

**John Charles Williams (1876-1936):
Kidwelly-born American Industrial Magnate
and Philanthropist**



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Front page shows a portrait of John Charles Williams hanging in
Llanelli Library (courtesy Carmarthenshire Libraries)

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Michael Williams

In 1961 I was awarded a Thomas and Elizabeth Williams Scholarship by Carmarthenshire County Council. This enabled me to study full-time at a British university for two years for a research Masters degree. Much more recently, at a job interview one of the interviewers, having read my CV closely, asked who Thomas and Elizabeth Williams were. My middle name is Thomas and my surname Williams and the questioner wanted to know if I was related to Thomas and Elizabeth Williams. I was somewhat embarrassed to say I knew very little about these generous benefactors. I thought that they might have been Americans. Now, sixty years on since I was awarded the scholarship, I decided to find out who they were. Essentially, I wanted to express my gratitude publicly to these benefactors since my funded research degree launched my academic career.

My search began with accessing British Census data and various websites, initially in Wales. My search was much enriched by an article sent to me by the staff at the Carmarthenshire county library in Llanelli. From this article, titled simply 'JC', and written by Carole Ann Smith,¹ I learned that Thomas and Elizabeth Williams were not the benefactors, as I had assumed. They were, in fact, the parents of John Charles Williams, who had named the scholarship fund as a memorial to them.

In this article I trace John from his birth in Kidwelly (Cydweli)² through his life and career in Wales and the United States and, following his death, his legacy in west Wales.

Early years in Wales

Kidwelly

John Charles Williams's father, Thomas, was born in Pontypool in 1838 but moved to Kidwelly, where he was employed in the tinplate works as a hot roller. Interestingly, Pontypool was the site of the first Welsh tinworks; the works at Kidwelly followed in the 1730s.³ In 1873, Thomas married Elizabeth Jones, who was born in Pembrey, a village near Kidwelly. The family home was in Lady Street, Kidwelly, and John was born in Kidwelly on 31 March 1876.

An insightful study of the demography of Kidwelly at this time has been written by Muriel Bowen Evans.⁴ She analysed the 1881 Census records and provides details of the tinplate workforce with regard to type of employment, age, marital condition and families and place of birth. She provides a clear picture of what Kidwelly was like socially around the time that the Williams family left the community, soon after John's birth.

The tinplate industry of South Wales had experienced rapid expansion during the 1860s and an equally rapid decline in the 1890s. This has been traced by a number of historians writing in the early years of the twentieth century.⁵ More recently, Paul Jenkins recorded that, by 1850,

some thirty tin works had been opened in South Wales.⁶ This number was increased by 12 in the 1860s, twenty-one in the 1870s and twenty-two in the 1880s. By the end of the century, the picture had changed with a sharp decline, evidenced in the reduction in the number of tin workers from 25,000 in 1891 to 16,000 in 1898.⁷ To some extent, this was a result of the lack of managerial vision, planning, adaptation and investment. Innovations occurred in production methods, alongside substantial changes in the transport of raw materials and finished products, and, even more importantly, changes in national and international markets with increased competition from new producers. There were periods of overproduction and volatile prices. Welsh producers had to respond or face ruin. Employees, too, had fresh demands placed upon them, often resulting not only in unrest but also industrial actions guided by trade union leaders.

The history of the tinplate works in Kidwelly reflected this period of economic change and industrial relations between employers and their workers. The website *Grace's Guide to British Industrial History* indicates that by the 1880s and 1890s the works were in decline.⁸ Interestingly, in 1877, the year after John's birth, the Kidwelly works were taken over by Jacob Chivers, the son of the previous owner Thomas Chivers. It was in this period that the Williams family left Kidwelly.

Llanelli and Loughor

Soon after John's birth, the family moved to be near the Yspitty tinplate works, where Thomas had been appointed mill superintendent. The works, located just west of Loughor (Llwchwr) Bridge (see Fig. 1), were later renamed the St David's Tin Works.⁹ In the 1881 Census it is recorded that the family were living in Cameron Place, Loughor.

