American Gypsies: Immigration, migration, settlement

Katherine Bernice Stephens

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AMERICAN GYPSIES:

IMMIGRATION, MIGRATION, SETTLEMENT

A Thesis

Presented to the

Faculty of

California State University,

San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

in

Interdisciplinary Studies:

American Ethnic Studies

by

Katherine Bernice Stephens

June 2003
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June 2003

Approved by:
James Pierson, Chair, Anthropology

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ABSTRACT

There is little information about Gypsies in the context of American history. This thesis covers a small portion of their story.

Gypsies immigrated to America from many different countries. Their early experiences in the United States are as varied as those of other immigrants but are rarely told.

Gypsy history is usually oral rather than written and is passed down through the generations. There is no documentation to back up these stories that are seldom told to non-Gypsies. It is the task of historians and anthropologists to uncover these stories.

Genealogical and cemetery studies are among the areas rarely discussed by writers. Genealogy covers related families, how leaders gain their role, where and when Gypsies migrated, and where they settled. Cemetery studies will discuss how they honor their loved ones, as well as their religious beliefs, talents, interests, and occupations. The local cemetery is frequently the only evidence of a Gypsy population in a community.

Gypsies are a proud but silent people. They deal with the non-Gypsy only on the level of earning a living. They
are separatists--they do not generally associate with the non-Gypsy on a social level.

This thesis is just a small portion of what could be discovered about Gypsies in American history. Their immigration to America needs to be as well-documented as the immigration of other ethnic groups has been. Their early experiences in America need to be more fully explored.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank first of all my husband, Merton Stephens, who had to put up with the strange hours I have kept between school and work since 1995. I thank both my husband and my daughter Wendy for tramping through cemeteries with me to gather information from Gypsy headstones.

I wish to thank Dr. Barbara Hall and Dr. Janice Binam of Riverside Community College, Riverside, California, for being my inspiration to study anthropology in the first place.

Many thanks go to all the anthropology professors at California State University, San Bernardino, for their belief in my ability to achieve this level of education. I am especially grateful to Dr. James Pierson and Dr. Kathleen Nadeau of the Anthropology Department and Dr. Elliot Barkan of the History Department for being the advisors for my Interdisciplinary Studies Master of Arts program. They inspired me, guided me, and most of all, supported my efforts.

Thanks also go to Kristina Lindgren, a fellow anthropology student. She worked as an archivist at the San
Bernardino County Archives while I was looking for local information on Gypsies. Kristina brought to my attention the business license books for the city of San Bernardino which included licenses for palm readers, clairvoyants, and other fortuneteller-type occupations, which in turn led me to other sources to back up that information. I also wish to thank William Swafford, local historian for the Riverside Public Library, for locating in the archives the business license books for early Riverside.

I also want to thank Bonnie McJennett, fellow M. A. student, for reading my thesis for content, grammar, and punctuation, and for providing formatting tips that she had already encountered on her own thesis.
In Memory:

“Bud” Dellas D. McLeland
1917-1992

Louise K. (Cobb) McLeland
1922-1997

They always believed in me.
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CHAPTER ONE

IMMIGRATION

Introduction

This chapter will not be a discussion of the sources I found about Gypsy culture and history, but about what I did not find. Those topics became my focal research, particularly immigration, cemetery studies, and genealogy. Where and how Gypsies settled in a region implies a change in lifestyle, including education, occupation, legal status, and formation of self-help organizations.

Discovering Gypsies

When I began my research on Gypsies a few years ago, I had no concept of who Gypsies were, no information on their culture, and no knowledge of their arrival in the United States. After collecting information from books, journals, newspapers, and other sources, I discovered that some topics, such as Gypsy history (mostly European) and cultural beliefs and practices have been thoroughly covered by even the earliest authors: Charles Leland and Vernon Morwood in the 1880s; George Borrows in the 1920s; and Konrad Bercovici and Walter Starkie in the 1930s. More
recent authors have also covered these topics in greater depth: Marlene Sway, Rena Gropper, David Nemeth, Anne Sutherland, Isabel Fonseca, Elwood Trigg, Carol Miller, David Crowe, Rubert Croft-Cooke, Ian Hancock, Matt Salo, Shiela Salo, and a host of others.

Immigration

Only a few authors have written about Gypsy immigration to the United States. Andrew Marchbin wrote his doctoral dissertation on this topic in 1939, and Matt Salo and Shiela Salo, in 1986, published an article on the topic in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. Rena Gropper (1975: 21-26) relates the story of how the BIMBULESTI (a. k. a. BIMBO) family left Russia for South America, Mexico, and then ultimately to the United States to settle in New York. David Nemeth (2002: 81-82) related the immigration path of the Russian-Greek NICHOLAS family via Brazil, Panama, and Mexico, before settling primarily in California. Other authors touched on immigration for particular families but did not go into any great detail.
Migration and Settlement

Until the Great Depression of the 1930s many Gypsies traveled throughout the year, weather permitting. A large number of Gypsies left the United States just prior to and during the Depression in order to survive. Those that stayed in the United States found it increasingly difficult to move around the country because of less money and fewer jobs. Many began to settle more permanently in or near large cities, although sometimes moving frequently within that area. The Work Progress Administration (W. P. A.), created by President Roosevelt, gave many Gypsies a second chance by giving them access to welfare, vocational, and educational programs, although they did have to comply with federal standards to be able to take advantage of some of these programs. Migration and settlement will be discussed more fully in Chapter Five.

Education

The educational level an ethnic group achieves has an effect on their acculturation and assimilation into American society and the job level they can achieve. In the early 1900s, many non-Gypsy immigrants were moderately educated and others had no education. Yet their children or
grandchildren became more educated than the original immigrants and were able to achieve better jobs and move into better neighborhoods. Most Gypsy families have been in the United States for four or five generations and are still functionally illiterate. They may be able to read and write enough to get by, but they do not read and write better because they do not attend school regularly as required by law. Gypsy high school students have not created student clubs to aid each other and their cause as other ethnic groups have done. For example, the Asian Pacific American Youth was organized by Asian American students to combat discrimination in a hostile school environment (Fong and Shinagawa 2000: 123). Many Gypsy students do not even get to high school.

