowles 39.
[55] W.D. Jones, "Wales in America: Scranton and the Welsh, c.1860-1920," PhD thesis, U of Wales, 1987: iii.

accommodate. This traditional model-citizen interpretation was challenged by crises in the anthracite industry and political activity and a vibrant popular culture became the agency through which the majority of Welsh immigrants became American.

Jones' study is particularly relevant to the Welsh in the NCMD. Both groups were made up of miners and skilled metalworkers and came from largely industrial counties in Wales[57] to a developing coalmining and industrial centre. The peak times of both migration streams was between 1850 and the 1890s; thus it can be inferred that the migrants shared similar economic motivations including pre-emigration living and working conditions and discontent with industrial matters in Wales. Each group established occupational, community and family networks which created migration pathways between Wales and Scranton and Wales and Newcastle. It will be shown that features of settlement, industrial involvement, the processes of acculturation and assimilation and tensions between a continuing Welsh identity and the growing development of national identities as citizens of new nations were remarkably similar in the two countries.

Along with the USA, Patagonia was the other major destination of Welsh migrants. The first Welsh arrived in Patagonia, now part of Argentina, in 1865. Unlike emigration to Australia and the USA, the Welsh who went to Patagonia were an organised group who emigrated in reaction to the perceived oppression of the English and in order to maintain their identity and culture.[58]

Since the 1980s there have been several works on Welsh migration to Canada, most recently two articles in the *Welsh History Review.*[59] In the late 1980s and early 1990s Muriel Chamberlain, sponsored by the Canadian Studies in Wales Group, identified sources for Welsh history in Canadian archives and libraries. The relevance of the

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[56] Jones, Thesis iii.

[57] Walker 86-91; Jones, Thesis 10.

[58] For more information on the Welsh in Patagonia see Glyn Williams, *The Desert and the Dream: A Study of Welsh Colonization in Chubut 1865-1915* (Cardiff: UWP, 1975) and Peta Roberts and Michele Langfield "Welsh Patagonians" in *The Australian People* 743-4. Between 1910 and 1915 several Welsh-speaking Patagonian families emigrated again, this time to Australia.

[59] Carol Bennett, *In Search of the Red Dragon: The Welsh in Canada* (Ontario: Juniper Books, 1985); Muriel Chamberlain, ed., *The Welsh in Canada* (CSWG, 1986) and "The Welsh in Canada: Historical Sources," *WHR* 19.2 (December, 1998): 265-288; Wayne K.D. Davies, "Falling on Deaf Ears? Canadian Promotion and Welsh Emigration to the Prairies," *WHR* 19.4 (December 1999) 679-712.

Canadian experience to an Australian study is demonstrated by the opening comment in her article likening the Welsh in Canada to "the Cheshire cat in Alice in Wonderland, continually disappearing except for the smile left behind."[60] The Welsh experience in Canada, like that in Patagonia, was largely that of rural settlement although Chamberlain has identified Welsh involvement in both coal and gold mining in British Columbia and Alberta. In a later article on the effects of Canadian promotion on Welsh emigration to the prairies, Davies considers the influences on potential emigrants' decisions of various Canadian government promotion schemes, particularly those targeted at Wales. The perception of colonial governments that Welsh migrants made desirable British settlers led to the appointment of Welsh-speaking immigration agents and a barrage of publicity in both English and Welsh. This article is relevant in its consideration of the motivations and influences that affected potential migrants and also what it reveals about the nature of Welsh migration. Davies found that despite the government's efforts, the numbers emigrating from Wales were small, that many who did come were stage migrants from Patagonia and mid-west America. The scattered nature of their settlement and the small numbers inevitably made the acculturation process much faster.

Most recently, an article on the Welsh in South Africa, explores very different issues of identity in a society in which "the evolving discourse of race . . . came to override settlers' cultural distinctions or differences in national origin in the way they defined their identity as a ruling group." Heather Hughes found that the Welsh "experienced their 'whiteness' in South Africa in ways that were unimaginable, or at least unnecessary, in their homeland."[61] Hughes concluded that settlers of Welsh origin and descent "articulated two different senses of ethnic identity, a Welsh one and a more inclusive British one."[62] This article provides an opportunity for comparison with the Welsh of the NCMD and the articulation of their identities.

If we accept the new paradigm that migration is part of the general human pattern then the distinctions between types of migration also need to be challenged. The dichotomy of internal versus external migration and the differing significance

[60] Chamberlain, *WHR* 265.

[61] Heather Hughes, "How the Welsh became white in South Africa: Immigration, Identity and Economic Transformation from the 1860s to the 1930s," *TransHSC* 2000, New Series, 7 (2001): 112-127.

[62] Hughes, "How the Welsh became white" 127.

attached to these can also constrain and restrict our understanding of migration as a process. The belief that movement internally or over small distances is not as significant as intercontinental migrations is now being challenged by the more integrated approach to migration and mobility studies. Internal migration within Britain has been the subject of increasing numbers of studies. Recent work has been done on migration, including from Wales, within the British Isles, mainly to the industrial north and north-east of England in the nineteenth century. Reflecting Cohen's "unidisciplinarity", local historians, historical geographers and demographers and economic historians are linking quantitative data such as British census returns and local records with more qualitative approaches with some interesting results. Yasumoto's longitudinal studies of labour migration in Middlesbrough and Pooley's of the Welsh in Liverpool and of mobility within Britain provide contextual material for the study of occupational, niche and stage migration among the Welsh before they emigrated abroad.[63] My 1995 study of Welsh migration showed that more than 10% of the Welsh immigrants had already experienced at least one move before leaving for Australia.[64] These studies show the need to consider Welsh industrial migration to Australia in the context of wider migration within Britain itself. It may be that Welsh migrants faced similar issues of identity, community reconstruction and cultural maintenance in these northern English industrial centres as they faced in Newcastle, NSW.

What then of the Welsh in Australia? The sources for Welsh settlement in Australia have been reviewed in detail elsewhere[65] with the conclusion that until recently the

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[63] Minoru Yasumoto, "Migrants in Middlesbrough in the Nineteenth Century: A possibility of study on a longitudinal migration profile and others," *The Economic Review of Komazawa University* 31. 3 (1999): 1-36 and "Labour Migration and the Making of Victorian Middlesbrough," seminar paper, Kingston University, Centre for Local history Studies, (2001) 1-14; Colin C. Pooley, "Welsh migration to England in the mid-nineteenth century," *Journal of Historical Geography* 9.3 (1983): 287-306; Colin Pooley and Jean Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain since the 18th Century* (London: UCL Press, 1998); See also Terence Gwynne and Michael Sill, "Welsh Migration into Middlesbrough in the Mid-Nineteenth Century." *The Bulletin of Cleveland and Teesside Local History Society* 31 (1976b): 19-22 and "Census Enumeration Books: A Study of Mid-Nineteenth Century Immigration," *Local Historian* 12 (1976): 74-79; Merfyn Jones, "Welsh immigrants in the Cities of North West England. 1890-1930: Some Oral Testimony," *Oral History* 9 (1981): 33-41; Richard Lewis and David Ward, "Culture, Politics and assimilation: The Welsh on Teesside, c1850-1940." *WHR* 17.4 (1995): 550-570.

[64] Walker 105-106.

[65] Walker 19-42; Arthur Festin Hughes, "Welsh Migrants in Australia: Language Maintenance and Cultural Transmission," PhD thesis, U of Adelaide, 1994: 40-41, 54-56; Reece, "The Welsh in Australian Historical Writing" 12-43.

Welsh as a national group has been largely ignored by Australian immigration research.

> . . . to date there has been no substantial study of Welsh language and cultural maintenance in Australia. Until very recently there has been little mention of the Welsh presence in any of the major migration studies and, of their language and culture barely a word . . . the overall cultural impact of the Welsh as an ethnic group has been minimal.[66]

In Jupp's original bibliography there were only 12 works listed on the Welsh, four being published in Wales, two federal government publications on demography, one undergraduate honours thesis, three church histories and one on Welsh convict women. *The Diary of a Welsh Swagman*, *Cymry Awstralia*, two journal articles and a social science reader about Wales complete the list.[67] All but three of the above sources are listed again in the second edition and the addition of 19 items would seem to reflect some growth in the research since 1988. However on closer inspection only seven of the 19 could be deemed new research. Four are books about Welsh history published in Wales between 1939 and 1985, two are biographies of William Morris Hughes and Samuel Griffiths published before 1984 and three are more recent government demographic profiles.[68]

The character of much of the early works on the Welsh fell into what has been referred to as "self-laudatory hagiography",[69] "the tendency . . . to overpraise famous Welsh men"[70] and more recently as "contribution history".[71] In 1991 Reece, considering the developing plethora of research into minority history, saw an inherent problem in "that it tends to be written in terms of the 'contribution' of the particular group concerned and is thus likely to be more celebratory than analytical."[72] This laudatory and "great men" focus is not confined to discussions about the Welsh and indeed was

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[66] Hughes, "Welsh Migrants in Australia" 40.
[67] Jupp (1988) 1002.
[68] Jupp (2001) 907-8.
[69] D.B. Smith, rev. of *The Welsh in Canada* ed., M.E. Chamberlain, *Welsh History Review* 13.4 (1987): 512.
[70] Clare Taylor, rev. of *The Welsh in the United States*, Elwyn T. Ashton, *WHR* 13.1 (1986): 124.
[71] Payton, "Cousin Jacks" 54-6, quoting from Bob Reece, "Writing about the Irish in Australia," *The Irish Emigrant Experience in Australia*, ed., John O'Brien and Pauric Travers (Dublin: Poolbeg, 1991) 228-9.

a feature of much of the early immigration literature which came out of the USA, constructed through the lens of "American exceptionalism . . . the uniqueness of United States history, individual achievement . . ."[73]

Before the mid-1990s, specific academic studies of the Welsh in Australia were confined to Jennifer Newman's 1981 undergraduate thesis at Flinders University on emigration from Wales to South Australia. Ellen McEwen's 1979 PhD thesis "The Newcastle Coalmining District of NSW, 1860-1900", considered the Welsh immigrant mining community alongside the more predominant groups of Scots and Geordies. In 1994 Arthur Festin Hughes submitted his doctoral thesis on "Welsh Migrants in Australia: Language Maintenance and Cultural Transmission". While for the most part Hughes' study focussed on twentieth-century migrants, he also considered issues of language and identity in nineteenth-century Welsh migrants. My 1995 MA thesis at the University of Sydney for the first time considered immigration and shipping records as a source for recovering statistical data on Welsh immigrants to NSW 1875-1885 and explored issues of settlement concentration and migration patterns in fostering a Welsh identity in NSW. That study forms the contextual framework for the subject of this thesis.

Hughes' thesis poses an important challenge for any historical work on the Welsh in nineteenth-century Australia. In 1994 he argued for "the particular cultural distinction of the Welsh, based on their success, relative to the Scots and the Irish, in the maintenance of their ethnic tongue."[74] If his central hypothesis, that "the Welsh language has been and is the main carrier, symbol and definer of Welsh cultural identity in Australia"[75] is accepted, then any study of Welsh migration and settlement must explore the elusive presence and use of Welsh within the immigrant communities.

The study of Welsh language use in the nineteenth century has now been made more possible by the recent publication in Wales of the multi-volume *A Social History of the*

[72] Reece, "The Welsh in Australian Historical Writing" 15. For an example of this type of writing see P. Haldane-Stevenson, "The Welsh in Australia," *TransHSC* (1988): 177-183.
[73] Yans-McLaughlin 4-5; Nancy L. Green, "The Comparative Method and Poststructural Structuralism: New Perspectives for Migration Studies", Lucassen 62.
[74] Hughes, "Welsh Migrants in Australia" ix.
[75] Hughes, "Welsh Migrants in Australia" 12.

Welsh Language.[76] Most valuable to this study are the essays on the Welsh language and identity in Pennsylvania and Patagonia, which offer comparative opportunities. However, in the context of Morawska's and the Lucassens' warning of characterising an ethnic identity as a single and fixed entity and ignoring those members of the group who do not conform to that identity,[77] and given that Wales in the late nineteenth century was in the process of becoming bilingual, language use cannot be the only determinant of Welsh identity. We must also be wary of imposing modern interpretations of what it means to be Welsh onto people in the nineteenth century. Was language the only means of distinguishing the Welsh as an ethnic group in the NCMD? How did the settlers view themselves and their language and how was this seen by others within the community? The evidence for language use and maintenance will be explored in Chapter 6.

In 2000 Robert Llewellyn Tyler submitted his thesis on the Welsh in Ballarat and Sebastopol, Victoria and this has provided an opportunity, for the first time, for comparative study with the Welsh in the NCMD.[78] There has been little addition to the published literature since 1995 with the exception of several articles on the Welsh in Ballarat, Victoria and a number arising from my research.[79]

Integrating the local and global contexts is vital as any national-based study risks parochialism without the "bigger picture". Ethnic-based studies risk cultural

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[76] Geraint Jenkins, ed., *Language and Community in the Nineteenth Century* (Cardiff: UWP, 1998); Dot Jones, *Statistical Evidence relating to the Welsh Language 1801-1911* (Cardiff: UWP, 1998); Gwenfair Parry and Mari A. Williams, *The Welsh Language and the 1891 Census* (Cardiff: UWP, 1999); Geraint Jenkins, ed., *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains 1801-1911* (Cardiff: UWP, 1999).

[77] Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, "Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives", Lucassen 22-24 and Ewa Morawska, "The Sociology and Historiography of Immigration", Yans-McLaughlin 187-238; "Labour Migrations of Poles" 218.

[78] Robert Llewellyn Tyler, "'A Handful Of Interesting And Exemplary People From A Country Called Wales'. Identity And Culture Maintenance: The Welsh In Ballarat And Sebastopol In The Second Half Of The Nineteenth Century," PhD thesis, U of Melbourne, 2000.

[79] Bill Jones, "Welsh Identities in Colonial Ballarat," Prest and Tulloch 34-43 and "Welsh Identities in Ballarat, Australia, During the late Nineteenth Century," *WHR* 20.2 (December, 2000) 283-307; Lesley Walker, "Finding the Welsh in NSW," *Celtic Australian Identities*, ed. Jonathan M. Wooding and David Day (Sydney: Sydney Series in Celtic Studies, 2001): 69-86; "Rural Exodus and Reluctant Emigrants? Re-examining Emigration from Wales in the second half of the Nineteenth Century," *A Fringe of Papers, Offshore Perspectives on Australian History and Literature* ed. Susan Pfisterer and Edel Mahony (London: Sir Robert Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, 1999): 49-62; "'Two Jobs for Every Man': the Emigration Decision from Wales to New South Wales, 1850-1900," *Australian Studies* 13.2 (1998): 99-118; "'Your Fair and Sunny Land . . . ': An Emigrant Family from Blaenavon," *Gwent Local History* 82 (1997): 10-15.

generalisation and the creation of myths of homogeneity. The study of Welsh immigration to NSW must be in the context of emigration to other Australian states, to North and South America and into England as well. Emigration to Australia was not an isolated phenomenon but part of a global movement of peoples. Such work must place Australian migration studies within the international arena.

Denoon's call for the integration of migration studies, and indeed Australian history, within a global context is part of what Ann Curthoys has recently suggested as a more valuable way of thinking about the past:

> The world becomes smaller and there is a greater sense of the interconnectedness of local histories, societies, economies and cultures . . . Australian history has for several decades been written largely by and for Australians . . . The downside of its success at home is its invisibility abroad . . . There is an implicit assumption in national histories that their primary task is the discovery of what makes a nation, a people, distinctive, rather than a focus on what is shared with and often causally interconnected with histories and societies elsewhere.[80]

This then presents a "unidisciplinary" study of migration informed by and based on current migration study methodologies. Underpinning the thesis is quantitative, statistical data compiled from primary sources, data previously unavailable. It is also heavily reliant on qualitative evidence from both Wales and Australia including local and national newspapers, local history archives and records, birth, death and marriage records, nineteenth-century census returns of England and Wales, and NSW, company and church records, cemeteries, photographic and cartographic sources. Micro-studies of specific communities both in Wales and within the NCMD give the opportunity to examine the complexities of linguistic and cultural change. Individual stories document and explain patterns of settlement and highlight diversity of experience. Longitudinal studies mean that life stories can be reconstructed and several generations of a family studied, that patterns of movement and settlement can be established over time and generations. The usual anonymity of "ordinary" and working people's histories means that painstaking record linkage is required to "flesh out" the official records so that useful and detailed biographical information can be

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[80] Ann Curthoys, "Cultural History and the Nation," *Cultural History in Australia* ed. Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White (Sydney: UNSWP, 2003) 22, 29.

obtained and migration pathways and patterns determined. That the migration process needs to be studied by examining sources in both the sending and receiving countries and localities has been an underlying theoretical position, as has the importance of contextualising the specific migration study both globally and nationally. The awareness of contacts and links between migration communities in England, North and South America, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa as well as between the various colonies in Australia shows the importance of networks between the sending and receiving countries and with other immigrant communities and provides opportunities for informed comparative approaches. The Welsh settlers were also part of a wider local non-Welsh community and that community's perception of the Welsh must be considered. The importance of studying both genders of migrants, particularly often-ignored married women, is also acknowledged. The reconstructive work on which this thesis is based provides the opportunity to reconsider issues in and assumptions about nineteenth-century Australian and British migration and cultural history.

CHAPTER 2

Identifying Welsh Migrants

"... An 'unknown people', yet they were worth knowing."[1]

Rev. D.G. Jones, Gloucester 1937

To better understand the Welsh migrant community of the NCMD, it is necessary to investigate the context from which they came. Were they rural or urban, men or women, married or single, from the north or the south, Welsh-speaking or not, Nonconformists or Anglicans, labourers or skilled? Using Board's and Agents' Immigrant Lists from 1850 to 1890 as the main source, this chapter investigates the migrants' origins, sex, ages, numbers, occupations, religious affiliations and literacy. These will have an impact on settlement patterns, family groupings and communities and maintenance of identity and culture in NSW.

Between 1850 and 1890, 2517 people who had been born in the thirteen counties of Wales (including Monmouthshire) left British ports for Sydney as assisted migrants. Nominal record linkage between Deposit Journals and the Board's and Agents' Immigrant Lists provides detailed information about these people.[2]

My earlier study of Welsh migration to NSW between the years 1875-1885 aimed to determine what sort of information was recoverable and what questions could be asked and answered by the data retrieved.[3] That study established the following:

- The NSW data supported Baines' and Erickson's findings that the majority of emigrants from the British Isles had been born and brought up in an urban environment.[4]

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[1] "In Australia the Welsh were an 'unknown people', yet they were worth knowing." From a speech by the Rev. D.G. Jones of Gloucester, Cambrian Society dinner, St David's Day 1937, *Newcastle Morning Herald* (*NMH*) 2 March 1937.

[2] *Agents' Immigrant Lists* (AIL), 1838-1896, State Records of NSW (SRNSW) 4/4784-4/4812; *Board's Immigrant Lists* (BIL), 1848-1891, SRNSW 4/4904-4/5036; *Immigration Deposits Journals* (IDJ), 1853-1900, SRNSW 4/4576-4/4597. After 1887, counties of origin were not given. The counties of those who arrived after 1887 have been recovered from other immigration sources such as the *Deposits Journals*.

[3] Walker, "From Old Wales".

[4] Baines 1985. C.J. Erickson, "Who were the English and Scots Emigrants".

- Thirty-five percent of the immigrants from Wales came from Glamorganshire and 29% from Monmouthshire, the two most urbanised counties within Wales. Jennifer Newman's sample of immigrants from Wales to South Australia between 1849-1867 showed similar results with 91% coming from these two counties.[5]
- The proportion of assisted immigrants from Glamorganshire (35%) closely matched the population distribution in Wales in 1881 (34%). The proportion of immigrants from counties such as Flintshire, Montgomeryshire and Radnorshire matched the population distribution. Natives of these three counties were most likely to emigrate to NSW after Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire. Monmouthshire appeared to have contributed far more immigrants (29%) in proportion to its population in 1881 (13%).[6]
- The great majority of Welsh emigrants to NSW 1875-1885 came as members of family groups, while the single unmarried men and women made up only 24%. This contradicts Lloyd's assertion that a high proportion of Welsh emigrants came out as single men and women, especially during the goldrushes of the 1850s.[7]
- For single men the presence of contacts in the colony made little difference in their decision to emigrate and the majority arrived with no acknowledged contacts waiting in NSW. The presence of friends and relatives at their destination appeared to be far more significant in the emigration of single women.
- Despite the Immigration Board's attempts to attract unmarried females to the colony and the low cost of passages for females, especially during the 1880s, there was an extremely low number of single females emigrating from Wales during those 11 years. Only 52 single women over 12 years born in Wales travelled out unaccompanied and more than half of these had a relative in the colony.[8] This apparent reluctance to emigrate to Australia was reflected in the ratio of the total numbers of male and female "Natives of Wales" in the colony as recorded in various NSW Census Reports. This imbalance would have implications for the survival of the Welsh language in Australia.

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[5] Jennifer Newman, "Emigration from Nineteenth Century Wales with Particular Reference to South Australia," BA Hons thesis, Flinders U, South Australia, 1981.
[6] *British Parliamentary Papers* (BPP), 1881 Census of England and Wales (Census of E&W), General Report 1883 (C.3797), Vol. LXXX.
[7] Lewis Lloyd, *Australians from Wales* (Caernarfon: Gwynedd Archives and Museums Service, 1988) 196.
[8] Walker, "From Old Wales" 93-94.

- Of the nominated relatives and friends in the colony, 39% were located in the Newcastle district, 33% in Sydney and adjacent suburbs and 28% elsewhere in NSW. The family groups and single males were more likely to have connections in the Newcastle district while single women were most likely to have relatives in Sydney.[9]
- The women's occupational profile was difficult to draw. Sixty-five percent of the women emigrating between 1875-1885 were married and in most cases were listed as "wife", "domestic duties" or "housekeeper". Twenty-five percent of the women were in some form of domestic service, reflecting the recruiting priorities of the immigration authorities, and 10% were in other callings.[10] It is possible, however, that the term "domestic servant" was used to fulfil entry requirements and that terms used to describe females' occupations masked a much greater variety of female occupations and skills.
- There was much more information about male occupations. The majority were miners/colliers and general labourers. Thirty-three percent worked in the iron trades, 20% in building trades, 17% in mining and 12% in agriculture. It is clear that for the period 1875-1885 the bulk of the male assisted migrants from Wales were working in industrial occupations, not rural. Only 12% of the agricultural migrants were farmers (compared to 39% working as farmers in Wales in 1891) and 72% were agricultural labourers (compared to 52% in Wales in 1991).[11]
- The majority of male assisted migrants fell into Erickson's occupational classification of "Pre-industrial and unchanging skills". While less than 40% of men in Wales were found to be working in these areas in 1891, over 50% of the immigrants were from this group. The building and mining trades supplied most of the skilled workers 1875-1885.[12]
- The NSW figures were compared with Erickson's study of the occupations of English and Scottish migrants to the USA between 1885 and 1888.[13] It was found that Wales sent nearly twice as many skilled industrial workers from the steel and

[9] Walker, "From Old Wales" 95.
[10] Walker, "From Old Wales" 96.
[11] Walker, "From Old Wales" 98-99.
[12] Walker, "From Old Wales" 102-103.
[13] Erickson, "Who were the English and Scots" 347-381.

engineering industries to NSW between 1875 and 1885 as assisted immigrants than went to America from England and Scotland between 1885 and 1888.[14]

- The NSW records reveal evidence of staged migration from rural to urban and/or from Wales to England before the decision was made to move overseas. Between 1875 and 1885, 126 family groups (more than 10%) had already experienced at least one move from their Welsh county of origin to another county in Wales or into England or Scotland. Sixty percent of these movements had been from the eleven more rural Welsh counties, particularly Montgomeryshire, Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire. Glamorganshire was the biggest single destination for those moving from their county of origin. The moves were associated with marriage, births of children and the search for employment as well as with high mobility of mining and building trades.
- There was evidence of extensive Welsh chain migration pattern and links being maintained between those who had already emigrated and those left behind. Earlier migrants sponsored later migrants from the same family or workplace or district. Families from the same village or area, for example Cwmafan, Merthyr Tydfil and Maesteg in Glamorganshire and Blaenafon, Rhymney, Tredegar in Monmouthshire followed each other to the same localities in NSW, suggesting active communication channels maintained many years after the initial migration.

The earlier study established that data was recoverable and that a wealth of information was available about the migration of people from counties in Wales to NSW, much of which challenged the received wisdom about such migration. In addition to establishing a statistical framework for further study of migration in the second half of the nineteenth century, the quantitative data seemed to provide an opportunity to explore more qualitative evidence and record linkage between Britain and NSW. It also pointed clearly to the importance of the NCMD as a direction for further study of a post-migration Welsh community.

For the purposes of the more extensive study presented in this thesis, the whole period of the second half of the nineteenth century for which assisted immigrant data is available has been explored to ascertain whether the conclusions reached by the 1875-1885 study are valid for the whole period and could be used as the basis for

[14] Walker, "From Old Wales" 101-104.

conclusions on the nature of migration from Wales in general. Furthermore, the study of a more extensive period will allow further exploration of the types of stage, chain and niche migration only touched on in the earlier study.



Map 2.1 The counties of Wales to 1973. Source: Kenneth O. Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation. Wales 1880-1980* (Oxford: OUP, 1981) x.

The Agents' and/or Board's Immigrant Lists provide data from 1850 until 1890. While printed Agents' Immigration Reports continued until 1892, from 1880 these do not distinguish counties of origin, with England and Wales being listed together (see Appendix Table 1). The intake of assisted immigration peaked in 1883[15] but with waning prosperity from 1884, instructions were given that no further deposits would be accepted and no passage certificates for nominated immigrants were to be issued from the Sydney office. In September 1884 the Colonial Secretary directed that

passage certificates could be issued to husbands sending for wives and children. The effect of these changes in regulations can be seen immediately in the Immigration Deposits Journals but are not reflected in the immigrant lists for some time as people previously nominated and selected continued to arrive until the 1890s. The earlier study demonstrated that assisted immigration data provides a large and representative sample from which to recover information about British migrants to NSW in the second half of the nineteenth century.[16] This is supported by Haines' study of assisted immigration:

> Government-assisted arrivals represent about 47 per cent of all immigrants from Britain and Ireland who stepped ashore on Australian soil during the nineteenth century.[17]

Haines estimated that 77.1 percent of migrants to NSW between 1831 and 1900 were government-assisted.[18] While information is not available to distinguish the proportion of migrants from Wales who were assisted and non-assisted, one of the aims of this study is to establish to what extent information from qualitative sources can add the experiences of non-assisted migrants to the overall picture of nineteenth-century migration to NSW.

In addition, Tyler's recent study of Welsh migrants in the Ballarat-Sebastopol region of Victoria in the second half of the nineteenth century[19] provides a useful comparison to the NSW figures. Victoria's proportion of government-assisted migrants was much smaller than the other colonies and it is likely that this gold-mining region attracted a greater number of non-assisted migrants.[20]

The immigrant lists from 1850-1890 provide a wealth of information and personal details about the 2517 assisted migrants who were born in a Welsh county including Monmouthshire. Using the data on age, sex, literacy, religion, occupation and county of origin, it is possible to develop a detailed statistical profile of the migrants.

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[15] Report of the Agent for Immigration for 1884, *Journal of the New South Wales Legislative Council* (JNSWLC), Session 1885, Vol. 38: 215.
[16] Walker, "From Old Wales" 75-77
[17] Haines, *Emigration and the Labouring Poor* 3.
[18] Haines 19.
[19] Tyler.
[20] Haines estimates that 35.5% of UK emigrants to Victoria between 1831-60 were assisted and only 12.9% between 1861-1900. Haines 15-16.

From this profile it can be seen that this group was distinct from the "typical" government-selected assisted migrants. Haines' study of the years 1831-1860 found that industrial Wales and the urban counties were significantly under-represented in the Australian government streams and concluded that Australia's government-assisted intake, in contrast to the US flows, "tended to originate in rural, low wage regions."[21] While this may be true of this earlier period, this study shows that at least from 1850, government-assisted passages attracted a significant number of migrants from industrial and relatively high-wage areas in both Wales and the northern, more urbanised regions of England.[22] The uniqueness of this sample is therefore significant; these were urban, industrial mostly-skilled migrants who chose to come to Australia rather than the USA. Equally significant, as this study will show, is that many of these migrants chose to settle in what would become the developing industrial areas of NSW: the Newcastle coal-mining district, and later, Wollongong and Lithgow. Industrial corridors and examples of niche migration will be discussed later.

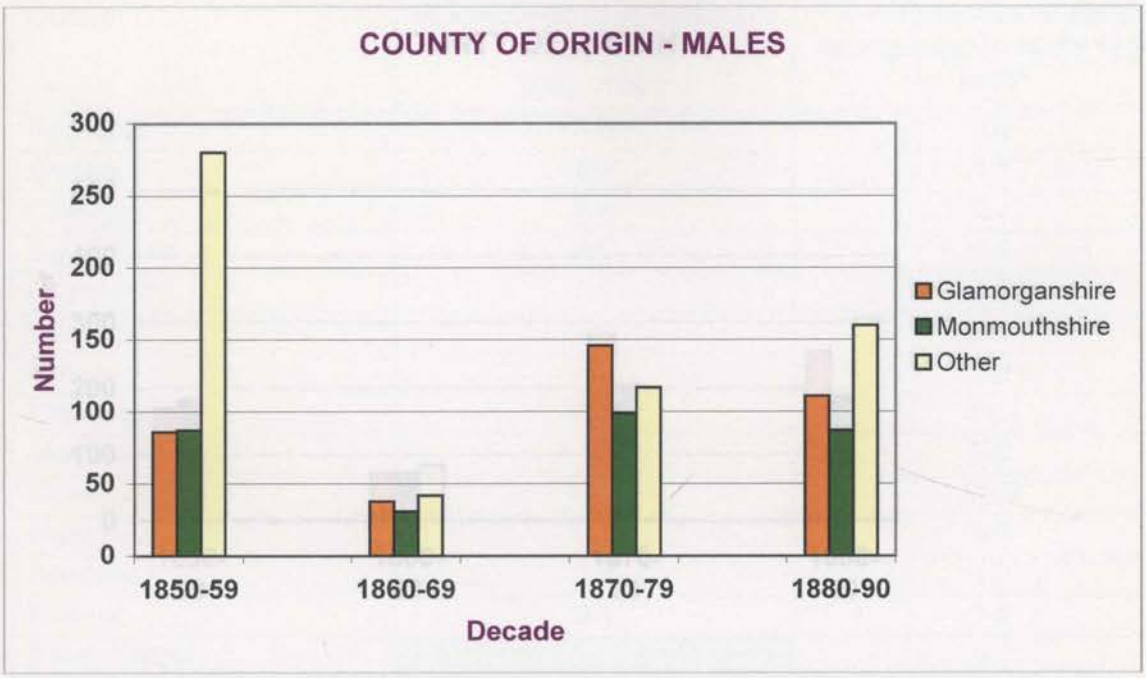
Birth counties of the migrants

Of the assisted migrants from Wales who arrived between 1850 and 1890, 57% were born in the more urbanised and industrial counties of Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire, not significantly different to the 64% who arrived 1875-1885. Thirty-one percent were from Glamorganshire and 26% from Monmouthshire. Similarly Tyler found from his study of death certificates of Welsh-born migrants in Ballarat who died between 1853 and 1891, that 58.3% came from these two counties with Sebastopol alone recording 78.6%.[23]

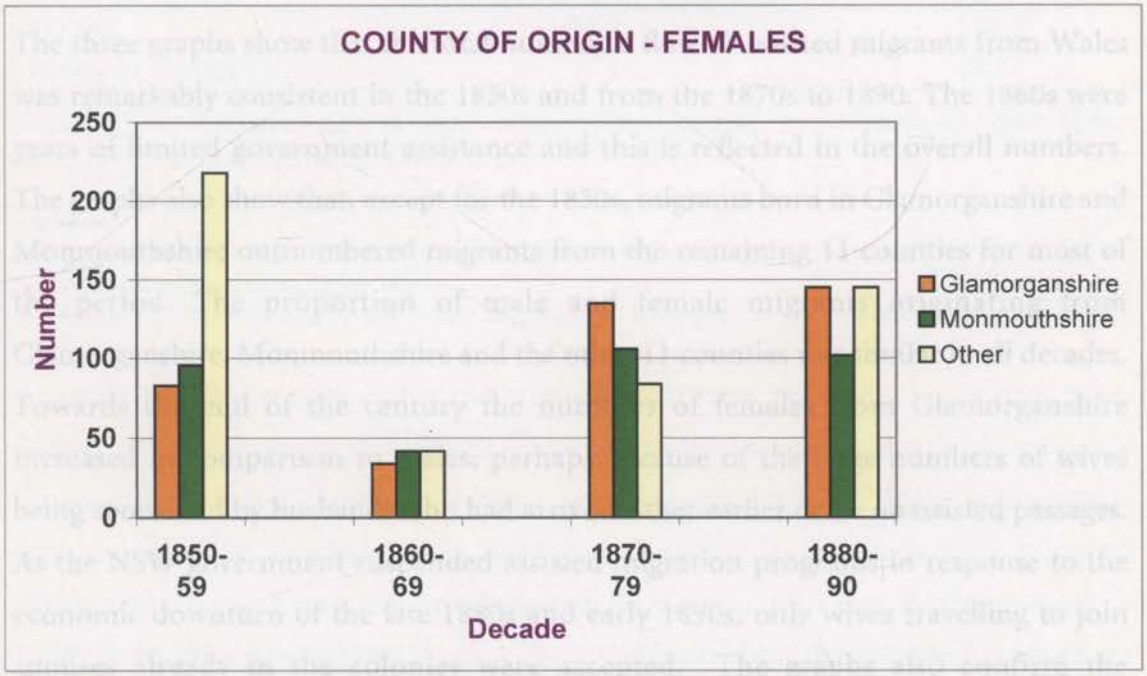
[21] Haines 39.

[22] Many of the migrants who had been born in Wales emigrated from an industrial centre in England such as Middlesbrough, Durham, Stafford, etc. This stage migration will be discussed in later chapters.

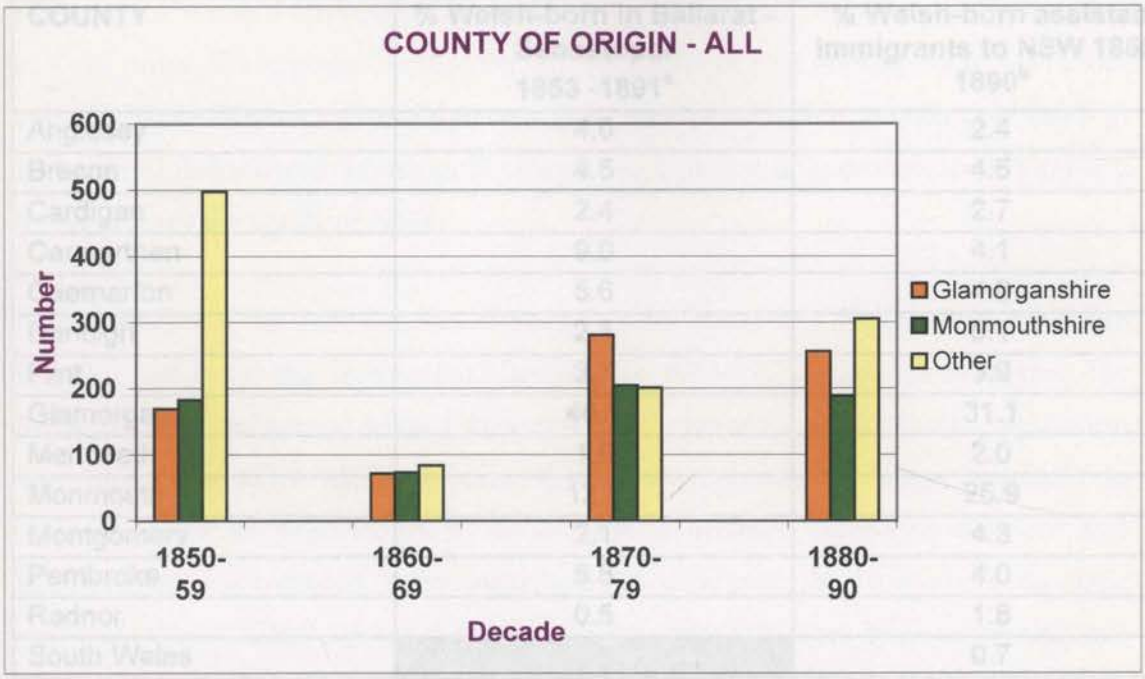
[23] Tyler 71-72.



Graph 2.1 Birth counties of male assisted migrants from Wales 1850-1890.



Graph 2.2 Birth counties of female assisted migrants from Wales 1850-1890.



Graph 2.3 Birth counties of assisted migrants from Wales 1850-1890.

The three graphs show that the total numerical flow of assisted migrants from Wales was remarkably consistent in the 1850s and from the 1870s to 1890. The 1860s were years of limited government assistance and this is reflected in the overall numbers. The graphs also show that, except for the 1850s, migrants born in Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire outnumbered migrants from the remaining 11 counties for most of the period. The proportion of male and female migrants originating from Glamorganshire, Monmouthshire and the other 11 counties was similar in all decades. Towards the end of the century the numbers of females from Glamorganshire increased in comparison to males, perhaps because of the large numbers of wives being sponsored by husbands who had arrived either earlier or on unassisted passages. As the NSW government suspended assisted migration programs in response to the economic downturn of the late 1880s and early 1890s, only wives travelling to join spouses already in the colonies were accepted. The graphs also confirm the importance of the industrial counties of Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire in any study of migration from Wales to NSW in the nineteenth century.

COUNTY	% Welsh-born in Ballarat - Sebastopol 1853 -1891[a]	% Welsh-born assisted immigrants to NSW 1850-1890[b]
Anglesey	4.0	2.4
Brecon	4.5	4.5
Cardigan	2.4	2.7
Carmarthen	9.0	4.1
Caernarfon	5.6	4.8
Denbigh	2.1	5.1
Flint	3.7	3.9
Glamorgan	46.1	31.1
Merioneth	1.9	2.0
Monmouth	12.2	25.9
Montgomery	2.1	4.3
Pembroke	5.8	4.0
Radnor	0.5	1.8
South Wales		0.7
North Wales		1.4
Wales		0.8
Born on voyage		0.5
TOTAL	**99.9**	**100.0**
Absolute Numbers	378	2517

Table 2.1 Comparison of the origin of assisted migrants from Wales to NSW 1850-1890 and Wales to Ballarat - Sebastopol 1853-1891.

Notes:

a Extracted from Tyler, Fig.V, County of Origin in Wales of Welsh-Born in Ballarat/Sebastopol, 1853-1891.

b Extracted from Walker, NSW Board and Agents' Immigration Lists 1850-1890.

It can be seen that at each end of the proportionate scale (the lowest proportion from Radnor and Merioneth and the highest proportion from Glamorgan and Monmouth), the counties are consistent and in the case of Brecon, identical. More importantly, however, it can be seen that some counties in the larger sample from NSW provided nearly twice as many migrants proportionally to Victoria, with over double coming to NSW from Monmouthshire. It must be remembered that the sample figures came from different types of sources, the NSW figures from arrivals in the colony and the Ballarat-Sebastopol figures (a much smaller sample) from those who died in that area. This missed those who settled there for a time but then moved elsewhere. However these are the only comparative figures currently available which provide some indication of the county of origin of Welsh migrants to Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire were the two most populated counties of Wales, as Tyler notes. His explanation that the concentration of coal mining industry in those counties made "the area a candidate to supply miners to the burgeoning gold fields in and around Ballarat and Sebastopol"[24] may be so, but that does not necessarily explain the figures for the whole of NSW.

A comparison of the 1881 Census of England and Wales and the Counties of Origin distribution from the immigrant lists in the 1875-1885 study showed that the proportion of migrants from Glamorganshire closely matched the population distribution in 1881 while Monmouthshire contributed far more migrants in proportion to its population. Counties like Flintshire, Montgomeryshire and Radnorshire contributed exact numbers of migrants in proportion to their population. As Table 2.2 from that study shows, migrants from Wales were the least likely to emigrate from Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, Caernarfonshire, Denbighshire and Pembrokeshire and that there was much variation in the rate of assisted migration from individual counties in Wales.[25]

County	Population 1881 Census[a]	% Wales Population[b]	No. Emigrants to NSW[c]	% Welsh Emigrants to NSW[d]	Rate per 10,000[e]	Concentration Factor[f]
Anglesey	51416	3.3	18	1.6	3.5	0.48
Brecon	57746	3.7	31	2.7	5.3	0.72
Cardigan	70270	4.5	23	2.0	3.3	0.44
Carmarthen	124864	7.9	40	3.6	3.2	0.45
Caernarfon	119349	7.6	51	4.5	4.3	0.6
Denbigh	111740	7.1	38	3.4	3.4	0.47
Flint	80587	5.1	58	5.2	7.2	1.01
Glamorgan	511433	32.5	395	35.2	7.8	1.08
Merioneth	52038	3.3	28	2.5	5.4	0.75
Monmouth	211267	13.4	340	30.3	16.0	2.26
Montgomery	65718	4.2	46	4.1	7.0	0.97
Pembroke	91824	5.8	40	3.6	4.4	0.62
Radnor	23528	1.5	13	1.2	5.5	0.8
TOTAL	**1571780**	**100**	**1121**	**100**		

Table 2.2 Comparison of the origin of assisted migrants from Wales to NSW 1875-1885 with the population of each county in 1881.

Notes:

- Population for Welsh counties as given in 1881 Census of England and Wales.
- Calculated by dividing 'a' by total population of Wales.

[24] Tyler 72.

[25] Walker, "From Old Wales" 87-88.

- Numbers of migrants giving a specific Welsh county of origin in Agents' and Board's Immigration Lists between 1875 and 1885.
- Calculated by dividing 'c' by total migrants from Wales.
- Assisted Immigration Rate per 10,000 people living in each county.
- Index of concentration calculated by dividing 'd' by 'b'. If the value of the index is greater than 1.00 the county supplied more than its share of migrants. A county which supplied fewer migrants than would be expected has an index value of less than 1.00 (from a method used by J. Camm).[26]

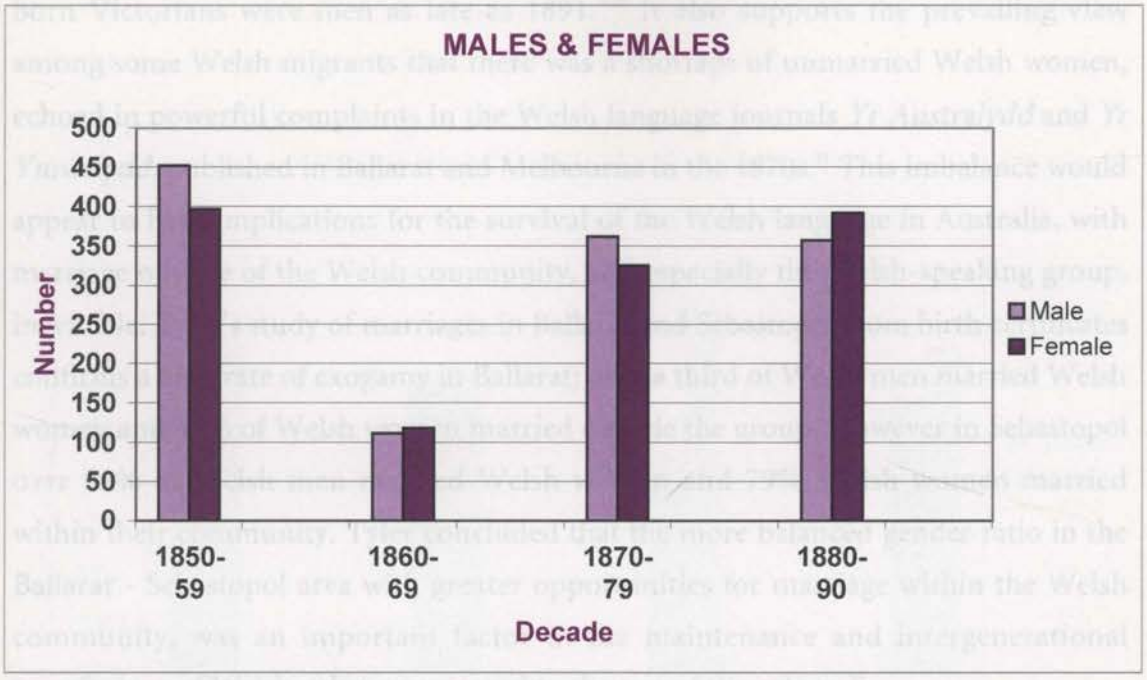
Sex ratio and marital status

Lloyd's statement that a high proportion of Welsh migrants came out as single men and women during 1850s[27] is not supported by the NSW data. While it is true that more single men arrived in NSW than single women in the 1850s, this was also true of all the following decades. However significantly more single men did arrive in NSW during the 1850s than in any following decade. But also during the 1850s married men and male children added up to 235 (52%) and married women and female children to 260 (65%), in both cases equal to or more than the single males and females. While Lloyd no doubt based his view on the large numbers of single men and women who arrived as non-assisted migrants, particularly in Victoria as a result of the gold discoveries, this assertion does not hold for the assisted migrants to NSW. In fact for the whole period 1850-1890 only 410 assisted males (31%) and 192 assisted females (15%) who had been born in a Welsh county arrived unaccompanied with no contacts in the colony. This ratio of 2:1 is equal to the ratio for the Welsh males to females in NSW as recorded in the census returns. Overall, married and extended family migration (69% and 85% respectively) made up the bulk of assisted migration from Wales in the second half of the nineteenth century.

What is particularly remarkable about the sex ratio for the Welsh assisted migrants over this period is the overall equality of the sexes. Forty-nine percent of the migrants were female and 51% male. The male/female ratio was close for all the Welsh counties with slightly more females than males coming from Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire.

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[26] Jack Camm, "The Hunt for Muscle and Bone: Emigration Agents and their Role in Migration to Queensland during the 1880s," *Australian Historical Geography* 2 (1981): 19-22.
[27] Lloyd 196.



Graph 2.4 Numbers of male and female assisted migrants from Wales 1850-1890

However, as Hughes has also pointed out, this equality is not reflected in the NSW census figures.[28]

Census Year	Male	Female	Total
1851	376	182	558
1861	912	466	1378
1871	1235	635	1870
1881	2018	1082	3100
1891	3232	1765	4997
1901	2252	1368	3620

Table 2.3 Population of NSW who were born in Wales 1851-1901. Source: Census of NSW 1851 - 1901 Birthplace – Wales. This may not include Monmouthshire.

The discrepancy would suggest that many more males came out as non-assisted migrants and/or had moved interstate, especially from the Victorian goldfields and the South Australian mining areas, to NSW.[29] Tyler's study found that the gender imbalance was also evident in Victoria with Welsh men outnumbering Welsh women "by more than two to one for much of the period, and over 62 of every 100 Welsh-

[28] A.F. Hughes 163-164. Hughes maintained that even in Newcastle "as in the gold towns of Victoria, the imbalance of the sexes is evident".

[29] There is much evidence of migration corridors existing between the goldfields, the copper-mining areas and the NCMD. See Chapter 5.

born Victorians were men as late as 1891."[30] It also supports the prevailing view among some Welsh migrants that there was a shortage of unmarried Welsh women, echoed in powerful complaints in the Welsh language journals *Yr Australydd* and *Yr Ymwelydd,* published in Ballarat and Melbourne in the 1870s.[31] This imbalance would appear to have implications for the survival of the Welsh language in Australia, with marriage outside of the Welsh community, and especially the Welsh-speaking group, inevitable. Tyler's study of marriages in Ballarat and Sebastopol from birth certificates confirms a high rate of exogamy in Ballarat; only a third of Welsh men married Welsh women and 45% of Welsh women married outside the group. However in Sebastopol over 58% of Welsh men married Welsh women and 79% Welsh women married within their community. Tyler concluded that the more balanced gender ratio in the Ballarat - Sebastopol area with greater opportunities for marriage within the Welsh community, was an important factor in the maintenance and intergenerational transference of Welsh culture compared to the rest of the colony.[32]

The NSW census returns between 1851 and 1871 give the exact location of people according to birthplace and these show the discrepancy in the numbers of Welsh-born males and females in the colony. As for Victoria, the ratio for the second half of the nineteenth century is consistently around 50 Welsh-born females to 100 males.[33] However Tyler found that while the City of Ballarat and Sebastopol also showed disproportionate numbers of the sexes, this was to a lesser extent than in the goldfields and for the colony as a whole.[34] In NSW only in the Newcastle district do the numbers of males and females approached equality,[35] making clear the importance of the

[30] Tyler 263.

[31] For example, "We the Welsh have to marry English, Scots and Irish because there is no room here to choose amongst our own maidens . . ." *Yr Australydd* (April 1871): 2-3, quoted by Emyr Gwynne Jones in "The Welsh Independents (Congregationalists) of Australia" in *Church Heritage*, 3.3 (1984): 258. See also Tyler 259-262.

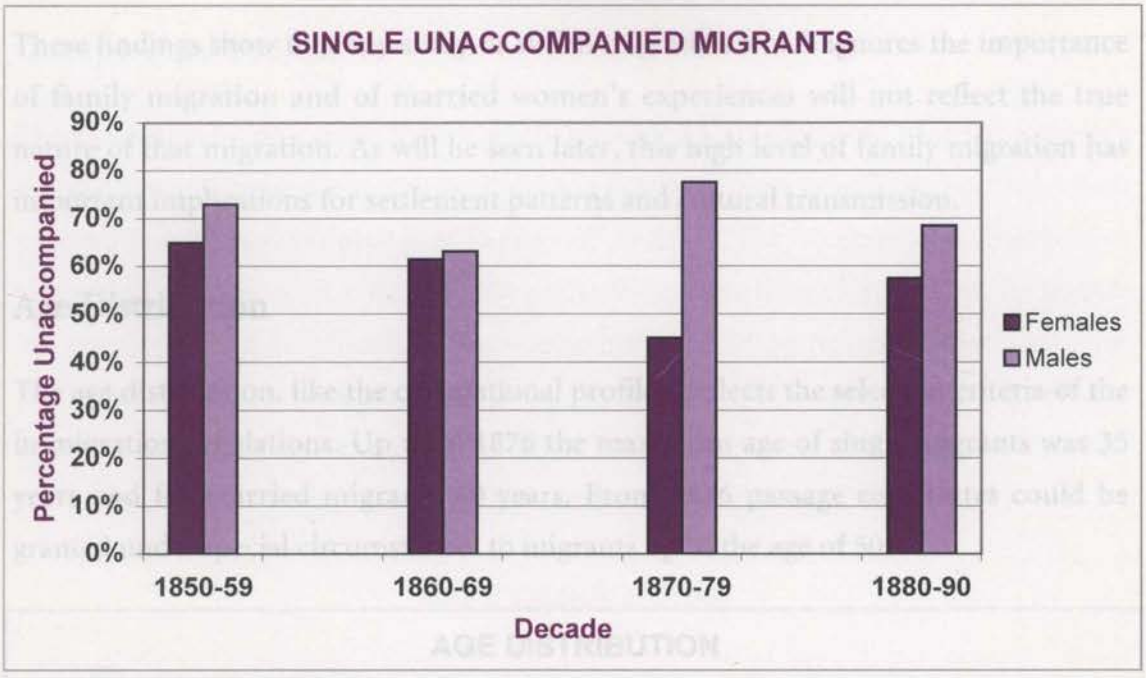
[32] Tyler 268-272. Tyler's findings for Ballarat and Sebastopol and my work on the NCMD show the importance of more detailed studies into specific centres of settlement in order to highlight variations in and question generalisations about migration and cultural continuity and change.

[33] Walker, "From Old Wales" 71, 78.

[34] Tyler 264.

[35] A.F. Hughes, based on the census alone, maintained that even in Newcastle "as in the gold towns of Victoria, the imbalance of the sexes is evident" and may be "directly detrimental to language maintenance and transmission": 163. While this is not disputed, these generalisations hide the existence of localised communities that may not conform to the general view.

NCMD to any study of Welsh settlement in NSW and with strong implications for cultural maintenance. This will be explored in the following chapters.



Graph 2.5 Single unaccompanied migrants from Wales 1850-1890.

One of the significant findings of this study is that the equality of males and females reflected in the total numbers of the assisted migrants from Wales was a product of the high level of family migration from Wales to NSW. Seventy-six percent of migrants were part of a family group and only 24% came as single unaccompanied men and women. This was the same result as for the period 1875-1885. My earlier study had shown that single women migrants, in contrast to the single males, were more likely to emigrate if they had relatives and friends in the colony or were accompanied by family members. This seemed to suggest that employment opportunities were not the main reason for female migration from Wales. However, when all four decades are taken into account, the presence of friends and relatives appears to be less significant in distinguishing between single males and females.

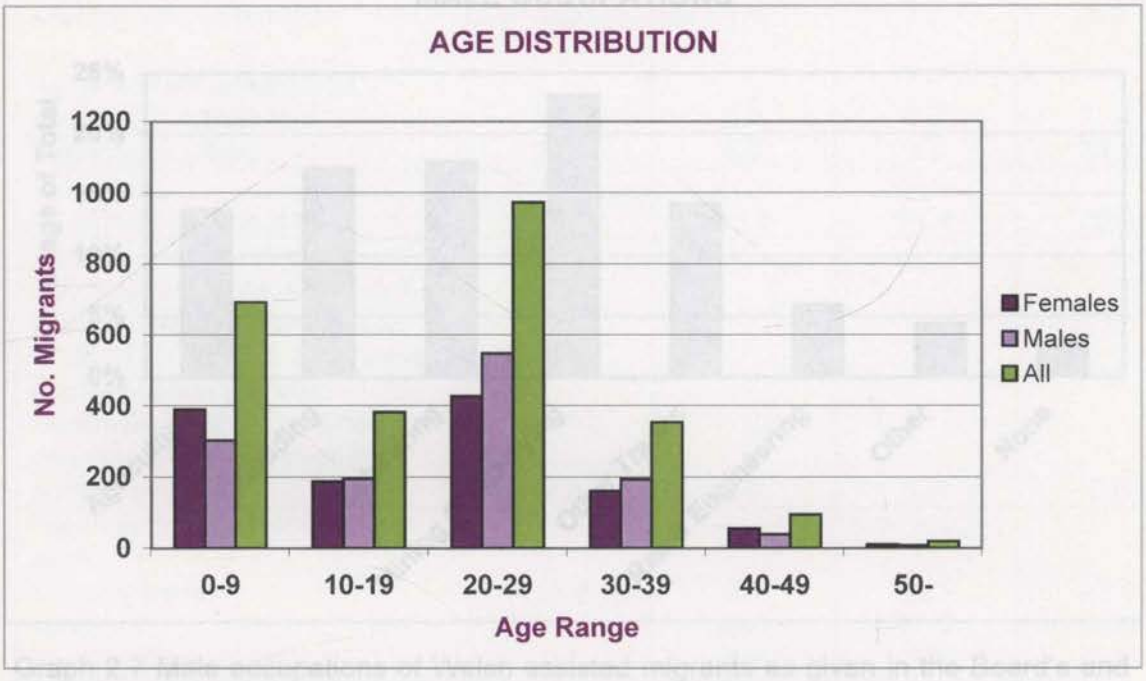
Tyler also found there was a high incidence of couple and family migration among the Welsh to Victoria, a surprising finding considering the supposed nature of goldfields and unassisted migration. Fifty-seven percent of Welsh couples in Ballarat and 54% in Sebastopol 1860-1880 were married in their Welsh county of origin, far more than any

other British grouping except the Cornish.[36] A clear majority of Welsh couples had arrived in Australia already married.

These findings show that any study of Welsh migration which ignores the importance of family migration and of married women's experiences will not reflect the true nature of that migration. As will be seen later, this high level of family migration has important implications for settlement patterns and cultural transmission.

Age Distribution

The age distribution, like the occupational profiles, reflects the selection criteria of the immigration regulations. Up until 1876 the maximum age of single migrants was 35 years and for married migrants 40 years. From 1876 passage certificates could be granted under special circumstances to migrants up to the age of 50.



Graph 2.6 Age distribution of assisted migrants from Wales 1850-1890.

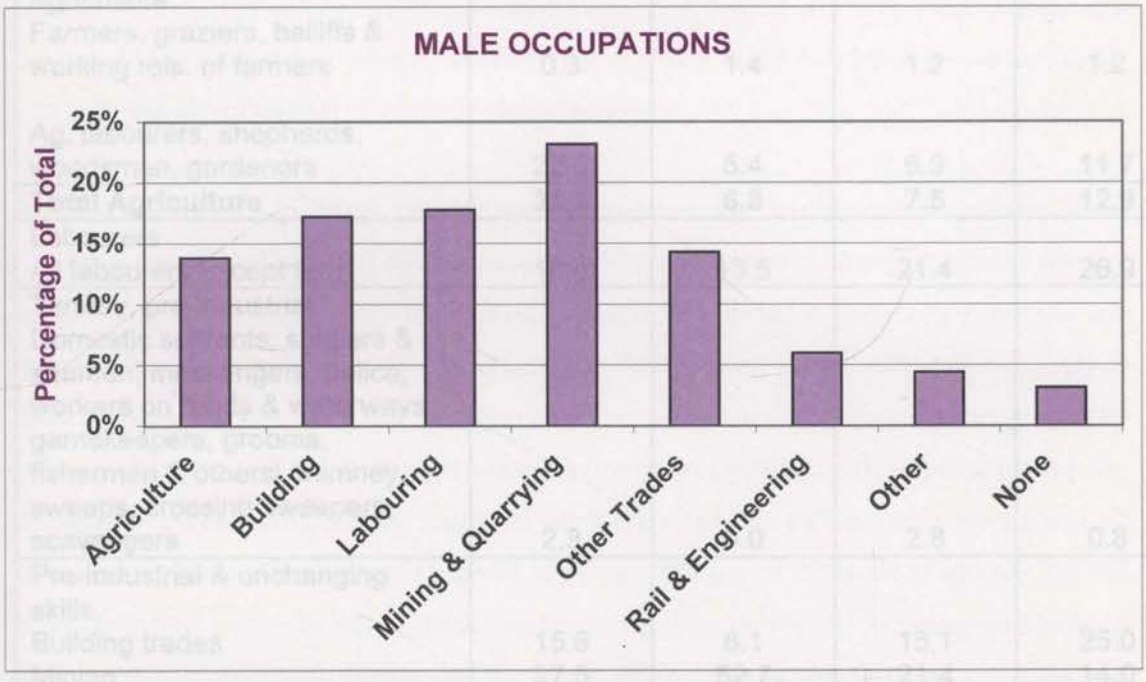
The graph shows that the majority of the migrants from Welsh counties of origin were young children under nine and men and women in their twenties. This is not surprising given the family nature of Welsh migration. Overall 95% of migrants from Welsh counties were under the age of 40. This may have implications for the level of bilingualism and mono-lingualism among the migrants although without statistical

[36] Tyler 272-273.

data this is difficult to prove and can only be estimated by looking at nineteenth-century language profiles of the different Welsh counties.

Occupational Profiles

The occupations were recorded for all men and for single women. Married women's occupations either before marriage or during marriage went mostly unrecorded which makes a female occupational profile difficult to draw. The occupational information also reflects the selection criteria of the authorities at the time of migration. As Haines has pointed out, it is difficult to know whether occupation refers to what a migrant was doing just before emigration or the occupation in which they were trained. There is much evidence that occupations were adapted to meet the selection criteria, particularly when mining was no longer a targeted occupation.[37]



Graph 2.7 Male occupations of Welsh assisted migrants as given in the Board's and Agents' Immigrant Lists 1850-1890.

Male Occupations

There are several ways in which to represent the categories of male occupations: following the nineteenth-century UK census model or using the targeted categories

[37] Evidence before the Select Committee on Assisted Immigration, *NSW Legislative Assembly Votes and Proceedings* (NSWLAV&P) 1879-1880, Vol. 5: 727-803. *NMH* 18 January 1878.

from the Board's and Agents' Immigrant Lists. However, given the nature of Welsh migrants' known occupations, of the heavy industrialised nature of parts of South Wales and the rapid technological changes in the second half of the nineteenth century, Erickson's method, which compares pre-industrial and industrial, unchanging and changing skills, is seen to be far more useful in determining the kinds of migrants and skills which arrived in NSW from 1850. Erickson rejected the classifications used by the census and immigration authorities because "the conventional distinction between skilled and unskilled manual workers reveals less about the skilled men who emigrated than one would like to know".[38] As Haines has also used this method in her study of Australian migration, this allows for useful comparisons to be made with her findings on NSW, Victoria and South Australia and also with her tables on the USA (see Table 2.6).

Occupation	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s
Agriculture				
Farmers, graziers, bailiffs & working rels. of farmers	0.3	1.4	1.2	1.2
Ag. labourers, shepherds, woodsmen, gardeners	22.0	5.4	6.3	11.7
Total Agriculture	**22.3**	**6.8**	**7.5**	**12.9**
Labourers				
All labourers except farm	18.4	13.5	21.4	26.9
Tertiary, pre-industrial				
Domestic servants; soldiers & seamen; messengers; police; workers on roads & waterways; gamekeepers, grooms, fishermen & others; chimney sweeps, crossing sweepers, scavengers	2.3	0.0	2.8	0.8
Pre-industrial & unchanging skills				
Building trades	15.8	8.1	15.1	25.0
Mining	27.5	52.7	21.4	14.0
Food trades	0.6	1.3	1.6	2.1
Metal trades	5.2	5.4	8.7	4.2
Clothing trades	1.7	4.0	4.8	1.2
Wood-working	2.9	0.0	3.2	2.5
Miscellaneous	0.0	0.0	0.4	1.7
Other mechanics	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total Pre-industrial	**53.7**	**71.5**	**55.2**	**50.7**
Industrial, new & changing skills				
Textiles	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4
Steel & engineering	0.9	6.8	9.5	4.2
Miscellaneous	0.3	0.0	1.2	0.8

[38] Erickson, "Who were the English and Scots" 356-7.

Occupation	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s
Total industrial	**1.2**	**6.8**	**10.7**	**5.4**
Tertiary, industrial				
Railways	0.9	1.4	1.2	1.7
Clerical	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0
Commercial	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.4
Professional	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total tertiary	**1.5**	**1.4**	**2.0**	**2.1**
Unspecified Occupations	**0.6**	**0.0**	**0.4**	**1.2**
Total Percentages	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Absolute Numbers	**342**	**74**	**252**	**238**

Table 2.4 Erickson's Classification of Occupations applied to Board's and Agents' Immigrant Lists' data for each decade 1850-1890.

Erickson's classifications allow an important distinction to be drawn between pre-industrial skilled workers (occupations and industries that had not undergone significant technological change, characterised by a limited advance in productivity and therefore in possible earnings)[39] and industrial skilled workers (workers in new and changing industries, where productivity in many areas had been raised markedly through the introduction of improved technology).

Table 2.4 shows the extent to which these occupational groupings were consistent over the four decades of assisted immigration to NSW. The much smaller sample for the 1860s may distort the results to some extent but despite this, some trends are identifiable. The small numbers of tertiary, industrial workers is not surprising given that these were not targeted occupations for assistance. More surprising are the relatively low numbers of sought-after farmers and agricultural workers, and the decline in the numbers of agricultural workers after the 1850s. Labourers from all other areas maintained a consistently high percentage of all male migrants, as did those involved in the building trades and mining. The tailing off in some occupations such as mining over the 1880s was the result of changes in the targeted occupations. Pressure from the miners' union on government officials in the later 1870s meant that

[39] "In emigrating to less developed regions overseas, they might expect to follow their traditional occupations with only minor modifications . . . These people probably did not face direct technological unemployment by the substitution of machinery for their labour in the community in which they worked . . . This is an attempt to distinguish handcraft workers whose jobs changed little, and many of whom, like building-trades workers and miners, found expanding opportunities to practice old trades with the advance of industrialization". Erickson, "Who were the English and Scots" 358.

miners were actively discouraged as assisted migrants. However many miners still arrived under the guise of alternative and approved occupations.[40]

In terms of industrial skilled migrants, the numbers are comparatively small (5.4%) with steel and engineering industries making up the majority. This would seem to both reflect the pace of industrial development in late nineteenth-century NSW and also the greater opportunities for such skilled workers in Britain and possibly the USA. However a comparison with Erickson's figures for the male English and Scots arriving in New York between 1885 and 1888 shows that of the 7.8% who were skilled industrial, only 4% were from the steel and engineering industries,[41] compared with 4.2% for NSW between 1880-90. Immigrants with engineering and other industrial skills might well pay their own passages to NSW or have them paid for by a company who was employing them, so the figures may be much greater than the passenger lists show. This does appear to be the case, as many of the Welsh mining officials in the NCMD were not assisted migrants.[42]

Table 2.5 uses Erickson's categories to examine the occupational groupings of the migrant males from Wales between 1850 and 1890. These are compared to the occupational structure in Wales in 1891. This shows that the majority of male assisted migrants fall into the category of "Pre-industrial and unchanging skills". Less than 37% of men in Wales in 1891 were found to be working in these areas while almost 55% of the migrants were from this group. But it is the building trades and mining that make up the bulk of this category and while the numbers in mining in Wales (20.6%) and among the assisted migrants (24.3%) are roughly equivalent, the building trades are over-represented. Three times as many building tradesmen came to NSW as assisted migrants as worked in those trades in Wales in 1891. This reflects the high

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[40] Evidence before the Select Committee on Assisted Immigration, V&PNSWLA 1879-1880, Vol. 5: 754-759. The Lambton correspondent for the *NMH* asserted that " . . . miners come out under the name of agricultural labourers in order to get a passage. I know of persons who have used this device . . . it is plain that the Agent General is not acting upon his instructions . . . in the official classification of the last shipload we find 18 miners." *NMH* 18 January 1878.

[41] While tertiary industrial numbers through New York were much greater (15.7%), miners made up only 8% of the total. Erickson's data is likely to be more representative of general occupational groups than the NSW data as the latter had already passed through an occupational selection process. Erickson, "Who were the English and Scots" Table 6: 363.

[42] See Chapter 8.

mobility of those trades (also shown in the immigrant lists),[43] coupled with the high demand in the colony for such skills. Labourers were also over-represented in the NSW data. As has been mentioned earlier, this may be because more men claimed to be labourers in order to meet the selection criteria after other occupations were disallowed.

Finally, Table 2.6 compares Haines', Erickson's and the NSW data from the 1850s. While the percentages may be somewhat distorted by the differing size of the samples, what is at once remarkable is the high percentage of miners among the Welsh migrants to NSW when compared to figures for other colonies and the USA. Only South Australia approaches similar figures, not surprising considering its booming copper mining industry. But the 1850s was early in the development of the NSW coalfields which makes the numbers of miners from Wales (many of whom state specifically that they are coal miners or colliers) surprising. Given that in 1851 5.2% of British workers were employed in mining, the figures from Wales to NSW stand out as atypical.

Occupation	NSW Board's & Agent's Lists 1850-1890 %	1891 Census of Monmouth & Wales %
Agriculture		
Farmers, graziers, bailiffs & working rels. of farmers	0.9	6.8
Ag. labrs, shepherds, woodsmen, gardeners	13.6	7.7
Total Agriculture	**14.5**	**14.5**
Labourers		
All except farm labrs	21.1	7.6
Tertiary, pre-industrial		
Domestic servants; soldiers & seamen; messengers; police; workers on roads & waterways; gamekeepers, grooms, fishermen & others; chimney sweeps, crossing sweepers, scavengers	1.9	7.2
Pre-industrial & unchanging skills		
Building trades	17.3	5.7
Mining	24.3	20.6

[43] Birthplaces of children of building tradesmen in the Immigrant lists show a high level of mobility, with workers moving within Wales, into England and many families having moved many times within Britain before emigrating to Australia.

Occupation	NSW Board's & Agent's Lists 1850-1890 %	1891 Census of Monmouth & Wales %
Food trades	1.3	3.2
Metal trades	6.0	4.9
Clothing trades	2.65	0.9
Wood-working	2.65	0.7
Miscellaneous	0.5	0.4
Other mechanics	0.0	0.0
Total Pre-industrial	**77.7**	**51.2**
Industrial, new & changing skills		
Textiles	0.1	0.5
Steel & engineering	4.6	5.2
Miscellaneous	0.7	1.3
Total industrial	**5.4**	**7.0**
Tertiary, industrial		
Railways	1.2	1.6
Clerical	0.1	2.8
Commercial	0.2	3.3
Professional	0.2	2.8
Total tertiary	**1.7**	**10.5**
Unspecified Occupations	**0.7**	**16.8**
Total Percentages	**100.0**	**97.7**
Absolute Numbers	**906**	**679860**

Table 2.5 Erickson's Classification of Occupations applied to Board's and Agents' Immigrant Lists' data 1850-1890 and 1891 Census of Wales and Monmouthshire.

The Welsh assisted migrants to NSW and English, Scots and Welsh assisted migrants to South Australia (British mainland), figures appear to be more closely matched than for all the other destinations. When the figures for Welsh migrants are compared to Haines' British mainland figures for NSW, it can be seen that England, Scotland and Wales combined, contributed more than twice as many agricultural migrants and half as many pre-industrial skilled migrants. Clearly the Welsh assisted migrants alone are not a typical group and this makes the distinguishing of their migration and settlement patterns from the mainstream British migrants all the more important.

Industrial Classification	Government-assisted immigrants %							Emigrants from UK ports to various destinations %						
	NSW 1850-60[a]	NSW 1848-60[b]		Victoria 1848-60[b]		SA 1854-55 1857-60[b]		USA 1857[c]		Australasia 1857[c]		New York 1846-54[d]	New York 1851[e]	UK Census % 1851[f]
	Wales	UK	British mainland	UK	British mainland	UK	British mainland	UK	British mainland	UK	British mainland	British mainland	British mainland	
Agriculture														
Farmers, graziers, bailiffs & working rels. of farmers	0.3	0.2			66.0	0.1		11.2	18.0	11.1	10.5	14.2	21.4	6.5
Ag. labourers, shepherds, woodsmen, gardeners	21.8	55.4		72.0	66.0	33.9	30.6	3.3	1.9	16.8	17.6	0.5	1.6	20.8
Total Agriculture	22.1	55.6	50.0	72.0	66.0	34.0	30.6	14.5	19.9	27.9	28.1	14.7	23.0	27.3
Labourers	18.6	20.6	14.0			32.0	18.2	59.0	32.8	37.3	25.6	22.6	25.7	6.9
Tertiary, pre-industrial	2.3	2.6	3.0	1.0	1.0	0.5	0.6	0.6	1.1	1.4	1.8	3.1	3.8	9.3
Pre-industrial & unchanging skills														
Building trades	15.5	11.0		15.0	19.0	10.0	14.7	5.8	7.4	6.2	8.2	10.1	8.3	7.4
Mining	27.5	1.5				16.7	26.2	3.3	7.2	9.0	12.7	5.2	6.8	5.2
Food trades	0.8	1.3		1.0	1.0	0.7	0.9	0.9	1.6	1.3	1.7	5.9	3.1	4.2
Metal trades	5.4	2.6				2.2	3.1	1.0	1.5	1.5	2.1	4.4	3.1	2.8
Clothing trades	1.7	1.1		2.0	2.0	1.2	1.6	1.6	2.8	1.0	1.3	6.7	5.2	6.4
Wood-working	2.9	0.9				1.2	1.8	0.5	0.7	1.1	1.4	2.1	1.7	2.2
Miscellaneous	0.0	0.2				0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.3	1.8	1.2	2.0
Other mechanics	0.0			7.0	9.0							0.6	1.7	
Total Pre-industrial	53.8	18.6	28.0	25.0	31.0	32.1	48.4	13.2	21.5	20.3	27.7	36.8	31.1	30.2
Industrial, new & changing skills														
Textiles	0.0	0.6				0.4	0.7	0.9	1.8	0.8	1.0	7.4	2.9	8.9
Steel & engineering	0.9	0.7				0.6	1.0	0.4	1.0	0.9	1.2	7.3	5.0	4.8
Miscellaneous	0.3	0.2					0.1	0.3	0.6	0.4	0.6	2.6	1.4	2.0

Industrial Classification	Government-assisted immigrants %							Emigrants from UK ports to various destinations %						
	NSW 1850-60[a]	NSW 1848-60[b]		Victoria 1848-60[b]		SA 1854-55 1857-60[b]		USA 1857[c]		Australasia 1857[c]		New York 1846-54[d]	New York 1851[e]	UK Census % 1851[f]
	Wales	UK	British mainland	UK	British mainland	UK	British mainland	UK	British mainland	UK	British mainland	British mainland	British mainland	
Total industrial	1.2	1.5	2.0			1.0	1.8	1.6	3.4	2.1	2.8	17.3	9.3	15.7
Tert. industrial														
Railways	0.8	0.2					0.4		0.08	0.1	0.1			0.3
Clerical	0.0	0.3						1.5	3.0	1.7	2.1	1.2	1.8	2.1
Commercial	0.0	0.1						1.0	2.2	1.4	1.9	3.9	3.3	5.9
Professional	0.6	0.4				0.2		1.1	2.5	4.1	5.2	0.5	1.9	2.5
Total tertiary	1.4	1.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	0.2	0.4	3.6	7.7	7.3	9.3	5.6	7.0	10.8
Unspecified Occupations	0.6							7.4	13.6	3.8	4.8			
Total Percentages	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Absolute Numbers	349	31222	19726	27362	19942	9762	6140	34371	14073	27177	18805	848	2224	6625000

Table 2.6 Comparison of Haines' and Erickson's data and the NSW data from the 1850s.

Sources and notes:

This table has been adapted from Haines, Robin F. *Emigration and the Labouring Poor, Australian Recruitment in Britain and Ireland, 1831-60*, (London, 1997), pp.64-5. The term 'British mainland' refers to England, Scotland and Wales. 'UK' includes Ireland.

a data extracted from Immigration Board and Agents' Lists 1850-1860, see Appendix 1 (Walker).

b from Haines, *Emigration and the Labouring Poor*, pp.64-5 (based on Immigration Agents' Reports for each colony).

c Haines (extracted from a return tabled in *BPP*, 1868-69 (397) Vol L: Table showing the occupations, sex and general destination of English, Scots and Irish emigrants in 1857, as far as can be ascertained from the Passenger Lists presented by the Authorities'. The Australasian column includes government-assisted and unassisted passengers to each of the Australian colonies and New Zealand).

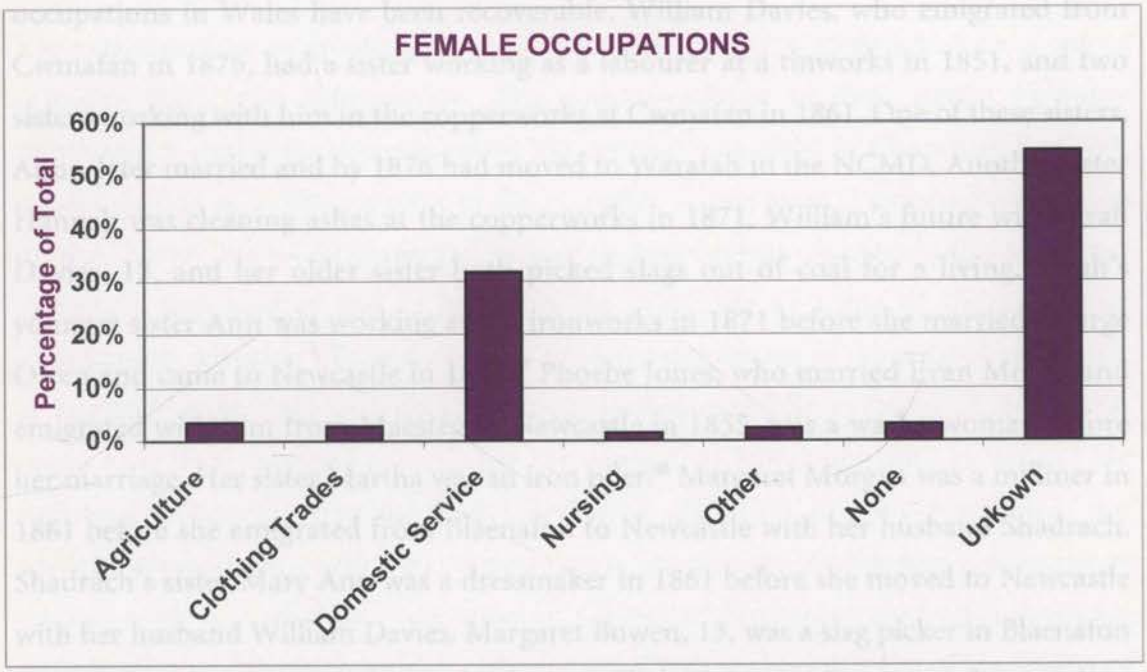
d Haines (from C.E. Erickson, 'Who were the English and Scots emigrants to the United States in the late nineteenth century?' in D.V. Glass and Roger Revelle (eds), *Population and Social Change* (London, 1972), p.363).

e Haines (from William Van Vugt, 'Prosperity and Industrial Emigration from Britain during the early 1850s', *Journal of Social History*, 22:2 (1988), p.342).

f Haines (Census data tabled by Erickson, 'Who were the English and Scots?', p.363).

Female Occupations

Unfortunately it is impossible to do such a breakdown of female occupations. The occupation listed for most married women, if one was recorded at all, was "wife" or "home duties" or "housekeeper". The single and widowed women were listed mainly in domestic service which reflected the priorities of the immigration authorities. However despite a Board's List entry of "General Servant" for Elizabeth Meyrick, 19, of Merthyr Tydfil, Glamorganshire in 1880, the Agent's List gives Elizabeth's occupation as "bricklayer and brickmaker".[44] This indicates that "domestic servant" might actually hide a much wider female occupational skills-base.



Graph 2.8 Female occupations of Welsh assisted migrants as given in the Board's and Agents' Immigrant Lists 1850-1890.

In addition the UK census shows that such "non-traditional" occupations were not unknown in nineteenth-century Wales. The 1891 census of England and Wales lists 431 female brick or tile makers, two female bricklayers, six female builders, 17 carpenters, four plumbers and 609 coalminers (despite the fact that females working underground in coalmining were banned in 1842).[45] Whatever may have been the

[44] AIL 1880 SRNSW 4/4805 and BIL 1880 SRNSW 4/5016.

[45] "Table 7 Occupations of Males and Females aged 10 years and upwards," Census of E&W 1891, BPP 1893-4 c7058, Vol. CVI (Census of E&W).

case in Wales, in NSW there were few such employment opportunities for women, particularly in the coalmining districts.[46]

Only the UK census can be of much help in recovering women's pre-marriage or pre-migration occupations and that is hampered by female name changes on marriage and the timing of migration; a girl can be recorded as a scholar in one census but ten years later, if she is married, no occupation will be recorded. The paucity of census indexes is also problematic. The lack of employment opportunities for women in coal-mining villages and the need for their help at home meant that many women had no occupation recorded on official documents such as the census returns or marriage certificates. The difficulties of locating such information aside, some women's occupations in Wales have been recoverable. William Davies, who emigrated from Cwmafan in 1876, had a sister working as a labourer at a tinworks in 1851, and two sisters working with him in the copperworks at Cwmafan in 1861. One of these sisters, Anne, later married and by 1876 had moved to Waratah in the NCMD. Another sister Hannah was cleaning ashes at the copperworks in 1871. William's future wife Sarah Davies, 13, and her older sister both picked slags out of coal for a living. Sarah's younger sister Ann was working at the ironworks in 1871 before she married George Owen and came to Newcastle in 1876.[47] Phoebe Jones, who married Evan Morris and emigrated with him from Maesteg to Newcastle in 1855, was a washerwoman before her marriage. Her sister Martha was an iron piler.[48] Margaret Morgan was a milliner in 1861 before she emigrated from Blaenafon to Newcastle with her husband Shadrach. Shadrach's sister Mary Ann was a dressmaker in 1861 before she moved to Newcastle with her husband William Davies. Margaret Bowen, 13, was a slag picker in Blaenafon before she married Shadrach's nephew William Morgan Davies and moved to Newcastle in 1881. Another member of the family, Sarah Davies, 19, was a pupil teacher in Blaenafon before she moved to Newcastle to join her two older brothers and uncles.[49] Rachel Young, also from Blaenafon, was a confectioner in 1861 supporting four children, and a beerhouse keeper in 1871.[50] Serviah Bevan, 13, of

[46] Ellen McEwen, "Family, Kin and Neighbours: The Newcastle Coal Mining District, 1860-1900," *Australia 1888* ed. Ailsa McLeary, Bulletin 4 (May 1980) 74.
[47] Census of E&W 1851 107/2462; 1861 9/4083; 1871 10/5426.
[48] Census of E&W 1851 107/2461.
[49] Census of E&W 1861 9/3996; 1871 10/5314; 1881 11/5237.
[50] Census of E&W 1861 9/3996; 1871 10/5313.