By the time of the 1891 Census, the Williams family was living in Stable Row, Swansea Road, Llanelli. At that time the family comprised Thomas (aged 53) and Elizabeth (aged 44) and their children Mary (17), John (15), Jane (11), Marie (9), Edith (7) and Thomas (4). John attended Park Street School and later Yspitty School, both in Llanelli. Father and son worked together in the Yspitty tinplate works. John, who left school aged 13, was a cold roller.

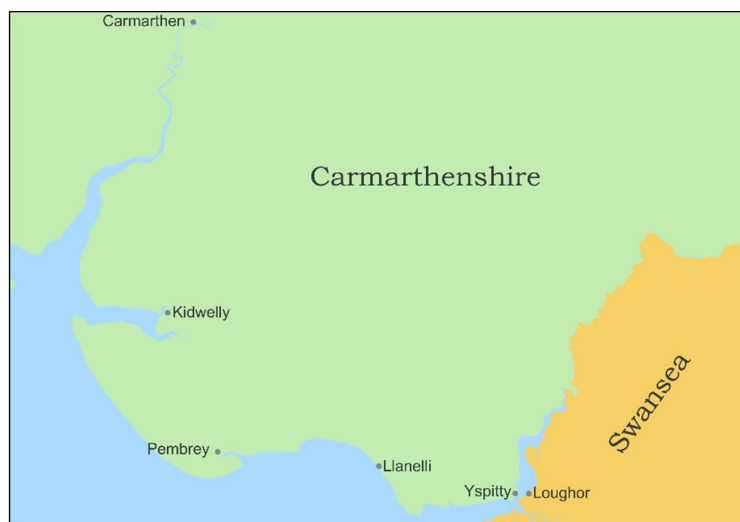


Fig. 1 Map of west Wales showing places associated with the life of John Charles Williams

The tinplate works had been established in 1869 with ten mills. Important for the Williams family was a significant demonstration that occurred in September 1890. This focused on the employment of female sorters. Newspapers at the time recorded the event.¹⁰ In essence, unusually, Yspitty tinworks took on a group of six female sorters. This resulted in a large demonstration, orchestrated by the Tin-Plate Workers Union. It was reported that some 2,000 workers marched from Llanelli to Yspitty, gathering initially around the home of the owner of the works, Mr Turnnock, and later hearing speeches by union leaders at the Lewis Arms, Yspitty, before dispersing when it rained. A month later, it was recorded that the men had asked the owner of the tinworks to discharge the female sorters and, because he had not met their request, it was decided that all 300 workmen at the Yspitty works would tender notice to terminate contracts.¹¹ Further action occurred when the female workers, who had lost their jobs as a consequence of the march, failed to receive the compensation promised by the employers. The strike continued into 1891. Not surprisingly, perhaps, the works were closed and put up for sale in 1893. The problems in the Welsh tinplate industry were much broader than a local concern with the employment of female sorters. Thus, in 1891, it was reported that some sixty tinworks had ceased production and some 25,000 workers were not working.¹² Further reports highlighting discontent in the tinplate industry followed in subsequent years of the decade.¹³ These would have been difficult times for the Williams family but fortunately a new employment opportunity appeared, though this was far from west Wales.

Piombino

In 1891, the same year as the Yspitty strike, a new tinplate works was established in Piombino, Tuscany, on the west coast of Italy. It was founded under the name Società in Accomandita Semplice Spranger e Ramsay, but was referred to as La Magona d'Italia. Welsh tinplate workers played an important part in establishing this new plant. Thomas was to become the hot mill manager and in 1893 John, aged seventeen, followed him, to be appointed cold rolls superintendent as a very young man. After four years, father and son returned to Wales. They were to find that the whole complexion of the South Wales tinplate industry had been dramatically changed.