There have been only a handful of programs aimed at educating Gypsy children. Some were started by non-Gypsies and some were started by Gypsies. Most were not successful educationally or financially. These programs will be more fully discussed in Chapter Six.
Cemetery Studies

Another area lacking information is Gypsy American cemeteries, funerals, headstones, death beliefs, and practices. Nemeth notes that "Gypsy scholars in North America are conspicuously silent on the matter of cemetery research" (2002: 68). He mentions burials in Calvary Cemetery, Los Angeles, a Catholic cemetery, and has several pictures of headstones in his book. Aside from newspaper articles, there have been only two journal articles published on American Gypsy cemeteries and headstones, one by Paul Frenza in 1989, and another by Paul Erwin in 1993. Mitchell (1992) mentions several cemeteries in New York and New Jersey in the 1920s and 1930s that Gypsies frequently used to bury their dead. Elwood Trigg (1973) discussed English Gypsy death beliefs, practices, and headstones. The Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society published two articles on funerals and burial customs in England (Bartlett 1934) and Sweden (Tillhagen 1952-1953). My own research at two cemeteries in Los Angeles County really made me aware of the lack of information on Gypsy cemeteries, burials, and headstones. Gypsy funeral practices and cemetery studies will be more fully discussed in Chapter Seven.
Gypsy Genealogy

Another area lacking published information is Gypsy lineage. Almost nothing has been published on the genealogy of Gypsy American families and how they connect to each other by blood and marriage. There is considerable information on kinship and marriage practices but little on genealogy. There is also little information on how Gypsy leaders are chosen and how they govern. It is not clear if leaders inherit their roles, are elected to their roles, or if they fight for leadership. It may vary from group to group or it could be a combination, depending on the group and/or circumstances, as I discovered from various sources.

By tracing the lineage of major Gypsy clans, we will discover immigration, migration, and settlement patterns. Genealogical information includes references on immigration, migration, and settlement, and is based on records of the federal and state censuses, births, marriages, deaths, and property ownership. Until recently state records of birth, marriage, and death were never generated for Gypsies. These kinds of public records were not a state requirement until after 1900 in most states and county records were inconsistent and incomplete. Gypsies
normally gave birth without medical assistance, and there was no paper trail to the existence of the children when it came time to send them to school (Bono 1942: 269). Gypsy marriages did not require a clergyman or justice of the peace to validate a marriage. Gypsies moved so frequently, at least in the years prior to 1950, that many may not have been counted in the federal and state censuses. The censuses also usually did not document them as Gypsies. Many early American Gypsies never owned property because they traveled frequently and simply camped on vacant land. The Gypsies that did own land would have generated a local document for the purchase of the land because counties required it to show ownership. Today, a death certificate is needed before a cemetery will bury the deceased. Marriage records are needed for public assistance of families. Birth certificates and proof of vaccinations are needed before the children can start the law-enforced schooling.

The STANLEY Family of Dayton, Ohio, seems to have had the most articles published about them: Adah Dodd-Poince in 1908 in the Ohio Magazine; Beers in 1885 in a History of Montgomery County, Ohio; and Harry Bryer (a STANLEY
descendent) in 1986 in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. Steve Kaslov wrote about his life as a Russian Gypsy, and Shiela Salo did some follow-up research; both were published in 1995 in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. Some of Tene Bimbo's life story can be discerned from Peter Maas' book, *The King of the Gypsies* (1974), although Maas’ purpose was not to provide biographical or historical information but rather to provide a look at the unsavory aspects Gypsy life. Nemeth (2002) provides us some genealogical information about the NICHOLAS family, how they arrived in the United States, and how the family interacted with other family members, including disputes. Gipsy Petulengro, a Gypsy American, wrote several books about his lifestyle and culture. In 1975, Linda Kent wrote a biography of a Gypsy headman in Boston for her Master’s thesis at Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

There are biographies or autobiographies of some English Gypsies. "Gipsy" Rodney Smith (1860-1947), an English Gypsy evangelist, wrote an autobiography (1901), and David Lazell (1997) wrote a biography of Smith. The English Gypsy lifestyle of Patrick Jasper Lee (still living), a "chovihano" (male healer) of the Purrum clan, is

**Purpose of Thesis**

I intend in this thesis to provide new information about the areas discussed above, and intend, as well, to synthesize previously published information on Gypsy immigration, migration, and settlement in the United States. But most importantly, I will reveal that there remains a lot of information on Gypsy American history to be gathered and documented.

This thesis is written in three parts: immigration, migration and settlement, and Gypsy genealogy. I have divided the immigration of Gypsies to the United States into three arbitrary time periods. The first period is the pre-colonial era through 1849 when Gypsies typically were forced into immigration as punishment or attempted to escape oppression in the parent country. During the second time period, from 1850 through 1879, Gypsy immigration was typically accomplished in a few small family groups,
probably preparing the way for other families to come later. The third time period for Gypsy immigration is 1880 through the 1920s, and generally involved mass migration in which several hundred people would travel together. Since this is also when most Eastern Europeans were immigrating, Gypsies from Eastern Europe probably just jumped on the same band wagon, so to speak. I have the least information on those that immigrated just prior to, during, and after World War II while trying to escape the Nazis and therefore I will not attempt to address this topic. I will discuss migration and settlement of Gypsies within the United States including education and vocational training and the little discussed cemetery and burial topics. The discussion of Gypsy education will describe programs created for settled Gypsies, including some that were initiated by Gypsies. The topic of Gypsy cemeteries and burials is included in this thesis because it is one of the few visible signs of Gypsies in a given location, in addition to its genealogical and anthropological value. I will also include some genealogical and biographical information on selected Gypsy clans. The genealogical information was founded on a variety of sources: newspapers, personal
contacts, census records, cemetery inscriptions, books, and journal articles. In most cases multiple sources supplied the family data.
CHAPTER TWO

GYPSY IMMIGRATION BEFORE 1850

The Romani people, more commonly called Gypsies, are an ethnic group from many countries with similar beliefs and a common language, Rom. Although there are many variations of the Romani language, the variations are the result of borrowing words and phrases from the language of the country in which they ultimately settled. The Gypsy "religion" also changed and/or absorbed portions of the dominant religious sect in the country of settlement. Gypsies found they were more accepted as a group if they at least superficially practiced the dominant religion.

Gypsy scholars generally agree that Gypsies originated in Northern India, basing this conclusion on linguistic data about language families. The Gypsies are a people without a home--they have no mother country. They migrated out of India so long ago they don't even consider India as the mother country. When the Gypsies first entered Eastern Europe, Western Europeans thought the Gypsies originated in Egypt, a belief perpetuated by the Gypsies themselves. Regardless, there was a general diaspora throughout Europe beginning around the eleventh century and certainly
historical records recognize them in various places in Europe by the thirteenth century (Clebert 1961: 54).

Gypsies are no strangers to discrimination, both de jure and de facto. In every country they have inhabited and still inhabit, laws were created that limited their movement, occupations, and how they lived. Gypsies were literally forced to become sedentary and to take up occupations not normal for them. Gypsy children were removed from their homes and placed in boarding schools or foster homes in order to be educated and to "de-Gypsyfy" them (Cahn, et al 1998: 1 http://www.osi.hu/iep/minorities/ResBook1/ResBookAll.htm). Every country they migrated to, or wanted to migrate to, had laws preventing the emigration from the host country, as well as laws that were unacceptable to them. Some countries also had laws forbidding Gypsies from entering.