Llangyfelach near Neath, was a grocer's assistant in 1881, three years before she arrived in Newcastle with two of her brothers.[51]

What this smattering of names and occupations shows is that female occupations recorded on the immigrant lists do not tell the whole story. Married women from Wales did have occupations, often in industrial areas, before they married and many who were designated as domestic servants had actually quite different occupations before they emigrated. Much more careful and time-consuming work needs to be done before a fuller picture of nineteenth-century women's work can be developed.

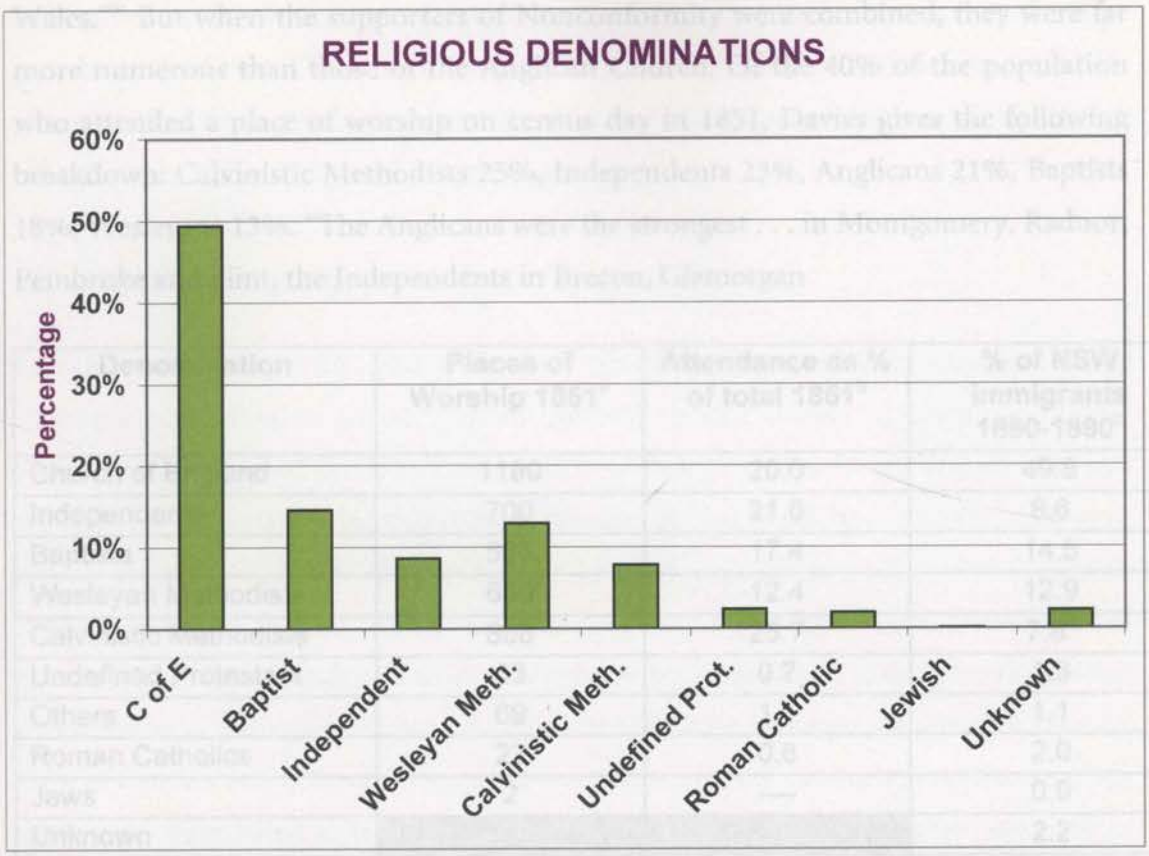
Religious Profile

The religion of all migrants was recorded in the immigration data but we must be cautious about this information. The widespread use of ditto marks by some immigration clerks, particularly where the religion was given as Church of England, creates doubts as to the accuracy of the recorded information. Erickson commented on the "liberal use of ditto marks" by lazy or overworked captains in the American passenger lists leading her to question the reliability of some of the published immigration statistics.[52] Tyler noted that the large percentage of those listed as Church of England in the Ballarat District Hospital records was "far in excess of that which might have been expected considering the strength of Nonconformity in Wales." He suggested that as everyone had to give a religious affiliation, this figure included "not only the Anglican proportion of the population but also those who were indifferent or unclear as regards religion."[53] Presumably, Church of England could be put down for anyone who was not a church or chapel-goer. There is also evidence of confusion of religious denominations (for example, Independent and Congregational, Presbyterian and Calvinistic Methodist) and the use of general terms such as protestant, dissenter and non-conformist. It is also not clear when "Methodist" is recorded, whether this means "Calvinistic Methodist", the nonconformist sect exclusive to Wales.

Graph 2.9 shows the main religious denominations as given in the immigration lists between 1850 and 1890.

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[51] Census of E&W 1881 11/5349.
[52] Erickson, "Who were the English and Scots" 355.
[53] Tyler 134.



Graph 2.9 Religious denominations of assisted migrants from Wales as given in the Board's and Agents' Immigrant Lists 1850-1890.

As Tyler found, the largest percentage of entries, almost 50%, were Church of England. This is not reflected in the religious statistics of Wales during the second half of the nineteenth century. There are also conflicting interpretations of these census returns among Welsh historians. According to D. Gareth Evans the 1851 Religious Census showed that only 9% had attended the Anglican churches at the time of the census and 87% the Nonconformist chapels. The immigrant lists' religious information is all the more suspect when, as the 1851 Census showed, the Anglican Church was the weakest in the industrial Welsh-language speaking districts.[54] As Evans points out, "Wales was clearly a Nonconformist country and the masses had rejected the Established Church."[55] However, John Davies draws attention to the large numbers of Welsh people who did not attend any place of worship on the day of the census, and claims that "those of no religion, when added to the Anglicans, account for more than half the population; thus the Nonconformists were a minority in

[54] D. Gareth Evans, *A History of Wales 1815-1906* (Cardiff: UWP, 1989) 219.
[55] Evans 219.

Wales."[56] But when the supporters of Nonconformity were combined, they were far more numerous than those of the Anglican Church. Of the 40% of the population who attended a place of worship on census day in 1851, Davies gives the following breakdown: Calvinistic Methodists 25%, Independents 23%, Anglicans 21%, Baptists 18%, Wesleyans 13%. "The Anglicans were the strongest . . . in Montgomery, Radnor, Pembroke and Flint, the Independents in Brecon, Glamorgan

Denomination	Places of Worship 1851[a]	Attendance as % of total 1851[b]	% of NSW immigrants 1850-1890[c]
Church of England	1180	20.0	49.5
Independents	700	21.8	8.6
Baptists	533	17.4	14.5
Wesleyan Methodists	659	12.4	12.9
Calvinistic Methodists	808	25.7	7.8[d]
Undefined Protestant	33	0.7	1.3
Others	69	1.1	1.1
Roman Catholics	22	0.8	2.0
Jews	2	----	0.0
Unknown			2.2
Total	4006	99.9	99.9

Table 2.6 Percentage figures of church and chapel attendance as recorded by the 1851 Religious Census of Wales compared with recorded religious affiliation from Board's and Agents' Immigration Lists 1850-1890.

Notes:

a & b Extracted from Dot Jones, *Statistical Evidence Relating to the Welsh Language 1801-1911*[57]

c Extracted from Walker, NSW Board and Agents' Immigration Lists 1850-1890.

d This is a combination of those who claimed Calvinist and Presbyterian and those who claimed Methodist but not Wesleyan Methodist. So this figure may not be accurate.

and Carmarthen, the Baptists in Monmouth and the Calvinistic Methodists in the rest."[58] How then do these figures relate to the religious adherence of the assisted immigrants entering NSW? Given their counties of origin, the Baptists and Independents (Congregationalists) should be the strongest in number.

Obviously the Religious Census of 1851 was limited to one day's attendance when people were encouraged to attend and where some may have been counted more than once. Those who espoused no religion would simply have not attended. On the

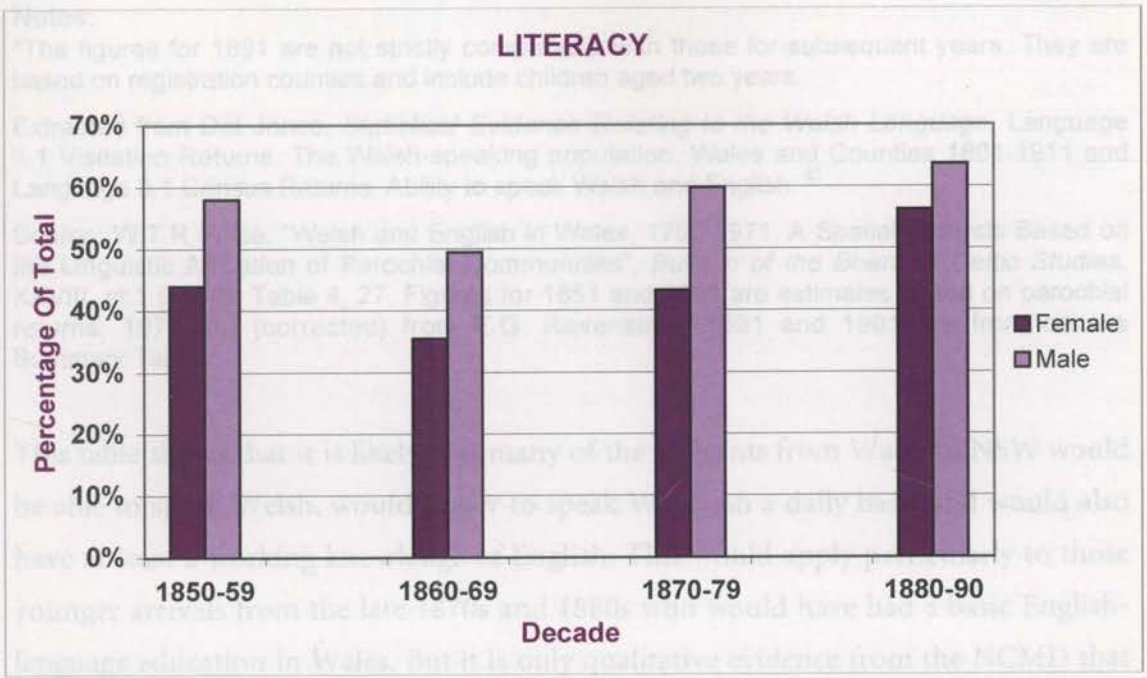
[56] John Davies, *A History of Wales* (Penguin, 1994) 427.
[57] Dot Jones, *Statistical Evidence* 425.
[58] Davies 427.

immigrant lists there was no category for "no religion" which may explain the large numbers declaring Church of England. Qualitative evidence from the NCMD indicates that the Independents and Baptists were the most visible among the Welsh chapels. This will be discussed in later chapters.

Literacy and Language

Like the religious profile, this category must also be treated with caution. While migrants were asked to answer written questions about literacy up until the 1850s,[59] we do not know what the later immigration authorities' criteria for literacy was and whether there was a test for this or not. We also do not know how many people were literate in both Welsh and English nor do we know how many people were literate in Welsh but not in English. However, according to the immigrant lists, between 1850 and 1890, 59% of all migrants from a Welsh county could both read and write. When children under the age of 15 are taken out, almost 76% of adults are listed as literate, 70% of females and 80% of males. 12% were illiterate and 11% could read only. Only three men were listed as being literate in Welsh, (possibly because they were not in English) but more qualitative evidence discussed in Chapter 6 would indicate that the numbers were far greater. Haines also found a high level of literacy among assisted migrants arriving in NSW between 1848 and 1860. Fifty-nine percent could both read and write and 22% could read only.[60]

[59] Haines 69.
[60] Haines 70.



Graph 2.10 Literacy of assisted migrants from Wales over the age of 15 as given in the Board's and Agents' Immigrant Lists 1850-1890.

What is not recorded, of course, is the incidence of monoglot Welsh-speakers and bilingual speakers among the migrants from Welsh counties. This is not surprising given that the British census did not record this information in Wales until 1891. While evidence for language use will be explored in later chapters, the only way we can arrive at some sort of statistical impression is by looking at the Welsh-speaking and bilingual population in the migrants' counties of origin.

	Living in Welsh and bilingual areas			Population able to speak Welsh	
	% 1851	%1871	%1881	%1891*	%1901
Wales	69.0	71.2	36.8	54.5	49.9
Counties					
Monmouth	34.5	28.9	--	15.4	13.0
Glamorgan	66.7	68.2	18.1	49.5	43.5
Carmarthen	97.5	94.0	83.3	89.5	90.4
Pembroke	36.4	35.6	24.7	32.0	34.4
Cardigan	100.0	95.5	100.0	95.2	93.0
Brecon	78.6	66.6	25.1	37.8	45.9
Radnor	6.9	4.0	--	6.1	6.2
Montgomery	46.7	43.9	27.9	50.4	47.5
Flint	82.1	69.9	33.7	68.0	49.1
Denbigh	73.9	77.1	40.8	65.3	61.9
Merioneth	100.0	94.4	95.8	94.1	93.7
Caernarfon	88.8	92.9	80.1	89.5	89.6
Anglesey	100.0	93.1	74.2	93.7	91.7

Table 2.7 The population of Wales speaking Welsh or able to speak Welsh 1851-1901.

Notes:
*The figures for 1891 are not strictly comparable with those for subsequent years. They are based on registration counties and include children aged two years.

Extracted from Dot Jones, *Statistical Evidence Relating to the Welsh Language*, Language 1.1 Visitation Returns. The Welsh-speaking population. Wales and Counties 1801-1911 and Language 3.1 Census Returns. Ability to speak Welsh and English. [61]

Source: W.T.R Pryce, "Welsh and English in Wales, 1750-1971: A Spatial Analysis Based on the Linguistic Affiliation of Parochial Communities", *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, XXVIII, pt.1 (1978), Table 4, 27. Figures for 1851 and 1881 are estimates based on parochial returns; 1871 are (corrected) from E.G. Ravenstein; 1891 and 1901 are from census Summary Tables.

This table shows that it is likely that many of the migrants from Wales to NSW would be able to speak Welsh, would prefer to speak Welsh on a daily basis and would also have at least a working knowledge of English. This would apply particularly to those younger arrivals from the late 1870s and 1880s who would have had a basic English-language education in Wales. But it is only qualitative evidence from the NCMD that can confirm language preference and use.

Settlement Patterns

Finally it is important to relate the statistical data from the immigrant lists and Immigration Deposits Journals to the places of settlement in NSW as shown in the census returns. In his study of Welsh migrants in America, Bill Jones found that the Welsh tended to concentrate in a very limited number of destinations.[62] This was also the case with the Welsh in South Australia[63] and Victoria.[64] Both Jones and Hughes noted that Welsh settlement patterns were largely shaped by employment opportunities available.[65] The 1851–1871 census returns provide a guide to Welsh settlement patterns that show that the majority of Welsh settlers in NSW were to be found in the Sydney and Newcastle areas. From 1881, the census did not record the exact location of people according to birthplace, only whether they were rural or urban dwellers.

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[61] Dot Jones 221, 225.
[62] Welsh migrants concentrated in industrial areas in the United States, particularly in Pittsburgh and Scranton and Wilkes-Barre in Pennsylvania. W.D. Jones, *Wales in America*: xx.
[63] Welsh migrants were mainly found in the copper-mining and smelting townships of Kapunda, Burra and Wallaroo. Newman 38.
[64] They mainly concentrated in the gold-bearing regions of Victoria and while they comprised only 0.98% of the Victorian population, in the goldfields they made up to 1.66%. Tyler 16, 19.
[65] A.F. Hughes, "Welsh", *The Australian People* (2001) 737-743.

Year	Sydney and Suburbs		Newcastle Coal Mining District	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
1851	25%	37%	7%	6.5%
1861	21%	29%	18%	25.5%
1871	21%	26%	28%	36.5%

Table 2.8 Percentage of total Welsh-born colonial population living in Sydney and Newcastle Coal Mining District. Source: NSW Census 1851 – 1871.

The higher proportion of females in Sydney and suburbs is a factor of the high demand for single female labour (domestic servants) in Sydney. The records show that many of the single unaccompanied women had relatives or contacts in Sydney and the arrangements for single unaccompanied women to be hired out from the Immigrant Depot in Hyde Park Barracks meant that most would find employment there. The Immigration Deposits Journals reflect the strong links of chain migration to both Sydney and Newcastle, with families and single men more likely to have connections in Newcastle. As discussed in later chapters, earlier migrants sponsored later ones from the same family or same district or workplace.

As my 1875-85 study showed, the concentration of Welsh-born males outside Sydney and Newcastle was consistently in areas associated with mining of some kind and reflected the areas' peak periods of operation and the greater opportunities for employment. The district of Binalong in 1851 contained only one Welsh-born male and, surprisingly, eleven Welsh-born females.[66] By 1861, 82 Welsh-born males and ten Welsh-born females were living in the district, which included the Burrangong goldfields,[67] the third highest number after Sydney and Newcastle. Within ten years that number had dropped to 17 males and four females, a much more typical proportion of Welsh-born residents.[68] This marked variation reflected the employment-related movement of migrants around the country.

However, as Hughes points out, the Welsh population in Sydney was dispersed over a large metropolitan area and even though there is early evidence of Welsh cultural

[66] 1851 Census of NSW.
[67] 1861 Census of NSW.
[68] 1871 Census of NSW.

activities and chapel services there,[69] a permanent centre for religious worship was not established until 1948.[70]

In NSW it is only in the NCMD, where the Welsh were six times stronger than in the rest of the colony,[71] that Welsh culture and identity established itself as a recognisable imprint on the mining townships and villages in the second half of the nineteenth century. As Docherty said, "The Welsh were a truly distinctive minority with their own language and culture."[72] In a study of change and continuity of Welsh identity and culture, then, it is to the mining villages of the Newcastle coalfield that we must turn.

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[69] *Sydney Morning Herald* (*SMH*) 2 March 1859.
[70] Hughes, "Welsh Migrants in Australia" 741.
[71] G. Davison, J.W. McCarty. A. McLeary, eds., *Australian 1888* (Sydney: Fairfax, Syme and Weldon Associates, 1987) 351 and J.C. Docherty, "The Second City, Social and Urban Change in Newcastle NSW 1900-c1929," PhD thesis, ANU, 1977: 20-22.
[72] Docherty 23.

CHAPTER 3

Leaving Old Wales

"Australia is the leading topic of conversation . . . The letters which arrive by each mail are circulated extensively from hand to hand and house to house, and serve by the glowing contents to swell the numbers of intended emigrants."[1]

Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian 12 May 1854.

Scholars are increasingly recognising that nineteenth-century migration was not "a straightforward reflex response to some hypothetical combination of geographical distance, social distress, and gradients of economic opportunity".[2] As a social process and, as such, highly dependent upon very localized circumstances, especially flows of information and personal contacts, the nature of migration from industrial South Wales to NSW can only be fully understood by penetrating to the level of the individuals concerned. What Philip N. Jones' called a "'micro-level' approach, in which the objects of observation and recording are individuals and families",[3] means that the operation of migration processes can be shown at a much finer scale than is possible with more generalised and statistical approaches. Jones showed the value of this in his detailed work on migration into Glamorganshire, especially into the Ogmore and Garw valleys, in the latter half of the nineteenth century.[4]

With the growth in migration studies, we now have far more information about migrants' lives after they arrive in their chosen destination. But as Haines and others have pointed out, we still lack details of migrants' pre-emigration lives and moves.[5] This study uses British census returns, combining them with the NSW Immigration Board's Lists and Immigration Deposits Journals. From such data sources, it is possible to focus on the localities from which groups of migrants came and ask very

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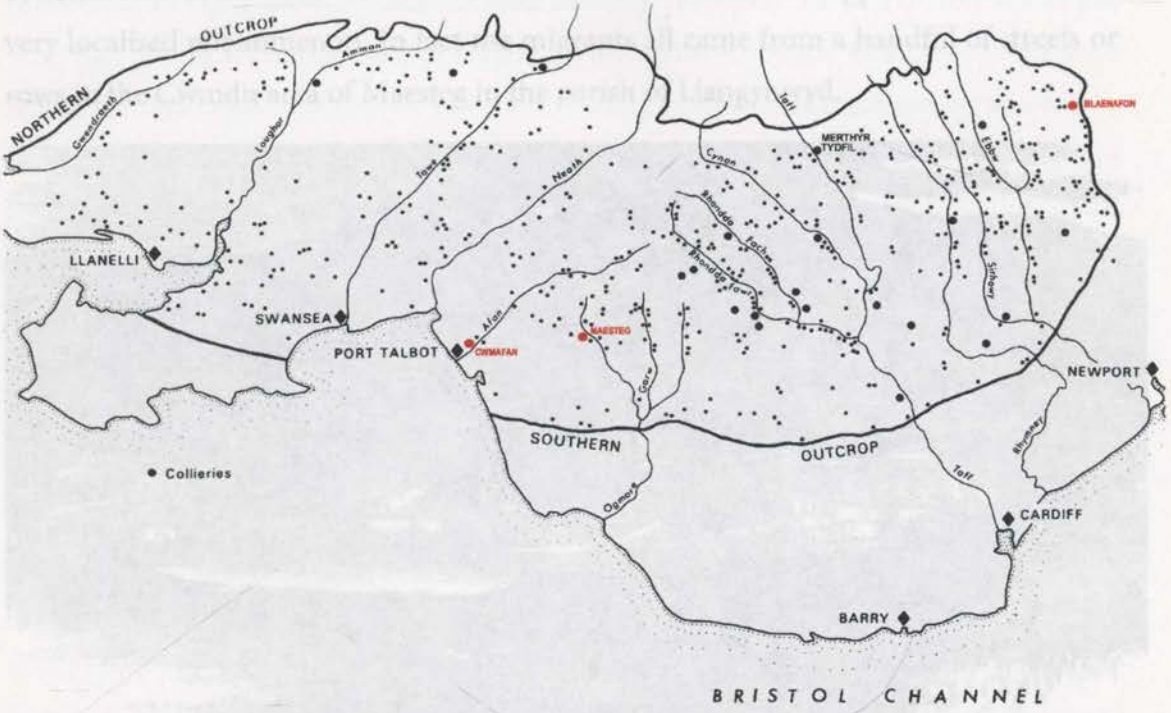
[1] *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian* 12 May 1854.

[2] Philip N. Jones, "Population Migration into Glamorgan 1861-1911: a Reassessment" *Glamorgan Society 1780-1980*, ed. Prys Morgan, *Glamorgan County History Vol. VI* (Cardiff: Glamorgan History Trust Ltd, 1988) 175.

[3] Philip N. Jones 175.

[4] Philip N. Jones, *Mines, Migrants and Residence in the South Wales Steamcoal Valleys: the Ogmore and Garw Valleys in 1881* (Hull: HUP, 1987).

specific questions about their migration. What motivated them to leave their home localities?[6] Had they come to this place from elsewhere and was this part of a stage migration? To what extent was further migration part of a chain begun by earlier migrants? What links can be established between the migrants and were these links continued in NSW? What can we say about the nature and process of migration from South Wales using these localities as a guide?



Map 3.1 South Wales coalfield showing localities of case studies: Maesteg, Blaenafon and Cwmafan. Source: adapted from Kenneth O. Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation Wales 1880-1980* (Oxford: OUP, 1981) xi.

Three localities have been chosen as case studies for this purpose, two in Glamorganshire and one in Monmouthshire. All three were associated with industrial migration and all provided migrants to the NCMD at various times in the second half of the century. As will be seen, while there are many aspects of the migration process that are common to all three localities, each also gives a picture of a highly individualised process, dependent on specific people, families or groups, sometimes limited to specific years or decades, sometimes to specific occupations, destinations or

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[5] Haines, *Indigent Misfits* 1; W. Ross Johnston, "The Welsh Diaspora: Emigrating Around the World in the Late Nineteenth Century" *Llafur* 6.2 (1993): 50; Richards, *Visible Immigrants* 11; Walker, "From Old Wales" 1, 33, 122.

[6] For information on motivation and choice in making the emigration decision see Walker, "'Two Jobs for Every Man'" 99-118. This article explores the information sources available in

even neighbourhoods. From such detailed and individual studies the more complex and idiosyncratic nature of the migration process emerges.

Cwmdu, Maesteg, Llynfi Valley, Glamorganshire

Migration from Maesteg in the West Glamorganshire valleys to NSW was concentrated in the mid-decades of the nineteenth century and appears to have been a very localised phenomenon. In fact the migrants all came from a handful of streets or rows in the Cwmdu area of Maesteg in the parish of Llangynwyd.

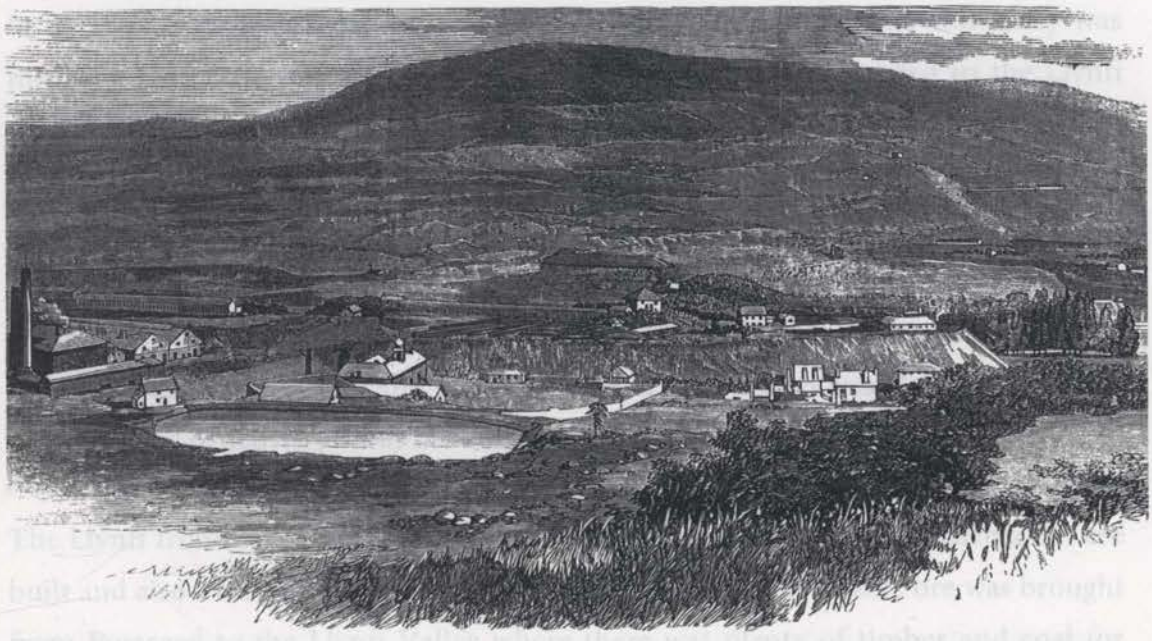


Image 3.1 "The valley of Llyn. Turning the first turf for a new railway 1858". The Llynfi Ironworks are on the far left with the blast engine-house, Nant-y-Crynwydd Farm and Bryant's Pond, the Works Reservoir. In the background are Cavan Row, Talbot Terrace, Zoar Chapel, Castle Hotel and Plasnewydd House. In the foreground are Llynfi Lodge with the New Works School next door. Source:*Illustrated London News* 31 July 1858.

Eight hundred people lived in the parish of Llangynwyd in 1801 with nearly half of them engaged in farming. By 1871 the population was 8944 divided into three hamlets: 5836 in Cwmdu including Maesteg, 526 in Llangynwyd Lower and 428 in Llangynwyd Middle.[7]

Wales to the potential migrant, the role of immigration agents and factors in the choice of destination.

[7] Brinley Richards, *The History of the Llynfi Valley* (Cowbridge: D. Brown and Sons, 1982) 189-190.

The area contained extensive ironworks, mines and collieries in the mid-nineteenth century with iron manufactured into bars, rails and nail rods being sent mainly to the British Midlands. In 1828 the Duffryn Llynfi and Porthcawl tramroad opened to the coast. Further ironworks were opened and mining of coal and ironstone developed.

The Maesteg Ironworks Company on the east side of the Llynfi River commenced operations in 1826, the first blast furnace being blown in, in 1828 and coke ovens put into use. There was an influx of English ironworkers, mostly Baptists, to the iron works in 1830s when the second blast furnace began to operate and a third was blown in in 1844. Despite a new foundry opening in 1846, by 1847 the Company was insolvent, the furnaces were blown out and most employees moved to the Llynfi Ironworks. A new partnership reopened the works in 1851 and by 1856 three blast furnaces were in full operation, with fifteen levels and 81 coke ovens. Between five and six hundred men were employed in this period of greatest activity but this was followed by waning prosperity. From 1860 it worked spasmodically and despite new owners, the Maesteg Iron Works again came to a standstill and remained idle for some time until again taken over. About 1872-73 one of the furnaces was blown in, but after a brief period of activity, it was blown out and never relit.

The Llynfi Ironworks leased land in 1830 and opened two levels, four furnaces were built and also a calciner for the production of spelter. Spelter or zinc ore was brought from Portcawl to the Llynfi Valley where there was plenty of timber and coal for smelting. A second ironworks was developed in 1838 and the first furnace was blown in in 1839, a second in 1840, a third in 1846 and a fourth in 1850. A forge commenced in 1846. In 1852 the company was reformed and by 1853 the weekly output was 400 tons. By 1856 there were four blast furnaces, 28 puddling furnaces, two squeezers, two pair of rolls, four mills and their requisites, ten steam engines, nine smithies employing about 20 workmen and three carpenters' shops with 14 men. The brickyard manufactured 17,000 bricks weekly, the pattern-making shop employed five and there were 107 coke furnaces and over 100 horses working. In all about 1500 men and women were employed. Despite the intervening depression there were four blast furnaces, 54 puddling furnaces and six mills operating in 1871. In 1872 all assets of the Maesteg and Llynfi Ironworks were sold.[8]

[8] Richards, *History of Llynfi Valley* 89-97.

The Spelterworks and Cambrian Iron Company at Coegnant in the upper Llynfi Valley by 1855 had a new rail mill ready for work. In its heyday four blast furnaces were in full work, 30 puddling furnaces, two squeezers, two pairs of muck rollers and four mills, ten engines to supply power, 110 coke ovens supplied fuel, 100 horses and 1500 workmen earned in the ironworks and collieries a "comfortable subsistence".[9]

Living conditions in the valley reflected the huge influx of workers in the 1830s and 40s. By mid-century there was an average of 12 occupants per 4-roomed cottage paying two to three shillings rent a week. The company-built houses were in long rows facing each other, uniformly and shoddily built. A Maesteg resident described Bowrington St (later Commercial St) in 1871 as a rough and irregular road, with low-roofed cottages and small shops lit by candles. The street had 17 public houses within 200 yards. The upper bedrooms of the cottages were level with the surface of the old tramroad.[10]

Between 1860 and 1880 the economic emphasis of the valley began to change as the iron industry declined and more and more coal mines were sunk. The Cwmdu Local Board of Health met for the first time in 1858 and railways connected the valley with the wider world after 1861 and the population increased further. Chapels, workmen's institutes and libraries were built. The Llywydarth Tinplate Works opened in 1869.

Nineteenth and twentieth-century local history sources emphasise that the great majority of people in the Llynfi Valley spoke Welsh as their first language. Many Irish migrants also found employment at Llynfi Iron Works after the Famine and

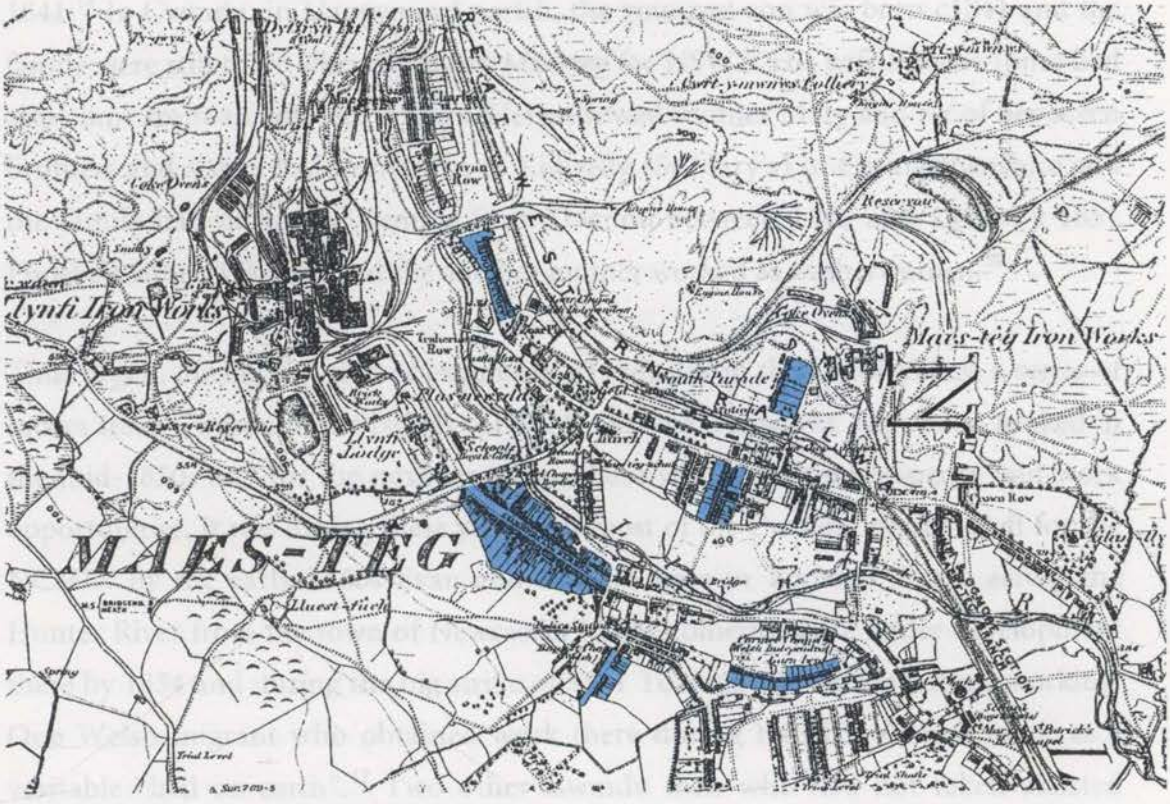
> by natural process people bearing names such as O'Brien, Welch, Carey or Keefe became Welsh speaking. Many English settlers followed the same pattern and . . . soon learnt the language which was then in general use. By 1864 Llynfi valley children were almost all monoglot Welsh.[11]

That the use of Welsh was widespread is confirmed by the number of Welsh-language church and chapel services held. *Butcher's Directory* notes that four Anglican Church

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[9] T.C. Evans ("Cadrawd"), *History of Llangynwyd Parish* (Llanelly: 1887) 55-59.
[10] Richards, *History of Llynfi Valley* 120-121.
[11] Richards, *History of Llynfi Valley* 208.

services were held every Sunday, two in English and two in Welsh.[12] In 1887 T.C. Evans listed eight Independent chapels in Llangynwyd parish, seven of which were Welsh, and six Baptist chapels, four of which were Welsh.[13] In 1889 rules to be observed under the Coal Mines Regulation Act 1887 were published in Welsh as well as English.



Map 3.2 Cwmdu, Maesteg, Glamorganshire 1875-76. Source: Ordnance Survey Map County Series 1:2500 Glam.XXVI-SW, surveyed 1875-6. Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton (1884).

Migration from the Cwmdu area seems to have begun with the assisted migration of Evan Morris, 22, a blacksmith, his wife Phoebe, 21 and their year-old daughter Sarah on the *Lord Hungerford* which sailed from Plymouth on 1 December, 1854 and arrived in Sydney on 20 March, 1855.

Evan's family illustrates the kind of internal migrations that were occurring in South Wales in the first half of the nineteenth century. His father William, a mason, had been born in one of the three Llanfair parishes in Cardiganshire c1796 and his mother Ann in Merthyr Tydfil c1805. William presumably left Cardiganshire as a young man

[12] Butcher and Company, *Swansea, Neath, Bridgend, Llanelly Directory* 1875-1876: 346.
[13] Evans 42 and 47.

and moved to Merthyr. The five eldest children listed at home in the 1851 Census were born in the parish of Gelligaer although Evan, the third child, specified on the Board's List that his birthplace was Pentrebach, below Merthyr Tydfil. It is possible that either Ann returned home to Merthyr for the birth of her children or that the family moved again from Merthyr to Gelligaer before coming to Cwmdu by early 1841.[14] In Cwmdu, in Llangynwyd parish, the youngest son was born c1841 and the family were still there when Evan left Maesteg for NSW.[15] His wife Phoebe Jones had also come from an adjacent county. Her widowed mother Mary and six of her seven brothers and sisters had been born in Kidwelly (St Mary's) in Carmarthenshire and the family had moved to Temple St in Cwmdu between 1846 and 1849. By 1851 Phoebe's father was dead and she and her mother worked as washerwomen.[16]

Thus began, during a period of expansion of industry in the Llynfi Valley, a series of moves from Cwmdu to the NCMD of NSW. But the ironworks' expansion peaked in the mid-1850s and for the next ten years, there was declining prosperity and work opportunities. It was during these years that most of the Cwmdu migrants left for the NCMD. By the early 1860s Evan and Phoebe were in Tomago, north across the Hunter River from the town of Newcastle. Major collieries were under development there by 1854 and during the big strike of 1861 Tomago was the only mine working. One Welsh migrant who obtained work there during the strike described it as a veritable "hell on earth".[17] Two other Cwmdu men who had not taken assisted passages were in Tomago by 1862; John Thomas who was living with his family in the Garn in Cwmdu in 1851 and David Evans, Evan Morris' cousin. Between 1862 and 1865 John Thomas, David Evans and Evan Morris sponsored a total of 27 men, women and children from Cwmdu to NSW, 24 of whom arrived. All of these people lived within a few streets of each other and were connected to the three men and to each other by kinship or friendship.

John Thomas, 23, a coalminer, was living in the Garn in Cwmdu when the 1861 Census took place on 7 April.[18] He was in Tomago on 19 July 1862 when he paid £19 deposit for his sister Elizabeth 26, a servant, his two elder collier brothers David 29

[14] Glamorgan Family History Society, *Glamorgan 1841 Census*, CD-ROM, 2002.
[15] Census of E&W 1851 107/2461; BIL *Lord Hungerford* SRNSW 4/4952.
[16] Census of E&W 1851 107/2461.
[17] *NMH* 6 December 1930.
[18] Census of E&W 1861 9/4073.

and William 27, and their wives. The information that John gave the clerk about his family indicates that regular communication was taking place between him and his family in Cwmdu. When John paid the deposit, his brother David had not yet married Eliza James. Three months before the wedding at the end of October, John knew that she was to be David's wife.[19] Eliza James lived a few streets away from the Thomas family at 12 Talbot Terrace. Born in Rhymney, Monmouthshire, in 1861 she was housekeeper for her father and brother Noah, both puddlers, and her younger sister who was still at school. They had moved to Cwmdu from Rhymney sometime after 1851.[20] John's other brother, William, had been at Cwmdu in 1851 but was not there in 1861. William's wife Martha had been born in Pembrokeshire but her father was living at Aberdare in Glamorganshire when she emigrated in 1863. John's sister Elizabeth did not accompany her brothers to NSW.[21] As a character reference John nominated Dr James Lewis who was also named as referee for several other families. James Lewis was the resident doctor in Maesteg and a member of the Cwmdu Local Board of Health.[22] In 1851 he lived only two doors away from the Morris family.[23]

On 19 January 1863 John Thomas sponsored a friend Albert Thomas, an engine driver from Maesteg, and Dr Lewis was again the referee. The following month David Evans and Evan Morris, both still at Tomago, paid deposits for John Rees and his family, Moses Morgan and his daughter, Evans' sister Ann Morris and Evans' brother-in-law Isaac Jones.[24] With the exception of the Morgans, all of these migrants sailed together on the *Severn* from Plymouth arriving in Sydney on 10 October 1863. John Rees, a blacksmith and miner, a friend of David Evans, had been born in Llanelly, Carmarthenshire and his parents were living in Neath where his wife Catherine Jones had been born. In 1861 John and Catherine were living at 11 Ivor Street, Cwmdu. Their three children were all born there.[25] Ann Morris, 28, David's cousin and Evan's sister, gave her occupation as servant but in 1861 she was living at home with her widowed father, presumably keeping house for him and two grandsons who were also living at 8 Bowrington Street.[26] Isaac Jones, 23, Phoebe Morris' brother, was an iron

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[19] Llangynwyd Parish Register 1860-1864.
[20] Census of E&W 1861 9/4072.
[21] BIL *Persia* SRNSW 4/4984.
[22] Richards, *History of Llynfi Valley* 179 and 353.
[23] Census of E&W 1851 107/2461.
[24] IDJ SRNSW 4/4584.
[25] Census of E&W 1861 9/4073.
[26] Census of E&W 1861 9/4073. Bowrington St was later renamed Commercial St.

miner like his three younger brothers. He was at Temple Street with his widowed mother in 1861.[27] Moses Morgan was a 42 year old sawyer who lived with his wife and seven young children in Prospect Place, Cwmdu. The deposit was only for Moses and his eldest daughter Elizabeth; presumably his family circumstances and the fact that none of his children were earning, would have made it difficult for Moses to leave.[28] The deposit was refunded to David Evans immediately after the *Severn* reached Sydney, indicating that Moses had communicated his decision not to emigrate (otherwise the passage money would have been kept for one year before being refunded). In 1875 Moses was still a sawyer in Cwmdu.[29]

Two days after the arrival of the *Severn*, Evan Morris again paid £31 deposit for Thomas Griffiths, 31, a miner, who had been born in Margam, and his wife Rachael Rees, 26, of Maesteg and their three children and for two single men. In 1861 Thomas and Rachael were living in Garn 4, Cwmdu, close to the Thomas'. Living with them was Rachael's 70 year old widowed father, shoemaker Thomas Rees.[30] Thomas Griffiths was one of the very few immigrants who was recorded as being literate "in Welsh" by the immigration clerk when he arrived in Sydney on the *Sandringham* on 26 June 1864. A brother Rees Griffiths had already emigrated to Victoria.[31] John Llewellyn, 20, a miner had been born in Cwmdu and Jospeh Davies, 35, a miner, was born in Carmarthenshire. Both emigrated from Cwmdu. Also on the *Sandringham* was Benjamin Salmon, 27, a miner, his wife Rachael and two children, all from Cwmdu. The Salmon family had been living at 3 Ivor Street, neighbours of John Rees, in 1861. Benjamin was an iron miner born in Llanboidy in Carmarthenshire and Rachael was also from Carmarthenshire.[32] They had been sponsored by John Thomas of Newcastle.

One final deposit linked Cwmdu with Newcastle and completed the chain of migration that Evan Morris had started ten years before. On 11 May 1864 Catherine Rees, the wife of Jonathon Rees (David Evans' friend who emigrated in 1863) paid a

[27] Census of E&W 1861 9/4072.
[28] Census of E&W 1861 9/4073.
[29] Butcher and Company, *Swansea, Neath, Bridgend, Llanelly Directory* 1875-1876: 351.
[30] Census of E&W 1861 9/4073.
[31] BIL *Sandringham* SRNSW 4/4987.
[32] Census of E&W 1861 9/4073.

deposit for her brother-in-law William Rees, 20, a blacksmith, to emigrate.[33] He arrived in Sydney on 13 January 1865 and went to Newcastle. Later chapters will explore the life of some of these migrants in the NCMD.

Emigration from Cwmdu to NSW then was characterised by chains of kinship and friendship. The emigrants all lived within a few streets of each other and some were close neighbours. Although Evan Morris emigrated at a time of relative prosperity, the ensuing migrations were also restricted to a very definite time period when the iron industry in the Llynfi Valley was in sporadic production and decline and the various iron works went through a period of waning prosperity before the expanding coal industry readjusted the balance. This may support the view that positive information coming from earlier emigrants was enough to tip the balance in favour of emigration for those left at home in less prosperous circumstances. Not surprisingly, this period of migration to NSW in the sixties coincided with a time that the western valleys actually suffered a slight decline in population, owing to migrations to other mining districts.[34] The migrants were clearly moving to a specific destination within NSW where earlier migration meant that close links were developed between places such as Tomago and Newcastle and Cwmdu. And it would seem that living conditions in Cwmdu, the rough unmade roads, the poor housing and the lack of sanitation, transport and services were not so very different from those the migrants encountered when they arrived in the NCMD. The sample from Cwmdu is very small but is precisely because of that detail that it is possible to focus so closely and distinguish the personal and individual nature of the migration process. Additional case studies will explore these issues further.

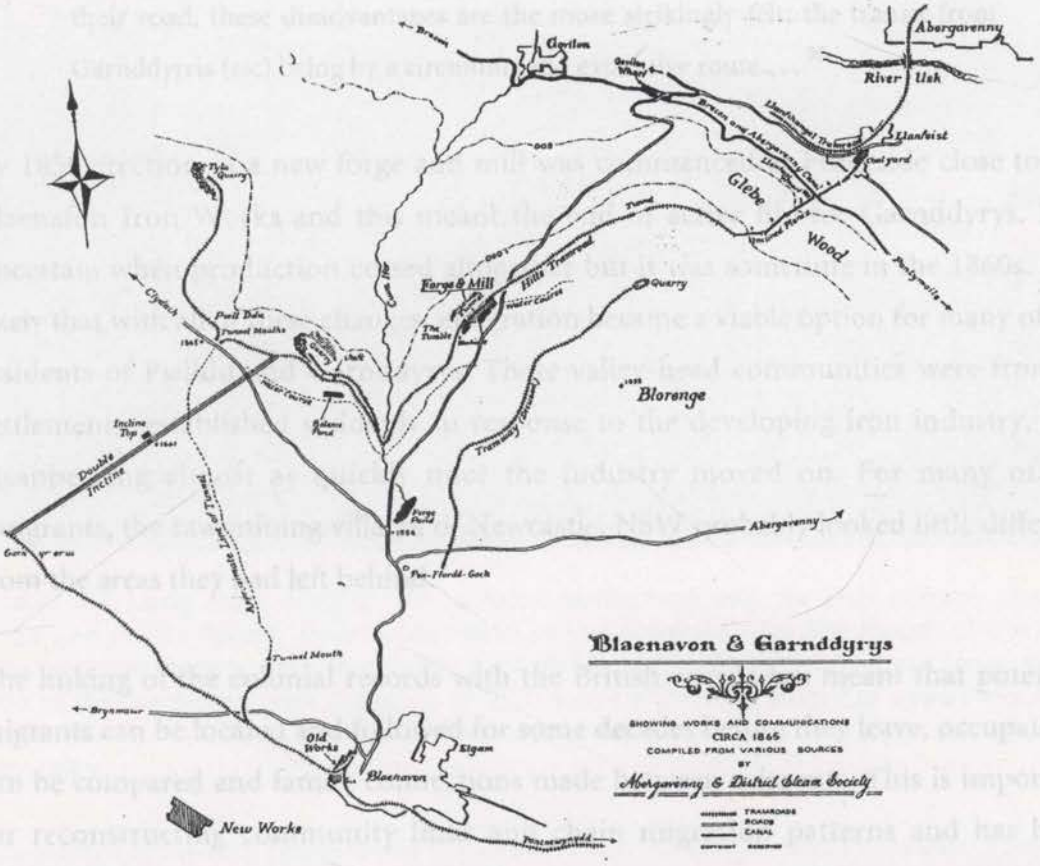
Garnddyrys, Pwlldu and Blaenafon, Monmouthshire

The settlements on the empty moors which became the Blaenafon iron district in north-western Monmouthshire were created at the same time that the First Fleet convicts were despatched from England. The first pigs of iron were produced from the brand new furnaces built by three businessmen from the English West Midlands at Blaenafon in 1789. In the first half of the nineteenth century, a forge and rolling mill

[33] IDJ SRNSW 4/4586.

[34] T.M. Hodges, "The Peopling of the Hinterland and the Port of Cardiff (1801-1914)", *Industrial South Wales 1750-1914* ed. W.E. Minchinton (London: Frank Cass & Co Ltd 1969) 11.

were in operation in Pwlldu and Garnddyrys, north-east of Blaenafon, an isolated and exposed spot 1000 feet above sea level. The forge at Garnddyrys and the miners' settlement at Pwlldu came into being as a result of the developing iron industry at Blaenafon. Pig iron was brought here by tramroad from the Blaenafon furnaces to be made into wrought iron and other finished products such as cable bars and rails. These were then taken down Hill's tramroad to the Brecon and Abergavenny Canal at Llanfoist for transport to Newport. This avoided the use of the expensive and inefficient Monmouthshire Canal.



Map 3.3 Pwlldu, Garnddyrys and Blaenafon, Monmouthshire c1865. Pwlldu is on the far left of the map. Source: Abergavenny and District Steam Society, *Garnddyrys* (Gwent County Planning Department, 1972), GwRO.

In 1853 the railway, long delayed by the vested interest of the Monmouthshire Canal, at last reached Blaenafon. It was now possible to send iron direct to Newport docks by rail. This had great implications for the future of Garnddyrys. In addition the working out of the Pwlldu collieries by the early 1850s necessitated a new pit being sunk on the Blaenafon side of the hill with increased haulage costs. Garnddyrys' fate was sealed at a meeting of the shareholders of the Blaenavon Iron and Coal Company in 1853:

> The Works having now returned to a profitable condition, the Directors have again seriously considered the best means of increasing the production of Wrought Iron, and at the same time of still further diminishing the expense of its manufacture . . . this may be accomplished by the removal of the Mill from Garnddyrys, and its re-erection, with increased power and efficiency, . . . at Blaenavon . . . The site of the Mill at Garnddyrris (sic) has been a constant cause of inconvenience and expense on account of its distance from the Head Quarters at Blaenavon, and now that the Monmouthshire Canal Company have reduced their tonnages and improved the mode of conveyance along their road, these disadvantages are the more strikingly felt; the transit from Garnddyrris (sic) being by a circuitous and expensive route . . .[35]

By 1859 erection of a new forge and mill was commenced at Forgeside close to the Blaenafon Iron Works and this meant the end of active life for Garnddyrys. It is uncertain when production ceased altogether but it was sometime in the 1860s. It is likely that with all of these changes, emigration became a viable option for many of the residents of Pwlldu and Garnddyrys. These valley-head communities were frontier settlements, established suddenly in response to the developing iron industry, and disappearing almost as quickly once the industry moved on. For many of the emigrants, the raw mining villages of Newcastle, NSW probably looked little different from the areas they had left behind.

The linking of the colonial records with the British census has meant that potential migrants can be located and followed for some decades before they leave, occupations can be compared and family connections made between migrants. This is important for reconstructing community links and chain migration patterns and has been particularly valuable in establishing local migration patterns: neighbours and relatives from the same streets or rows or villages. A number of migrants from this district were sponsored by James Joshua of Newcastle who had arrived in the NCMD unassisted. On 4 April 1855 James paid £25 deposit for five people living in Pwlldu. The 1851 Census returns for Pwlldu show James then 21, a coalminer, still living there with his parents who had been born in the neighbouring parishes of Trevethin and Llanover. James himself had been born in Llanwenarth parish in which Pwlldu was situated. Sometime between April 1851 and April 1855 James had sailed to Australia possibly

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[35] Abergavenny and District Steam Society, *Garnddyrys* (Gwent County Planning Department, 1972), GwRO 18-19.

with fellow coalminer George Warburton who lived next door to James and was the same age. They finally settled in the Newcastle district. James may have made the £25 by lucky gold prospecting or in the developing coal mines of the Hunter River district with George possibly contributing some of the deposit.[36]

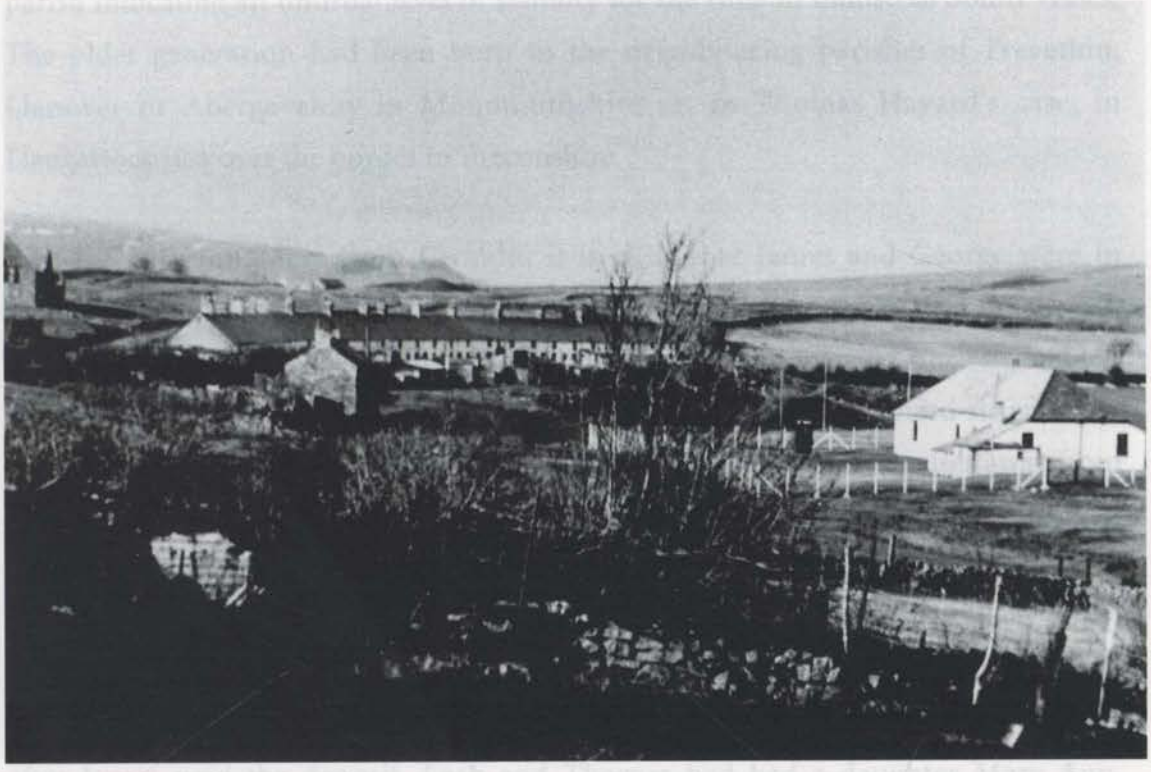


Image 3.2 Long Row, Pwlldu. An isolated settlement with its own school, chapel, shop and public house. Pwlldu consisted of two terraces near the mouth of the two-mile tramroad tunnel from Blaenafon through Mynydd y Garn Fawr. Long Row, at the side of the tramroad, was made up of 35 houses stretching from the tunnel mouth to an engine or winding house. It was occupied until 1955. Source: J.A. Evans, Blaenafon.

The people for whom James saved the deposit were all neighbours in Pwlldu. Edmund Warburton, coal miner, George's elder brother, lived next door to the Joshua family with his parents George 66, a stonebreaker and Elizabeth, 67, both of whom were born in Abergavenny. His younger sister Mary 18, was also living at home in 1851. A few houses along Thomas Morgan 19, coalminer, was living with his parents. Thomas was the eldest of eight children. His brothers Evan 18, William 16, Charles 13 and Joshua 10 all worked with him and his father as coalminers. This was possibly why the family could afford Margaret Price, 15, a servant who lived with them. Five doors away lived

[36] Census of E&W 1851 107/2447 and IDJ 1855 SRNSW 4/4577.

William Havard 22, coalminer, with his widowed father Thomas 55, a road labourer, and Elizabeth Smith 49, a widow and servant.[37]

All of the younger generation of these four families had been born in Llanwenarth parish indicating an unusual level of stability for the time in industrial South Wales. The older generation had been born in the neighbouring parishes of Trevethin, Llanover or Abergavenny in Monmouthshire or, in Thomas Havard's case, in Llangattock just over the border in Breconshire.

Like the early migrants from Cwmdu, it is clear that James and George were in communication with their families after they left Wales. When James paid the deposit in Newcastle, he knew that both Edmund and Thomas had married since he had left Pwlldu, and the names of their wives. In fact the two men had married sisters from another Pwlldu family. In 1851 the Aubrey family were living a few houses away from William Havard. Thomas Aubrey, 53, coalminer and Ann, 50 were both born in Llanwenarth. There were six younger children at home on 30 March 1851. As their elder daughters were not listed in Pwlldu in the census, they were very likely living away working as servants. Between April 1851 and 1855 Thomas Morgan had married Leah Aubrey and Edmund Warburton had married her older sister Mary. Not long after James paid the deposit, Leah and Thomas had had a daughter Mary Ann. William's father Thomas Havard had died since the 1851 census, presumably freeing up William to leave Pwlldu.[38]

The *Maitland* arrived in Sydney on 22 April 1856 and the families from Pwlldu arrived in Newcastle three days later where George and James would have assisted them with accommodation and employment. They may not have found their new environment too different from that which they had left. The communities of Pwlldu and Garnddyrus contained about 300 people at their peak and "were boisterous places, similar in many ways to the pioneer townships which were being established in America's Mid and Far West at this time"[39]; indeed not unlike the NCMD at the time.

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[37] Census of E&W 1851 107/2447.

[38] Census of E&W 1851 107/2447.

[39] Gwent County Council, *The Industrial Heritage of the Gwent Valleys* (Gwent County Council, 1992) 12.

Other families followed from Pwlldu to Newcastle over the next thirty years, although for some it was not to be such a direct route. Edward Williams 33, a coalminer, his wife Elizabeth 30 and their four children lived next door to Thomas Aubrey at the time of the 1851 census.[40] About 1854 the family moved from Pwlldu to Blaenafon where they were members of the Horeb Welsh Baptist Chapel. When he was seven, the eldest son John (born 19 March 1847) started work in the mines as a doorkeeper in what was known as "Dick Shon's Level". In December 1859 the family arrived in South Australia on the *Ramilies*. Around 1861 Edward and John moved north to Newcastle and arrived in the middle of the "big strike of 1861". Like the Cwmdu emigrants, they found work at Tomago and sent for the rest of the family. Some time later they moved from Tomago to Wallsend. It may be that the presence in the district of families they had known in Wales was a decisive factor in this move from South Australia.[41]

Members of two other families who were in Pwlldu in 1851 also came to Newcastle. In 1851 Thomas and Margaret Reane (Reen or Rean) and their five children lived a few houses away from George Warburton and James Joshua. Thomas 54, a coalminer, had been born in Gloucester but had come to Wales as a young man where he had married Margaret from the neighbouring parish of Llanelly in Breconshire. Their children were all born in Llanwenarth parish. Thomas' son Thomas was 17 in 1851, also a coalminer like all his brothers. It is not known when Thomas came to Australia but in 1881 he was living in Wallsend when his brother-in-law Thomas Attwood and family arrived in NSW. Thomas Attwood and his parents John 48, an ironsmith employing four men, and Mary, 48 were four doors up in Pwlldu from Thomas Reane in 1851 and a few doors down from Thomas Morgan. They too had been born in Gloucester but their children were all born in Wales, first in nearby Llanfoist parish then in Llanwenarth. In 1851 their son Thomas was 13, a "smith's striker"[42] and he became a blacksmith and moved to Blaenafon. In 1871 he was living there at Cwmderyn House with his wife Sarah (born Llanwenarth) and two children born in Blaenafon between 1863 and 1867.[43] On 13 May 1880 Edward Williams (possibly John Williams's brother Edward) paid a deposit to bring Thomas and his family to Newcastle. Thomas was

[40] Census of E&W 1851 107/2447.
[41] *NMH* 6 December 1930.
[42] Census of E&W 1851 107/2447.
[43] Census of E&W 1871 10/5314.

then living at Rifle Street, Blaenafon. He arrived with Sarah and his two children Edward 18, a fireman and Mary 14, a servant, on the *Glamis* on 10 January 1881.[44]

It is possible to use the colonial records to plot the movements of the migrants before they left for NSW and there is evidence of staged migration from rural-urban and/or from England to Wales before the decision was made to migrate to another country. Those who left Pwlldu had parents who had moved from Abergavenny, Littledean and Minchinton in Gloucestershire, Llanelly and Llangattock in Brecon. Most of the migrants from Blaenafon had been born in the four parishes in which Blaenafon was situated. Two examples show people migrating in stages. When Margaret Jane Bowen moved to the NCMD with her husband William Morgan Davies in 1881, this was the fourth move she had made in her 23 years. She was born at Neath Abbey about 1858, the eldest daughter of Charles Bowen, a founder, who was born in Skewen, Glamorganshire and his wife Margaret, born Neath, Glamorganshire. By her second year she was living in Middlesbrough, Yorkshire where her younger sisters and brother were born between 1860 and 1865. Around 1869 the Bowen family moved to Blaenafon where the 1871 Census shows them living at 25 North Street. Margaret Jane, 13, was then a slag picker.[45] Before 1880 Margaret married William Morgan Davies whose family's emigration is detailed further on in this case study.

Another example shows the family's migration in stages: from Somerset to Blaenafon to Varteg to the NCMD and beyond. In 1871 scholars Emma and William Frankham, both born in Trevethin, were with their widowed father who had come from Somerset, elder sister and younger brother, at 6 Ellick Street Blaenafon.[46] In 1881 William, now a coalminer, was at Varteg Hill, living with his married sister and her family.[47] A search of the 1881 Census index for all counties has failed to find his sister Emma. Two years later David Duncanson of Newcastle paid a £6 deposit to bring William and Emma to NSW.[48] In 1884 William and Emma sailed to Sydney arriving in December. They said they had an uncle and aunt in Newcastle who were not the depositor. Their uncle James Hale was a storekeeper in Wallsend. On the same ship were sisters Louisa and Catherine Davies also from Blaenafon. A year later Emma

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[44] IDJ 1880 SRNSW 4/4593 and BIL *Glamis* SRNSW 4/5017.
[45] Census of E&W 1871 10/5314.
[46] Census of E&W 1871 10/5315.
[47] Census of E&W 1881 11/5253.
[48] IDJ 1883 SRNSW 4/4596 and BIL *Abergeldie* SRNSW 4/5025.

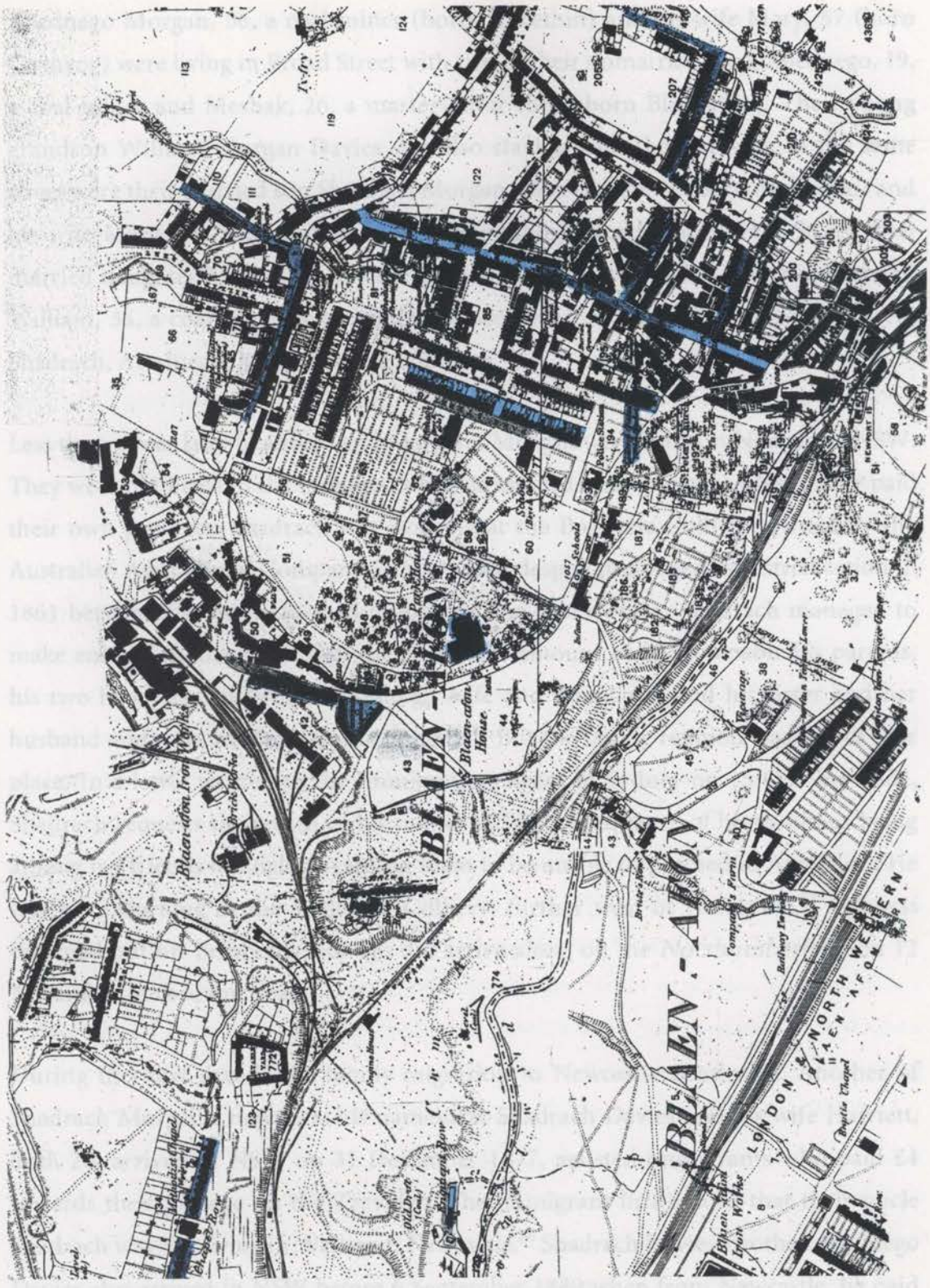
married Theophilus Watkins, a coalminer, who had arrived in 1884 from Chapel Row Blaenafon and William Frankham married Louisa Davies. It may be that William and Emma met their future partners on the voyage out or, more possibly, they already knew each other in Blaenafon. This interconnectedness between emigrants from the same area continued post-emigration and will be explored in later chapters.

In August 1860 the *Pontypool Free Press* reported

> Blaenafon/Emigration. On Tuesday morning last, 39 families numbering about 100 persons, left this place by the half past 11 train, on their way to Australia. The platform was crowded with their relations and friends, whose leavetakings presented a very affecting spectacle.[49]

Blaenafon, its collieries and ironworks provided many emigrants to the Newcastle district throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Detailed individual cases reveal that chain and family migration over several generations was an important feature of migration from Blaenafon itself, links being maintained for decades between those who had already emigrated and those left behind.

[49] *Pontypool Free Press* 4 August 1860.



Map 3.4 Blaenafon, Monmouthshire 1877-79. Source: Ordnance Survey Map County Series 1:2500 Monmouthshire surveyed 1877-9. Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton (1884).

One such family from Blaenafon emigrated progressively over a twenty-year period and three generations. When the 1861 Census of Blaenafon was recorded on 7 April,

Abednego Morgan, 56, a coal miner (born Trevethin) and his wife Mary, 57 (born Cwmyoy) were living in Broad Street with two of their unmarried sons, Abednego, 19, a coal miner and Meshak, 26, a master-tailor (both born Blaenafon). Their young grandson William Morgan Davies was also staying with them. Living in the same street were their married son Shadrach Morgan, 29, a coalminer (born Blaenafon) and his wife Margaret, 30, a milliner (born Trevethin). Nearby in Market Street their married daughter Mary Ann Davies, 32, a dressmaker, was living with her husband William, 36, a coal mine stoker (born Llanwenarth) and four of their five children: Shadrach, Abednego, Mary Jane and Elizabeth.[50]

Less than a year later Shadrach and Margaret Morgan were living in Newcastle, NSW. They were not listed in the immigrant lists as assisted immigrants so presumably paid their own passages. Shadrach was working at the Borehole Colliery, owned by the Australian Agricultural Company (AACo), and despite prolonged industrial action in 1861 between the newly formed union and the coal owners, Shadrach managed to make enough money to deposit the enormous amount of £53 to enable his parents, his two brothers, his brother Meshak's wife and infant son and his sister and her husband and now six children to emigrate.[51] But the family reunion was not to take place. In a letter written to the Immigration Agent in Sydney on 15 October 1862, Shadrach requests the return of his money as "in consequence of heavy illness being among my friends in England causing them to be unable to proceed to Australia". He was now working at the Wallsend Colliery, further west of Newcastle.[52] £48 was returned but his brother Abednego did arrive alone on the *Northumberland* on 12 November of the same year.[53]

During the next decade the family migration to Newcastle continued. Another of Shadrach Morgan's nephews, his namesake, Shadrach Davies and his wife Harriett, both 26, arrived in NSW on 31 December 1877, assisted immigrants who paid £4 towards their passage on the *Trevelyn*. The immigrant lists record that their uncle Shadrach was still living in Wallsend, Newcastle.[54] Shadrach Davies' brother Abednego Davies also arrived in NSW before 6 September 1880 when from Newcastle, he paid

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[50] Census of E&W 1861 9/3996.
[51] IDJ 1862 SRNSW 4/4583.
[52] Immigration Letters Received 1862 SRNSW 9/6235.
[53] BIL *Northumberland* SRNSW 4/4796.
[54] BIL *Trevelyn* SRNSW 4/5005.

£4 deposit for his brother William Morgan Davies and William's wife Margaret to join him in Newcastle.[55]

Early the following year on 25 January 1881, two days before the 1876 NSW Immigration Regulations were cancelled, Shadrach Davies made one final attempt to assist his parents, three brothers and four sisters to come to Newcastle NSW. He paid £16 deposit.[56] There were to be no more deposits accepted for another twelve months and by then the criteria had tightened considerably.

Back in Britain, the 1881 Census shows that on 3 April William Morgan Davies, blacksmith, his wife Margaret and infant son William were visiting at 25 Stafford Row, the house of William Priest, a pit carpenter from Devonshire. At 1 Charles Street William Morgan Davies's parents, William Davies, 55, coalminer and wife Mary Ann, 52 were living with their daughter Sarah, 19, a pupil teacher at the British School, Blaenafon and three younger sons, Thomas, 12, George, 11 and Edgar, 9, all at school. Two other daughters were out in service, living away from home although still in Blaenafon. Elizabeth Davies, 21, was a domestic servant at 31 Park Street, the home of school teacher Titus Jenkins and his wife Margaret. Leah Davies, 17, was a domestic servant at Blaenavon House for gardener Edward and Susanna Williams.[57]

It is not clear why Shadrach and Abednego's parents decided once again not to emigrate. Mary Davies (nee Morgan) now 52, had two brothers and two sons doing well in Newcastle and the rest of her family must have discussed and debated about what they would do as the Passage Certificates arrived from Australia. The Blaenafon Infant British School Log Book records that Sarah Davies was in charge of 3rd Class and that she was in her fifth year as Pupil Teacher at the school. On the week ending September 2, 1881 the entry in the Log Book states: "Returned duties after holidays, a crowded school during the week. Order very fair and work carried on as usual, with the exception of a change in the Teachers. Sarah Davies having left the end of the week before holidays."[58] In the end it was William Morgan Davies, his wife and baby son and his three younger sisters, Elizabeth, Sarah and Leah, who arrived in Sydney on 7

[55] IDJ 1880 SRNSW 4/4593.
[56] IDJ 1881 SRNSW 4/4594.
[57] Census of E&W 1881 11/5237, 11/5237.
[58] Blaenafon Infant British School Log Book 1871-1906, GwRO, CE.A 33/8.

November 1881 on the *Northampton*.[59] Their parents had again decided not to leave Blaenafon, twenty years after they had rejected the first opportunity offered by Mary's brother. The three youngest boys, Thomas, George and Edgar, also remained behind. But by 1891 there is no trace of the remainder of the family in Blaenafon; it is possible that they too eventually found their way to NSW.

The emigration profile of Rachel Young and her family of Blaenafon (see Chapter 4) also shows that the migration process for one family could take decades. Rachel's husband left Blaenafon around 1858, paid deposits from Newcastle in 1859, and various members of the family and friends followed in 1859, 1875 and 1877.

The migration and settlement of these Blaenafon families is in many ways typical of the emigration from South Wales to NSW in the second half of the nineteenth century. They came from the industrial south and had occupations in the mining and metal-working industries. The migration was one primarily of family groups and extended families rather than single men and women, with families emigrating in stages, the earlier emigrants encouraging those left behind through letters[60] (though few of these appear to have survived) and by direct financial contribution. Some members of the family had already experienced at least two previous moves within Britain before sailing to Australia. The fact that members of families continued to migrate over periods of twenty years and several generations indicates that communication between those in NSW and those in Wales existed and was sustained for a considerable period.

Cwmafan, Glamorganshire

The final case study concerns a very different group of industrial workers who also found their way to the NCMD. On 16 June 1876 the *Star of India* sailed into Sydney Harbour, NSW, carrying 35 immigrants from South Wales and one from North Wales. The men were nearly all coppersmiths or smelters and they were mostly travelling with their wives and children.

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[59] BIL *Northampton* SRNSW 4/5018.

[60] "Australia is the leading topic of conversation and information regarding it is eagerly sought, and readily given. The letters which arrive by each mail are circulated extensively from hand to hand and house to house, and serve by the glowing contents to swell the numbers of intended emigrants." *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian* 12 May 1854.

The emigrants were:
Richard and Sarah (nee Rees) Davies, both 25, and three children
William and Sarah (nee Davies) Davies, both 28, and five children
David and Ann Humphreys, both 38 and one daughter
Thomas and Hannah James, both 35
George and Ann (nee Davies - sister of Sarah married to William above) Owen, 31 and 27, and two daughters
Rees and Lucy (nee Bowen) Simons, 25 and 24, and two sons
Thomas and Mary Thomas, 37 and 36, and four children
Henry Evans, 29, an engineer
Samuel Evans, 28, a smelter
David Hamlyn, 16, a blacksmith
Rees Powell, 18, a fitter
William Owens, 20, a miner from North Wales.[61]

The BIL gave the place of origin as South Wales except for one "Carmorganshire" (sic). Some of the migrants' parents' names were also given with their location as "South Wales" and all were listed as "C of E". Most had no relatives in NSW except for William Davies who had a sister Anna Williams at Waratah, near Newcastle.

This case study is an example of some of the difficulties encountered in tracing migrants from the NSW shipping records back to their place of origin in Wales. It was an obituary for William Davies from the *Newcastle Morning Herald* which provided the necessary link between these migrants and Cwmafan in Glamorganshire. After recording the proceedings of the "Welsh" funeral and the names of those who placed wreathes on the grave, the paper noted that "The late Mr Davies was born at Cwymawon (sic), Wales, and was 82 years of age . . . Mr Davies came to Newcastle 55 years ago with others who were engaged in Wales as coppermen, for the Hunter River Copper Co".[62]

Cwmafan is in the parish of Michaelstone-Super-Avon, north-east of Port Talbot and Aberafan. From being a thoroughly agricultural village (in 1801 the population of the parish was 232, all following agricultural pursuits), Cwmafan became an important

[61] BIL *Star of India* SRNSW 4/5001.
[62] *NMH* 9 January 1930.

industrial centre. Coal mines and blast furnaces (1819) were followed by the opening of the Tinplate Works (1825), the Copper Works (1838), a copper mill in Lower Forge (1842), Iron Works, a railmill (1846) and engineering works (1847). Collieries were opened at Bryn, Oakwood and Cwmafan. Five hundred houses were erected between 1845 and 1847. Immense flames brightened up the horizon; J. O'Brien recalled that an Irish man who had come to Cwmafan for work, sent for his wife and family in 1852.

> He met them at Aberavon and on their way to Cwmavon (sic), the blast furnaces began to tap. The molten metal shed a brilliant light on the whole district, changing the darkness of night into the brightness of day in a moment. The poor woman, who had never seen a flame larger than that from a kitchen turf fire, became frightened . . . and alarmingly exclaimed to her husband, "Oh! Davy, Davy, is it to hell you are taking me?"[63]

The "Cwm-Afan" Copper and Metalliferous Works were remarkable in the surrounding district for the enormous chimney, carried up tunnel-wise to the top of the adjacent hill, and rising to a height of 1200 feet above the Works, "giving the mountain an Etna-like effect by the volumes of smoke, which . . . appear to issue from it as though from a natural crater".[64]

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[63] J. O'Brien, *Old Afan and Margam* (Aberavon, 1927) 134-5.

[64] G. Grant-Francis, *The Smelting of Copper in 'The Swansea District' of South Wales from the Time of Elizabeth to the Present Day*, (London: Henry Sothern and Co., 1881) 142.