The previously booming Welsh tinplate industry had been severely damaged by the McKinley tariffs in the United States. These protectionist measures had been implemented in 1891, leading to a recession in Wales with plant closures, widespread unemployment and the migration of many tinplate workers to the United States. Meanwhile, the tinplate industry, mainly on the banks of the Ohio River in the states of Ohio, Pennsylvania and West Virginia, was growing apace and Welsh newspapers were reporting the changes. In an article titled "The Tinplate Industry of Pennsylvania" and published in the *South Wales Daily News* of 22 August 1896, there is an abstract of the annual report of 1895 of the Chief of the Pennsylvania State Bureau of Statistics,¹⁴ which painted a glowing picture of the expanding American tinplate industry:

“The Pennsylvania works represent one of the largest, best equipped and most successfully operated works of any country, and all of them, with two exceptions are new works, having been constructed since the enactment of the McKinley law”.

It is likely that positive, encouraging reports were being received by Welsh families and friends of tinsplate workers who had already emigrated to the United States. Their experiences would have been in sharp contrast to the conditions prevailing in many of the tinsplate works in Wales.

Emigration to the USA

There can be no doubt that push factors were as strong as pull factors in the decision that John made to emigrate to the United States in 1898. He sailed on the S.S. Majestic from Liverpool on 9 March 1898, arriving in New York a week later on 16 March. The ship's passenger manifest shows that he was not the only Welsh emigrant with a background in the tinsplate industry.¹⁵ On the same page of the manifest, there are: David Williams, aged 40, from Swansea; John Jones, aged 29, from Llanelly; Horace Williams, aged 22, from Pontardulais; John Charles Williams, aged 22, from Llanelly; David Roberts, aged 22, from Llanelly; and David Richards, aged 26, from Llanelly. They were all registered as tinworkers. Of particular interest are the stated destinations of these travellers. Following arrival in New York, David Williams was heading to Elwood City, Pennsylvania, John Jones to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Horace Williams to Martins Ferry, Pennsylvania, John Charles Williams to Martins Ferry, Pennsylvania,¹⁶ David Roberts to Riverside, Cincinnati, Ohio and David Richards to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. These were all communities associated with the expanding American tinsplate industry.

The north-west panhandle of West Virginia was to play a prominent role in John's future. On a map of West Virginia (Fig. 2), the panhandle can be seen extending due north, flanked by Ohio to the west and Pennsylvania to the east. It is approximately 63 kilometres long and 6 kilometres

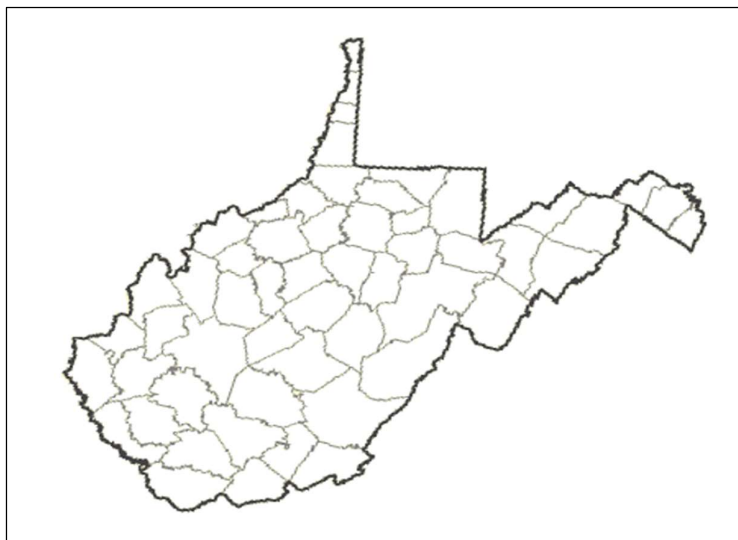


Fig. 2 Map of West Virginia showing counties. Source: Wikimedia Commons



Fig. 3 Sketch Map of the Ohio Valley, showing the State boundaries of Ohio, Pennsylvania and West Virginia and some of the places where John Charles Williams lived and worked

wide and is dominated by the Ohio River Valley, which forms the inter-state boundary. Martins Ferry is located on the west bank of the Ohio River, and is therefore in the state of Ohio, across the river from Wheeling in West Virginia (See Fig. 3). It is possible to understand why John was attracted to this community by viewing a diagram showing its location and the layout of streets and prominent buildings in 1899¹⁷ and a postcard showing the positioning of industrial buildings at Martins Ferry alongside the River Ohio (see Fig. 4).