How, when, where, and why did Gypsies get to the United States? The how and the when are fairly easy answers. The why is a little more complicated because it is based on the conditions of the host country at the time they immigrated. Therefore, the push/pull factors are important in the immigration process, although the
push/pull factors could be the same as those for the non-Gypsy immigrant. Gypsies arrived in the United States in the same manner and time periods as all other immigrants, arriving in all American ports as well as in Canadian, Latin American, and Mexican ports and crossing the Canadian and Mexican borders to enter the United States. My information on Gypsy immigrants is a little skewed to arrivals in New York because that is the information I have been able to uncover.

Some early Gypsies were unwilling immigrants sent here for the crime of being a Gypsy or being convicted of theft or fraud. In later years, they came willingly, looking for a better life, just like other immigrants. Still others arrived here but were refused entry and deported. Some Gypsies went to Canada or South America first and then entered the United States by crossing the border. Examples of these will be fully discussed later in this thesis.

There is no way to determine exactly how many Gypsies actually immigrated per year to the United States as passenger lists almost always listed their country of origin rather than their Gypsy ethnicity. A few passenger lists designated them as ethnic Gypsies but these are rare
and I found only a few of them. During the Ellis Island years (1892-1954), "Gypsy" was not on the recognized list of ethnicities so those that came through Ellis Island were simply identified by country of origin. Many passenger lists have not been indexed, making it difficult to find a given Gypsy surname. In documenting the immigrant's arrival, the ship's staff, as well as Ellis Island officials, frequently changed a Gypsy surname to a more Americanized version of the name, creating additional problems in locating specific Gypsy immigrants.

Many Gypsy tribes or clans settled all over the United States, mostly near large urban areas. These Gypsy groups included Romnichels (English), Rom (Serbian), Ludar (Romanian), Black Dutch (German), Kalderash (Russian and Serbian), Machwayas (Serbian), and Boyash (Serbian and Roumanian). Other groups were named by their migration route: Argentines were Serbians who came by way of Spain and South America; Argentinos were Serbians who came by way of Brazil, then to the United States, then south to Argentina, and then back again to the United States; Mexicans were Russians and Serbians who went back and forth
between Mexico and America. (Mitchell 1993: 177, 188-191).

The first Gypsies to arrive in the American colonies came as a result of the laws in the parent country. Scotland was just one of many countries that began creating laws to limit the wanderings of Gypsies. When the Gypsies first arrived in Scotland, they were simply accepted for what they were—Egyptians or Gypsies. They entertained at the royal court and were frequently given letters of safe passage to enter another territory or country. There was no mention of Gypsies in the British Isles prior to the fifteenth century; however, there were tinkers or tinklers as early as the twelfth century (Macritchie 1894: 4). In 1540, the Privy Council wrote into law, signed by King James V, that "all of our lieges that none of them molest, vex, inquiet, or trouble the said John Faw and his company in the doing of their lawful business" (Macritchie 1894: 46). This John Faw was a Gypsy leader with a large company of followers.

Legislation in 1574 called for the children of beggars between the ages of five and fourteen to be removed and bound or apprenticed to another of more comfortable means
Of course this meant that children of wandering Gypsies could be removed and bound over to a non-Gypsy until they reached adulthood. By the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century, Scottish laws became even more anti-Gypsy, to the point that it was illegal to be a Gypsy. It was not so much the Gypsy ethnicity that was legislated against but the Gypsy lifestyle (Macritchie 1894: 81, 85). Anyone aiding and abetting a Gypsy was also committing a crime, as by this time Gypsies were regarded as witches and encouraging witchcraft was a religious offense (Macritchie 1894: 79). If the Gypsies voluntarily chose to settle down to a permanent abode they were left alone (Macritchie 1894: 86).

In 1661, "Commission and Instructions" were issued anew to justices and constables, by Act of Parliament, with the view of arresting Gypsies and other vagrants. And it is evident from subsequent references that a great many Gypsies must have been deported to the British "plantations," in Virginia, Jamaica, and Barbados during the second half of the seventeenth century. That they had to undergo a temporary, if not "perpetual" servitude seems very likely; for certain merchants and planters who applied to the Privy Council in 1714 for permission to take them, did so with the intention of using them for labourers. (Macritchie 1894: 102)
There are records of specific Gypsies who were transported to America as punishment. On October 21, 1682, Scotland transported a “score” of Gypsy prisoners who were in the Tolbooth at Edinburgh. They were transported from Greenock to the New York colony as their punishment. Among them were these Gypsy prisoners: Gilbert Baillie; Hugh Baillie; James Baillie, the younger; John Baillie; Margaret Baillie; John Hamilton; Andrew Hogg; and Margaret Robertson. Their only crime was being a Gypsy but a few of these were listed as thieves. In 1684 another group of prisoners was transported to New York and was “organized by George Lockhart, a Scottish merchant in New York” (Dobson 1984: 6, 7, 71, 76, 188; 1989: 12, 127, 135; 1994: 45; 1994: 97). In June, 1699, William Baillie, the elder, chief of a Gypsy band, was imprisoned in Tolbooth of Edinburgh, having been charged with having wandered “up and downe in severall places of the Kingdome as Idle vagabonds . . . and holden to be one of those wicked people called Egyptians” and his sentence was “that he should be transported for life,” in other words, forcibly exiled from England (Macritchie 1894: 115-116). In September of 1699, he was ordered to “be deported in the first ship going to
the plantations, the skipper to be allowed a proper
gratuity from the treasury . . . that he would produce a
certificate of the man being landed in America" (Privy
Council Record in Macritchie 1894: 117). William Baillie
apparently did not stay in America "for life" as he
returned to Scotland, only to be arrested again and
sentenced to death (Macritchie 1894: 117).

On January 1, 1715, Scotland again transported
Gypsies, but this time to Virginia. The following Gypsies
were

...banished at Jedburgh 30 November 1714. Transported
via Glasgow on a Greenock ship, master James Watson,
by merchants Robert Buntine of Airdoch, James Lees and
Charles Crawford [Crauford] to Virginia 1 January
1715: Mary Faa, Peter Faa, John Fenwick, Elizabeth
Lindsey, Margaret Robertson, Jean Ross, Mabel
Stirling, and Janey Yorstoun: (Dobson 1984: 45, 46,
92, 188, 192, 212, 230; 1989: 87, 88, 159, 284, 290,
320, 351)

Additional Gypsy prisoners in Dumfries Tolbooth were
"banished to the Plantations in America for life [on] 1 May
1739": Robert Baillie, Jean Brown, Jean Hutson, Mary Tait,
and William Tait (Dobson 1984: 7, 15, 79, 216). It is
unclear what happened to all these Gypsies after their
arrival in New York and Virginia, but most likely they were
bonded servants or laborers upon their arrival and became freedmen once their bondage service was completed.