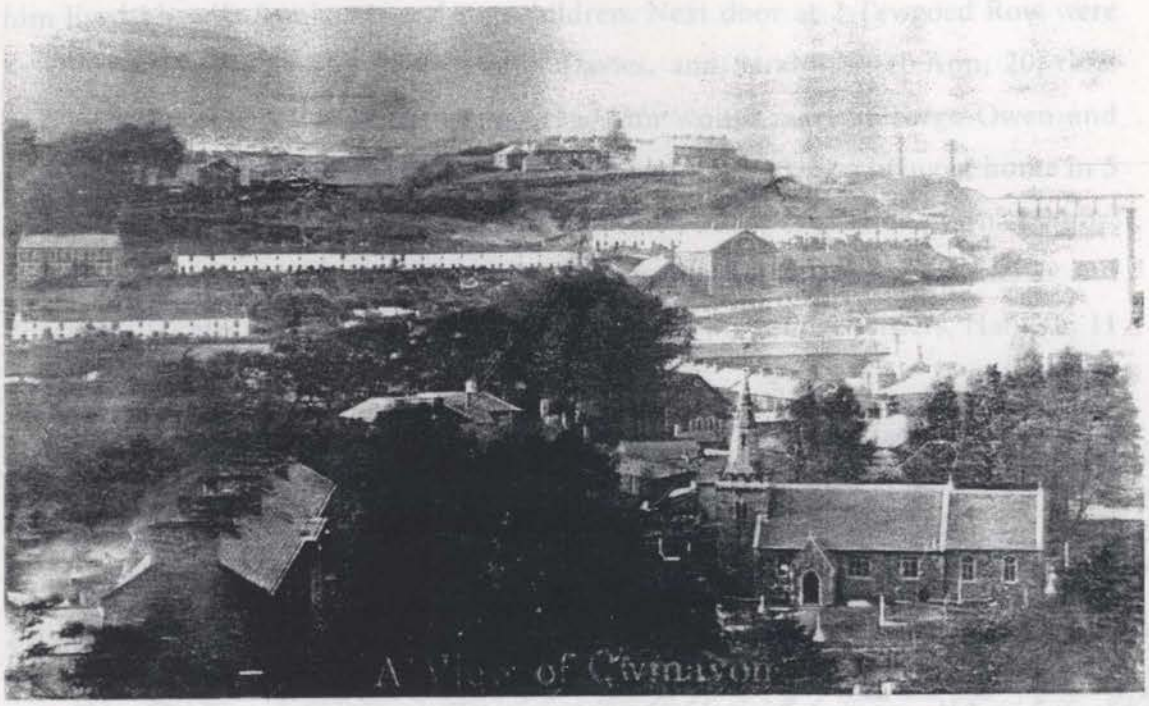


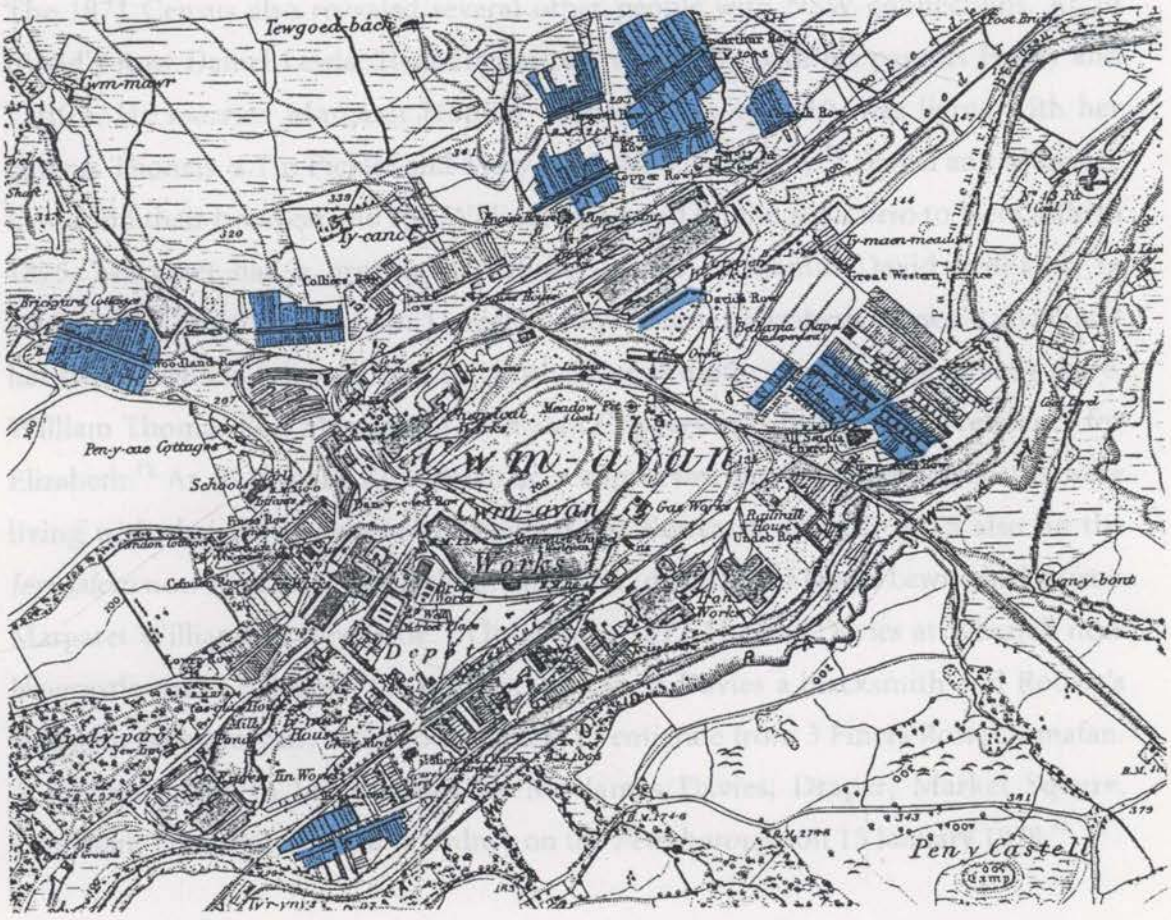
Image 3.3 Early view of Lower Cwmavon (sic) taken from Ynysgwas. St Michael's Church and Michaelstone Terrace are in the foreground with Cae Glas House beyond. The rows of whitewashed cottages in the background are Lower Row, Cendon (Cefndon) Row, Finers Row and Miners Row. The Tabernacle Chapel and part of Danycoed or Bardon Row can also be seen. Source: Transactions of the Port Talbot Historical Society 2, Vol.3 (1981) Plate 8.

By the mid-1870s the boom years were over. The *Swansea and Glamorgan Herald* commented in 1876 that the "copper market continues its inanimate career buying only to fill up immediate wants . . . general monotony has been somewhat aroused this month by the decision of the consignee of Wallaroo to sell it forthwith by public auction . . ."[65] Four months later it reported that "the iron and tinplate works are running only four days a week and some of the neighbouring collieries less than that. As a consequence, trade is dull and many families are suffering from great privation."[66] The following month it was announced that the Governor and Company of Copper Miners of England had petitioned for the winding up of the above named company in chancery.[67]

The 1871 Census of Michaelstone Lower revealed William Davies living at 1 Tewgoed Row, a 24 year old copperman who had been born and married in that parish. With

[65] *Swansea and Glamorgan Herald* 8 March 1876.
[66] *Swansea and Glamorgan Herald* 7 June 1876.
[67] *Swansea and Glamorgan Herald* 26 July 1876.

him lived his wife Sarah, 23, and two children. Next door at 2 Tewgoed Row were Sarah's parents, Benjamin and Hannah Davies, and Sarah's sister Ann, 20, then unmarried, who worked at the ironworks. Ann would marry George Owen and accompany him to NSW. Ten years earlier William, then 13, was living at home in 5 Arthur Row with his parents Thomas, 49, a coppersmelter born Llanor, Carmarthenshire and Sarah, 53, born in Llanelly. His two elder sisters Anne, 20 and Elizabeth, 17, also worked in the copperworks. The two younger sisters, Hannah, 11 and Catherine, 8 were scholars.[68]



Map 3.5 Cwmafan, Glamorganshire 1875-77. Source: Ordnance Survey Map County Series 1:2500 Glam.XXV-NW, surveyed 1875-7. Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton (1884).

Further searches of the census found many of the Welsh people who accompanied William Davies to Newcastle in 1876. In 1871 George Owen was still unmarried and a boarder at 61 Gower Street; Richard and Sarah Davies, recently married, were living with Sarah's parents John (an iron weigher) and Harriet Rees at 30 London Row.

[68] Census of E&W 1871 10/5426; 1861 9/4083.

Sarah's parents had moved from Narberth, Pembrokeshire sometime between 1841 and 1845. At 8 Miners Row Lucy Bowen (who was later to marry Rees Simons before she emigrated) was helping her widowed aunt Elizabeth Nicholls, 67, keep house for her widowed father John Bowen, 59, a master mason employing nine men and nine boys and her elder sister Mary, 19, who was a dressmaker. Lucy's future husband Rees Simons, 18, was living at 19 David's Row with his parents David (also a copperman) and Jane.[69]

The 1871 Census also revealed several other people with NSW connections. At 20 David's Row Daniel Lewis, 20, a copperman was living with his parents Henry and Lettice. He married Margaret Hopkin who in 1871, aged 19, was living with her parents Thomas, a Tin Pickler and Mary at 27 Woodland Row.[70] Daniel and Margaret Lewis and their two-year-old son William emigrated on the *Jerusalem* to Newcastle in 1875. Margaret had a brother or brother-in-law, Benjamin David Williams, in Newcastle.[71] The following year Daniel's widowed sister Elizabeth Davies, a cook, and her two daughters followed him to NSW. Their two other sisters were already there. William Thomas Esq, Manager of Cwmafan Copperworks provided the reference for Elizabeth.[72] At 16 Cunard Row William, a coppersmelter, and Maria Richards were living with their baby daughter. They left for Newcastle in early 1875 also on the *Jerusalem* now with three small children. Maria (daughter of David Lewis) had a sister Margaret Williams in Newcastle.[73] On 19 June 1877 Thomas Davies at Waratah near Newcastle paid £5 deposit for his brother Robert Davies a blacksmith and Robert's wife Ann (nee Morgan) and two daughters to emigrate from 3 Finers Row, Cwmafan. A reference was to be provided by Mr James Davies, Draper, Market Square, Cwmafan. The family arrived in Sydney on the *Peterborough* on 15 January 1878.[74]

And there were two families with even earlier connections with NSW, though not with the copper industry. At 1 Cornish Row Mary Evans, 61, a widow, lived with her four collier sons and dressmaker daughter. Another daughter Mary Ann had married Morgan Mainwaring and in 1865 had joined him at the Fitzroy Iron Works at Nattai

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[69] Census of E&W 1871 10/5425; 10/5426.
[70] Census of E&W 1871 10/5426.
[71] BIL *Jerusalem* SRNSW 4/5000.
[72] IDJ 1875 SRNSW 4/4588. BIL *Earl Dalhousie* SRNSW 4/5001.
[73] Census of E&W 1871 10/5425. BIL *Jerusalem* SRNSW 4/5000.
[74] IDJ 1877 SRNSW 4/4590. BIL *Peterborough* SRNSW 4/5008.

in the southern highlands of NSW. At 13 Copper Row Rachel Stone, 65, a widow, lived with her unmarried son Thomas, 36, a puddler. Her daughter Hannah had married David Lewis and with Mary Ann Mainwaring had sailed out to join him also at Fitzroy Iron Works in 1865.[75]

How and when these copperworkers were recruited for the Hunter River Copper Company is not known. Local newspapers from Bridgend do not mention the exodus of workers from Cwmafan in 1875. Certainly the lockout and strike at the English Copper Company, Cwmafan in 1875 and the reported distress of workers and families may well have influenced the families to emigrate. At the same time two new furnaces were being built at the Newcastle works and all seven furnaces were in full work.[76] Charles Thomas was the Manager of the Hunter River Copper Works at Port Waratah in 1876 and in 1885 during a court case involving him and another Welsh copperworker, Edward Thomas, Charles Thomas mentions that twelve men had been engaged in "England" (Edward Thomas said he was engaged in Swansea, Wales) in 1883 to come to the colony by Mr Piper, Agent for the Wallaroo Smelting Company.[77] William Davies' son Thomas, in his reminiscences in 1937, said his father was employed by the Wallaroo-Moonta Copper Company in Newcastle until its works closed down in 1893.[78] It is clear that such recruitment of skilled copperworkers went on over a long period but so far there appears to be little local information about such recruitment.

It is Australian sources that provide the most important information about the Cwmafan copperworkers' migration and also make significant links between earlier emigrants from Cwmafan and the recruitment of the *Star of India* passengers. *Yr Ymwelydd*, the Welsh language paper published in Melbourne, Victoria, reported the arrival of the *Star of India* in Sydney:

NEWYDD DDYFODIAID I NEW SOUTH WALES.

> Prydnawn Llun, Mehefin 16, glaniodd 300 o ymfudwyr Prydeinig o'r *Star of India* yn Sydney, ac yn eu plith saith o deuluoedd Cymreig, ac un dyn sengl,

[75] Census of E&W 1871 10/5426. IDJ 1864, SRNSW 4/4586. BIL *Himalaya* SRNSW 4/4989. Descendants of these two families still live near each other in the Cwmafan district.
[76] *The Mining Journal* 19 February 1876: 209; 18 March 1876: 321.
[77] *NMH* 2 April 1885.

oll yn rhwymedig i gwmni yr Hunter River Copper Works. Yr oedd Mr Arthur Gower, goruchwyliwr y gwaith, wedidyfod i'w cyfarfod, ac i'w cyfarwyddo yn eu ffordd tua Waratah, ger Newcastle. Ni chafwyd fawr o hamdden ar y *wharf* i ymddyddan a hwy, gan faint y cyffroad yn eu gofal am y cistiau a'r celfi. Buasai yn syndod i lawer o ieuenctyd Australia glywed eu hiaith, yn enwedig y plant. Ymddangosent oll yn bur iachus a siriol, ac yr oedd ganddynt bob achos i fod felly, er yn glanio mewn gwlad ddyeithr, canys yr oeddynt yn cael eu derbyn gan Gymro twymgalon acharedig, cydnabod i rai a pherthynas i ereill o honynt, a sicrwydd am waith a chyflog da am dair blynedd dan gyfarwyddyd Mr Gower.

Da genyf oedd clywed gan un o honynt, Mr Davies, pan yn ymddyddan ag ef yn nhy Mr Jenkins, fod tuedd gref yn ei feddwl i ymlynu wrth arferion ei oes yn yr hen wlad - mynu Ysgol Sabbothol, &c. Gronyn bach o halen sydd effeithiol i gadw lluaws o wybed oddiar gnawd; a gobeithio y caiff Mr Davies ei gynorthwyo i gario allan ei benderfyniad yn ei gartref newydd.

Drwy garedigrwydd Mr Gower cawsom hanes y teuluoedd, fel y canlyn: - O Cwmafon (sic) - Richard Davies a'i briod, a thri o blant; William Davies a'i briod, a phump o blant; George Owen a'i briod, a dau o blant; Rees Simmons a'i briod, a dau o blant. O Abertawe - Thomas Thomas a'i briod, a phedwar o blant; David Humphreys a'i briod, ac un plentyn; Thomas James a'i briod; a Samuel Evans. Mae pob sail i obeithio llwyddiant ein cyfeillion anwyl hyn os cant iechyd, a gras i werthfawrogi gwir gysuron bywyd, ac i gashau yr hyn sydd yn difa cynifer o'n cydwladwyr.

GOHEBYDD[79]

[NEWCOMERS TO NEW SOUTH WALES

Monday afternoon, June 16, three hundred British emigrants disembarked from the *Star of India* in Sydney, and among them seven Welsh families, and one single man, all under engagement to the Hunter River Copper Works Co. Mr Arthur Gower, supervisor of the works, was there to meet them, and to accompany them on their way to Waratah, near Newcastle. Being busy with their chests and belongings, there was not much time on the wharf to socialise. It was astonishing to many young Australians to hear their language,

[78] *NMH* 18 September 1937.
[79] *Yr Ymwelydd* (Melbourne) II.7 (Gorphenaf [July], 1876): 164. Translated by L. Walker.

especially the children. They appeared all in fair health and calm, despite disembarking in a foreign country, for they were known to some and related to others and had security of work and good pay for three years under the supervision of Mr Gower.

When I spoke with Mr Davies, one of the men, in Mr Jenkins' house, it was good to hear from him that there was a strong inclination in his mind to stay with the customs of the old country - attending Sunday School etc. A pinch of salt is effective to keep the hosts of gnats off the flesh and I hope Mr Davies will be assisted in carrying out his resolve in his new home.

Through the kindness of Mr Gower we were given the families, as follows: - from Cwmafan - Richard Davies and his wife and three children; William Davies and his wife and five children; George Owen and his wife and two children; Rees Simmons and his wife and two children. From Swansea - Thomas Thomas and his wife and four children; David Humphreys and his wife and one child; Thomas James and his wife and Samuel Evans. There is every reason to hope for the success of our dear companions, if they are so granted, and the grace to appreciate the true consolations of life and to despise that which destroys so many of our countrymen.]

This article not only provides important information about the language spoken by the emigrants and their children from Cwmafan, but makes the link between an earlier Cwmafan emigrant Arthur Gower and the recruitment and emigration of the 1876 arrivals.

Obituaries and reminiscence columns in the *NMH* shed further light on the migration of metal workers from Cwmafan to Australia. Arthur Gower had gone out to SA from Cwmafan in 1862 or 1863 and subsequently sent for his wife Mary and four children who left in 1863 on the *Northumberland*.[80] After arrival in 1864, eleven year old Richard was employed by the Wallaroo Mining Company and it is possible that his father, Arthur Gower, was actively recruited in Wales to work for this company. The family remained in SA for four years. In 1868 Arthur transferred to the company's works at Newcastle NSW where smelting operations had just begun, as Assistant Manager to Charles Thomas and Richard accompanied him. It is likely that he was instrumental in recommending the recruitment of skilled copperworkers from his

[80] Passenger Lists South Australia 1847-1886, *Northumberland* 1864, 64/1.

place of origin. The works continued until closed by flooding in 1893. Richard Gower returned to SA where he worked as a foreman and copper refiner. He resettled permanently in Newcastle in 1919.[81]

To understand the complexity of the migration process, it is important not only to establish direct migration links between Wales and Australia, but also to uncover secondary stage links between emigrants' first destination and later settlement. Many Welsh copper workers who firstly went to SA (Wallaroo, Kapunda, Burra) moved north to Newcastle and around the country as copper mines and smelting works were opened and closed. This will be further explored in Chapter 5.

"The history of smelting during the greater part of last century is mainly to be found in the history of Swansea"[82] and copper mining and smelting was the link which connected Swansea, Cwmafan, South Australia and Newcastle. Emigration from Swansea and Cwmafan was that of skills developed in Wales being directly imported into these Australian colonies. The journey from Cwmafan to Australia was only the first of many movements for these metal workers and their families.

These case studies all contain elements that help explain the emigration of families from certain localities to Australia. To some extent the people who lived in all three localities may have suffered economic disadvantage, even distress, due to lock-outs, strikes, closing down of works and general fluctuations in trade. A combination of poor conditions and knowledge of better wages and greater economic opportunities in Australia, through earlier emigrants' letters, newspaper items and direct recruitment activity may have been enough to overcome the geographical distance between Wales and Australia. But these case studies clearly show that the economic factors were only one aspect of the process; what seems more important is the social network, the personal contacts, the presence of known people, whether relatives, neighbours or fellow workers, at the place of destination. Most of the migrants in the case studies were known to and knew people already in Australia and left particular neighbourhoods and localities to move to specific destinations such as Tomago or Waratah or Newcastle, Wallaroo or Burra.

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[81] *NMH* 16 May 1931.

[82] Nicol Brown and Charles Corbett Turnbull, *A Century of Copper* Part II (London: Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange, 1899) 8.

When the objects of observation and recording are individuals and families, it becomes possible to focus closely on the personal nature of the migration process and to challenge often generalised and simplistic interpretations of migration. The case studies show that these emigrants left developing and sometimes frontier industrial localities and settled in developing frontier industrial localities in Australia. They were part of a community made up of others who had migrated from the same parishes, towns, pits and works as themselves. They settled in mining villages centred around the pit or works, an environment not dissimilar from that which they had come.

CHAPTER 4

Welsh Women: Left Behind and Leaving

"... women have also been rendered inconspicuous within their own Welsh history."[1]

Angela V. John 1991

In providing a rationale for studying the effects of industrialisation on women's work and family lives, Sara Horrell and Jane Humphries argue that "women deserve attention as historic actors whose experiences were not always the same as men's. But an account of women's lives is important not just to provide a more complete understanding of the past but because without it major historical misreadings go unchallenged."[2] It can be argued that the mass movement of people within and between countries in the nineteenth century touched and altered women's lives in profound and challenging ways yet little is known about this. Whether they moved themselves or were left behind, it is rare to encounter women's voices and experiences in surviving literature and documents. The sources for uncovering the female experience of migration are few and fragmentary; as "historic actors" they could be said to have been written out of the play.[3] Yet it is possible, by focussing closely on individuals and families, to recover something of the migration experiences of women and in so doing, to reveal the complex and idiosyncratic nature of that process. It will be seen that what can be recovered, calls into question some commonly-held assumptions about migration and the role of women in the nineteenth century.

In one particular area of migration studies, women's experiences differed markedly from those of men. Men were not usually left behind by emigrating spouses, nor were

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[1] Angela V. John, "Introduction", *Our Mother's Land. Chapters in Welsh Women's History 1830-1939* ed. Angela V. John (Cardiff: UWP, 1991) 1.

[2] Sara Horrell and Jane Humphries, "Women's labour force participation and the transition to the male-breadwiner family, 1790-1865", *Economic History Review*, XLVIII, 1 (1995): 8.

[3] The limitations in reconstructing women's lives using public records and newspaper sources, including the dangers of homogenisation of lives and attitudes, the influence of the type of records which survive and the experiences which these record (for example court, prison and asylum records) are discussed by Pauline Rule, "'Tell father and mother not to be unhappy for I am very comfortable': a sketch of Irish women's experiences in colonial Victoria", *Irish Women in Colonial Australia* ed. Trevor McClaughlin (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1998) 123-141.

they affected in the same way by transient, temporary or even permanent absences occasioned by gold rushes or the perceived opportunities of work and adventure overseas. It is more difficult to locate the differing experiences of women who remained behind either by choice or circumstance. Welsh newspapers contain many references to the effect of migration on those left, a subject which has been overlooked in research, possibly because it is so difficult to evaluate. Yet women's lives in particular were altered by the phenomenon of migration even when they themselves did not leave. The *Merthyr Telegraph* in 1858 records that

> . . . a great number of working men left Merthyr for Australia . . . chiefly residents of George Town and Tydvil's Well; and, with few exceptions, were men who had reason to look forward with some degree of confidence to a long, if not a successful, career in the new and distant land. Many of them left wives and families behind, so that sorrowing farewells were numerous and saddening . . . The parting between friends and those yet nearer and dearer assumed a sacred, a touching character; for there were some who might never meet again; hands were clasped that in this world might never more be linked . . .[4]

Lewis Browning records a similar scene in Pontnewynydd in 1857[5] as does a letter in Welsh written from Portsmouth just before embarkation in 1862 and printed in *Y Gwladgarwr*.[6] With the rush to the goldfields of Australia and California in the mid-nineteenth century, many women were left behind with families, either because the husband intended to return with the fortune he had made or because he would send for her and the children once he was "on his feet". For the rest of the century many men continued to emigrate alone with the intention of bringing out families later. Contemporary newspaper reports record the plight of some of these women struggling to survive; in some cases the abandoned wives took matters into their own hands:

> In 1862 the Pontypool Police Court was densely crowded with people who had come down from Blaenafon to hear an affiliation case. Mary Morgan's husband John had been absent for some years in Australia. To support herself she did washing for the defendant, Stephen Hughes, a widower. Mary Morgan

[4] *Merthyr Telegraph* 21 August 1858.
[5] Lewis Browning, *A Brief History of Blaenavon, Monmouthshire* (Abergavenny: Minerva Press facsimile of 1906 edition) 88.

claimed that last August she had gone to collect clothes to wash and Hughes had barred the back kitchen door and taken liberties with her. Soon after, Hughes got married and she stopped washing for him. But she told him she was pregnant and therefore would not be able to join her husband in Australia. Hughes told her he would do anything to keep it a secret and Mary went to Llanelly for two months before the birth. Afterwards she was visited by Thomas Powell and Thomas Watkins from the Baptist Church where Hughes was a deacon who asked her to confess. She denied Hughes was the father because he had secretly agreed to pay for the child's upkeep. She now declared before a magistrate that Hughes was the father of her child. Hughes, it was claimed, wanted to keep it a secret else he would not be able to raise his head again in Blaenafon and would be bound to leave. Hughes had told her "To do her worst and he would do his best". The case had been dismissed at Abergavenny and now the Pontypool magistrates refused to hear it because there was no fresh evidence.[7]

In 1867 under the headline "Another Elopement" the same paper reported that the wife of a collier who formerly kept a little greengrocery business at the bottom of King St, but who emigrated to America about twelve months since, went off with a young journeyman tailor a few nights ago, taking two of her children with her and leaving two more to the mercy of their friends.[8] In both these cases wives had been left to fend for themselves. If a husband did not prosper in his new country and/or did not remit money for her keep, his wife then either had to depend on relatives for support, or attempt to earn her own living or go on the mercy of the parish. In a letter written in Welsh from Quakers Yard in 1881 to her son in Australia, Mary Jenkins refers to another son who had migrated to America leaving his wife behind. "Shadrach doesn't seem to be doing much good in America . . . Jane his wife is here staying with Shencyn from the Lock's widow. We have been waiting for a pass from him so she can go and join him but he has been unable to collect enough money."[9]

Emigration appears in some cases to have been used by husbands as an escape route from their marital and financial responsibilities. The *Merthyr Telegraph* in 1858 reports that Phillip Phillips, a blacksmith from near the Sun Inn, Dowlais who

[6] *Y Gwladgarwr* Rhagfyr [December] 13 1862.
[7] *Pontypool Free Press* 23 August 1862.
[8] *Pontypool Free Press* 2 March 1867.
[9] *Glamorgan Family History Society Journal* 4 (1984): 20.

formerly kept the Gellifaelog Smithy, appeared in the Merthyr Police Court charged with absconding from his wife and five children "whereby they became chargeable to the parish of Merthyr Tydfil". He was traced to a lodging-house in Liverpool; he had paid his passage to America. In his defence Phillips claimed he had come to Liverpool to work at his trade and had left his wife with £3 and his furniture and money owing to him. However the court was informed that Phillips had left town owing money himself and that he had not been gone many days before the whole of his furniture was taken under distress from the County Court. He was imprisoned with hard labour at Cardiff for two months.[10] Two years earlier Thomas Buxton, formerly a master-tinker at Dowlais, was also hauled back from Liverpool to Merthyr by the police after attempting to leave the country, this time for Australia. The *Star of Gwent* reported that Buxton's desertion became known when his wife and four children applied to the parish authorities for relief. On arriving in Liverpool, Superintendent Wren found Buxton and a married woman lodging as Mr and Mrs Davies. They had been there for six weeks and were about to sail for Australia as Mr and Mrs Buxton having paid their passage money and their luggage was on board. According to Wren, Buxton was considerably "chop fallen" when he beheld an officer from Merthyr inquiring after him. Buxton boldly acknowledged that he intended to leave his wife and family and go to Australia with the woman he had taken with him. The paper described the deserted Mrs Buxton as "an exceedingly decent woman" who "is greatly respected" with young children. Buxton was committed for three months as a rogue and vagabond. He afterwards told his wife that when he came out of gaol, he would follow his woman to Australia.[11]

Some letters survive by accident in the Immigration Agents' Correspondence, their survival meaning that they were never delivered. Martha Waters (or Worters or Warters) wrote to her father Thomas in 1863 from Clifton in Bristol. Thomas had left Merthyr Tydfil and his family in 1833 and his daughter had had no word from him since. She thought he was dead until she discovered that Thomas' brother had received letters that he refused to show her. She tells him that her mother, her brother William and six other relatives or close friends are dead. Martha, in service since her father left, had broken her wrists and was now unable to work. She had to apply to the Parish for help. She believed that her aunt and uncle had told her father she was dead.

[10] *Merthyr Telegraph* 7 August 1858.
[11] *Star Of Gwent* 12 July 1856.

At the end of her letter she mentions that "Jhon (sic) Frost is come back and now living at Stapleton near Bristol". The Immigration Agent in Sydney looked for Waters' name in the arrival lists but presumably he was not found as Martha's letter was never delivered.[12] Martha's letter 30 years after her father left Wales, is a rare indicator of the effect on families, wives and children of migration, especially when there is no further communication or support.

It was not only men who used migration as a desperate remedy for problems at home. At the same time that Thomas Buxton was defending his right to desert his wife for foreign shores, Margaret Thomas, the daughter of a miner at Troedyrhiw, was charged with endeavouring to obtain a large number of goods by false pretences from Robert Jones, a draper. She bought the goods amounting to £13, and directed the shopman to make out the bill in the name of Mr Lewis Lewis, who she said was fitting her out for Australia as she had a brother there and no friends here. Mr Lewis denied having given her permission to use his name; indeed he did not know Margaret Thomas. She was committed for trial at the assizes.[13] At the Monmouthshire Quarter Sessions in March 1866 Mary Ann Jones was charged with stealing £22 in gold from her master Henry Smith of the Gold Digger's Return, Pontypool. Some of the money was recovered and at her mother's place the police found knives, forks, a teapot and other things she had bought. She pleaded not guilty and claimed the money had been given to her by her master by whom she was *enceinte* and she was to go to Australia to hide her shame. In the absence of her prosecutor she was acquitted. She applied to the police for the return of her money which they declined to do.[14]

These "side-long glimpses" into how the lure of migration affected women who did not actually leave Wales provide some insights into an aspect of migration not normally considered. The idea of migration provided a tempting escape route from responsibilities, relationships and burdens of loneliness and shame; as a disruptive force in the lives of those who were affected but who did not leave, it is worth further exploration, outside the scope of this thesis.

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[12] Letter from Martha Waters, *Immigration Letters Received* 14 May 1863, SRNSW 9/6283. John Frost, one of the Welsh leaders of the Chartist uprising in Newport, Monmouthshire in 1839, was transported to Van Diemen's Land in 1840. He returned to Britain after 1855 and settled in Stapleton, Gloucestershire, dying in 1877.
[13] *Star Of Gwent* 12 July 1856.
[14] *Pontypool Free Press* 24 March 1866.

What then of the women who did leave? Between 1850 and 1890 almost 50% of the assisted migrants from Wales were female. 1202 women and girls who had been born in Wales were assisted to migrate to NSW between those years. Of these, only 250 were officially classified as "Single Females"; the great majority were wives, mothers and daughters under 12 travelling with husbands, fathers and sons or were rejoining male members of the family already in NSW. And of the 250 single females, half were accompanied by another family member or had friends and relatives to receive them. In 40 years only 126 single, unaccompanied Welsh women went to NSW with no identifiable family waiting there for them.

Eric Richards has commented that "gender occupies a special place in Australian immigration history". Although in the first sixty years of the colony, the inflow of migrants was overwhelmingly male, after 1831 "the colonies were able to achieve an extraordinarily well-balanced intake of the sexes in their assisted-immigration programs." But as unassisted immigrants were still preponderantly male, "Colonial governments were acutely conscious of the gender question and diverted considerable resources to its solution . . . female immigration was a prominent factor in the very design of the European population."[15] The proportion of males and females assisted to migrate from Wales was almost equal, supporting Richards' view of a well-balanced intake. Yet very few of the women from Wales were from the group targeted by the NSW government: single female domestic servants.

The colonial governments' actions to encourage more single female migration has been seen as one explanation of the low numbers of domestic servants choosing to travel to America in the mid-nineteenth century.

> By 1850 "good servants" were said to be earning £20-£25 per year, which was considerably more than what servants could earn in America . . . many single women saw the male-dominated colony as the most likely place to find husbands . . . Newspaper reports of young assisted servants in Australia sending £10-£15 back "to their friends in England" after only eighteen months of work could only have encouraged others to select Australia over America . . .[16]

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[15]Eric Richards, *Visible Women* vi.

[16]William E. Van Vugt, "Who were the Immigrant Women from Britain to the United States in the Mid-Nineteenth Century?" *Immigration and Ethnicity* ed. M. D'Innocenzo and J.P. Sirefman (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1992) 170-1.

Given the distinct advantages of assisted passages, higher wages and ready employment why did so few single Welsh women emigrate to NSW?

It is likely that the explanations for this reluctance will be found in the particular economic and social conditions of nineteenth-century Wales. Angela V. John has stressed the need for historians "to unpackage the specific social, economic and cultural factors operating within Welsh society as well as locating them within a wider British and European framework."[17] The industrialization of Wales provided increasing and varied employment opportunities for men but not for women, whose job prospects, in the Valleys in particular, were extremely limited. Merthyr Tydfil and the Rhondda had the lowest rates of employment for married women in the whole of Great Britain and only 14% of females over ten were recorded as being "gainfully employed" in the Rhondda district at the beginning of the twentieth century.[18] Horrell and Humphries' study found that married women's participation in the labour force "does appear to have declined during industrialization for families whose head worked in mining" and that miners' and metalworkers' wives became increasingly dependent on their husbands.[19] This lack of paid employment was inextricably linked to demands of labour; working class women and colliers' wives in particular, faced continual demands and routines structured around the workplace despite the fact that they spent their time in the home.

Dot Jones has pointed to the difficulties of accessing reliable information on women's work in the nineteenth century. Women, married and single, were more likely to be engaged in occupations which were seasonal, part-time or unpaid. As such, their occupations may not be recorded in the British census. Wives who worked alongside their husbands or fathers as innkeepers, shopkeepers, farmers and so on and women who were engaged in unpaid domestic duties at home did not often have occupations listed. The immigrant lists do not usually give a married woman's occupation and as most single women were being assisted as "Domestic Servants", that is the stated occupation, often different to that given in the census. Williams' and Jones' study of women working in nineteenth-century Wales revealed that the participation rate for women in paid work in Wales was consistently significantly lower than in England

[17]Angela V. John 11.
[18]John 5.
[19]Horrell and Humphries 100-1.

between 1851 and 1911.[20] Given Welsh women's lower participation rate in the paid workforce, it is not surprising that so few sought employment-related migration to Australia.

But one aspect of Williams' and Jones' study is surprising given the low number of single women emigrating as domestic servants from Wales. While domestic service and dress-related occupations accounted for never less than half of all female employment from 1851 to 1911 in both England and Wales, the major contrast between women's work in the two countries was the extent to which domestic service dominated women's work in Wales. From 1871 to 1911 domestic service alone accounted for over half the total number of women employed in Wales. Except in 1851, the proportion was at least 10% higher than in England. The other main area of contrast was that the proportion of employed women engaged in agriculture was constantly higher in Wales than in England. In 1851 29.3% of employed women in Wales were in agriculture compared to 7.5% in England.[21] These two occupational categories were precisely the targeted areas for recruiting single females to NSW. It appears not to be lack of domestic service or agricultural skills that prevented women in Wales from being accepted as assisted migrants.

In his survey of the Welsh in Australian historical writing, Bob Reece noted Lewis Lloyd's opinion that Welsh women were not prepared to migrate to Australia as domestic servants.[22] Dudley Baines suggests that the lower numbers of women from rural areas in England and Wales emigrating compared to men, could be because domestic service in urban areas was enough attraction for these women. He also suggests that domestic service offered no escape for urban-born women. This could explain why women formed a larger share of the migration from urban counties.[23] If domestic service offered no escape for the urban-born woman in England and Wales, then perhaps this can shed some light on why Welsh women did not see domestic service in NSW as sufficient reason to emigrate. Yet Williams' and Jones' study shows that the chances of single women getting work were not only less in Wales than in England, but this was true in industrial Wales and rural Wales, in the coalfield and in

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[20]L.J. Williams and Dot Jones, "Women at Work in Nineteenth Century Wales" *Llafur*, 3 No. 3 (1982): 23.
[21]Williams and Jones 23-24.
[22]Reece 20.
[23]Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy* 165.

the commercial ports and cities.[24] It seems that the promises of higher wages, more employment opportunities and cheap supervised passages were not enough to balance this reluctance. The Deposit Journals give some measurable indication of this. Between 1858 and 1886 80 single females with a Welsh address had deposits paid in NSW on their behalf. Their occupations were mainly listed as domestic service although some were dressmakers and milliners. This meant that not only did they have free passages but also there was someone in NSW who had sponsored them, most often a relative. Of these 80 women, 50% either declined directly or the passage certificates expired after 12 months.[25]

In the absence of first-hand accounts such as letters, it is not possible to say with any certainty why unmarried Welsh women were unwilling to emigrate alone to Australia. The answer perhaps lies in the fact that Welsh emigration was overwhelmingly a family migration, an extended social process which took place over several decades and generations, from one neighbourhood to another on the far side of the world. This is supported by the numbers of single women who were accompanied on the journey and/or met on arrival. Elizabeth Carnall, 14, a domestic servant from Pontnewynydd, Monmouthshire followed her brother James to Australia after he deposited £2 for her passage in 1877. She did not seek employment separately but joined him in Newcastle.[26] Evangeline Davis, 21, from Garndiffaith near Pontypool, followed her married sister Elizabeth Jones out to Sydney in 1879 and Armenel Perry, 19, another domestic servant from Garndiffaith, joined her married sister and other related family members in Newcastle the same year.[27] Even single women who appear to be unaccompanied or alone in the official records, end up with a place to go and the support of an established community in NSW. Margaret Davies, 19, a dairymaid from near Bridgend, Glamorganshire, arrived on the *Hornet* on 3 March 1859 as an unaccompanied single female who had paid 10/- towards her assisted passage. She had no relatives in the colony. Other people from Wales were on the same ship; Anna Morgan, another single female from Bridgend who had a brother at Newcastle, a married couple Thomas and Keziah Phillips and a family, Samuel and Anne Jones from Aberamen, Aberdare, Glamorganshire. Samuel's brother Daniel in Newcastle

[24]Williams and Jones 26-27.
[25]IDJ 1858-1886 SRNSW 4/4579 - 4/4597.
[26]Census of E&W 1871 10/5332; IDJ SRNSW 4/4589; BIL *Peterborough* 1878 SRNSW 4/5008.

had paid the £10 deposit.[28] That these apparently unrelated travellers either were or became connected becomes clear in two newspaper articles; one a court case in 1863 and the other a newspaper account of Margaret's golden wedding celebration in 1910. A domestic dispute between Thomas and Keziah Phillips ends up in Newcastle Police Court in June 1863. Thomas had charged his wife with being of unsound mind and Margaret (now Mrs James Edwards) who had been at the Phillips' house with her husband at the time of the disturbance, was cited as a witness. Margaret's husband James was Thomas Phillips' "mate" in the mine.[29] At Margaret's golden wedding celebration in 1910, her husband James Edwards recalled that when he arrived in Newcastle (from Wales, via America, Melbourne and Sydney) "he met some friends in Merewether, and Mrs Edwards who was then 21 years of age and a recent arrival from the 'Land of Song' was at the time staying with Mr and Mrs Sam. Jones . . ." Samuel Jones was present at the celebration.[30] Whether the contacts were already in existence before the *Hornet* left Plymouth in November 1858 is not known. What is clear is that Margaret did not have to hire herself out as a domestic servant or dairymaid in Sydney but went to Newcastle with the Jones' family where eighteen months after her arrival she married fellow-Welshman James Edwards.[31] When Elizabeth Matthias 22, a housemaid, arrived from Wales in 1871 (she was born in Blaeuffos, Pembrokeshire but by 1871 her father was at Merthyr Tydfil) she also said she had no relatives in NSW and she went to the Immigrant Depot at Hyde Park Barracks from where she was hired out by a David Davies of Sydney as a General Servant at £20 per annum. But a letter confirms that David Davies, "a native of Wales", was Elizabeth's cousin. Davies had obtained a letter of introduction to the Immigration Agent from the Reverend John Dunmore Lang who had been "told the relationship and the natural wish of the parties by a respectable young man, one of the crew of the *Scythia*, who had been requested to do this service for her by the young woman".[32] When Margaret Jones, a 28 year old barmaid from Bala, Merionethshire arrived on the *Dunbar Castle* in the

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[27]Census of E&W 1871 10/5334; IDJ SRNSW 4/4589 and 4/4591; BIL *Blair Athol* 1879 SRNSW 4/5010, BIL *Strathleven* 1879 SRNSW 4/5013.
[28]BIL *Hornet* 1859 SRNSW 4/4979.
[29]*NC* 27 June 1863.
[30]*NMH* 17 September 1910.
[31]*NSW Births, Deaths and Marriages* (NSW BDM) 1860 No.2251.
[32]BIL *Scythia* 1871 SRNSW 4/4996; Ships' Papers *Scythia* 1871 SRNSW 9/6288.

same year, her brother Evan I. Jones, a draper who had also been on the ship, hired her out from the Depot as a general servant at £20 per annum.[33]

Linking the British census with the immigrant lists, it is possible to develop a slightly fuller picture of some of the single women's working lives before migration. Of the single women who did migrate as domestic servants, there is some evidence of movements to urban areas and into England before they left for Australia. Lydia Davies was born in Conwy, Merionethshire. Her brother Simon, a joiner, emigrated from North Wales in 1856 on an assisted passage for which he paid £1. By 1858 when he paid £14 deposit for Lydia and her employer's family, she had been living and working as a housemaid in Liverpool with William and Ellen Roberts, a shoemaker, who had also moved from North Wales. Unbeknownst to Simon, Lydia had left Liverpool for Sydney a little over a month before he paid the deposit, having paid her own 10/- and embarking in Southampton on the *Escort*.[34] Other women had not had to move far to gain employment. Abigail Havard was born in Hook, Pembrokeshire and at 18 was a domestic servant to elderly master mariner, John Richards and his widowed sister and brother at Quay House, Haverfordwest, not far from Hook, in 1871. After 18 months in service there, she migrated as a single domestic servant in 1872 and was hired out from the Immigrant Depot as a servant to a chemist in George Street, Sydney. The character reference John Richards wrote for Abigail made it easy to track her down in the census.[35] For many women this has not been possible due to the lack of census indexes for Wales.

There is little evidence that Welsh women took advantage of the philanthropic emigration schemes available to single females in the mid-nineteenth century. One such scheme which despatched 1300 women to Australia was Sidney Herbert's fund which selected "young women in great distress, by reason either of the low rate of wages in the various occupations or in consequence of having been entirely without employment".[36] It appears that only three women from Wales went to NSW under this scheme. Mary Price, 20, a housemaid from Welshpool, Montgomeryshire

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[33]BIL *Dunbar Castle* 1871 SRNSW 4/4996; Ships' Papers *Dunbar Castle* 1871 SRNSW 9/6288.
[34]BIL *Winifred* 1856 SRNSW 4/4964; *Escort* 1858 SRNSW 4/4974; IDJ SRNSW 4/4579.
[35]BIL *La Hogue* 1872 SRNSW 4/4997; Ships' Papers *La Hogue* 1872 SRNSW 9/6289; Census of E&W 1871 10/5526.
[36]Sidney Herbert, *Fund for Promoting Female Emigration. First Report of the Committee*, March 1851: 4.

emigrated in 1852. She arrived in Sydney from Melbourne on the *City of Poonah*. Travelling with her were Caroline Pritchard who had been born in Llanfair, Montgomeryshire and Jane Wilcox from Milford Haven. These latter two women's families were living in London by 1852 and it is likely that Mary had also emigrated from London although her widowed father and sisters were in Welshpool. She prospered in Sydney and in less than two years was able to deposit £5 to bring out her sister Harriet, a domestic servant. Four years later a third sister, Sarah, 18, a dairymaid arrived to join them in Sydney from Welshpool. She paid the 10/- herself.[37]

Mary's ability to sponsor her sister indicates that for women who were prepared to stay in Sydney as domestic servants, earnings were enough for them to be able to save considerable sums of money. It is probably safe to say that her migration and settlement experience was a positive one as both her sisters followed her to Sydney. There are other instances where a single woman's migration begins a family movement. In 1851 Mary Jones, 16, was living with her collier father and mother and four younger brothers and sisters in Talywaun, Abersychan near Pontypool. None of the children had occupations recorded. In September 1854 Mary emigrated on the *Rajasthan* from Plymouth, having paid £1 for her assisted passage and giving her occupation as farm servant. On the ship were Andrew and Leah Rogers from the same district. They may have been connected in more ways than just geographically as Andrew was born in the parish of Llanelly, Breconshire like Mary's father and his family had also moved to the Abersychan district where his parents now lived. His wife Rachel had been a Jones before she married. The Rogers went to Newcastle. Mary stayed in Sydney after she arrived early in 1855; she was living in Woolloomooloo when her elder brother and a younger sister arrived in 1856. James Jones, 23, a collier and Naomi Jones, 17, a general servant paid £1 and 10/- towards their passages. Immediately after his arrival James went north to the NCMD with fellow Welshman and traveller Daniel Rees also from Monmouthshire. Naomi may have joined him there as in 1858 she married Daniel Davis in Newcastle.[38]

As has already been observed, it is difficult to create an accurate occupational profile of the women. The practice of using targeted occupations as a way to gain assisted

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[37] BIL *City of Poonah* 1852 SRNSW 4/4923; IDJ SRNSW 4/4576; BIL *Hilton* 1855 SRNSW 4/4950; BIL *Queen of England* 1859 SRNSW 4/4976.
[38] Census of E&W 1851 107/2449. BIL *Rajasthan* 1855 SRNSW 4/4954; BIL *Herald* 1856 SRNSW 4/4961; NSW BDM 1858 No.2268.

passages was widespread amongst male emigrants particularly after coal miners were no longer eligible for assisted passages and labourers were still able to be assisted (see Chapter 8). It is possible that women used the "domestic servant" label in the same way. Serviah Bevan, 16, a grocer's assistant, emigrated as an assisted female servant in 1884.[39] Sarah Davies, a pupil teacher in Blaenafon in 1881, emigrated as a general servant in the same year.[40] Ellen Guest, 14, was a boot binder in Brecon working with her shoemaker father and brother in 1865 when her brother-in-law in Sydney deposited £38 to bring the family to NSW. When she arrived in Sydney in 1868 she gave her occupation as a needlewoman.[41] Elizabeth Meyrick, a brickmaker, was also listed as a domestic servant when she migrated to Newcastle in 1880.[42]

Elizabeth Meyrick is the only single female from Wales who is recorded as having an "industrial" occupation. This is not surprising as women were not employed in the coal mining and metalworking industries in NSW and therefore women with such skills were not eligible for assisted passages. But again, a survey of the Census reveals that a number of the married women who emigrated from South Wales had been employed at the pit top, on the screens and at iron and copperworks before marriage had wiped their occupation from the official records (see Chapter 2). Members of the emigrants' families were similarly employed, and it may be that the blank occupation and "domestic service" on the immigrant lists hide a greater variety of employment experiences. The girls were all the elder children of their families and as such, their earnings would have been an important supplement to their father's until such time as younger brothers were old enough to follow their fathers into the works or down the pits. In her study of women workers at North Wales coalmines, Val Lloyd comments that

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[39]Serviah was born in Bettws, Carmarthenshire. She emigrated from the adjoining parish of Llangyfelach, Glamorganshire where she had moved when she was a child. Biographical details compiled from BIL *Texan* 1884 SRNSW 4/5028; Census of E&W 1881 11/5349.

[40]BIL *Northampton* 1881 SRNSW 4/5018; Census of E&W 1881 11/5337-38.

[41]BIL *Glendower* 1868 SRNSW 4/4993; IDJ SRNSW 4/4587.

[42]Born in Merthyr Tydfil in 1860, by 1871 Elizabeth was at school, living with her widowed grandmother, a bakehouse keeper, at Tramroadside, Merthyr. In 1879 her uncle Robert Davis in Wallsend near Newcastle deposited £2 for her to emigrate as a domestic servant. When she left Britain she gave her occupation as a brickmaker and bricklayer although she again became a domestic servant when she arrived in Sydney on the *Samuel Plimsoll*. Her first occupation was not unusual among women in the Welsh valleys and she lived very close to a brickworks in Merthyr. Biographical details compiled from BIL *Samuel Plimsoll* 1880 SRNSW 4/5016; AIL SRNSW 4/4805; IDJ SRNSW 4/4592; St Catherine's House Index Births Dec quarter 1860; Census of E&W 1871 10/5396.

> a measure of the unpopularity of domestic service can be derived from the speed with which girls seized upon opportunities for almost any other kind of employment . . . Hard work, low wages in a small household and strict discipline from employers made domestic service an unattractive proposition. The money a woman would earn at the pit bank was twice what she would have received working in the fields or on entering service. It was little wonder that girls previously employed on the pit bank often returned there.[43]

Arthur Munby's diaries provide a more detailed picture of the women working in these occupations; in 1865 he travelled to South Wales and at Blaenafon wrote " . . . at the kilns were 10 girls, 3 to each kiln and a 'shoveller'. They did the whole of the work . . . well-grown healthy lasses, aged from 15 to 21." At the cokeovens he found a great many girls, "some digging and sifting coke; some emptying coke-trams by the shovelfuls into the ovens . . . some standing in the railway trucks and unloading them of the bluestone." At the blastfurnaces he saw numbers of grown up young women, but no girls, the work being too hard. "Some were filling and wheeling barrows of ironstone: but most were engaged . . . in breaking stones . . . I saw so many girls at these Blaenavon works that it was impossible to count them . . . there must have been 100 to 200."[44] In 1870 on another visit to Wales, at the ironworks at Brynmawr in Monmouthshire he met two girl ironworkers who complained that they were no longer allowed to work at night: "It's a great loss to us girls, Sir . . . we used to earn 8 to 11 shillings a week, and now we do earn only six"; they added that the men had to be paid "twice as much to do our work!"[45] A comment to Munby by a servant, "a strong Welsh lass from H'arfordwest" gives more support to the idea that domestic service was not popular among Welsh women. She commented to Munby that the Government ought to stop women working as minetip girls whereupon Munby asked her how she would like it if the Government put a stop to her being a servant. "'Well sir' said she naively 'I should be glad! I wouldn't be a servant, not if I'd the means to live without it'".[46] Perhaps Lewis Lloyd's view that Welsh women were not prepared to emigrate as domestic servants has more to do with attitudes to the occupation than to migration itself. Guaranteed work as domestic servants may not have been the

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[43]Val Lloyd, "Attitudes to Women at North Wales Coalmines c1840-1901", *Llafur*, Vol.5 No.2: 12.
[44]Michael Hiley, *Victorian Working Women* (London: Gordon Fraser Gallery, 1979) 98.
[45]Derek Hudson, *Munby, Man of Two Worlds*, (London: Abacus, Sphere Books 1974) 211, 291.
[46]Hiley 96.

"carrot" that the Colonial Governments considered it to be. Certainly there were fewer occupational opportunities for women in NSW; as in the Welsh valleys, the NCMD was characterised by a lack of paid female employment. Of the 912 positions for women advertised in the *Newcastle Morning Herald* in 1881 only ten per cent were in the colliery townships and domestic service accounted for seventy-five per cent of all employment.[47] It is more likely that Welsh women saw migration as offering greater opportunities to themselves as members of a family unit than as an independent single female.

Some single females also emigrated from Wales in order to marry a man they already knew from home. Examples of these are more difficult to find as they tended to be non-assisted. Sarah Ann Jones left Dowlais as a non-assisted immigrant in 1888 to marry George Evans in Newcastle.[48] Emma Jones, 28, a domestic servant in Tredegar, was sponsored to emigrate by James Price of Pitt Street, Sydney in 1883. In the 1881 Census both Emma and James had been servants at Coity Farm near Blaenafon. Emma arrived on the *Sydenham* in December 1883 and immediately married James Price in Newtown, Sydney.[49]

What then of the majority of women migrants who left Wales with their husbands or who rejoined them in NSW? Married women have been virtually ignored in migration studies, either due to the difficulties of reconstructing anything about their lives or because of the perception of their secondary and dependent status. Did these women migrate only because their spouses left them no alternative or was it a conscious choice on their part? What was the woman's role in making the family decision to leave? In her work on early nineteenth-century female migrants Deborah Oxley cites and challenges the received version of the "women in emigration story":

> The story, then, is of men taking the lead, initiating emigration, and women only later entering the migrant ranks - often lagging behind, being reluctant. This sometimes seems to relate to the domestic roles of men and women -

[47]McEwen, "The Newcastle Coalmining District " 35.

[48]Sarah Ann Jones of Mt Pleasant Street Dowlais, near Merthyr Tydfil, arrived as a non-assisted immigrant in 1888 and immediately married George Evans in Newcastle. The Sunday School at Beulah Baptist Chapel in Dowlais presented her with a bible "on her leaving for Australia". George, a pit carpenter, had lived close to Sarah in Mary Ann Street, Dowlais, and had emigrated c1886, also paying his own passage. Information supplied by Mrs J. Jefferson, Toronto NSW; Sarah Ann Evans' bible; Census of E&W 1881 11/5316.

> women being bound to the family, chary and nervous of large shifts in the base of their lives, seeking stability rather than major changes . . . women, therefore seem secondary and dependent in the process by which emigration was initiated and carried through.[50]

Robin Haines also challenges the notion that women were secondary in the migration decision. In asserting that women were more likely to be literate than their husbands, Haines maintained that further questions can be raised about the degree to which women may have influenced the decision to emigrate. She supports her view that women played a significant role by the high single female emigration rates and by evidence that major donor-counties of government emigrants were those identified by Baines as registering high female mobility characteristics.[51] That Baines' counties showing high female mobility did not include any Welsh counties would seem to indicate that Welsh women's experiences may have been different.[52] But both Oxley and Haines assume that a woman's participation in the decision-making process can only be active or positive if she and/or her family emigrates. This seems to ignore the importance of a woman's role more generally and perhaps it is more pertinent to ask whether the woman's agreement to migration was critical to the family's decision; that is, if she did not agree to go, then the family would not go. In 1866 several sponsored married men gave their wives' inability or refusal to emigrate to NSW as the reason the passage certificates were returned.[53] Evidence from Canada would seem to support this view. W.L. Griffith, the Canadian Agent in Wales, in 1898 compiled a hand-written list of emigrants. One entry concerned R.H. Richard, an engineer from near Bangor, North Wales who had settled in Canada. Griffith noted, "Last heard at McCleod, earning 50 dollars a month. Mrs Richard doing well as a dressmaker. When Richard consulted her, his wife was unwilling to emigrate. I suggested she should

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[49]IDJ SRNSW 4/4595; Census of E&W 1881 11/5238; BIL *Sydenham* 1883 SRNSW 4/5028; NSW BDM 1883 No.2662.

[50]Deborah Oxley and Eric Richards, "Convict Women and Assisted Female Immigrants Compared, 1841 - a turning point?" *Visible Women* 5.

[51]Robin Haines, *Indigent Misfits or Shrewd Operators? Government Assisted Emigrants from the United Kingdom to Australia 1831-1860* (Adelaide: Flinders University Working Papers in Economic History No.61 May 1993) 12-13.

[52]Baines 163-4. Baines commented that the share of female emigrants was low from Glamorgan - 34.8% were female. This was despite the shortage of jobs for women in the mining industry. The proportion of female emigrants was also relatively low for all Welsh counties where emigration exceeded 1500.

[53]Immigration Letters Received SRNSW 9/6240-45.

consult Mrs Griffith, who met her and satisfied her doubts as only one woman can satisfy another".[54]

The seeming reluctance of single women from Wales to emigrate as domestic servants should not be taken as indicating a secondary and dependent role for Welsh women in the migration process. Rachel Young of Blaenafon's story well illustrates this point. Born Rachel Ellick, daughter of a Blaenafon carpenter's late second marriage, at 18 she married Peter Williams Young, a butcher, in February 1850 at Llanover Parish Church. Their daughter Rachel was born about three months later.[55] In March 1851 Rachel was living in Heolstrwy, Blaenafon with her ten-month-old daughter. A visitor and a servant were in the house but there is no mention of her husband on census night. Her parents James and Jane Ellick were also living in Heolstrwy.[56] Between 1851 and 1856 Rachel and Peter had three sons[57] then around 1858 Peter left Blaenafon for Australia. In March 1859, now in Newcastle, NSW, Peter paid a deposit for William Lewis, a collier from Blaenafon, and his wife to migrate and they did so the same year. In October Peter again paid a deposit of £12, this time for Rachel and their four children to join him in Newcastle.[58] Why Rachel did not leave Blaenafon to join her husband at this stage will probably never be known. Her elderly parents were both in their seventies and she was the only child of the marriage. She may have wished to remain near them or indeed may not have been able to leave them had she wanted to. It took a year for Peter's deposit to be refunded to him. This meant that the passage certificates had been cancelled because the time allowed for the journey had expired, rather than that Rachel had officially declined to emigrate and returned the certificates herself. She may have spent that year trying to decide what to do. In 1861 the census records that Rachel, 29, a confectioner, was living in King Street next to the White Lion with her four children.[59] The following year her mother died and in October 1862, the *Pontypool Free Press* records that Rachel applied for and was granted, a public house license in her own name. She said that her husband had gone to Australia five years before and had sent her £48 in the first two years but that she

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[54]Public Archives of Canada. c.7302, Vol 146, File 34688, 3 November 1898. I am grateful to Professor Muriel E. Chamberlain, University of Wales Swansea, who drew this example to my attention.
[55]Parish Registers, Blaenafon, GwRO D/Pa/74 and Llanover GwRO NL/Pa/24. Marriage Certificate 314, 1850.
[56]Census of E&W 1851 107/3996.
[57]Parish Register, Blaenafon, GwRO D/Pa/74 .
[58]IDJ SRNSW 4/4580.
[59]Census of E&W 1861 9/3996.

had not heard from him since then. She kept a shop and public house in order to support herself, but her father was now growing old and she wanted the license in her own name.[60] It is likely that the license was in her father's name as in 1861 he had been charged with having his house open for the sale of beer at an illegal hour.[61] It seems that Peter must have withdrawn his financial support when Rachel failed to take up the opportunity to join him in Australia. The NSW BDM records provide further evidence for why Peter was no longer supporting her. On 31 July 1862 he had married Mary Ann Newman at St Mary's Church, West Maitland. He declared he was a bachelor and gave his father's occupation as a farmer; but William Young was an innkeeper and licensed victualler of Shepherds' Square, Blaenafon.[62] Peter and Mary Ann were living in Wallsend where he had already established a successful butchering business. Their daughter was born the same year and three sons followed, the youngest dying as an infant in 1868 as did Mary Ann.[63]

In Blaenafon in 1864 Rachel's father died, leaving a will in her favour:

> . . . to my daughter Rachel the wife of Peter Young, late of Blaenafon, aforesaid for her sole and separate use and benefit and not subject or liable to the debts, control or management of her present or any future husband but for her sole use and benefit . . . and after her decease . . . to such of the children of my said daughter . . .[64]

While it is unlikely that Rachel or her family knew of Peter's second marriage at this stage, it seems clear that her father did not wish Peter to in any way share in his estate. But it does not appear that Rachel was left much better off financially after her father's death. His estate was proved at less than £100 and the same month Rachel entered into an agreement with the Prince Howell the Good Lodge to take out a loan of £50 to defray costs and debts her father left plus an existing debt of £70 borrowed by her late father, secured by a mortgage on the leasehold land and buildings left by her father.[65] These years must have been the hardest for Rachel as her sons were still too young to earn a living. In 1867 a tea party was held at Blaenafon Town Hall for her benefit and

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[60] *Pontypool Free Press* 18 October 1862.
[61] *Pontypool Free Press* 22 June 1861.
[62] West Maitland Marriage Register 1856-64 Newcastle University Archives AB 5876 No.86; Census of E&W 1851 107/2447.
[63] NSW Births Index 1862-67, Deaths 1868.
[64] Probate of the will of Mr James Ellick, deceased GwRO D32 0633.
[65] Indenture GwRO D43 6464 M250.

the *Pontypool Free Press* reported a large attendance.[66] By April 1871 Rachel 38, a beerhouse keeper now, was living at the White Lion Inn in Ellick Street with two of her sons, Peter 17, a forgeman and Edward 14 a labourer in the Iron Works and one lodger. There is no mention of her eldest son James Ellick Young who would have been about 19.[67] Her daughter Rachel, 20, had married John Gwatkin, a railman from Gelligaer and lived close by.[68]

There must have been communication between Peter Williams Young and at least his children as in 1875 Rachel and John Gwatkin sailed with their two small children to Australia. Rachel gave her father as her "relative in the colony".[69] Rachel and John went to Wallsend and at some point they took over the management of the Albion Hotel there.[70] It is possible that until Peter's daughter arrived in Wallsend, the existence of the second marriage was not known to the family in Wales. But Rachel Gwatkin can hardly have ignored the fact that though her father's second wife was dead, he had three young children aged between 13 and 10.

Back in Blaenafon Rachel's financial problems were not over. The *Pontypool Free Press* in December 1875 carried an advertisement on its front page: BEERHOUSE & COTTAGES FOR SALE. On 14 January 1876, by order of the Mortgagees, "Lot 1. - All that Licensed Beerhouse, called "The White Lion", situate and being Nos. 3 and 4, Ellick Street . . . now in the occupation of Mr Benjamin Morgan as monthly tenant . . . Lot 2. - All those Two Cottages and Premises, being Nos. 5 and 6 Ellick St, Blaenafon aforesaid adjoining Lot 1, in the respective occupations of Mr Lacey and Mrs Rachel Young as monthly tenants . . . the latter at a nominal rental, the Cottage and Premises occupied by her being of the annual value of £7 16s". All of these premises were held under Lease for an unexpired term of 964 years. This was Rachel's inheritance.[71]

Eighteen months later Rachel 44, with Edward, a stonemason and Peter, a plasterer, arrived in NSW, twenty years after her husband had emigrated. She told the Immigration Agent's clerk in Sydney when she arrived on 8 June 1877 that her

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[66] *Pontypool Free Press* 28 September 1867.
[67] He may have been an unassisted migrant as a James Ellick Young died in Newcastle in 1914. However Rachel's death certificate only mentions two sons, deceased. NSW BDM 1915/016958.
[68] Census of E&W 1871 10/5313.
[69] BIL *Surrey* SRNSW 4/5000.
[70] *NMH* 25 January 1968.

husband Peter W. Young was at Wallsend.[72] It does not appear that Rachel and Peter were reunited as husband and wife. When Peter died at Wallsend in 1885, "an old and esteemed resident of this town", no mention is made of his wife, only that he "leaves several of a family behind him to regret and mourn the loss of a kind father".[73] Peter's will left everything to the three children of his marriage to Mary Ann Newman and made no mention of Rachel or their three children.[74] In 1901 Rachel was living at 15 Council Street, Junction and she died in 1915. She was then living in Bull Street, Newcastle near to her grandson Edward, the informant, who had been born the year of his father's death in 1889.[75]

Rachel's case shows that women were not necessarily "secondary and dependent in the process by which emigration was initiated and carried through". Clearly Peter had expected her to join him in NSW and she chose not to do so although we can only speculate as to the reasons. Perhaps she hoped Peter would return when she did not arrive or perhaps their marriage was over as far as she was concerned although her father's will and her comments to the Immigration Agent show she still considered herself Peter's wife. Her story shows how difficult it is to generalise about migration experiences. Even with all the details of Rachel's life that have come to light, it is still impossible to know her motivations for not joining her husband for twenty years after he had left Wales. What prompted her to finally emigrate was possibly the migration of her daughter and the severe economic conditions that then prevailed in Blaenafon rather than rejoining her husband.

Perhaps because Mary Ann died within six years of her marriage, Peter Williams Young's bigamous marriage apparently passed unremarked. A similar case in Sydney in 1864 shows that this was not always the case and that if proved, the penalties could be severe.[76] A study of 221 bigamy cases between 1830 and 1900 in England has found

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[71] *Pontypool Free Press* 25 December 1875.
[72] BIL St Lawrence SRNSW 4/5004.
[73] *NMH* 16 June 1885.
[74] Will of Peter Williams Young, butcher 12402.
[75] Her son Edward established a Monumental Works in Wallsend and was much praised for his skills as a sculptor. He died of typhoid during an epidemic in Wallsend in 1889, leaving a wife and three very young children. Peter William Young jnr died in 1896 at Adamstown. *NMH* 1 January 1885; *Wallsend & Plattsburg Sun (W&PS)* 22 February 1886, 4 December 1889; NSW BDM 1889/13172, 1915/016958.
[76] Thomas Dobinson was sentenced to five years labour on the roads or other public works of the colony for marrying Frances Thompson in Newcastle, NSW in 1863 when his first wife Ann, whom he had married in Durham in 1853, was still alive. Thomas said that he believed

that many couples, particularly in the working class, entered bigamous unions throughout the nineteenth century and most communities accepted these unions if they followed certain norms: the bigamist had to have a good reason to have left his or her spouse, they had to have been honest with the second spouse and to be able to support multiple families.[77] It seems that Peter Young's behaviour to either Rachel or Mary Ann would not have met the above criteria. Perhaps he was fortunate that no one brought the matter to the attention of the authorities.

Other women whose husbands had gone out to Australia declined to join them when the opportunity arose. Thomas Hopkins, a miner at Waratah near Newcastle, paid £7 for his wife Anna and three-year-old daughter from Rhymney to join him in June 1864. Ten months later he wrote to the Immigration Office requesting a refund of his deposit as his wife had returned the Passage Certificate to him.[78] In 1873 William Leyshon, 25, a spelterman, married Margaret Williams, 23, daughter of a watchman. Both lived in Pentrechwyrth in the parish of Llansamlet, Glamorganshire. In the 1881 Census William and Margaret, now with three daughters, were still in the same parish. On 27 February, 1884 William was in Port Waratah, near Newcastle, NSW when he paid £5 deposit for his wife and now four daughters, of Pentrechwryth Rd, Foxall, Swansea, to join him. The deposit was refunded in October of the same year, which means that Margaret would have declined straight away and the papers returned to the emigration authorities. It appears that Margaret and William remained separated, probably for good. In the 1891 census Margaret, still living at the same address as in 1884, said she was a widow and gave her occupation as washerwoman. The eldest daughter, now 15, was a domestic servant and the second daughter, 12, a scholar. The two younger daughters who William had put down in his deposit list were not included in the census. But there was another daughter, Katie aged eight months. Margaret, like many women left in lone circumstances, had had to support herself and children through taking in washing. But it appeared that that was her deliberate choice: taking in washing was preferable to joining her husband in NSW.[79]

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his first wife to be dead; it seems that, like Peter, he had paid money to bring Ann out to Newcastle and when she did not come, he had either forged or somehow obtained a false letter announcing Ann's death which he had read out to several persons including Frances who believed it to be genuine. *NC* 24 December 1864.

[77]Ginger Frost, "Bigamy and Cohabitation in Victorian England" *Journal of Family History* Vol.22 No.3 July 1997: 286.

[78]Immigration Letters Received SRNSW 9/6242.

[79]Parish Register, Llansamlet, Marriages 1873, Glamorgan Record Office; Census of E&W 1881 11/5366; IDJ SRNSW 4/4596; Census of E&W 1891 12/4487.

Catherine Jones, left in Swansea with three small children, also declined to emigrate when her husband Thomas Jones of Lambton, near Newcastle, paid a deposit for her and the family in February 1884, possibly because the youngest child was only an infant. But later that year he paid the deposit a second time and Catherine and the children arrived in March 1885.[80] Eliza Morgans and her six year old son were expected to join husband David at Port Waratah in Newcastle in 1884. Possibly the Morgans and Leyshons knew each other; David and William were both at Port Waratah and paid the deposits at the same time and their wives were both living in Foxall near Swansea. Like Margaret Leyshon, Eliza Morgans also refused to join her husband; in fact the deposit was refunded within five months.[81] Matilda Wills of Malpas Rd, Newport "declined emigrating" with her six children aged between 14 years and 11 months, to join their father Charles in Sydney in 1885. Eliza Jones, 38, of Cardiff also "declines emigrating" to join her husband John W. Jones of Newcastle, NSW.[82] Thus not only was it a risk for the wives when their husbands left for NSW but also for the husbands. These women all chose not to join their husbands despite the economic consequences and we can only speculate on the reasons.

For some wives, the deposit came too late. On 30 September 1863 John Pugh, a miner in NSW, paid the huge deposit of £33 for his wife Mary, 39 and eight children of 8 Chapel Street, Tredegar Iron Works. Their eldest child was 19 and the youngest only two. John had been in Tredegar in April 1861 when the census was taken. The deposit was withdrawn nine months later; Mary Pugh either decided not to join her husband or it is possible that she died before she could. In the 1871 Census John is back home again at the same address, only this time his wife is Keziah. Three of the eight children are still living at home.[83] When Edward Beecham of West Wallsend, near Newcastle, NSW, paid the deposit for his wife and two sons in October 1888 they were living at 5 Pleasant Place, Ferndale near Pontypridd. But Florence, 33, was dead and his two sons sailed alone a year later to join their father in 1889.[84]

It is impossible to know why women declined to join their husbands on the other side of the globe. Family ties, the health of the children, fear of the unknown and poor

[80]IDJ SRNSW 4/4596; BIL *Gulf of Mexico* SRNSW 4/5031.
[81]IDJ SRNSW 4/4596.
[82]IDJ SRNSW 4/4596; Immigration Letters Received SRNSW 9/6159.
[83]IDJ SRNSW 4/4585; Census of E&W 1861 9/3999; Census of E&W 1871 10/5319.
[84]IDJ SRNSW 4/4598; BIL *SS Cuzco* SRNSW 4/4812.

marital relationships may have all been factors in their decisions to remain in Wales even in the face of considerable hardship. A survey of the reasons given by individual women from Britain for not emigrating between 1863 and 1866 show they were usually either poor state of health or a lack of means. One said it was the delicate state of her mother's health, another her inability to find her way to the port of embarkation for want of means. Most simply "declined" with no explanation.[85]

Using a variety of sources, it is possible to reconstruct something of the pre-emigration lives of a few of the married women who left Wales for Australia. What is surprising is the extent of travel and amount of moves that many of the women had undergone both before and after they left Wales for good. Mary Griffiths was one woman who did choose to emigrate. For her the move to Newcastle NSW was the fifth move since her mother Jane Humphrey/Homphray had moved from her birthplace (c1786) in Llanidloes, Montgomeryshire to Cefn Coed y Cymmer in the parish of Vaynor, north of Merthyr where Mary was born in 1810. Mary married George Griffiths of Vaynor in December 1828 and five sons were born there between 1829 and 1838. Before her daughter Jane's birth in 1844 Mary and George moved to Dowlais and the youngest son was also born there around 1847. It is likely that the next move was occasioned by George's death as the 1851 census shows that Mary, a widow, was living with her seven children at Cross Street, Rhymney, Monmouthshire. The eldest five sons were all working colliers. Also in Rhymney were Mary's brother David Humphrey, an overman collier, his wife Jane who had been born in Merthyr Tydfil and his four children, all born in Bedwellty. Mary's widowed mother Jane was also living in Rhymney with her unmarried brother and a younger son, both coal miners. In 1855 Mary's brother David started off the family migration to NSW taking with him his family and two of Mary's sons. On the same ship were several other families from Rhymney and the Iron Works. It is possible that these men were recruited by the Newcastle Coal and Copper Company's agents in Wales as they all found employment with this Company which was in its peak of production in the late 1850s. Sometime in the next two years a third one of Mary's sons, Thomas, emigrated to Newcastle, apparently unassisted as did Mary's other brother Thomas Humphreys who died in Newcastle in 1900. Mary's mother Jane had died by 1857 when Mary herself and the remainder of her family arrived in Sydney in August on the *Monica*. They all went to

[85]Immigration Letters Received 1863-66 SRNSW 9/6240-45.

the Newcastle district.[86] The fact that Mary had two brothers and three sons already in NSW and that her mother had died in Rhymney must have all been factors in Mary's decision to move with the remainder of her family to Australia.

The children of Catherine (born Llantrissant, Gla) and Israel Pike (born Risca, Mon) had been born in Yorkshire, Glamorganshire and Lancashire. In the 1881 Census the family were living at Eglwysilan, Glamorgan. Three years later, in the NCMD, Israel deposited £5 to bring out his family who were then living at Treforest near Pontypridd.[87] Some women had travelled even further. Gwen Evans (born Gla) had only just arrived back in Wales from America where her four children had been born when her husband William sent for her from Stockton near Newcastle in 1887.[88] Mary Ann Williams was born in Penydarren, Dowlais, Glamorganshire in 1858 and emigrated with her parents to America when she was five. She grew up in Mahanoy City, Pennsylvania. She married Daniel Thomas, also from Glamorganshire, in 1876 and their two daughters were born in America. Mary Ann and Daniel returned to Cwmamman, Aberdare for a short time before emigrating to Australia in 1884 as assisted migrants. Daniel's father David was already in Newcastle.[89]

Gwenllian Griffith also emigrated to Australia, with her husband Griffith in 1869. She was born in 1844 at Melin Court, Llantwit, Neath. Her parents David and Jenet Evans were in the dairying industry and she worked with them. "She lived in Wales for 24 years, and then was attracted by the possibilities of colonial settlement." She left Neath for Australia in May 1869 with husband and son, settling first in Victoria then moving to Newcastle.[90] Catherine Williams (born Northern Ireland) moved to South Wales as a child with her father, an ironworks foreman. She emigrated with her miner husband to Wallaroo, SA, then they came north in 1886 "having heard something of Newcastle, that it was a good working class area".[91] Mary Gower and her tin-roller husband Arthur (both born Llangyfelach, Gla.) lived at 22 London Row Cwmafan until Arthur went out to Wallaroo about 1863. He sent for Mary and their four young children and they arrived in SA as remittance immigrants in January 1864. In 1868 the family

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[86]Vaynor Parish Register (NLW) Marriages 1828 p91; Census of E&W 1851 107/2448; BIL *Lord Hungerford* SRNSW 4/4952; BIL *Monica* SRNSW 4/4971; *NMH* 13 February, 1900; NSW BDM 1900/3984.
[87]Census of E&W 1881 11/5293; IDJ SRNSW 4/4596; BIL *Aberdeen* SRNSW 4/5025.
[88]IDJ SRNSW 4/4597; BIL *Abyssinia* SRNSW 4/5035.
[89]BIL *Cambodia* SRNSW 4/5027; *Y Drych* 11 Awst [August] 1932; *NMH* 23 June 1932.
[90]*NMH* 24 June 1936.

moved to Newcastle to work at the Wallaroo Mining Company's new smelter.[92] Ann Jones (born in Rhondda Valley c1853) emigrated to Brisbane with her husband Matthew in the 1870s then moved south to the Newcastle district in 1879, first to Minmi then Wallsend.[93]

The lives of these women were shaped by change and frequent moves, both within Britain and then overseas and often within Australia as well. There is little personal information on how the women viewed their lives, the travel, the changes. Obituaries, when they exist, are brief and give little details of the women's attitudes and feelings. Later chapters will look again at their lives and experiences as settlers in the NCMD and attempt to ascertain to what extent these women were able to re-establish family and community ties in their new country in the face of the disruption of their personal circumstances.

What is clear is that the women from Wales made choices in the migration process: to leave or to remain behind and perhaps follow later or not; their choices may well have determined whether a family left Wales or remained. In some cases married women's choices were independent decisions, regardless of their marital status and the economic consequences, and they refused to join their husbands in Australia. For some like Rachel Young and Mary Griffiths, the choice of when to go was also an independent decision, perhaps based more on family ties and responsibilities at home. Uncovering the stories, however fragmentary, of women's lives affected by migration fills in some of the gaps in understanding the migration process and allows these women to be viewed, however dimly, as active and independent agents in their own lives.

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[91] *NMH* 8 April 1932.
[92] Census of E&W 1861 9/4083; Passenger Lists South Australia 1847-1886 64/1; *NMH* 16 May 1931.
[93] *NMH* 14 December 1928.

CHAPTER 5

Identity and Community

"canys yr oeddynt yn cael eu derbyn gan Gymro twymgalon a charedig, cydnabod i rai a pherthynas i ereill o honynt..."[1]

Yr Ymwelydd 1876

Where the Welsh congregated in any numbers, whether it was over the border in England, or over the seas in the USA, Canada, South America or Australia, they appear to have constructed what Merfyn Jones has called "characteristic immigrant communities":

> They cared for their own, they exploited their own, many of them were rapidly upwardly socially mobile, they created networks which recruited from home, offered work and housing and, in the second and third generations, they grappled with the strain of living in two cultures, a strain which forced many into rapid assimilation, and few into a greater consciousness of Welsh citizenship than was common in Wales itself.[2]

Concentrated settlements in limited areas, usually occupationally-related, and continuation of pre-emigration occupations are two important features of Welsh migration. Bill Jones' study of the Welsh in the USA found that most Welsh industrial workers continued their calling and that this "decisively influenced the geographic settlement of the Welsh and the location of the Welsh presence in the 'New Country' during the second half of the nineteenth century."[3] Both place of settlement and mobility within the new country were determined by occupational factors. Despite the size and opportunities available in nineteenth-century USA, "the singular feature of Welsh settlement . . . during these years was the remarkable concentration in one state, Pennsylvania . . . in 1900, lived nearly 38% of the 93,586 first-generation Welsh . . ." In fact 23% lived in just three counties of Pennsylvania.[4]

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[1] ["They appeared all in fair health and calm, despite disembarking in a foreign country,] for they were known to some and related to others . . .", *Yr Ymwelydd* II.7 (Gorphenaf [July] 1876): 164.

[2] Merfyn Jones 33.

[3] Jones, *Wales in America* xx.

[4] Jones, *Wales in America* xx.

Anne Knowles also commented on this concentration. She noted that the 1850 USA census recorded 89% of Welsh natives living in four states: New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Wisconsin. "Over the next four decades the Welsh American population more than trebled, to a peak of 100,079 in 1890, while its geographical concentration changed very little."[5]

The importance of the occupational factor in Welsh migration and the location-specific nature of that migration was stressed again in Van Vugt's study of emigrating miners in 1851 who overwhelmingly chose Pennsylvania as their destination. "More specifically they were described as going to Philadelphia, . . . Minersville, and other places in the Schuylkill and Susquehanna Valleys. This was America's anthracite region . . . where Welsh colliers had been establishing communities since 1830s."[6] Van Vugt found that important ties were maintained between the Welsh in America and those still in Wales; this network apparently allowed the Welsh to find opportunities in America's troubled industries and also persuaded many Welsh industrial workers to choose America in preference to England or Scotland. To many, the Welsh community in America could be less strange than an industrial community elsewhere and provided pre-arranged work and accommodation and a society and environment that were less unfamiliar.[7]

For those who did move into England, the 1851 census shows that the Welsh congregated mainly in London and Liverpool with smaller numbers in Shrewsbury, Chester, Manchester, Bristol and Birmingham.[8] Proximity to Wales was clearly a factor in these migrations. Good transport connections and long-established migration corridors made London a migration destination for people from all parts of Wales. Liverpool attracted more than half of its Welsh population from North Wales, just as Bristol was a magnet for people from Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire. Shrewsbury was the destination for people from Montgomeryshire and Chester for those born in Flintshire and Denbighshire. But by 1871 Welsh people were moving further afield into the north-eastern coalfields and developing industrial centres. Middlesbrough had over 1500 Welsh-born in 1871 and surrounding towns also increased their Welsh population, a result of both "specific employment

[5] Knowles 4.
[6] Van Vugt 550-1.
[7] Van Vugt 561.

opportunities"[9] and Welsh occupational recruitment and networking.[10] Most of these came from the industrial south of Wales, indicating that Welsh workers were quite prepared to move long distances for a specific labour market.[11]

These features of Welsh migration are also found in Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century. They came in comparatively low numbers and concentrated in relatively few areas. While there were small groups in major cities such as Sydney and Melbourne, the Welsh mainly settled in areas connected with mining and metalworking. In South Australia the copper industry attracted Welsh to Burra, Wallaroo and Kapunda, in Victoria to Ballarat and other goldfields, to Ipswich and Blackstone in Queensland[12] and to the coal mining districts of Newcastle, NSW.

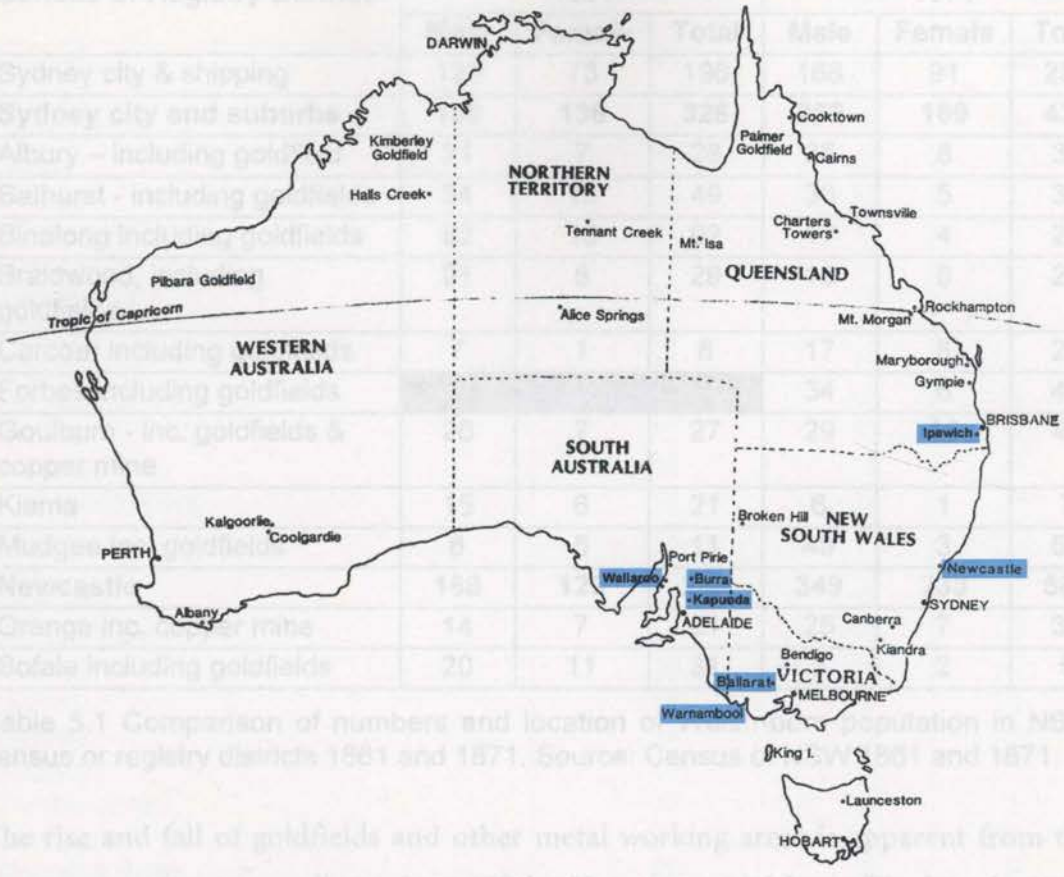
[8] Pooley, "Welsh migration to England" 290-2.