Wheeling had been the “nail capital” of America, manufacturing cut nails for the ever growing markets in the extending western regions. Following the McKinley law the Wheeling nail works quickly transferred to making tinplate, as did a works in Martins Ferry.¹⁸ John was to start his career in the United States in the birthplace of the American tinplate industry, where there would have been a community of fellow Welsh tinplate workers, including a significant number from Llanelli. Robert Llewellyn Tyler (2018) has written an article focused on the social character of



Fig. 4 Historical Bird's Eye View of Martins Ferry (Source: Tichnor Brothers Postcard Collection, Boston Public Library)

Martins Ferry, drawing on US Census data to provide details about the support infrastructure available for Welsh settlers.¹⁹

It is possible to trace John's career in official records:²⁰

1900 Federal Census:	aged 26, a foreman in a tinplate works, residing in Muskegon, Michigan
1904 Marriage Certificate:	aged 28, marriage in Muskegon, Michigan, residing in Monessen, Pennsylvania
1910 Federal Census:	aged 34, a superintendent in a tinplate works residing in Clarksburg, West Virginia
1920 Federal Census:	aged 43, Vice-President of a steel company residing in Steubenville, Ohio, with one servant
1930 Federal Census:	aged 54, President of a steel mill, residing in Steubenville, Ohio, with two servants and a chauffeur
1936 Deaths Index:	aged 60, in Steubenville, West Virginia

He spent only a short time in Martins Ferry, as can be seen from the 1900 Federal Census record, which locates him in Muskegon, Michigan. Carole Ann Smith states that first he moved to Indiana where he “worked in the hot mills at Anderson”²¹ before moving to Muskegon. It was while he was working in Michigan at the Champion Iron and Steel Works that he met his wife-to-be, Anna Destinon, a school teacher. At the time of their marriage in 1904, he was working in Monessen, south of Pittsburgh.

John's future career has been briefly mapped out in a special issue of the *Weirton Steel Employers Bulletin*.^{22,23} Crucially for his future, John met Ernest Tener Weir, an immigrant of Irish origin, and together their careers climbed steeply. Much has been written about Weir's career from when he began work as an office boy, became a wire salesman and then a chief clerk in a wire manufacturing company. It is recorded that he became associated with James R. Phillips and together they purchased the Jackson Sheet and Tin Company located in Clarksburg (see Fig. 3). Sadly, Phillips was killed in a train accident and John succeeded him as partner. There was scope for further expansion but this needed a site accessible to coal, water, and rail transport and to growing markets. The western panhandle in north-west West Virginia offered such facilities and John's future was to be tied to the neighbouring communities of Steubenville (Ohio) and what was to become Weirton (West Virginia).

The year 1909 is an important one, for this was the year that Weir bought farmland at Holidays Cove in the Ohio valley and “by 1910 there were 20 hot mills turning out tinplate. Two years later saw the purchase of the Pope Tin Plate plant at Steubenville and in 1913 the Strip Steel Plant was started which was known as the Weirton Steel Company”.²⁴ It is not my intention here to follow the sequence of acquisitions by Weir of coal, coke, steel and tinplate companies. Suffice to record that in 1929, John was appointed President of Weirton Steel and this became a subsidiary of the National Steel Corporation, which had been formed by the merger of Weirton Steel, the Great Lakes Steel Corporation, Michigan Steel Company, the Hanna Iron Ore Company, and the

Hanna Furnace and Producers Steamship Company. John was to become President of the National Steel Corporation, one of the major steel producers in the United States.