Augustine Bearse, son of Gauche and Matchowitch "Matcho" Bearse, was "deported for being Romany on English soil on 1 Apr 1638 from South Hampton, Hampshire, England. He appeared on the passenger list [of the Confidence] as Augustine Bearse, single, age 20" (Raven 2000: http://www.genweb.net/~raven/html/d62.html). Augustine Bearse was apparently a member of the Gypsy tribe Heron or Herne.

Descendants claim that in 1639 Augustine Bearse married Mary, a Hyanno Indian princess, granddaughter of Highyanrough/Ihyannough, a Sachem of the Cape Cod tribes who gave the couple a large piece of land at their marriage. Augustine and Mary both joined the Puritan church in 1850 and Augustine became a freedman in 1652 (Raven 2000: http://www.genweb.net/~raven/html/d62.html). These claims are supposedly based on the diary of Zerviah Newcomb that was passed down through a daughter-in-law to Frank Bearse, after which the diary disappeared. (Murrah 2000: http://www.murrah.com/grn/bearse.html).
Murrah shows that while there is some doubt about this story, there is also a clear possibility it could be true because old family tales usually have some grain of truth in them. Murrah believes that as a Gypsy, Bearse would not be likely to marry a white Puritan woman. After joining the church, Bearse and his family behaved exactly as prescribed by the Puritan church, probably as a "supreme effort to fit into English society at Barnstable [Massachusetts]" (Murrah 2000: http://www.murrah.com/grn/bearse.html). Puritan records show no marriage record for Augustine and Mary even though the Puritans kept excellent records, so it is quite likely he married an American Indian in an Indian wedding ceremony, particularly since there were few unmarried white women in early Barnstable, Massachusetts. There are several sources that indicate that Augustine Bearse did exist and had issue and was a prominent member of the Puritan society, particularly accounts by Amos Otis, James Savage, and Charles Henry Pope. No sources I have found shows proof of his Gypsy descent or that his wife was American Indian (Murrah 2000: http://www.murrah.com/grn/bearse.html).

Gypsies from Germany were among the early American colonial settlers, and for good reason. In the Germanic
territory of Hohenzollern-Bayreuth, efforts to control immigration and emigration became a futile effort during the eighteenth century. Local officials' efforts to control Gypsies "reached a macabre peak in the Zigunerstriften, the systematic hunting and killing of gypsies" (Canny 1994: 207). It is fairly obvious why German Gypsies wanted to leave the Germanic countries.

The German Gypsies (Chi-kener or Zigeuner) arrived in the colonies during the 1750s when other Germans arrived in Pennsylvania, although the Gypsies had a much tougher time leaving German areas than did the non-Gypsy Germans. They were not really wanted along the Rhine River Valley, but neither were they allowed to leave! (Shoemaker 1924: 4).

When the great wave of Pennsylvania German immigrants headed towards the hospitable shore of the Delaware, that is Palatine, Huguenot, Swiss, Alsatian, Jewish, and Waldensian. The Continental Gipsies who traveled up and down the Rhine Valley became imbued with the same migratory spirit of adventure. Proscribed, hated, and despised, there were strict regulations against these Nomads being embarked in a body as if, though they were not wanted at home, they were not allowed to go elsewhere! (Shoemaker 1924: 4).

When Gypsies tried to charter a ship or board a ship already heading toward the colonies, they were frequently thwarted by the eagle-eyed authorities. Sometimes they were
caught before the ship left harbor. Other times they were thrown overboard and left to drown. Many who did make it on board a ship to America died of scurvy or other diseases during the long trip. Eventually some of the more fortunate Gypsy travelers made it to America and freedom (Shoemaker 1924: 4-5).

Many of the German Gypsies, sometimes called "Black Dutch," (Lockwood and Salo 1994: 4) arrived in Pennsylvania as redemptioners (bonded servants). They had sold themselves into servitude just so they could get to America. Only a few of these redemptioners ever returned to the Gypsy lifestyle. Those that stayed in the non-Gypsy community frequently married into the household of their masters. The Gypsies that continued to travel along the American rivers were sometimes approached by travelers to purchase horses from them or to have the Gypsies heal their sick horse. Other times the Gypsies were accused of thieving and highway robbery (Shoemaker 1924: 5-10).

Lancaster, Pennsylvania, appears to be the first place German Gypsies settled and by 1763 there were enough Gypsies to form a band. They made camp in a grove along the Conestoga and Mill Creek. The Indians of the area bought
trinkets and goods from the band of Gypsies at the market in Lancaster. However, the Gypsies and Indians had a hatred of each other because of a series of incidents that had occurred earlier when the Gypsies traveled into Indian country along the Conestoga River (Shoemaker 1924: 6). The Gypsy travelers had camped at an abandoned Indian camp and were chased off by a local Indian who happened to come across them. The Gypsies returned to their previous camp at Paxton Hollow. The Ulster Scots, noticing the fires of the Gypsy camp and the movements of the Indians in the same area, attacked and brutally murdered many of the Indians. The Gypsies “disappeared” and the remaining Indians felt that the Gypsies were allies of the Scots (Shoemaker 1924: 6-7).

During the early eighteenth century, the French people feared “beggars, gypsies and other itinerants” and these groups of peoples were frequently “driven from towns during food shortages.” As a consequence, France sent shipments of “vagabonds, deserters, gypsies, and filles publiques. . . to Louisiana.” This, however, only occurred for a very short period between 1717 and 1721 (Canny 1994: 243, 239).
Other European countries that had colonies in the New World most likely sent Gypsies to their respective colonies, particularly Spain and Portugal. Portugal sent Gypsies to Brazil as a result of Brazil’s...

...systematic persecution by the Inquisition, which regarded them as socially undesirable heretics and sorcerers. Transportation to Brazil was one of the severe punishments meted out to them, and the first transported Gypsy to land on Brazilian soil, Antonio de Torres, arrived in 1574. (Mota 1984: 32)

Once Gypsies were in Brazil, they became adventurers and explorers who searched for gold. A few Gypsies became prosperous merchants in the slave trade. When King John VI and his family fled Portugal in 1808 during the French invasion of that country, there were already large numbers of Gypsies in several large Brazilian cities (Mota 1984: 32). Some of these Brazilian Gypsies eventually came to the United States during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Inglewood Park Cemetery, Inglewood, California, has a large headstone with the word “Brazilian” across the top. Brazil was the country they immigrated from but their surname was MORENO. A photograph of this headstone is shown in Appendix B.

The seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries seemed to be a time when host countries exported...
their "undesirables." In the end the Gypsies were better off as they were able to live their lives their way, form large communities, and even gain a measure of prosperity that they were unable to achieve in their former country.
CHAPTER THREE

GYPSY IMMIGRATION 1850-1879

The period from 1850 through 1879 was when Gypsies, particularly English Gypsies, began arriving in the United States in family groups--a few families at a time. Families made a decision to immigrate and lead the way for others to join them.

Although Gypsy families were arriving in the United States prior to 1850, they were especially noticed in the United States by the early 1850s. In 1851 the New York Times published a seven line entry that "The Gypsies are Coming." A few Gypsy families (ten Gypsies) had arrived on the ship Josephine on September 27, 1851, out of Bristol, England. The article mentioned they were basketmakers and would be traveling to the West as soon as they could be outfitted for the trip. The passenger list for the Josephine included these Gypsies: Richard Cooper, age 22, basketmaker; Richard's wife Suslia, age 30; his children John, age 9, and Sarah, age 11; his mother Rebecca Cooper, age 60; his brother Samuel Cooper, age 20, basketmaker. Also on board were Charles Clamore, age 26, basketmaker; Bebey Cooper, age 28, occupation was "wife" and her
daughter Victory, age 12. A few members of the Stanley family were on board also: Benjamin Stanley, age 25, laborer, his wife Mary, age 25, and their children Leroy, age 8 months, and Genty, age 5; William Stanley, age 22, laborer and his wife Phebe, age 23. This actually totaled twenty people, not ten as reported by the newspaper.

In 1852, the New York Times again reported that the above listed Gypsy brothers Richard and Samuel Cooper were arrested by the deputy sheriff “for cheating Mr. Caspaf Urban, at Bedford, in a horse trade” (New York Times 1852). The Cooper family apparently had not moved westward but instead stayed in New York and began horse trading for a living. From about 1860 through about 1863 the COOPERS were in Virginia, as two of Samuel’s children were born there. By the 1870 census, Richard Cooper’s wife had apparently died as there was no wife listed, nor were his children listed, so the children had probably married and were living elsewhere or had died. Richard and Samuel Cooper and their mother Rebecca were residing in the same household in Somerville, Middlesex County, Massachusetts and were enumerated in the 1870 Federal Census:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cooper, Richard</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>horse dealer</td>
<td>England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>horse dealer</td>
<td>England</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The accusation of horse dealing in bad faith in 1852 did not apparently follow them to Massachusetts. The Coopers were either not guilty of the crime or chose to stay on the right side of the law by the time they settled in Massachusetts. The COOPERS had found stability as well as their niche in local society. The Richard and Samuel Cooper families were both still in the same location ten years later according to the 1880 Federal Census. Richard and Samuel had both remarried and had additional children. Both were listed as horse traders. Their mother Rebecca Cooper was not listed with either brother. She was probably deceased before the 1880 Federal Census. The Cooper’s neighbors in 1880 were not other Gypsies but persons of middle class occupations: grocer, salesman, tinsmith, music teacher, painter, carpenter, real estate agent, and factory workers. Only one child, Charlotte, was attending school in
1870. By 1880 all the school-age children in these two families were attending school.

Gypsies were already well ensconced in the South by 1856. They were usually called Egyptians and frequently intermarried with the Blacks and Mulattos; those in Louisiana frequently spoke both Spanish and French. They immersed themselves in the local culture so successfully over time they were no longer "Egyptians" but rather had assimilated into the general population (Frederick Law Olmstead 1856 in Marchbin 1939: 120).

By 1866 there was a sufficient number of Gypsies in the United States to be mentioned in the Journal of the Senate for March 26, 1866, when a new law was being discussed about whether someone born in the United States could claim citizenship.

This provision comprehends . . . the people called Gypsies . . . every individual of these races [Chinese, Gypsy, Negro, Mulatto, colored, African born] born in the United States, is by this bill made a [federal] citizen of the United States. (Journal of the Senate 1866)

The bill was not passed but later this provision was included in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
One of the earliest published on-ship stories of Gypsies is found in the *New York Times* in 1867. The Gypsies were wintering in Brooklyn at the time. The group had left England for the United States about 1863 for several reasons. The foremost reason was that their numbers had become so great that it was necessary to break up the original group into a smaller ones for the practicalities of living. Second, there were changes in England brought on by the "march of civilization," including the railroads gobbling up the countryside, and the Gypsies were failing to adapt to the "new" ways of life. Earning a living in England had become more difficult for them. Once on the ship bound for America, they found an opportunity too good to pass up.

They knew that all on board were coming here to better their condition, and as soon as it became known that they (the gypsies) were on board there was an almost frantic rush to them, by the other passengers, to have their fortunes told. (*New York Times* 1867)

The passengers willingly paid the half crown fee. The Gypsies told over 800 fortunes in three days, and the Gypsies were able to earn a great deal of money for their endeavors. This money carried them to Canada. Later they traveled to Boston, then the southern states and then back
up to Brooklyn where they were wintering in 1867. The Brooklynites flocked to the Gypsies to have their fortunes told and, at the same time, feared them for possible theft of their poultry. The Gypsies, however, had no need to steal food as they were making a sufficient amount of money for their daily needs by fortunetelling (New York Times 1867).

Another group of Gypsies arrived in New York in late March or early April of 1870 and camped on the outskirts of the city. A reporter for the New York Times attempted to interview the chief of the group "but interviewing was a refinement of civilization which the Zingari are not yet able to appreciate. The interviewer was seen to fly, with a fierce dog making straight for his nether garments" (New York Times 1870). The reporter of the interviewer's story could not seem to make up his mind as to what to call the Gypsies: the commentary was titled "The Romany Chals;" the Gypsies were also labeled "Zingari," "Romany chi," "Egyptians," and "Gitanos." The author apparently did not understand the differences between the different groups of Gypsies. This particular group of Gypsies came to the United States because
They have heard of the vast forests and prairies which stretch beyond the settlements of man, and desire only to reach some place where they may live in their own way, and hold communion with the Gentiles merely when they desire to carry out their irregular trade. (New York Times 1870)