[9] Pooley, "Welsh migration to England" 292.

[10] Yasumoto, "Migrants in Middlesbrough" 24. John Vaughan of the Bolckow and Vaughan Iron Co. in Middlesbrough had worked at the Dowlais Iron Works in Glamorganshire and he employed two men from Merthyr Tydfil as managers. In 1868 the company advertised for a manager in *The Cambrian*, a Swansea newspaper.

[11] Pooley, "Welsh migration to England" 293.

[12] For more detailed discussion of the Welsh in other areas of Australia see for South Australia, Newman; Ian Auhl, *The Story of the "Monster Mine", The Burra Burra Mine and its Townships 1845-1877* (Burra Burra: District Council of Burra Burra, 1986); for Victoria see Tyler and Bill Jones; for Queensland see W. Ross Johnston, "The Welsh in Queensland", in *Brisbane: The Ethnic Presence since the 1850s* ed. Rod Fisher and Barry Shaw, Brisbane History Group 12, 1993: 7-25.



Map 5.1 Australia, showing places of nineteenth-century Welsh settlement.

The NSW census returns for 1851-71 provide an indication of the nature of Welsh settlement and movement throughout the colony and confirm the importance of the NCMD. Only four Police Districts in 1851 contained more than 20 natives of Wales: Sydney (163), Newcastle (40), Bathurst (27) and Goulburn (22). Of the entire Welsh-born population in NSW, only two counties, Cumberland (204, containing Sydney) and Northumberland (57, containing Newcastle) had more than 50 Welsh-born inhabitants. Of these 63% were male.[13] Because the 1861 and 1871 returns are very similar in the way the statistics were collected and compiled they allow for comparison of census or registry districts. For both censuses, Sydney and Newcastle contain the highest Welsh-born population but there are also other areas of interest:

[13] NSW Census 1851.

Census or Registry District	1861			1871		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Sydney city & shipping	123	73	196	168	91	259
Sydney city and suburbs	**190**	**136**	**326**	**262**	**169**	**431**
Albury – including goldfield	21	7	28	25	8	33
Bathurst - including goldfields	34	15	49	30	5	35
Binalong including goldfields	82	10	92	17	4	21
Braidwood, including goldfields	21	8	29	19	8	27
Carcoar including goldfields	7	1	8	17	8	25
Forbes including goldfields				34	6	40
Goulburn - inc. goldfields & copper mine	20	7	27	29	16	45
Kiama	15	6	21	6	1	7
Mudgee inc. goldfields	6	5	11	49	3	52
Newcastle	**166**	**120**	**286**	**349**	**233**	**582**
Orange inc. copper mine	14	7	21	25	7	32
Sofala including goldfields	20	11	31	3	2	5

Table 5.1 Comparison of numbers and location of Welsh-born population in NSW census or registry districts 1861 and 1871. Source: Census of NSW 1861 and 1871.

The rise and fall of goldfields and other metal working areas is apparent from the changes even in very small numbers. Of the 92 natives of Wales in Binalong in 1861, 87 were located in the Burrangong goldfields. In ten years this population had reduced to 21. The same drop occurred in Sofala but Gulgong goldfields near Mudgee, the Icely Copper Mine near Orange, new goldfields at Carcoar and Forbes may have absorbed some of these numbers. Kiama, a dairying and farming area on the south coast, lost two-thirds of its Welsh population in those ten years. But what is immediately noticeable is that while Sydney's Welsh population grew gradually, Newcastle's almost doubled over these ten years, with a ten-fold increase from 1851. The 1871 census also shows that Welsh migration to Australia was not for the purpose of owning farming land and following rural rather than industrial occupations, despite the focus of the government-assisted immigration programs. Only 24% of Welsh-born inhabitants were settled in purely rural areas with 74% in urban areas or villages and those districts associated with mining and metal-working. Table 5.2 shows the location of the Welsh-born population in NSW in 1871:

Census or Registry District 1871	Nationality Wales - Total	Males	Females
Newcastle & associated districts*°	582	349	233
Sydney City & associated districts	431	262	169
Mudgee*°	52	49	3

Census or Registry District 1871	Nationality Wales - Total	Males	Females
Goulburn*	45	29	16
Forbes*	40	34	6
Bathurst*	35	30	5
Albury*	33	25	8
Orange*	32	25	7
Braidwood*°	27	19	8
Carcoar*°	25	17	8
Parramatta	22	14	8
Young	22	17	5
Binalong°	21	17	4
Tamworth°	20	15	5
Grafton	19	13	6
Armidale°	18	12	6
Richmond River	18	17	1
Yass	17	10	7
Hay	16	14	2
Maitland	16	9	7
Wagga Wagga	16	10	6
Molong*	15	15	0
Bega	14	8	6
Hartley	14	8	6
Cooma°	12	9	3
Tambaroora*°	12	11	1
Deniliquin	11	8	3
Manning River	10	7	3
Menindee	10	9	1
Morpeth	10	10	0
Rylstone	10	6	4
Warialda°	10	8	2
Dubbo	9	4	5
Macleay River	9	5	4
Murrurundi	9	5	4
Penrith	9	7	2
Wollongong	9	6	3
Moama	8	7	1
Moulamein	8	5	3
Patrick's Plains	8	5	3
Ulladulla	8	6	2
Wee Waa	8	6	2
Bombala	7	3	4
Bourke	7	6	1
Cassilis*	7	5	2
Kiama	7	6	1
Wentworth	7	6	1
Berrima	6	2	4
Camden	6	2	4
Liverpool	6	5	1
Tenterfield°	6	2	4
Tumut°	6	4	2
Broulee*	5	4	1
Muswellbrook & Merton	5	3	2
Numdle	5	4	1
Shoalhaven	5	3	2

Census or Registry District 1871	Nationality Wales - Total	Males	Females
Sofala*°	5	3	2
Windsor	5	2	3
Coonabarabran	4	4	0
Gundagai	4	3	1
Inverell	4	2	2
Port Macquarie	4	1	3
Queanbeyan	4	1	3
Ryde	4	1	3
Scone	4	3	1
Wellingrove	4	3	1
Wellington	4	4	0
Dungog	3	1	2
Port Stephens	3	2	1
Balranald	2	2	0
Picton	2	1	1
Walgett	2	1	1
Wollombi	2	2	0
Cowra	1	1	0
Eden	1	0	1
Paterson	1	0	1
Richmond	1	0	1
Tweed River	1	1	0
Brisbane Water	0		
Campbelltown	0		
Clarence Town	0		
McDonald River	0		
Raymond Terrace	0		
TOTAL	**1870**	**1235**	**635**

Table 5.2 Distribution of population in NSW giving Wales as their birthplace in 1871.

* Districts that include goldfields, coalfields or other metal working industries in 1871.
° Districts that included goldfields, coalfields or other metal working industries in 1861.

Note: It is uncertain whether these numbers include those born in Monmouthshire. Source: Census of NSW 1871

Type of Settlement 1871	Males %	Females %	Total %
Municipal town or city, urban area	33	42	36
Village	2	3	2
Rural only	28	18	24
Village or rural including goldfields, coal-mining and copperworks	35	37	36
Shipping	2	0	2
TOTAL	**100**	**100**	**100**

Table 5.3 Settlement of Welsh-born in NSW according to type of settlement. Source: Census of NSW 1871

The 1881 census returns do not list nationality by places of settlement or census districts. However the 1881 Report makes some rather startling observations about

Welsh migration in comparison with other areas of the British Isles between 1871 and 1881.

	Increase in numbers	% increase	Increase in numbers	% increase	% Proportion of British-born to total population
	1861-1871		1871-1881		1871-1881
England	3182	3.78	20,242	23.16	+19.38
Wales	**492**	**35.7**	**1230**	**65.77**	**+30.07**
Scotland	1819	9.98	5038	25.13	+15.15
Ireland	8114	14.79	6249	9.92	-4.87

Table 5.4 Comparative increase and proportions of British-born to total population in NSW 1861-1881. Source: Census of 1881 Report xviii.

While the absolute numbers of Welsh-born Australians are still small, the comparative percentage increases are remarkable, with the Welsh-born increasing at a far greater rate than any other area of the British Isles throughout the period. The report also noted that while the proportion of English, Scotch and Irish-born females to males decreased over the two decades, the Welsh proportion actually increased.[14] This atypicality of the Welsh in comparison with the other areas of the British Isles makes the study of Welsh migration and settlement in Australia all the more important.

The 1901 census gives birthplaces in each Borough and Municipality. This again allows for some comparison between the British-born in the NCMD:

Newcastle Municipality and Suburbs	**England**		**Wales**		**Scotland**		**Ireland**	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Newcastle Municipality	932	551	61	51	265	179	205	205
Adamstown	273	220	19	24	58	60	18	18
Carrington	205	122	5	3	56	44	28	26
Hamilton	445	356	44	26	123	127	61	78
Lambton	273	215	47	43	46	49	25	36
Merewether	479	347	64	61	160	151	28	43
New Lambton	174	136	23	13	46	27	5	19
Plattsburg	148	142	29	24	124	83	25	27
Stockton	177	120	50	36	61	42	24	43
Wallsend	320	273	22	26	89	70	9	22
Waratah	201	154	23	20	31	36	41	53

[14] Census of NSW 1881 Report, *Journal of Legislative Council* 1883-4, vol.36, pt.4, xix.

Wickham	585	423	26	26	95	80	79	96
Shipping	249	6	27	0	137	1	49	1
TOTAL	**4461**	**3065**	**440**	**353**	**1291**	**949**	**597**	**667**

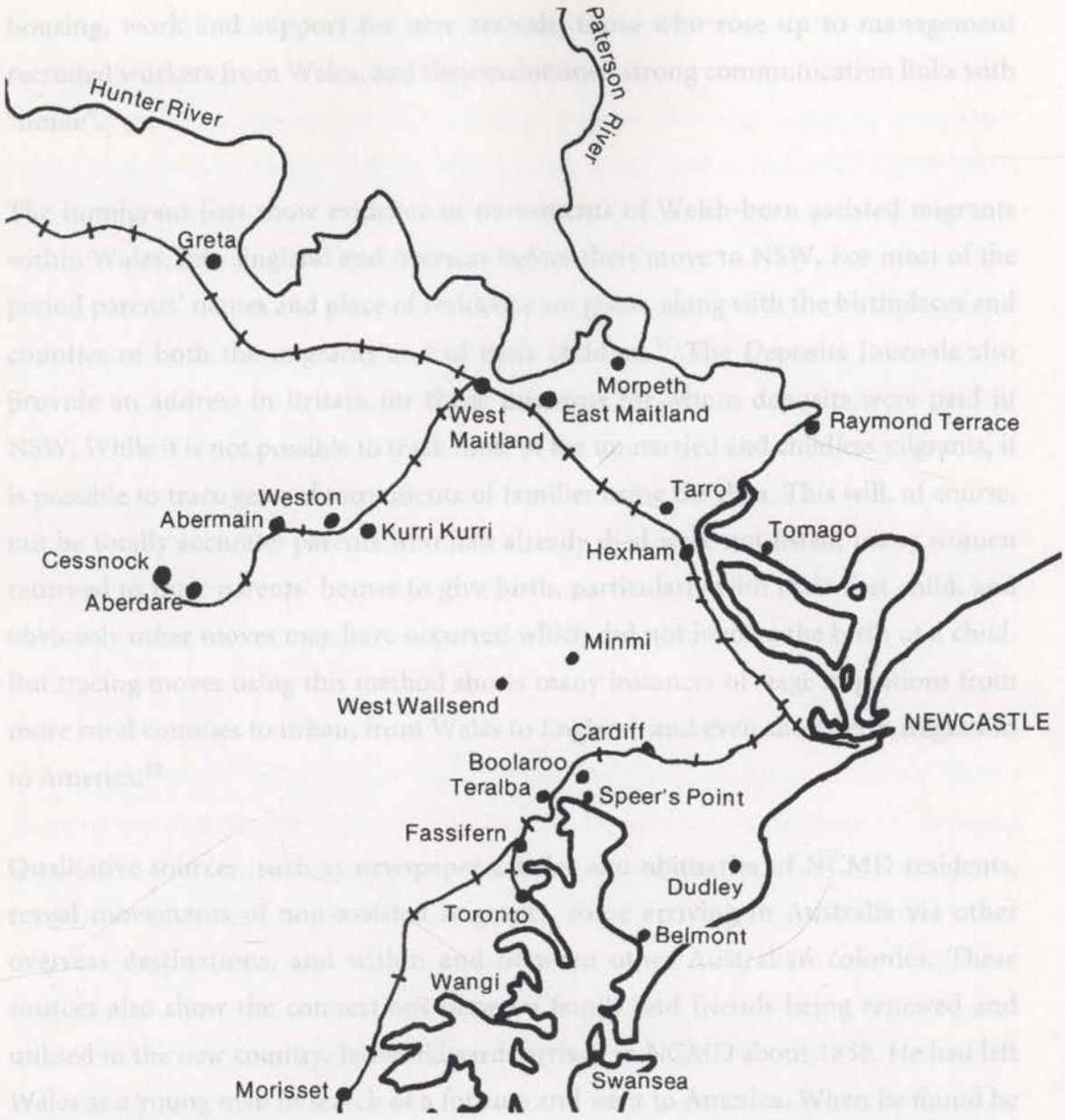
Table 5.5 Number of British born in Newcastle municipality and suburbs 1901. Source: NSW Census 1901.

Again the absolute number of Welsh-born is comparatively small. English-born consistently make up the second largest group (after native-born), with Scots-born following. Many of the original Welsh-born settlers to the area have died by 1901 and the cessation of assisted migration and sponsored passages from the late 1880s meant that these were not replaced by newcomers. Also, many of the original inhabitants had moved further west and interstate seeking work during the 1890s depression and then to Kurri Kurri and Cessnock with the opening up of the South Maitland coalfield.[15]

This will be further explored in Chapter 8.

The census data clearly shows the importance of the NCMD in the study of migration from Wales to NSW. Only there, in the second half of the nineteenth century, with the concentration and continuity of settlement did the Welsh have a distinctive identity and construct a characteristic community. What factors contributed to the development and cohesion of these settlements and how important were these in fostering a sense of identity through community?

[15] Life stories of the Welsh migrants reflect this occupational movement that occurred from the 1890s. With many other Welsh settlers, the Thomas family moved from Wallsend to Kurri Kurri in 1903, others like James Morse and John Evans moved from Wallsend to Western Australian coalfields before returning to the district. The South Maitland coalfield and the BHP steelworks offered new work opportunities in the 1900s. Thomas Davies commented that in 1893 "work was very scarce in the Newcastle district when the smelting works closed down" and he and his brother, with many other Welsh copperworkers went to Cobar where furnaces started operating again in 1893. *NMH* 1 October, 23 November 1932; 6 February, 18 September 1937.



Map 5.2 Newcastle Region 1928. Source: Kenneth Craigie, *Craigie's Towns Map of New South Wales* (Sydney, n.d) [1928] Docherty 7.

There are several important features of Welsh settlement in the NCMD which reflect Merfyn Jones' "characteristic immigrant communities".[16] Stage migration and occupationally-linked migration pathways forged connections between communities in Wales, England and overseas and between Welsh communities in South Australia, Victoria and Queensland. Through chain migration, at times spanning three generations, and utilisation of government migrant sponsorship programs, they created networks based on family, friends, neighbours and workmates. They offered

[16] Merfyn Jones 33.

housing, work and support for new arrivals, those who rose up to management recruited workers from Wales, and they maintained strong communication links with "home".

The immigrant lists show evidence of movements of Welsh-born assisted migrants within Wales, into England and overseas before their move to NSW. For most of the period parents' names and place of residence are given, along with the birthplaces and counties of both the migrants and of their children.[17] The Deposits Journals also provide an address in Britain for those migrants for whom deposits were paid in NSW. While it is not possible to track most of the unmarried and childless migrants, it is possible to trace general movements of families using the data. This will, of course, not be totally accurate: parents who had already died were not listed, many women returned to their parents' homes to give birth, particularly with their first child, and obviously other moves may have occurred which did not involve the birth of a child. But tracing moves using this method shows many instances of stage migrations from more rural counties to urban, from Wales to England, and even short-term migration to America.[18]

Qualitative sources, such as newspaper articles and obituaries of NCMD residents, reveal movements of non-assisted migrants, some arriving in Australia via other overseas destinations, and within and between other Australian colonies. These sources also show the connections between family and friends being renewed and utilised in the new country. James Edwards arrived in NCMD about 1858. He had left Wales as a young man in search of a fortune and went to America. When he found he couldn't get on there, he decided to try Australia and arrived in Melbourne "but as he did not care for that city, moved on to Sydney." Shortly afterwards he arrived in Newcastle, where he met some friends in Merewether, married Margaret Davies in 1860 and stayed, dying in Cardiff (NCMD) in 1911.[19] William Pritchard Roberts, born in Bangor in 1840, was apprenticed to a sea captain at the age of 12 and sailed to South America, China, Java, India and then Van Diemen's Land in 1861. He remained as a mariner in Hobart Town, marrying a Scottish immigrant in 1865. Working as a

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[17] Parents' names, and if alive, their place of residence were given until 1884. Between 1860-62 the BIL are missing and the AIL do not supply details of parentage or give specific native place.

[18] See other examples in Chapters 3 and 4.

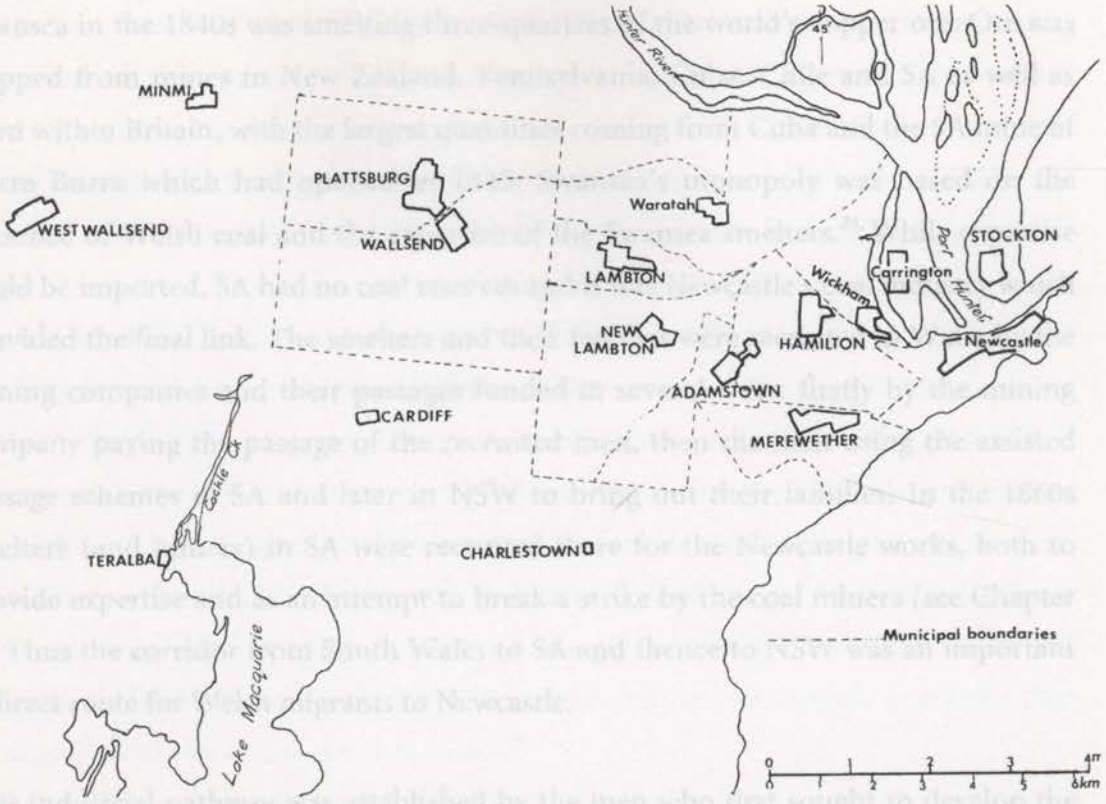
[19] *NMH* 17 September, 1910 and 9 September, 1911.

labourer in 1871, "news of the developing smelting industry in Newcastle prompted the family to move north . . ."[20] Roberts and his family settled in "Bangor Cottage", Mayfield and he worked at the Port Waratah Copper Smelting Company until 1893. John Lewis, born in Builth Wells in 1889, moved from rural to industrial South Wales and worked in coal mines and steelworks until he had saved his steerage fare to New York. He sailed out of Liverpool to New York in 1909 and found employment in a steelworks near Pittsburg. Moving south to another steelworks in Atlanta, Georgia, then back to Pittsburg, he took leave in 1913 and sailed home to Wales. While on the boat he read in a magazine about the new BHP steelworks in Newcastle. He applied for a job and received a cable offering him a position in "a land of opportunity". This was enough for John Lewis to "shake the dust of Builth Wells behind him and to set sail in the *RMS Osterley* for Australia. 'I broke my last tenner to pay the fare from Sydney to Newcastle'". He helped build the steelworks and was shift superintendent of the rolling mills when he retired, remaining in Newcastle until his death.[21]

John Lewis' occupationally-driven migrations are typical of what Yasumoto refers to as niche migration. "Migration of this type tends to take place between certain limited areas where a particular industry was located, irrespective of distance."[22] Creating occupational corridors between places with similar industries, this was an outstanding feature of Yasumoto's study of the Middlesbrough area and he concludes that "there must have been some communication networks between the areas demanding and supplying the labour force and technology." John Lewis certainly took advantage of his acquired skills from Wales to gain employment in both USA and Newcastle as did the coal miners and smelters and there is much evidence of both recruitment in Wales by colonial companies and ongoing exchange of information on employment prospects, good and bad, between Wales and NCMD. Like Van Vugt's colliers, many of the workers who came from Wales to NCMD were heading for a specific destination, even a particular pit or works. They were going to Wallsend, Lambton, Minmi or Burwood, not Newcastle.

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[20] Deirdre Moore, *Little Wales, Stories of Ingall Street, Mayfield, Eisteddfods and Leek Soup* (Newcastle: Bob James, 1997) 15. I am grateful to Julia Joseph for sending me this source.
[21] *NMH* 14 August 1965.
[22] Yasumoto, "Migrants in Middlesbrough" 23-24.



Map 5.3 Areas of settlement in the Newcastle Coalmining District c1891. Adapted from McEwen, "Newcastle Coalmining District" Fig. 1-1.

The Copper Industry and links between Newcastle and South Australia

The already established links between the Welsh copper industry centred around Swansea and the South Australian copperfields from the 1840s created corridors between Glamorganshire and South Australia (SA),[23] lengthening to NSW by the 1860s. In 1850

the Patent Company from Wales had opened a works at Kooringa to serve the Kapunda mine and at the same time other smelters, burning wood and Welsh coal, were being built at Port Adelaide and Kapunda. By the mid-1860s this corridor was extended to Newcastle, NSW. Some earlier Welsh copper workers who had settled in SA moved on to Newcastle; others came directly to Newcastle after being recruited in South Wales or because they had family and community links with those who had already moved from SA.

[23] For example in 1852 the *Swansea and Glamorgan Herald* carried news of an extensive copper-smelting works erected near the Burra Burra mine and another some 20 miles away. *Swansea and Glamorgan Herald* 7 January 1852.

Swansea in the 1840s was smelting three-quarters of the world's copper ore. Ore was shipped from mines in New Zealand, Pennsylvania, Cuba, Chile and SA as well as from within Britain, with the largest quantities coming from Cuba and the SA mine of Burra Burra which had opened in 1845. Swansea's monopoly was based on the presence of Welsh coal and the expertise of the Swansea smelters.[24] While expertise could be imported, SA had no coal reserves and it was Newcastle's coal industry which provided the final link. The smelters and their families were recruited in Wales by the mining companies and their passages funded in several ways: firstly by the mining company paying the passage of the recruited men, then the men using the assisted passage schemes in SA and later in NSW to bring out their families. In the 1860s smelters (and miners) in SA were recruited there for the Newcastle works, both to provide expertise and as an attempt to break a strike by the coal miners (see Chapter 8). Thus the corridor from South Wales to SA and thence to NSW was an important indirect route for Welsh migrants to Newcastle.

This industrial pathway was established by the men who first sought to develop the copper smelting industry in SA and free themselves from the Swansea monopoly. Mauris and John Thomas were smelters who had spent some years in Chile. They were also buying agents of copper ores for Messrs Williams of Swansea. They arrived in SA from Plymouth in 1848 and received funding by the South Australian Company to set up smelters using wood as fuel. A combination of production and refining difficulties, the discovery of gold in Victoria and the resultant exodus of copper miners, and an insolvency action meant that the smelting was not successful. By 1859 Charles and Mauris had built and were managing the Worthing Copper Mining's smelter at Callington, SA. [25]

The earliest smelter in the Newcastle district had been constructed on the Burwood Estate in the late 1840s. A Welshman, Joshua Llywelyn Morgan, arrived about 1850 to complete the works. From 1851 high quality copper ingots were produced and in 1853 the Newcastle Coal and Copper Company (NCCCo) was established "for the purposes

[24] Brown and Turnbull: Part 1: 13; Part II: 8. For more information about Swansea's copper industry also see Grant-Francis; Evans, *The Story of Taibach*; Martin Phillips, "The Copper Industry in the Port Talbot District", *Transactions of the Aberafan and Margam District Historical Society* 6 (1933-34): 91-113; Louise Miskell, "Separate Spheres? Rethinking the History of the Metalliferous Industries in South Wales", *WHR* 21.2 (2002): 249-270.

[25] Fred Thomas, "Establishing Copper Smelting in Australia", *RHS of Queensland Journal* XV.7 (1994): 313-328.

of smelting ores, manufacturing copper and yellow metal and working their existing coal mines."[26] But the company did not smelt any copper after 1853 and until it failed in 1863, confined its activities to coal mining. In the early 1860s Morgan, a Welsh-speaker and directly involved in the developing Welsh-community in the NCMD, was both manager for the NCCCo and Mitchell's Burwood Estate Agent collecting rents.[27]

In 1864 Mauris Thomas arrived in Newcastle from SA to look at the feasibility of smelting at Minmi, near Wallsend. While this scheme never eventuated, Mauris wrote to the Wallaroo Company suggesting they smelt their copper ores at Newcastle. When the company first declined to extend their smelting activities to NSW, Mauris initiated links with Dr James Mitchell, the owner of the former smelting works at Burwood, who eventually offered Mauris the position of manager of the new Burwood Newcastle Smelting Company. According to the Newcastle paper, Mitchell, using coal from his Redhead mine, would smelt imported copper ore in such quantities that Newcastle would be as famous as Swansea.[28]

By the mid-1860s SA copper producers were faced with falling world market prices and in an attempt to reduce costs, the two leading companies opened smelters in Newcastle. Charles Thomas, by 1866 a manager with the Wallaroo Company, moved north from Adelaide to Newcastle in 1867 to manage the proposed Waratah Smelting Works. The English and Australian Copper Company was established at Broadmeadow on J. and A. Brown's New Lambton Estate. John Turner in his 1980 study of manufacturing in Newcastle said

> It is more difficult to comment on the supply of skilled workers. They were originally imported, and for example, the New Lambton works was unable to start in 1871 until "efficient workmen" arrived from Adelaide. In the same period the rapid expansion of the Port Hunter works strained the supply of skilled workers and five furnaces were inoperative for this reason. Once the industry was well established the more skilled grades of labour were probably

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[26] J.W. Turner, *Manufacturing in Newcastle, 1801-1900*, Newcastle History Monographs 8 (Newcastle: Newcastle Public Library, 1980) 36-7. More biographical details of Morgan's life including his arrival date in Australia, have not been confirmed. A Joshua Morgan aged 20, an Agent was living with his father John Morgan, 40, a Blast Furnace Manager, in Cambrian Row, Cwmdu in 1841. 1841 Glamorgan Census Index. See Chapter 8.

[27] Morgan chaired meetings in Welsh at the Welsh Congregational Chapel in the Glebe, speaking of his "attachment to the Welsh people, religion and customs." *NC* 26 April 1862; 17 May 1862. See Chapter 8.

trained on the job though immigration would have been another source of recruitment.[29]

Profiles of migrants indicate that there was recruitment both within the colonies, and also from Wales. Ships bringing copper ore from SA to Newcastle provided an ongoing connection between the two areas, presumably returning with news of family and friends, employment opportunities and pay and working conditions. Charles Thomas managed the Hunter River Copper Works at Port Waratah until his retirement in 1889 and was responsible for bringing Welsh copper workers to Newcastle both from SA and from the Swansea region. William Evans was born in Swansea c1865 and came to SA in 1867 with his parents John and Hannah Evans. His father was one of many Welsh smelters who arrived under engagement to the Wallaroo Copper Smelting Company in SA. After 12 months there, John was transferred to the same company's works at Port Waratah where they were still living in 1901. John worked for the copper company until his retirement.[30]

[28] Turner, *Manufacturing in Newcastle* 69.
[29] Turner, *Manufacturing in Newcastle* 74.
[30] In 1900 he and his wife went for a trip to Wales. *NMH* 26 February 1900.



Image 5.1 Wallaroo Copper Company Smelting Works, Port Waratah 1886. Source: Wilfred James Goold Collection, Hunter Photo Bank, Newcastle Region Public Library.

Thomas Morgan Jones was born in Burra Burra in 1854, two years after his parents emigrated from Wales. At 13 he came by ship to Newcastle where he found work with the Hunter River Copper Smelting Company at Port Waratah.[31] Arthur Gower, born Cwmafan c1829, came to SA c1862-3 working for the Wallaroo Mining Company. He sponsored his wife Mary and four children who arrived in SA in 1864.[32] Eighteen months later he came to Newcastle as Assistant Manager to Charles Thomas and was supervising the Newcastle works in 1876 when he travelled to Sydney to meet the *Star of India* and seven Welsh families "all under engagement to the Hunter River Copper Works Co."[33] These families, all from Cwmafan and Swansea had been recruited in Wales[34] and sailed out to Newcastle with "the security of work and good pay for three

[31] *Newcastle Sun* 21 September 1933.

[32] Passenger Lists SA Shipping Records *"Northumberland"* 1864.

[33] See Chapter 3.

[34] Their recruitment was probably assisted by the state of the copper trade in South Wales. In 1876, only a month after articles in the local press on the depression of the district's staple

years". The article in *Yr Ymwelydd* stressed that their arrival in a foreign country was ameliorated by the fact that "they were known to some and related to others".[35] Charles Thomas and the Wallaroo Company were still recruiting skilled labour in Wales in the 1880s. During a court case involving the manager and a Welsh copperworker Edward Thomas, Charles Thomas mentioned that that twelve men had been engaged in "England" in 1883 by Mr Piper, Agent for the Wallaroo Smelting Company. Edward Thomas said he had been engaged in Swansea.[36] When floods closed the works in 1893 Arthur's son Richard (born c1854 in Cwmafan) moved to SA where he was engaged as a foreman and copper refiner. He returned to Newcastle in 1919.[37]

It is quite likely that Welshmen in prominent positions in the smelting and mining companies like J.L. Morgan and Arthur Gower, were also responsible for indirectly attracting Welsh workers to the Newcastle area and providing employment for them. Lewis Thomas was the foreman at the Adelaide-based English and Australian Copper Smelting Company's Works at Waratah when the first furnace was lit in 1872. "This opening of the smelting works brought a number of Welsh families to the district."[38] A year later he was at the New Lambton Smelting Works. To work both the English and Australian Copper Smelting Works and the HRCCo Smelting Works, "Welsh workmen with their families were brought from Cardiff and Swansea . . . some of these Welshmen acquired land near the Hunter River Smelters and so grew up the settlement known as Calcina Flat."[39]

As well as the copper workers there is evidence from migrant profiles of other staged migrations through SA to Newcastle. Catherine Williams, who was born in Northern Ireland, migrated from Wales to Wallaroo with her husband and then to Newcastle in 1886, "having heard something of Newcastle as being a good working-class area." Her father was an iron works foreman in Wales and her husband worked first in mines in

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trades and the inanimate state of the copper market, another article announced that 321 immigrants who had arrived in Sydney in February, had almost all found work within a week. The *SMH* was quoted: "our public and private works are now at a standstill for want of labour". *Swansea and Glamorgan Herald* 1 March, 8 March, 19 April 1876.

[35] *Yr Ymwelydd* II.7 (Gorphenhaf [July] 1876): 164.

[36] *NMH* 2 April 1885.

[37] *NMH* 16 May 1931.

[38] Newcastle and Hunter District Historical Society 2.1 (1947).

[39] *History of Waratah* (Waratah: Waratah Public School Centenary, 1964) 7.

Wallaroo, then found employed on the Lambton tramline.[40] Llewellyn Davies was born Glamorganshire in 1852 and learned the confectionary trade in Cardiff. After working in America for five years he arrived in SA in 1880 and after two years, moved to Newcastle where he worked as a miner in Gully Pit and at Tighe's Hill for three years before he began manufacturing confectionary in Wickham. He opened a retail business at the markets and in Newcastle and in 1886 he built a factory at Waratah. In 1901 he owned three businesses in Hunter Street, Newcastle.[41] Richard Richards was born in 1844 in Glamorganshire and emigrated to Adelaide in 1852. He spent 15 years in Victoria during the goldrushes and visited New Zealand in 1866-67. He moved to Newcastle and opened a hotel in Minmi in 1877. In 1885 he built the Terminus Hotel in Plattsburg and in 1888 purchased the lease and goodwill of the Oxford Hotel in Hunter St, Newcastle.[42] John and Edward Williams were born in Pwlldu near Blaenafon, Monmouthshire in 1847 and 1855. They moved to Blaenafon, then to SA on a free passage in December 1860. Two years later John and his father found work at Tomago, near Newcastle.[43]

These profiles also indicate the extent of movement of many of the migrants who came indirectly to Newcastle. While the Australian copper industry had begun in SA in the 1840s, from 1871 NSW was beginning to produce large quantities of copper ore and in the decade 1881-1890 outstripped SA in the number of tons produced.[44] William Davies' obituary (see Chapter 3) recorded that he worked throughout NSW during his career, with the Great Cobar (mining began in 1869 and smelting in 1876), Girilambone (1880), English and Australian, and Grafton Copper Companies. His son Thomas also worked in copper smelting works all over the state and also in Burma.[45] Thomas Morgan Jones' parents emigrated from Wales to Burra, South Australia in 1852 where he was born in 1854. He moved to Newcastle at the age of 13 and worked for the HRCCo. at Port Waratah which then employed 200 men. Like William Davies and Richard Gower, Thomas Morgan Jones had to follow the work, moving to

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[40] *NMH* 8 April 1932.
[41] Sargood, Butler, Nichol and Ewen, *1901 Newcastle Directory* 45.
[42] John Turner, comp. *Who Was Who in the Hunter Valley Towns in 1888* (Newcastle: Hunter History Publications, 1984) 29.
[43] See Chapters 3 and 6.
[44] Brown and Turnbull, Part II: 13-18.
[45] *NMH* 9 January 1930.

Tasmania, Queensland, the Gulf Creek Copper mines and Shuttleton in the Cobar district. Eventually he too returned to Newcastle.[46]

As well as SA, other migrants came via Victoria and Queensland. The links between the Victorian goldfields, particularly Ballarat and Bendigo and the NCMD were forged by an ongoing process of stage migration, family and friendship ties as well as religious and cultural ones.

From the Victorian goldfields to Newcastle

The impact of the gold discoveries in both Victoria and NSW was reflected in newspaper reportage in the Welsh and English press, both of the discoveries and of the numbers of workers leaving Wales mainly for Port Phillip in search of their fortunes. The newspapers also record that for many of these, their emigration was of a temporary nature and they returned to Wales either with newfound wealth or empty pockets and cautionary tales to tell.[47] Lewis Lloyd charts the fortunes of many of these "diggers" from Wales.[48] Goldrush migration was largely opportunistic: single men, or married men who left their families behind, each intending to return home once fortunes were made. The history of one village, Cefn Cribwr, near Bridgend, Glamorganshire, reflects this migration:

> It was in the 1850s, too, that another kind of stampede was taking place, that known as the Australian gold-rush. The absence of several heads of household from the 1851 Census can probably be accounted for by their presence in the Antipodes. Edward Mazey of the White Lion was one who went. Dafydd Cross-Inn of Llwynhelyg was another, and he brought back just enough gold to make a pair of earrings for Mary Ann, his eldest daughter . . . His brother-in-law John Matthews . . . also went, and sent money home for his wife, but he died in that land of promise and it was left to her and their toddler son, John, to build a little house with the money. That "little house", the present 75 Cefn Road, is the most conspicuous memorial in the village of that time; but there is another "on Cefn", the cottage known as "Ballarat" . . . built in 1872 by a Morgan Evans, who . . . named the house after the gold-rush

[46] *Newcastle Sun* 21 September 1933.
[47] See Walker, "Two Jobs for Every Man" 105.
[48] Lloyd 144-190.

township . . . which had, presumably, furnished him with the funds to build it.[49]

The history of another young man from Cefn Cribwr who wrote letters home from Ballarat, Melbourne, Daylesford and Guildford in Victoria and from Otago in New Zealand between 1857 and 1890, appears to be typical of many other single Welshmen. Of those who survived their experiences on the goldfields and who did not return home, many found their way ultimately to the Newcastle district. While David did not come to Newcastle, in the absence of such correspondence from NSW, his letters home over 30 years provide a useful insight into the experiences of Welsh single male migrants, their communities in Australia and particularly for their maintaining ongoing links with family in Wales.

A Welsh-speaker, David sailed to Victoria in 1857 aged 21. Immediately he arrived in Ballarat he wrote home, already referring to the "old country" and "old Wales". His second letter in 1857 mentioned returning to Wales and to his family once he had made his fortune, and his letters continued to echo these thoughts as well as responding to his family's repeated requests for him to return. "I would like to stay in this country for it is better for workers . . . I do not care to be disobedient to you in the least but this is my request to stay here a little again". It is also clear from his letters that the company and support of an extended Welsh community of friends and workers helped to make his life in this "strange country for a stranger" a little less difficult. He recorded the network of local men from Cefn who were working with him, those who had returned to Wales and those who had just arrived, as well as some who had died. The news was passed from one to another through the goldfields and through his letters, other miners sent home greetings and news to their families. In late 1861 he was still talking about returning home but early in 1862 his letters were coming from Otago, New Zealand where he was digging with his Welsh friends. He returned to Victoria in September 1863 and waited for the arrival of his brother Thomas from Wales, for whom he had obtained a passage certificate. Thomas did not arrive; his ship was lost at sea. By 1867, ten years after David had left, he recorded that his shame made him reluctant to write to his parents: "I have promised to come home so many times and failing to get the intention to come to pass." Being caught between two worlds appeared to be a common dilemma for the young men who had migrated,

[49] Neville Granville, *Cefn Cribwr: Chronicle of a Village* (Barry: Stewart Williams, 1980) 109.

supposedly temporarily, to make their fortunes in Australia. In 1873 David wrote that David Thomas "was thinking of going home before long, and Edward Davis is also unable to make up his mind to leave the country." David told his family that he did not "want to lose them until I am able to go with them and I am not fit for the journey at the present time." His parents continued to urge his return but David, like his friend Edward Davis, never returned home.[50] Did the migrants to the NCMD suffer the same indecision as to whether to stay in NSW or return? Or was this more a feature of the itinerant and uncertain nature of goldfields' life than of the more settled existence of the coal-mining villages of NSW? Certainly some migrants from Wales, initially attracted to Victoria by the gold discoveries, saw the Newcastle coalfields as providing greater opportunities for settled employment.

That Victorians were attracted to settle in NSW in the decade 1871-81 was noted in the NSW Census Report of 1881. The Report referred to "the large increase in the number of persons born in the Colony of Victoria during the decade." The number had increased by 291%, from 6397 in 1871 to 25,006 in 1881. The movement from NSW to Victoria was 9826 in 1881 and the Report concluded that "this colony has been far more attractive to Victorians during the last decade than Victoria has been to the natives of NSW."[51]

Gwenllian and Griffith Griffith, "attracted by the possibilities of colonial settlement" left Neath for Australia in May 1869 with their infant son and established themselves in Mountain Ash, Sebastopol, Victoria. Gwenllian did not say why they chose to go to Sebastopol in particular, but it is likely that the established Welsh community there was the reason. They worked for three years in the goldmining industry at Ballarat before moving north to Newcastle in July 1872 and settled first in Hamilton, then Greta with Griffith working as a coal miner.[52] Again it can only be speculation that Welsh contacts in the Newcastle region helped them to decide to make yet another migration.[53] Thomas Thomas emigrated from South Wales about 1857 to Victoria

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[50] David Jones, *Letters*, Ballarat 10 Sept 1857; 10 Nov, 1857; 15 June 1859; Daylesford 24 Jan 1867; Guildford May 19 1873. I am grateful to Sara Joynes, Acquisitions Consultant (UK), National Library of Australia, for providing copies of David Jones' letters and to Mrs M. Cook of Ogmore Vale, Mid-Glamorgan for permission to quote from her translations of them.

[51] NSW Census Report 1881, xix.

[52] *NMH* 24 June 1936.

[53] Griffith was the son of Robert Griffith of Garnwen near Maesteg. Two of his brothers, Thomas and John Griffith, emigrated to Shawnee, Ohio, USA. Griffith was blinded in a mining

where he stayed for 17 years before moving to Lambton, near Newcastle about 1874.[54] Esther Arthur, born in South Wales, emigrated with her parents to the Victorian goldfields where her family spent 15 years at the Ballarat diggings. She and her husband William were both active in the formation of the Labour Party and in the trade union movement and they moved with young family from Victoria to Adamstown.[55]

The links between Ballarat and other Welsh-settled areas in Victoria and the Newcastle district appear to have been strong and regularly renewed. The movement north of Welsh migrants, particularly in the 1870s, was recorded in Newcastle newspapers and chapel records. Many of these second stage migrants settled in Wallsend in the 1870s and an area of the town was known as "New Ballarat".[56] One of the links was that created by the peripatetic nature of the Welsh ministry,[57] even more necessary in Australia where the settlements were disbursed and the provision of a Welsh-language ministry much more difficult. The Reverend D.M. Davies of Ballarat not only preached at Wallsend in 1874 but also gave a lecture on the solar system using magic lanterns.[58] The Reverend E.T. Lewis had been ordained at Pontypridd in 1866 before arriving in Victoria and ministering at Forest Creek - Golden Point (Wesley Hill) and then Warnambool. At the end of 1872 he had been a visiting preacher from Castlemaine for a month at Wallsend, the Glebe and Lambton. He was invited by these churches to become their pastor and late in 1873 moved up from Warnambool. Soon after his arrival "many Welsh people came from Victoria and other parts to Wallsend who were members of the Welsh Church in Victoria"[59] and the Welsh Congregational Church in Wallsend was plunged into conflict over which language would be used for services (see Chapter 6). The Reverend John Jones left Lambton to take up the ministry in Warnambool the same year. Another preacher and miner Caleb Jones moved from Victoria to Greta in the Newcastle district in 1874. He

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accident and was unable to work. He died aged 73 in 1910. Gwenllian died in 1936. They were both Welsh-speakers and foundation members of the Cambrian Society and they attended the Welsh Congregational Church at The Glebe. *Y Drych* 3 November 1910; *NMH* 24 June 1936.

[54] *NMH* 13 February 1901.

[55] *NMH* 23 January 1940.

[56] *NMH* 25 May 1885.

[57] Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, *Mid-Victorian Wales, The Observers and the Observed* (Cardiff: UWP 1992) 64.

[58] *Miners Advocate [MA]* 7 Feb 1874.

[59] *MA* 20 Dec 1873.

was one of the subscription agents for the Welsh-language journal published in Victoria, *Yr Ymwelydd*. Some of the Newcastle Welsh, like David Lloyd, had come to NSW from Victoria in search of gold before they found more certain security in Newcastle. David L. Thomas who had been organist at St Paul's, Sebastopol, moved from Ballarat to Wallsend at the beginning of 1875 and formed the Wallsend Choral Union which participated in the local St David's Day concert that year and performed benefit concerts for the local public school and other local causes.[60]

Queensland to Newcastle

Evidence indicates that many of the families and single migrants who first came to Queensland and moved on to Newcastle, were assisted migrants who had taken advantage of the very attractive terms offered by the Queensland government particularly after 1870. The *Newcastle Morning Herald* and many anti-assisted immigration campaigners saw other governments' assistance policies as providing a back door for coal miners into Newcastle once NSW stopped providing assisted passages for miners. "In the Hunter River District at the present at the very lowest estimate there must be between 300 and 400 coal miners whose passages to Australia were paid by the Queensland Government," the newspaper editor claimed in 1885.[61] Immigrant profiles confirm that it is in the late 1870s and 1880s that Welsh immigrants moved from Queensland to Newcastle. In most cases they stayed in Queensland only for a short time before moving south which seems to support the newspaper's claims. Benjamin Williams from Carnarvon (sic), South Wales arrived in Queensland in 1878 but moved to Lambton early in 1879 and was employed as a miner at the Wallsend Colliery.[62] Ann and Matthew Jones left the Rhondda Valley for Brisbane and after only a short stay, moved to Newcastle in 1879 settling first in Minmi, then Wallsend.[63] T. Lewis was born in South Wales c1854. He "landed in Queensland when a young man, but brighter prospects in this State attracted him, and he settled in Wallsend" about 1883 where he worked as a miner.[64] William John Morgan was born in Panteg near Pontypool Monmouthshire. In 1881 he was working as a coal miner in Blaenafon before he left Wales for Queensland about 1883. He went

[60] *MA* 20 January, 20 February, 6 March, 14 August, 18 September 1875.
[61] *NMH* 4 June 1885.
[62] *NMH* 5 December 1905.
[63] *NMH* 14 December 1928.
[64] *NMH* 6 November 1928.

to Rockhampton where he worked for a year with a government surveyor but preferring mining, he moved south to Minmi in 1884 and the following year, to Merewether.[65]

Evidence points to the importance of the growing coal industry in attracting people to settle in the Newcastle district, whether from Wales or indirectly from other parts of Australia. When Thomas Rees Davies arrived in Sydney in 1886 at the age of 20 he had at first thought his certificate of proficiency in shorthand from a college in Swansea would provide him with employment opportunities. But his initial experience in Australia was disheartening, spending his first night ashore on a Sydney wharf, with the "blue sky for a blanket." His original idea had been to join a cousin in Queensland but when he found no other avenues open, he "pluckily tackled coalmining", going to Wallsend Colliery.[66] The random nature of many young single men's migrations is also illustrated by James Edwards (mentioned above) and Timothy Griffiths who was born in Cardigan Bay in 1848. When Griffiths left Wales in 1885 with two Welsh friends, their destination was "Australia" until a shipboard conversation with a man who was making another trip out from the Old Country to Newcastle where he was in business as a shipping agent. "He advised the young men to come to Newcastle, which was spoken of as a great coalmining place, where there was busy shipping. This good advice they followed . . ."[67]

The migrants who arrived in the NCMD from Wales brought with them a pre-existing network established through stages of migration within Wales, from Wales into England and even overseas. The occupational nature of much Welsh migration both benefited from, and created employment networks which linked communities within Wales and England and in countries such as USA and Australia. These communities were further strengthened by an extraordinary process of chain migration, already explored for some areas in Chapter 3, where families and individuals sponsored relatives, friends and workmates to follow them to NSW.

The NSW Deposits Journals and Immigrant Lists provide information about the presence of relatives and friends in NSW and other colonies. In Table 5.6 the

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[65] *NMH* 27 October 1951 and Census of E&W 11/5237.
[66] *NMH* 6 June 1935.
[67] *NMH* 14 March 1931.

Newcastle district stands out with almost 50% of the relatives and friends of assisted immigrants being located within the NCMD. Settlement trends related to occupational settlement are also shown. The connection with Tomago, north across the Hunter River from the town of Newcastle, reflects the development of a colliery there in the latter part of the 1850s. Although there were only five Welsh-born people recorded in the village of Tomago in 1861, as has been shown in Chapters 3 and 4, there was a short-term corridor between Cwmdu and Maesteg, Glamorganshire and Tomago in the early 1860s. The Tomago Company failed in the mid-1860s and by the 1871 census there were no Welsh-born living there. The Waratah numbers also reflect the establishment of the Wallaroo Company's Port Waratah copper smelter. The first ore was refined in 1868, additional furnaces were announced in 1871 and the jetty was extended in late 1872. Twenty-two furnaces were in use by 1885.[68] There were Welsh communities established in Lambton and Wallsend from the 1870s and many of the relatives and friends located in "Newcastle" may actually have been located in the colliery villages.

PLACE	1850-1859	1860-1869	1870-1879	1880-1897	TOTAL
Greta				17	17
Hamilton			1	4	5
Lambton			26	27	53
Minmi		17	1	6	24
Newcastle	75	48	80	100	303
Tomago		24	0	0	24
Wallsend		5	22	19	46
Waratah		2	19	7	28
NCMD	**75**	**96**	**149**	**180**	**500**
Maitland & Outer Hunter	9	4	8	2	23
Sydney	46	26	46	154	272
Parramatta, Penrith & Windsor	4	1	4	19	28
Liverpool & Camden	11	2	0	14	27
Wollongong & district	2	0	3	24	29
Lithgow & district			2	24	26
Bathurst & district	11	1	9	8	29
Goulburn & district	22	0	0	1	23
South Coast	5	0	3	4	12
Northern Rivers			3	2	5
Far West				9	9
South West	3	0	5	8	16

[68] Turner, *Manufacturing in Newcastle* 76.

PLACE	1850-1859	1860-1869	1870-1879	1880-1897	TOTAL
New England	1	4	1	7	13
Central Coast	1	0	0	0	1
Southern Highlands		6	3	0	9
Forbes & district		1	0	1	2
Orange & district	2	0	1	3	6
NSW TOTAL	**192**	**141**	**237**	**460**	**1030**
Port Phillip / Victoria	3	1	2	1	7
South Australia	3	0	0	0	3
Moreton Bay / Queensland	10	0	0	0	10
Unidentified	18	14	7	30	69

Table 5.6 Location of relatives and friends of assisted migrants from Wales to NSW 1850-1897. Source: Immigration Deposits Journals and Board's and Agents' Immigrant Lists.

All the evidence indicates that the Welsh in the NCMD used government assistance to re-establish networks from the "old country" in the new. The case studies of chain migration of families and communities to NCMD from Garnddyrys, Pwlldu and Blaenafon in Monmouthshire and Maesteg and the Llynfi Valley and Cwmafan in Glamorganshire and other family case studies like the Griffiths/Humphreys family from Rhymney explored in Chapters 3 and 4, show that families, friends, neighbours and workmates re-connected in similar communities. With the links of kinship, occupation, birthplace, language and culture the migrants from Wales found a distinctive place where they could recreate familiar structures from the old world both physical and social and also strive for new "ideal" structures in the "transplanted immigrant culture"[69] of NCMD.

The following chapters will examine the identity of the Welsh community through language, cultural and working life and ascertain to what extent Jones' view that "in the second and third generations, they grappled with the strain of living in two cultures, a strain which forced many into rapid assimilation, and few into a greater consciousness of Welsh citizenship than was common in Wales itself"[70] is also true of the NCMD.

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[69] Docherty, thesis 25.

[70] Merfyn Jones 33.

CHAPTER 6

Language and Identity

"Buasai yn syndod i lawer o ieuenctyd Australia glywed eu hiaith, yn enwedig y plant."[1]

Yr Ymwelydd 1876

When the copper-smelters and their families disembarked from the *Star of India* in Sydney on 16 June, 1876, their Welsh language, and particularly the children's, was cause for comment. These families travelled onto Waratah, in the NCMD where they joined an already established Welsh community with familiar institutions that would seem to support the use and continuity of the Welsh language. They also became part of a wider "British" and overwhelmingly English-speaking community with similar religious affiliations, labour concerns and attitudes to advancement. This chapter explores the identity of the Welsh in the NCMD through their language, its continuity and loss, and considers this in comparison to parallel events in Wales and other Welsh migrant settlements.

In a study of Welsh migration and settlement in the nineteenth century, and of Welsh identity in a migration context, consideration of language issues is vital. The majority of Welsh people spoke Welsh or were bilingual well into the second half of the century.[2] The language was, and still is, "a core value of Welsh culture and an important marker of Welsh identity."[3] A colonial Welshman expressed this poignantly in 1868: "If we lose our language what will we have to differentiate us from the English?"[4] Hughes' thesis argues for the "particular cultural distinction of the Welsh, based on their success, relative to the Scots and the Irish, in the maintenance of their ethnic tongue."[5] Tyler also points to the importance of the language,

> seen as the ultimate badge of nationhood and an integral and indispensable facet of Welsh nationality. The strength and significance of the language is

[1] "It was astonishing to many young Australians to hear their language, especially the children," *Yr Ymwelydd* II.7 (Gorphennaf [July] 1876): 164.
[2] Jenkins, introduction, *Language and Community* 1-20.
[3] Hughes ix.
[4] Robert Miles, *Yr Australydd* (Medi [September] 1868): 344-5, quoted in Tyler 94-5.

> central to any understanding of the Welsh immigrant experience for, alone among the Celtic languages, Welsh held sway over the vast majority of people during the period of the great migrations of the mid-nineteenth century.[6]

There has been, until very recently, little research into nineteenth-century language use in Australia. This is particularly the case with the languages of Britain and Ireland, including Welsh. Cliff Cumming noted in his discussion of the survival of Gaelic that the paucity of research into nineteenth-century cultural landscapes "has had a cumulative effect, leading to the acceptance, especially by historians, that a Gaelic culture and its manifestations, such as spoken language and written records, barely existed in Australia."[7] This acceptance leads to statements such as this from Donald Horne in 1995:

> by the time people were coming to Australia from the British and Irish Isles, Cornwall had gone: Scottish Gaelic had never been spoken in the Lowlands where most Scots lived . . . and it had largely been driven out of the Highlands; the Irish were turning away from their Gaelic: Welsh language was strong but English was growing stronger . . . a majority of [the people who came to Australia] spoke English[8]

and Philip Payton's generalisation that with the Cornish, Lowland Scots and Ulster Protestants, the Welsh were "overwhelmingly English-speaking . . ."[9] Payton repeated this view in his most recent publication, again putting the Welsh linguistically in the same grouping as the Cornish, Lowland Scots and Ulster Protestants and distinguishing them from the Irish and Highlanders.[10] While this may be appropriate in terms of apparent acceptance into Australian society, these generalisations do not acknowledge the essential linguistic differences between the monolingual Cornish, Ulster Protestants and Lowland Scots and the largely bilingual Welsh. It is not possible to argue with the view that the majority of people who came to Australia spoke English, but what these assertions do is ignore the fact that for many migrants to

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[5] Hughes ix.
[6] Tyler 69.
[7] Cliff Cumming, "'In the Language of Ossian': Gaelic Survival in Australia and New Zealand - A Comparison," *Australian Studies* 12.2 (1997): 118.
[8] Donald Horne, "The Great Celtic Con Job," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 September 1995.
[9] Philip Payton, "Reinventing Celtic Australia: Notions of Celtic Identity From the Colonial Period to the Era of Multi-Culturalism," *Australian Studies* 12.2 (1997): 85.

Australia in the nineteenth century, the language of preference, of home and community, was not English.

The inference that "English-speaking" meant "not other language-speaking" is problematic in histories of nineteenth-century migration, many of which ignore language altogether. Yet not only is language an integral part of cultural landscapes, it is also an important indicator of change in a migrant community. In his early study of the Welsh community of Utica, New York State, Emrys Jones not only stresses the importance of considering language as a marker of cultural change, but also the pitfalls in studying a mostly bilingual group:

> Language is one of the most important elements in the cultural heritage, not only as a means of communication and expression, but for its close association with certain institutions. In the Welsh-speaking population, among native-born immigrants, the significance of the language can easily be underestimated because of the ability of the majority to speak English fluently, and to read and write English. This bilingualism can be deceptive. Those individuals who speak English very often think in Welsh, and Welsh remains the indispensable medium for expressing purely Welsh cultural values.[11]

Within the last decade, scholars have become interested in the existence of languages other than English, in nineteenth-century Australia. Discovery, often in local collections, of newspapers and journals in other languages, and projects to uncover evidence of other language use,[12] has increased awareness that languages other than English could be a feature of colonial migrant communities.[13] Some studies mention that Welsh migrants spoke their own language, but have not explored this further.[14] The *Atlas of Languages of Intercultural Communication in the Pacific, Asia and the*

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[10] Philip Payton, "Re-inventing Celtic Australia", *New Directions in Celtic Studies* ed. Amy Hale and Philip Payton (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000) 118.
[11] Emrys Jones 16-17.
[12] Cumming 104-122; Geraint Evans, "Welsh Publishing in Australia"; John Graham and Alasdair Taylor, "Scottish Gaelic Publishing in Australia"; Greg Byrne, "Irish Publishing in Australia", *Biblionews and Australian Notes and Queries* (December 1993): 105-126; "Archive of Celtic-Language Documents Relating to Australia" project, Centre for Celtic Studies, Sydney University, 1995. The project was funded by Ethnic Affairs Commission of NSW.
[13] One of the pioneering works in this regard was the first edition of Jupp, *The Australian People* 62.
[14] See for example Ellen McEwen, "The Newcastle Coalmining District," PhD thesis, U of Sydney, 1980: 14-15 and James Jupp, *Immigration* (Sydney: SUP, 1991) 35-36.

Americas, published in 1996, presents a brief analysis of the existence of languages other than English in nineteenth-century Australia. Recognising a *"laissez-faire* linguistic pluralism" in some of the colonies, Clyne acknowledges the tension that existed from the first white settlement between monolingualism and multilingualism.[15]

> By the 1860s, a number of immigrant languages other than English had been transplanted to Australia - to the goldfields, the cities, some of which were multilingual, and to more enclosed rural settlements in which a language other than English predominated. The main languages . . . were (in order) probably Irish, Chinese, German, Gaelic, Welsh, French, the Scandinavian languages, and Italian.[16]

Importantly, Clyne stresses that many migrants "had a Celtic language as their first language" and that "there was also a significant number of bilinguals born in Australia". However, while he refers to evidence for the use of these languages, such as the Victorian Welsh-language journals, the scarcity of available sources and published studies on nineteenth-century language use, restricts much of his discussion to the much-better documented rural German communities,[17] where "German was the main language of the entire community, English being used chiefly for contact with officialdom and the 'outside world'".[18] Clyne mentions the importance of cultural and social infrastructure, religion and continuing flows of new migrants in language maintenance and transmission. Between 1871 and 1891 "German was by far the most widely used language other than English" and in some enclaves there were third generation bilinguals. By 1891 "sermons were preached in Welsh in about 17 churches in Victoria alone" but Clyne notes that Irish and Gaelic speakers had largely shifted to English. He explains the loss of transmission on the dispersal of settlements following the goldrushes, on intermarriage between English and non-English-speaking men and

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[15] Michael Clyne, "General Remarks on Australia", *Atlas of Languages of Intercultural Communication in the Pacific, Asia and the Americas* Vol. II.I, eds. Stephen A. Wurm, Peter Mühlhausler, Darrell T. Tryon (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1996): 1.

[16] Clyne 1.

[17] The experiences of German settlers and their use of language has been documented in publications such as Johannes H. Voigt, ed., *New Beginnings, The Germans in New South Wales and Queensland, A Commemorative Volume* (Stuttgart: Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations, 1983); Charles Meyer, *A History of Germans in Australia 1839-1945* (Melbourne: Monash University, 1990); Patricia Cloos and Jurgen Tampke, eds., *'Greetings from the Land where Milk and Honey Flows'. The German Emigration to NSW 1838-1858* (Canberra: Southern Highlands Publishers, 1993).

women and on the "free, compulsory, and 'homogenizing' education" introduced as a result of the Education Acts passed between 1872 and 1893.[19] The two maps accompanying Clyne's text, "Distribution of Languages other than English in Australia" show the location of Welsh-speakers in 1861-71 as Newcastle and Greta (part of NCMD) in NSW, the goldfields, Maldon, Daylesford, Snake Valley and Cambrian Hill in Victoria and Burra and Moonta in SA. On the 1891 map, the Welsh-speakers are concentrated only in Newcastle, NSW and Moonta in South Australia.[20]

The recent doctoral theses of both Hughes and Tyler explore the multilingual nature of nineteenth-century Australia in relation to the Welsh in localised areas of SA and Victoria. Clyne's point that "English was used chiefly for contact with officialdom and the 'outside world'" is possibly also true for the much poorer-documented languages such as Welsh. Tyler says that "the extent to which the language was spoken amongst the Welsh migrants who arrived in Ballarat and Sebastopol . . . is open to a certain amount of conjecture."[21] Nowhere in the English-speaking world of nineteenth-century NSW did anyone officially record the diversity of languages spoken. With the exception of aboriginal "dialects" and Chinese, official records and most histories take for granted that everyone spoke English. This is not surprising given that the numbers who spoke Welsh in Wales were not officially recorded until the 1891 census. Tyler refers to British census reports and contemporary estimates of language use as the basis for "reasonable assumptions to be made" about the migrants' language use, with anecdotal evidence and most importantly, the Welsh-language periodicals published in Victoria, as the most valuable source.[22] More recently, significant work on the history of the language in the nineteenth century has been published in multiple volumes in Wales,[23] providing reliable information on the state of the language in counties of origin and enabling some contextual comparison between the use, retention and transmission of the language in Wales and NSW.

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[18] Clyne 1-2.
[19] Clyne 3.
[20] Stephen A. Wurm, Peter Mühlhausler, Darrell T. Tryon, eds. *Atlas of Languages of Intercultural Communication in the Pacific, Asia and the Americas* Vol.I (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1996) Maps 1 and 2.
[21] Tyler 69.
[22] Tyler 69-70. Tyler's analysis of language use, retention and transmission relies heavily on the two journals *Yr Australydd*, published 1 July 1866 -Sept 1872 in Ballarat and then Melbourne and *Yr Ymwelydd* published 1 Oct 1874 - 12 Dec 1876 in Melbourne. Unfortunately no such journals appear to have been published in NSW.
[23] G. Jenkins, *A Social History of the Welsh Language* (Cardiff: UWP, 1998-2000).

COUNTY	% Welsh-born assisted immigrants to NSW 1850-1890[a]	% speaking Welsh in Wales 1891[b]
Anglesey	2.4	95.5
Merioneth	2.0	94.2
Cardigan	2.7	92.2
Caernarfon	4.8	89.5
Carmarthen	4.1	89.5
Flint	3.9	68.0
Denbigh	5.1	65.5
Montgomery	4.3	50.5
Glamorgan	31.1	49.5
Brecon	4.5	38.0
Pembroke	4.0	32.0
Monmouth	25.9	15.0
Radnor	1.8	6.0
South Wales	0.7	
North Wales	1.4	
Wales	0.8	
Born on voyage	0.5	
TOTAL	**100.0**	
Absolute Numbers	2517	

Table 6.1 Comparison of the origin of assisted migrants from Wales to NSW 1850-1890 and percentage speaking Welsh in each county 1891.

Notes:

a. Extracted from Walker, NSW Board and Agents' Immigration Lists 1850-1890.
b. Robert Owen Jones, "The Sociolinguistics of Welsh" in *The Celtic Languages*, Martin Ball and James Fife, ed., (London: Routledge, 1993) 545 as quoted in Tyler 70.

In establishing the possible extent of monolingualism and bilingualism among the Welsh migrants to NSW, their origins and pre-emigration movements are extremely relevant. Sixteen percent of the assisted migrants came from counties which, in 1891, still had between 95.5 and 89.5% of the population speaking Welsh. If Glamorganshire is included, 60% of these migrants came from counties that had 50% or more of the population speaking Welsh in 1891. Given that nearly all of the assisted migrants arrived well before 1891, it is very likely that this is a conservative estimate. Tyler notes the consensus of 78% Welsh-speaking in the middle of the century[24] and concludes that "as late as the 1850s, when the great migrations from Wales to Victoria commenced, the vast majority of those born in Wales would have been Welsh-speaking."[25]

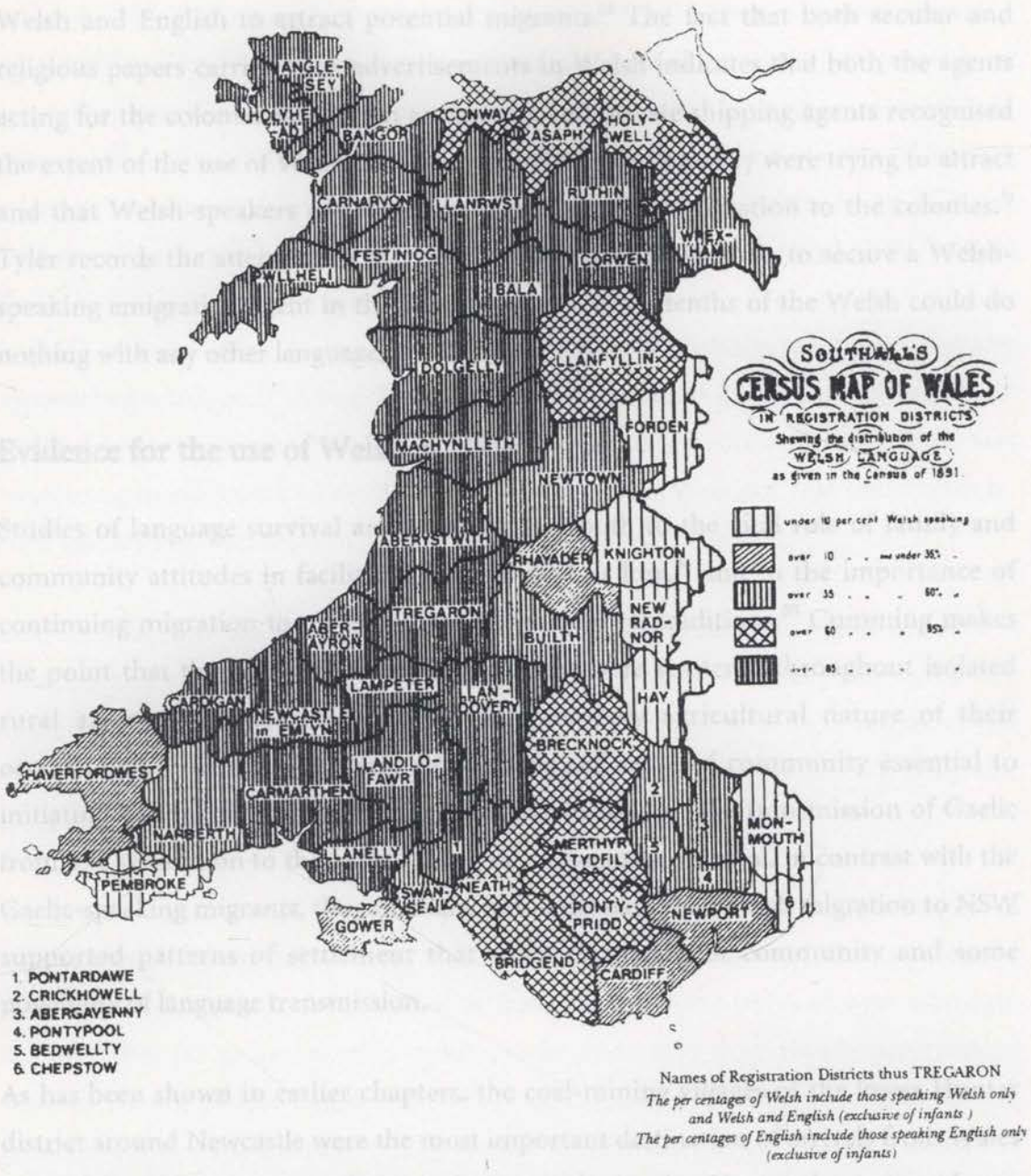
[24] Janet Davies, *The Welsh Language*, 36-37 quoted in Tyler 70-71.
[25] Tyler 71.

According to Tyler, 58.3% of Welsh-born in Ballarat and Sebastopol originated in Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire. Fifty seven percent of assisted migrants from Wales to NSW also came from those two counties. But as Tyler points out, this does not mean that the majority of Welsh who emigrated were necessarily more anglicised. While some areas of these counties were becoming extremely anglicised in the later nineteenth century, other areas were still very much Welsh-speaking.[26] Most of the assisted migrants from Monmouthshire to NSW came from the most Welsh-speaking areas to the west of the county such as Blaenafon and Bedwellty, which even in 1891 had between 35% and 60% of the population Welsh-speaking. The more easterly areas of the county such as Monmouth and Chepstow had less than 10%.[27] Glamorganshire, too was very much divided in terms of language. The upper valley areas, from which the bulk of the assisted migrants came, were 90% Welsh-speaking in 1850,[28] and between 60-85% in 1891. Pontardawe Registration District, from which the Cwmafan copper-smelting families came, was over 85% Welsh-speaking in 1891.[29]

Map 6.1 shows that the areas from which they emigrated were in the process of becoming bilingual, or had become bilingual, over the nineteenth century. Of course, those born in Wales who then moved into England before travelling overseas would be more likely to have fluency in English than those who emigrated directly from Wales. Also those born in Wales of English or Irish-born parents would also be unlikely to be Welsh-speaking. It is possible, then, unless there is evidence to the contrary, to claim that at least 50% and probably more, of the migrants who emigrated directly from Wales were bilingual, or even monoglot, when they arrived in NSW.

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[26] Sian Rhiannon Williams, "Welsh in the Valleys of Gwent," *Planet* 51 (1985): 112-118.
[27] Gwynfor Evans, "Lessons for the Language," *Radical Wales* 9 (Winter, 1985): 13 quoted in A.F. Hughes 80.
[28] E.G. Lewis, "Language Contact in the USSR and Wales," *Planet* 20, 53-5 quoted in Tyler 72.
[29] Gwynfor Evans 13.



Map 6.1 Southall's Map of Wales showing the distribution of the Welsh language according to the 1891 census. Source: Gwynfor Evans, "Lessons for the Language", *Radical Wales* 9 (Winter 1985): 13. J.E. Southall published two books on the Welsh language census of 1891 and 1901. Quoted from Tyler 80.

There were Welsh-language guides for people considering emigration to Australia[30] and contemporary newspapers in Wales carried advertisements and articles in both

[30] Two examples are *Awstralia A'r Cloddfeydd Aur*, John Williams (Dinbych: Thomas Gee, 1852) and *Gwlad Yr Aur neu Gydymaith Yr Ymfudwr Cymreig i Australia*, D. ap G. ap Huw, Feddyg, (Caernarfon: H. Humphreys, 1854). I am grateful to Dr Bill Jones for providing copies of these.

Welsh and English to attract potential migrants.[31] The fact that both secular and religious papers carried such advertisements in Welsh indicates that both the agents acting for the colonial emigration authorities and private shipping agents recognised the extent of the use of Welsh amongst the working people they were trying to attract and that Welsh-speakers could be induced to consider migration to the colonies.[32] Tyler records the attempts by the Welsh community in Victoria to secure a Welsh-speaking emigration agent in the 1850s because "seven tenths of the Welsh could do nothing with any other language."[33]

Evidence for the use of Welsh in NSW

Studies of language survival and change point both to the vital role of family and community attitudes in facilitating the survival or loss,[34] and to the importance of continuing migration to replenish and revive cultural traditions.[35] Cumming makes the point that the Gaelic-speaking Highlanders were scattered throughout isolated rural areas of the colonies due to the essentially agricultural nature of their occupations. This made difficult establishing the sense of community essential to initiating and maintaining structures that would support the transmission of Gaelic from one generation to the next.[36] In terms of language survival, in contrast with the Gaelic-speaking migrants, the essentially industrial nature of Welsh migration to NSW supported patterns of settlement that aided formation of community and some possibility of language transmission.

As has been shown in earlier chapters, the coal-mining villages of the lower Hunter district around Newcastle were the most important destination of arrivals from Wales and while many went to Sydney, it was only in the Newcastle region that a recognisable and continuing Welsh community can be identified in nineteenth-

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[31] See for example *Y Dysgedydd* (1852): 317-8; *Y Drysorfa* (1857, 1858); *Seren Cymru* 10 July, 30 Oct 1858, 25 June, 1859; *Y Gwladgarwr* 7 and 14 June 1862; *Workman's Advocate* 28 May 1875; *Tarian y Gweithiwr* 12 March -19 November 1875.

[32] For a more detailed exploration of sources of information available in Wales to potential migrants see Walker, "'Two Jobs for Every Man'" 99-118.

[33] Tyler 76-77.

[34] See David Crystal, *Language Death* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000); Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, "Towards a Social History of the Welsh Language," *Sir Thomas Parry Williams Memorial Lecture 1993* (Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, Aberyswyth, 1995) 2-22 and Cumming 104-122.

[35] Emrys Jones 29, 34, 40.

[36] Cumming 107.

century NSW. Factors such as extensive chain and family group migration recreated extended families over two or three generations. The highest level of sponsorship of assisted immigrants from Wales originated in the NCMD, resulting in reconstituted communities of neighbours, relatives and workmates. The highest number of assisted migrants' nominated friends and relatives in the colony were located in NCMD and established pathways between localities in industrial South Wales and NCMD made the Welsh-born six times more common than in the rest of the colony.[37] Finally NCMD was the only locality where the ratio of Welsh-born males and females approached a balance.[38] All of these factors contributed to a settlement pattern that could foster language maintenance and transmission. In addition there was continuing in-migration to the district from Wales and other colonial settlements by both assisted and non-assisted migrants until the 1890s.[39]

Despite this, evidence of language use remains scarce. Unlike the Welsh in parts of America and even in Victoria, the NSW Welsh appear not to have attempted any ethno-specific and/or Welsh-language journals. So is it possible to ascertain the extent of language use, maintenance and survival in a community that is long gone and which has left little community-specific traces?

An archaeological metaphor may be particularly appropriate in the search for spoken language use in nineteenth-century NSW where that which is sought after cannot have survived. The excavation of a hidden or lost language from layers of over a century requires that far more complex questions be addressed than simply ascertaining whether or not people could and did speak English. Archaeological investigation pieces together what has survived by chance to infer the existence of that which has since decayed and become lost. In some rare instances, the context in which an artefact or object lies embedded somehow preserves what would otherwise have disappeared. In the published word, on gravestones, and in the very few personal documents that remain, it is possible to locate the faint but unmistakable imprints of

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[37] J.C. Docherty, *Newcastle, The Making of an Australian City* (Sydney: Hale & Ironmonger, 1983) 15.

[38] See Chapter 2.

[39] Migration from Wales to the NCMD began again in the early twentieth century and post-World War 2. While outside the scope of this thesis, there is evidence that the new arrivals, many of whom were Welsh-speaking, replenished and continued Welsh cultural and religious life, particularly in Kurri Kurri and the South Maitlands coalfield.

the spoken word, the language of hearth and community, the "soft tissue" left behind on the official record.

Occasional incidents that, for various reasons, were recorded indicate, firstly, that the assumption that everyone could speak English may have been a great oversimplification. Secondly, there is a big difference between being familiar with survival English and being functionally literate in English. Thirdly, while many migrants may have been able to conduct their day-to-day affairs in English, evidence shows that many preferred to speak the language of their homeland and sought out opportunities to do so.

A "Welsh soiree" in Sydney for St David's Day in 1859 captures something of the range of migrants' language use. Most of the proceedings were bilingual with Welsh always preceding English. Thomas Charles, Esq. MD, presided, saying that

> in addition to the circumstance of his having been born in Wales, it so happened that he spoke both English and Welsh, which might not be without some special use, as he doubted not, but that there were in the meeting some who understanding but one of these tongues were but imperfectly familiar with the other.[40]

The pastor of the Welsh congregation, Rev. John Roberts, addressed the gathering in both languages, acknowledging the Rev. Dr Lang's assistance in making available a temporary place of worship for the Welsh residents of Sydney,[41] "more conversant with their native language than with English" so that they could have two Welsh services every Sunday. David Jones, MLC also addressed the meeting in both languages, urging his countrymen to attend worship every Sunday, even if "the service available for them should not happen to be in that language with which they were most thoroughly familiar". That David Jones, a native Welsh-speaker, considered his first language expendable is clear from his biographical details.[42] A Welsh labourer from Glebe, John Thomas Roberts, gave a speech in Welsh

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[40] *SMH* 2 March 1859.

[41] An advertisement for the meeting in the *SMH* on 26 February 1859 shows that the "Welsh Protestant Congregation" held the meeting in "their chapel, Jamison Street" and that the proceeds were to support the "Sydney Welsh Christian Mission, the Object of which is the preaching of the gospel to the Welsh-speaking natives . . . who are located in Sydney".

[42] David Jones, founder of David Jones Ltd of Australia, migrated to Sydney in 1834 and died there in 1873. Born in Carmarthenshire, he spoke Welsh as did his first wife, Betsy who died

> and it was understood that the speaker was not able to express himself with any degree of fluency in English . . . It was a matter of necessity in his and similar cases, that those who were so situated should have the gospel preached to them in their mother tongue.

Rev. Dr Lang "urged the utility and importance of Divine Service in the Welsh language, arguing its necessity on the same grounds as those applicable to the provision for Gaelic service in the Highlands of Scotland." Theophilus Griffiths, a Welsh quarryman, Mr Jones, a Welsh mechanic and Alderman James Murphy, "a native of Wales", spoke to the meeting in one or both of the two languages. The meeting broke up "with many an interchange of friendly greeting both in English and Cymry (sic)."[43] This report well illustrates both the monolingualism and bilingualism of many of the colony's Welsh, the general acceptance of the need for Welsh-medium services in Sydney and the attitudes of the Welsh to their language. Unlike the NCMD, Sydney did not manage to support a dedicated Welsh Church until well into the twentieth century, although "there were a great number of Welsh people in Sydney who did not understand English sufficiently well to derive benefit from the sermons preached by English ministers."[44]

Some migrants were identifiably monoglot and, as in parts of Wales at the same time, this was perceived by commentators to be a great disadvantage. In 1875 a destitute migrant Ellis Roberts physically assaulted, then deserted his wife. The Greta correspondent commented that "the poor woman, in addition to her other miseries, can speak hardly any English."[45] In a court case in Newcastle, NSW in 1861, Ann Hopkins and five others were charged with obstructing and assaulting the police. A policeman testified that Mrs Hopkins "came along the tramway . . . drumming with a pan about Captain Sinclair's ears; I told her to go away, and not molest the men; . . .

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in 1826. By the 1820s Jones was working in London where he met and married his second wife Jane, an Englishwoman. His family details were recorded in his Welsh bible, but it appears that Jones gave up his Welsh, remaining with the English-speaking Pitt St Congregational Church in Sydney where he served as a deacon for nearly 40 years. His daughter Jane recorded in a diary that her Aunty Margaret who she visited in Llanfynydd in 1849 "speaks good English having been to boarding-school". For more details see "David Jones of Llandeilo Fawr," John A. Lloyd, *The Carmarthenshire Antiquary* vol. xxx (1994), 79-89. His brother John Jones kept a journal on his voyage out and this is written in English. Diary of John Jones, Scott-Robberds Collection, Historic Houses Trust of NSW.

[43] *SMH* 2 March 1859.

[44] *SMH* 2 March 1860.

[45] *MA* 7 October 1874.

she said something to me in an unknown tongue, which I supposed was Welsh . . ."[46] Either Ann Hopkins was monoglot Welsh or she was using Welsh to avoid the consequences of abusing a policeman.