This expansion occurred at a time when the American steel industry was facing an extended period of conflict with trade unions. The violent confrontation that took place at the Carnegie steel plant in Homestead, Pennsylvania in 1892 has been the subject of much investigation. The confrontation was initially between trade unionists and a firm of private detectives, and then with state troopers. At the end of the conflict, twelve people had been killed and others injured and the unionists lost. The unionists had belonged to the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers. There are a number of graphic accounts of this event.²⁵ A more detailed appraisal of the impact of strike activity as it affected Weirton Steel, later National Steel, has been provided by a number of scholars.²⁶ The difficulties came to a head in 1933, when workers at Weirton Steel came out on strike, leading to a strong reaction from management.²⁷ The repercussions persisted for several years.

As President of National Steel, John would have been at the heart of these troubled times. This might help to explain his failing health, reported in the autumn of 1935.²⁸ He died of a heart attack in 1936, at the Weir Williams Farm, his summer residence in West Virginia, and was buried in the Union Cemetery, Steubenville, Ohio. A special issue of the *Weirton Steel Employees Bulletin* was devoted to an obituary and messages of condolences.²⁹ It included a cartoon (Fig. 5).

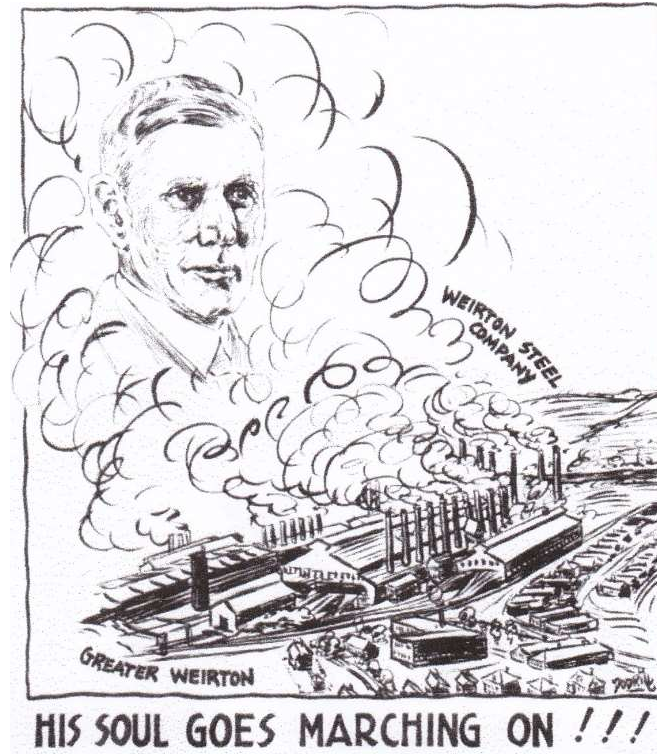


Fig. 5 Cartoon from the obituary issue of the Weirton Steel Employees Bulletin (Courtesy Weirton Steel Employees Bulletin Archive, Weirton Area Museum & Cultural Center)

Williams charitable trusts

Following the death of John Charles Williams, two charitable trusts were created in his name, one in the United States and the other in Wales. In the United States the focus of the J.C. Williams Charitable Trust Fund was principally on the Steubenville and Weirton communities. The terms of the trust were wide-reaching and included “the relief of the poor; improvement of living conditions; improvement of working conditions; care of the sick; the young, the aged, and the helpless; promotion of science, art, health, recreation, education, and good citizenship”.³⁰

In 1972, the J.C. Williams College Center was dedicated at The College of Steubenville. An article in the *Weirton Steel Employees Bulletin*³¹ includes a number of photographs of this Center, including one showing a portrait of John. Another example of a beneficiary is the Mental Health Center in Weirton, which had been sponsored by the Weirton Council for Retarded Children and Adults. The opening of this Center, too, was publicised in a 1970 article in the *Weirton Steel Employees Bulletin*³² that included a number of photographs highlighting the Center’s work. Other beneficiaries included libraries, schools and sports facilities. One memorial to him is the Williams Golf and Country Club in Weirton. Another is his inclusion in the Lou Holtz Upper Ohio Valley Hall of Fame, and its website includes a brief biography and a portrait.³³ There is also a portrait of John and a brief biography together with a photograph of his grave at <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/148764955/john-charles-williams>.