In the late 1800s, Switzerland’s prominent citizens would sponsor the poor by taking them off the streets and sending them to America. Apparently, the Swiss government did not want people living on the streets or in tents and wagons. In 1875, Thomas Wolfe, head of a wealthy Swiss family, began sending members of the Fazendin family (Spanish Gypsies who had arrived in Switzerland), one at a time, to America by way of New Orleans. Other brothers came in 1876 and 1877. The last brother arrived in 1878, traveling with his sister. The four brothers and one sister eventually made their way to the Dakotas where the United States government was giving away Indian land. They denied their Gypsy ancestry to protect themselves and later generations did not believe they were Gypsies at all once the truth was told of the ancestry (Palmer 2000: personal email and http://foclark.tripod.com/gypsy/spanishgypsy.htm). In 1879, the MAKKUS family arrived in the United States. It was several generations later that the MAKKUS descendents
learned they were of Gypsy descent. Johann and Mina Makkus were both born in Germany and were Sinti Gypsies. They hid their ethnic identity and passed as white German-Americans (Ista 2001: personal email). In the 1880 Federal Population Census for Mapleton, Blue Earth County, Minnesota, Johann and Rosina Makkus and their three daughters are listed as "boarders on visit" and all were born in Prussia. By 1900, Johann was now "John," a farmer, and Mina/Rosina was now "Anna." The birth place for both John and Anna was Germany and they were residing in Lyons Township, Wadena County, Minnesota. John was born in 1824, Anna was born in 1831, and they had been married for 43 years. Anna was the mother of seven children, three of whom were still living. In 1903, Johann Makkus was issued a land patent for three sections for homesteading lands in the public domain in Wadena County, Minnesota (Bureau of Land Management 1903: http://www.gloreCORDS.blm/).

The stories above are just a few of the thousands of untold stories of Gypsy immigration during the time frame of 1850-1879. If we could uncover those other stories and follow the families through the years we would be able to learn a lot about the early Gypsy immigrant experience.
CHAPTER FOUR

GYPSY IMMIGRATION 1880-1930

Gypsy immigration from 1880 through 1930 was the third wave of immigration. This was a time when both Western and Eastern European Gypsies began to arrive in large numbers—several hundred at the same time on the same ship. On the ship’s passenger list, a few were identified as Gypsies but most were identified only by their country of origin. When Ellis Island became the debarkation point for immigrants in 1892, the officials chose not to have a category for Gypsies. The officials, however, did have the right to refuse entry to anyone who might become a dependent of the state. Some Gypsies were deported and some made the cut and were allowed to stay.

In 1895, the New York Times reported that a recently arrived group of Gypsies was about to depart for the West. Their leader was listed as Juan Miguel and it mentioned that the group had traveled as second class passengers on the S. S. Philadelphia and therefore did not have to pass through the Ellis Island portals. The immigrants were reportedly from Bulgaria and Hungary arriving in the United States by way of Brazil. They were planning on traveling to
California but stopping first in Washington, D. C. to visit the Brazilian Embassy and give their regards to the Brazilian Ambassador (New York Times 1895). When I found the passenger list for these travelers on the S. S. Philadelphia, which arrived in New York on July 17, 1895, there were 73 persons listed in second class. The native country for the first seven passengers was listed as the United States, Cuba, Columbia, or France. The others were all listed as natives of Brazil or Venezuela, not Bulgaria or Hungary as reported by the New York Times. Juan Miguel’s age was 32. Surnames of the Brazilian and Venezuelan passengers were MIGUEL, NOCOLO, GRIFO, NICOLAS, USLAR, WAY, FALA, JUAN, ANA, BOSCILKA, MARKS, and a few others whose names were difficult to decipher in the handwritten text.

Sometime between 1885 and 1888, the BUCKLIN family arrived in the United States. They traveled around the East and the South, from Maine to Georgia and as far west as Ohio, finally settling more permanently in Yonkers, New York. Plato Bucklin was the leader, along with his wife Betsy. Plato was the seventh son of a seventh daughter and had lots of daughters himself. Plato’s occupation was a maker of “clothes pegs” but other males in the group were
horse traders. The women, in addition to housekeeping, were
fortunetellers and basketmakers (Childe 1899).

The immigration story of a Gypsy Queen is told by the
New York Times in 1896. Queen Stella Gonzalez was a Spanish
Gypsy and fortuneteller who was accepted into mainstream
New York society. Mrs. Egbert Guernsey sent out invitations
to a soiree to introduce Queen Stella. Mrs. Guernsey
explains to all that:

Queen Stella is one of the brightest and most
fascinating women I have ever met. She is Queen of the
Gonzalez tribe of Spanish gypsies and I am pleased to
show her honor. She is highly cultured, speaks several
languages and has come to this country to prepare the
way for the coming of the Gonzalez tribe. (New York
Times 1896)

The total tribe in New York at this time consisted of
about 57 people. Stella lived with several people in a
luxurious apartment on Sixty-sixth Street in a very
respectable neighborhood. In the apartment, they conducted
their business of palmistry and seances (New York Times
1896).

From the biographical account of Stella, we learn that
her mother and father were both Spanish Gypsies. Her father
was "lost" at age five and adopted by a nobleman and he was
also the brother of Pedro Gonzalez, who later became chief
of the tribe. Stella’s mother, Maraquita, was made a queen at age fifteen. While attending a ball, Maraquita met a fifty-year-old nobleman (Gypsy born, adopted by noble family), married him and deserted her tribe. He had previously been married and had a son who would be heir to the title and property. Since she would receive nothing at her husband’s death and also greatly missed her Gypsy family, sadness overcame Maraquita and she left her husband, taking three-year-old Stella with her. At age five, Stella was placed in a convent for care until she was fifteen. Maraquita then removed Stella from the convent and took Stella to meet her father, the nobleman. Stella was then given the choice to stay with either her father or her mother. She chose to stay with her mother. Later Stella tried to reunite her mother with her tribe and, in doing so, fell in love with her cousin, which was forbidden. Chief Pedro made Stella a queen and sent her to New York to pave the way for the tribe to follow later after his (Chief Pedro’s) death. Stella was to purchase appropriate land to settle on and a place to store the ancient family treasures. After Stella’s arrival in New York she visited Boston where she met Dr. Dowling, whom she later married.
Stella spoke six or seven languages and could also read several languages (New York Times, 1896).

The S. S. Byron arrived in New York from Brazil on August 21, 1902. The passengers were natives of Greece, Serbia, or Italy with their last place of residence as Buenos Aires. This group was not identified as Gypsies but their surnames indicate a possibility that they were: IVANOVICH, ELIAS, ADAMOVICH, MAZCOVICH, JUANOVICH. All occupations were listed as none or laborer and at least two families had considerable sums of money on them ($3,000 and $2,500).