Bilingualism did not necessarily mean facility in both languages. Mr Samuels, a bilingual minister in Sydney, explained some of the problems of Welsh bilingualism:

> Those who know anything of English had learned it, probably from people who spoke it incorrectly, or according to the pronunciation most in vogue in the particular part of England, Scotland, or Ireland from whence they came; and, consequently, when these Welsh people heard ministers preaching the gospel in correct English, it was to them like another language. Many Welshmen who knew English sufficiently to conduct their business in it, would attend an English minister's preaching and the service would be all a blank.[47]

In the 1861 hearing already referred to, Thomas Williams, a miner, called out in some frustration to the prosecutor that he should speak in Welsh to him as he didn't understand all that was said to him. The newspapers reported that "there appeared to be some doubt as to this witness understanding the questions. Mr Lewis MP, who was on the Bench, conversed in Welsh with him, and communicated the same to the court."[48] Lack of facility in English could thus cause disadvantage in the legal system in Australia, just as it did in Wales.[49]

Williams' predicament was not an isolated case. In the Royal Commission into the Mount Kembla disaster in 1903 the mine manager, William Rogers explained, "I am not well up in the English language. If you spoke to me in Welsh about the mining terms, I could answer anything you wanted me to answer." A native Welsh speaker, Rogers had not learnt English until he was in his twenties and his noted lack of facility in the use of English in understanding and answering questions at the inquest and commission "made him look stupid". The commissioners noted in their report that

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[46] *NC* 9 October 1861.
[47] *SMH* 2 March 1860.
[48] *NC* 12 October 1861; *SMH* 9 October 1861.
[49] Mark Ellis Jones, "'The Confusion of Babel'?: The Welsh Language, Law Courts and Legislation in the Nineteenth Century", *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains 1801-1911* ed. Geraint H. Jenkins (Cardiff: UWP, 2000) 587614. The *NMH* on 21 July 1885

his "literary attainments are not of a high order" and ultimately Rogers became the scapegoat for the deaths of 96 men.[50]

Like Rogers, many Welshmen, including those who were likely to have had some education, felt under a disadvantage when having to use English. At the Lambton Eisteddfod in 1874 Thomas Lewis, former MP and by then Inspector of Coal Mines, explained to the audience at the only session of three that used English, the disadvantages which he, with the rest of his countrymen, laboured under when having to address an intelligent audience in English.[51] Seth Jones, the Welsh-speaking Baptist minister in Newcastle, did not learn English until he came to Australia in his thirties. Jones' obituary in the Welsh press noted that he had had hardly any English when he left Wales which was a big disadvantage in competing with the "learned English" in NSW.[52]

In printed sources, Welsh is the only language other than English that appears from the beginning of the Newcastle newspaper in 1858. In the early 1860s the newspaper included an advertisement announcing the founding of a *Cymdeithas Lenyddol* [Literary Society],[53] an *Eisteddfod Y Gymdeithas Lenyddol*,[54] several notices about *Y'r Eisteddfod*[55] and an article in Welsh reporting on the proceedings, conducted in Welsh, of a tea meeting at the new Welsh Congregational Chapel at the Glebe.[56] Most of these were clearly written for an entirely Welsh readership, with no explanatory English. In 1863 the non-Welsh editor of the *Newcastle Chronicle* set aside a column of space each issue for contributors in Welsh. Several columns appeared at intervals including eisteddfodau programs, rules of competition and poetry.[57] From the 1870s Welsh language items were occasionally published, copied from Welsh newspapers.[58] Parts of eisteddfod programs were still published in Welsh. However from the 1890s

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reported on the resignation of Mr B.T. Williams QC in Wales which left the Welsh people with only a single county court judge who could speak their language.

[50] Stuart Piggin and Henry Lee, *The Mount Kembla Disaster* (Sydney: SUP, 1992) 209-210.

[51] *MA* 27 May 1874.

[52] *Seren Cymru* Gorphenaf [July] 29 1904 and *NMH* 22 September 1904.

[53] *NC* 22 June 1861.

[54] *NC* 30 October 1861, 11 October 1862.

[55] *NC* 23 November 1861.

[56] *NC* 26 April and 17 May 1862.

[57] *NC* 17 January, 24 January 1863.

[58] For example *MA* 20 January 1875; *NMH* 7 November 1885.

Welsh was restricted to a few chapel notices, prayers and proverbs, song titles and *In Memoriam* verses.[59]

Some of the Welsh migrants contributed articles and letters to the Victorian publications of the 1860s and 1870s[60] and to Welsh-medium religious and other journals in Wales such as *Tarian y Gweithiwr, Seren Cymru* and *Cyfaill yr Aelwyd* and even to American publications such as *Y Drych*.[61] Evan Hopkins of Sydney, *"Gynt o Ferthyr Tydfil"* [late of Merthyr Tydfil] sent a report in Welsh about attempts to raise money for a Welsh-speaking chapel in Sydney to *Seren Cymru* which was published on 25 May 1860. In 1861 an emigrant from Aberdare, Glamorganshire to the NCMD sent an English-language circular to the editor of the Welsh-language paper *Y Gwladgarwr* asking for it to be published. The circular, introduced in Welsh, was a notice written to the "Coal Miners of England" by James Fletcher, Chairman of the NSW Miners Association, warning miners that they may be induced by false promises to emigrate and alerting them to the fact that the NSW miners were on strike over pay and conditions.[62] *Seren Cymru's* obituary for the Rev. Seth Jones was translated from Welsh and printed in the *Newcastle Morning Herald* in 1904.[63] Migrants continued to subscribe to these Welsh publications. Thomas J. Jones of Hunter St, Stockton and later of Cardiff, both subscribed and contributed prose and verse to *Cyfaill Yr Aelwyd* in the 1880s.[64] Jones, whose bardic name was "Namorydd", was a foundation member of the Newcastle Cambrian Society and trained choirs, competed and adjudicated in Newcastle eisteddfodau. John Morgan said in 1910 that he received a Welsh paper from Wales every week. He and the Thomas family exchanged copies of his Welsh

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[59] For example *NMH* 29 September 1900.

[60] In *Yr Australydd* a correspondent from Port Waratah used the pseudonym *Ap Gwyn*, Awst [August], Medi [Sept] 1871. Watkin Williams wrote from Lambton, Medi [Sept] 1871 as did John Jones, Hydref [Oct] 1871, Mawrth [March] 1872. Dafydd Howells wrote from Wallsend to the editor, Hydref [Oct] 1871. *'Gohebydd'* wrote an article for *Yr Ymwelydd* in Gorphennaf [July] 1876.

[61] For example Thomas J. Jones wrote a series of articles and poetry which were published in the Llanelli journal *Cyfaill yr Aelwyd* between July 1886 and October 1889; John Morgan of Merewether had a long letter published in *Seren Cymru* 23 Mawrth [March] 1900 and three in *Y Drych* 3 Tachwedd [Nov] 1910, 19 Mai [May] 1911 and 28 Mawrth [March] 1912. An article by Evan Mona Jones was published in *Y Drych* on 6 February 1908 and William J. Morris of Kurri Kurri sent Mary Ann Thomas' obituary in Welsh to *Y Drych*, published 11 Awst [August] 1932. I am grateful to Dr Bill Jones for passing the *Y Drych* articles on to me.

[62] *Y Gwladgarwr* 23 November 1861.

[63] *Seren Cymru* Gorphenaf [July] 29, 1904; *NMH* 22 September 1904.

[64] "A period of nine months has slipped away since I sent out an order for the "Friend" on behalf of the boys here. We arranged to have six copies monthly . . . " *Cyfaill yr Aelwyd* VII.6, Mawrth 1887, 151-2. trans. S. Saxby.

newspaper with copies of *Y Drych* from America. Mary Ann and Daniel Thomas of Wallsend and later Kurri Kurri, had subscribed to *Y Drych* ever since they arrived in Australia 26 years ago:

> Y mae Mr. a Mrs. Thomas yn hen gyfarwydd a'r "Drych" ac yn ei dderbyn oddiar yr amser yr oeddynt yn byw yn America, ac er fod 26 o flynyddau oddiar pan y daethant i Awstralia o'r America, y maent mor awyddus am dano heddyw ag y buont erioed, a chan fy mod inau yn derbyn papyr Cymraeg o Gymru bob wythnos yr ydym yn aml yn cyfnewid a'n gilydd, ac felly yn cael golwg ar newyddion Cymreig Cymru ac America, a phwy a all ein beio am gyfnewid fel hyn a'n gilydd.[65]

Mary Ann Thomas, "a thorough Welshwoman of the right sort, received *Y Drych* regularly and read every column."[66] The NCMD Welsh also subscribed to the Victorian Welsh-language journals. Letters in Welsh to the journals' editor, Rev. William Merrion Evans, show that the Welsh community in the NCMD actively canvassed subscribers for the journals. In April 1876 Ebenezer Morris of Newcastle sent notice of three new subscribers, William Thomas and Thomas Parry of New Ballarat, Wallsend and William Roberts, storekeeper, The Junction.[67] In the NCMD Caleb Jones, Greta, Ebenezer Morris, Thomas Evans and T. Williams, The Junction and Newcastle took subscriptions and contributions while Rev. W Hughes, Sydney and R. Berelaw Williams, Lac Ma Lac, Tumut were the other NSW contacts.[68]

The eisteddfodau programs and the detailed articles written about the competitions in the local press chart the changes in language use and the community's perception of the role and future of the language. While the eisteddfodau of the NCMD will be discussed at some length in the next chapter, it is clear that language issues caused dilemmas and tension both within the Welsh community and between the Welsh and the English. McEwen saw the continuing use of Welsh in the NCMD eisteddfodau as a potential barrier which separated the Welsh in their leisure activities from other

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[65] "Mr and Mrs Thomas were well-acquainted with *Y Drych*. They had been receiving it ever since they lived in America and even though it is 26 years since they came to Australia from America, they are as eager today to receive it. I receive a Welsh paper every week and we exchange papers, so we get Welsh news from Wales and America." *Y Drych* 3 Tachwedd [November] 1910.

[66] *Y Drych* 11 Awst [August] 1935, trans. Dr Bill Jones.

[67] NLW MS 21817D.

[68] *Yr Ymwelydd* (Mehefin [June] 1876): 144.

NCMD groups such as the Geordies, Scots and Irish and suggested that, even when the eisteddfodau were advertised in English, they "still smacked strongly of the Welsh sense of cultural superiority."[69] But the Welsh community made strong efforts to share their cultural institutions. The secretary of the 1876 Wallsend Eisteddfod, Daniel Rees, opened the proceedings with a speech on the history of the eisteddfod movement in Wales, then went on to say:

> the committee of the present eisteddvod (sic) . . . have decided to introduce our national institution to our English friends, believing that the same [good] effects can be produced by an English eisteddvod as have been produced for centuries by our Welsh institutions. Hoping our English friends will not rest until an annual eisteddfod is held in the Hunter River district . . .[70]

Despite the fact that all but one of the competitions were in English (the Welsh one was a singing competition with only one competitor), one of the judges, Mr R. Youll, an Englishman, pointed out that all the competitors were Welsh or children of Welsh.

This willingness to open their national institution up to other members of the community did not mean that the competitors were only English-speaking Welsh. The same difficulties of bilingualism occurred. The Chairman, John Davies, regretted the lack of English competitors, saying that

> it was a difficult matter for Welshmen to compete for prizes in English, especially was this the case in such pieces as the "Cataract of Lodore", and yet that, though a most difficult piece, had been contended for only by Welshmen.[71]

The Lambton Welsh had also introduced one English session into the three in their eisteddfod of 1874, having had only Welsh before then and "a considerable number of English people" were present. Thomas Lewis presided at the English session, expressing "his pleasure at seeing so many English friends present, and although not aware that he would be required to make his opening address in English until a very short time ago."[72] There is evidence of attempts to keep the eisteddfod Welsh. In

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[69] McEwen 211.
[70] *NMH* 17 April 1876.
[71] *NMH* 17 April 1876.
[72] *MA* 25 July 1874.

Lambton in 1878 Thomas Lewis responded to criticism about the amount of Welsh in their Christmas day eisteddfod:

> He was aware that their English friends could not be amused or instructed in a language which was unintelligible to them. The committee would be most happy to do anything in their power to please their English friends, but this was a National gathering, and it was impossible for them to do other than had been done . . .[73]

A letter to the Editor written the same day, from William Conn, one of Lambton's residents, expressed anger at the fact that many English-speaking people had bought tickets for the event under the impression that it was to be all in English. In fact it was all in Welsh.[74]

The willingness of the Welsh community to accommodate to English-speakers meant the gradual replacement of Welsh as the language of the eisteddfod. Welsh competitions became English, a deliberate policy on the part of the Welsh community to both increase participation in the competitions and to offer the benefits of the eisteddfod to the wider community. Their efforts were more than successful. By 1891 Wallsend and Plattsburg's Third Annual Eisteddfod was described as "a monster success" with the hall "literally packed to suffocation",[75] and the fourth annual Newcastle Eisteddfod of the same year attracted over 800 people."[76] A newspaper editorial commented that "though the Eisteddfod is peculiarly a Welsh institution, the programmes are arranged so as to give English speakers an opportunity of displaying their talents, and competing with others in the literary and musical contests."[77] Despite their success, the use of the Welsh language still aroused opposition. "An Englishman" of Merewether wrote to the local paper in 1892:

> The Cambrian Society has at its head men of intelligence . . . but they . . . seem to forget the fact - purposely seemingly - that fully 75 per cent of the audience have never seen Wales, and out of that, not more than 5 per cent., though born in NSW, and of Welsh descent can speak the Welsh language. Surely the remaining 70 per cent are due some consideration . . . I would

[73] *NMH* 28 December 1878.
[74] *NMH* 31 December 1878.
[75] *W&PS* 1 April 1891.
[76] *NMH* 26 January 1891.

> suggest that next year the first and second days be conducted throughout in the Welsh language, and the third day in the English language, the following year to be conducted *vice versa*. The coffers will then tell who are the greatest contributors to the success of the Eisteddfods . . . Hoping that next year there will be less clannishness and utter onesidedness displayed . . . [78]

In the end the use of Welsh in the eisteddfodau disappeared but the Cambrian Society and various Welsh chapels still organised Welsh concerts with the whole of the proceedings in Welsh.[79] Jonah Bevan and his family were one of the forces in maintaining such Welsh gatherings into the twentieth century.[80]

In addition to Welsh language items, the newspapers contain many references to the speaking of Welsh and/or the lack of understanding of English. There is evidence of the use of Welsh and bilingualism among the immigrant miners, shopkeepers, business men, ministers of religion and mine management. In 1870 Thomas Griffiths, possibly the same one the Immigration clerk listed as literate in Welsh when he arrived in Sydney from Maesteg in 1864,[81] announced the opening of a Day School in the Welsh Baptist Church at Lambton[82] and Penny Readings in Welsh were organised at the same church in the 1870s. These were regarded by some English citizens as a model that they should follow for the education of young people. At around the same time the Welsh Independent Sabbath School opened in Lambton and instructions were given in both Welsh and English to children and adults. Adults were particularly

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[77] *MNH* 7 May 1891.
[78] *NMH* 6 February 1892.
[79] *NMH* 19 May, 16 June, 14 July 1902.
[80] Jonah, born in Llangyfelach, Glamorganshire c1873 had arrived with his parents and eight of his brothers and sisters in 1886. The family had been sponsored by the two elder sons and a daughter who had emigrated in 1884. A family of carpenters who settled in Stockton, the father Hopkin became treasurer of the Cambrian Society the year he arrived and was an alderman at the time of his death in 1900. The Bevan children competed in eisteddfodau and became office bearers in the Cambrian Society and for eisteddfodau, also competing as adults. Hopkin and his sons established a building contracting and funeral directing business in Stockton and Kurri Kurri and Jonah was renowned for his singing, performing at many Welsh occasions. Another son Thomas of Lambton won gold medals for Welsh recitations. Hopkin junior settled in "Gwalia" at Hamilton, Evan built "Cambria" in 1913 in Kurri Kurri. A daughter Hannah married fellow Welshman Francis J. Thomas from Aberdare in 1888. Biographical information compiled from 1881 Census of E&W 11/5349; BIL 1884 , 1886 SRNSW 4/4809 and 4/4811; IDJ 1886 SRNSW 4/4597; *NMH* 18 June 1889; 26 January, 28 March 1891; 27 January 1894; 7 February 1908; 17 April 1900; 9 July 1937; 12 January 1945; Minutes of the Newcastle and District Cambrian Society; *Newcastle Sun* 12 May 1980; NSW BDM.
[81] BIL 1864 SRNSW 4/4798.
[82] *NC* 16 April 1870.

requested to attend "as there are many who are unable to read the English language who may derive considerable benefit from the teachings imparted in their native tongue."[83] This small note is significant as it indicates that many of the Welsh migrants could read Welsh but were not literate in English.

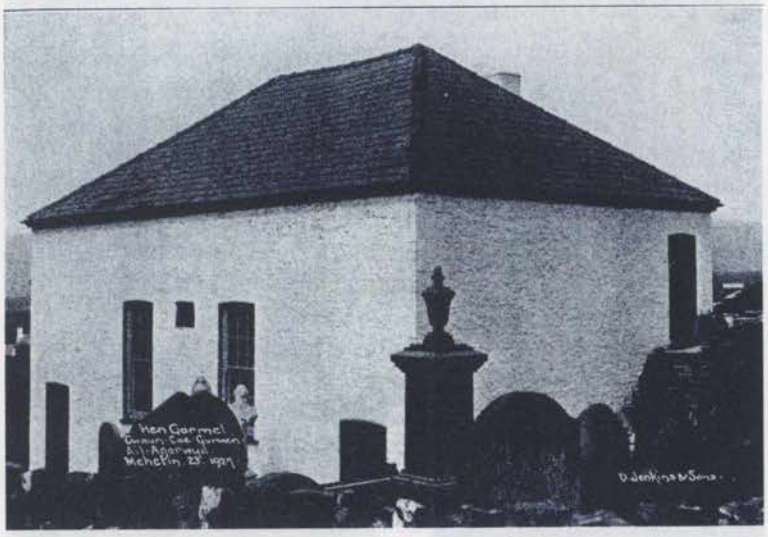


Image 6.1 Yr Hen Garmel Capel [The Old Carmel Chapel], Gwaun-Cae-Gurwen, Glamorganshire. Evan Lewis was minister of this chapel for 10 years until he left for the NCMD in 1864. Four of his young children were buried in the Carmel graveyard between 1854 and 1862. The gravestone is now in the Gwauncaegurwen cemetery. Source: Huws, Llwelyn Caradoc. *Annibynwyr Gwaun-Cae-Gurwen. Hanes Eglwysi Carmel, Gwaun-cae-Gurwen a'r Tabernacle, Cwmgors.* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1942) 17.

As in Wales, the Welsh language was increasingly closely identified with religion, which both nurtured the language and ultimately worked towards its demise.[84] While McEwen saw the Welsh-language chapels as another example of Welsh exclusiveness in the district, there is evidence that these chapels actively worked to assist their English-speaking counterparts. For example, the Lambton Welsh made their chapel available to people wanting to establish an English Congregational denomination and actively supported the English cause. Between 1850 and 1870 there were seven Welsh chapels founded in the NCMD, Congregational, Baptist and Methodist at Minmi, Wallsend, Lambton and The Glebe. In 1871 there were five with Welsh services and Welsh-speaking ministers from Wales to run them. Reverend Evan Lewis was specially imported by the Newcastle Welsh from Carmel Chapel, Llangwig, Gwaun Cae

[83] *MA* 7 October 1874.
[84] David Crystal pointed out that as "the language disappears from the 'serious' side of life" religion is "usually the last domain to be affected." Crystal 83.

Gurwen, West Glamorgan to minister at The Junction, Wallsend and Minmi and founded the Lambton Cause in 1866.[85]

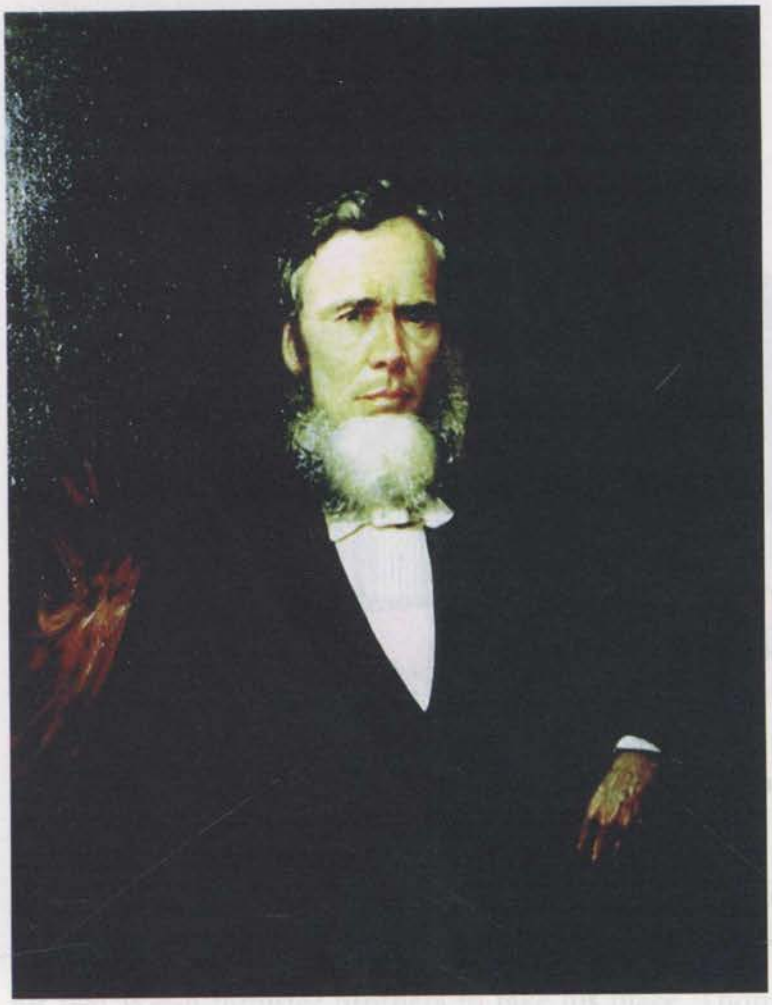


Image 6.2 The Reverend Evan Lewis 1821-1909. From the original painting by William Reay. From a copy in NLW of the original painting owned by Mr D. Lloyd.

His Welsh services were remembered by Rev. Charles Whyte in 1918:

> I have many pleasant memories of my association with the Lambton Welsh Church (Capel Annibynol) of which Rev. Evan Lewis was their pastor. He was a man of intense fervour . . . I liked to hear Mr Rees with his beautiful voice preach in Welsh, and to hear Mr Lewis get into the *hwyl* in prayer, even when I could not understand them.[86]

[85] Evan Lewis and his family were sponsored by Welsh-speaker William Humphreys who arrived from Anglesey with his family on the *Admiral Lyons* in 1858. Humphreys, a miner, lived in Wallsend most of his life and was killed in the Dudley Colliery disaster in 1898, still working underground at 70. BIL 1858 SRNSW 4/4795; *NMH* 22 March 1898.

[86] Uniting Church Archives: Lambton. Letter from Rev. Charles Whyte, Bourke Street Congregational Church, to Mr E.J. Thomas, Lambton, 29 June 1918.

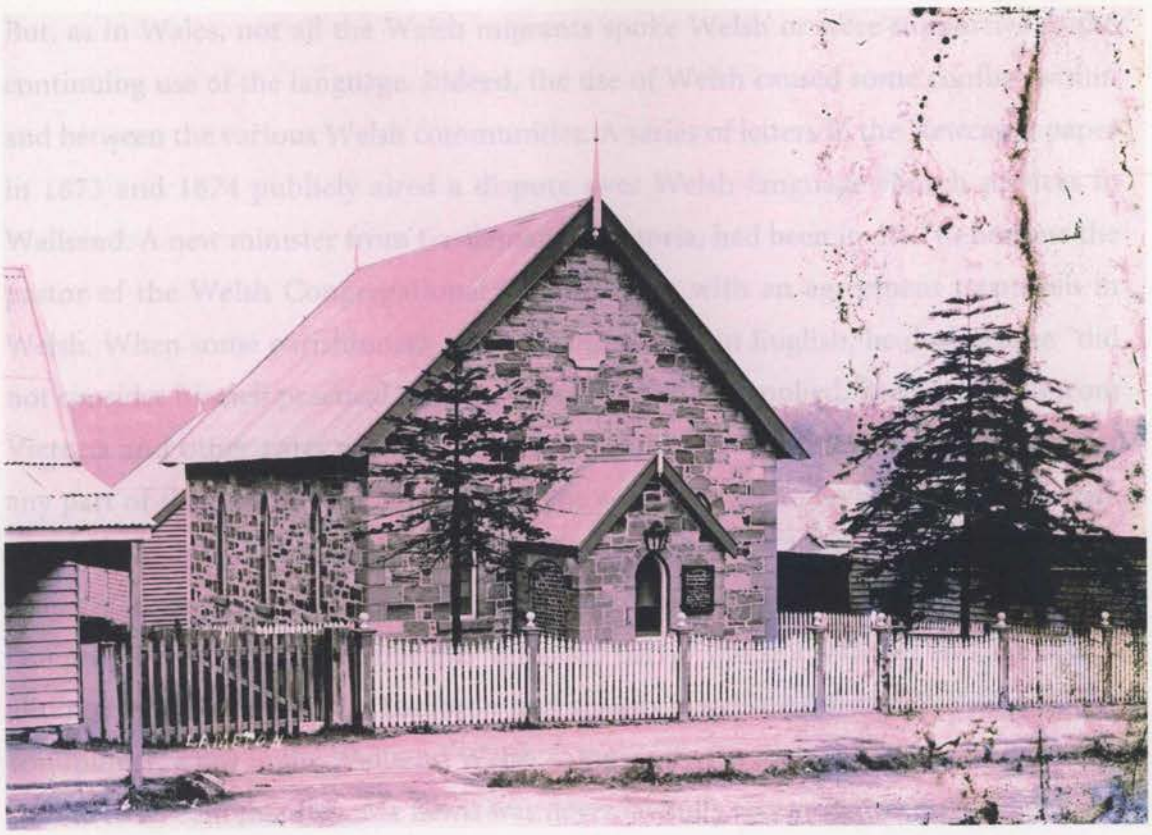


Image 6.3 Bethel Capel Annibynol [Independent Chapel] Lambton. Built by Welsh miners from locally quarried stone, the building is still standing in Lambton. Source: Snowball Collection, Hunter Photobank, Newcastle Region Public Library.

Others like Reverend Seth Jones settled in Newcastle after travelling from Wales via Victoria and New Zealand. When he died in 1904 his congregation invited either of his two Welsh minister brothers to take his place. Thomas in Cardiff declined but Evan Mona Jones came out from Pittsburgh USA to Newcastle, returning to Wales in 1912 and coming back to Newcastle in 1913 before leaving Australia for good in 1915. In fact the maintenance of Welsh in Newcastle depended very much on the presence of leaders like Seth Jones, Evan Mona Jones and Evan Lewis. These Welsh-speaking ministers were central to their communities, providing services, funeral rites and social meetings in Welsh, supporting eisteddfodau, the Cambrian Society and other cultural activities. In 1871 when it appeared that Rev. Evan Lewis was going to give up his ministry, Watkin Williams wrote to *Yr Australydd* "to reveal our present need for a man who is able to speak both languages, so that he can occasionally preach in English."[87]

[87] *Yr Australydd* (Medi [Sept] 1871) translated S. Saxby.

But, as in Wales, not all the Welsh migrants spoke Welsh or were supportive of the continuing use of the language. Indeed, the use of Welsh caused some conflict within and between the various Welsh communities. A series of letters in the Newcastle paper in 1873 and 1874 publicly aired a dispute over Welsh-language church services in Wallsend. A new minister from Castlemaine, Victoria, had been invited to become the pastor of the Welsh Congregational Church there with an agreement to preach in Welsh. When some parishioners asked him to preach in English, he declared he "did not consider himself practical to do it," but reluctantly complied. Recent arrivals from Victoria and other parts said that they could not understand sermons, scriptures or any part of the services in English and if the services were to be held in English then they would leave and join the Welsh Congregational Church in Lambton. The minister supported the Welsh cause, but some members of the church opposed this. A compromise was attempted but the "offended party" was not satisfied and demanded all English services.[88] While Lambton had already a well-established Welsh-speaking community, a few in the Wallsend Welsh community felt their church was different. A second letter said that Rev. Mr Lewis was never lawfully recognised as their minister in Wallsend. "We told him from the very first that preaching in Welsh would not take in Wallsend."[89] One offended Wallsend parishioner accused the Lambton Welsh of saying that they would "crush the English out of the place." The writer accused Mr Lewis and a few strangers of trying "to change the order of our church from English to Welsh." A compromise of half English-half Welsh one Sunday a month was rejected by the "offended parties" and it was suggested that if they wanted an English church they should join one of the English churches already in Wallsend. Reference was made to earlier conflicts involving these parties at the Welsh church at Minmi. It was not recorded how the dispute was settled but there was still a Welsh Congregational church in Wallsend in 1902. There were Welsh churches at Wallsend, Lambton and Merewether in 1902; a Welsh church at Minmi had closed with the closure of the mine. Merewether was the last Welsh church in the Newcastle district; known as "Y Noddfa", [The Refuge], it held its last service in 1979.[90] Earlier in the century, fortnightly services were conducted in Welsh. "The church became a meeting place for several hundred Welsh people and Sunday was the day we sang and spoke to each other in our own language." Death had claimed most of the remaining congregation

[88] *MA* 20 December 1873.
[89] *MA* 10 January 1874.
[90] *NMH* 4 June 1979.

but failure to transmit the language effectively from one generation to the next also was a critical factor.[91] "They all realise that their generation is passing and that there are no youngsters to carry on."[92] A fourth generation descendant of Welsh-speaking migrants recalls that while his grandparents attended the Welsh church in Merewether, their children did not have enough Welsh to actively participate and the parents decided to transfer to the English Methodist Church.[93] In 1871 a correspondent in Welsh from Port Waratah to *Yr Australydd* praised the active Welsh Independent Cause in Lambton but commented that "if there is any fault, perhaps it is that there is too much English."[94]

The evidence from Newcastle supports the view that for many migrants Welsh was their first language and likely to be the one in which they were most literate. A letter found among the Immigration Correspondence in the NSW State Record Office from Dafyd (sic) Howell, coal miner from Wallsend, Newcastle written to his MP Thomas Lewis, the same man who interpreted for Thomas Williams at the 1861 trial, is a rare surviving indicator of the use of Welsh. The letter requested Lewis to approach the Immigration Agent in Sydney on Dafyd's behalf to obtain the refund of Dafyd's deposit for his brother Daniel who had declined to emigrate from Rhymney Iron Works. It was more usual for depositors to write to the Agent directly; that he chose to go indirectly through his local Welsh-speaking MP in Welsh may indicate that Dafyd was not literate in English. Whatever was the case, the letter with its somewhat archaic and formal syntax reveals a basic Sunday School education in Welsh and dialect features of the south-east of Wales, as well as a level of familiarity with his MP and family.[95] Dafyd or David Howell participated in the Welsh eisteddfodau, winning five prizes for speeches [areithiau] and recitation [adroddiadau] in 1863, and replying in

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[91] Crystal identifies three stages in language loss. The first is "immense pressure on the people to speak the dominant language" and this pressure can come from above or below, from outside or within the group. Stage 2 is a "period of emerging bilingualism, as people become increasingly efficient in their new language while still retaining competence in their old." Bilingualism begins to decline with "the old language giving way to the new" leading to Stage 3, in which "the younger generation becomes increasingly proficient in the new language, identifying more with it, and finding their first language less relevant to their needs." A "feeling of shame" about using the old language also occurs at this stage. Crystal 78-9.

[92] *NMH* 26 May 1979.

[93] Interview with Mr Douglas Lloyd of Merewether, great-grandson of Rev. Evan Lewis, Newcastle 1997. It appears that by the time Evan Lewis' grandchildren were growing up, the family had reached Crystal's Stage 3.

[94] *Yr Australydd* Medi [September] 1871 translated S. Saxby.

[95] *Immigration Letters Received* 1862, SRNSW 9/6235. I am grateful to Professor Sioned Davies, Department of Welsh, University of Wales, Cardiff, for her comments on the letter.

Welsh to the Chairman's address at Lambton in 1874.[96] It is likely that this was the same Dafydd Howell of Wallsend who contributed Welsh articles on Newcastle to the Victorian Welsh publications of the 1870s.[97]

[96] Dafyd or David Howell was born in Aberystruth near Blaenau or Nant-y-Glo in Monmoutheshire c1830. An unassisted migrant, he arrived with his new wife Elin Williams c1853 and was one of five men who established the first Baptist Church in NCMD. Originally a miner, he ran a successful grocery business in Plattsburg, Wallsend. He was an active member of the Baptist Church and the Wallsend Welsh community until his death in 1907. Biographical information compiled from NSW Immigration Papers, David's second marriage certificate 1874, his death certificate 1907, and from various newspaper articles including *NC* 14 January 1863; *MA* 17 January, 7 February, 9 May, 25 May 1874; *W&PS* 2 May, 8 May 1889; *NMH* 30 September 1961.

[97] *Yr Australydd* Tachwedd [November] 1871.

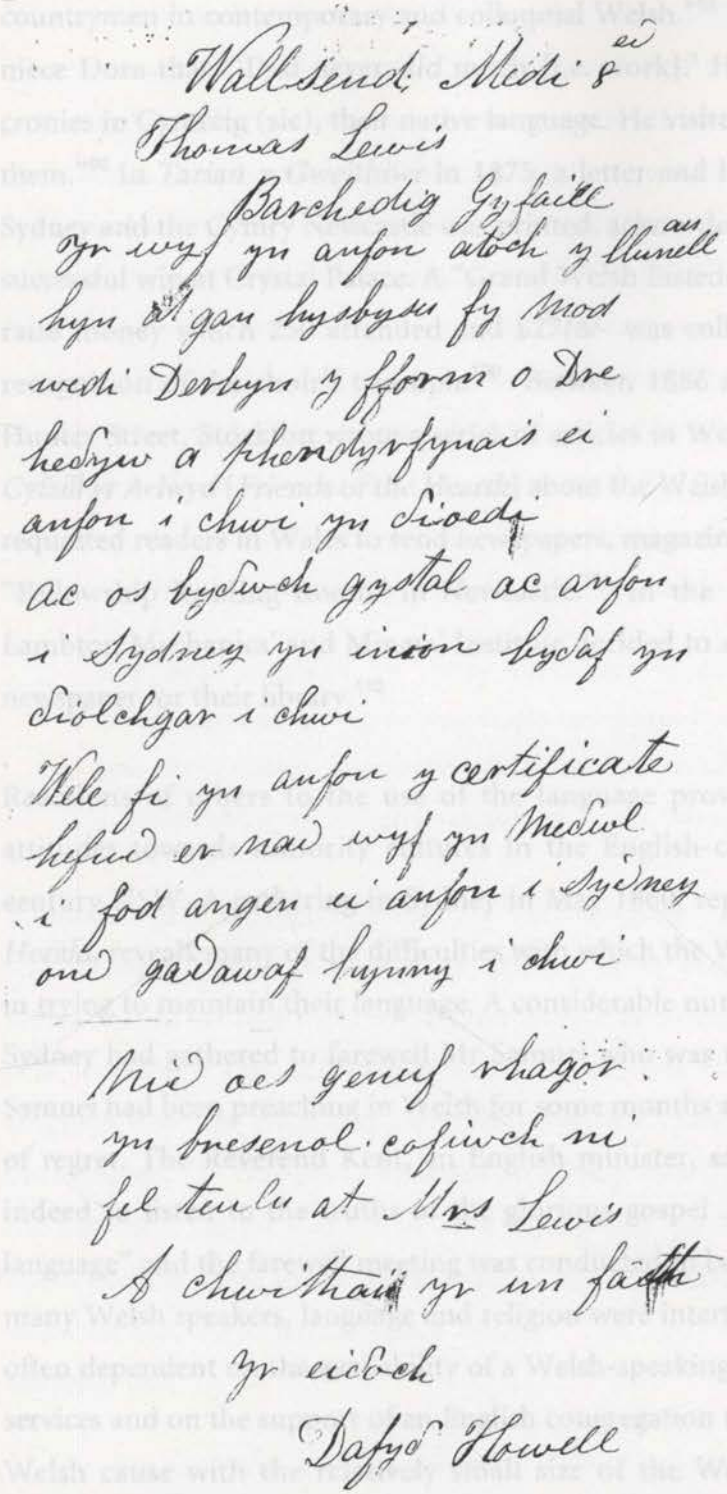

Wallsend Medi 8fed
Thomas Lewis
Barchedig Gyfaill
yr wyf yn anfon atoch y llinellau
hyn at gan hysbysu fy mod
wedi Derbyn y ffurm o Dre
hedfyw a phenderfynais ei
anfon i chwi yn Sioedig
ac os bydwch gystal ac anfon
i Sydney yn union bydaf yn
Siolchgar i chwi
Wele fi yn anfon y certificate
hefyd er nad wyf yn Medwl
i fod angen ei anfon i Sydney
ond gadawaf hynny i chwi
Nid oes genyf rhagor
yn bresenol cofiwch ni
fel teulu at Mrs Lewis
A chwithau yr un fodd
yr eiddoch
Dafyd Howell

Image 6.1 Letter from Dafydd Howell to Thomas Lewis 8 September, 1862. Source: Immigration Letters Received 1862. SRNSW 9/6235.

While the language use declined with time and with the passing of the emigrant generation, it was nonetheless the preferred medium for many of the settlers from Wales and provided a strong link with home. William Pritchard Roberts moved to Newcastle from Hobart Town in 1871 and felt somewhat at home, "greeting fellow

countrymen in contemporary and colloquial Welsh."[98] His daughter Jennett told her niece Dora that "'Dad never *did* much [i.e. work].' He loved talking to his Welsh cronies in Cymreig (sic), their native language. He visited, sang, read and prayed with them."[99] In *Tarian y Gweithiwr* in 1875, a letter and long address from the Cymry Sydney and the Cymry Newcastle was printed, acknowledging the South Wales choir's successful win at Crystal Palace. A "Grand Welsh Eisteddfod" was held in Lambton to raise money which 250 attended and £27/8/- was collected in NCMD and sent in recognition of the choir's triumph.[100] Between 1886 and 1888 Thomas J. Jones of Hunter Street, Stockton wrote a series of articles in Welsh for the Welsh publication *Cyfaill yr Aelwyd* [*Friends of the Hearth*] about the Welsh community of Newcastle. He requested readers in Wales to send newspapers, magazines or books in Welsh for their "Fellowship Reading Room" in Newcastle.[101] In the 1890s the committee of the Lambton Mechanics' and Miners' Institute decided to subscribe to a Welsh language newspaper for their library.[102]

Reactions of others to the use of the language provide interesting insights into attitudes towards minority cultures in the English-centred world of nineteenth-century NSW. A gathering in Sydney in May 1860, reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, reveals many of the difficulties with which the Welsh communities were faced in trying to maintain their language. A considerable number of the Welsh residents of Sydney had gathered to farewell Mr Samuel who was rejoining his family in Wales. Samuel had been preaching in Welsh for some months and his departure was a matter of regret. The Reverend Kent, an English minister, said "it must have been sweet indeed to listen to the truths of the glorious gospel . . . in their own picturesque language" and the farewell meeting was conducted in both English and Welsh.[103] For many Welsh speakers, language and religion were intertwined and communities were often dependent on the availability of a Welsh-speaking minister to conduct religious services and on the support of an English congregation to enable them to sustain their Welsh cause with the relatively small size of the Welsh community. The use of

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[98] Moore 15.
[99] Moore17.
[100] *MA* 3 January 1874.
[101] *Cyfaill yr Aelwyd*, Cyf 8, Rhif 8, Awst [August] 1888, 224.
[102] Mary Rabbitt, "Lambton Mechanics' and Miners' Institute," *Science, Success and Soirees: the Mechanics' Institute movement in Newcastle and the Lower Hunter*, Barbara Heaton, Greg Preston and Mary Rabbitt, Newcastle History Monograph No. 14 (n.d.) 65.
[103] *SMH* 2 March 1860.

"picturesque" to describe the Welsh language is also telling; for many from the British Isles the use of Welsh was regarded as a quaint and romantic custom rooted in the past and, like other picturesque matters associated with Wales such as ruined castles and abbeys, druids and bards, having little contemporary purpose. That the Welsh continued to use their "native tongue" was often a matter of some amusement and bemusement to the English-speaking people and the Welsh were usually able to oblige by poking fun at themselves. Before the Pitt Street meeting closed, Mr Griffiths, at the request of the English chairman, delivered a typically humorous speech on Welshmen in general and Mr Samuel in particular. In 1864 the Rev. Cadwallader Evans of Adelaide spoke to a St David's Day gathering in Sydney "where many of the speakers expressed their sentiments in their native tongue, which, though unintelligible to others, was highly entertaining." Evans spoke of their language which

> had been attacked by those who were ignorant of it, as being a conglomeration of unpronounceable consonants; but it was, notwithstanding, one of the noblest vehicles of expression that existed. It was strong, rich, and copious, and when spoken by an educated man, was most euphonious.[104]

T. Roberts gave a speech in Welsh on "Our Language" at the same gathering, opening with Taliesin's stanza to the Cymry, quoting many Welsh poets and ending with two verses "which created roars of laughter amidst those who could understand." In 1875 at a St David's Day celebration where Welsh was to be heard on every side, the language was "the tongue in which the renowned Queen Boadicea (sic) addressed her brave troops."[105] Thomas Lewis made an extraordinarily bold assertion to a meeting at the Lambton Baptist Church in 1874 saying that "he would feel much happier if he could address them in his native tongue, for he believed the day was not far distant when all the world would speak Welsh."[106] In 1881 the Plattsburg Correspondent reported that

> our old Welsh veterans are again making preparations for a musical and literary competitive meeting . . . named by them Eisteddfod, which none but a Welshman dare to pronounce, although a facetious Geordie friend of mine calls them the "steadfast" committee.

[104] *NC* 12 March 1864.
[105] *MA* 6 March 1875.
[106] *NMH* 29 April 1874.

He goes on to wonder whether this is the closest an English tongue can make towards "this unpronounceable word of a language spoken it is averred 'before England was born.'"[107] In 1869 Welsh is referred to as "an ancient vernacular of Cymry", and in 1885 it is called "that dialect".[108]

In Tyler's study of the Welsh language in Ballarat and Sebastopol, he asks why, despite the strength of the language in the emigrant generation, English was able to gain the upper hand so easily. Like Emrys Jones, he concludes that attitudes to the Welsh language in Wales itself, brought with the emigrants as part of their cultural baggage, led to its rapid demise in migrant communities. The report of the Royal Commission examining the state of education in Wales published in 1847, which the Welsh called the "Treason of the Blue Books", stated that the language "is a vast drawback to Wales," keeping the Welsh "inferior to the English in every branch of practical knowledge and skill."[109] The Report's association of the language with immorality and backwardness had a strong effect on the Welsh's attitude to their native tongue, attitudes that many carried with them to Australia.[110] As Crystal says, "Languages decline when . . . positive attitudes are missing. And in so many cases they *are* missing. The climate is against them, often for political reasons . . . languages are being viewed *by their speakers* as a sign of backwardness, or as a hindrance to making improvements in social standing."[111] Examples already given of the difficulties many Welsh experienced in speaking in public where they were expected to use English, show the dilemma many found themselves in when participating fully in the English-dominated society in which they had settled. A writer in *Yr Australydd* took Welsh-speakers to task for speaking poor English publicly rather than Welsh, "throttling a language they have never learned."[112] The embarrassment some felt at having to use poor English, and like William Rogers, being thought stupid, was also felt by their compatriots. Active participation in the English-speaking world of the NCMD meant developing facility in spoken English and being willing to use that in circumstances where Welsh would have been used in Wales. Emigration in order to make the most of

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[107] *NMH* 29 September 1881.
[108] *NC* 10 June 1869; *NMH* 28 December 1885.
[109] Tyler 86, quoting Robert Owen Jones, "The Sociolinguistics of Welsh," 547.
[110] For a detailed discussion of the effect of this on the language in Ballarat and Sebastopol, particularly as expressed in the Victorian Welsh journals, see Tyler 87-103.
[111] Crystal 81-4.

opportunities and bettering one's circumstances, worked directly against maintenance and transmission of Welsh from one generation to the next. Accused of cultivating ethnic exclusivity and cultural superiority on the one hand, and being willing to defer to the monolingual English-speaking majority on the other, it was only a matter of the passing of the first generation and, unless the language was transmitted to the next, it would be lost.

For a language to remain viable and alive, it is vital that the emigrating generation value and transmit the language. As the migrants on the *Star of India* show, when children of Welsh-speaking parents arrived in the colony, many of them were very likely monoglot Welsh speakers, with any knowledge of English coming only from school attendance. To what extent did the adult migrant generation maintain and transmit Welsh to their children, those who accompanied them and those born in the NCMD? Some Sunday Schools continued to teach Welsh and that some transmission occurred is shown by the programs of children's Sunday School concerts and by those born in NSW competing in Welsh sections of the eisteddfodau. But of the nine competitors under 15 in 1894, only two were judged fit to pass the preliminary.[113] Evidence indicates that issues in language maintenance between generations arose very soon after arrival. John Williams was the son of Welsh-speaking parents who emigrated from Blaenafon to South Australia in 1859 when he was 12. As he had worked in the pit since he was seven and his family were members of the Horeb Welsh Baptist Church, it is likely that Welsh was his first language. Undoubtedly he had learnt to read Welsh at Sunday School in Blaenafon. In 1930 he remembered his arrival in Wallsend, NCMD in 1861:

> my father with a few Welsh friends, met and formed themselves into a Welsh Baptist church. I was compelled to go and listen to the Welsh sermon and attend the Sunday School. I could read the Welsh Bible fairly well but could not make myself master of the Welsh language. I told my father it was useless my attending the Welsh sermon and I was given permission to attend the English Baptist Church.[114]

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[112] Tyler 92 quoting *Yr Australydd* January 1872: 1-2. Robert Miles voiced similar sentiments In Sebastopol in 1868, encouraging the Welsh to learn both English and Welsh properly, published in *Yr Australydd* in June 1872.
[113] *NMH* 27 January 1894.
[114] *NMH* 6 December 1930.

Perhaps John Williams had lost his facility in Welsh in the two years he was in SA. Certainly in Wallsend he became friends with the more prominent English-speaking members of the Welsh Baptist community like Abednego and Shadrach Morgan, also from Blaenafon, and the Rev. David Young and James Young who had emigrated from Rhymney, Monmouthshire. In 1868 he married Phoebe See of Hinton and went on to help found the Baptist Tabernacle in Laman St, Newcastle where he became Superintendent of the Sunday School and a senior deacon.[115] Much has been written on the vital role of Sunday Schools in Wales in transmission of literacy in Welsh.[116] In the colonies, however, Sunday Schools began to take on a new role, one that actively worked against Welsh language transmission. In the NCMD, as in Ballarat and Sebastopol, Sunday Schools became the means by which Welsh-speaking children began to learn English. That this was a deliberate action on the part of the adult Welsh community is obvious. In 1875 a meeting was held at the Welsh Congregational Chapel in Lambton about the establishment of an English Congregational Church there. The District Correspondent commented that

> it is also gratifying to see that some of the Welsh people are taking such an active part . . . being Congregationalists they do not feel disposed to allow their children to go to Sunday Schools of other denominations, and they are anxious to have their children trained in a school where the English language can be taught them better than in their own schools; hence their assistance in this movement.[117]

That Sunday schools in the NCMD began in the medium of Welsh, that the teachers themselves did not have enough facility in English in order to teach it well,[118] and the perceived need for English lessons, all indicate that Welsh was the first language of many children born in NCMD. It seemed also that it was the preferred everyday

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[115] *NMH* 6 December 1930, *NMH* 6 August 1931.

[116] See for example Geraint Jenkins, "'Wales, the Welsh and the Welsh Language': Introduction", *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains* 18; E.D. Lewis, *The Rhondda Valleys, A Study in Industrial Development, 1800 to the Present Day* (London: Phoenix House, 1959) 30, 187-9,192; John Fletcher, "Education" in *Merthyr Tydfil - A Valley Community*, Merthyr Teachers Centre Group (Cowbridge: D. Brown & Sons, Ltd, 198) 444; D. Gareth Evans, *A History of Wales 1815-1906* (Cardiff: UWP, 1989) 118-123; John Davies, *A History of Wales* (Penguin, 1993) 390.

[117] *MA* 24 April 1875.

[118] This was also felt in Victoria. A correspondent to *Yr Australydd* in 1870 complained that "less than five of every twenty-five of us have the necessary qualifications to teach in that difficult language . . . there are certain individuals who take it upon themselves to teach the

language within sections of the community. At the opening services of the English Church in September the same year, the new pastor said in his report that the desire to establish an English Congregational cause

> has been felt much more perhaps by our Welsh Congregational friends than by anybody else; for whilst they who have grown into years prefer to hear the word of God read and expounded in their native language, their children are most decidedly in favour of the English language, and next to their own church, would naturally prefer to attend an English church of the same order.[119]

This attitude of the young people to the language reflects the contemporary attitudes in Wales and in other Welsh settlements such as Utica, USA.[120] So the transmission of Welsh was left mostly to the parents, if they were willing, and the "hearth". With English lessons at Sunday School and English-medium compulsory education, this was not going to be enough to sustain Welsh as a living language in the second generation. And clearly some parents deliberately failed in transmitting their native tongue to their children. Cumming also found that both parental fears that their children would not get on by speaking Gaelic and young people's sense of the language's irrelevance were the obstacles to Gaelic's survival in Australia.[121]

Intermarriage between Welsh-speakers and non-Welsh speakers may have been another factor in the non-transmission of the language to the next generation. As has been noted in previous chapters, the imbalance of the sexes in most areas meant that intermarriage was common. Tyler's study of birth certificates of children born in Ballarat and Sebastopol in 1860, 1870 and 1880 found that, with the exception of the Cornish, "children with both parents from the same country were in a minority . . ."[122] In Ballarat 40.7% of the Welsh children had both parents born in Wales, 40.1% father

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youth of our Sunday Schools in English when they are unable to read a verse or speak a dozen words of English correctly." translated by and quoted in Tyler 100.

[119] *MA* 22 September 1875.

[120] Emrys Jones quotes from J. Hughes, *Hanes Methodistiaeth Cymru* (1856) 3:16 "Yn yr hen sefydliadau Cymreig, mae plant yr hen sefydlwyr bron yn ddieithriad yn hollol ddifater am siarad, darllen, ac ysgrifennu yn yr iaith Gymraeg [In the old Welsh settlements, the children of the old settlers, almost without exception, are apathetic to talking, reading and writing in the Welsh language]" 28.

[121] Cumming 114. Crystal calls this process "language suicide": " a situation where people make a conscious decision to stop using their language, or not to pass it onto their children, seeing it as an intolerable burden". Crystal 86.

only and 19.2% mother only. 39.3% of the English, 39.1% of the Scottish. 46.1% of the Irish and 65.9% of the Cornish had both parents from the same country. For the Welsh this declined over the three decades from 57.1% in 1860 to 27.8% in 1880. The percentages for Sebastopol, however, had children born with both parents Welsh at 68.1%, the highest by far of the five national groups, and this percentage increased to 83.3% in 1880. It seems that, at least for Victoria, where the opportunity to marry within the community was available, many chose to do so. That also may have been the case in the NCMD where the sexual imbalance was not so much a feature. Some couples had married before emigration. Thomas and Keziah Phillips had married in Wales before they emigrated in 1859.[123] Thomas was from Coychurch, Glamorganshire and Keziah was born in Wiltshire. What languages they each spoke would not have been known except for a domestic dispute that ended up in Newcastle Police Court in June 1863. Thomas, "a Welsh miner", had charged his wife with being of unsound mind. There were three witnesses, James Edwards, Phillips' "mate" in the mine and his wife Margaret Davies and William Hitchens, a miner who lodged with the Phillips. Hitchins explained in court that "we were talking in Welch (sic) at the time, which she does not understand".[124] Others like James Edwards, a non-assisted Welsh migrant, and Margaret Davies, a Welsh assisted single female migrant, had met and married in the colony. Margaret was born in Pencoed, near Bridgend, Swansea and emigrated, aged 19, on the same ship as Thomas and Keziah. She and James married in 1860 and were both Welsh-speakers.[125] In the absence of comprehensive chapel records for the NCMD, it is more difficult to ascertain marriage patterns except through qualitative sources. Some Welsh men such as George Evans, a non-assisted miner from Dowlais, Glamorganshire, chose Welsh wives from home. Arriving in c1886, he settled in Teralba. Sarah Ann Jones who had lived only two blocks away from George in Dowlais and who had attended the same chapel there, arrived in 1888 and they were married in Newcastle. It seems that neither spoke Welsh.[126]

Marrying within the Welsh-speaking community did not necessarily mean transmission of the language. Four of Evan Lewis' five children married fellow

[122] Tyler 104.
[123] BIL 1859 SRNSW 4/4979.
[124] *NC* 27 June 1863.
[125] BIL1859 SRNSW 4/4979; *NMH* 17 September 1910; 2 July 1920
[126] Biographical information provided by Mrs Alice Jefferson of Toronto, Newcastle 1995-6.

Welsh.[127] While Evan junior, who was 14 when he arrived in the colony, was heavily involved in Welsh-medium activities, Levi, who had been only 7, joined the English-speaking chapel. They failed to transmit Welsh fully to their children, although their descendants remember Welsh being spoken by the second generation, usually as a means of excluding the third from their conversations![128] His great-grandson remembers that Lewis' five children could all speak Welsh and four married Welsh-speaking partners. But the third generation, while they knew some Welsh, did not speak it and the fourth generation knows only ceremonial phrases and numbers.[129] David Watkins was the third generation of Welsh immigrant families. Although his grandfather John Hopkins was a Welsh-speaker, heavily involved in the Welsh community, and his mother was 13 when she arrived, David had no Welsh and relied on translations of Welsh material.[130] Yet he clearly saw himself as a member of the Welsh community.

Like many in Wales and in Welsh settlements in the USA, Welsh community leaders were more committed to being part of a new English-speaking country and their religious causes than to the survival of Welsh in the district.[131] Seth Jones applied himself to labour in the English ministry until he gained the ability to do his work with the same fluency as he used to do in Welsh. Evan Lewis was active in supporting the foundation of the English Congregational Church in Lambton in 1875, presiding

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[127] Jane married David James in 1865, Lucretia married Jonah Thomas in 1876 and elder son Evan married Margaret Jones in the Welsh Church in Melbourne in the same year: "PRIODWYD- Mehefin 19, 1876, yn y Capel Cymreig, Melbourne, gan y Parch. WM Evans, Evan, mab hynaf y Parch. Evan Lewis, Lambton, New South Wales, â Margaret, unif ferch John Jones, Ysw., diweddar o Meistri Jones & Co., Warrnambool." *Yr Ymwelydd* Gorphennaf [July] 1876: 168. Mary Anne married David Lloyd in 1885. Levi, the younger son, married Emily Smart in 1908. NSW BDM.

[128] This use of Welsh to exclude the younger generation is also mentioned by Lewis Lloyd. Lewis Lloyd 211.

[129] Interview with Douglas Lloyd, Newcastle 1997.

[130] David Watkins MHR was born in Wallsend in 1865, the son of John Watkins of Wallsend and his wife Mary Ann Hopkins. Mary Ann, then 13, had arrived in the colony from Rhymney with her parents Catherine and John Hopkins in 1855. A Welsh-speaker, John became an active member of the Welsh community, president of the Cymdeithas Lenyddol [Literary Society] in 1861, organising eisteddfodau and a Welsh society and addressing Welsh Chapel meetings. His daughter Mary Ann married John Watkins in 1861. Their son David worked as a coalminer and came to politics from a position in the Miners' Federation, entering NSW Parliament as a member for Wallsend in 1894. He was elected for Newcastle in the first Commonwealth Parliament in 1901. He was still the member when he died in 1935. 1851 Census of E&W; BIL 1855 SRNSW 4/4952; *NC* 10 April, 22 June 1861; *NMH* 16 May 1927, 9 April, 11 April 1935. See Chapters 7 and 8.

over the meetings. His son Evan was treasurer of the committee responsible for purchasing a church building and a trustee of the church.[132] Lewis prepared his entirely Welsh-medium congregation for the inevitable amalgamation with the English Congregational Church following his death.[133]



Image 6.2 Richard Thomas, Lambton 1835-1929. Thomas was a deacon of the Lambton Congregational Church, an undertaker, cabinetmaker and furnishing warehouseman. In 1888 he had the largest undertaking business in the Newcastle district. Source: Reproduced from a copy held by the National Library of Wales.

That there was still some demand for Welsh services in the new Lambton Congregational Church was acknowledged in the Memorandum of Agreement

[131] Emrys Jones also makes this point about the churches in Utica, that they chose to "retain their function of administering to the spiritual needs of the community rather than that they should die in being the last defenders of the Welsh language" 34.
[132] *MA* 22 September 1875.
[133] Uniting Church Archives: Lambton, Minute Book, 25 October 1904.

between the members of the Welsh and the English Congregational Churches. While the Sunday morning and evening services were to be held in English, the Welsh could hold their Bible Class in the afternoon and have a Welsh sermon once every four weeks, "so long as a majority of the Welsh members interested shall so desire; such majority not to be less than twelve members."[134] Letters indicate that church members continued to request Welsh-language services, two of the original Welsh founding members, Richard Thomas[135] and Joseph Parry,[136] remaining active in the church until their deaths.

Welsh then as a living language, died with the passing of the first migrant generation and the loss of their Welsh-speaking pastors. Evan Lewis died in 1902 and Seth Jones in 1904. His brother Evan Mona Jones who followed him at the Baptist Tabernacle, reluctantly returned to Wales at the end of 1912 and again in 1915.[137] President of the Cambrian Society for seven years, E. Mona Jones, who spoke both English and Welsh, had "fought nobly in their interest, not only for those who spoke the Welsh language, but for their descendants."[138] This statement from Richard Thomas of the Cambrian

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[134] Uniting Church Archives: Lambton, 7 November 1904.

[135] Richard Thomas was born in Llanor, Carmarthenshire in 1835 and paid £5 for his passage on the *Admiral Lyons* in 1857. A carpenter, he was unable to find work in Sydney and so settled first in Kiama on the NSW South Coast where he worked in farming. There he met and later married Maria Beddock. In1860 he moved to Minmi working as a miner until the colliery flooded in 1864 and then to Lambton in 1865 where he continued mining. In 1871 he opened a furniture store and undertaking business in Lambton. A pioneer of the Bethel Welsh Chapel in Lambton, he helped quarry the stone and build the chapel in 1868. He became church secretary and then deacon and worked actively for the union of the Welsh and English churches, signing the Amalgamation Agreement in 1904. He was also an alderman on Lambton Council, a member of the Masonic Lodge. In 1918 he organised the 50th anniversary of the Lambton Congregational Church. He died in Lambton in 1929. Biographical details compiled from BIL 1857 SRNSW 4/4965; NSW Official Post Office Directory 1867; W.F. Morrison, *Aldine Centennial History of NSW*, 1888; *NMH* 11 June 1929; *Newcastle and District Historical Society Journal* Vol. 4, 3 September 1976, 49-54; Uniting Church Archives and various articles from the Newcastle newspapers.

[136] Joseph Parry was born in Flintshire and also emigrated on the *Admiral Lyons* but a year later than Richard Thomas, in 1858. He arrived with his wife Elizabeth and eldest son Edward aged 5. A second son was born in Sydney shortly after his arrival. A stonemason, he went to Kiama in 1860 and built the Presbyterian Church there. After trying the Rockhampton diggings in Queensland, in 1864 he arrived in Newcastle by paddle steamer, going first to Minmi and then to Lambton, working as a miner. A lifelong friend of Richard Thomas, he supervised the quarrying of stone and the building of the Bethel Chapel in 1868. He also signed the Amalgamation Agreement in 1904. In 1921, aged 90 and described as a tall, gaunt figure, he was interviewed by the *Newcastle Sun* on his memories of nineteenth-century Newcastle. He died in 1922. Biographical details compiled from BIL 1858 SRNSW 4/4795; *NMH* 10 June 1921; *Newcastle and District Historical Society Journal* Vol. 4, 3 September 1976, 49-54; Uniting Church Archives and various articles from the Newcastle newspapers.

[137] *NMH* 25 October, 30 December 1912.

[138] *NMH* 30 December 1912.

Society made the distinction between those who spoke Welsh and their descendants and perhaps provides the answer to the question of what happened to the language in NSW.

While it is impossible to measure with any certainty the extent of the use of Welsh in the NCMD, particularly in private and domestic spheres, the evidence shows that Welsh was spoken by a considerable number of people who arrived from Wales in the second half of the nineteenth century and that many felt disadvantaged when being forced to use English in everyday and business activities. Welsh was used both in chapel and socially and it seems likely that many of the first colonial-born generation of Welsh-speaking parents had Welsh as their first language, at least until they went to school. The spread of national education and the perception that English was crucial to "getting on" were as powerful in Australia as they were in Wales in the loss of bilingualism.[139] By St David's Day 1937 at the Golden Jubilee of the Newcastle and District Cambrian Society, the Reverend D.G. Jones of Gloucester acknowledged that he was speaking "to Welsh people who have more Welsh blood than Welsh language."[140]

[139] Jenkins 20.
[140] *NMH* 2 March 1937.

CHAPTER 7

Culture and Identity

" . . . a four-square man, a Welshman, without his peer in that country, a linguist, orator and translator incomparable in the Welsh language . . ."[1]

David Watkins MHR

When a memorial to the late bard John Morgan, "Trelynydd", was unveiled in Sandgate Cemetery in Newcastle in 1927 by the Newcastle and District Cambrian Society, his Welsh and English friends paid tribute

> to one who had given of his best to his compatriots, in the fostering of the language and traditions of their race, and the history, customs, and folk lore of the land of Cymru.

The tall white marble memorial had suitable inscriptions in both Welsh and English. "Inset is a replica of the Welsh emblem surmounted by the Prince of Wales' feathers, giving it a unique touch, being typically Welsh." The ceremony began with a Welsh hymn, "Beth sydd imi yn y byd" (sic) to the tune of "Aberystwyth" conducted by Myall Williams of Kurri Kurri, accompanied by Miss M. Jones of Speers Point on the organ. Rev. Parry Jones offered a scripture reading and prayer in Welsh and John Ace of Kurri Kurri delivered a panegyric in Welsh of the late John Morgan. The Welsh hymn which followed, was one in which the late bard had collaborated with the composer of the famous Welsh hymn, "Crugybar". The pastor of the Newcastle Baptist Tabernacle gave an address in English, followed by other speeches. The Tabernacle choir sang "Crossing the Bar" and Messrs C. Adams, D. Lloyd, E. Lloyd and H. Morris sang "Remember Me". Then Mrs Gwen Griffiths,[2] an old member of

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[1] *NMH* 16 May 1927, *Souvenir Programme of the Unveling of Memorial erected by the Newcastle and District Cambrian Society and friends, to their late Bard and Foundation Member John Morgan "Trelynydd" Merewether*, NRPL.

[2] Gwenllian Griffiths was born in Neath in 1844 and she came first to Sebastopol, Victoria with her husband Griffith and son in 1869. They worked in gold mining until 1872 when they moved to Newcastle, settling on the Commonage near Hamilton. Griffith worked in the coal mines until he was blinded in an accident and he died in 1909. Welsh people of the NCMD including John Morgan, gathered for his funeral and Morgan sent an account of the funeral in Welsh to *Y Drych*, Gwenllian was an active member of the Welsh community, being a foundation member of the Cambrian Society. At the time of her death in 1936 she was the last remaining member of the Welsh Congregational Church at Glebe. *NMH* 24 June 1936.

the Cambrian Society, unveiled the monument, draped with "Y Ddraig Goch", the Welsh flag, lent for the occasion by the headmaster of Cardiff Public School in Newcastle. David Watkins, MHR,[3] then gave an address in English,

> dealing briefly on the life of one, whom he characterised as a four square man, a Welshman, without his peer in that country, a linguist, orator and translator incomparable in the Welsh language, and one to whom he was indebted for many translations.

John Morgan's eldest son William John accepted the memorial and thanked the society in both Welsh and English. Finally a dedicatory prayer was offered by Myall Williams[4] in the "vernacular" and another Welsh hymn and two English hymns were sung. A wreath from the society in memory of Mr and Mrs Morgan and a large harp composed of daffodils from the women of the Cambrian Society were placed on the grave after which James Jenkins pronounced benediction. The newspaper commented that "the trains were taxed to their utmost to carry the large assemblage of visitors, many of whom came from various parts of the State, especially for the occasion."[5]

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[3] David Watkins MHR was born in Wallsend in 1865, the son of John Watkins of Wallsend and his wife Mary Ann Hopkins. Mary Ann had arrived in the colony from Rhymney with her parents Catherine and John Hopkins in 1855 when she was 13. John Hopkins had been born in Aberystwyth, Cardiganshire and in 1851 he was a tallow chandler living with his family in Old Co-op Shop, Rhymney. His wife was born in Cardiff and their five children in Rhymney. When he left Rhymney in 1855 John had been working as a labourer in the ironworks. In the NCMD he found work as a miner at the Coal and Copper Company's tunnels then moved to Wallsend when the mine opened there. A Welsh-speaker, he became an active member of the Welsh community, president of the *Cymdeithas Lenyddol* in 1861, organising eisteddfodau and a Welsh society and addressing Welsh Chapel meetings. His daughter Mary Ann married John Watkins in 1861. Their son David worked as a coalminer and came to politics from a position in the Miners' Federation, entering NSW Parliament as a member for Wallsend in 1894. He was one of the first pledge Labour men. He was elected for Newcastle in the first Commonwealth Parliament in 1901. He was still the member when he died in 1935. 1851 Census of E&W 107/2448; BIL 1855 SRNSW 4/4952; *NC* 10 April, 22 June 1861; *NMH* 9 April, 11 April 1935. See Chapter 8.

[4] Alfred Myall Williams arrived from Dowlais, Glamorganshire in 1912. In 1881, aged 13, he was living at home with his family in Martins Row, Gelligaer. He was a colliery labourer, son of a colliery overman. His older brother Henry Morgan Williams, 22, a coal miner who also came to the NCMD in 1887, then lived along the same row with his wife Jane. Born in Merthyr Tydfil, both their parents came from Llanegwad, Carmarthen. A Welsh-speaker, he was employed at the Stanford Merthyr Colliery for 22 years, first as under manager, then as manager. His brother was superintendant. He organised Gymanfa Ganu [singing festival] and conducted Welsh religious services. Myall's son Isaac was a waggon and coachbuilder in Dowlais. He visited his father in the NCMD in 1920, and then emigrated, settling in Kurri Kurri in 1928. He was the Kurri Kurri delegate on the board of the Federated Mining Mechanics for 16 years until 1950. Isaac's son worked underground at Pelaw Main. Myall Williams died in Kurri Kurri in 1942. 1881 Census of E&W 11/5308; *NMH* 9 December 1942; *The Coal Miner* September 1950.

[5] *NMH* 16 May 1927

This memorial service has been described at some length because it exemplifies what might be regarded as the mainsprings of Welsh culture, whether in Wales or overseas. The Welsh language, the flag, the feathers of the Prince of Wales, daffodils and harps, poetry, hymns and a choir; all these, even today, are recognisable symbols and cultural markers of what it means to be Welsh. The Welsh migrants to Australia brought a sense of Welsh identity with them, recognised by others in the NCMD, and setting the Welsh apart as a distinctive community within the coal-mining, commercial and mercantile world of nineteenth-century Newcastle.

The colonial context of the NCMD into which the Welsh settled is integral to consideration of cultural continuity and change.[6] Ellen McEwen and others have pointed to the distinctiveness of the NCMD:

> There is no doubt that the lifestyle that developed in the NCD was, because of the class composition and peculiar regional origins of the population in Britain, culturally distinctive. Small town size and the dominance of one occupation meant that there were either institutionalised or personal links between most activities and institutions.[7]

J.C. Docherty described the

> highly-selective pattern of British immigration to Newcastle which began in earnest in the mid-1850s and continued until 1890. Indeed, migration, not natural increase, was the main reason for Newcastle's population growth for most of the second half of the 19th century . . . In its campaign for British miners, the NSW government advertised Newcastle as an antipodean version of the coalfields of Durham and Northumberland, presumably to attract immigrants from these areas by suggesting that they would have little difficulty in settling into a new life in the colony . . . In 1891, almost a third

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[6] To date there has been no definitive history written about Newcastle. The Newcastle and District Historical Society has published journals, bulletins and monographs and there are many small local history publications. Other than several theses, the main works are Cynthia Hunter, ed., *Riverchange, Six New Histories of the Hunter* (Newcastle Region Public Library, 1998); J.C. Docherty, *Newcastle, the Making of an Australian City* (Sydney: Hale & Ironmonger, 1983); J.W. Turner, *Manufacturing in Newcastle 1801-1900* (Newcastle History Monographs 8, 1980) and *Coal Mining in Newcastle 1801-1900* (Newcastle History Monographs 9, 1982). The latest publication is Susan Marsden, *Coals to Newcastle, A History of Coal Loading at the Port of Newcastle, New South Wales 1797-1997* (Wagga Wagga: Bobby Graham, 2002).

[7] McEwen, "The Newcastle Coalmining District", Thesis Summary.

were British-born compared with the New South Wales average of just under a quarter.[8]

This cultural distinctiveness had important implications for Welsh settlers in the district. Many had already lived their lives as part of a coalmining community. What they found in the NCMD was a busy port and commercial town with relatively-isolated and dispersed frontier mining settlements attached. This would have been strangely familiar to those from the South Wales valleys and ports. The pit villages with their hastily built workers' housing, public houses, pit top and winding gear, manager's house and few facilities were not so very different from the pit villages they had left behind. Much of the coalmining development in South Wales had taken place in the early to mid-nineteenth century so similar patterns of development from the mid-century onwards in the NCMD would have been recognisable. The pit villages such as Minmi, Wallsend and Lambton were connected only by rough bush tracks and later coal tramways. But as in Wales in the mid-century, there were no local councils or authorities to provide facilities like schools, hospitals, roads, drainage, lighting, water and sewerage and as in Wales, the people had to set about finding these for themselves. The self-help and collectivist ethos of colliery life, imported both from Wales and from Scotland and the north of England, meant that the migrants to the NCMD were well-suited to adapting to the conditions of colonial life. They set about creating familiar and supportive institutions such as miners' lodges and friendly societies, co-operative stores, mechanics' and miners' institutes, chapels and even hospitals.

[8] Docherty 14-15.

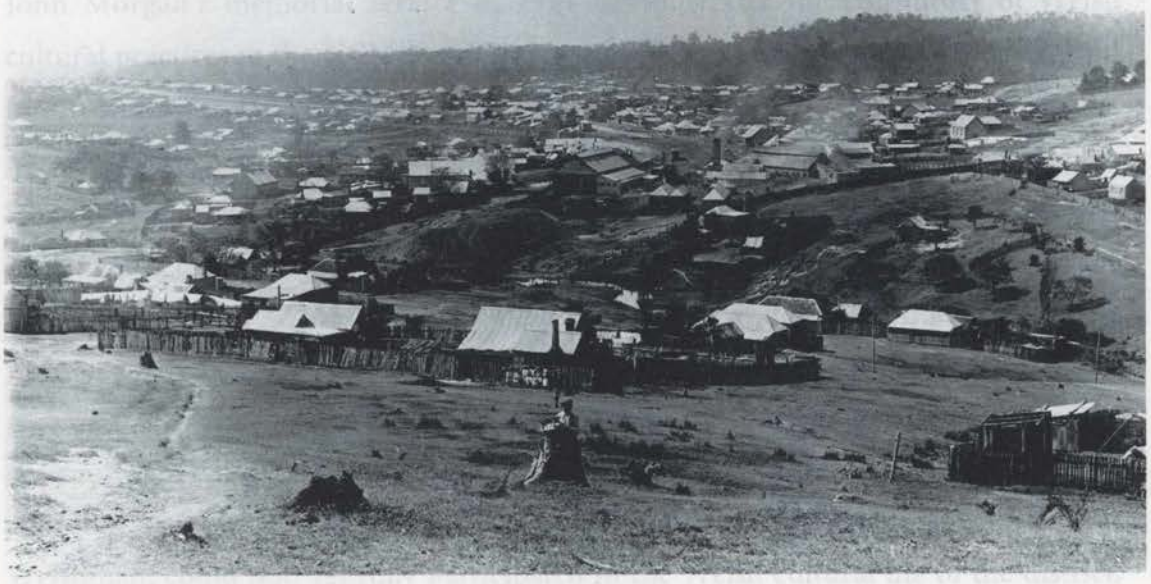


Image 7.1 Minmi in 1906. In 1859 the town had a population of 700, all working at J. and A. Brown's colliery. There was a Welsh independent Chapel in 1879, ministered to by Evan Lewis. There is now very little left of the once bustling mining town. Source: Snowball Collection, Hunter Photobank, Newcastle Region Public Library.

The sharing of coal mining culture with the other migrants from the British Isles had two implications for Welsh cultural continuity and change. Firstly, in order to maintain a distinct identity as a national group, the Welsh emphasised what they believed was exclusively about them: language and culture as exemplified by eisteddfodau, St David's Day, Welsh religion, history and literature, symbolism and a common heritage. For some, the Welsh language was inextricably intertwined with these, while for others, a Welsh identity was not bound up with language. Secondly, it was far easier for the Welsh to integrate into the British (but not Irish), English-speaking, protestant, non-conformist, working class, mining culture of the NCMD with its familiar institutions and attitudes. This meant that as both the language and Wales, as an experienced and remembered physical and cultural landscape, went with the passing of the migrant generation, what was left as distinctively Welsh were institutions like the Cambrian Society and the eisteddfodau, and events like St David's Day which became an opportunity for nostalgic tokenism. This chapter explores the process of that transformation through the main cultural institutions, the Cambrian

Society and the eisteddfodau and asks to what extent this transformation was an inevitable result of acculturation, of assimilation of Welsh culture to the dominant English one? Could it also be seen as a process of cultural exchange and as one of taking on additional identities, of becoming Australian as well as Welsh and British?

John Morgan's memorial service in 1927 demonstrates the continuity of Welsh cultural practices in the NCMD well into the twentieth century. Morgan left Bargoed for Australia in early 1886. In Newcastle he paid a deposit for his second wife, Margaret and children and they arrived early in 1887.[9] On 9 April 1887 John Morgan won the bardic chair for recitation at the Adamstown Eisteddfod. He was bilingual yet his language of preference was Welsh. He fully participated in the Welsh cultural life of his new home, wrote letters in Welsh to Welsh and Welsh-American papers including *Seren Cymru* and *Y Drych,*[10] composed verses for public occasions and was regarded as the bard of the district's Cambrian Society. We know from his memorial ceremony that at least one of his sons continued to speak Welsh 40 years after his arrival in Australia. It is also clear that David Watkins, a third generation Australian-Welshman, could not, yet fully participated in the Welsh cultural life of the district. This was also the case for other migrants from Wales who did not, or chose not to, speak Welsh.

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[9] John Morgan was born in 1846 at Sirhowy near Tredegar. In 1881 he was 32, a widower, living at 16 Wingfield Rd, Gelligaer and working as a platelayer. Living with him were his elder two sons, William and Emrys, scholars, both born at Fleur-de-Lis, Monmouthshire, and his widowed brother Thomas, a coalminer and his three children. Margaret Jane, 12, the only daughter and John Jones Morgan, 2, were not with him on census night. Margaret Jones, a servant, 26, from Llanwrtyd, Breconshire was listed living in Wingfield Row nearby. Margaret Jones became John Morgan's second wife at Bargoed in 1881. Four children were born and one died between 1882 and 1886. John left Wales on the *SS Chimborazo* and arrived in Sydney on 23 April 1886. He was in Newcastle by early May, working in the Stockton Pit. His daughter Rosina was born in Bargoed on 18 June and on 5 August 1886 he paid a deposit for his wife and family to follow him. Margaret and all the children except the eldest daughter Margaret, who had died on 5 January 1887 aged 17, sailed from Plymouth and arrived on the *Abyssinia* on 24 March 1887. The ship was quarantined at Little Bay for 14 days then Margaret and the children came to Newcastle on 8 April. He later opened a bakery in Merewether. Biographical information compiled from notes by Morgan's granddaughter Mrs D. Wisbey from the Welsh Family Bible; 1881 Census of E&W, 11/5308; IDJ SRNSW 4/4597; BIL 1887 SRNSW 4/5035; *NMH* 16 May 1927; 4 October 1928; 21 January 1971.

[10] *Seren Cymru* 23 Mawrth [March] 1900, 6; *Y Drych* 3 Tachwedd [Nov] 1910, 19 Mai [May] 1911 and 28 Mawrth [March] 1912.



Image 7.2 John Morgan, "Trelynydd", 1846-1926, of Merewether aged 78 years. Founding member and bard of the Newcastle Cambrian Society, a Welsh-speaker, poet, linguist, orator and translator. Source: Hunter Photobank, Newcastle Region Public Library.

There are many examples of nineteenth-century migrants from Wales who appear not to have spoken Welsh, yet were clearly part of the Welsh community. William Rees Alexander, the son of a coalminer, was born in Abertillery, Monmouthshire in 1860 and was a miner from the age of 10. In Wales he took part in eisteddfodau, was a member of literary institutions and involved in the Wesleyan Church Sunday School and the Band of Hope. He won prizes for sight-reading of music and for impromptu speeches, debates and essays. He emigrated to Australia in 1883 with his wife Rosina and infant daughter, worked in coalmining then settled in Hamilton in 1888. He became an auctioneer, founded the firm of W.R. Alexander and Sons and worked "in the service of charities and social and musical institutions" including several choirs. Elected an alderman in 1894, he became Mayor in 1899. "For 15 years he has been patron and president of the local Cambrian Society's Eisteddfods and has conducted

many musical sessions at different eisteddfods." He made two visits back to Wales in 1913 and 1924, representing the Newcastle Cambrian Society at the National Eisteddfod in Abergavenny in 1913 and welcomed back to Abertillery with a civic reception.[11] His visit home was covered by the local press and under the headline "Abertillerian's Distinguished Career" he was interviewed by the *South Wales Gazette* on both his impressions of change in his home country and also on opportunities in his new one:

> . . . a new country leaves behind it all the old traditions and retains what is best of all customs and laws . . . I love the land of my adoption and do not think any country offers such facilities. I am of opinion that the conditions in Australia are on a higher level than in the old country today.[12]

Other articles in the same paper reprinted a biographical sketch from the *Newcastle Morning Herald* and commented that "emigrants from this district to New South Wales have always found you to be a true friend and have received hospitality at your home."[13]

Like William Alexander, there is much evidence that migrants continued to participate in and even to establish similar cultural institutions in their new home. Henry Morgan Williams, a Welsh-speaker, was a director of a choir and male voice party in Wales before he emigrated in c1886. In the NCMD he was active in the Congregational Church and continued his involvement in musical bodies, was a patron of eisteddfodau and conducted mass choirs.[14] William Thomas was "born Welsh, lived Welsh and died Welsh" in 1931. He was a member of Welsh meetings and was part of the choir at Gymanfa Ganu.[15]

From the beginnings of Welsh settlement in the NCMD, the migrants set out to recreate the familiar institutions that both reflected and supported their Welshness. The first recorded society was a *Cymdeithas Lenyddol [Literary Society],* formed by miners including John Hopkins, David Morgan and Thomas Evans in the Glebe in

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[11] Biographical information compiled from 1861 and 1881 Census of E&W 9/3997 and 11/5241; BIL 1883 SRNSW 4/5028; *NMH* 22 March 1913; 10 September 1930; *The South Wales Gazette* 9 May, 16 May, 23 May, 29 August 1913.
[12] *South Wales Gazette* 29 August 1913.
[13] *South Wales Gazette* 9 May, 16 May, 23 May 1913.
[14] *NMH* 25 February 1931.