In Wales, before his death, John had provided funds for community purposes. Carole Anne Smith records that funds were made available for the purchase of boats for rowing clubs in Upper Loughor, Lower Loughor and Bwlychymynydd. Also in Loughor, money was used to purchase an altar, reredos and lectern in St Michael’s Church, in the graveyard of which can be seen a memorial to the Williams family, although the church itself was closed in April 2021 (see Figs. 6 and 7).³⁴



Fig. 6 The Williams family memorial in Loughor showing the names of Thomas and Elizabeth Williams



Fig. 7 The Williams family memorial in Loughor showing the names of John Charles Williams and three of his sisters

The most prominent memorial to John in Loughor is Parc Williams, a public park that has a bandstand and sports and recreational facilities (Fig. 8). At the entrance to this park there is a bilingual interpretation board (Fig. 9) bearing a copy of John's portrait³⁵ and a brief account of his life. Nearby, a wall holds a plaque (Fig. 10) bearing the inscription: "In 1929 this park was given to the people of Loughor by John Charles Williams of Steubenville, Ohio, U.S.A. and formerly of this parish and these gates were erected to the memory of his sister Jane Anne Wilson in 1939". A portrait of John hangs in a prominent position in the Loughor Welfare Hall, which accommodates the council chamber of the Llŵchr Town Council.

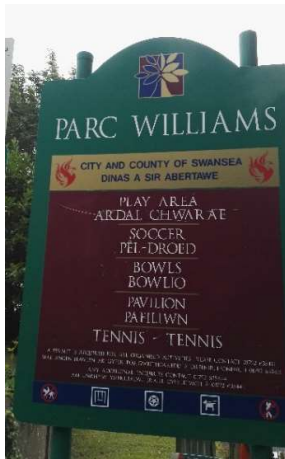


Fig. 9 Entrance to Parc Williams, Loughor

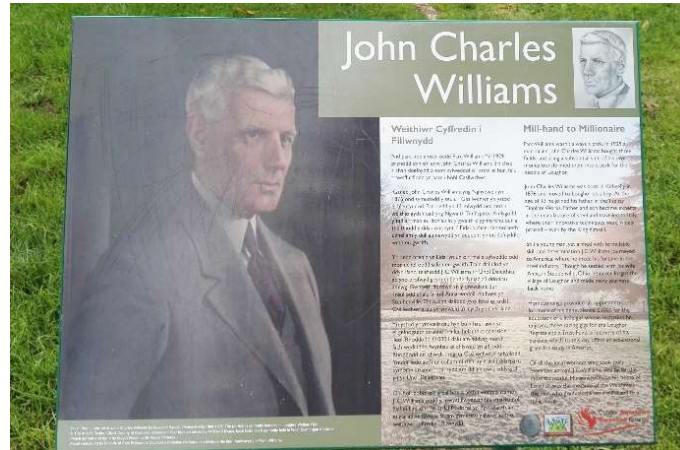


Fig. 10 Bilingual interpretation board at the entrance to Parc Williams showing two portraits of John Charles Williams



Fig. 8 Commemorative plaque in Parc Williams

In 1931, before his death in 1936, John set up a trust fund that was administered by the Pittsburgh National Bank. Following the death of Anna Williams, his widow, in August 1961, an advisory committee of the Pittsburgh National Bank was set up to administer the John Williams Trust. This committee was made up of four businessmen from Steubenville and Weirton, the Vice-Chairman of the Bank and the Chairman of the Bank's Trust Committee.³⁶ By the terms of the trust

all of the income should be received by Mrs Anna Williams during her lifetime. Upon her death, the trustees were directed to use the funds for broad charitable purposes, as stated earlier, in Steubenville and Weirton. Funds were also made available through the trust for particular purposes in Wales. These trusts are still active. The first was named the Elizabeth Williams Endowment (named after John's mother) and this was set up to focus on what was then the Llanelly Hospital. More recent changes in the organisation of the health service in Wales have led to changes in the Plan for Administration of the fund.