The S. S. Tennyson arrived in New York, also from Buenos Aires, on November 20, 1903. The passengers on this ship were identified as ethnic Gypsies from Serbia. The families traveling on this ship were thirty members of the STEFANOVIC, MARCOVICH, and GAICH families and were going to join Jovan Marcovich in Boston or Rango Jovanovich in San Francisco. None of this group arrived with a lot of money. Most family heads had only thirty dollars.

On August 23, 1904, the Cunard Line steamship S. S. Carpathia left Liverpool and arrived in New York eleven days later on September 2, 1904. On board was a group of
200 Gypsies led by José Michel, who said they were bound for Winnipeg, Canada, to start a colony. Michel also claimed they were "not Gypsies, but just a band of rovers" (New York Times 1904a). They were detained on Ellis Island for several reasons: first of all because many children were infected with measles; and second, because the United States government wanted to deport them because they feared the Gypsies would return to the United States via the Canadian border and become a burden to the public (New York Times 1904b).

According to the article, there were originally 25 children stricken with measles by the time they landed at Ellis Island (New York Times 1904a). Measles is an air born virus and can be caught by simply being in the same room as an infected person. The average time between exposure to the measles virus and the development of symptoms is from ten to fourteen days (National Foundations of Infectious Diseases, 2000, http://www.nfid.org/factsheets/measlesadult.html). The children could have been infected with measles before boarding the ship or as soon as they boarded from others on board. The children were removed from Ellis Island and
taken to Kingston Avenue Hospital, Brooklyn. By September 5, 1904, forty children were infected (New York Times 1904b). While the parents had no objections to children receiving medical treatment, they became very upset when a group of Gypsies came to Ellis Island as visitors and reported that the hospital was drowning the sick children! Needless to say, the parents who were still on board the S. S. Carpathia, especially the mothers, started a riot the next morning. When the Chief of Staff Robinson arrived later in the day, he tried to appease them by allowing a few parents to visit the children to confirm the drowning rumors simply were not true. Unfortunately, he had to rescind the visit because 150 parents signed up to go. In the end, one set of parents reported that the hospital was treating all the children well (New York Times 1904b).

This 1904 incident was a case of misunderstanding on the part of the parents, the Gypsy visitors, hospital officials, and the Ellis Island guards and staff. The guards initially had no idea why the parents were rioting and the staff could not understand why the parents thought their children were being drowned. The hospital staff had no contact with the parents so they also did not know of
the events that had occurred on Ellis Island. If several parents had been allowed to attend to the children in the hospital while they were being treated, the misunderstanding would not have occurred in the first place.

When comparing the above story with the statistics based on the passenger list of the S. S. Carpathia, I found that the actual number of measles infected persons was 42, which included adults, and only five persons died from the measles. Of the 210 Gypsy passengers, only 77 were admitted to the United States and the remainder were deported. A large number of this group were going to join Agent C. McLaughlin at the address of 1 Broadway, New York City, New York. Some were going to join Anton Mitchell in Coney Island, New York. The biggest discrepancy of the above article was a typographical error in the name of the leader Jose Michel. There was no “Jose Michel” on board, although there was a “Joe Mitchell,” age 26. Most of the Gypsies on board the S. S. Carpathia were identified on the passenger list as ethnic Gypsies, and those who were not identified as Gypsies had the same surname as those who were. The previous residence of most was Libowa, Russia, but their
nationalities were listed as Russian, Austrian, Servian, Greek, Hungarian, and a few as United States citizens.

As the above information indicates, the descendants of Gypsies in the United States come from a variety of backgrounds, countries, and experiences. In addition, I have corresponded with a few persons whose Gypsy ancestors escaped the German persecution by emigration and some even helped with the underground escape of Gypsies from German controlled countries during the World War II era. Unfortunately, there is little documentation on specific families. It would be historically significant to locate and document the stories of Gypsies who participated in the underground movement in Europe in the escape of Gypsies to other countries.
CHAPTER FIVE

MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT

Many non-Gypsies believe that Gypsies originally wandered aimlessly for no useful purpose other than to escape the wrath of the law. Those Gypsies who moved frequently did so for a variety of reasons, the most common of which was economic. They had to travel to earn a living. A secondary reason for moving was to avoid problems between two Gypsy families until their differences could be settled by the elders or by a kris (council or court). There were times when they were chased out of town because simply because they were Gypsies and were compelled to leave before the law could catch up with them. Most Gypsies did obey the laws of the town they were in simply because they might need or want to come back.

Settlement, for the purposes of this thesis, refers to any group of Gypsies who permanently or semi-permanently are residing in a given area. Settlement infers a certain lifestyle, either chosen or forced upon them, which includes education (or lack of); laws that affected Gypsies, including those they choose to fight against; organizations they formed or were formed on their behalf;
and occupations that have become sedentary or semi-
migratory. Permanency also infers regular burial places
they could frequent to pay tribute to their loved ones.

Rena Gropper has divided Gypsy migration and
settlement patterns into four types. The first pattern is
the Camp Period which, for her purposes, is the 1880s
through 1925. This was a time when Gypsy groups camped in
the forests in large groups during the winter and moved
freely about the country in smaller groups when the weather
allowed them to travel comfortably (Gropper 1975: 18).

The years 1925 through 1933 were the years of the
Transitional Period during which time the Gypsies were
changing from horses to cars, from traveling to semi-
permanency. The later half of these years was also the time
of the Great Depression (Gropper 1975: 18).

The Crisis Period for Gypsies was from 1933 through
1945. With the election of President Roosevelt, welfare
programs kicked in, and Gypsies headed back to the bigger
cities to take advantage of the programs. In order to take
advantage of some of the benefits, they also had to conform
to some non-Gypsy standards (Gropper 1975: 19).
The Plateau Period began in 1945 and started a period of anti-Gypsy sentiment and of a law-enforcement crackdown on Gypsies and their occupations. As a consequence, Gypsies began breaking up into smaller, less visible groups (Gropper 1975: 21).

In the early 1900s Gypsies moved frequently, and they became creative in ways to stay in touch with family and friends such as the "Gypsy Post Office" in Fort Smith, Arkansas. W. C. Cole and his wife Mary began forwarding Gypsy mail in 1907, which rapidly expanded over the years. Cole had been adopted at age eleven into a Gypsy clan and had traveled in every state of "Old Mexico" until he reached adulthood. Cole was well-versed in the Gypsy language and began keeping accurate records of Gypsy movements.

In 1917, Steve Costello, king of the Spanish Gypsies and son of Miller Costello, asked the Coles to be the central point of communication between the tribal members. Miller and Steve Costello left the United States about 1929. In the Costello's letters to the Coles they wrote of their present locations. They also wrote that business was poor in Parana, Brazil, and they were moving to another
Brazilian town and would eventually be moving back to the United States. The Coles also received letters from American Gypsies who had traveled to Australia reporting of poor business opportunities there and that they too would be returning soon to the United States (Hicks 1932).