June 1861. Notices and eisteddfodau programs were published in the *Newcastle Chronicle* entirely in Welsh.[16] In 1862 the society advertised another eisteddfod, the only English words in the advertisement being "the Cambrian Literary Society of New South Wales".[17] It is not known for how long or how successful this society was. Until the 1880s most Welsh cultural events were organised mainly through local committees and the Welsh chapels founded in Wallsend, Lambton, Minmi and Merewether from the 1850s. The chapels organised not only religious matters and events but also most of the social and cultural events for the community in the district. But by the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth, a larger and more cohesive umbrella group was needed to organise and fund-raise for eisteddfodau, to co-ordinate the various music and literary societies and to be a focus for the Welsh in the district, many of whom now belonged to English chapels. The Newcastle and District Cambrian Society was founded in 1887 to promote Welsh culture in the district through the holding of socials, eisteddfodau, opportunities for the Welsh language and singing festivals. Four volumes of the Minute Books from 1908 to 1964 survive in the Newcastle Region Public Library and provide some evidence of how the members saw themselves and their cultural role in the NCMD.[18] Unfortunately, no minutes appear to have survived for the early period from 1887 and newspaper accounts have to be relied on for this. It is not known whether proceedings were ever conducted and recorded in Welsh. Certainly many of the members were Welsh-speaking including Thomas J. Jones, "Namorydd", who announced the founding of the Society in the Welsh- language journal *Cyfaill yr Aelwyd* in 1888:

> Dywenydd genyv allu hysbysu darllenwyr y CYVAILL ein bod, vel Cymry yn y rhanbarth hon, wedi llwyddo I sevydlu Cymdeithas o Gymrodorian, neu gangen o'r *Cambrian Society*, ac yr ydym yn dysgwyl y prova yn vendith I luaws o'n cydgenedl yn y byd estronal hwn. Mae iddi amcanion uchelryw, ac os govelir am ddynion da wrth y llyw, mae'r gymdeithas yn rhym o droi allan yn llwyddiant. O dan ei nawddogaeth hi y cynhelir eisteddvodau y drev hon rhagllaw. Cavwyd £200 o elw clir oddiwrthyr eisteddvod ddiweddav. Devnyddir y swm hwnw i sevydlu y gymdeithas ac i ddod, revnu ei hystavelloedd â llenyddiaeth Gymreig, ac hevyd, vel *guarantee fund* gogyver

[15] *NMH* 4 December 1931.
[16] *NC* 22 June, 30 October 1861.
[17] *NC* 11 October 1862.
[18] Newcastle and District Cambrian Society (NDCS) Minute Books 1908-1964 and List of Members 1956-1963, 4 Vols. NRPL AB4303-4306.

a'r eisteddvod ddilynol. Dyma gam yn yr iawn gyveiriad, ac os govelir am y gymdeithas a'I flentyn, - yr Eisteddvod Drevedigaethol - byddant yn sicr o brovi yn voddion efeithiol tuag at dderchaviad y genedl sydd yn wasgaredig ar hyd a lled Deheudir Cymru Newydd.

[I am happy to be able to inform the readers of the FRIEND that we have succeeded, as Welsh people in this district, in establishing a Fellowship Society, or branch of the Cambrian Society, and we are expecting it to prove a blessing to the great throng of our fellow-countrymen in this foreign world. Its aims are high, and if it is cared for by good men at the helm, the Society is bound to turn out to be a success. The town's eisteddfodau are to be held under its patronage. £200 of clear profit was had from the last eisteddfod. This sum is to be used to establish the Society that's to come, to arrange its rooms for Welsh literature, and also, as a guarantee fund for the eisteddfod to follow. Here is a step in the right direction, and if the Society, and its child, the Colonial Eisteddfod, are looked after, they are sure to prove an effectual means of promoting the spirit of the nation that is scattered across the length and breadth of New South Wales.][19]

Jones added a postscript asking for newspapers, magazines or books in Welsh to be donated for their "Fellowship Room". Newspaper accounts show that from its beginning, the Society saw its role as organiser, co-ordinator and promoter of Welsh cultural affairs in the district. But it also won wider approval beyond the Welsh community. In 1889 a report in the *Newcastle Morning Herald* on a Musical and Literary Competition held by the Society in the Temperance Hall, Stockton, described the Society "as proving a power for good in the community". Richard Thomas, the Chairman, referred to the event as being "held under such worthy and noble auspices as those of the promotion of literature, culture, refinement, and the advancement of mankind."[20] Thomas, from Aberdare, was the manager of the Stockton Coal Mine that had opened in 1884.

As well as running St David's Day celebrations, eisteddfodau, musical and literary evenings, the Society also had a social role. It raised and gave money for distressed compatriots, sent wreaths, letters of condolence and attended funerals, visited and supported ill members and their families, made presentations and welcomed Welsh

[19] *Cyfaill yr Aelwyd* September 1888, 224.

visitors to Newcastle. The minute books show that these roles continued well into the twentieth century.

The list of members for 1908-1914 included in the Minute Books shows that during these years new members were regularly admitted, including newcomers from Wales. There were 44 members in 1908, another eight joined in 1909, three in 1910, two in 1911, seven in 1913 and four in 1914. Another membership list started in 1909 lists 58 members. In 1908 there were four committees: musical, elocution, charity and general. Between 12 and 24 people attended each monthly meeting. The minutes from 1908, which are all in English, included the organisation for St David's Day, the fixing of rules in connection with the society, planning of the 21st Eisteddfod and arrangements for welcoming the Royal Welsh Male Party visiting Newcastle in September 1908 by holding a banquet which "the ladies of the Cambrian Society" were allowed to attend. The organisation of the eisteddfod shows attempts to keep Welsh-language items in the program and to use works by Welsh composers. On 2 May 1908 nine dozen copies of "The Summer" (Gwilym Gwent) were ordered from D.O. Evans, America and on 4 July James Jenkins of Adamstown moved that Welsh recitation and solos be included in the program. An adjudicator for the Welsh items was appointed and the essay subject was "An Historical Sketch on the Eisteddfod in Australia".[21]

The only woman listed in the 1908 membership lists was a Mrs A.J. Miller on the Musical Committee. It wasn't until June 1920 that women were formally admitted to the Society and seven women immediately joined: Gwenllian Griffiths, Mrs J. Wilson Jones, Miss Gwen Morgan, Mrs Annie Morgan, Mrs Cris Evans, Mrs Lizzie Davis and Mrs Catherine Ann Hughes. But women, many of whom were wives of the active members, were clearly very much involved in the activities of the society and performing and accompanying at Society concerts and eistedfoddau since the beginning, despite their lack of membership status. Mrs Morgan was given 15/- for her services rendered on St David's Day, 1908. When Margaret Edwards of Cardiff died in 1920 she was described in the minutes as having been "a member of the Society for many years" and the Society recorded "her good and valuable work in past years."[22]

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[20] *NMH* 18 June 1889.
[21] NDCS Minutes 1908-22, NRPL AB4304.
[22] NDCS Minutes 1908-22, NRPL AB4304.

From 1920 women's committees organised socials, and women were also soon serving on joint committees with the male members but it wasn't until 1944 that a women, Mrs D. Evans, was elected president.[23]

As a fund-raiser for the eisteddfodau, the Society was successful in attracting donations from some of the larger businesses in Newcastle. In 1908 these included Davis and Carrington, the wine merchants and brewers J. and J.R Wood, Tooth and Co. and Tooheys, retailer Sorby and Co., "Newcastle's Big Hardware Store", and John Burke and Sons and W.K. Lockhead. Despite this, financial support for the eisteddfodau was a constant concern. The 1910 eisteddfod was postponed and then replaced with a Juvenile Eisteddfod after industrial trouble caused hardship in the district. Individuals from the Welsh community also gave donations. Several members made contributions and Daniel Bevan, Jonah's elder brother and a former member, sent £1/1/- from Perth. Now in their seventies, James and Margaret Edwards of Cardiff gave £3/3/- for the 1910 Juvenile Choir contest. Although they were not on the 1908-14 membership lists, Margaret's obituary emphasises her support for the Cambrian Society and members of the Society were formally invited to their Golden Wedding in 1910 for which John Morgan, described as "Arch Druid", composed and delivered congratulatory verses. In 1911 and 1920 the Society was represented at both their funerals.[24]

The Cambrian Society provided a focus for the now more wide-spread Welsh community in the district as well as links with other Welsh groups in Australia and with Wales itself. The minutes show that a choir from Lithgow was to compete in the abandoned 1910 eisteddfod. In 1909 the Sydney Cymmrodorion Society suggested that St David's Day be held in Gosford as a united picnic and reunion of the two societies. The president attended a meeting of the Melbourne Cambrian Society when he was visiting that state in 1911 and links were also established with similar societies in Auckland, Ballarat and Western Australia.

Members of the Society were in ongoing communication with, and had an awareness of current events in Wales. £2/2/- was donated in 1911 towards the memorial to the authors of the Welsh national anthem,"Hen wlad fy nhadau", congratulations were

[23] NDCS Minutes 1934-52, NRPL AB4305.

cabled through the Mayor of Caernarfon for the investiture of the Prince of Wales and the Society's President gave an address on Wales on the evening of the investiture. When he left for Wales at the end of 1912, E. Mona Jones was delegated to "carry our greetings and to represent our Society at the National Eisteddfod of Wales, Abergavenni" in 1913, the same one that William Alexander attended. A "Welsh letter" written "in type writing" gave him authority to do so. In November 1913 the profits from the Society's small eisteddfod were to go to "the Welsh disaster" as well as a cablegram, and a month later £10 was donated from the Society to the disaster fund.[25]

Welsh visitors were welcomed and entertained. The Society organised a complimentary steamer trip, visits to two rugby union matches and a concert at Wallsend for the Royal Welsh Choir in 1909. In 1910 a Welsh concert was held for Welsh sailors in the port.[26] When the Prince of Wales visited Newcastle in 1920, the Society successfully canvassed to be represented and the male voice choir performed.[27]

Charity was also part of the Society's work. In 1909 5/- relief was given to a brother Welshman in distress. Later that year money and bed and meals were provided for another two distressed Welshmen, the money subsequently being repaid. In 1911 the President E. Mona Jones gave 10/- to Mrs McLean, "a fellow countrywoman" out of the charity fund. The same year the distress of Diver Hughes was discussed and the Secretary instructed to write to "Brother" David Watkins MHR on the case. This was followed up at the next meeting, with a report that the Federal Government had given Hughes some light work.[28]

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[24] NDCS Minutes 1908-22, NRPL AB4304, *NMH* 17 September 1910; 9 September 1911; 2 July 1920. See also Chapter 6.

[25] This was the disaster at the Universal Colliery, Senghenydd, Glamorgan in which 439 men and boys were killed on 14 October, the worst mining disaster to occur in Britain. Nearly half of all British mining deaths in 1913 were in Wales.

[26] An earlier social for the Welsh seamen in port in 1900 saw the visiting crews participating in the program. Captain Gronow of the *Dalrymple*, First Mate Davis and Captain Thomas of the *Fallstaff* and Dick Williams of the *Snowdon* were among the visitors. David Lloyd, the Mayor of Merewether, presided and all the singing and reciting were in "the old Welsh language." *NMH* 2 October 1900. Another concert, entirely in Welsh, was reported in *NMH* on 19 May 1902.

[27] NDCS Minutes 1908-22, NRPL AB4304.

[28] Francis Herbert Hughes, born in Ruabon, North Wales c1862, had emigrated to Queensland. Known as Diver Hughes, he was the hero of the flooded Bonnievale gold mine rescue in Western Australia in March 1907. A fellow miner was trapped for 9 days by floodwaters. Hughes wearing a diver suit dived into 100 feet of water to get food to the miner

Despite the involvement of the Welsh community in the Society and the work it was doing to promote Welsh culture, there were signs of falling membership and of non-attendance at meetings. At the end of 1911, the Society resolved to discontinue holding the eisteddfod, the quorum was reduced to five and a year later it was decided that the Society meet quarterly instead of monthly. This may have been caused by the President, E. Mona Jones, leaving both the Baptist Tabernacle and the district to return to Wales. John Morgan became the next president. Between 11 and five members attended meetings in 1912-13 and despite the decision to hold them quarterly, they occurred more frequently, every two months or even monthly. The 1913 St David's Day social and concert with a speech in Welsh was successful and a small-scale eisteddfod was planned in 1913. E. Mona Jones was welcomed back at the beginning of 1914 and was asked to give an address on his travels in Wales to the Welsh people "in their native language". Jonah Bevan became president. By 1914 the Society appeared to have a new lease of life. A new membership roll was drawn up and every member received summons and subscriptions. New members continued to be accepted at most meetings, held monthly, two-monthly or quarterly. But by the end of 1914 world events were impinging on the society's business. £5/5/- was donated to the Patriotic Fund, £2/2/- to the Belgian Fund and £1/1/- to the Red Cross. In 1915 presentations were made to members like D.L. Lloyd leaving for the Front and by the end of the year dues were suspended and there were no meetings until 8 June 1918.

So the Newcastle and District Cambrian Society continued to be an active and viable organisation representing the Welsh, their culture and interests in the NCMD well into the twentieth century. In terms of change, the proceedings were by 1908 in English although there is evidence that many continued to seek opportunities for Welsh-language events. Members lived in Newcastle City, Stockton, Lambton, Merewether, Hamilton, Adamstown, Waratah, Carrington, Islington, Mayfield, Wallsend, New Lambton and further out in Greta, Kurri Kurri, Singleton and even Narromine. Interestingly, only one member was listed from Wallsend and that was David Watkins MHR. It is possible that the rivalry between the Wallsend Welsh and the rest of the Welsh community, evident in the conflict over Welsh language chapel services in the nineteenth century, carried over into the twentieth. Certainly Wallsend continued to see itself as separate and run its own eisteddfodau. In 1909 Jonah Bevan

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and then rescued him. He visited the NCMD in 1907 and was accorded a hero's reception by the miners at West Wallsend. *NMH* 3 June 1907.

made overtures to the Wallsend Society regarding the advisability of holding an eisteddfod in Wallsend and Newcastle in alternate years. However when Wallsend insisted on a joint committee having the sole and final selection of the programs and adjudicators, it was decided that the Society could not go into compact with them. Following World War 1, the Society continued its role, holding concerts to raise money for repatriation, the YMCA building fund, and other causes, reviving the eisteddfod, involving itself in the 1920 visit of the Prince of Wales, welcoming Welsh visitors and assisting fellow Welsh in distress. However change was also evident and the Society appeared to be losing ground. In 1920 and again in 1935 the Society looked at how it could make itself more attractive and in 1922 considered the advisability of forming a Welsh class. In 1934 the St David's Day celebrations included a tea meeting and nostalgic tokens such as attendants wearing Welsh national dress and stovepipe hats and daffodils decorating the tables. The newspaper reported that "the old vernacular was used, if only in short sentences of greeting."[29] It was so popular that two sittings were required.

The minutes record the deaths, month by month, of many of the older and founding members and by 1936 the meetings served more of a social function than business. In 1947 the Society celebrated its fiftieth anniversary and minute books and membership lists show that the Society continued to function at least until 1964. The NDCS was affected by the geographical shift westwards of the Welsh population, particularly the newcomers after 1918, with the closing of the old Newcastle pits and opening of the new in Cessnock, Abermain, Greta, Pelaw Main and Stanford Merthyr. Kurri Kurri had its own Cambrian Society by the 1920s.

While the Newcastle and District Cambrian Society reflected the strong continuity of Welsh cultural life and community, perhaps the strongest indicator of cultural change for the NCMD Welsh was the eisteddfod. Elizabeth Lucas perfectly encapsulated that process of change in 1998 when she wrote that the Welsh brought with them the institution "synonymous with their country" which "became a festival of literary and musical competition and in time, an important part of the culture of the Hunter Region."[30] In her discussion of the eisteddfod, however, she fails to acknowledge that

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[29] NDCS Minute Book 1934-52, newspaper clipping, NRPL AB 4305.

[30] Elizabeth Lucas, "Hear My Song, The Contribution of Successive Waves of Immigrants to the Cultural Diversity of the Hunter Region", *Riverchange* ed. Cynthia Hunter, Newcastle

the Welsh started holding local eisteddfodau almost as soon as they settled in the district and the earliest ones are recorded in the first surviving editions of the *Newcastle Chronicle* in the early 1860s.

The eisteddfodau programs and the detailed articles written about the competitions in the local press chart the changes in both language use in the eisteddfod and the changes in the program itself. Table 7.1 shows some of the eisteddfodau that took place over the years 1861-1902. It should be remembered that there were both small local eisteddfodau and the later, and much more ambitious, Annual Eisteddfodau.

Region Public Library, 1998,153. She cites A.F. Hughes' entry in *The Australian People,* ed. J. Jupp, 844 as her source for this.

YEAR	Held by	Program
1861	Gymdeithas Lenyddol, a literary organisation formed by miners of the Glebe	Completely Welsh – program, notices, proceedings. Program: Traethodau, Areithiau, Barddoniaeth, Cerddoriaeth, Adroddiadau. [Debate, Speeches, Poetry, Music, Recitations] shows a traditional emphasis on literary and speaking competitions rather than musical.
1862	Gymdeithas Lenyddol - Cambrian Literary Society of NSW	Completely Welsh – program, notices, proceedings. Program: Traethodau, Areithiau, Barddoniaeth, Caniadaeth, Adroddiadau. [Debate, Speeches, Poetry, Singing, Recitations].
1867	Wallsend	Completely Welsh
1869	Hunter River Amateur Musical & Literary Competitive Assoc	Formed by Welsh & non-Welsh in order to develop an all - English Eisteddfod & to popularise the competitions
1873	Lambton - to raise money for a testimonial for successful Welsh choir at Crystal Palace	Grand Welsh Eisteddfod held by Welsh for mainly Welsh audience; 250 present; program of singing, speeches, recitations, music, readings, addresses entirely in Welsh.
1874	Lambton Welsh	Grand Eisteddfod, 3 meetings, 2 in Welsh and 1 in English. Literary Composition, Poetry, Singing and music, recitations, readings, etc. English friends urged to attend. Hall filled for all 3 sessions.
1875	Wallsend	Organised by Welsh community, Daniel Rees, Secretary. Notices in English (Essays, Poetry, Music, Recitations); 13 literary prizes and 12 music; poetry & essay competitions in English; 9 songs in English, 3 in Welsh; 1 recitation in Welsh, 6 in English. "All compositions be confined to the working classes."
1876	Wallsend	Organised by Welsh community, Daniel Rees, Secretary. supported mainly by Welsh community
1881	Plattsburg	Held by Welsh; essays, poems, speeches and recitations - competitions in both languages; morning session all in Welsh, afternoon all in English; opening address in Welsh. A "tolerably successful affair". Celebrated Welsh harpist Miss M.H. Davies from Ballarat performed.
1885	Wallsend	Christmas Day, featured 20 Welsh recitations, essays, poems and readings in Welsh and Welsh songs and speeches. Several choirs competed.
1889	2nd Annual Newcastle Eisteddfod - Cambrian Society	Mostly in English with some Welsh competitions; was attended by more than 800 people with competitors from interstate. Concerts were held on each of the nights with Welsh performers and a program entirely in English.
1890	3rd Annual Newcastle Eisteddfod - Cambrian Society	As above - some Welsh prayers, recitations, translations, writings, music & songs, English speeches & competitions. 200-800 people attended.
1891	4th Annual Newcastle Eisteddfod -	As above - some Welsh prayers, recitations, translations, writings, music & songs, English speeches & competitions. 161 entries, sometimes 20 in a competition, preliminary

YEAR	Held by	Program
	Cambrian Society	competitions required, 200-800 people attended. Two concerts.
1891	3rd Annual Wallsend & Plattsburg Eisteddfod	"A monster success". All proceedings in English. 1 Welsh recitation, 3 literary competitions in English, 13 musical competitions. A successful evening concert was held.
1891	1st Annual Teralba Eisteddfod	In the Cardigan Hall, Teralba.Initiated by a number of Cambrians to raise money for the local C of E Church. President was W.D. Bedlington, manager of the Northern Colliery. All in English. Large number of entries, mostly music.
1892	4th annual Wallsend & Plattsburg Eisteddfod	Large attendance on both days, takings at the door amounted to £117. Proceedings all in English, with Welsh involvement and competitors as well as English.
1894	7th Annual Newcastle Eisteddfod – Cambrian Society	600-850 people attended the first session, absence of Sydney choirs and competitors regretted as Newcastle supported the Sydney Eisteddfod. Large numbers of entries required preliminary competitions. Opened with a prayer in Welsh & the Welsh national anthem. 1200 attended the second session, 650 of them children. 3 competitions were in Welsh, with 9 children under 15 competing in the Welsh recitation.
1900	12th Annual Wallsend & Plattsburg Eisteddfod	Presided over by D. Watkins, MP and W.R. Alexander, Mayor of Hamilton. Secretary Thomas R. Davies. All musical items and choirs, all in English. Evan Rees, President of the Cambrian Society attended.
1902	Merewether	Grand Eisteddfod, 21 competitions, 18 musical and 3 recitations, all in English. Secretary Tom Davies.
1902	15th Annual Newcastle Eisteddfod	Under the auspices of the NCS. The attendance was only moderate for the opening session but satisfactory for all sessions and the final concert filled to hall to overflowing. Opening solos in Welsh, rest in English. Visitors and competitors from Broken Hill and Balmain.

Table 7.1 Details on the programs of some of the eisteddfodau in the Newcastle district 1861-1902. Source: *Newcastle Chronicle*, *Miners Advocate, Wallsend & Plattsburg Sun,* and *Newcastle Morning Herald* 1861-1902.

From this list, it is clear that the Welsh in the NCMD were as culturally successful in promoting and maintaining their eisteddfodau as their more well-known counterparts in Ballarat and other parts of Victoria.[31] It also seems that what the Welsh called their "national institution"[32] became increasingly appropriated by the English community in the Newcastle district. The first designated "English" eisteddfod was proposed in 1869:

[31] For the Welsh in Ballarat see Tyler and Bill Jones, "Welsh Identities in Ballarat, Australia, during the late Nineteenth Century", *WHR* 20.2 (December 2000).
[32] *NMH* 17 June 1876.

> The public meeting called by advertisement . . . was held in the Public School building, Hanbury [Waratah], on Wednesday evening for the purpose of organising an association on the plan of the Welsh competitions, but in this case, to be all in the English language.

William Lewis and "others more or less acquainted with the working of kindred societies", explained the benefits to the meeting and a resolution was adopted to form the Hunter River Amateur Musical and Literary Competitive Association. The working committee included R. Hughes, T.J. Jones and W. Lewis as well as men by the names of Turton, Harper, Watson, Young, Archibald, Yates, Page and McKay.[33] An editorial two days later refers to the Welsh in the district holding such competitions, giving the meaning of the word "eisteddfod" as "an annual reunion of bards and minstrels". Referring to Wales, the editor explains that

> Till about five or six years ago, the proceedings of these meetings were invariably conducted in the Welsh language, but since that period the usual rule . . . has been departed from by musical performances and literary productions in English being admitted. This has, no doubt, been done to popularise the competitions, and to enable persons, not conversant with the ancient vernacular of Cymry (sic), to take part in them.[34]

The rich literary and musical heritage of other parts of the British Isles was pointed out, even from the time of their "civilisation" by the Romans. After commenting on the considerable success of the last local eisteddfod at Wallsend, on Christmas Day, 1867, the editor predicted that "the proposed English Eisteddfod . . . will turn out to be a greater success" due to the "comprehensiveness of the organisation . . . the number of competitors . . . and the talent, consequently, more diversified." This editorial is significant as it anticipates, even in 1869, the future direction of the eisteddfodau in the district and indicates the reasons both for the success of the movement as it was gradually transformed and the reasons why that transformation took place, despite efforts by some of the Welsh community to retain the Welshness of their own institution.

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[33] *NC* 8 June 1869
[34] *NC* 10 June 1869.

Many of the Welsh concurred with the perceived need to widen the appeal of the eisteddfod. John Davies of Wallsend, a Welsh-speaker and adjudicator at the 1874

Lambton Eisteddfod, wrote a letter to the *Miners' Advocate* a week before the event, urging "our English friends" to come and judge the worth of the competitions for themselves. He pointed out that the afternoon meeting will be entirely in English and that visitors would have the opportunity of seeing and hearing the old Cambrian national instrument, "the Welsh harp". He suggested that annual competitive meetings "similar to the Welsh Eisteddfod" would

> open a field for our young men to think and to put their thoughts on paper . . . There are hundreds of men, young and old, that are capable of doing a great deal more than they ever dreamt of themselves, providing that there is a proper impetus to guide their minds to the proper channel.[35]

The organisers were successful in attracting English people to the event, as a correspondent for the *Miners' Advocate* commented that "a considerable number of English people" were present "who seemed to enjoy the proceedings."[36] Other attempts to attract English involvement as competitors were not so successful. Daniel Rees, when opening the 1876 Wallsend Eisteddfod, spoke of the organising committee's wish "to introduce our national institution to our English friends, believing that the same effects can be produced by an English eisteddfod as have been produced for centuries by our Welsh institutions." Rees' final words, "hoping our English friends will not rest until an annual eisteddfod is held in the Hunter River district" show what the Welsh were hoping to achieve by promoting and sharing their institution. Either they already saw the traditional Welsh eisteddfod as unlikely to thrive in the district unless it became a more inclusive and therefore English event, or believing passionately in the worth of the institution, they wanted to offer it to the English-speaking community in NSW in a way that would have been impossible in England. The eisteddfod, held in both languages with a "liberal and comprehensive programme," failed to attract English competitors. Mr Youll, the judge of the English competitions, commented that "all the competitors were either Welshmen or children

[35] *MA* 20 May 1874.
[36] *MA* 27 May 1874.

of Welshmen. This ought not to be so, as we were all New South Welshmen here and were equal".[37]

The Welsh remained the main organisers of the local competitions but their willingness to share the benefits of their institution by broadening the programs and including English was not without cost to them. Perhaps it was also inevitable that as the younger generation were educated in English, there were fewer competitors in Welsh. Table 7.2 shows the competitions and results of the 1881 Plattsburg Eisteddfod.

The table shows that there were few competitors and those who did compete entered several competitions, in both English and Welsh. More had entered but many of the competitions fell through because of their non-appearance. However for the evening concert, in which most of the performers were Welsh, the hall was "comfortably filled" by a "respectable and appreciative audience."[38]

Competition	Prize	No. of Competitors	Result
Welsh treatise on Education - am y traethand goren ar "Addysg"	£1/10/-	5	Watkin Williams, late of Lambton
Recitation "The Ship on Fire"		No appearance	No result
Welsh speech on the labourer - Areith Gymraeg ar Lafur y Gweithiwr"	5/-	1	William Thomas
Welsh comic recitation "Unrhyr Adroddiad Digri"	5/-	3 – Wm Thomas, Samuel Jones, John Davies	William Thomas
Choir - Moody & Sankey selection	£1/10/-	Only 1 appeared	St Luke's C.E. Sabbath School conductor Wm Thomas.
Choir – solo and chorus	£1/10/-	Only 1 appeared	St Luke's C.E. Sabbath School, soloist Lucretia Davis.
Poem - New South Wales	£1/1/-	1	John Davies
Juveniles Duet – Onward	5/-	4 but 3 did not appear	Misses Davies
Recitation - Brutus on the Death of Caesar	5/-	3 D. Howell, Dan Davies,J. Davies	Dan Davies
Speech under 10 minutes - "Tact"	5/-	2 Wm Thomas & J. Davies	William Thomas
Chorus "Prayer from Mosé"	£5	1 choir conducted by D.L. Thomas	Not awarded

[37] *NMH* 17 April 1876.
[38] *NMH* 27 December 1881.

Competition	Prize	No. of Competitors	Result
Recitation "Don't run in debt"	5/-	1	Miss Eliza Rees
Juvenile Poem "The Wreck of the Hesperus"	3/- 2/-	3	1st Miss Edith Harris 2nd Miss Lucretia Davis
Best comic recitation	5/-	2	William Thomas
Best extempore speech not more than 5 minutes "Adjudicate"	2/6	1	William Thomas

Table 7.2. 1881 Plattsburg Eisteddfod program and results. Source: *NMH* 27 December 1881.

As the nature of the competitions and the programs changed, the eisteddfodau became more successful. The 1892 4th Annual Wallsend and Plattsburg Eisteddfod, with all competitions in English, saw a large attendance on both days and takings of £117. Although people with the names Llewellyn, Davies, Jones, Watkin, James and Evans competed, and Daniel Rees was Master of Ceremonies, there were many competitors with English names. Perhaps the most startling indicator of the adaptation of the eisteddfod was the competition for "Best song in the Northumbrian dialect" won by R. Jackson of Adamstown.[39]

The changing nature of the eisteddfod could be seen as a negative result of Welsh acculturation in the NCMD. However it is possible to argue that, because the Welsh were so willing to share and adapt their national institution to their new circumstances and audiences, the eisteddfod became an integral and important part of the cultural life of the district. This was a remarkable achievement for such a small group. Certainly by the mid-1890s, as well as the Annual Newcastle Eisteddfod held by the Cambrian Society, there were also eisteddfodau in Wallsend and Plattsburg, Teralba, Minmi, Burwood, Wickham, Hamilton and other districts.[40] NCMD communities competed in eisteddfodau in Victoria, Sydney and Balmain. Thomas Jones mentions that "two hundred pounds of clear profit was had from the last eisteddfod"[41], which was to be used to set up the Cambrian Society in 1887. He saw a "Colonial Eisteddfod" as "an effective means of promoting the spirit of the nation that is scattered across the length and breadth of NSW." In the following edition of *Cyfaill yr Aelwyd*, Jones celebrates what they have achieved:

[39] *WPS* 20 April 1892.
[40] *NMH* 27 January 1894.
[41] *Cyfaill yr Aelwyd* September 1888, 224.

> Mae'r ysbryd Eisteddvodol yn vyw iawn yn mhlith y vrawdoliaeth Gymreig yn nosbarth Newcastle. Rhag llaw, bwriedir i'r Eisteddvod Vlynyddol vod yn sevydliad parhaol, i'w gynal o dan nawddogaeth Cymdeithas y Cymrodorion yn ein dinas. Mae ein rhaglen bron yn barod gogyver a'r Eisteddvod ddyvodol. Dernyn o waith Dr Joseph Parry yw pwnc y briv gystadleuaeth gerddorol. Dyna i chwi, vechgyn, ddangosiad o'n gwladgarwch yn y rhan bellenig hon o'r "byd ysawd," ys dywed rhai o bregethwyr y Wesleaid yn Nghymru. Rhoddir £5 o wobr am draethawd ar "iawn berthynas Cyvalav a Llavur, a'r moddion goreu i'w sicrhau" . . . y briv wobr gerddorol yw £50, a *medal* aur i'r arweinydd . . .
>
> [The spirit of the Eisteddfod is very much alive amongst the Welsh brotherhood in the Newcastle district. Henceforth, it is intended the Annual Eisteddfod be a continuing institution, under the patronage of the Fellows of the Society in our city. A piece of work by Joseph Parry is the subject of the first musical competition. So it is up to you, boys, to demonstrate your patriotism in this distant part of "creation" as some of the Wesleyan preachers say in Wales. A prize of £5 will be given for an essay on "Good Relations between Capital and Labour, and the best means of ensuring them . . . The chief musical prize is £50, and a gold medal to the leader . . .] [42]

The Newcastle eisteddfodau run by the Cambrian Society were extremely successful. In 1889, 1891 and 1894 preliminary examinations had to be held owing to the number of entries. This included entries for Welsh recitations.[43] By 1890 the eisteddfod was important enough to warrant an editorial on the opening day:

> The descendants of the Britons have again gathered from all parts of the Newcastle district for the purpose of assisting at that truly national and patriotic institution, the Eisteddfod. Wherever the Cymri (sic) assemble in any number, that pleasant and profitable meeting is certain to be established sooner or later. Welsh people have assembled not only from the surrounding townships, but visitors have arrived from other portions of Australia; . . . If, in the past, there has been any inertness or lack of sympathy manifested by the Newcastle people in the Eisteddfod that annually meets in their midst, the time has arrived for a change.[44]

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[42] *Cyfaill yr Aelwyd* October 1888, 238.
[43] *NMH* 25 January 1889, 24 January 1891.
[44] *NMH* 27 January 1890.

The editorial is of particular interest in the way it presents the Welsh to the other people of the district. While noting that all human institutions are imperfect, and that the "Cambrian men and women" have as much human nature as any other race, the editor speaks out on the importance of the eisteddfod:

> . . . these annual gatherings kept alive the sentiments of nationality, patriotism and refinement during ages when everything was calculated to crush them out . . . if the sons of the Cymri in Australia, under more favourable circumstances than those which existed in the past, are richer than their ancient forefathers who retired to the fastnesses of the western hills before the fierce onslaughts of the Saxons and Normans, it is an honourable trait . . . that under all circumstances they seek to conserve national habits which have done the race yeoman service in the past.[45]

The Welsh were clearly seen as distinct from the other British groups with a unique culture and history. While this has been interpreted by some others, including some Welsh, as "cultural superiority",[46] this is also testimony to the success of the Welsh settlers in communicating their own sense of cultural difference to the other inhabitants of the NCMD.

But not all Welsh people agreed with the sentiments of the 1890 editorial. At the 1891 Eisteddfod with between 200-800 people present over all sessions, after dwelling on the greatness of the Welsh nation and its cultural contributions to the "wealth of all nations", the president, Rev. Seth Jones, reproached the Welsh of NSW:

> . . . the Welsh people have not lived up to these traditions and convictions in this country. The majority of them very inadequately represent Welsh life. It is said that there are 7000 Welshmen in Sydney; but there is nothing there except the census, and a few John Joneses written on different signs, to indicate the fact. There is no Welsh institution, no Welsh church worthy of the name. There are thousands of Welsh in this district, but there is very little here to their credit and honour. The Welsh churches are deserted and almost ready to perish; the Cambrian Society, which is the sole supporter of the Eisteddfod, cannot boast of 30 financial members.

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[45] *NMH* 27 January 1890.
[46] McEwen 211.

Jones urged the Welsh to overcome "our jealousies, complaints, criticisms and indifference" so that "our sympathies, unity and co-operation may be developed."[47] Unity was at times threatened by sectarianism and local rivalries, as has been shown in Wallsend and Lambton in the 1870s.[48] And the voices of criticism were not always Welsh. As has been mentioned above, there were also some who objected to what they saw as "cultural superiority" promulgated by the Welsh, despite all their efforts to create a more inclusive eisteddfod. A letter written by "An Englishman" from Merewether in 1892, who visited the Eisteddfod, attempts to put the Welsh firmly in their place:

> The Cambrian Society has at its head men of intelligence . . . but they and the various presidents elected seem to forget the fact . . . that fully 75 per cent. of the audience have never seen Wales, and out of that not more than 5 per cent., though born in New South Wales, and of Welsh descent, can speak the Welsh language. Surely the remaining 70 per cent. are due some consideration in connection with the success of the Eisteddfods . . . Hoping next year there will be less clannishness and utter onesidedness displayed, and that there will be the feeling expressed in action, if not in words, that he is as good as I, although he be a mongrel.[49]

One indicator of the increasingly Australian identification of the Welsh is shown by the changing content of the eisteddfod programs. When the Cambrian Society planned the program for the 1902, the topic chosen for the poetry composition section was "The Drought of 1902".[50] Poems on "Newcastle", "New South Wales", essays on "Australia" and competitions for the best map of Australia drawn from memory by a child under 15 also feature on the programs.

The Welsh utilised their skills in organising cultural events such as penny readings,[51] debates, literary and musical concerts to support their local communities, including

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[47] *NMH* 6 February 1892.

[48] See Chapter 6. Another example was the dispute between William Maddock, a Baptist, former miner from Glamorganshire, a storekeeper of Lambton and Evan Lewis, Congregational and also a storekeeper in Lambton. When Evan Lewis stood for the local council in 1875, Alderman Maddock questioned him on his commitment and "some rather uncomplimentary language was then exchanged." *NMH* 3 February 1875.

[49] *NMH* 26 January 1891.

[50] *NMH* 28 July 1902.

[51] For example the Penny Readings organised at the Elder St Welsh Baptist Church, Lambton in 1874. At the second one in July, readings and songs were principally in Welsh.

fundraising for the public schools[52] and other charitable causes.[53] A Grand Concert in 1875 by the Wallsend Choral Union assisted by the Wallsend Brass Band for the benefit of the Wallsend Public School, featured only one Welsh air "Y Ynys Mon" ["Anglesey"], but contained other popular Welsh works in English including "The Brook" and "The Summer" by Gwilym Gwent, a solo and chorus from "Norma" and the song "The Ashgrove". Most of the performers were Welsh. D. Ll. Thomas conducted and led the choral union, J.T. Morris led the band and John Powell, Joseph Powell, James Haydon, Mr Roberts, Misses Powell, Davis and Morris were the performers. The hall was filled "so densely that there was not sitting room for more than two-thirds of those who attended." Thomas came under some criticism for the "high class" of music he had chosen for the choir. While he complimented the 30 strong choir on their harmony, the reporter commented that some of the male voices were rather "coarse" and suggested that

> it is always better to advance gradually, and not to aim at doing too much. Operatic music can only be rendered successfully by those whose voices are naturally good, and which have been improved by close and systematic practice, conditions which . . . are not usually to be found amongst amateurs whose occupations and positions are such as are usually followed in districts such as this.[54]

The concert raised between £30 and £40 for the school but the reporter's comments resulted in John Davies, the Chairman of the Wallsend Choral Union and a miner

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The audience, nearly all Welsh, "seemed to enjoy themselves very much . . . in things of this sort the Welsh seem to be far in advance of the English." The reporter asks why the English do not have "penny reading entertainments", particularly for young people, rather than having them "frequenting the public house and idling away their time and spending money over the billiard tables . . ." *MA* 25 July 1874. For more information on Penny Readings in nineteenth century South Wales see Walter Haydn Davies, "The Penny Readings Resound in Rhymney, Fochriw and Pontlottyn," *Gelligaer Historical Society*, Vol.VII, 1970, 18-42.

[52] A Grand Concert to fund repairs to the Hanbury Public School, Waratah was held in 1876. While the program was entirely in English, the performers included many Welsh: Sina Parker, Margaretta, Annie, Mary and Olivia Davies, Mr W. Morgan, Mr James Davies, Mr William John, Misses P. and M. Powell and James Haydon. D. Ll. Thomas was the conductor. *MA* 4 March 1876.

[53] A concert was held in Stockton to raise money for the Deaf and Dumb Institution in Waratah featuring the Juvenile Choir conducted by Mrs Henry James "Eos-rhyd-y-fro". *NMH* 28 May 1901. Also in 1901 the net proceeds of the annual Wallsend and Plattsburg Eisteddfod were to be donated to the Wallsend Hospital. *NMH* 28 September 1901. A concert to raise money for a Mrs Pritchard and her 3 children featured many Welsh performers and Jonah Bevan was the conductor. *NMH* 17 May 1902.

[54] *MA* 14 & 18 August 1875.

since he was 13, writing to the newspaper the following week in defence of the choir. It seems that Davies, perhaps oversensitive, also felt this was an insult to his country:

> It is evident . . . that the writer considers that the music selected was of a too high class for the members of the Choral Union to render successfully, and his reasons for that is because some of the pieces were operatic choruses . . . Let him look back some few months and he'll find that a few lads and lasses from the old despised land of Cambria, and even from the iron and coal pits of that country, stepping forth to compete for a golden trophy against a choir that had been *improved by close and systematic practice,* and he'll find that the sons and daughters of toil, with their "coarse" voices, and no systematic practice, came off victorious, and let me inform him further that the music selected for that competition was operatic music of the highest class . . . I beg to state that the object of the Choral Union is, and shall be, the cultivation of *good* music . . .[55]

Following Davies' letter, national insults were introduced into the dispute. The irate reporter was a local Wallsend man but his answering letter to the newspaper signed "Your Critic", concealed his identity. He referred to Davies' "insolent and uncalled for remarks", and quotes from an earlier letter from Davies to the paper in which Davies had written good-humouredly, " A Welshman never opens his mouth but he puts his foot into it."

> As Mr Davies has credited his countrymen with this peculiarity, it will only be fair to expect that when he attempts to express with his pen what he would do by his mouth under other circumstances, he will make a similar display of the mountebank trick so peculiar to his country.[56]

He states that Davies had to obtain someone to write his letter "and he flies off to what he is pleased to designate the 'old despised land of Cambria' as an illustration that neither good voices or systematic practice are necessary" and finally accuses Davies of "conceited ignorance." This exchange may well illustrate that not all was well between the Welsh settlers in Wallsend and others in the community. Perhaps the hypersensitivity of the Welsh as to how they were perceived by members of the

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[55] *MA* 28 August 1875. Davies is referring to the success of the South Wales Choral Union which won the Crystal Palace festival in London in 1872 and 1873.
[56] *MA* 28 August 1875.

community as a national group, led to Davies' need to justify both Thomas' choice of program and the choir's performance. Davies replied a second time to his critic, referring to his "onslaught on my country" and pointing out that "the renowned Mrs Partington, whose phrase I made use of in the letter referred to, is an English lady, and the mountebank trick originated with her. Then it must be as "peculiar" to the English as it is to the Welsh . . ."[57] The editor commented that they had erased a great many portions of this letter which were too personal and libellous! Other similar concerts also attracted controversy with a letter writer "Sabastian" commenting that the Lambton Choral Union "don't seem to render Welsh airs to the best advantage. I wonder what Brinley Richards would say if he heard his 'Up, quit thy bower' mutilated as it was there." While complimenting Mrs Parker[58] on her performance of the Welsh airs, he also gave his opinion that the audience would not or did not care for many more of them. Clearly there was rivalry between the choral unions, their conductors and their supporters. "Sabastian" was affronted that a correspondent had eulogised Thomas Jones, the Lambton conductor as being "without equal in the district." The letter-writer saw this as a great affront to Richard Jones of Lambton, a previous conductor at an eisteddfod in Wallsend six or seven years ago. He also mentioned D. Ll. Thomas "who has not been here long, about eight or nine months as a conductor . . . is it possible that the unwise assertion about Mr Thomas Jones was meant to offend this Victorian?"[59] Local rivalry between Lambton and Wallsend has already been noted and it is possible that rivalry was also based upon sectarian grounds.

Despite the controversies, the Welsh contribution to the cultural lives of their districts was acknowledged by others. James Fletcher MLA, when opening the concert which followed the 1881 Plattsburg Eisteddfod, complimented "our Welsh friends upon their musical abilities, stating that every choir in the district had for its head and front a Welshman, and that to them they were indebted for many a pleasant evening . . ."[60] Even the English letter writer in 1892, while critical of what he saw as Welsh

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[57] *MA* 11 September 1875.

[58] Mrs Sina Parker was described in 1876 as "The Famous Welsh Singer" and often performed in Welsh costume. In 1914 when she was 75, the Cambrian Society held a concert for her and presented her with a testimonial. *MA* 4 March 1876, NDCS Minutes 1908-22, NRPL AB4304.

[59] *MA* 18 September 1875.

[60] *NMH* 27 December 1881.

"clannishness" was fully behind the eisteddfodau which "are deserving of every encouragement by everybody, irrespective of nationality."

	Male	Female
Eisteddfodau	6	
Cambrian Society	10	
Welsh speaker	15	1
Welsh Church	6	
Other Non-conformist Church	19	5
Other Church	1	1
Sunday School	5	1
Choir or Male Voice Party	7	
Music &/or Literary Societies	10	
Debating	1	
Welsh Composition & literature	3	
Local Government	7	
Labour Politics	4	1
Temperance	1	
Co-operative Societies	1	
Sport	6	
Horse Racing	1	
Union activities	10	
Masonic Lodges/Oddfellows/Friendly Societies	23	
Charities	3	
Fire brigade volunteer	2	
Australian Natives Association/Society of Patriots	2	
No participation recorded	5	7

Table 7.3 Participation of Welsh-born men and women in cultural and other activities compiled from obituaries 1885-1940. Source: *Newcastle Morning Herald* 1885-1940.

Examining cultural identity of a group is fraught with problems of generalisation and exclusion. Just how representative of the Welsh migrants to the NCMD is the typical cultural picture painted by John Morgan's memorial service, by the Cambrian Society and the eisteddfodau? Were they a culturally homogeneous group or does the historical emphasis on such typical cultural markers exclude the possibility of other Welsh experiences? It is almost impossible to know about the people who chose not to participate. Their names are absent from the newspaper reports and minutes, from the records and the memorials. It is possible that randomly collected obituaries might give some insight into the level of participation in specifically Welsh cultural activities. Table 7.3 shows the recorded participation of 56 men and 14 women who emigrated from Wales to the NCMD and who died between 1885 and 1940.

The unreliability of obituary contents is attested by information not included. Several of the men were members of the Cambrian Society yet this was not referred to. Seth Jones' obituary did not mention his membership or presidency of the society, nor his participation in eisteddfodau, not even that he was a Welsh speaker. Many of the male obituaries concentrated on occupational achievements and most of the female ones contained few details at all. In several cases we learn about the woman's husband's activities but not her own. And like Erickson's letter writers from America, it is likely that those people who merited obituaries were not necessarily typical of all the Welsh migrants.[61] Nevertheless, the breakdown of participation mentioned in the obituaries shows a high level of involvement by the males of this group in both Welsh cultural activities and in the wider world.

The final part of this chapter returns to John Morgan to examine issues of nationality and identity. As the official bard for the Cambrian Society and for the eisteddfodau, Morgan wrote verses to mark occasions significant to the Welsh community. The language of two surviving works, one in Welsh, one in English, provides indications of the way the Welsh located themselves within both the Australian colonial and British imperial contexts. On Empire Day 1910, there was an "Unfurling of Flags" ceremony at Cardiff Public School in the NCMD. The public schools of Cardiff, Wales gave three flags to the Newcastle school, a "Union Jack of Old England", a "Welsh National Flag", and a "City of Cardiff Flag." Morgan composed verses in English for the occasion, referring to "Ancient Wales" and "her faithful distant sister . . . Cardiff, Wales, and Cardiff, here / Now are tied in bonds together / And will keep each other's banner / For the Future, bright." The final stanza

> On the breeze of education,
> Waves the flags of our nation:
> And unfurled with adoration,
> On this Empire Day.
> Hand in hand we formed a friendship,
> That will help in every hardship,
> While to God we give our worship
> For this great display . . .
> All these emblems blend together,
> On the flags in perfect order,

[61] Charlotte Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants* (Florida: University of Miami Press, 1972).

Forms a chain of mighty power,
To protect our way.[62]

The blending of the Union Jack and the Welsh flags on Empire Day in a Newcastle school is symbolic of what Wayne Hudson and Geoffrey Bolton refer to as "multiple identities". They argue that, rather than one monolithic identity, a multiplicity of identities has been available to Australians during the last 200 years.[63] The plurality of "flags of our nation", notions of "perfect order" and "a chain of mighty power", the emphasis on "the future, bright" and the ties between Wales and NSW express a linkage, a bonding, rather than a replacement or a loss. As the event was held on Empire Day and as one of the flags was the Union Jack, it is clear that many Welsh migrants were comfortable with the notions of multiple identities: Welsh, Australian, British.

The second example, an "Ode of Welcome", was written in Welsh and English for the visit of the Prince of Wales[64] to Newcastle on 18 June, 1920 and sung to the tune of "March of the Men of Harlech" by the Newcastle and District Welsh Male Voice Party. It includes the lines:

Ei ymweliad ag Australia,
Dania fronau meibion gwalia
Ar anwyldeb a ddymuna
Fendith ar ai waith . . .
Ysbryd Byw Llywelyn enwog
Sydd yn mron ein hoff dywysog,
Er ein Harwain yn odidog
Am Flynyddau maith.

On his visit to Australia,
He will find the Sons of Gwalia
Standing true to "Rule Brittania," (sic)

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[62] *Unfurling of Flags* Programme, Local History Files, NRPL.
[63] Wayne Hudson and Geoffrey Bolton, "Creating Australia", *Creating Australia* ed. Wayne Hudson and Geoffrey Bolton (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1997) 1-11.
[64] The future King Edward VIII was invested "in a quaint, if picturesque ceremony" as Prince of Wales in Caernarfon Castle in 1911, accompanied by "a flood of emotional and patriotic self-congratulation" in the Welsh press. Kenneth O. Morgan says of the investiture that "new heights of bathos were scaled." Kenneth O. Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation Wales 1880-1980*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press and Cardiff: UWP, 1981) 124.

Yet so far away . . .
From the British throne we hear
Prince Llewllyn's voice so clear.
Joining in with mighty power
In the great display.

Expressing loyalty to the British crown and empire and stressing a direct line from the most famous Prince of Wales, Llywelyn Fawr to the present prince, Morgan locates Welshness within a patriotic, loyalist, imperial and colonial context. However the printed English version of the song is not a literal translation of the Welsh and indicates that the song was written for two different audiences. The English version is far more imperialist, "British", patriotic, even jingoistic, and less sentimental than the Welsh. "Rule Brittania" (sic) is not mentioned; rather their loyalty is to the prince who, by virtue of his investiture ceremony, represents the spirit of Llywelyn Fawr.[65] Echoing the sentiments of Edward's investiture in Caernarfon Castle in 1911 in a ritual devised by the Bishop of St Asaph and Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, the English version openly expressed patriotic support for Britain and the Empire. The Welsh version did not. It is interesting to speculate on the reasons for this. Was this to emphasise before non-Welsh Australians the loyalty and imperial support of the Welsh? Or their claim to equal status and power within the Empire? The reference to "joining in with mighty power" appears to claim this status. The songs demonstrate the ongoing links between the Welsh in NSW and those in Wales and reflect similar contemporary attitudes between the two. Unlike the Welsh who emigrated to America, the Welsh in Australia had not left the British Empire and the Crown. They remained within the imperial realm. The response to the Prince of Wales' investiture in 1911 in America was very different.

> In 1910 the *Druid* demanded that the forthcoming investiture ceremony . . . be held not in Caernarfon or Cardiff but during the Druid Society's Welsh Day in Scranton. Scranton was the best place to host the event because, it declared, 'We are the largest real Welsh community in the world.' When Caernarfon was chosen as the venue, the newspaper haughtily riposted that Caernarfon should reciprocate by sending Lloyd George to Scranton so that he could be proclaimed as the 'uncrowned king of the Welsh people' at the

following year's 'Big Welsh Day'. The Scranton Welsh would much prefer the latter to the 'investing of a dozen princes'.[66]

The nationalistic Welshness of the Scranton Welsh could not include loyalty to Britain, to her Empire or to the Crown. While they could and did define themselves as Welsh, it was a Welshness constructed to fit with their new role as American citizens, a "Wales in America". But the minority Welsh élite, the leaders who tried "to influence, control, organize, castigate and denounce those 'other' Welsh", were more and more excluded from "a wider Welsh-American reality" influenced by "economic involvement" and "a vibrant popular culture":

> The 'Wales in America' nurtured by the élite minority in Scranton and elsewhere in the United States, could not accommodate these alternative definitions of Welshness, and it was by-passed by the real experience of the Welsh in America and, simultaneously, by that of the Welsh in Wales.[67]

This is probably the greatest difference between the Welsh identity as constructed in NSW and that of the American-Welsh. While Bill Jones says that to be Welsh in America "was to be confused", this did not appear to be the case in the NCMD. There is similar evidence of a constructed Welsh identity based on perceptions of "official" Welshness, but perhaps because the majority of the Welsh arrived in NSW somewhat later than their American counterparts, they carried with them a more flexible and pragmatic Welshness. Their leaders like Thomas Lewis MP, the Rev. Seth Jones, the Rev. Evan Lewis, William Alexander, David Lloyd, Timothy Griffiths, John Morgan, Daniel Rees, Evan Rees, David Watkins MHR and Jonah Bevan, all embraced being Australian without sacrificing being Welsh. Seth Jones and Evan Lewis made efforts to learn English, the others were bilingual or only spoke English, but this did not prevent them from being fully involved in the Welsh community. Their early involvement in the trade union movement and local labour politics in the NCMD[68] and the unusual Protestant British population of the district, perhaps allowed for a less conservative, more inclusive and more responsive interpretation of what it was to be Welsh. They

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[65] The literal translation is "His visit to Australia / Fires the breasts of the sons of Gwalia / And they wish every blessing on his work / . . . The living spirit of famous Llywelyn / is in the breast of our favourite prince / May he lead us gloriously / for many years." [translation L. Walker].
[66] William D. Jones, *Wales in America* 243.
[67] William D. Jones, *Wales in America* 246-7.
[68] See Chapter 8.

could maintain a Welsh identity and embrace an Australian identity within the context of being British, an opportunity not available to the Welsh in America.

Unfortunately no contemporary observations have come to light about the adaptation of the Welsh community in the NCMD, other than those written and spoken by themselves. But some do exist for the Welsh in North America from the same period which provide the possibility of comparison and insight. In 1898 David Davies of Swansea was specially commissioned by the *Western Mail* to "inquire into the status, mode of living, etc of Welsh emigrants" in the New World.[69] He visited "these transplanted branches of the Cymric race" in parts of Canada and America, observing whether they had retained what he regarded as essential features of their Welsh identity. In Winnipeg he visited Gabriel Howells, originally from Merionethshire, and his family who had emigrated six years before and found them transformed:

> . . . when he spoke it was with the measured twang of a North American. His children . . . were no longer Welsh in appearance or speech . . . Father and mother spoke Welsh fluently; the older children with difficulty, the youngest . . . scarcely at all. English was obviously the language of their future once removed from the family nest . . . For seven years they had lived in the Aberdare Valley, chiefly at Mountain Ash and Penrhiwceiber, where he worked as a collier. Howells was convinced that he was doing better in Winnipeg as a stonemason than he would have done in the Old Country. "I should like to see the old land again but not live in it . . ."[70]

In San Francisco Davies visited the home of Professor Price

> where the son and three daughters unconsciously demonstrated the transformation which a new environment gradually effects. The father alone had any knowledge of Welsh. Not a trace of what might be deemed distinctively Welsh could be detected in the appearance, language or opinions of these representatives of the second generation. They were Americans to the fingertips and Wales to them is merely a memory . . .[71]

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[69] *Western Mail* 3 May 1898.
[70] *Western Mail* 15 April 1898. It appears that while Canada remained within the British Empire, perhaps its proximity to the United States and its geographical location as North America influenced the adaptation processes of the Welsh differently from Australia.
[71] *Western Mail* 7 June 1898.

From his observations Davies came to the following conclusions:

> It is easy to foresee the ultimate destiny of the Welsh element where it is disintegrated, as in California, speedy absorption is inevitable . . . the Welsh, I was assured on every hand, assimilate readily, and are therefore described as a class which produces good Americans speedily. The Welsh born and reared to the point of maturity in Wales cling to the old associations and preserve the distinctive characteristics of the race, but even then they . . . gradually shed the austerity and the prejudices, some commendable and some otherwise, which originally distinguished them. Where both the parents have been residents of Wales, the children also, to some extent, keep alive the traditions of "Gwyllt Gwalia" . . . As for the children of Welshmen who have found wives in other nationalities, their absorption into the American people is practically complete. Their Cymric origin has become a mere memory, not disclaimed . . . but hardly interesting them . . . For the Welsh as a distinct and separate people there is no future in North America.[72]

As their cultural institutions adapted and transformed themselves into colonial institutions, what impact did becoming Australian have on the NCMD Welsh identity? Clearly the Welsh in NSW continued to see themselves as Welsh, as Cymry, as the sons of Cambria. As has been shown, they were also defined by others in these terms. Perceived as direct descendants of the Ancient Britons, they had a unique culture and history to offer their new country. But becoming Australian also offered them the opportunity to redefine themselves as loyal subjects to the British Crown and to locate themselves firmly within the British Empire.

In his study of Welsh identities in Ballarat, Victoria in the late nineteenth century, Bill Jones concluded

> that certain sections of Welsh society saw their ethnicity, bound up as it was with ideas of respectability and usefulness, as a civilizing force, one which sought to influence society and which had little fear of becoming absorbed in it.[73]

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[72] *Western Mail* 7 June 1898.
[73] Bill Jones, "Welsh Identities" 307.

Certainly this is also true in general of the Welsh in the NCMD. They were determined to share the benefits of their unique cultural institutions, to contribute to the education and advancement of the working classes, to retain "what is best of all customs and laws . . ."[74] and to disseminate that to the rest of the NCMD community. In the NCMD the transformation was much more in the spirit of contribution than absorption. In his opening address to the 1894 Newcastle Eisteddfod, the Rev. Seth Jones acknowledged the Welsh contribution to their community and their new country:

> Having during the past seven years taken deep root in the heart of the community we are confident that it [the Eisteddfod] shall thrive and grow and bear fruit that will prove a blessing to the great Australian nation which is being formed in this sunny land.[75]

Like Thomas Jones in 1887, Seth Jones sees the Welsh contribution in a particularly national and colonial context.

Many of the Welsh migrants made one or more return visits to the "old country", expressing a longing for Wales but returning to Australia nevertheless. When Seth Jones returned from a nine-month's visit to "the land of his fathers" in 1900, his words to his congregation on his return show something of the dilemma in which he found himself.

> His visit to the old country had been a source of inestimable pleasure and delight, allowing as it did the revisiting of old scenes, reviving old memories and associations, and, above all, the privilege of visiting his aged mother . . . Had he consulted his own feelings, he would have remained in Wales, but he realised his duty was to Newcastle, and consequently, he returned to his people.[76]

When Mr T. Williams of Speers Point left to visit Wales in 1909, he told his friends who had gathered to farewell him that "he had always a longing to go and see the old country once more . . . he had been 33 years in this country, and had more love for

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[74] *South Wales Gazette* 29 August 1913.
[75] *NMH* 27 January 1894.
[76] *NMH* 6 March 1901.

Australia than for England (sic), but he would like to see the home of his youthful days once more."[77]

Even in 1912, patriotism, is still very much to do with Wales rather than with Australia. When E. Mona Jones leaves Newcastle for Wales he is eulogised by R. Thomas of the Cambrian Society as one who has

> taught them to foster patriotism. They were part of the British Empire, and he (the speaker) was not sorry for it, and he said that while recognising this fully, their pastor had taught them not only to love their country, but their duty to it, not only to recognise the worth of Welshmen, but of others also, and their duty to them.

Another speaker at the same function, the Rev. W.F. Oakes declared that "As an Australian he honoured the Welsh people for their patriotism. He felt that night quite an atmosphere of patriotism all round, and he was proud of it."[78] The Welsh appeared to be able to reconcile their Welshness with their Britishness.

These sentiments reflect the attitudes of many of the Welsh migrants in NSW. In a new country, without the aristocratic ruling class, they were also removed from the sense of England's superiority just over the border. They reinvented themselves as Welsh, Australian and British. Their sense of identity and nationalism was no longer defined by opposition to England and the ruling classes. On St David's Day in 1910, the Welsh in the NCMD paid tribute to David Lloyd George who in the recent British elections was the "Champion of the common people" in a "mighty battle between the common people . . . and the aristocracy."[79] For the Welsh in Australia, Britain or England was no longer a threat or an oppressor. They could look on and applaud from a position where that battle had already been won. Descendants of "Ancient Britons", their history reframed to prove their credentials as worthy and loyal subjects

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[77] *NMH* 10 April 1909.
[78] *NMH* 30 December 1912.
[79] *NMH* 5 March 1910.

of Empire and the British monarchy, the Welsh in the NCMD were now part of a much bigger British community than just Wales.

CHAPTER 8

Labour, Capital and Identity

"Like so many other Australians of Welsh origin, Mr Davies became identified with the great coal mining unions and was an able and eloquent speaker."[1]

Dr Evatt 1956

The last three chapters have considered the Welsh within their own communities, their language use and cultural institutions in the NCMD. This chapter examines the place of the Welsh settlers in the wider local and national context of work, of the trade union movement, of politics. Did emigration deliver opportunities and prosperity? Were the migrants' perceptions of "the possibilities of colonial settlement,"[2] of the district as "a great coalmining place, where there was busy shipping,"[3] as "a land of opportunity"[4] and "a better field of opportunities"[5] where, in comparison with conditions in Wales, "they were considered most fortunate"[6] fulfilled?

In *Coalopolis,* her study of Newcastle, Nancy Cushing found that:

> People who had actively selected Newcastle because of opportunities it offered generally endorsed the Coalopolis image and worked to cultivate it. Members of this mobile and ambitious group accumulated capital in Newcastle and protected it through their involvement with local councils, courts, lobby

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[1] *Illawarra Mercury* 18 February 1956. Davies was born in Abertillery in 1883 and started working in the mines at 12. He joined the British Labour Party and attended night school, winning a scholarship to a summer school at Oxford University under a scheme sponsored by Welsh miners. He became a Methodist lay preacher. He migrated to Australia in 1912 and settled in Wollongong where he worked at the Federal Coke Works and later as a miner at Scarborough colliery. Becoming involved in the trade union, he entered State Parliament in 1917 and was member for Illawarra from 1930-1941. He served as Education Minister in the Lang Government 1930-1932. In 1941 he became MLA for the newly-created Wollongong-Port Kembla electorate then entered Federal Parliament in 1949. He was MHR for Cunningham when he died in 1956. He was described as "a true son of Wales and a true son of the Labor Party".

[2] Gwenllian Griffith, *NMH* 24 June 1936.

[3] Timothy Griffiths, *NMH* 14 March 1931.

[4] John Lewis, *NMH* 14 August 1965.

[5] Henry Morgan Williams, *NMH* 25 February 1931.

[6] Joseph Parry, *NMH* 10 June 1921.

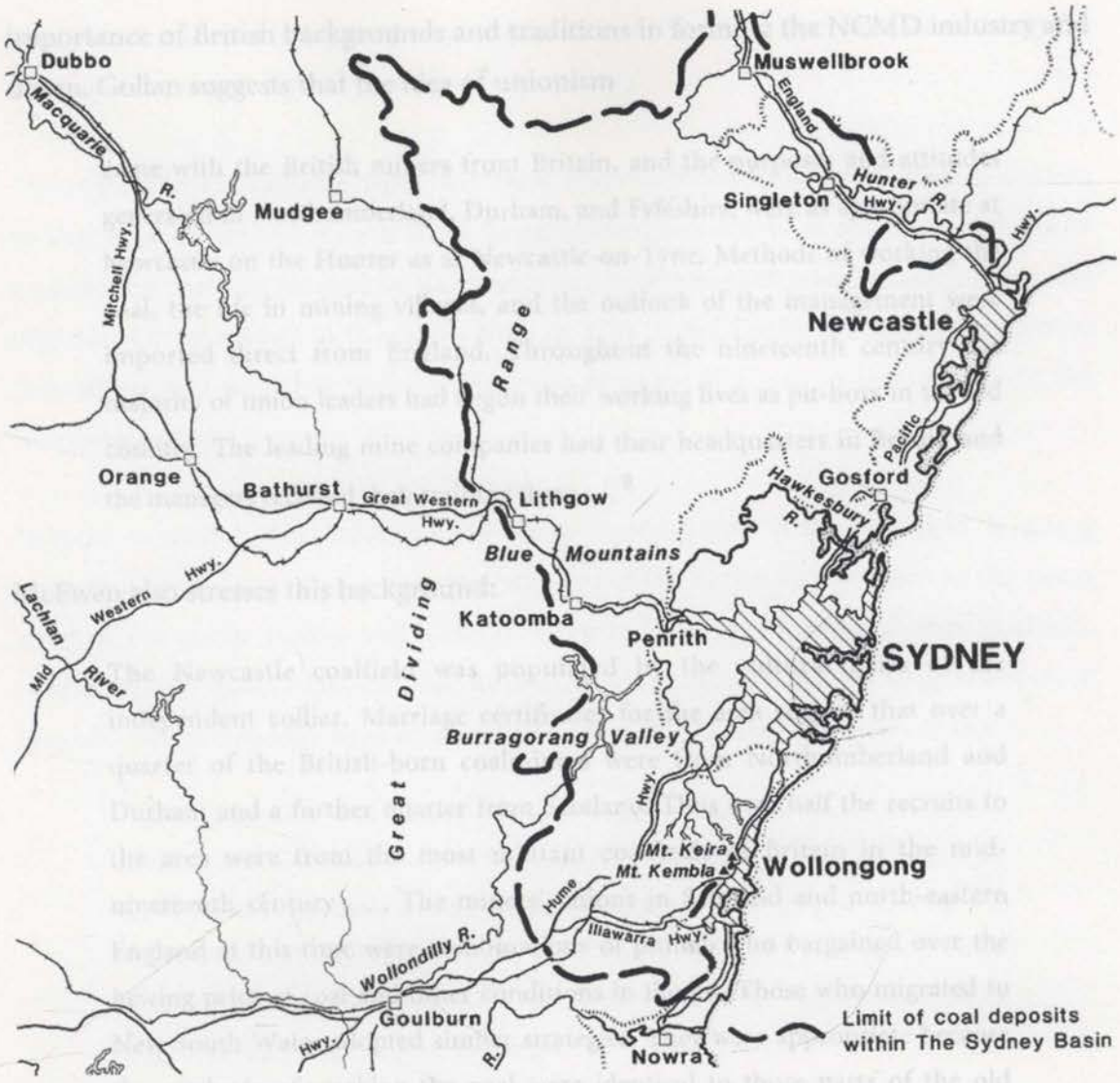
groups and voluntary societies which administered and influenced public policy.[7]

This chapter will demonstrate that the Welsh were part of this "mobile and ambitious group", and that rather than being passive recipients of whatever their adopted country had to offer, many of the Welsh settlers were active in and contributed to the wider activities, debates and issues of the district. The participation of so many reflected their commitment to improving the lives of their families and of working people in general by taking up the opportunities, economically, politically and socially that their adopted country offered.



Image 8.1 AA Co. Seapit. This was located, along with B Pit and F Pit near present-day Darby Street, Cooks Hill. This view is looking north towards Newcastle town centre. Source: Snowball Collection, Hunter Photobank, Newcastle Region Public Library.

[7] Nancy Cushing, *Creating the Coalopolis: perceptions of Newcastle 1770 to 1935*, PhD thesis, U of Newcastle, 1995: 142-3.



Map 8.1 New South Wales coalfield. Source: Piggin and Lee 278.

These opportunities included involvement in the trade union movement, local, state and national politics including the Labour Party, and participation in debates on issues relevant to the working classes such as capital versus labour, the eight hour day, free and secular education and immigration control.

In order to understand the development of the coalmining union in the NCMD and its importance, it is essential to first consider the history of coal trade unionism that the miners brought with them from Britain. Robin Gollan specifies "geology, geography and British mining practice and tradition" as the three most important influences in shaping the industry in NSW.[8] It is impossible to over-emphasise the

[8]Robin Gollan, *The Coalminers of New South Wales, A History of the Union* (Melbourne: MUP, 1963) 3. For the history of the coal mining industry in the NCMD up to the 1850s see

importance of British backgrounds and traditions in forming the NCMD industry and union. Gollan suggests that the idea of unionism

> came with the British miners from Britain, and the purposes and attitudes generated in Northumberland, Durham, and Fyfeshire, were as appropriate at Newcastle on the Hunter as at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Methods of working the coal, the life in mining villages, and the outlook of the management were imported direct from England. Throughout the nineteenth century the majority of union leaders had begun their working lives as pit-boys in the old country. The leading mine companies had their headquarters in Britain and the managers received their training there . . . [9]

McEwen also stresses this background:

> The Newcastle coalfield was populated by the cultural heirs of the independent collier. Marriage certificates for the area suggest that over a quarter of the British-born coalminers were from Northumberland and Durham and a further quarter from Scotland. Thus over half the recruits to the area were from the most militant coalfields of Britain in the mid-nineteenth century . . . The miners' unions in Scotland and north-eastern England at this time were combinations of pitmen who bargained over the hewing price of coal and other conditions in the pit. Those who migrated to New South Wales adopted similar strategies. They were appropriate because the methods of working the coal were identical to those parts of the old country, with pillar and stall and payment by the piece the accepted procedure.[10]

Gollan makes the point, which has already been stated in earlier chapters, that for miners "life in the new country was not very dissimilar from the one they knew in the old . . . Some of the worst conditions were not reproduced . . . On the other hand . . .

Gollan Ch.1; Wilfred James Goold, *The Growth of Newcastle* (Newcastle & Hunter District Historical Society Pub. 5, n.d.); Turner, J.W. *Coal Mining in Newcastle 1801-1900* (Newcastle: NRPL, 1982) and Susan Marsden, "Creating Coal River, 1797-1889," Waterfront Alive, *Riverchange*, ed. C. Hunter (Newcastle: NRPL, 1998).

[9] Gollan 17-18.

[10] Ellen McEwen, "Coalminers in Newcastle, New South Wales: a labour aristocracy?" *Common Cause, Essays in Australian and New Zealand Labour History* ed. Eric Fry, (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1986) 79-80. McEwen conjectured that many of the miners had been forced to leave Britain because of their involvement in trade unions and gave the example of Mark Dent, forced to leave because of his part in an1844 strike, for whom the miners got up a collection in 1875.

miners recognized that concessions would only be screwed from the coalowners by organization and struggle."[11]

The miners from Wales brought with them a very different history of trade unionism to that brought by the miners from Northumberland, Durham and Scotland.[12] The trade union that was formed by the miners in NCMD in 1860 owed much more to the organisation of labour in the north than in Wales, and the Welsh miners embraced this union in a way that their compatriots at home did not, at least not until the twentieth century.

Despite an early history of industrial unrest in the South Wales' coalfield, a lasting united union did not emerge until the very end of the nineteenth century. In the 1840s most of the major strikes and lockouts occurred on the Monmouthshire coalfield. Morris and Williams suggested that its geographical position and the large numbers of English immigrants may have been factors in this.[13] John Davies explained that

> Viable unionism was slower to take root among the most numerous workforce of industrial Wales - the miners of the south Wales coalfield. This did not mean that there was no unrest among them. As the price of coal was so unstable and as wages were so high a proportion of production costs, hardly a year went by in the 1850s and 1860s without the employers reducing wages and employees striking in protest.[14]

There had, however, been some attempts at organisation. The first trade unions appeared on the coalfields in 1810-11 and the Monmouthshire colliers organised their

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[11] Gollan 18.

[12] See Robert Colls, *The Pitmen of the Northern Coalfield, Work, Culture and Protest, 1790-1850* (Manchester:MUP, 1987), R. Fynes, *The Miners of Northumberland and Durham* (Blyth Northumberland: John Robinson, 1973); David Gilbert, *Class, Community and Collective Action. Social Change in Two British Coalfields, 1850-1926* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

[13] J.H. Morris and L.J. Williams, *The South Wales Coal Industry 1841-1875* (Cardiff: UWP, 1958) 251. For more details on the history of the South Wales mining industry and unionism see also E.W. Evans, *Mabon A Study in Trade Union Leadership* (Cardiff: UWP, 1959) and *The Miners of South Wales* (Cardiff: UWP, 1961); W.E. Minchinton, ed. *Industrial South Wales 1750-1914, Essays in Welsh Economic History* (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd, 1969); Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, *Communities, Essays in the Social History of Victorian Wales* (Llandysul: Gomer Press,1987); G.M. Holmes, "The South Wales Coal Industry 1850-1914", *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymmrodorion* (1976): 162-207; Ioan Matthews, "Before the Federation: Trade Unionism in the Anthracite Coalfield c.1870-1898", *The Carmarthenshire Antiquary* xxxii (1996): 80-91; Hywel Francis and David Smith, *The Fed: The South Wales Miners in the Twentieth Century* (Cardiff: UWP, 1998).

first union in the 1820s. A colliers' union, affiliated with the National Association for the Protection of Labour (NAPL), moved into the north-eastern coalfield in the early 1830s. Riots broke out in Merthyr in 1831 and the rebels held the town against the military for four days before it was retaken by armed troops. One man was hanged as an example, others deported, and when the NAPL colliers' union attempted to mobilise the coalfield, a lockout and a withholding of poor relief ended the protest. The Grand National Trade Union brought the coalfield together again in 1834 and the colliers of Monmouthshire embraced chartism, culminating in the shootings at Newport in November 1839 and the transportation of the Chartist leaders.[15] There were local lodges and generally protest was localised and spontaneous, especially resistance to what was left of the hated truck system and to the use of strikebreakers by employers. There were a number of factors that hindered the development of unionism, particularly on a regional basis, including geography, inadequate communications and the isolation of each mining valley from its neighbours. The connection in the minds of the authorities and coalowners between chartism and any combination of workers, lingered on. The division between the colliers serving the iron industry and those producing coal for sale, worked against the miners presenting a united front.[16] The Amalgamated Association of Mineworkers (AAM), established in Lancashire in 1869, was not strongly supported on the South Wales coalfield until it supported the strike of 1871. By 1873 the AAM had 45,000 Welsh members. But between 1872 and 1875 miners' wages were forced down 25%.[17] The Monmouthshire and South Wales Coalowners Association was established in 1873, comprising 85 companies and 222 pits. When the boom came to an end in 1874, the coalowners insisted on wage reductions and used their unity to lock out the entire workforce for five months. "By the summer of 1875 the miners were beaten and the union was bankrupt; it was dissolved before the end of the year."[18] This defeat coincided with the beginning of the peak period of assisted migration from Wales to NSW, 1875 to 1885.[19]

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[14] Davies 441.
[15] Gwyn A. Williams, *When Was Wales?* (Penguin, 1985) 172, 191-6.
[16] Davies 441, Evans, *Miners* 125.
[17] Williams, *When Was Wales?* 218.
[18] Davies 441.
[19] Walker, "From Old Wales" Chapter 5.

During the 1875 strike there emerged a new Welsh, Liberal, Calvinistic-Methodist leader, William Abraham, Mabon. Like Thomas Halliday, the English president of the AAM, Mabon supported conciliation and arbitration as a means of setting disputes between the coalowners and the miners. While Halliday was more willing to use the strike as a weapon, Mabon, horrified by the hardships suffered by the miners and their families during the 1875 lockout, found himself more and more in opposition to Halliday and urged the union to accept any reasonable terms. His view that there was consistency in interests between capital and labour led him to declare that

> the only salvation between capital and labour is the whole-hearted co-operation between the two sides in forming boards of conciliation and arbitration . . . which would bring peace and prosperity to the industry, without encroaching upon the freedom of either side.[20]

With W.T. Lewis, head of the Coalowners' Association, Mabon negotiated an agreement in 1875 which set up a sliding scale to regulate wages according to the selling price of coal. Mabon saw strikes as the last resort and to be avoided at all costs. "All the resources of peaceful methods should be exhausted before recourse should be made to force. Conciliation first, failing upon which the matters in dispute should be entrusted to arbitration."[21] This became the official policy of the South Wales' miners' unions in the years of Mabon's leadership and for nearly twenty years there were no stoppages in the mining district of South Wales.

> It is no exaggeration to say that the whole development of the miners' organisations bore the unmistakable impress of his views . . . it was mainly by his untiring efforts that the workmen did, in fact, become organised. For a long time they failed to see the advantages of trade unionism . . . By encouraging the development of local organisations he paved the way for the Miners' Federation.[22]

In 1885, with the extension of the franchise and the Redistribution Acts, Mabon became the first Welsh working-class MP to be returned to Parliament. While several local district organisations again emerged after 1875, no general union existed among the South Wales colliers from 1879 to 1883. There was no effective organisation of the

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[20] *Tarian y Gweithiwr* 2 April 1875 quoted in Evans, *Mabon* 11.
[21] Mabon 1918, quoted in the *South Wales Evening Post* 10 October 1959.

coalfield as a whole before these district unions eventually merged to form the South Wales' Miners' Federation in 1898.[23]

Events in the South Wales coalmining district over the nineteenth century, and particularly during the 1870s, affected the trade union movement and the relationship between capital and labour in the NCMD. They also had an impact on migration. On the one hand, wage reductions made it more difficult for miners to afford assisted passages. In July 1874 James Chant, employed by the NSW Agent-General for Emigration in London, visited Cardiff, Merthyr Tydfil, Swansea and Llanelly "to ascertain whether any desire for emigration existed among the miners in South Wales". In his report, Chant referred to earlier visits to Merthyr in 1855 and 1856 which resulted in a large number of miners taking up free passages to Australia. He also commented on the union:

> Here I found the Colliers and Iron Workers were so completely under the control of their respective Unions that nothing could be done without the sanction and co-operation of the delegates. I was however fortunate in finding Mr Phillip Harries (sic) the leading delegate for the Taafe (sic) Vale and Rhondda Valley,[24] and Mr John Kaye of Darlington the Secretary of the National Iron Workers Union, who was on a visit to South Wales and holding a series of meetings of the Lodge. I succeeded in securing their good offices and Mr Harries undertook to distribute a number of Robinson's Pamphlets and the Broadsheets throughout his district . . .

Chant proceeded onto Swansea and on 9th July he walked up the Tawe valley from Ystalyfera, being recognised by several men on the way. By the time he reached his destination 43 miners had assembled. He again distributed pamphlets and

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[22] Evans, *Mabon* xii.

[23] John Williams, "The Fed: Birth and First Steps", *Llafur* 7, 3 and 4 (1998-99) 67-76. The only district unions with a lodge system were the Neath, Swansea and Llanelly Miners' Association, William Brace's Monmouthshire and South Wales District Miners' Association, connected with the English Miners' Federation of Great Britain and the Monmouthshire District Miners' Association, all of which survived the AAM collapse in some form. The Cambrian Association of Miners loosely linked the Rhondda miners and the Aberdare and Merthyr Miners' Association were revived in the late 1870s but had no lodge structure. Neither did the Garw Miners' Association (1880), the Rhondda House Coal Miners' Association (1888) and the Anthracite Miners' Defense Society (1889-90). The various district organisations had a great deal of autonomy, and membership, which was never truly representative, rose and fell. Evans, *Miner* 134-136.

[24] Phillip Harris of Merthyr Tydfil was one of the two contacts for further information about emigration to NSW listed in an advertisement in *The Workman's Advocate* 9 October 1874.

broadsheets, explained the employment and rates of pay in the coalfields, the cost of food, the wealth and progress of the Colony.

> Many remembered my previous visits and told me of the success of those I had induced to emigrate in 1855. I explained the present conditions under which passages might be obtained but they all stated their inability to pay the amount required . . . Had I been authorized to offer free passages I might have obtained many emigrants for the September ship. One man Morgan Watkyn whose brother was one of the party who emigrated in 1855 expressed his regret that he did not accompany him, and said he would gladly join him, but while then he was single he was now married and had a family of 6 children and could not find the money requisite to enable him to do so.[25]

Chant's report was sent to Sydney by the Agent-General in London pointing out that with the higher contribution of £5/10/-, miners and agricultural labourers almost certainly could not afford to pay their assisted passage. However the five months' lockout in 1875, reported in the Newcastle press,[26] may also have been a "push" factor in Welsh miners' decisions to emigrate. The *Illustrated London News* provided detailed coverage of the lockout over several issues and sent an illustrator to record its progress. On 6 March 1875, two illustrations appear on the same page and the juxtaposition cannot be accidental. The top picture "Waiting for relief outside the workhouse at Merthyr" shows a long queue of people hunched with cold, waiting at midnight outside the Union Workhouse in what looks like snow, "in such numbers that the relieving officers cannot attend to them all by the close of evening." The picture below shows an "Emigration Agent lecturing in the Temperance Hall at Merthyr". Here people sit listening attentively with rapt expressions as the speaker describes "the advantages of going to the Antipodes for ample industrial employment . . . Free passages, with the promise of assistance on landing upon those distant shores, are granted to persons of suitable age and habits. Queensland . . . seems to have won a few strong-bodied labourers and citizens from the Glamorganshire iron and colliery districts."[27]

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[25] Report from Mr Chant to the Agent-General in London concerning his visit to the South Wales Mining Districts 1874, *Promotion of Immigration 1874-78*, Col.Sec. Correspondence: SRNSW 4/802.4.