The *Weirton Steel Employees Bulletin* of 1 January 1957 includes a photograph showing the unveiling of a portrait of John Charles Williams set to hang in the Elizabeth Williams Memorial Wards (Wards 8 and 9) at Llanelly Hospital that had been paid for from the trust. The portrait currently hangs in a prominent position in the Llanelli Library. More recently, in 1984, the Elizabeth Williams Clinic was officially opened.³⁷ In 2000 money was provided from the fund to purchase an MRI scanner for Prince Philip Hospital in Llanelli. The health and welfare of countless residents of Llanelli and Loughor will have been enhanced by the funding of local projects.

However, the second part of the funds allocated to Wales provided for the award of Thomas and Elizabeth Williams Scholarships that were focused on individuals principally from three communities: Kidwelly, Llanelli and Loughor. The scholarships, initially administered locally in the three specified communities, are currently administered by Carmarthenshire County Council and the Council of the City and County of Swansea. They are advertised annually and, while priority is given to applicants residing in the three named communities, residents from the two counties are eligible to apply. As I indicated in the opening paragraph, as a Carmarthen town resident I was awarded a scholarship for postgraduate study by Carmarthenshire County Council.

I wrote a tribute to John Charles Williams as a way of thanking him and the charitable fund for my award and it was published in *Ninnau*, the North American Welsh newspaper.³⁸ I was curious to know about other beneficiaries, of whom there have been hundreds over the years. An internet search yielded more than thirty beneficiaries, including a prominent Welsh politician, an opera singer, a harpist, professors in British and North American universities, scientists, artists and authors. Over many decades successful applicants have been enabled to pursue career changing studies. It would be very interesting to trace these hundreds of beneficiaries to find out how their careers evolved.

John Charles Williams has been remembered in local communities. In 2019 Loughor residents enjoyed a day of celebration in memory of his life and this included a church service, a parade and festivities in Parc Williams. I have already referred to the portraits of John displayed in the Loughor Welfare Hall and Llanelli Library. Given his importance in the lives of so many people, other memorials ought to be considered. These could include a permanent exhibition in a national Welsh institution that would portray his life in Wales and the United States, supplemented by a travelling exhibition. Perhaps, the most lasting commemoration would be the renaming of the Loughor Bridge as the John C. Williams Bridge, highlighting his links with the two neighbouring counties.

Acknowledgements

Illustration sources have been acknowledged in the text. I would also like to thank the following individuals: Peter Brookes, Savannah Schroll Guz, Nigel Havard, Graham Humphrys, Louis Martin, Aaron Schmidt, Catrin Simon, Robert Llewellyn Tyler, Gaynor Williams, Kate Williams.

Notes

1. Smith, C.A. (2011/12) JC, *Amrywiaeth Llanelli Miscellany*, Issue 25, pp. 72–5, published by the Workers Educational Association.
2. With the passing of the Welsh Language Act in 1967 some communities have chosen to use the Welsh language version of their names and others mainly use anglicised versions. I have used the versions in common use when referring to events before 1967 and then adopting contemporary usage. Thus Llanelly and Llanelli, Kidwelly and Cydweli, Loughor and Llŵchwr are used in the text.
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4. Bowen Evans, M. (1986) An Industrial Work Force – Kidwelly Tin Workers 1881, *Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, Vol 20, pp. 51–8.
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7. Minister, D.G. (2009) Trade union activity in the tinplate, nickel and coal industries in the Swansea Valley, c.1870–1926, Ph.D. thesis, Swansea University.
8. https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Kidwelly_Tinplate_Works.
9. Aerial photographs clearly showing the site of the former Yspitty Tinplate Works can be seen on the website of Coflein: the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales: <https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/40511/images>
10. Female Assorters and the Tin-Platers Union, Great Demonstration at Llanelly, *Carmarthen Journal and South Wales Weekly Advertiser*, 26 September 1890. National Library of Wales Welsh Newspapers Online website: <https://newspapers.library.wales/>
11. Yspitty Tin-Plate Works, *South Wales Daily News*, 27 October 1890. National Library of Wales Welsh Newspapers Online website: <https://newspapers.library.wales/>
12. The Stop Month, 60 Works Idle Today, 25,000 Workpeople Affected, *South Wales Daily News*, 29 June 1891. National Library of Wales Welsh Newspapers Online website: <https://newspapers.library.wales/>
13. Crisis in the Tinplate Trade, Eighteen Works Idle, About 4,000 Men Affected, *The Western Mail*, 1 September 1893; Tinplate Trade: A Gloomy Outlook, *South Wales Daily News*, 24 December 1895; Welsh Tin-Plate Trade, Gloomy Outlook, *Evening Express*, 6 February 1901. National Library of Wales Welsh Newspapers Online website: <https://newspapers.library.wales/>
14. The Tinplate industry of Pennsylvania, *South Wales Daily News*, 22 August 1896. National Library of Wales Welsh Newspapers Online website: <https://newspapers.library.wales/>
15. It should be noticed that the manifest had some inaccuracies. John's age is recorded as 22 but his twenty-second birthday occurred soon after he arrived in New York. Also Martins Ferry is recorded as located in Pennsylvania but is in Ohio.
16. Martins Ferry is located on the west bank of the River Ohio and is in the state of Ohio.
17. This diagram can be seen on the Library of Congress website: <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g4084m.pm006980/?r=0.125,0.139,0.475,0.19,0>
18. Martin, L. (2015) *Smokestacks in the Hills: Rural-Industrial Workers in West Virginia*, University of Illinois Press, Champaign, Illinois.