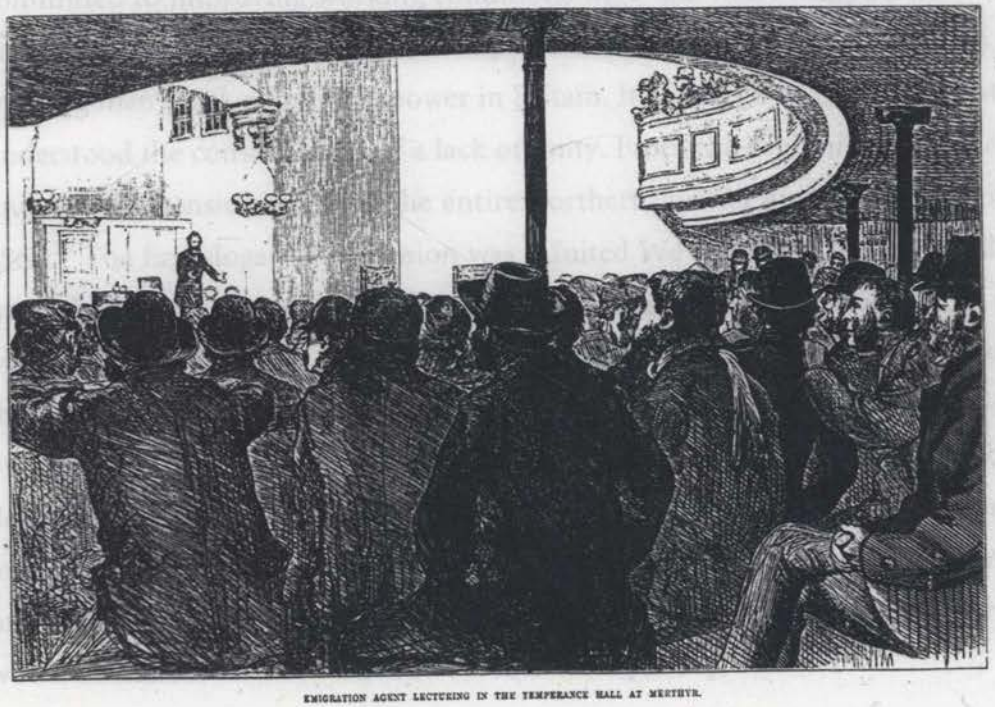
[26] See for example "The South Wales Coal Lock-out" taken from the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* (UK), *NMH* 14 April 1875.

[27] *Illustrated London News* 6 March 1875. The lecturer is most likely James Bonwick who was appointed an immigration agent to give lectures in Britain for the Queensland government

THE LOCK-OUT IN SOUTH WALES.



WAITING FOR RELIEF OUTSIDE THE WORKHOUSE AT MERTHYR.



EMIGRATION AGENT LECTURING IN THE TEMPERANCE HALL AT MERTHYR.

Image 8.2. Waiting for Relief outside the Workhouse at Merthyr 1875 and Emigration Agent lecturing in the Temperance Hall at Merthyr 1875. It can be no coincidence that these images were published on the same page in 1875 creating a juxtaposition the image of despair and privation with that of hope and promise. Source: *Illustrated London News* 6 March 1875.

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between June 1874 and March 1875. *Australian Dictionary of Biography* Vol.3 1851-1890. I am grateful to Sara Joynes for drawing this to my attention.

Was this a case of emigration agents seizing the opportunity of a lockout and its accompanying distress to push the attractions of emigration to Australia? Coincidence or not, the stark contrast between the miners' plight in a wintry Wales and the promise of plenty, of employment and sunshine in the Antipodes cannot have failed to awaken interest in bettering their circumstances. As to the choice of colony, while miners did go to Queensland, an editorial in the Newcastle paper in 1885 commented that "in the Hunter River district at the present, at the very lowest estimate there must be between 300 and 400 coal miners whose passages to Australia were paid by the Queensland government."[28]

This was the background of trade unionism that the miners who arrived in the NCMD brought with them from Wales. Given the reluctance of the Welsh miners to join unions in Wales and to unite regionally or even nationally in their own interests, their active participation as rank and file, as officials and as president in the miners' union in the NCMD from 1860 was remarkable. Perhaps the miners who were most committed to improving working conditions were also more likely to see emigration as a possible solution to the relationship between capital and labour in Wales and the working man's lack of political power in Britain. It appears that the immigrant miners understood the consequences of a lack of unity. From the beginning the policy of the union was extension to cover the entire northern district and this was achieved by 1860.[29] The first slogan of the union was "United We Stand, Divided We Fall", taken from the Minmi miners' tri-colour flag under which they had marched to the first mass meeting on 24 May 1860. It took six months of negotiation to achieve union of the five lodges but by then all the miners in all the pits were part of a single organisation with a president James Fletcher, a secretary James Ray and a board of delegates that had quarterly meetings. Membership cost £1 to be paid in six fortnightly instalments and there was a weekly contribution of threepence per man. Wages of miners, wheelers and boys employed at the mine were restricted to ensure that work would be shared.[30]

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[28] *NMH* 4 June 1885.

[29] Gollan 3.

[30] The main sources of information on the union in the nineteenth century are Turner and Gollan.

From the beginning of the formation of the union,[31] Welshmen were involved as active and visible leaders and participants. At the Aggregate Meeting of the Colliers of the Hunter River District in February 1861 William Lewis proposed a uniform day's wages of 11/4[d] for every operative miner. John Davis (Davies) of Wallsend seconded the motion and also spoke in favour of the eight hours bill. Thomas Thomas of Minmi moved an amendment raising the amount of the wage to 12/6[d] and Daniel Reece (Rees) supported the amendment and also the right of the Minmi men to be heard.[32] Thomas Lewis chaired the first mass meeting and played an important role in the development of the union. A miner and the Welsh-speaking son of a miner, he was born in Merthyr Tydfil in c1822 and was in Newcastle by 1856. Lewis, with James Fletcher, Thomas Alnwick, William Wonders and James Ray, quickly shaped the miners' union into a powerful force in the coal industry. By 1861 the union had 750 members, virtually all the miners of the district.[33]

What is significant is that by 1860, the miners in NCMD were organised, unified and empowered enough to send one of their own into the legislature in order to accomplish a particular task, that of coalfields' regulation, in the face of the apathy of much of the parliament to their plight and despite direct opposition from the coal owners themselves. Even though coal had been mined from the 1790s, NSW had only one Act regulating coal mines.[34] The first priority for the miners was to improve working conditions and safety, particularly improved ventilation. Before the formation of the union, in 1858, the miners unanimously resolved to petition parliament asking for an inspector of mines with the power to regulate working conditions and seeking a law similar to the British Act of 1855. Thomas Lewis moved the first resolution and Daniel Rees[35] the third.[36] After 18 months, the petition finally

[31] Like the date of formation of the Fed in Wales, the date on which the union was formed is disputed due to lack of evidence and problems of definition. Miners at certain pits had combined as early as 1850 and Turner notes that in March 1856 the Newcastle Coal and Copper Company's men formed the first union. By the end of the 1850s there were unions at the AA Company and at Minmi and Tomago but there is no evidence of a recognisable and ongoing district union until 1860. Turner, *Coal Mining* 67.

[32] *NC* 23 February 1861.

[33] *SMH* 2 September 1861.

[34] This was the 1854 Act "for the registration and inspection of coal mines", No.32 of 18 Vic. All it did was allow for the appointment of an examiner, registration of mines and the keeping of colliery plans.

[35] Daniel Rees was born in 1833 in Carmarthen according to the immigrant records and his obituary and in Monmouthshire according to his death certificate. When he emigrated in 1856 his parents were in Monmouthshire. He was then 23, a collier and a Methodist. He went to the Minmi coalfield, where in 1859 he married Elizabeth Francis. Except for a few years in Hartley

reached parliament and was immediately put aside for another year. The miners saw the formation of the union as a necessity in order to press for change. With the advent of manhood suffrage, in the 1860 general election, 14 years before this was achieved in northern England and 25 years before Wales, the miners returned Thomas Lewis to the Legislative Assembly. Turner comments that Lewis' selection was rather puzzling. A "plain man" of all "plain men", Lewis nominated and "amid loud and repeated cheering" declared he was a "poor man and had done nothing" but "his character was not polluted" and "he had never done anything to make a disturbance between man and man." He declared his support for the Robertson Land Bill, an elective upper house, pay for members of parliament and universal education and he opposed State Aid to religion, parliamentary and public service pensions and Chinese immigration. But it was safety in the mines, particularly ventilation, that was his first priority.[37] In June 1861 he gave an account of his first term in the parliament to the miners at Minmi, reassuring them that even working men were listened to in the Parliament and could make a difference. He recalled seeing Sir John Guest, a member of the House of Commons and feeling "awe . . . at the immense distance between himself and the people he represented. And was this distance reasonable? Are we not all made of one flesh?"[38] The miners having had their questions answered satisfactorily, proposed a vote of confidence in Lewis, who remained in parliament, financially supported by the miners, until he resigned in October, 1862. He was appointed Examiner of Coal Mines at £250 per annum early the following year. During his term as the Honourable Member for Northumberland, he had opposed the use of the Assisted Immigration Scheme for the importation of miners from Britain and moved that immigration lecturers should be recalled, tabled documents regarding the 1861 NCMD strike and spoken in favour of the miners, and presented a petition from 634 coalminers praying that legislative provision be made for the proper inspection and ventilation of coal mines with a view to the prevention of accidents. This petition requested that every

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in the early 1870s, he stayed in the NCMD, specifically Plattsburg and Wallsend until his death from tuberculosis in 1905. He represented the Minmi men at the meeting which founded the union in 1861 and was already speaking out for an eight hour system by then. He became district president for several consecutive terms and was a director of the Co-operative Colliery. A singer, he was one of the founders of the local Wallsend Eisteddfod and the Plattsburg Mechanics Institute and secretary of the Eisteddfod in the 1870s. he was also an alderman with the local borough council. Biographical information compiled from BIL *Herald* SRNSW 4/4961; *NC* 23 February 1861; *MA* 25 September - 9 October, 1875, 17 April, 1876; *NMH* 17 November, 1885, 4 December, 1905; Death certificate 1905/014615.

[36] Newspaper Clippings, Newcastle, AACo Records 1/62 CL-P 7.

[37] Turner, *Coal Mining* 68.

[38] *NC* 1 June 1861.

mine have two or more communicating shafts, that boys of 14 years and under be not employed for more than eight hours a day and that provision be made for weighing of the coal at the pit mouth. He spoke to the Coal Fields Regulation Bill in July 1862, referring to recent explosions in South Wales where 49 people had died.[39] The bill, containing all the essential points of the English 1860 Act, became law in the same year.

It appears that Lewis was not quite so popular in his role as colliery inspector. In December 1864 the Lambton correspondent of the *Newcastle Chronicle*, referring to the poor ventilation at Lambton Colliery, hoped Lewis "will be able to make it convenient to come down this pit about 3pm to see the conditions for himself."[40] In January 1873 at a miners' meeting to consider the lockout over the miners' campaign for a 10 hour working day, Francis O'Brien of New Lambton spoke in favour of shorter hours and also commented on ventilation, drawing "a not very flattering comparison between the colliery inspectors in England and Mr Thomas Lewis, of this district."[41]

Thomas Lewis was an active member of the Newcastle Welsh community. He addressed temperance meetings, translated for Welsh miners in the courts following disturbances during the 1861 strike, gave lectures in Welsh on subjects like "Patagonia", presided and adjudicated at many eisteddfoddau, was an active member and trustee of the Welsh Congregational Church at The Glebe (Merewether) and attended Welsh social functions. In 1874 he chaired a meeting to farewell the Rev. John Jones of Lambton's Welsh Baptist Church who was leaving for Warnambool, Victoria and contributed the highest amount of 10/6^{d} towards the testimonial. In the same year Lewis and his wife contributed £1/1/- each towards a testimonial for the "Cor Mawr", the Welsh choir which won at the Crystal Palace festival in 1872 and 1873. When he died in Wollongong in 1897, his obituary said Lewis was "a Welshman of the most pronounced type", who had battled with hardships in the old land. A man of "considerable intelligence and indomitable Welsh perseverance," he became "a man of mark among his fellows." It appeared however that despite being in independent

[39] At the Cethin Pit, Merthyr Tydfil, owned by Crawshay, 50 men had been killed in an explosion on 19 February. 49 bodies were recovered. Reported in the *NC* 26 April 1862.
[40] *NC* 3 December 1864.
[41] *SMH* 7 January 1873.

circumstances when he retired after 20 years, he was "practically ruined" by the temptation of mining speculations and other ventures.[42]

The first general coal strike in 1861 showed the strength of Welsh involvement in the union. It also showed the determination of the employers to divide and break the new union. When the men decided to limit production and establish a uniform day's wages which would still produce at least 50% more than the then market requirement, the proprietors saw the limitation "as an interference with their control of the mines."[43] In August the proprietors of the four main collieries gave notice of a general 20% reduction in the hewing rate and "they adopted measures to deal with the strike that would inevitably follow" including agreeing that if the miners limited the strike to one or more mines, they would lock out the men from the others. They also decided to import 400 miners from England with each colliery contributing to the cost. Thomas Lewis spoke in the House opposing the use of the Assisted Immigration Scheme for the importation of miners from Britain.[44] The strike in the last week of August stopped all mines and was to continue for nearly two months. Any return to work would mean that the men would have to give up the principles upon which the union was based. In September a group of miners in the union purchased land near Wallsend and prepared to operate their own Co-operative Mine.

The women of the coalfields, as in Britain, had no official voice or role to play in the union. However episodes in the 1861 strike were reported in detail in the Newcastle, Maitland and Sydney press and for the first time the women of the NCMD became visible. The women and their families were directly affected by strikes, lockouts, evictions and reductions in the hewing rates. With virtually no employment for women in the coal villages, their men's wages were vital. As in the northern British coalfieds and in Wales, the women took on the roles of intimidators of "blacklegs" and police, loudly voicing their anger and protest. They employed the same tactics: rough

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[42] Despite Lewis' prominent role in the early trade union, his term in parliament and his long career as the first inspector of coalmines, not much else of his life is recorded. While he was referred to as a "man of mark" in his obituary, Gollan's history of the union mentions him not at all. Unlike many Welshmen who achieved success in Australia, Lewis is virtually unknown. Biographical information compiled from *NC* 1 June, 3 and 6 July, 21 September, 9 and 19 October 1861; 17 May, 7, 14 June, 2 July, 22 October 1862; 25 February 1863; 3 December 1864; 25 August 1868; *Yr Australydd* 1866-7, 1868; 1867 NSW Official PO Directory; *MA* 3 January, 27 May, 1874; *Tarian y Gweithiwr* 4 June 1875; Marriage Certificate 1881, *Illawarra Mercury* 21 April 1897.

[43] Gollan 37.

music,[45] stone throwing, disruption, verbal abuse, fear and humiliation. In Wales working class women were also involved in political action with "Welsh women having a long tradition of participation, even prominence, in public protest."[46] Rosemary Jones said that "the militancy of women was almost proverbial . . . at that time, social protest . . . was essentially a community affair; and, to a considerable extent, collective values and solidarities united the interests of women and men in political terms."[47] In the NCMD in 1861 "Miners' wives came out in force in support of their husbands - with red handkerchiefs, petticoats etc on poles,[48] they marched in the direction of the pit." Using kettles and saucepans as drums, shouting and yelling at the labourers brought up from Sydney, "the women prevailed and the men downed tools."[49] The women were also successful at the Borehole mines, preventing any collection of coal. On 4 October 40 constables left Sydney for Newcastle. When no agreement was reached by early October, eviction notices were issued to all those in houses on colliery property. Sailors were brought in to load small coal and the miners and their families had had enough. Again the women become visible. At the Coal and Copper Company's works at the Glebe

> the miner's wives - most of whom are Welshwomen - came down and commenced interfering with the operations. They made the usual kettle drum and frying pan uproar, jeered the seamen, told them the coal belonged to the miners and not to the Company . . . and commenced throwing pieces of coal at them, inducing them to abstain from work . . . at length their proceedings became so outrageous that Mr Berner, the manager, . . . directed one of half a

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[44] *NC 21 September 1861.*

[45] Rough music was the term given to "a cacophony of discordant sounds produced on a variety of improvised instruments, such as pots and pans, kettles, tins and tea-trays". Rosemary A.N. Jones, "Women, Community and Collective Action:The 'Ceffyl Pren' Tradition", *Our Mothers' Land, Chapters in Welsh Women's History 1830-1939*, ed. Angela V. John (Cardiff: UWP, 1991) 20.

[46] Ryland Wallace, *Organise! Organise! Organise! A Study of Reform Agitations in Wales 1840-1886* (Cardiff: UWP, 1991) 158.

[47] Rosemary A.N. Jones 17.

[48] The petticoat on a pole carried like a standard, was a traditional symbol of female authority or dominancy. Rosemary Jones gives an example of how this was used in the Welsh "cwlstrin" in the early part of the nineteenth century, when a wife was seen by some sections of the community to have exceeded her role in imposing authority over her husband. The petticoat was pelted with mud, stones and addled eggs until it dropped to the ground in tatters and breeches were raised in its place. Later it was resurrected as a means of humiliating equally "cowardly" strikebreakers. Rosemary Jones 27-28, 36. Here of course the women carry the petticoat standards as if into battle, intending to humiliate the police and the "blacklegs".

[49] *The Empire*, reprinted in the *NC* 21 September 1861.

> dozen policemen . . . to arrest the most violent one . . . he made the attempt, but was immediately pushed down, and the miners . . . made a rush and rescued the woman, but the other constables attempted to take her into custody. Blows were freely exchanged . . . the police were compelled to retire and both they, and seamen therefore left the ground, particular care, however, having been taken to mark the parties who were prominent throughout the affair . . . an armed force of 30 foot police and ten mounted men arrived here from Sydney yesterday morning . . . summonses were served upon a number of miners and several of the women.[50]

The next day John Jones, John Griffiths, Thomas Griffiths, Flora Crumpton[51], Abigail Green[52] and Ann Hopkins pleaded not guilty at the Police Office. Thomas Lewis MP was present to watch the proceedings. The prosecution withdrew its charges against John Jones and Thomas Griffiths, due to "there being such a number of miners bearing the names of Griffiths and Jones . . . he understood they were not the right parties." Constable Smith alleged that Mrs Crumpton and Mrs Hopkins rushed at Constable Murray, struck him and pushed him off the rail. When the police took Mrs Hopkins[53] in charge, some men rushed down the hill, struck Smith and Griffiths took

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[50] *NC* 5 October 1861. Reprinted in the *MM* 8 October 1861. Also reported in *SMH* 5 October 1861.

[51] Florentina or Flora Crumpton or Crompton was the wife of James Crompton, miner. There is no record of her arrival in NSW but a James Crompton from Bolton, Lancashire, arrived on the *General Hewitt* in 1848. Between 1856 and 1875 they had at least eight children in Newcastle, Hamilton and Lambton, three of whom died in infancy. In 1867 they were living at the Glebe. Florentina Crompton died at Adamstown in 1900. Biographical information compiled from NSW BDM, *NC* 9, 12 October 1861; 1867 NSW Official PO Directory.

[52] Abigail Green was not a Welshwoman but she does have a story to tell. Abigail Entwhistle married John Green, coal miner, both of Hexham in 1850 at Newcastle Christchurch. Five children were born between 1854 and 1859 at Newcastle. In early 1861 Abigail petitioned the Colonial Secretary for a remission of her husband's sentence. According to her petition, "some wicked and evil disposed person in Newcastle" circulated reports about her fidelity and John, intoxicated, had assaulted her. She had complained to the Bench and he was sentenced to six months imprisonment in Maitland Gaol. Abigail, pregnant, and her surviving three children were without protection, "totally unfit and unable to earn sufficient to support herself". Her petition included a reference from coal owner Alexander Brown saying that Green, an industrious and quiet man, had worked for him for eight years. However Helenus Scott, the Newcastle magistrate, responded to the petition saying that Green had beaten her before, and even had assaulted Abigail, while she was carrying a child at the time, in a public street while he was on bail. The magistrate considered that Abigail's need for support meant that his sentence should be mitigated. Abigail, who could read and write, sent a letter from her husband certifying that he would support his family, signed with his mark on 31 May 1861, tendering the "sincerest thanks of a sad wife" and his release was approved on 7 June. Abigail died in Newcastle in 1867. Biographical information compiled from NSW BDM; ColSec 1861 SRNSW 4/3449; *NC* 9, 12 October 1861.

[53] Because of their invisibility in the records, it is often very difficult to specifically identify Welsh women in the NCMD. An Ann Hopkins, wife of Evan Hopkins, blacksmith, arrived on

Mrs Hopkins away. Mrs Green tried to strike Murray with a stick and tin while he was surrounded by other women heaping abuse on him. Murray said Mrs Hopkins had come up "with a tin drumming up to Captain Sinclair's ears, I told her to go away and not molest the men; she said something in Welsh or some language supposed to be Welsh . . ." He said the about a dozen women had pulled him about, pulled his hair and whiskers and one stuck her fingers in his mouth but denied he had bitten any of them.[54]

John Murphy, a labourer and first witness for the defence, said John Griffiths was with him all the time and did not strike anyone and he did not see any breach of the peace. While "the women had switches, spoons, etc . . . the sailors seemed to be enjoying the fun; all appeared pretty merry; nothing done by the women to prevent their carrying on their business." Joseph Welch, a carpenter, said he had a good view of the procession; "would sooner see it than go to the play-house". Thomas Williams, a miner, said that while the women were making a great deal of noise, they did not otherwise interfere. The report noted that Williams had some difficulty understanding the questions and Lewis conversed in Welsh with him and communicated the same to the court.[55] Finally the four were discharged, the women given a nominal fine and charges dropped against Griffiths. The Mayor of Newcastle gave a piece of advice to the women, in case any more such disputes should arise, "to let the men settle them

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the *Beejapore* in 1853 with her family and her brother-in-law, William Hopkins and his family. Evan and his brother had been born in Neath but their family had moved to George Town in Merthyr. He married Ann Harris in Merthyr Tydfil in 1848, daughter of a stonemason. In 1841 Ann, 14, was living with her family in the Glebeland. In 1851, now married, she and Evan were in Hampton Court, George Town and their eldest daughter Catherine was living with Ann's parents in Curriers Row. Evan's brother William and his family were also living in George Town. Three children were baptised in Merthyr between 1848 and 1852. Another daughter was baptised in 1854 in Sydney and a daughter was born and died in Chippendale in 1858-9. In 1857 Margaret, Evan and William's older sister arrived with her Cornish husband and children. Her brother William, a stonemason, was at 79 Bourke St, Woolloomooloo but she did not know where Evan was living. In 1860 Evan, late of Merthyr Tydfil, was secretary of the Sydney Welsh Church and wrote a column for *Seren Cymru* in Welsh on a Welsh tea meeting. It is not known when they moved to Newcastle but their 10 year old daughter Elizabeth died in Newcastle in 1864. It has not been proven that the two Ann Hopkins are the same person but Ann's biographical details make it entirely possible. Ann died in Ashfield in 1884. Biographical information compiled from Merthyr Tydfil Marriage Register Vols. 26-27 1846-48, Merthyr Tydfil Baptism Register 1849-1887 GlamRO; Census of E&W 1841; Census of E&W 1851 107/2458; Form A Remittance Form SRNSW 9/6235, BIL *Beejapore* SRNSW 4/4929, BIL *Fitzjames* SRNSW 4/4793; *Seren Cymru* 25 Mai [May] 1860; *NC* 9, 12 October 1861; NSW BDM.

[54] *SMH* 8 and 9 October 1861, *Maitland Ensign* 9 October 1861, *NC* 9 October 1861, *The Empire* 9 October 1861.

[55] *SMH* 9 October 1861.

with the masters their own way. By interfering, you only do mischief, and prevent the peacable settlement of matters."[56]

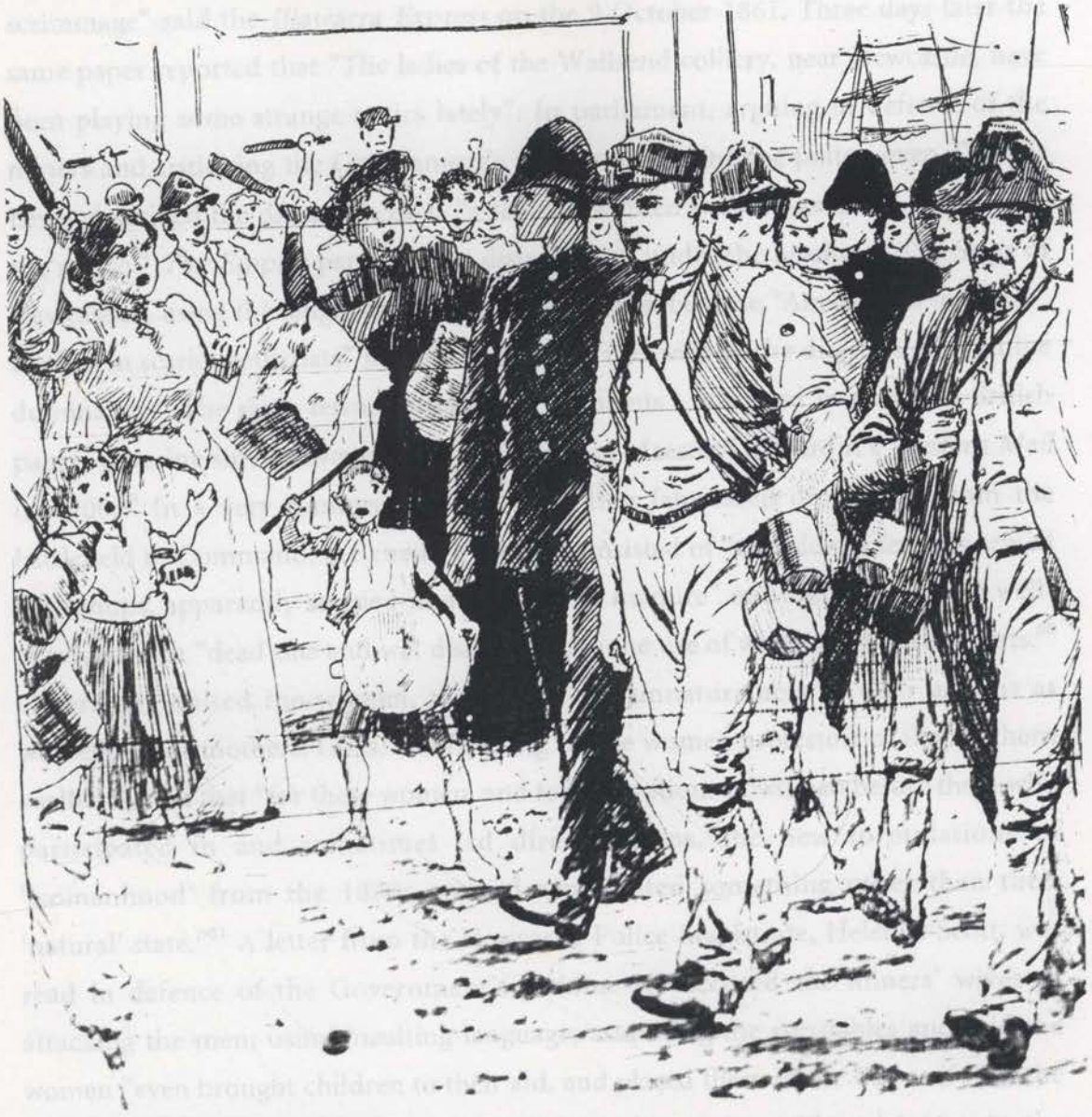


Image 8.3. The Colliers Strike in the Hunter District. Disorderly Proceedings at Plattsburg and Wallsend. This is a rare image of women and children in the coalfield. They are playing "rough music" and protesting against the importation of non-union labour. Source: *Sydney Mail* 24 February 1894.

Not only was "the most extensive and bitter industrial dispute that had occurred in the colony up to that time"[57] covered in detail by many newspapers, but the language used to report the strike, particularly in relation to the women's involvement, is notable. The view that the women only caused trouble, trivialising their involvement,

[56] *NC* 16 October 1861.
[57] Gollan 38.

was echoed by many other commentators. The "ladies assembled in great force and mobbed the police and by degrees entangled their husbands, lovers and sons in the scrimmage" said the *Illawarra Express* on the 9 October 1861. Three days later the same paper reported that "The ladies of the Wallsend colliery, near Newcastle, have been playing some strange antics lately". In parliament, arguing in defence of the miners and criticising the Government's actions in sending the police, even Thomas Lewis described the disturbances as "a few old women with tin kettles . . . annoying the police." *The Empire* parodied the disturbances under the headline "The Siege of Newcastle", using the language of battle. The women became "Amazonian forces . . . clothed in scarlet petticoats" in a district "threatened with all the disasters of feminine dominancy." The same term, "Amazonian assailants", was used in northern British papers covering similar events[58] and "Amazons of Maesteg" in Cardiff's *Western Mail* in 1906.[59] In a very humorous piece, including fabricated despatches from the battlefield to Command, the enemy's pickets consisted of "two elderly females armed with mops, apparently steeped in a solution of manure" and the enemy were well-provided with "dead cats and wet dishclouts", in the use of which they were experts.[60] Others demonised the women, playing on the unnaturalness of their actions as women and as mothers. Colls, commenting on the women protestors of the northern coalfields, said that "for these women, and for generations of women before them who participated in and sometimes led direct actions, the new formulations of 'womanhood' from the 1830s onward represented something other than their 'natural' state."[61] A letter from the Newcastle Police Magistrate, Helenus Scott, was read in defence of the Government's actions. He accused the miners' wives of attacking the men, using insulting language, assaulting the constables and said the women "even brought children to their aid, and placed them in the way as if with the intention of obstructing the police, and of making any accidental injury to the children an excuse for a general attack." Scott also referred to the dangers of the union: "there are, within this district, from six hundred to seven hundred miners, bound together by their union; and if all combined to resist, the one hundred police applied for would not be more than sufficient to enforce the law." Lewis disputed Scott's description of the events and Mr Buchanan said there had been no violence or

[58] Colls 257.
[59] *Western Mail* 5 September 1906, quoted in Rosemary Jones 35.
[60] *The Empire* 15 October 1861.
[61] Colls 257.

riot.[62] "It was a mere piece of childish folly on the part of a few women, and there was not the shadow of reason for sending these policemen up to Newcastle."[63] These comments, as Colls says, show the marginal and powerless role that women had in union politics. "Seen from the union's point of view these acts of limited and direct violence were relics of a technique of protest which should have had its day."[64] The traditional form of spontaneous community protest involving women alongside men was being replaced with more formalised and male-dominated systems of union negotiations, formal meetings and rituals which increasingly excluded women from the public sphere. However there are other examples of such protests in the NCMD continuing into the late nineteenth century.

In addition to their concerns about safety, the miners were also determined to avoid the jurisdiction of the Master and Servants Act.[65] In 1857 a new act defining "servant" included "all agricultural and other labourers . . . and all persons engaged in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland . . . by indenture or other written agreement . . ." Although some occupations and trades were specifically listed, there was no mention of miners and the miners refused to accept that they came under "other labourers". However in 1860 J. and A. Brown prosecuted 12 striking miners, including Thomas Alnwick, using the act and the judge found the defendants guilty of a breach of agreement and fined each man the maximum £10. Events came to a head in 1862 when the AACo used the act to prosecute miners recruited in Britain, Victoria and South Australia, who, when they discovered they had been employed as strikebreakers, refused to work. Among these miners were Edward Jones[66] and Isaac Buxton,[67] both from Flintshire, who had arrived on the *Annie Wilson* in April 1862

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[62] David Buchanan, born c1823 in Edinburgh, was MLA for Morpeth 1860-1862. A radical, he had been involved in Chartist activities in Scotland before he arrived in NSW in 1852. C.N. Connolly. *Biographical Register of NSW Parliament 1856-1901* (Canberra: ANU Press, 1983) 36.

[63] *NC* 19 October 1861.

[64] Colls 257.

[65] John Turner, "Newcastle Miners and the Master and Servants Act, 1830-1862", *Labour History* 16 (May 1969): 30-36.The Master and Servants Acts included "An act for the better regulations of servants, labourers and work people," George IV No.9, 1828; "An act to Amend and consolidate the law between masters and servants in New South Wales," 9 Victoria No.27, 1845; "An act to regulate the law between masters and servants," 20 Victoria No.28, 1857. This Act was still being used by employers against the miners in 1922.

[66] Edward Jones, 32, a miner from Holywell, arrived in 1862 with his wife Sarah, 30 and daughters Hannah, 9, and Mary, 6. They were Baptists. BIL *Annie Wilson* SRNSW 4/4796.

[67] Isaac Buxton, 23, a miner, also arrived in 1862 with his wife Elizabeth Jones, 33 and son Edward, 10. They were Methodists who came from Mold. Isaac could read. He also had a

along with many other miners specially recruited by, and under contract to, the AACo. With two other miners, also from the same ship, they were charged on 8 July 1862 by E.C. Merewether, agent for the AACo, "for neglect and refusing to fulfil their contracts." Before the proceedings started, their defence lawyer objected, on the ground that "they were special contracts, and outside the jurisdiction of the bench - the charges not coming legally within the Masters' and Servants' Act." All four were dismissed as the court considered the objection valid. The court was crowded with miners, "evidently deeply anxious as to the issue."[68] The AACo took the Jones case to the Supreme Court for a ruling and on 29 August 1862 Judge Wise ruled that a "collier" was a "servant" within the meaning of the Act. In October Jones received a two month's gaol sentence in Maitland causing "no little chagrin to the miners assembled."[69] Two other miners received one month sentences. In order to avoid being sent to prison, the rest of those who appeared in court had to agree to return to work and keep their agreements. Turner commented that "all but one of the miners who were committed to prison under this Act had been found guilty of absconding. Some of these men were trying to escape from agreements which they would no longer tolerate but most were refusing their labour to employers with whom they were in dispute." He pointed to the inconsistency of the decisions of the Newcastle Bench in relation to the Act and concluded that the employers "tended to employ it [the Act] during disputes, sometimes with considerable effect, so that the miners preferred to be outside this legislation and do without the protection it offered."[70]

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brother John in the NCMD. Isaac's working life in Australia, with frequent moves following mine openings and closings, strikes and goldrushes, was typical of many of the settlers from Wales. The family settled into one of the AACo's houses in Pit Row and Isaac started work in No. 2 Pit on Hamilton Flat. After four days' work, a 19 week's strike followed and then Isaac gained employment at the Hunter River Copper Co., driving in new tunnels along the ocean front at Merewether. When that was completed he moved to the Borehole and renewed his employment with the AACo. In 1864 his son Edward, then 13, followed him into the pit as a hewer. In 1866 Isaac and Edward moved to Currawang coppermines at Collector near Goulburn and then with the goldrush to Carcoar, before returning to Newcastle and the AACo. As a daughter Margaret was born in Newcastle in 1866 and Isaac is listed in the PO Directory for 1867, it is likely that Elizabeth remained at the Junction in NCMD while her husband and son worked elsewhere. Certainly by 1870 Isaac and Edward were back working together at the AACo and earning £11/1/- a fortnight in October. Isaac's brother John was working with Thomas Griffiths in the same pit. They remained at the Borehole until the 1881 strike and Isaac died the following year. His son Edward became a union leader, prominent in the Eight Hour Movement. Biographical information compiled from BIL *Annie Wilson* SRNSW 4/4796; AACo Records 1/57/9 CC-I, 33; Wage Lists 1870 No.2 Pit 1/456/1A; *NMH* 2 August 1882; 18 July 1931; 20 June, 5 October 1934; 1867 NSW Official PO Directory. I am also grateful to Margaret Kenning for sharing her family history with me.

[68] *NC* 9 July 1862.

[69] *NC* 18 October 1862.

[70] Turner, "Newcastle Miners" 34-36.

There is clear evidence that the employers, managers and coal owners deliberately used legislation, combination and other tactics to intimidate and divide the miners. This also resulted in more Welsh families moving into the NCMD from other colonies. In May 1862 the AACo wrote to all the coal companies in the NCMD suggesting that they pool resources to import miners from England. The Newcastle Coal and Copper Company, Wallsend (NCCC) declined but promised they would not employ any of the miners introduced by the AACo during the period of their engagement. In return the NCCC requested that the AACo give "discharges and characters to all their well-conducted men now out on strike with a view to their being employed by this company." This would mean the men would remain in the district rather than leave in search of employment elsewhere.[71] J. and A. Brown of the Minmi Colliery said that they would "give every assistance," offering to contribute a quarter of the expense of introducing "say, four hundred miners into the district." The Browns did not want to employ any of these miners at the present but were willing to contribute on principal, "for it is pretty clear that demands will go on without limit, and eventually render the mines worthless."[72] The lengths the AACo manager, J.B. Winship was prepared to go in order to break the union are shown by his recruitment of men in Victoria and South Australia. He prepared for a new showdown over the hewing rate to be paid in a new pit in 1862. When the union, as expected, refused the rate, Winship went first to Victoria to recruit miners for the AACo and the Newcastle Wallsend Coal Company (NWCC). Promised exaggerated wage rates, some 300 unemployed and destitute goldminers in Ballarat signed three-month contracts also promising they would not join the union. But as Gollan points out, "many [more] refused to sign up in the knowledge that they were to be used as strikebreakers."[73] Winship wrote asking E.C. Merewether, the new superintendant, to evict the old employees from their houses to make way for the newcomers and alert the police to meet the ships in force. Thomas Lewis asked the Colonial Secretary in the Legislative Assembly why mounted troopers had been sent from Maitland to Newcastle on 10 June. He was informed that Merewether anticipated some disturbance when the 300 miners arrived from Victoria.[74] Two hundred and seventy-five "Victorian gold diggers" arrived including William Watkins, James Edwards and W. Thomas, "to fill in places made vacant by the recent lockout" of the former employees.[75] As the police

[71] AACo Records 13 May 1862 1/57/9 CC-I, 56.
[72] AACo Records 15 May 1862 1/57/9 CC-I, 58.
[73] Gollan 40-41.

supervised the disembarkation, the NCMD miners took every opportunity to hand out leaflets telling the arrivals that the position in Newcastle had been misrepresented to them and asking them to attend a meeting. Nearly half the new arrivals attended and were informed that they had been brought in as strikebreakers and to lower wages. They were asked to make common cause with the union and committee was set up to organise the newcomers and offer assistance to those who refused to work. Gollan believes that not less than half the newcomers actually went to work.[76] But the AACo continued to see recruitment from England as the solution. "A small number of coal miners should be imported from England every year in order to lessen the mass of insubordination with which we have to deal."[77] While there was a good supply of labour from other colonies, though not coalminers, these would leave whenever new gold discoveries were made.

Despite this, late the same year Winship also went to SA, concealing his identity and recruiting in Burra Burra, Kapunda and Wallaroo. In Kooringa "the most important topic this week is the sudden and extensive exodus from this place to Newcastle coal mines. A gentleman from that place has been here . . . upwards of 100 miners have engaged to proceed. This has caused quite a sensation in the town."[78] The *South Australian Register* on 12 November reported Winship leaving Adelaide and published a list of the men he took him. While many of them were Cornish, some certainly had Welsh surnames.[79] Winship wrote that news of the Newcastle strike had preceded him and he had difficulty signing on men. "Many men here choose to pay all the passage so that they may go without any engagement, for they are afraid there is a strike amongst the miners."[80] A copy of the agreement in the AACo records shows that the miners signed on for six months, or until the £5 passage money had been repaid. The agreement stipulated that "if the said [name] shall at any time neglect, or refuse, or from any cause become or be unable to perform or comply with all or any of the articles of this Agreement, or shall in any manner misconduct himself, or become a member of any Miners' Association . . ." the Agreement would come to an end.[81] The

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[74] *NC* 18 June 1862.
[75] *NC* 18 and 28 June 1862.
[76] Gollan 42.
[77] AACo Records 12 September 1862, 1/62 CL-O.
[78] *South Australian Register [SAR]* 7 November 1862.
[79] *SAR* 12 November 1862.
[80] AACo Records J.B. Winship Correspondence B59, quoted in Gollan 44.
[81] AACo Records 1/61/22 CMA18.

warnings about Winship and conditions in the NCMD did not appear in the papers until after his departure was noted. In Wallaroo two weeks previously he had promised wages of £3 a week and passages paid. By the 20 November the Wallaroo reporter warned that "I certainly hope they will not have left certainty for uncertainty for rumours have reached me of a strike in NSW which will give rise to many unpleasantnesses amongst themselves and the men shipped from here."[82] "Self-imported" from Kooringa wrote to the editor on 6 November complaining that the colony was losing its labour because of the poor wages paid by the Burra Company, the men being disgusted with 20/- a week:

> I presume he [the Kooringa correspondent] has not told of the known facts of the intended exodus of the mining population from the Burra . . . above 200 of the men of the Burra mine should have engaged with Mr Winship to go to Newcastle . . . Great differences of the wages actually received and that which Mr Winship offered is the cause . . . it is not pleasant even to the most zealous friends of immigration at the public expense that the arrival of the first ship since its resumption is just announced when Mr Winship makes his appearance; and had a large proportion . . . been miners, he would no doubt have engaged them.[83]

By December the *South Australian Register* (copied by the *Newcastle Chronicle*) reported that many men had sold up everything they owned and were still waiting in Adelaide for a passage to Newcastle. But Winship ordered that no more passages were to be given to more men as "our coal trade is very slack, and we cannot take any more men just now." The editor hoped that this would operate as a warning and that "the men who have already taken employment under Mr Winship are dissatisfied with their bargain, and have written to their friends recommending that they should not leave their employment".[84]

After the battles of 1862 it took eight years for the union to get strong enough to be in a position from which it could negotiate effectively with the proprietors. The strike,

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[82] *SAR* 20 November 1862.
[83] *SAR* 13 November 1862.
[84] *SAR* 9 December 1862 reprinted in *NC* 24 December 1862. The shipping agents in Adelaide wrote to Merewether pointing out that many of the men waiting in Adelaide had left employment and sold up everything on the basis of Winship's promises and many had signed agreements. Some had large families and were now in a distressed state and "have been very badly served." AACo Records 1/57/10 CC-J1.

the introduction of new labour and use of the Masters and Servants' Act combined with widespread apathy, and competition between the companies made "an effective union impossible."[85] From 1870-1872 the union was reorganised, a new constitution was adopted and from 1871 the Coal-Miners' Mutual Protective Association of the Hunter River District (CMPAHRD) existed uninterrupted with a solid structure of pit lodges and a district board of delegates.[86] Again the Welsh were very visible in the union including William Humphreys and John Davis (Davies) of Wallsend, Abraham Evans of Waratah. In the same period the Northern Coal Sales Association, known as the Vend, came into being with all the major collieries except Lambton taking part.



Image 8.4 Officers and Representatives of the Mutual Protective Association of the Hunter River District 1885. Daniel Rees is fourth from the left in the front row. Source: Noel Butlin Archive of Business and Labour ANU Canberra. Deposit No.: E165/56/4 (K2430).

[85] Gollan 45.
[86] McEwen, "Coalminers in Newcastle" 79.

The Eight Hour Movement was the "most important single reform for which the unionists fought in the second half of the nineteenth century".[87] Under the leadership of William Davies, Enoch Davies and John Wood, a campaign for a ten-hour day (nine working hours) was launched. Despite a five-week lockout at the beginning of 1873, the miners' unity was clearly demonstrated at mass meetings. One Welsh miner who was involved in this movement from the beginning was Abednego Morgan.[88] Abednego was prominent in the union and the Baptist Church, he frequently wrote letters to the newspapers and spoke at public meetings. Because of his distinctive name, he has been easier to track in local events than many of the Welsh migrants. In January 1873 at a mass meeting of miners (about 3000 people were present) he seconded a motion pledging the union to the ten hours' movement and according to the *Sydney Morning Herald* "gave an excellent speech" justifying the union's procedure.[89] One article in the *Newcastle Chronicle*, discussing the same speech, said "he dilated on a variety of political topics, quite foreign to the motion, before the meeting, abused the Press and spoke of Her Majesty the Queen as having sent a letter of condolence to the widow of the ex-Emperor Louis Napoleon, whom he stigmatized as a wholesale murderer of working men."[90] Another in the same edition gave more details. When Abednego seconded the motion, he claimed his "hobby" had always been the ten-hour movement because it was of benefit to all classes. He listed it as one of four great recent world events, the other three being the death of Louis Napoleon, horrible atrocities on board a brig and Mr Parkes' disbandment of the Defence Force. After criticising the *Newcastle Chronicle* (which perhaps explains the earlier article's attitude), he spoke on the issue of working hours:

> At present . . . some people worked too much, whilst others almost starved.
>
> They had a right as guardians to protect those boys who were not in a

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[87] Gollan 49.

[88] Abednego Morgan was born in Blaenafon in 1842 to coal miner Abednego and his wife Mary Prosser. He was the youngest of at least three sons, the other two being Shadrach and Meshak. By the 1861 Census Shadrach, 29, a coal miner, was living in Broad St with his wife Margaret, 30, a milliner and Abednego, 19, a coal miner living with his family in another house in the same street. Meshak, 26, was a master tailor. Their sister Mary Ann Davies, 32, a dressmaker, was living in Market St with her husband William, 36, a mine stoker, and four children. A year later Shadrach, then in NSW, sponsored all the family plus his sister, her husband and children, to emigrate but only Abednego arrived in November 1862. He married Anna Maria Johnson, daughter of William W. Johnson, a prominent Wallsend businessman in 1865. Between 1867 and 1890 they had nine children. Biographical information compiled from Census of E&W 1861 9/3996; Form A Remittance Form SRNSW 9/6235, BIL *Northumberland* SRNSW 4/4796; NSW BDM.

[89] *SMH* 17 January 1873.

position to protect themselves, and it therefore behoved them as parents to look after the health of their children. If they took a young tree when it was growing and overburdened it, it would grow up ill-shaped; and it was the same with children, for if they over-taxed them in their youth they would be unable to take their part in the battle of life. He would quote a few words he had found in a paper on working brains:-

> Fount of learning! At thy brink
> Willing wealth may stay and drink;
> But the poor man may not learn,
> When he has bread to earn.
> Weary limbs make weary brain-
> He may scanty knowledge gain!
> But must plod, and plod, and plod,
> Till he yields him to the sod.

Is this as it should be? There was at present a great necessity for reducing the number of hours they worked, and they must have recourse to measures to meet the requirements of the rapidly-increasing population, and short hours would greatly increase in promoting this object. The time was not far distant when all disputes would be settled by arbitration, as England had settled its disputes with America . . . Their premier, too, has set a noble example by doing without soldiers, by which means they could live easier and without so much taxation . . . They had not been esteemed as men in the dark old days but now they had the cleverest men of the age taking up the cudgels for them; and with all this powerful assistance, and their own combined, surely they must succeed.[91]

As he concluded, he was cheered by the crowds. Abednego was clearly not afraid of speaking out, nor of offending some of his listeners! His speech has the hallmarks of the self-educated man and encompasses many of the issues that concerned the working men: the connection between shorter working hours and time for self-education, the importance of education for the young, the effects of long working hours on health, the differing access to education of the wealthier classes and the working classes and the notion that shorter hours would mean more employment for more people. He also echoes Mabon's beliefs of the desirability of arbitration. The

[90] *NC* 18 January 1873.
[91] *NC* 18 January 1873.

union won this round with the proprietors. The men went back to work at ten and a half hours for the rest of the year and ten hours from the beginning of 1874. In 1874 Abednego was elected to the committee of the New Lambton Miners and was secretary in 1875. A general agreement was reached after six months of negotiation, in December 1873, which established a council of arbitration and a sliding scale.[92] This was at the same time that such agreements were being negotiated in the northern English coalfields and eighteen months before such agreements were reached in South Wales. James Fletcher expressed the overriding philosophy that underpinned these agreements on both sides of the world, that "the two interests, capital and labour, were identical."[93]

Continued taxpayer-funded assisted immigration was another issue that both the union and Welsh settlers spoke up against, supported by the *Newcastle Morning Herald*. Ironically, miners continued to use the scheme to sponsor their own families and friends. Abednego Morgan spoke out publicly against assisted immigration despite the fact that he had himself been sponsored by his brother Shadrach in 1862.[94] Their nephew, Abednego Davies sponsored his younger brother and wife in 1880 and in 1881 another nephew Shadrach Davies[95] sponsored the rest of his family to emigrate.[96] In June 1876, having read the parliamentary proceedings where it was proposed to spend the surplus from the sale of public lands on immigration, Abednego wrote a long letter to the editor to "arouse the feelings of my fellow working-men of all classes to speedily rise as one man and strenuously oppose that iniquitous stream of immigration as proposed by Mr Parkes[97] last Friday, May 26th." While Abednego acknowledged the benefit of immigration and emigration "in their proper places" he objected to the politicians including "Parkes, Charles, Lloyd, &

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[92] In fact this agreement was more favourable for the miners than similar agreements in Britain in that it established minimum rates. See Coll 303-4, Fynes 260, Gollan 52-53.

[93] *SMH* 26 March 1874.

[94] IDJ SRNSW 4/4583.

[95] Shadrach Davies and wife Harriett from Blaenafon arrived in 1877. BIL *Trevelyan* SRNSW 4/5005.

[96] IDJ SRNSW 4/4593, 4/4594, BIL *Northampton* SRNSW 4/5005.

[97] Henry Parkes, born 1815 in Warwickshire, had a limited boyhood education and worked as a labourer before coming as a Bounty Immigrant to NSW in 1839. After labouring and various other jobs, he started to contribute to newspapers from 1840s. He established *The Empire* until he was bankrupted in 1858. A salaried emigration commissioner in the UK from 1860-63, he was bankrupt again by 1870. He was prominent in the Constitution Committee in 1853 and inspired the Federation Conference and Australasian Federal Convention 1890-91. In 1876 he was MLA for East Sydney and was Colonial Secretary and Premier 1872-75, 1877, 1878-83 and 1887-91. He was knighted in 1888. Connolly 262-3.

Co."[98] bringing "other people here to starve those already here." He also objected to Lloyd's comments that what was wanted was "bone and sinew", which Abednego interprets as "men who possess only the animal portion of the man, leaving the thinking and moral portion . . . to him and others who have been so fortunate . . . to be trained at that model school[99] where he spent his magnificent and prosperous career as an example to the pupils of that school to imitate." Here again Abednego refers the importance of access to education for the working classes in order for them to better themselves and stand up equally to their so-called superiors. He cites articles from the Queensland papers on destitute young female assisted immigrants who have been brought out in such numbers that they are forced in their despair to "give themselves over to ruin" and suggests that Lloyd, if he wants to be a "real patriot and benefactor" opens his purse and spends his money on public works that will generate employment for the labouring classes. "Why not . . . spend this surplus in making good roads or horse tramways . . . and cause the country to be opened up."[100] A passionate debate in the letters column was the result of Abednego's letter, with the Queensland immigration agent attacking Morgan for his views and Morgan replying in an articulate defence of his sources. Not only did the assisted immigration scheme potentially place some young women in destitute and therefore ruinous circumstances,[101] but

> if there are four men to do two men's work it means that if the two who are working don't like to be trampled upon by the caprice of their employers,

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[98] Samuel Charles, born 1818 in Co. Londonderry, was a farmer and quarry owner. Son of an officer in the 5th Dragoons, he became a shipwright in Belfast and served on coastal ships becoming captain of a steamer and then dockyard manager for the Ulster Canal and Railway Co. He arrived in Sydney in 1844 and worked the coastal shipping trade. He established the coal export trade to the USA in 1849, became a dairy farmer in Kiama and sent the first shipment of butter to London in 1864. He made his fortune from occasional land speculation and extensive quarrying interests and was MLA for Kiama 1874-80. Connolly 53.
George Alfred Lloyd, born 1815 in Surrey, England, came to Sydney in 1833 as a penniless clerk after his corn-merchant father's business failed. Throughout his long business career he was bankrupted three times. A merchant and company director of several coal and insurance companies, he made one of his fortunes buying gold during the goldrushes. Prominent in the Pitt St Congregational Church, he was MLA for Newcastle 1869-1877, 1880-1882 and 1885-1887 and MLC 1887-1897. He was secretary for Mines in 1877. Connolly 198-9.

[99] Lloyd was educated at Aske's Hospital School in London. Connolly 198.

[100] *NMH* 9 June 1876.

[101] There is plenty of evidence that some women who arrived as assisted immigrants without contacts in the colony, did, after some misfortunes, take to the streets of Sydney to earn their living. Single women who arrived pregnant and unsupported had few options, as did those who lost positions without a character or were abandoned by husbands. This was confirmed by my research for the exhibition, "A Body of Troublesome Girls" at Hyde Park Barracks Museum in 1994.

> there are others idle and starving who from want and family cares are ready to jump at any chance . . . to keep away the wolf. Fellow- working-men, take your stand at once, watch the movements of those who would encroach upon your rights . . . fellow-colonists and patriots, will you consent to allow the same stigma to be brought upon your fair and sunny land, and also your adopted home, where your sons and daughters might live in peace and plenty, through an enormous and unwarrantable amount to be spent on immigration.[102]

William Evans of Wickham also wrote supporting Abednego's argument about the situation in Queensland from his own experience of being there in 1866-67. He concluded that emigration carried on properly is all very well but accused the agents in England of picturing the colony to be a "very paradise, - nothing to do but lie down under the trees and food would drop into their mouths. Gold was to be got in every creek, only people out there are too lazy to look after it." He believed there should be a certain amount of free emigrants every year "for it would be preposterous on our part to want to monopolise in such a valuable colony as this" but that people should be informed as to the real state of affairs "and that there is every probability of them making good homes for themselves in this country, when they could not get a shadow of a chance in England."[103] The miners' concerns about the effect of increased migration to the district on their earnings and working conditions were fully justified. As Turner pointed out the continuing growth of the workforce meant that "in 1869 . . . 1767 mineworkers raised 778,000 tons, but ten years later more than twice as many men produced only 46% more coal." In fact output per person per annum had fallen from 440 to 310 tons. At a special delegates' meeting of the CMPAHRD on 11 February 1875 it was resolved to correspond with the secretaries in England and Wales the true state of things in the district. The result was a letter written by John Wood on 6 June 1876 and published in both the *Glasgow Sentinel* and *Tarian y Gweithiwr* in Welsh the following September:

> We see by the home papers and other sources that it is currently reported that the miners working in the Hunter River district, New South Wales, earn on an average £1 per day; that their houses are better and living a deal cheaper than in the old country. Now, this is erroneous, and done by agents for the

[102] *NMH* 17 June 1876.
[103] *NMH* 21 June 1876.

purpose of overstocking the labour market (which is already overstocked by the influx of diggers caused by the falling off of the gold diggings in the colonies of Victoria and New Zealand), so that capital may have full sway over labour by reducing wages, and compel the labourer only to earn a mere pittance for an existence. Sir, I would simply advise those who have comfortable homes to consider well the following statement before they break up their homes to come and live in a wild country like Australia, where there are very few manufacturies commenced yet, and where the miner does not average during the year from seven to eight days per fortnight, or more than £2 per week. There are at present 2450 miners working in the Hunter River district, round and small, for the year ending 31st December, 1875, was 1,170,000 tons, which is the largest output for one year . . . the coal trade appears to be falling off instead of increasing; and further, that we have no manufacturies, ironworks, or other industries, to consume our coal; so therefore our trade must depend upon a foreign market . . . miners out here have to buy all tools to work with, such as picks, wedges, drills, shovels, etc; also powder and tallow. Other expenses:- doctor sixpence per week, accident fund, local fund, checkweighman district fund, and from 3s to 5s per month for leading fire coal. Home rent varies from 4s to 8s per week, and many of them are only bark and slab huts. Allowing for the above deductions, the wages would be reduced to about £1 15s per week at the outside. I think the foregoing will show to any thinking miner the erroneous and fallacious statements of those agents and editors of capitalists' newspapers, both English and colonial. There are at present nine collieries working in this district, which are completely overcrowded, and numbers of men are every day seeking work and cannot find employment; in fact in Waratah there are six men balloted together, and two of the six have to lie idle every working day . . . The prices of provisions are:- flour, from 13s to 14s per 100lbs; beef and mutton , from 4d to 6d per lb; sugar, from 4d to 6d per lb; potatoes, from 5s to 6s per cwt; cheese and bacon (colonial), from 6d to 10d per lb; and as for jams, fish, and hams (imported from England), it is something like eating money. In conclusion, I make bold to state that the people in the mining district of this colony cannot live as provident as people in England.

John Wood, Miners' Agent and Secretary, Hunter River District, New South Wales. Waratah, June 6, 1876.[104]

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[104] *The Glasgow Sentinel* 16 September 1876; translated into Welsh and published by *Tarian y Gweithiwr* 22 Medi [September] 1876. A similar letter from James Fletcher was published in

The anti-immigration stance by the miners and the *Newcastle Morning Herald*, now owned by James Fletcher, continued throughout the 1870s, ironically also the period of peak assisted migration from Wales. After numerous petitions and protests from the Miners' Union, the Government instructed the Agent General in London not to send any more coal miners to NSW. In 1878 and 1879 miners still arrived in large numbers. The new miners did manage to find work. As each miner was paid according the quantity hewn, it was immaterial to employers how many men they employed. This weakened the miners' bargaining power and lowered their wages as the work was shared between more and more miners. Between 1875 and 1879 at least nine miners were sponsored from Pontypridd, Aberdare, Garndiffaith, Tredegar in Wales to Newcastle, Lambton and Waratah. In addition, several "labourers" were also sponsored who turned out to be coal miners. This practice of giving alternative occupations in order to be eligible for an assisted passage was remarked upon in the 1880 Select Committee on Assisted Immigration.[105] In 1879 the *Newcastle Morning Herald* told of a letter by John Williams to the Sydney press complaining that an agent in England had told intending immigrants to put down that they were farm labourers in order to get passages. The Newcastle paper referred to such agents as "legalised bloodsuckers who infest the various immigration offices."[106] Despite the anti-immigration stance of the union, newcomers were still found places for, "evidence of the mutual aid ethos which existed. Sharing of work was a principle established early in Australia's coal-mining history."[107] Imposition of the "darg"[108] in 1875 limited production so that the available work was spread over longer periods.

Y Gwladgarwr 23 November 1861. It had been sent to the editor by a migrant from Aberdare to the NCMD asking for it to be published.

[105] Evidence of Mr William Davies before the Select Committee on Assisted Immigration 29 April 1880, *NSW Legislative Assembly Votes and Proceedings* 1879-1880, Vol. 5: 754-5.

[106] *NMH* 23 May 1879.

[107] Pam O'Loughlin, "The Employee-Employer Dispute of Too Many - Too Few Immigrants", A5238, U of N Archives, 2.

[108] The "darg" imposed a limit on the daily output.



Image 8.5 Miners Delegates Newcastle, in front of Trades Hall, 1896. Source: Snowball Collection, Hunter Photobank, Newcastle Region Public Library.

The AACo Pay Sheets in the 1870s show that the Welsh tended to work together, that sons followed fathers into the mines and also the extent of family interconnections. Welsh Marriage Registers show the extent of connections between the migrants and men working in the AACo Pit. For example the Lovells, Roberts, Peters and Rowlands were all connected by marriage in Abersychan and Varteg, Monmouthshire. They were all working in the AACo No.2 Pit in the 1870s. In the same pit in 1870 father and son Isaac and Edward Buxton[109] worked alongside Isaac's brother, John Buxton with Thomas Griffiths. Cornelius and Thomas Peters, Henry and Henry Lovell,[110] Jabez

[109] See Note 67 above.

[110] Henry Lovell senior (born Gloucestershire) emigrated with his wife Mary Rowlands (born Caerws, Montgomeryshire) and baby son Henry in 1855 from Abersychan, Monmouthshire. Sometime between 1851 and 1855 his brother John and John's wife Sarah Peters and son Henry from Abersychan had also emigrated from Abersychan to Newcastle. Sarah and her son Henry were born in Trevethin, Monnouthshire. In 1858 Henry paid the deposit for Jabez Roberts, 36 of Abersychan and Evan Rowlands, 27 of Varteg. Jabez arrived, Evan did not. The Lovells settled in Wallsend and later in Morgan St, Merewether. In 1883 Henry Lovell, describing himself as a dealer, submitted a petition signed by 64 Burwood ratepayers asking for a municipality of Merewether. Henry Lovell died there in 1937. Biographical information from Census of E&W 1851 107/2449; Marriage Register, Abersychan Chapel and Trevethin

Roberts[111] and Walter Walters all worked together with Abednego Morgan paired with his brother-in-law William Johnson. In 1876 in No.2 Pit paired hewers included J. Watkins and J. Watkins junior,[112] T. and D. Llewellyn, Cornelius and Thomas Peters, John and J.T. Lewis, William and Isaac Reeves,[113] J. and D. Griffiths, William Rowlands and T.H. Jones, J. Harris and D. Humphreys, D. Griffiths and T. Humphreys, D. Thomas and W. Jenkins, Thomas Evans and Evan Evans, Jabez Roberts and W. Walters, Jenkin Williams and D. Williams, T. James and Jas. Price. In Hamilton Pit J. Howell and T. Howell, T. Llewellyn and J. Jones, N. Matthews and A. Ashman[114] worked together. In 1863 Welsh-speaking Thomas Phillips and James

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1840-1863, GwRO; BIL *Lord Hungerford* SRNSW 4/4952, BIL *Admiral Lyons* SRNSW 4/4795; IDJ SRNSW 4/4579; *MA* 3 January 1874; *NMH* 13 February 1937.

[111] Jabez Roberts was born in Llanover, Monmouthshire between 1818 and 1821, the son of a publican Thomas Roberts and his wife Elizabeth. He started working in coal mines at the age of 10. In 1851 he was a collier living with his parents at "The Unicorn" in Abersychan, along with two labourer lodgers and a servant girl. Members of the Rowlands family lived next door. In 1858 Henry Lovell sponsored Jabez's passage to Newcastle and he arrived on the *Admiral Lyons* with William Humphreys and family. He couldn't read or write. On 22 June 1889 he was killed in the Hamilton Pit Disaster when the roof fell in and entombed 18 men, of which only seven were rescued. At that time he was the oldest miner in the AACo's pit, "one of the best known miners in the district" and lived at Adamstown. Biographical information from Census of E&W 1851 107/2449; BIL *Admiral Lyons* SRNSW 4/4795; IDJ SRNSW 4/4579; *NMH* 24 June 1889.

[112] These were the father and eldest brother of David Watkins, later MHR for Wallsend. See Chapter 7. John junior would have been 14. Like his father, he remained a miner in Wallsend all his life.

[113] The Reeves/Rives/Reves/Reaves family emigrated in the early 1860s also from Abersychan. In 1851 William and Isaac were both infants living with their parents and older sister and brothers at 14 Pentwyn Houses, Abersychan. By 1861 they were the oldest two at home, now 3 Top Rank in the same parish of Trevethin. William at 11 was an iron miner's helper, possibly with his father who was listed as an iron miner. By 1862 their eldest brother James was in Newcastle when he sponsored the rest of his family. They arrived on the *Shackamaxon* in 1863. In 1867 Isaac senior was a farmer at the Racecourse in the Junction and the1883-4 Electoral Roll has him as a freeholder in Darby St, The Junction. Both his sons William and Isaac are also freeholders at The Junction. Biographical information from Census of E&W 1851 107/2449, 1861 9/4008; BIL *Shackamaxon* SRNSW 4/4985; IDJ SRNSW 4/4583; 1867 NSW Official PO Directory; NSW ER 1883-4 Newcastle.

[114] The Ashmans, originally from Frome in Somerset, were living in Abersychan in No.2 Butlers Houses, Pentwyn in 1851. Alfred was then 21, a forge labourer like his father and younger brother. Alfred married Caroline Robbins in Trevethin parish, the sister of Isaac Robbins who had married Alfred's younger sister Ann in 1853. In November 1856 Alfred, Caroline and son Stephen arrived in Sydney on the *Winifred*. Her brother James was at the Ovens Diggings. Alfred's brother Benjamin arrived some time later and in 1862 he paid a deposit for his now widowed mother, Mary 49, and Eliza Morgan, another widow, 48, both from Abersychan. They arrived on the *Shackamaxon* in 1863. In late 1864 Alfred, a collier with five children, was on strike at Minmi and was listed as among the families most in urgent need. They were allowed 10/- as they had no store credit at the Co-operative Store or food. In 1885 Alfred's daughter Mrs John Jenkins died at The Glebe. Three Ashmans from Pentwyn, Abersychan were killed in the Llanerch Colliery Explosion in 1890. Biographical information compiled from Census of E&W 1851 107/2449; Trevethin Marriage Registers 1853, 1857 GwRO; BIL *Winifred* SRNSW 4/4964, BIL *Shackamaxon* SRNSW 4/985; IDJ SRNSW 4/4583; *NC* 7 December 1864; *NMH* 7 May 1885.

Edwards were workmates. Margaret Davies, who became James' wife, had travelled out to NSW in 1859 on the same ship as Thomas Phillips and his wife Keziah and as court reports show, they lived close by and were frequently in each other's houses.[115]

Arrivals from Wales were well-represented in colliery management in the NCMD and elsewhere. A feature of their involvement in the coal industry was the number of Welsh men who were either directly imported to manage mines or who worked their way up from miner to manager. One of the earliest Welshmen to hold such a position was Joshua Llywelyn Morgan who arrived from Britain, according to Turner, in 1850 to complete the Hon. James Mitchell's Burwood Smelting Works.[116] He was described as an "engineer and assayer", was a shareholder in Mitchell's Newcastle Copper Co. and in partnership, leased coal rights from Mitchell as "Filgate and Coy" to operate the Victoria Tunnel Colliery. The Colliery and Filgate and Co.'s share in the Glebe Railway was sold to the Coal and Copper Co. in 1854 for £41,500. The same year Morgan was appointed by the directors of the Fitz Roy Iron Mining Co. to prepare a feasibility study on the commercial potential of the Fitz Roy works near Mittagong[117]. In 1861 he was the resident engineer superintending Wallsend Coal Company's railway line with "assiduity and skill",[118] was also the agent for Mitchell's Burwood Estate and was appointed engineer for the Red Head Railway. He lived in "Brynhyfryd" where he also had his office from where he collected rents from leaseholders and tenants.[119] Described as the engineer and manager for the Coal and Copper Company in 1862, he chaired a tea meeting at the Welsh Congregational Church, Glebe in which the proceedings were carried out in Welsh.[120] In 1863 he tendered his resignation from the Coal and Copper Co. citing disagreement with the

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[115] BIL *Hornet* SRNSW 4/4979; *NC* 27 June 1863.

[116] Turner, *Manufacturing in Newcastle* 37. The *Maitand Mercury* announced on 3 July 1850 that "the smelting of copper ore will be in progress in Burwood . . . in a very short period of time. The work is to be conducted under the guidance of Mr Morgan, who lately arrived from England – a gentleman who . . . thoroughly understands the business in all its branches." In 1851 Morgan married Sara Filgate in Sydney and a son Joshua L. Morgan was born in Newcastle in 1856. NSW BDM. I am grateful to John Shoebridge for additional details on Morgan.

[117] NSW PP V&P Vol.1 1854: 1396-7. E.M. Johnston-Liik, George Liik, R.G. Ward, *A Measure of Greatness, the origins of the Australian Iron and Steel Industry* (Melbourne: MUP, 1998) 9. The networking and mobility both within Wales and between coalmining and other developing industrial and mining sites in NSW such as Mittagong, Lithgow, Cobar and the Illawarra also show how strong the links were.

[118] Ed Tonks, *Wallsend and Pelton Collieries. A Chronology of the Newcastle Wallsend Company* (Newcastle: Newcastle Wallsend Coal Company, 1990) 42.

[119] *NC* 12 January 1861; Merewether Archives Map AM A2/2a.

Board and was strongly criticised by the auditors for misleading Mitchell and the Co. regarding coal reserves. But he had obviously prospered in NSW. The same year, "about to leave the colony for England", he advertised all his household furniture for sale, including a "brilliant toned cottage pianoforte by Broadwood and Son, a massive pier glass, a valuable library of books, cut glass, china and an electroplated service." He also sold horses, ponies, heifers, cows, poultry and fancy pigeons.[121] A photograph of the opening of the AACo's new iron bridge in 1863 indicates Morgan's stature as manager of the NCCCo.[122] in the NCMD. E.C. Merewether, the General Superintendent AACo, J.B. Winship, AACo colliery manager, James Corlette, AACo accountant, Dr James Mitchell, Chairman of Directors, NCCCo. and J.L. Morgan, manager NCCCo. were photographed standing on the old wooden bridge.

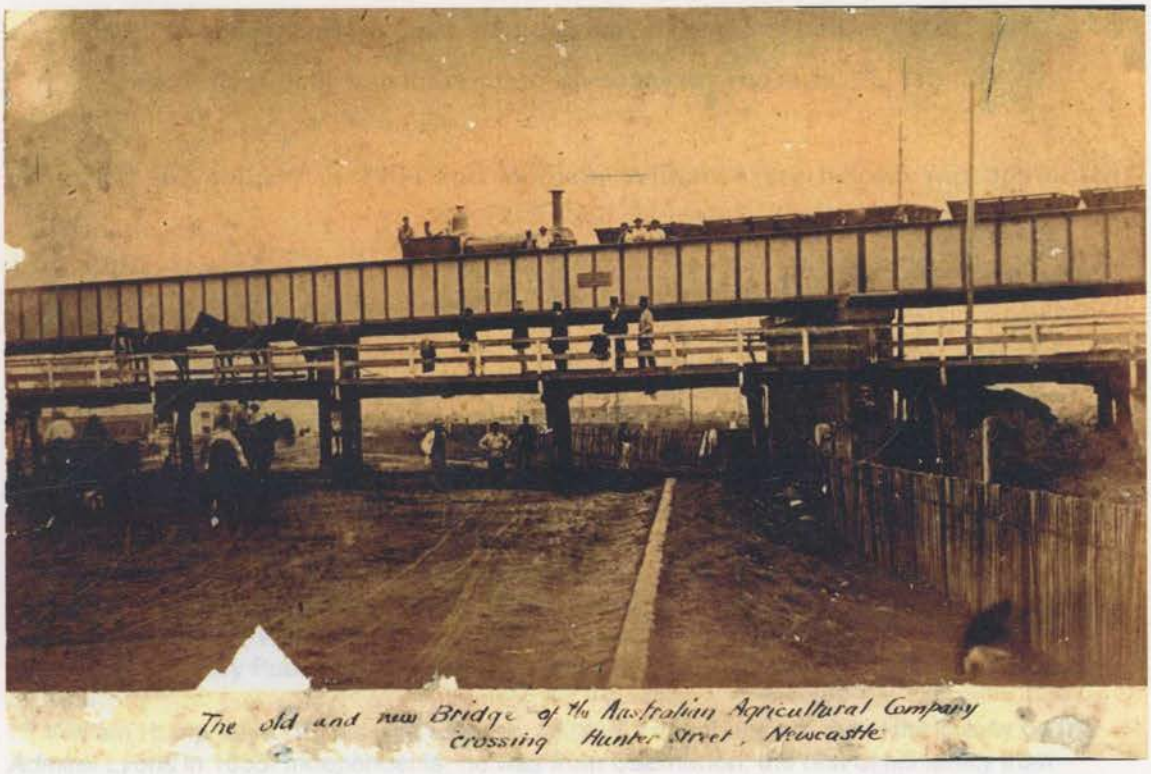


Image 8.6 Opening of the AA Co's new bridge 1863. Joshua Llywelyn Morgan, manager of the Newcastle Coal and Copper Co. is standing far right on the old wooden bridge. With him on the same bridge are E.C. Merewether, General Superintendent AACo., J.B. Winship, AACo. colliery manager, James Corlette, AACo. accountant and Dr James Mitchell, Chairman of Directors, Newcastle Coal and Copper Co. Source: F A Cadell Collection, Hunter Photobank, Newcastle Region Public Library.

[120] *NC* 8 February, 26 April, 17 and 28 May 1862.
[121] *NC* 24 October - 11 November 1863.
[122] Opening of the AACo's new bridge, F.A. Cadell Collection, 1863, NRPL.

While many miners had followed their fathers into the pit, some like Hugh Humphreys[123] moved from miner to manager in one generation. In 1889 he was colliery accountant at Wallsend when his father, Willliam, met with an accident in the Wallsend mine. In 1890, just into his thirties, Hugh became manager of the Dudley Colliery. In 1898 15 miners were entombed by a gas explosion, including his father William, aged 70.[124] His mother, Eleanor, 75, waited for news at the pit top. "It was only with difficulty she could be kept from the pit-mouth, while her grief for the loss of her aged partner was heartrending." Hugh

> despite the double calamity . . . bore his part bravely. The disaster in itself was sufficient to overcome any man, and coupled . . . with the loss of his father under such distressing circumstances, the position was painful in the extreme. Still, in spite of private grief, he never lost sight of his official duties, and worked on manfully with the rest throughout the day and night.[125]

Hugh left the colliery in 1900 and William Williams (see below) was appointed undermanager.

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[123] Hugh Humphreys was born in Sydney in 1859 the year after his parents arrived in the colony. In 1875 he was "serving his time" working at Greta and Anvil Creek mines. The following year he joined the Wallsend colliery as a clerk and in 1878 was appointed Mining Surveyor. In 1889 he was acting manager at Wallsend. He signed the application for the establishment of the South Burwood (Dudley) Public School in 1890 and was appointed a Justice of the Peace in 1895. He was also President of the Dudley School of Arts and of the local progress committee. His religion was now Church of England. He left both Dudley and the colliery in 1900. Biographical information compiled from NSW BDM; *MA* 25 December 1874, 3 March 1875; *W&PSun* 19 January 1889; *NMH* 22, 23, 24, 25 March, 2 April 1898; 21 March 1900; Dudley Public School, *A History of Dudley*, Dudley: Dudley Public School, 1987, 32,148.

[124] William Humphreys, 30, his wife Eleanor, 35, and 3 daughters arrived in the colony on the *Admiral Lyons* in 1858. Independents, he was from Caernarfon, the rest of his family from Anglesey. Their son Hugh was born in Sydney within a year of their arrival and by 1862 they were in the NCMD. They settled in Wallsend and he worked in the Wallsend mine most of his life. In 1864 William's name was given as the contact for the Rev. Evan Lewis, imported to take charge of the Independent Cause in the district. William was involved in the Welsh cultural life of the district, occupying a prominent position in the Congregational Church, competing and winning at the Welsh Eisteddfod in 1863 and giving a recitation in Welsh at the Lambton Welsh Eisteddfod in 1874. In 1875 he was on the committee of the Wallsend School of Arts. His brother Hugh was also in the district and his nephew Robert Roberts, 18, a quarryman from Merioneth emigrated in 1880. William and his wife were both Welsh speakers and he had a Welsh funeral. In 1900 Eleanor had an "In Memoriam" notice in Welsh in the newspaper. Her sons William and John wrote one in English. Biographical information compiled from BIL *Admiral Lyons* SRNSW 4/4965; IDJ SRNSW 4/4584; *NC* 11 June 1862, 14 January 1863; *MA* 25 December 1874, 3 March 1875; *W&PSun* 19 January 1889; *NMH* 22, 23, 24, 25 March, 2 April 1898; 21 March 1900.

[125] *NMH* 23 March 1898

For some, their contacts in Wales continued in the district. Thomas John Evans, manager of East Lambton Colliery in 1892 had worked at the same colliery in South Wales with Mr Bedlington, a mining engineer and late manager of the Great Northern mine, Teralba.[126] Evans, a Welsh-speaker who arrived in 1888, was manager of the West Wallsend Colliery until he left the district to manage the Bellambi Colliery near Wollongong. An authority on Welsh literature, he was a prominent member of the Cambrian Society in Newcastle and the "sons of Cambria" gathered to farewell him with speeches and songs "in the style peculiar to our Welsh friends".[127] He had been a "most popular and prominent figure in the Eisteddfods of Wales" and in 1891 was the conductor of the 4th Annual Newcastle Eisteddfod, delivering a prayer in Welsh.[128]

Richard Thomas who was born in Aberdare in 1850 received his Certificate of Competency as mine manager in 1876. He was mine manager at Aberdare, Clydach Vale, Rhondda Valley, and in North Wales and Yorkshire until 1886 when he was appointed manager of the newly-opened Stockton Colliery. He later managed the AACo's Sea Pit and his son Harry Thomas became manager of the East Greta Colliery.[129] Arthur Gower from Cwmafan, assistant manager to Charles Thomas when the Wallaroo Mining Company established a smelter at Waratah in 1868, was

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[126] *NMH* 1 February 1892. Albert Kembrey, born in Cwmbran, remembered that when he went to Teralba in 1888 most of the population was Welsh or of Welsh descent. "Old Days in Teralba", *The Coal Miner* (June 1952): 19. Between 1895 and 1903 Morgan Jones was manager of the mine at Teralba. "Mr Morgan Jones Residence at Teralba", Snowball Collection 1895, NRPL. 1903 Electoral Roll, Teralba. See also note below.

[127] Thomas John Evans was born in Merthyr Tydfil in 1839 and employed at Dowlais Iron and Coal Company. He was manager of Harris' Deep Navigation Coal Co. Ltd in South Wales before coming to NSW to take charge of the West Wallsend mine opened in July 1888. After some years in the Wollongong district, where he was the "first man to locate the splendid clay now used at Bulli Pottery Works", he returned to NCMD where he made successful experiments with Port Stephens iron ore and took charge of the Morrisett Coalmine in 1905. He was described as an authority on the coal and shale deposits of NSW and Queensland. His father and grandfather had both been in the coal business as were all his sons. One of his daughters married Henry Davies, a South Wales mining expert. He died in Sydney aged 71 in 1911. Biographical information compiled from *NMH* 4 July 1888, 26 January 1891, 1 and 6 February 1892, 12 June 1911; '*Neath Mt Sugarloaf* Book 2 (West Wallsend Public School Centenary Committee, 1988) 8. George H. Kingswell, *The Coal Mines of Newcastle, NSW, Their Rise and Progress* (Newcastle, 1890) 54.

[128] *NMH* 26 January 1891.

[129] Richard Thomas was a Welsh speaker and a singer. He was chairman of the Cambrian Society's Musical and Literary Competition held in Stockton in 1889, competed in solo competitions in 1891. He was also an original member of Stockton Council from 1889-1939. He was a member of the MUOOF, the Freemasons, E.C. St George and had a St John's Ambulance Society Medal for proficiency in the art of attending to accidents. He died in Stockton in 1939. Biographical information compiled from Turner, *Who was Who* 46; *NMH* 18 June 1889, 26 January 1891, 30-31 October 1905, 3 May 1910, 14 March 1931; Minutes of the NDCS 1939, NRPL. See Chapter 6.

responsible for recruiting Welsh smelters from Swansea, Aberafan and Cwmafan in the early 1870s. Lewis Thomas was foreman of works at the English and Australian Copper Smelting Co. in Waratah in 1872, also bringing a number of Welsh families to the district. A Welsh speaker, he was an active member of the Welsh Baptist Church, Lambton and involved in eisteddfodau. William Henry Rogers, "stubborn, proud of his Welsh background and his position in the mine hierarchy," was born in Wrecsam in 1845, the son of a mine manager. After 15 years as a coalminer in North Wales and another 15 as undermanager in North Wales and Scotland, he emigrated in 1887 and for 18 months was undermanager at the Greta mine. In 1889 he moved as undermanager to Mt Kembla. He was manager there in 1902 when the disaster which killed 96 men occurred.[130] John Powell, also a Welsh speaker, was manager of Ferndale Colliery at Tighe's Hill from 1882. He became the longest-serving and best-known manager. In 1886 a section of the workings collapsed and the underground workings were flooded by sand and tidal waters of Throsby Creek. There were some narrow escapes including Cornelius Peters and William Williams, warned in time by two young boys, John Powell and David Jones. John Jenkins, known as Ion Bach, a crippled man aged about 40 was never found.[131] In 1887 Powell was presented with an illuminated address on his 60th birthday. He suggested he should address the gathering in Welsh and that a Mr Brown should translate it but his offer was not accepted and he proceeded in English.[132]

Details emerging as a result of the 1905 explosion at the Stanford Merthyr mine show just how Welsh that mine was. When the explosion occurred, Azariah Thomas, born in Porth, in the Rhondda Valley in Glamorgan, was general manager, Henry Morgan Williams, was manager,[133] William Williams, undermanager and Edward Davies the

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[130] Piggin and Lee 33, 206-220. Rogers was suspended as mine manager for a year but then returned as Mt Kembla manager. He visited Wales in 1908 and retired from Mt Kembla in 1911 aged 66. See Chapter 6.

[131] E. Tonks *Beneath Tidal Water* (Charlestown: Headframe Publishing, 1985) 5-7.

[132] John Powell arrived from Bedwellty, Monmouthshire with his wife Ann Hughes and two young sons on the *Ebba Brahe* in January 1855. His sons had been born in Glamorganshire where his wife's widowed mother was also living. He was a collier. In 1874 he sang at an eisteddfod and in 1875 at the Wallsend and District St David's Day celebration he sang and played the concertina in a duet and sang a love song in Welsh. His son Joseph sang two songs in English. He was a member of the Wallsend Choral Union who sang at a benefit concert for Wallsend Public School in August 1875.He died in 1895 at Wickham. Biographical information compiled from BIL *Ebba* Brahe SRNSW 4/4947; *MA* 6 March, 14 August 1875; NMH 10 January 1887; NSW BDM.