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21. Smith, J.C.
22. Special obituary issue of the *Weirton Steel Employers Bulletin*, 5 June 1936.
23. All issues of the *Weirton Steel Employers Bulletin* have been digitized and can be accessed on the website of the Weirton Museum and Cultural Center website: <https://www.weirtonareamuseum.com/>
24. *Weirton Steel Employers Bulletin*, 5 June 1936.
25. For graphic accounts of the event see: Burgoyne, A.G. (1893) *Homestead: A Complete History of the Struggle of July, 1892, between the Carnegie Steel Company, Limited, and the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers*, Rawsthorne Engraving and Printing Company, Pittsburgh (accessible as an e-book at <https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/42589>); and (undated) *The Strike at Homestead Mill* <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/carnegie-strike-homestead-mill/>
26. These are some examples; Ankney, T. L. (1993) The pendulum of control: the evolution of the Weirton Steel Company, 1909-1951, Ph.D. thesis, Catholic University of America; Martin, L. C. (1999) Causes and consequences of the 1909-1910 steel strike in the Wheeling district, M.A. thesis, West Virginia University; Hennen, J. (2001) E.T. Weir, employee representation and the dimension of social control: Weirton Steel 1933–1937, *Labor Studies Journal*, 26(3), 25–49; Martin, L.C. (2007) Tinsplate towns, 1890–1910: Local labor movements and workers’ responses to the crisis in the steelworkers union, *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, Autumn, 74(1), pp. 492–526; Martin, L.C. (2019) ‘So nobly struggling for their manhood’: masculinity and violence among steelworkers in the Wheeling district, 1880–1910, *Labor History*, 60(5), pp.429–43.
27. A graphic account of the tactics used by Weirton Steel to disrupt union activity is provided in Martin, *Smokestacks in the Hills*, pp. 80–85.
28. *Weirton Steel Employees Bulletin*, 1 November 1935.
29. *Weirton Steel Employees Bulletin*, 5 June 1936.
30. *Weirton Steel Employees Bulletin*, 3 July 1936.
31. *Weirton Steel Employees Bulletin*, 1 July 1972.
32. *Weirton Steel Employees Bulletin*, 1 November 1970.
33. <http://www.louholtzhalloffame.com/williams.html>
34. Smith, J.C.
35. A portrait of John Charles Williams, painted by the American artist Malcolm Parcell, hangs in the Welfare Hall, Loughor, that also houses the Council Chamber of the Llŵchwr (Loughor) Town Council.
36. A photograph of the advisory committee was published in the *Weirton Steel Employees Bulletin*, 1 December 1961.
37. Clinic a trust fund gift, *South Wales Evening Post*, 13 July 1984.