[133] Starting off in South Wales as a signalman on a colliery railway, Williams was determined to get a colliery managers' certificate before he was 40 and he started night school. With

engineer. Davies was 70 years old, and had been in colliery work for 63 years. Henry Thomas, known as Harry, the son of Richard Thomas (see above), and general manager of the East Greta Co. arrived offering assistance. Harry received serious head injuries when he was blown out of the tunnel "like a charge from a gun. He must have been 150 feet down the tunnel when the explosion occurred, and was blown 12 or 15 feet clear of the mouth." Henry Morgan Williams and William Williams were also both injured. Deputies John Evans, 43, and John W. Jones, 42, and shiftman David Jones, 43, were among those killed. Walter Jones, a deputy and Evan Evans, a miner were also injured. Richard Thomas, father of Harry, and now manager of the Sea Pit Colliery, arrived to assist.[134] Several of the dead and injured, including John Evans and William Williams, had moved from the Newcastle district to the Maitland coalfield as those mines were opened up. Williams had also been at Dudley in 1898 when the explosion occurred there. The funerals were conducted by Messrs H. Bevan and Sons of Kurri Kurri and Stockton. The Rev. E. Mona Jones officiated at the funerals and a hymn was sung in Welsh, a favourite of John Evans "Byddmirddo-rhy feddodie" (sic). Another Welsh hymn was sung by the hundreds at the graveside, where "widows bowed down with grief in their bereavement, and orphan children bewailing the loss of a good and devoted father". Azariah's father and sister in Porth cabled him from Wales, asking if he had been injured.[135] When Thomas retired as superintendent in 1931 he was succeeded by Henry Morgan Williams. Other Welsh mine officials included Morgan Jones who was manager at Teralba from about 1895 and Joshua Jeffries, mining engineer, Fire Manager at Greta Colliery in 1900, General Manager of the Abermain Collieries and Superintendent of the local BHP collieries.[136] Bennett Williams from Glamorganshire was colliery undermanager at the second Lambton Colliery also known as Ryhope and Durham colliery, from 1902 until at least 1924.[137] As in Scranton, Pennsylvania, and much of the rest of the USA, the Welsh were well-represented in mine management and official positions throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth.[138] Like Scranton, where there was a

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Evan Evans and J.D. Davies he arrived in the NCMD in 1887 and after working in several mines, he took charge of the East Greta Colliery in 1899. He transferred to Stanford Merthyr as manager and in 1931 became superintendent for 17 years. *NMH* 30-31 October, 1 November 1905, 25 February 1931.

[134] *NMH* 30 October, 2 November 1905. John Evans was president of the Kurri Kurri Male Voice Party and a member of the Kurri Kurri Progress Association.

[135] *NMH* 31 October, 2 November 1905.

[136] *A History of Dudley* (Dudley: Dudley Public School, 1987) 189.

[137] E. Tonks, *Lambton by the Sea* (Charlestown: Headframe Publishing, 1995) 25.

[138] W.D. Jones, *Wales in America* 31.

Welsh superintendent or manager, there were often other Welsh officials serving the colliery. Bill Jones found that "the Welsh occupied a privileged position in the industry" and they "took advantage of it to further the interests of their own nationality and to perpetuate their own dominance."[139] There is little evidence of this in the NCMD. There may have been increased opportunities for Welshmen in employment and promotion, but with the strength of the union and the diversity of representation of union officials and the apparent shared community interests between the various British groups who made up the population of the coalmining villages, no evidence has been found of national favouritism or the clannishnesss which appeared to be the case in Scranton. What is significant, however, is that many of these men in positions of influence and power, were also active in both the Welsh and wider communities.

This was also the case in local government. Virtually every council in the district had some Welsh representation during the latter part of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. Local government was the key to progress, to proper municipal facilities, and was very much in the hands of the local people. Many of the Welsh signed petitions in favour of incorporation and were active in the formation of the municipalities in which they lived. Thomas Price, a miner from Breconshire, was active in the formation of the Merewether municipality and one of the first aldermen. He was on the local school boards and helped establish The Junction School.[140] Thomas Davies from Resolven arrived in 1887 with a certificate in shorthand from Swansea. Unable to find work, he became a coalminer at Wallsend colliery. In 1899 he was elected alderman of the Borough of Wallsend and became mayor in 1901, 1927 to 1929. He was a member of the Wallsend Council until 1934, the year before his death.[141] John Williams, who had arrived as a boy from Glamorganshire in 1853, was

[139] W.D. Jones, *Wales in America* 33-4.

[140] Thomas Price arrived in Newcastle as a non-assisted migrant in May 1863. He was employed at Lambton Colliery and in 1864 joined Jonathon Dixon and a party boring test holes for coal at Stockton and Broadmeadow. He was also a member of the party who discovered kerosene shale at Hartley Vale in 1865. Well-known in coal mining affairs, he was Secretary of the Borehole Miners' Lodge and a member of the Burwood Primitive Methodist Church. He married Dixon's daughter Mary in Hartley in 1865 and between 1866 and 1886 they had 11 children. They moved back to Merewether about 1870 where he died in Hopkin St in 1918. Biographical information compiled from *NMH* 30 September 1918; NSW BDM.

[141] Thomas Rees Davies arrived in 1887 aged 20. After coalmining, he became shire clerk of Lake Macquarie for 25 years. He was secretary and then president for 12 years of the Wallsend and Plattsburg Co-operative Society, formed the Wallsend and Plattsburg Musical and Literary Society and was secretary for 21 years, running their annual eisteddfod. He was

an alderman of Hamilton Municipality from 1876 until just before his death in 1890.[142] Timothy Griffiths was one of the first members of the Stockton Council when it was incorporated in 1880. In 1903 he was elected mayor and filled that office 11 times. He was also Deputy Mayor four times.[143]

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also secretary of Wallsend Agricultural Society for three years and honorary auditor of Wallsend Hospital for 25 years. He belonged to several masonic lodges and MUOOF. Biographical information compiled from *NMH* 6 and 8 June 1935.

[142] John Williams had been a miner for most of his life in Newcastle, Gulgong and Hillend. While he was still in mining, he was also the landlord of the Miners' Arms Hotel, Hamilton. "Been possessed of keen business faculties" and "a speculator of no small magnitude", he was very successful and built the Miner's Exchange Hotel which he owned and lived in at the time of his death. He left a wife and young family comfortably provided for. He was a sporting enthusiast, being president of the local football and cricket clubs and vice-president of the Northern District Football Association (Australian Rules). He was also a trustee of the fire brigade. His funeral procession was attended by 1000 people and the procession included the bands of the district and 100 or more firemen. Biographical information compiled from Turner, *Who's Who* 29; NSW BDM; *NMH* 31 October 1890.

[143] See Chapter 7. Griffiths began as a miner in Wallsend in the Co-operative Colliery. He quit coalmining and entered business in Newcastle, then in Stockton where he ran a general produce business, mainly supplying ships. He entertained many of the Welsh sailors and sea captains when they were in the port. *NMH* 14 March 1931.

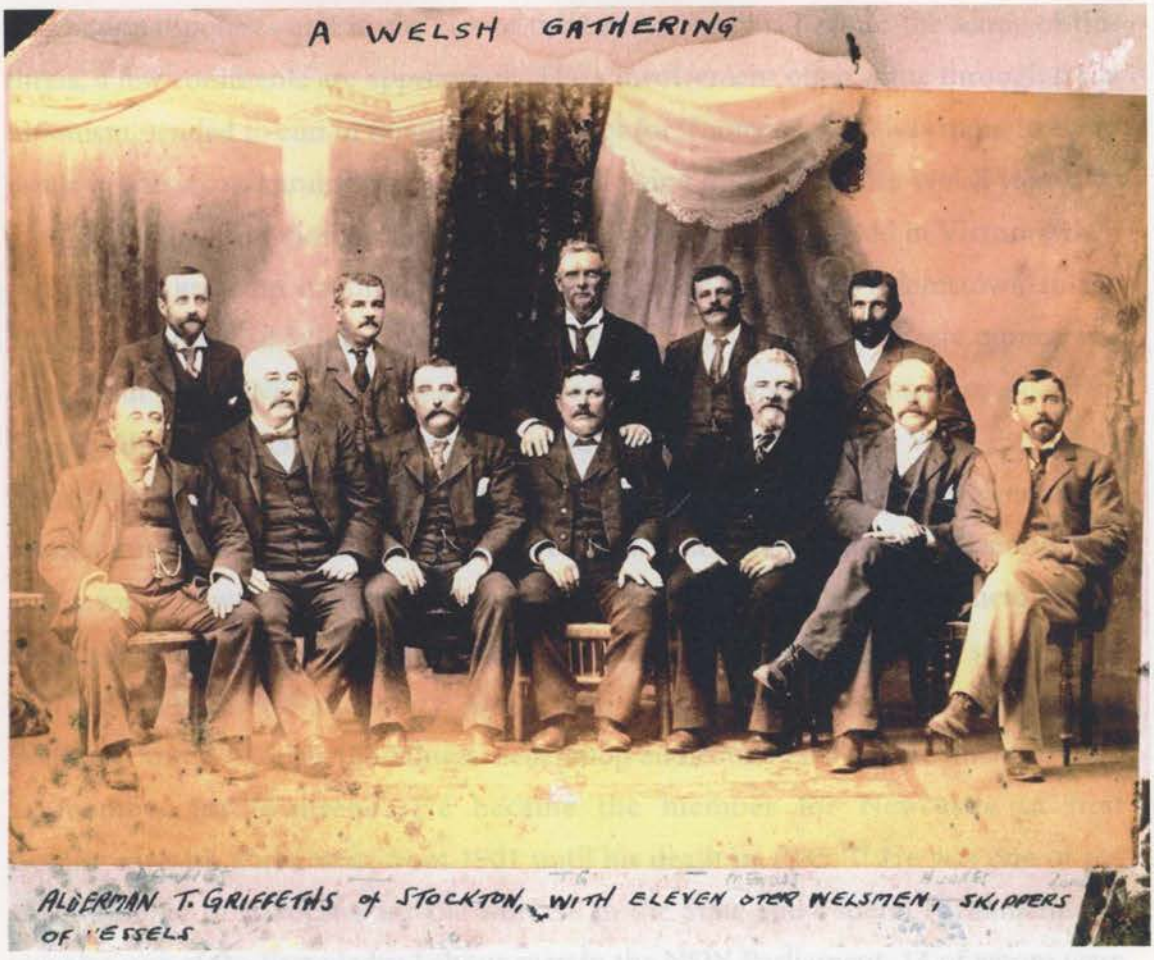


Image 8.7 Alderman Timothy Griffiths of Stockton and a gathering of Welsh seamen. Many Welsh visited Newcastle as crew and skippers of vessels. They were often entertained by the Welsh community of the NCMD. Source: Wilfred James Goold Collection, Hunter Photobank, Newcastle Region Public Library.

David Lloyd, Evan Lewis' son-in-law, and a Welsh speaker, was the Mayor of Merewether when he died as the result of an accident in 1911.[144]

The Welsh were well-represented in local government and some went from local onto to state and federal politics. While a more detailed exploration of their role in state

[144] David Lloyd was born in 1859 in Cwmylemener (sic), North Wales, the son of a farmer. A non-assisted immigrant, he arrived in NSW in 1883 and married Evan Lewis' youngest daughter Mary Ann the same year. Like many Welshmen, he founded a successful undertaking business which was still being run by his sons and then grandson until recently. He was a member of the NDCS, the UAO Druids and although his family was Congregational, they were members of the Junction, Glebe and Park St Methodist Churches. His death was brought about by his accidentally taking formalin instead of his medicine. His two sons Evan and David sang at the unveiling of John Morgan's memorial at Sandgate Cemetery in 1927. Biographical information compiled from NSW BDM; Death Certificate; *NMH* 22 January 1889, 11 January 1893, 3 September 1898, 7 and 8 September 1911, 16 May 1927. I am also grateful for information given by Douglas Lloyd of Newcastle about his family.

and national politics and in the rise of the Labour Party is beyond the scope of this thesis, a few comments are appropriate. Their involvement often came through trade unionism, tended to run in families, and except for Thomas Lewis, was more likely to occur in the second and third generations following migration. The Welsh were also involved in the formation of the Labour Party. Esther Howell arrived in Victoria when a child and grew up on the Ballarat goldfields. She moved to Adamstown in the NCMD and married William Arthur in 1878. She and her husband were pioneers of the Labour Party, William being a prominent trade union supporter and an alderman on Hamilton Council for many years including a term as mayor. With Esther, he helped form the first political Labour League in Newcastle and they were both foundation members of the Adamstown branch. One son, Joshua, a blacksmith, was also a well-known member of the Labour Party and his son was state member for Hamilton from 1935 to 1950 and Kahibah until 1953.[145] David Watkins, son of John Watkins of Wallsend and Mary Ann Hopkins of Rhymney, was secretary of the Wallsend Miners' Lodge, the Miners' Federation and entered NSW Parliament in 1894 as member for Wallsend. He became the member for Newcastle in first Commonwealth Parliament from 1901 until his death in 1935.[146] He was one of the small number of advocates for the workers in the State and Federal Parliament. He was also one of the first pledge Labour men in the NSW Parliament, 14 of whom were returned in 1894.[147] Rowley James, son of Moses James who arrived in 1861 from Mountain Ash and Mary Ann James, was the member for Hunter for 22 years.[148]

What of prosperity and poverty? Did emigration and the greater opportunities for the working man live up to the expectations of the settlers from Wales? The level of home ownership is one indicator of relative prosperity. It is also another area in which the Welsh cultural traditions impacted on what occurred in the NCMD. Miners from Wales carried different traditions of home ownership to the miners of

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[145] *NMH* 23 January 1940; Heather Radi, Peter Spearritt, Elizabeth Hinton, *Biographical Register of the NSW Parliament 1901-1970* (Canberra: ANU, 1979) 8.

[146] Mary Ann Hopkins emigrated with her parents from Rhymney in 1855 on the *Lord Hungerford*. She married John Watkins in 1861. See Chapter 7.

[147] *NMH* 9 and 11 April 1935.

[148] Moses James was an unassisted migrant from Mountain Ash, Glamorganshire. He arrived in 1861 and in 1868 married Mary Ann James. They moved to Lambton in the 1870s and in 1880 he deposited £100 into the NPBS. They had 11 children and their youngest son Rowland (Rowley) was born there in 1885. Biographical information compiled from NSW BDM; Deposit Ledger, NPBS Records, AB5252, Newcastle University Archives; *The Coal Miner* Vol.1, No.4 (June 1950): 9.

Northumberland, Durham and Scotland. In the older coalfields of the north-east of England, most of the colliery housing was owned by the company and the miners lived rent-free or were given a rent allowance as part of their wages. In the younger South Wales coalfield the cost of housing was paid for by the miners themselves. They either bought or rented on the open market or paid close to market rent to the coal company. There was almost no free company housing. Table 8.1 shows the comparative figures for company housing in 1913 in the major coalfields of England, Scotland and Wales. Northumberland and Durham had 97% of the company free housing compared with 0.5% in South Wales. The South Wales coalfields contained the highest proportion of workmen-provided housing in Britain. Other government reports in 1918-19 and the work of P.N. Jones confirm the high levels of owner occupation of houses in South Wales.[149]

The other major feature of home ownership in South Wales which transferred to the NCMD is the setting up of building clubs or societies in order to fund the building of houses. While there were some Co-operative Societies providing some houses and mortgages on a very small scale in the north-east, there was "no equivalent to the building clubs which were so important in parts of South Wales."[150] And the clubs were not just used for owner-occupied housing but also for some speculative building, necessary in an area where the company did not provide housing stock on any large scale. Like the NCMD, the South Wales coalfield developed from the 1850s and the rate of population and output growth created a "continuous demand for housing, which in turn created an investment market and building industry."[151]

	Percentage of Great Britain total			
	Workmen	**Co. free houses**	**Co. rented houses**	**All Co. houses**
High proportion of company houses				
Scotland	12.0	1.1	36.0	19.9
Cumberland	0.9	0.1	2.1	1.2
South Staffs, Shrops, Worcs.	0.4	--	1.1	0.6
Northumberland	5.9	23.4	0.1	10.9
Durham	17.1	73.5	0.4	34.2

[149] See M.J. Daunton, "Miners' Houses in South Wales and the North-East", *International Review of Social History* Vol. XXV (1980, Pt.2): 145-146.
[150] Daunton 150.
[151] Daunton 168-9.

	Percentage of Great Britain total			
	Workmen	Co. free houses	Co. rented houses	All Co. houses
Low proportion of company houses				
South Wales & Mon.	19.2	0.5	16.4	9.1
South Yorks.	9.5	0.3	14.3	7.8
West Yorks.	5.8	0.2	5.3	2.9
Notts & Derbys.	9.2	0.2	12.4	6.8
Leics & Warwicks.	2.6	0.1	2.1	1.2
Cannock Chase	2.2	0.1	1.4	0.8
North Staffs.	3.0	0.1	0.8	0.4
Lancs. & Cheshire	10.1	0.2	6.4	3.6
North Wales	1.2	--	0.5	0.3

Table 8.1 Colliery Company Housing in Great Britain 1913. Source: M.J. Daunton, "Miners' Houses in South Wales and the North-East", *International Review of Social History*, Vol. XXV (1980, Pt.2): 145.[152]

With little incentive to live in company housing, "the South Wales miner gave the highest status to owner occupation. As a witness to the Royal Commission of 1919 said, the south Wales 'collier prefers that class of investment to anything else; he likes to live in his own house.'"[153] Daunton points out that this preference brought the South Wales miner into "relationships with his landlord, or with his fellows in a club which involved negotiations with banks, landowners, builders, solicitors." This created a much less closed social world than that of the north-east miner, who was much more entangled with his employer.

	% of house plans obtained by	
	Colliery companies	Building Clubs
Neath Rural District, East	22.8	27.3
Neath Rural District, West	23.1	14.7
Glyncorrwg Urban District	8.4	25.2
Maesteg Urban District	1.1	16.5
Garw Valley	2.0	19.0
Ogmore Valley	--	3.6
Rhondda Fach valley	3.5	35.8
Rhondda Fawr valley	1.3	14.6
Llantrisant & Llantwit Fardre Rural	--	31.0

[152] Daunton, "Miners' Houses"145. His source: *Royal Commission on the Coal Industry*, 1925, Vol.III: Appendices and Index, Appendix 18, tables 13, 37. The information covered three-quarters of the industry by output.
[153] Daunton 173.

	% of house plans obtained by	
	Colliery companies	Building Clubs
District		
Merthyr Tydfil County Borough	--	57.6

Table 8.2 Housing Agencies in South Wales 1900-1909. Source: M.J. Daunton "Miners' Housing in South Wales and the North-East", *International Review of Social History*, Vol. XXV, 1980, Pt.2: 147.[154]

The effect of these differences can be discerned in the NCMD. Minmi was the only Company town on the coalfield where the land was retained by the colliery owners. The miners built their own houses on company-owned land, for which they paid ground rent. But over the rest of the NCMD, coal companies provided little housing. Many of the early miners, including many of the Welsh, squatted on the Newcastle Pasturage Reserve, known as The Commonage, building their own houses in whatever way they could.[155] But from the beginning, the miners aimed to buy their own land and build their houses.

The Newcastle Wallsend Coal Company sold allotments in Wallsend township between 1862 and 1902. John Lovell[156] who arrived between 1851 and 1855 had paid off a mortgage of £31 for a block of land in Wallsend township between January 1863 and December 1864.[157] William Humphreys[158] bought land in September 1873 which in January 1882 he transferred to his son Hugh. The £48/13/6 was paid off by May 1883. John Davis and John Williams, Thomas Thomas and James Roberts, Thomas Morriss and James Davies all bought land in pairs and Daniel James paid off £31 for his land over one year. Only three of the Welsh buyers defaulted on the loans, one of whom, Richard Davis, had moved to Parkes.

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[154] Daunton, "Miners' Houses"147. His sources: Merthyr Tydfil from J.H. Richards, "Fluctuations in house-building activity in the South Wales coalfield, 1815-1914", MA, Cardiff, 1956: table XLVII, 266; other areas from P.N. Jones, "Aspects of the population and settlement geography of the South Wales coalfield, 1850-1926", PhD, Birmingham, 1965: 298-301, and private communication from Dr Jones.

[155] The Newcastle Pasturage Reserve was Crown Land stretching from Adamstown and New Lambton to Lambton and from Broadmeadow to Waratah. Because of the shortage of accommodation, particularly near the newer collieries, the Government tacitly permitted miners to clear the thick scrub and build houses on the land. There were over 1050 of these squattages and this created health problems. By the 1880s many people believed that occupation and improvement meant that the miners should be entitled to purchase the land. A bill was passed in 1889 to legalise occupation and from the 1890s the residents could apply to purchase their land. See Champion Papers, A5611, U of Newcastle Archives.

[156] See Note 110 above.

[157] Newcastle Wallsend Coal Company Land Sales and Stock Book 1862-1903, A57459(IIIa); Plan of the Township of Wallsend M4218, U of N Archives.

In 1863, when the Waratah Coal Company was set up, Thomas Grove subdivided his 60 acre grant into half acre lots and sold them to the miners. This area was first known as Hanbury, after Grove's birthplace in England. Many of the Welsh settlers were employed in the two smelting works, the two quarries and the coal mine established there. In order to build homes, the residents set up a society, like the building clubs in South Wales, in which savings could be built up and money borrowed for housing. Many of the Welsh settlers were directly involved in the setting up and management of the Northumberland Permanent Building, Investment, Land and Loan Society (NPBS) in the mid-1870s. It began with 304 investing members and 1380 shares were taken up.[159] The Deposit Ledger 1876-1885, the Loans Ledger 1876-1885 and the Minute Books 1876-1885 provide some indication of the financial opportunities and levels of prosperity of the settlers. Between September 1876 and January 1882 there were 71 deposits of between £10 and £400 made by identifiably Welsh men and women totalling £5,637/1/7. Between November 1877 and February 1885 60 loans for housing were made to identifiable Welsh men and women of between £10 and £1600, totalling £14,570/10/-. The majority of depositors came from the mining communities of Waratah, Lambton and Hamilton. A link has been made between the prevalence of temperance groups and the support of the NPBS as trustees of the Band of Hope division, Sons of Temperance, Daughters of Temperance, the Miners' Refuge Lodge all deposited money.[160] The aim was to provide the working men with the means to own their own home:

> The old rates of good wages made him [the Australian worker] years ago a petty suburban proprietor. He bought his 16 or 32 perch allotment, with reach by 'bus or tram or train of his work, and went to the Building Societies to put him up a wooden cottage. It had four or five rooms, a small verandah in front and rear, and a tank or two. It was roofed with corrugated iron and lined and 'ceiled' . . . There he lived with his wife and children in the profuse Australian style.[161]

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[158] See Notes 123 and 124 above.

[159] Ann Drinkwater, "Northumberland Permanent Building, Investment, Land and Loan Society. Its Development and Role in the Creation of Suburbia in the Parish of Newcastle", U of N Archives, A5582(v), 1978.

[160] Drinkwater 1978.

[161] Francis Adams, "The Labour Movement in Australia", 1891 in Ian Turner, ed., *The Australian Dream* (Melbourne, 1968) 194 quoted in Drinkwater 1978.

From its beginning in 1876 miner George Amos[162] from Beaufort, Monmouthshire was a director, remaining until he retired in 1881. Amos and other directors inspected the building progress on properties for which loans had been approved, approved or rejected loan applications and made decisions on foreclosures and investments. The Amos brothers and their brother-in-law James Arnold and their families all had shares. In 1880 James withdrew ten shares worth £40/1/-. Another shareholder, Samuel Greenland, a miner also from Beaufort, had sponsored two other miners, including Samuel Price, his cousin, who arrived on the same ship as Isaac Amos and James Arnold. Greenland also settled in Hanbury, Waratah.[163] William Gibbs from Brynmawr who had arrived in 1858 was another shareholder who also lived in Hanbury.[164] Evan Lewis junior was an auditor from 1877-1879 and 1881-1883. He was also one of the heaviest borrowers between 1882 and 1885. The new business premises of E. Lewis and Co. at 175 Hunter St, Newcastle, "the biggest commercial premises in

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[162] George Amos was at The Glebe Newcastle in July 1862 when he sponsored his brother Isaac and wife and his sister Hannah and her husband to emigrate. Isaac, 21, was a coalminer like his brother George and his wife Ellen/Elinor Griffiths Phillips was a dressmaker from Llandilo, Radnorshire. Hannah, a house servant, had married ironminer James Arnold from Llangwm, Pembrokeshire. Hannah had been born in Llangynider, Breconshire. In the 1861 Census Hannah, 17 and James, 23 were lodging at 8 Methodist Row, Prisk in the parish of Llangattock, Beaufort, the home of another ironminer and his family. By 1861 the Amos family were all living in Beaufort and most likely all the men worked at the Beaufort Iron Works as the work's manager was given as a referee for later sponsored emigrants. They were all Wesleyans and the Rev. Thomas Rees of Beaufort was their referee. Isaac, Hannah and partners arrived on the *Persia* in May 1863. In 1863 George's wife Maria Herbert paid further deposits for another miner and two female servants from Beaufort but none of the three arrived. In 1867 they were all working as miners and living in the Hanbury district of Waratah. In 1885 Isaac's two elder daughters performed in a Musical and Literary Entertainment in the Metcalf St Wesleyan Church, Wallsend. In 1889 Isaac's daughter Laura of Waratah received a silver medal for general proficiency and good conduct at Wickham Public School with the paper noting that "it is gratifying to see the children of our local residents taking their share of scholastic honours." Isaac died at Waratah in 1911. It appears that George and Maria moved away from Newcastle to Sydney as they both died in Waterloo in 1889 and 1905. Hannah died only two years after she arrived in 1865, just after the birth of her only surviving daughter. Biographical information compiled from Census of E&W 1861 9/4218; IDJ 1862 SRNSW 4/4583, 1863 SRNSW 4/4585; BIL *Persia* SRNSW 4/4984; 1867 NSW Official PO Directory; *NMH* 12 January, 1885; 26 September 1889; NSW BDM; Northumberland Permanent Building, Investment, Land and Loan Society (NPBS) Records, AB5000, AB5252, AB5270, U of N Archives.

[163] NPBS Records AB5000, U of N Archives.

[164] William Gibbs and his wife Harriett had been sponsored by his brother Robert and they arrived on the *David McIvor* in 1858. William had worked as a miner at Nantyglo Ironworks. He was one of five Welshmen who helped establish the Baptist Church in Newcastle. He spent 45 years in Lambton where he died in 1910, one of the pioneers of the Baptist connection and Sunday School in the district. Biographical information compiled from IDJ 1858 SRNSW 4/4579; BIL *David McIvor* SRNSW 4/4973; 1867 NSW Official PO Directory; *NMH* 8 March 1910, 30 September 1961; NSW BDM; NPBS Records, AB5000, AB5252, AB5270, U of N Archives.

the Newcastle district", were opened in late 1884[165] so it is likely that the borrowings were for building the new store.

The records show a high level of saving and borrowing among the Welsh of the NCMD and indicate a great aspiration for home ownership. Shadrach Morgan[166] deposited £100 on 19 December 1877 and another £60 in June 1878. Joseph Parry[167] deposited a total of £578, Evan Evans £362, James Thomas £1299 and Samuel and Martha James £252. Abednego Morgan borrowed a total of £490 between 1879 and 1884. Evan Lewis borrowed £5493 between 1877 and 1884, Henry Lovell £100 in 1884, Elizabeth J. Hopkins £1397, Bithiah Jones £300, John Watkins £310 and William Maddock £600. Women like Bithiah Jones, Eliza/Elizabeth Jane Hopkins, Mary Hopkins, Anna M. Morgan, Abednego's wife, and Martha Thomas had shares and transacted business with the society.[168] The Welsh were very involved in the running of the society, attending meetings and holding office.

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[165] *NMH* 25 October 1884. The earlier tailoring and drapery business premises were at "Cambrian House", a two-storey dwelling and store built in 1869 in Elder St, Lambton. Then the business was called "E. Lewis and Son". The Rev. Evan Lewis, a tailor by trade, relied on this business to support him in his congregational ministry. He worked there with his son Evan. In 1875 they opened an additional drapery and millinery business in Nelson St, Wallsend. G.R. Hubbuck, *Lambton 1862-1872, Glimpses into Life in a Colliery Township*, NHDHS No.4 (n.d.) 27; *MA* 2 January 1875.

[166] Shadrach Morgan was Abednego's brother. He arrived from Blaenafon with his wife Margret as non-assisted migrants after the 1861 Census of E&W and before he sponsored his family in January 1862 from Newcastle. He was living at the Borehole and was a miner at the AACo pit in April 1862. In March 1862 he was granted 60 acres at Winding Creek. In October he was working at Wallsend Colliery and living at Winding Creek when his nephew William Morgan Davies arrived. By the mid-1870s he was a freeholder on the basis of his Winding Creek property and living in New Lambton. In 1885 he advertised his Winding Creek property for sale "with its beautiful gardens and lovely paddock . . . a beautiful place for a gentleman's residence" and he was living in Wickham where he died in 1902. Like his brother, he was a prominent member of the Baptist Church. When he made his will in 1898 he gave his occupation as gardener. Biographical information compiled from Census of E&W 1851 107/2447, 1861 9/3996; Llanover Parish Marriage Banns 1855 GwRO; Immigration Letters Received 1862 SRNSW 9/6235; Form A Remittance Form SRNSW 9/6235, BIL *Northumberland* SRNSW 4/4796; NSW BDM; *NC* 30 April 1862; *MA* 7 February, 14 November 1874; *NMH* 8 and 17 January 1885, 14 November 1902; Will of Shadrach Morgan d.1902, Wickham 27721. See also note above and Chapter 3.

[167] See Chapter 6.

[168] NPBS Records, AB5000, AB5252, AB5270, U of N Archives.

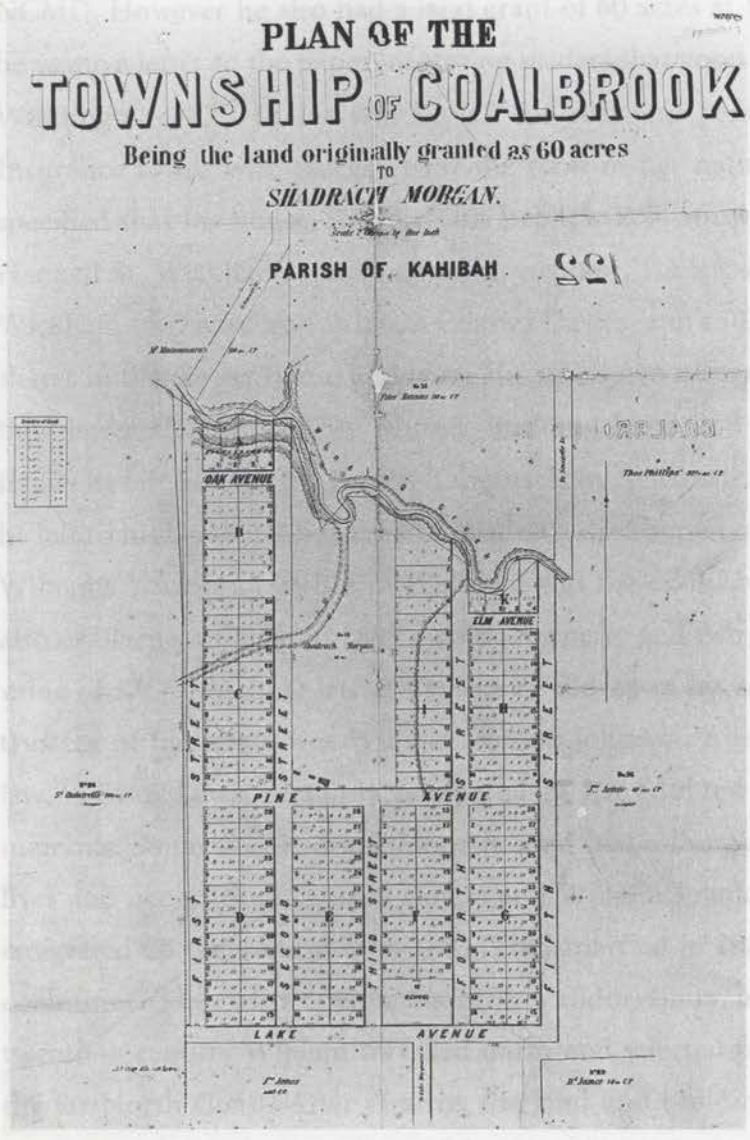


Image 8.8 Shadrach Morgan's 1862 Land Grant of 60 acres at Winding Creek. A letter to the *Miners Advocate* from Shadrach Morgan was published on 14 November 1874 in which he announces the finding of two seams of coal at Winding Creek. He was listed as a freeholder at Winding Creek in the 1883-4 Electoral Roll although he was living at Hannell St, Wickham. In 1885 he advertised for tenders for the property. Source: Newcastle Region Public Library.

The general impression is one of prosperity for many of the Welsh settlers although by no means all. When Shadrach Morgan died, he had a wife but no children. He gave his occupation as gardener in his will and he had probably had gardening experience early in his life as in 1851 when he was 20 he was employed on his uncle Mizel Morgan's farm of 16 acres at the Parsonage in Coity near Blaenafon.[169] In 1861 he was a coalminer in Blaenafon and he certainly worked as a coal miner for many years in the

[169] Census of E&W 1851 107/2447.

NCMD. However he also had a land grant of 60 acres at Winding Creek and in 1874 he wrote a letter to the paper informing readers that good coal had been discovered at Winding Creek.[170] In his will he left his real and personal estate and £100 Life Insurance to his wife Margaret for the term of her natural life. After her death he specified that his house, in which his nephew William Morgan Davies was living at Hannell St, Wickham, was to go to his nephew. He left shops and another house in Wickham to Davies' son William Charles Davies, and to Davies' other children, equal shares in the corner house and land. His wife's two nieces inherited 50 shares each in the Newcastle and County Mutual Building Land and Investment Company and finally he left £100 to the Baptist Tabernacle in Newcastle. The residue of his property he left to his brother Abednego.[171] Shadrach died a man of substantial property. Peter Williams Young, a butcher in Wallsend and the ex-husband of Rachel Young, both also of Blaenafon, died in 1885 owning property and two businesses and goods to the value of £356 which he left to the three children of his second marriage. One of the trustees of his estate was William Walker Johnson, Abednego Morgan's father-in-law.[172] Evan Lewis certainly prospered in his adopted home as did other Welsh migrants. Some like Shadrach Morgan, used coal mining as a means of changing their lives and occupations. Louisa Davies and William Frankham, both from Blaenafon, emigrated on the same ship in 1884. They married in 1886 and William worked as a coalminer. They also operated a Milk Vendor Dairy in Merewether. In the early twentieth century William travelled north and selected farming land at Tyalgum, on the far North Coast. After clearing the land and building a slab house, he brought Louisa and their six surviving children north. Louisa and her elder children ran the farm while William returned to Newcastle and coalmining. After several years he too moved up north, building a new house in 1917.[173]

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[170] *MA* 14 November 1874.

[171] Will of Shadrach Morgan d.1902, Wickham 27721.

[172] Will of Peter Williams Young d.1885, Wallsend 12402. For Rachel's story, see Chapter 4.

[173] William's father had been born in Somerset but his mother and the children were born in Blaenafon. In the 1860s and 1870s they lived very close to Rachel Young and her family and the Morgan and Davies families. William was a coalminer at Varteg Hill in 1881. In 1883 David Duncanson of the Glebe, Newcastle paid the deposit for William and his sister Emma to emigrate and they arrived in 1884, giving as contact an aunt and uncle, Ann and James Hale, in Newcastle. Ann was related to William's mother. William's future wife was also travelling on the *Abergeldie*, also from Blaenafon: Louisa and her sister Catherine Davies. In 1885 Emma married Theophilus Watkins, another miner from Blaenafon who had arrived in 1884. Louisa and William married in 1886. Catherine Davies married another Newcastle miner Alfred Aubrey in 1884. William died in 1940 and Louisa in 1944. Emma and Theophilus settled finally in Cessnock where Emma died in 1933. Biographical information compiled from Census of E&W 1861 9/3996, 1871 10/5313, 1881 11/5238, 11/5253; IDJ 1883 4/4596; BIL

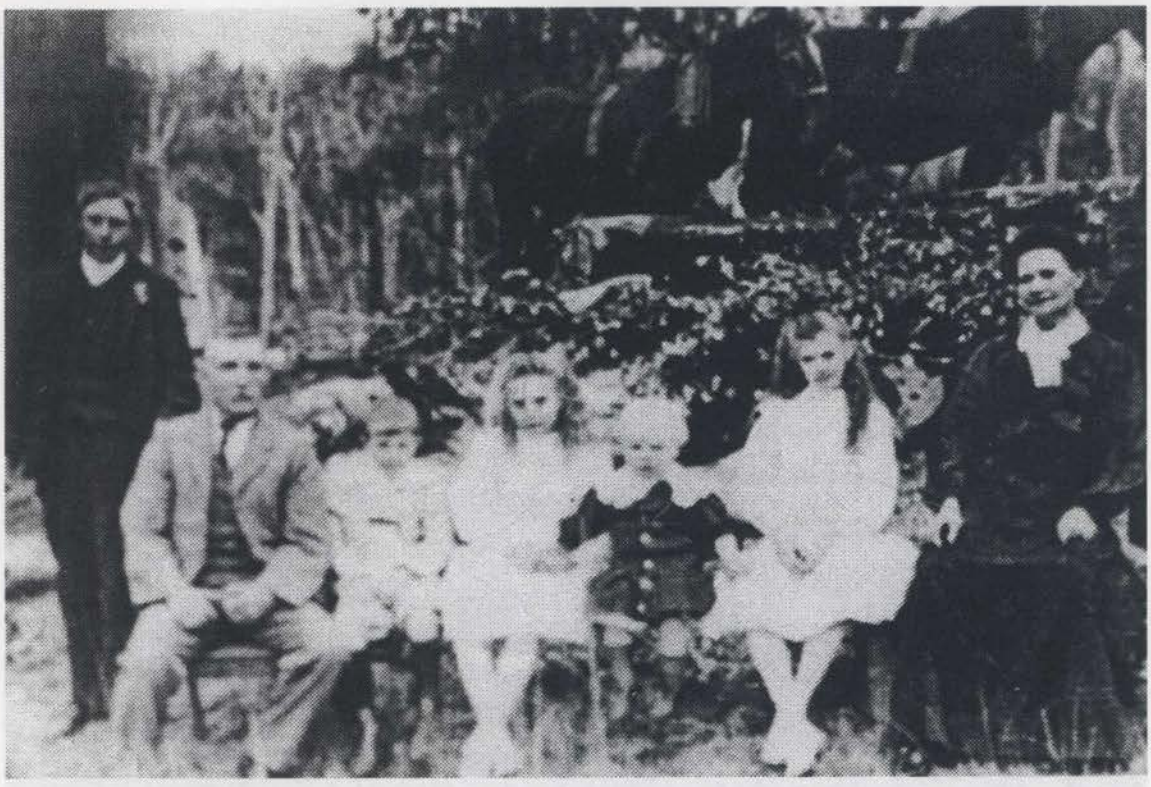


Image 8.9. William and Louisa (nee Davies) Frankham c 1900 at Tyalgum. Louisa Davies, far right, and her future husband William Frankham, second from left, emigrated on the same ship from Blaenafon in 1884. William's sister Emma and Louisa's sister Catherine were also on the same ship. They all went to Newcastle where William worked as a miner. Source: Mrs D. Donaldson, Lancashire.

Richard Hall was a miner at the Borehole Colliery who had come to the very early town of Newcastle from Wales in 1851. With his mining wages and "little more than his confidence and enthusiasm" he started R. Hall and Son about 1859. He began selling vegetables he'd bought at the market, door to door, borrowed money from his brother who was still in mining and within a few years he had established premises in Scott St and the firm was one of the biggest in Newcastle.

Abergeldie 4/5025, *Warwick* 4/5028; NSW BDM. I am also grateful to Mrs D. Donaldson of Lancashire for family history information.

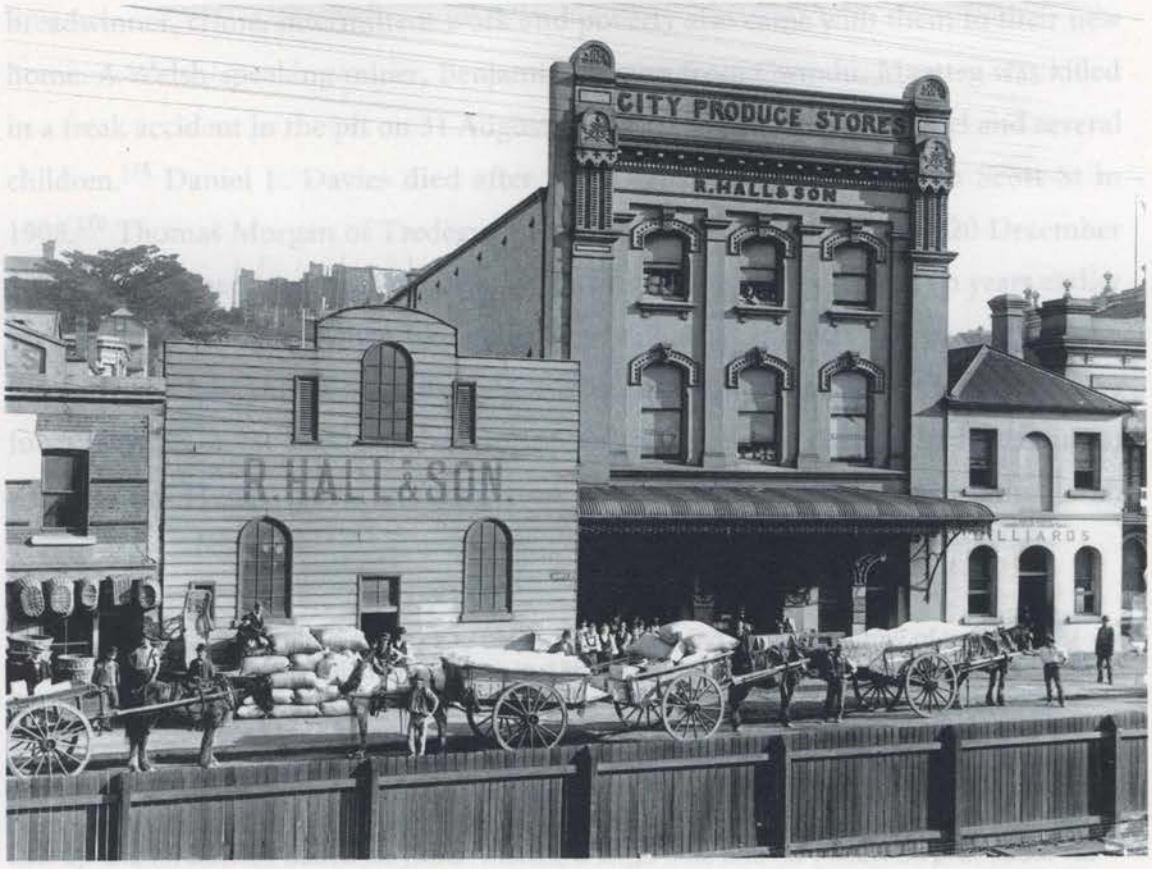


Image 8.10 R. Hall & Son, Scott St, Newcastle. The firm was at one time the biggest in Newcastle. Source: Hunter Photobank, Newcastle Region Public Library.

By the time he died in 1888 his firm, run by his elder two sons, was importing grain, flour and produce and by 1897 employing 200 people. Branches were opened in Sydney, Fremantle, Western Australia and Rockhampton, Queensland. Richard was also an alderman with the borough council from 1870 to 1880.[174] Many other Welsh migrants left mining for business, running hotels, shops, carpentry, building and funeral businesses. For them, the opportunities of their adopted country provided prosperity and access to local government and even state and national politics.

Migrants' success stories are usually well-recorded; stories of struggles, disappointments, failures and poverty are more difficult to locate. Success stories and migrants' achievements are also often a feature of migration literature. It is important to remember that for others, life in their new country probably did not provide much more than their life in the old. And for some, prosperity was elusive and temporary. The problems of alcoholism, domestic violence, illness and incapacitation, loss of

[174] *Newcastle Sun* 9 June 1959; NSW BDM.

breadwinner, crime, intermittent work and poverty also came with them to their new home. A Welsh-speaking miner, Benjamin Salmon from Cwmdu, Maesteg was killed in a freak accident in the pit on 31 August aged 37. He left a widow Rachel and several children.[175] Daniel L. Davies died after being crushed by a tramcar in Scott St in 1908.[176] Thomas Morgan of Tredegar was killed in the Burwood Pit on 20 December 1887 when his neck was fractured by a heavy prop falling on his head. Ten years earlier his son had been killed when he fell between full skips and was run over.[177] George Evans, a miner, of Dowlais was also fatally injured on a tramline near Burwood St, The Junction in 1910. He had been drinking at several hotels that day and had been out of work as the Hetton mine at Carrington was idle.[178] There are many other such examples.

[175] Benjamin Salmon,an iron miner, and his family were living in one of a row of houses at 3 Ivor St, Cwmdu, Maesteg, Glamorganshire in 1861. They were part of a chain migration from the Maesteg area to Tomago and Newcastle in the 1860s. See Chapter 3. He and his wife Rachel had been born in Carmarthenshire. John L. Thomas in Tomago, NCMD paid the deposit for them to emigrate in 1863 and they arrived on the *Sandringham* in June 1864 and went straight to Newcastle. When he was killed he was living in Elder St, Lambton. He had been easing coal from the face with a pick when the coal fell and struck the pick. The handle flew up and hit Salmon above his navel, making a large hole and his intestines protruded. He was taken out of the mine on a trolley. He died on 31 August 1873. His gravestone in the Old Wallsend Cemetery contained an inscription in Welsh: "Tor odd angem wr tirion-un Salmon / Fyddlonaf o ddynion / Agwysiwyd nn (sic) o'r gweisinn / I nef o winllan ein lon." In 1874 the Rev. Evan Lewis offered a special prize at the eisteddfod for the best written elegy in Welsh in remembrance of Benjamin Salmon. The £1 prize was won by Watkin Williams "Mara". Biographical information compiled from Census of E&W 1861 9/4073; IDJ 1862 SRNSW 4/4584; BIL *Sandringham* 1863 SRNSW 9/6283; *MA* 2 September 1873, 28 March, 27 May 1874; Old Wallsend Cemetery Records 1873, 195.

[176] Daniel L. Davies was a sailor living at Stockton in 1901. He was from Cardiganshire, a "Welsh vocalist of some note" and his funeral was "carried out in accordance with Welsh customs." He was 35 and had worked for the Dept. of Navigation for eight or nine years. He left a widow and a widowed mother in Wales. He had intended taking a trip to Wales the following month. Jonah Bevan directed the funeral. Biographical information compiled from 1901 Federal Directory; *NMH* 7 February 1908.

[177] Thomas Morgan arrived on the *Nimrod* in 1859 from Tredegar, Monmouthshire with his wife Mary Ann Davies, baby son, Mary Ann's mother and brothers and sisters. Mary Ann's father Isaac was already in Newcastle and had paid the £12 deposit in 1858. In 1851 Isaac, a miner originally from Breconshire, and his family were in 7 Quarry Row, Tredegar. The eldest daughter, Mary Ann married Thomas Morgan c1857-8. In 1861 Thomas' two brothers John and David also arrived in Newcastle from Tredegar on the *BritishTrident.* In 1864 Isaac was elected a director of the Co-operative Coal Mining Co. and in 1867 he was still a miner, living near the Racecourse at the Junction. Biographical information compiled from Census of E&W 1851 107/2448; IDJ 1858 SRNSW 4/4579; BIL *Nimrod* 1859 SRNSW 4/4980, BIL *British Trident* 1861 SRNSW 4/4796; *NC* 15 June 1864; 1867 NSW Official PO Directory; *NMH* 26 September 1877, 21 December 1887, NSW BDM.

[178] George had emigrated after the 1881 Census, in which he was a pit carpenter, 20, living at home at 34 Mary Ann St, Dowlais with his parents, three sisters and brother. His future wife Sarah Ann Jones lived just around the corner at 38 Mt Pleasant St with her widowed mother and blacksmith brothers. They both worshipped in the Beulah Baptist Chapel in Victoria St, Dowlais. George settled in Teralba and Sarah followed him out in 1888. After five children, Sarah died in Merewether in 1897. Family history records that she had been very homesick

The school files of the NSW Department of Education reveal that some of the Welsh families suffered financial problems during the 1880s and 1890s and many asked to be excused school fees. In 1882 the Public School at Minmi billed John Kembrey for 14/3 for fees owing for Albert, Alice and Edwin. Kembrey had a letter written to the Minister of Public Instruction in Sydney saying he was unable to pay the fees. He was a miner with six children but he suffered so badly from asthma that he was unable to work. He claimed he could hardly earn enough to feed them. He applied to be released from paying school fees for three months. The School Attendance Officer investigated the case, speaking to Kembrey's wife. She said that her husband was in delicate health but could work and offered to pay the arrears off provided that no more fees would be incurred. The report notes that several of Kembrey's neighbours were also indebted in various sums.[179] John Kembrey was still on the debtors' list for Teralba School in 1892. His eldest son Albert started at Glebe Colliery in 1886 aged 13. In 1952, aged 79, he recalled earning 1/7 a day.

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since she had left Wales. Both Sarah and George were excellent singers and musicians. George was a member of the NDCS and choirmaster at the Baptist Tabernacle and an officer in the Grand United Lodge. Contractions of both of muscles in both legs, related to his mining occupation, affected him and his work severely from about 1900. Biographical information compiled from Census of E&W 1881 11/5316; Sarah Ann Jones' bible presented to her by the Beulah Sunday School, Dowlais in 1888; *Merthyr Express* 21 November 1891; *NMH* 4 June 1910. I am grateful to Mrs Alice Jefferson of Toronto and Mr and Mrs Terry Jones of Dowlais, Merthyr Tydfil, Wales for sharing their family history with me.

[179] School Files Minmi SRNSW 5/16860-A 1882. John Kembrey, a stonemason and his wife Eliza Griffiths and children Albert 5, Alice 4, Edwin 2, William 1 arrived on the *Camperdown* in 1880 from Cwmbran, Monmouthshire. Eliza's brother, Herbert Griffiths, a mason from Breconshire, accompanied them. Another brother Richard Griffiths was at The Glebe, Newcastle. Eliza gave birth to at least 14 children, 10 of them after arrival in NSW. A son was born in the same year in Newcastle and three more children were born and died in 1884-5. Two more sons were born and one died in 1886-7. Albert started working in the mines at The Glebe when he was 13 and then at Teralba in 1888. In 1889 the Wallsend Police Magistrate dismissed a charge brought by Eliza Kembrey against Alice's teacher Henry Wilkinson of Teralba Public School for assaulting Alice, 14, because she didn't know her lessons. The same year Eliza gave birth to another daughter in Woonona, Mt Kembla. The births of her last three sons were all registered in Wallsend 1890-1893. In 1891 Alice was again in trouble, charged with having contributed towards the death of her infant son through negligence. The baby died of chronic starvation. Eliza's childless brother in the Illawarra district was intending to adopt the child so her parents had decided that it should be bottle fed rather than breastfed as the doctor had advised. The baby was being fed cow's milk mixed with water and arrowroot biscuits and a little port wine. The jury at the inquest concluded that Alice "was no doubt ignorant of the matter on account of her youth." Alice was later charged with the baby's death and she pleaded not guilty. Two witnesses, Rachel Evans and Mary Williams both testified that the baby had not been neglected in any way. Alice was found not guilty. She married in 1895. John died in 1906 and Eliza in 1931. Biographical information compiled from BIL *Camperdown* 1880 SRNSW 4/5014; NSW BDM; *W&PS* 4 September 1889; *NMH* 28 November, 9 and 16 December 1891, 4 March 1892; School Files Teralba 1892 SRNSW 5/17815A.

> In the Eighties, most of the miners' homes were shacks . . . My father, who went into the mines in Wales (Cwmbran) when eight years of age . . . never went to school, told me that women and girls were employed at the mines.[180]

He remembered improvements like the accident fund which came into being in the 1890s and the Compensation Act in the 1920s. At Lambton Public School many mining parents' fees were in arrears in October 1883, including many of the Welsh settlers.[181] In 1883 John Thomas of Adamstown owed £1/13/6 in fees for Evan, Hopkin, Llywelyn and Catherine Thomas at New Lambton School. He wrote that he had had a prolonged illness and had been unable to work.[182] Thomas Morgan of Lambton, an invalid, had been off work for two years and depended on "the mercy of the world" and could not pay the £1/8/3 owing. The inspector reported that "the family appear in very needy circumstances."[183] Large families, hard times, strikes, illness, irregular work, widowhood, disability and chronic complaints were all referred to in the many similar letters contained in the school files of schools all over the NCMD for the 1880s and 1890s. Women were particularly hard hit by changing economic circumstances and deaths of breadwinners. Widows Ann Davies of Young St, Lambton and Kezia Roberts of the Commonage asked to be excused fees. Ann had been left a widow unprovided for nine months ago with a large family and her husband had been ill for 12 months before his death. Kezia had been a widow for nine years and had no means to support her family other than what she could earn by taking in washing.[184] In 1889 widow Maria Rollings wrote asking that the fees at New Lambton School for her two children be cancelled and also those of her daughter, Mrs Jones' children. Both Maria and her daughter were widowed. Her daughter was in Queensland, her husband having died there several months ago. Maria was also supporting her four grandchildren.[185] The closure of the Smelting Works at Port Waratah in 1893 threw many more men out of work, including William Davies, a

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[180] "A Retired Miner Says - Mines are Better Now", *The Coal Miner* (February 1952): 11. See also note above.
[181] School Files Lambton 1883 SRNSW 5/16549.2.
[182] School Files New Lambton 1883 SRNSW 5/17125.
[183] School Files Lambton 1886 SRNSW 5/16549.2.
[184] School Files Lambton 1886 SRNSW 5/16549.2.
[185] School Files New Lambton 1889 SRNSW 5/17125. Joseph Rollings, a miner, and his wife Maria Watkins had arrived from Monmouthshire on the *Shackamaxon* in 1863 with their two small daughters Anna Maria and Elizabeth. BIL *Shackamaxon* 1863 SRNSW 4/4985.

smelter who was living in very poor circumstances and had eight children to support.[186]

The depression of the 1890s meant that many took the traditional route of leaving the district in the hope of bettering their circumstances. The goldfields of Western Australia attracted some and in the *Newcastle Morning Herald* in 1897 Thomas Bowen who had left Tighes Hill for Western Australia warned against "any more men leaving Newcastle for a field where they are almost sure to experience absolute ruin and privation . . ." and illnesses such as typhoid and dysentery.[187] James Morse was one Welsh-speaking miner who left the NCMD for Western Australia. He had been in straitened circumstances ever since he arrived in 1884[188] and settled in first in Minmi and later in Wallsend, from where he joined the Welsh Baptist Church in Merewether in 1888. He is mentioned in the Wallsend School Files in both 1891 and 1892 as a miner, badly off, with seven children. In 1891 through ill health and indifferent working of the colliery, "he is almost unable to procure food and clothing for his family." In 1892, with eight children, none of whom were working, he was suffering from typhoid fever.[189] In 1898 he was at the Sons of Gwalia gold mine at Mt Leonora, Western Australia where with many other Welshmen, he celebrated St David's Day.[190] His obituary confirms that this is the same James Morse. He returned to the NCMD

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[186] School Files Waratah 1893 SRNSW 5/18019.

[187] *NMH* 23 February 1897.

[188] James Morse was born in Fishguard, Pembrokeshire and his wife Margery in Glamorganshire. In 1851, before he was born, his parents were living in Gougal St, Fishguard. His father was a mason. By 1861 his father had died and his mother, still at the same address next to the Red Lion in High St, was supporting the three younger children including James, the youngest, 6, by taking in washing. In 1881 James and Margery were living at 47 Jenkin St, Iforchaman, Aberdare. He was a coalminer and they had two small sons. In March 1884 James, Margery, two sons and one daughter arrived on the *Warwick*, the same ship on which Theophilus Watkins arrived (see Chapter 3). James' uncle, D. Thomas was in Wallsend. Census of E&W 1851 107/2480, 1861 9/4170, 1881 11/5324; BIL *Warwick* 1884 SRNSW 4/5028.

[189] School Files Wallsend 1891-2 SRNSW 5/17998.

[190] *Western Mail* 12 April 1898. The Cardiff-published newspaper described those present at the celebrations as Mr E.O. Williams, Llanelltyd, Under-Manager, D.J. Thomas, M. French Williams from Merthyr, Reginald and Llewellyn Rees from Burry Port, David Jones from Penydarren, John Jones from Llanfynydd, George Jones from Dowlais, William and Isaac Evans from Cwmbwria, S. and C. Cobley and Mr Davey from Bedwas, Clem Thomas from Black Mountain, D.E. Thomas from Treorchy, W. Morgan from Ystradgynlais, R. Williams from Wrexham, Owen Hughes from North Wales and J. Bangor Jones, E. Jones, Sam Davies and James Morse. The proceedings were conducted in both languages, and a toast in Welsh was made by James Morse. The mine was owned by Tobias Brothers, formerly of Llanelly, who sold it to G.W. Hall, who was "well-known in Wales and if not quite a Welshman, was very near it and spoke the language in a manner that made him [E.O. Williams, the chairman] feel prouder of its beauties."

and settled in Boolaroo where he and his wife Margery established and helped build a Baptist Church. When he died in 1937, his son-in-law Ewart Lewis prayed and gave an address at the graveside in Welsh.[191]

Finally it is also relevant to look at return migration as a factor in considering the migrants' satisfaction with their adopted country and their perception of their own and their families' relative success and prosperity as a result of migration. It is difficult to quantify how many, if any, and when migrants may have returned permanently to Wales. Certainly many revisited Wales and family, in some cases several times, and this indicates a level of prosperity, often in retirement, which may have been far greater than if they had remained in Wales. From family history contacts and other sources, only two cases have been found of families returning from NSW to Wales and only one of those was from the NCMD. Thomas Redwood, a quarryman born in Gloucestershire, married Eliza Jeremiah in Monmouthshire in 1860. Their five children were born at Varteg Forge and Forge Row, Cwmafon, Monmouthshire. They emigrated in 1877 and settled in Canterbury, Sydney where Thomas worked in the River St quarry. The following year Eliza deposited for her eldest daughter, married to Lemuel Llewellyn, to follow them and they arrived in 1879. The family obviously prospered, Thomas acquiring several properties, including five plots of land, while he was in Sydney and his eldest son James was sent to Newington College and later became a pupil-teacher at Canterbury Public School. James, accompanied by his mother and youngest brother, returned to Wales in 1890 and he became a clerk at Parkend Collieries. Thomas returned to Cwmafon in November 1896 after handing over title deeds of his property to his daughter Harriet, and the family resettled in tiny cottages at Gallows Green, similar to the one they had left but on the opposite side of the valley from Forge Row. Their married daughters Harriet and Elizabeth remained in Australia. The reasons they returned to Wales can only be conjectured. Thomas was obviously aged and worn out from his years in the quarries, the building boom in Sydney was well over in the 1890s and as they settled back in the village from which they had emigrated, it can be assumed that "hiraeth" may have played a part.[192] While they appear to have done well financially while in Sydney, they were not so prosperous in Wales. In 1891 James worked as a blacksmith and George a labourer in the coal

[191] *NMH* 6 February 1937.

mines, although James later became an accountant. He returned to Sydney to visit his sister Harriet in 1901-2 and although he returned to Cwmafon, he named two of his children Sydney and Adelaide. Lemuel and Elizabeth Llewellyn were also back in Wales in 1891. In 1901 they were living back at 10 Forge Row, Cwmafon with their son Thomas, 17, born in Australia and another son Alexander, 9, born in Cwmafon. Eliza, now a widow, was living with them.[193] The only case found so far of return from the NCMD concerns Emmanuel and William Evans, both Welsh speakers, of Melin Faesog, Clynnog Parish, North Wales. William came to Australia in about 1880 and Emmanuel followed about 1883. They were both in Newcastle in June 1880 when Emmanuel signed a partnership agreement for a business at the Borough Market. The agreement was liquidated in May 1892 and Emmanuel returned to Wales about 1894, family sources saying that he had lost all his money. He married in Liverpool in 1898 and worked on the railways, dying in Pwllheli, North Wales in 1923. He apparently never spoke of his life in Australia. William married Ann Rowlands, Newcastle-born of Welsh parents, in 1895 in Merewether. They visited Wales in 1909 and may have stayed there up to two years. William died in Newcastle in 1914.[194] It seems that in Emmanuel's case financial difficulties may have occasioned the return to Wales. He also could not speak any English when he went to Australia and this may have affected his ability to earn and his choice to return. Evan Davies, a miner, also left Wallsend but not to return to Wales. He went to Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, USA in the late 1880s. In 1890 he wrote a letter to J. Curley MP, formerly of the Miners' Union and asked for it to be published in the newspaper. After reporting on a mining disaster in Plymouth and South Wilkesbarre, he goes onto describe working conditions in the USA:

> I must tell you that the men are treated here by the masters like dogs. I am sorry to say there is no organisation, but a few of us are associated secretly with the Knights of Labour. We had to call a delegate meeting in close session, as we could not speak our minds in the open air, because we will be

[192] "Hiraeth" is a Welsh term that cannot really be translated into English. Its closest meaning is homesickness, nostalgia, a yearning for the homeland. Sarah Ann Jones was also said to have suffered from this in Newcastle. See note 178.

[193] Biographical information compiled from Census of E&W 1871 10/5312; BIL *La Hogue* 1877 SRNSW 4/5003; IDJ 1878 SRNSW 4/4589; BIL *Northampton* 1879 SRNSW 4/5012; NSW BDM. Census of E&W 1901 13/4932. I am grateful to Robert L. Redwood of Staffordshire for so generously sharing his family history, documents and communications with me.

[194] Information on the Evans brothers was supplied by David Evans of Highfields, NSW.

> blackballed. There are 500 outside for every one in the association. I thought that when I was in New South Wales that the associations here were the best in the world but now I find quite differently . . . I am sorry I left you two years ago. I thought then that America was a grand country, but now I wish I had never left New South Wales . . . God help us for the future time to come and help me to come to the sunny land of Australia once more from this deplorable place . . . I trust you will stick up there for rights which are not like ours . . . There was a day here when men could get their rights, but it is not so now . . . I wish I was with you now, and in saying good bye, wish God bless the unions of Australia.[195]

In an attempt to quantify the level of return migration the recently-released 1901 Census of England and Wales was checked. Unfortunately in late 2002 it was still not possible to do an electronic sort on birthplace without a surname. Therefore common Welsh surnames and other surnames of assisted migrants from the database were used in an attempt to locate those who had been born in Australia and returned to Wales. This of course does not locate any return single migrants such as Emmanuel Evans or those families who had no children born in Australia such as the Redwood family or migrants who settled in England. That being said, this is probably the only way to arrive at any figures for return migration. In 1901 250 people were located in Wales who had been born in Australia. Of these, 45 had been born in NSW and only four specifically in the NCMD. Fifty-eight had been born in Victoria, including 12 in Ballarat. Of the four from the NCMD, only one was in Wales. Charlie Williams, 20, a coal miner, was a boarder in High St, Kenfig Hill, Pyle, Glamorganshire. Marie Lloyd, 20, born in Newcastle, was a Commercial Invoice Clerk in London St Pancras. John Rogers, 17, a navyman born in Minmi, was in Cornwall. Samuel Williams, 9, born in Newcastle was in Rowley Regis, Staffordshire. However there are also some clues as to family return migration when the birthplace was given as NSW. In Ystradfodwg, Treherbert in the Rhondda, there were several families who had connections with NSW. William Williams, a coal hewer, his wife Gwenllian and eldest son John, also a coal hewer, came from Cardiff, Glamorganshire. The next two children William Emlyn, 12 and Beatrice Maud, 9 were born in NSW. The youngest two children, 6 and 4, were born back in Cardiff. All members of the family could speak both Welsh and

[195] *NMH* 6 May 1890.

English.[196] Also in Ystradfodwg, John E. Morgan, 42, a farmer from Treherbert, and his wife Ann from Carmarthenshire, had three children who were born in NSW. Gwilym, 16, Thomas, 14 and Ludo, 12 could also speak both Welsh and English. They also could afford two servants.[197] In Porth, in the Rhondda, Jenkin R. Thomas, 35, who was also bilingual, had been born in Australia, but his wife was from Glamorgan.[198] In Ebbw Vale, William Powell, 36, a collier born in Australia was married and had five children all born in Monmouthshire. They were all English speakers.[199] In Canton, Cardiff, Thomas W. Davies, 39, a bilingual coaltrimmer who had been born in Glamorganshire, was living with his wife Minnie, 35 and two elder daughters, 12 and 10, who had all been born in NSW. Their son, 6, had been born back in Wales. Minnie and the three children only spoke English.[200] In Bedwas, Monmouthshire, John T. Davies, 40, also bilingual, a stationary electrical engine driver born in Bedwas, lived with his wife Adelaide, 27 who had been born in NSW. The elder of their two daughters, 7, had also been born in NSW, the younger one, 6, in Queensland. Their baby son was born in Bedwas. Adelaide and the children spoke only English.[201] Emigration could mean loss of language, but not necessarily, unless one of the partners could not speak Welsh. In the Dolgellau Union, parish of Talyllyn, Merioneth, North Wales, at 15 Cwrt Shop lived another family who had been to NSW. John Miles Edwards, 46, a slate quarryman from Machynlleth was bilingual as was his wife Mary, 39, from Llanbrynmair. Their three children, 10, 9 and 5, had been born in NSW. The older two were bilingual and the youngest one spoke only Welsh.[202] These cases give some indication that there was return migration from Australia to Wales, but it is impossible at this stage to quantify this. Certainly, the number who returned from the NCMD was very small and perhaps return was also associated with the impact of the 1890s depression on later arriving migrants who had not had long enough to establish themselves in NSW.

This chapter has examined the place of the Welsh settlers in the wider local and national context of work, of the trade union movement, of politics, of prosperity and poverty. For the majority, emigration delivered opportunities and a level of prosperity

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[196] Census of E&W 1901 13/5012.
[197] Census of E&W 1901 13/5012.
[198] Census of E&W 1901 13/5010.
[199] Census of E&W 1901 13/4933.
[200] Census of E&W 1901 13/4987.
[201] Census of E&W 1901 13/4969.

which some felt would not have happened had they remained in Wales. In this way, their perceptions of the opportunities of migration were accurate. Perhaps because so many had actually chosen to emigrate to the NCMD, to rejoin friends, family and community, many on the basis of communicated positive experiences from earlier migrants, there was a high level of being settled and owning their new home. They involved themselves in all levels of politics and the trade union movement, taking opportunities that had not been available in Wales, and helped shape the way their communities developed as well as their own prosperity. They accumulated property and capital, involved themselves in local affairs and issues and debates of the time and worked at improving the lives of their families and of working people in general by taking up the opportunities, economically, politically and socially that their adopted country offered.

[202] Census of E&W 1901 13/5253.

CONCLUSION

". . . that they might make another Wales, and better than the Wales they had left behind . . ."[1]

Robert Lewis, St David's Day, 1868

Summary of the Study

This study set out to examine the migration and settlement of people mainly from the counties of South Wales to NSW between 1850 and 1914. It questioned the implications of that migration and settlement for the maintenance of the language and identity of those migrants and asked to what extent families and communities were disrupted, even fractured by the migration process. Was their distinctive Welsh identity preserved and for how long, were they rapidly assimilated into the Anglo-Australian culture of the NCMD or were new multiple identities assumed, adapted or constructed by the settlers?

My preliminary study of the NSW Immigrant Lists and the censuses showed that the majority of assisted migrants had come as part of family groups from the industrialising areas of South Wales, with the peak flow between 1875 and 1885, and that their major destination was to the developing industrial and coalmining district surrounding Newcastle, NSW. These findings were not reflected in the extremely limited existing published material on the Welsh in Australia, which had assumed that it was impossible to gather statistical information on Welsh migration due to the traditional submergence of the Welsh under "England".[2] According to the literature, migration from Wales appeared to be one of mostly rural single men stimulated by the goldrushes, and had focussed largely on Victoria. The personal aspects of migration and settlement were usually confined to biographies of several great and successful "men of mark" such as David Jones, Samuel Griffiths and William Morris Hughes. Building on my earlier statistical analysis and conclusions, this study aimed to explore that migration from South Wales to the NCMD in detail, linking pre-emigration neighbourhoods, work and communities with post-migration settlement. The first study had identified the potential of official and archival records to provide more

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[1] *Ballarat Courier* 3 March 1868, quoted in Tyler 294.
[2] Lloyd 192.

detailed information about Welsh migration to NSW and also to start to address historians' fundamental questions about nineteenth-century British emigration to Australia. Painstaking record linkage using archival, newspapers and a wide range of other sources in both Britain and Australia has made it possible to reconstruct detailed life-stories of ordinary, working people, even the elusive non-assisted migrants, who emigrated to the NCMD between 1850 and the end of the nineteenth-century. This thesis presents the results of the process of putting "flesh on the statistical skeletons of Australian immigration"[3] by integrating both quantitative and qualitative information.

In order to test whether the findings for the earlier period of 1875 to 1885 were also applicable for the broader time period, the immigrant database from the first study was extended to cover all assisted migrants to NSW who had been born in a Welsh county, including Monmouthshire, in the second half of the nineteenth century. Chapter 2 presented the results of that quantitative analysis and, in most respects, confirmed the conclusions of the earlier study.

Chapters 3 and 4 explored the pre-emigration lives and communities of some of the migrants and show the potential of studies such as this to illuminate, not only the process leading to migration to NSW, but also the close and fruitful connections between nineteenth-century British and Australian history. The communities and workplaces of Cwmdu, Maesteg, Pwlldu and Blaenafon and Cwmafan were all affected and connected by that migration and continued to be so for several generations. Using such a micro-level focus meant that much more could be recovered about personal motivations and choices, economic circumstances and movement of people within the British Isles, as well as continuity of relationship and communication between the sending and receiving districts. The richness of information on working peoples' lives resulting from a micro-level approach, linking records across the globe, is one of the exciting products of this study.

It has been noted that studies of immigrant women are still very much in the case study stage and very little is known about women's roles in the migration process.[4] While women's experiences have been integrated within this study as a whole, Chapter

[3] Richards, "Annals of the Immigrant" 22.
[4] Yans-McLaughlin 15.

4 allowed for a more specific focus on women's lives leading up to and including migration. This study stressed the need to consider married women's experiences and those of women who were affected by migration whether they emigrated or not, in order to more fully understand the role women played in family decision-making and migration. That many nineteenth-century women did not conform to traditional views of their role in family migration, that they made their own independent choices, managed their lives and were arbiters of their own destiny, is clear from the case studies presented in this chapter. This study is just a beginning. Far more work needs to be done on nineteeenth-century women's work in industry and commerce, on decision-making and choices in the process of migration and on the role of married women within the family economy and power-structure. There is still very little known about both married and single women's post-migration lives in NSW. From this study it is clear that much more can be recovered from a wide-ranging exploration and analysis of archival, newspaper and local and family history sources.

Integrating the results of record-linkage and details of individual and family life stories, the final four chapters presented a detailed analysis of such sources for the recovery of information on community, language, culture and labour history of the Welsh settlers in the NCMD. These settlers reconstructed their communities, maintained links with home and with other Welsh migrant groups both in Australia and overseas, set up structures and institutions in which they could use and preserve their language, at the same time involving themselves actively in local affairs and making use of opportunities that their new country offered. Most continued in their original occupations of coal mining and copper-smelting and in many cases, sons followed fathers into the pit and works. For some, emigration provided new opportunities for change and advancement. While working in the pit ensured survival immediately after migration, many former miners set up businesses and achieved a higher level of prosperity than would have been the case if they had remained in Wales. Some sons became mine superintendents, managers, accountants and engineers. Using building societies, the union, local government and networks, many of the Welsh migrants owned their own homes, invested in property and were able to travel back to Wales to visit. That they saw themselves as active participants in their own and their communities' betterment is clear from the numbers who became local aldermen and mayors, who served on building society boards and as union delegates and their involvement in contemporary debates such as immigration controls, working hours, the development of the Labour Party, free, secular and universal

education and free trade. This involvement extended beyond local affairs to state and, after 1901, federal politics.

That the Welsh settlers maintained a distinctive identity within the NCMD for the period of this study is clear from contemporary evidence. They identified themselves and were identified by others as Welsh and this identity was supported and reinforced by such institutions as Welsh chapels, eisteddfodau, the Cambrian Society, the use of the language, choirs and musical events and by the practice of working in the pits as mates often based on family relationships. As well as being identified by themselves and others as Welsh, the settlers also identified themselves as British and Australian and were successfully able to maintain multiple identities rather than having to give up any single identity for another. This was in contrast to the Welsh who emigrated to the USA, where the willing assumption of American citizenship meant that while they could still be Welsh, they could no longer be British and part of the Empire.

Testing the possibility that many migrants assumed and constructed multiple identities in their new country rather than simply assimilating and disappearing into mainstream culture is significant in terms of nineteenth-century migration studies. Both Newman and Johnston in their studies of the Welsh in South Australia and Queensland came to similar conclusions, that as

> a small ethnic minority, [they] were not able to create a sufficiently separate identity from the Anglo mainstream; they did not become an exclusive ghetto, they did not promote their language sufficiently to the young, they did not fashion a strong, individual culture. Rather, perhaps as in much of Wales, they allowed the assimilationist impulses to dominate.[5]

At one level this study confirms Johnston's conclusions. But perhaps we need to question the nature of the assumptions behind such conclusions: that the migrants should have formed exclusive ghettoes, that they should have promoted their language to the young, that they should have created a strong individual culture and that there was only one Welsh culture or ethnicity. These assumptions and the essentially negative conclusions about the loss of language, identity and culture hide the fact that many of the Welsh settlers and their descendants embraced the multiple identities available to them in their new country, retaining what was important to them about

being Welsh, at the same time becoming Australian and remaining British. As the Lucassens point out, integration and assimilation are long-term processes. Rather than the simplistic model of "rapid linear progression towards a common indigenous amalgamation of lifestyles, cultural values and social patterns", Lucassen defines assimilation "as the state in which immigrants or their descendants do not regard themselves as primarily different from the native-born population and are no longer perceived as such."[6] Rather than seeing later generations of immigrant families as invisible within the mainstream culture, the integration and assumption of multiple identities makes possible the fulfilling of "ethnic identity needs" which "entail no fundamental conflict with the process of assimilation and acculturation."[7] Certainly this provides a far more positive interpretation of continuity and change in the identity and language of the Welsh settlers and their descendants in the NCMD.

Due to the nature of the assisted immigration records, and for reasons of time, this study was confined to the years 1850 to 1914 with the actual years of migration mainly within the nineteenth century. There is much evidence that migration from Wales restarted under the new Commonwealth migration programs of the early twentieth century and that these new migrants to the NCMD brought with them identity and language which replenished and reinvigorated the Newcastle Welsh community, at least for a time. There were new centres of Welsh life in the South Maitland coalfields, particularly Kurri Kurri and there is scope for further research into these twentieth-century communities, with the possible bonus of oral history and surviving family members. There is also scope of many more detailed case studies linking communities and workplaces in Wales with the NCMD and for further exploring the links between communities in the rest of Australia and overseas. Other groups in the NCMD such as the Geordies would merit attention, as would further analysis of the relationships between the various groups which came from the British Isles. The history of the NCMD has yet to be written.

In terms of practical implications arising from this study, there is an opportunity to develop and implement means by which the nineteenth-century Welsh community of the NCMD could be recognised and interpreted in the public domain. This could be

[5] Johnston 25.
[6] Lucassen 23.
[7] Lucassen 23.

accomplished through an exhibition at the Newcastle Regional Museum based on this research and offering the opportunity to uncover and bring together any remaining material culture and objects relating to the continuity and change of the identity of the Welsh community in the NCMD. As this thesis shows, there exists a potentially-rich visual and pictorial record and a variety of literary and local history sources on the Welsh settlers, many in the Newcastle Region Public Library, Local Studies Library and some in private hands. A community-focussed campaign to locate and document remaining material culture and photographic and literary sources could bring to light previously unknown information and objects about these settlers. The existing Celtic Studies Centre in Newcastle and the Newcastle and District Family History Society could also be involved. The possibility of linking such an exhibition in the Newcastle district with cultural institutions in Wales, either local or national, and possible resulting publications, is a very exciting one.

Finally, and appropriately, the last word on Welsh migration to the NCMD is left to local bard, John Morgan, "Trelynydd":

> Y mae yn rhaid cofio hefyd fod llawer o honom wedi dod allan gyda theuluoedd trymion, ac felly yn gorfod glynu wrth yr hen orchwylion, er cael modd i gadw y teulu mewn trefn ac uwchlaw angen, ac felly nid yw y wlad newydd yn gwella cymaint ar sefyllfa ddyfodol y tad a'r fam, eithr y mae yn debyg o wneyd ar y plant. Un oes yn medi yr hyn a hauodd y llall yw hi, ac felly mae yn debyg o fod hyd ddiwedd amser.[8]

[8] *Y Drych* 18 Mai [Mai] 1911. ["Many of us came out with large families and have to stick to our old occupations to get the family on its feet and keep it fed. The new country doesn't do much for the mother and father, it's the children who benefit. One generation sows and the other reaps."]Translated by L. Walker.

APPENDIX

Years Inclusive	Immigration Agents' Reports	Agents'/Board's Immigrant Lists	Census Returns: Native of Wales
1850		16	
1851		15	558
1852		24	
1853		168	
1854		45	
1855	150 inc. Monmouthshire	139	
1856	75 exc. Monmouthshire	115	
1857	122 exc. Monmouthshire	152	
1858	99 exc. Monmouthshire	108	
1859	50 exc. Monmouthshire	58	
1860	13 exc. Monmouthshire	27	
1861	07 exc. Monmouthshire	10	1378
1862	28 exc. Monmouthshire	41	
1863	61 inc. Monmouthshire	73	
1864	46 inc. Monmouthshire	47	
1865	09 inc. Monmouthshire	09	
1866	10 inc. Monmouthshire	10	
1867	03 inc. Monmouthshire	03	
1868	06 inc. Monmouthshire	06	
1869	(included in 1868 above)		
1870	No assisted immigration		
1871	Unknown (E&W 298)	08	1870
1872	No Report	11	
1873	Unknown (E&W to 1 June)	04	
1873/4	Unknown (E&W 524)	07	
1875	No Report	43	
1876	72 exc. Monmouthshire	89	
1877	211 inc. Monmouthshire	202	
1878	192 inc. Monmouthshire	197	
1879	108 inc. Monmouthshire	105	
1880	68 inc. Monmouthshire	69	
1881	70 inc. Monmouthshire	63	3100
1882	92 inc. Monmouthshire	76	
1883	169 inc. Monmouthshire	98	
1884	143 inc. Monmouthshire	135	
1885	106 inc. Monmouthshire	103	
1886	76 inc. Monmouthshire	77	
1887	48 inc. Monmouthshire	39	
1888	Unknown (E&W 409)	30	
1889	Unknown (E&W 297)	04	
1890	Unknown (E&W 255)	17	

Years Inclusive	Immigration Agents' Reports	Agents'/Board's Immigrant Lists	Census Returns: Native of Wales
1891	Unknown (E&W 143)		4997
1892	Unknown (E&W 95)		
1893			
1894			
1895			
1896			
1897			
1898			
1899			
1900			
1901			3620
TOTALS	**2034**	**2443**	**3620**

Appendix Table 1 Comparison of the total number of immigrants from Wales contained in the Immigration Agents' Reports 1855-1892 with the number giving a Welsh county of origin on the Board's and Agents' Immigrant Lists 1850-1890 and the numbers claiming Welsh nationality or born in Wales as given in the Census of NSW 1851-1901. Source: Table 4.4 Walker "From Old Wales" 72-74.

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