Mary Cole, a gorgio (non-Gypsy) also frequently acted as administratrix for the Gypsies', handling considerable amounts of money (New York Times, 1927). When Yonko Urich, king of the Russian Gypsies, died in Fort Smith in 1923, Mary acted as the administrator of his estate which was valued at $80,000, $40,000 of that was in cash (Hicks 1932).

Starting in 1929, many Gypsies began leaving the United States to go to South America, especially Brazil, Central America, and Mexico. Many Gypsies were off American soil by the time of the Great Depression (Hicks 1932). In 1935 John Costell, a Spanish Gypsy, tells the New York Times they are returning to Spain on the Cunard White Star liner Scythia ...

...because the conditions which lured them here in the "good old days" no longer obtain [pertained]. The United States will have to get along without us for a while. The New Deal is difficult for the Gypsy to grasp because the Gypsy lives by and for gold and silver, pieces of money, tinkling money that glistens
and jingles well in the pockets. . . We never knew at what moment a Federal Treasury agent would bear down on us and take away our movable treasury...We are only going to be gone until America is prosperous and then we will return and help make the country happy again. (New York Times 1935)

In 1933 and 1934, President Roosevelt had halted exchanges in gold and silver and requested that all gold and silver bouillon be exchanged for paper money (New York Times 1933b, 1934). The Gypsies were very much opposed to turning over their gold and silver to the Treasury Department.

After World War II, Gypsies began settling more and traveling less. While the kumpania (or working unit) has existed for several hundred years, it became more obvious to the non-Gypsy population when Gypsies became more visible in a particular community.

Yoors viewed the kumpania, at least for the pre-World War II European Gypsies, as a

...loose temporary association, forever kept fluid, scattering and regrouping as new patterns of interests developed, alliances shifted and old relationships waned...the kumpania adapted itself to all circumstances, without in any way changing its own nature, endlessly remolding itself but forever remaining true to its own essence. (Yoors 1967: 121)
Each _kumpania_ controlled a specific territory. If another Gypsy group came into their territory, the new group was to give compensation to the primary group to make up for the loss of income the new group would cause the first group. In exchange, the primary group would help the secondary group ease into the community, introduce them to the authorities, and teach them the local language if they spoke a different tongue. This was also a mechanism to build goodwill with other groups because you could then expect the same treatment from other groups in your time of need in a new place (Yoors 1967: 122).

In America, with its more urban environment, the _kumpania_ became the central place of residence that people returned to as their main base. Sutherland has pointed out that the American _kumpaniyi_ (plural) is less fluid and more bound to a specific territory. Each _kumpania_ holds a monopoly on the economic resources of their territory and the families in the _kumpania_ cooperate with each other as partners in exploiting those resources (Sutherland 1975a: 2). "The _kumpania_ is the basic unit of public, moral, social, and political behavior which comes under the authority of the kris romani. . . . The _kumpania_ is not a kin
group; it contains a cross-section of various kin groups" (Sutherland 1975a: 3). The kumpania is the largest social and ceremonial group as well as the largest economic group (Sutherland 1975a: 3).

There are three forms of the kumpania. The first type of kumpania is one that holds a monopoly on the resources in a territory and has a strong leader. The second type is made up closely related kin groups but is dominated by one family. The third form is open territory. This type can be explosive and may eventually lead to a primary family emerging as the dominant family and becoming the second type of kumpania (Sutherland 1975a: 4).

The economic relationships Gypsies have with other Gypsies is different than their relationships with non-Gypsies. The Gypsies earn their living from non-Gypsies and therefore try to manipulate the situation to their advantage. The government officials (policemen, social workers, shopkeepers, etc.) have their own motives for dealing with the Gypsies such as getting their children to attend school and getting them to comply with garbage regulations. The Gypsies play on these motives to diminish the threat of control from the non-Gypsies. "Economic
relations between Rom are based on co-operation and mutual aid, and it is generally considered immoral to earn money from other Rom" (Sutherland 1975a: 21).

One of the economic advantages of a kumpania is the partnership concept. The Gypsy men and women form partnerships within their own sex. The money earned is shared equally between them. If a young person is in training or unmarried, he or she might receive a lesser share of money earned, while an elder may have a greater share out of respect. Generally partners are about the same age, but women may partner with their adult daughters or daughters-in-law (Sutherland 1975a: 22-23).

Another economic advantage of the kumpania is that it protects the resources from new Gypsy groups. The new group must have the permission of the kumpania in order to settle there. If they fail to get permission, they may find themselves arrested for some infringement of the law and one of the members of the local kumpania having been the informant (Sutherland 1975a: 23).

A third economic advantage of the kumpania is the fact that it can help others in their group that are in need. Usually this is accomplished by collections. Each family
contributes a little to the fund, usually started by the kumpania leader. The money then can be used simply to feed, clothe, and house a needy family or perhaps send them to a funeral or a wedding of a family member, or to special celebrations.

Collections are a kind of insurance scheme because a Rom who gives freely in collections can expect to get help himself at some time in his life. Those who are mean with their contributions lose respect in the community. (Sutherland 1975a: 23)

The people that made up the kumpania can vary throughout the year. In Sutherland’s Barvale community of the mid-1960s, fifteen of the households traveled twenty-six percent of the year and eighteen households traveled fifty-six percent of the year (Sutherland 1975a: 15). There appeared to be a certain amount of the Barvale Gypsy community that was permanently settled there, with the rest using it a home base. A household may also be a member of two kumpaniyi—one in the winter and one in the summer, doing different types of work in different seasons to maximize their income (Sutherland 1975a: 17).

Nemeth, in describing the settlement patterns of the NICHOLAS family in Los Angeles during the 1960s, tells how the NICHOLAS family exploited the local resources in order
to retain their Gypsy lifestyle. What this means is that while the NICOLAS family frequently moved within the Los Angeles area, they remained physically close to non-Gypsy neighborhood businesses they trusted and frequented such as the local pawnshop, the “Gypsy” doctor’s office, the "Gypsy" hospital, the weekend flea market, the welfare office officials, and the “Gypsy” cemetery (Nemeth 2002: 173-174). The family was also more likely to rent a home other Gypsies had recently vacated as it would be “cleaner” than a home occupied by a non-Gypsy because the non-Gypsy does not follow the rules of marime (pollution).

There has never been a Gypsy ethnic community in Los Angeles, similar to Chinatown, with large concentrations of Gypsy families and businesses. The Gypsies are generally spread throughout the city. Gypsy families lived close enough to associate with each other but not close enough to encounter problems from being too close (Nemeth 2002: 175,178).

In his association with Thomas Nicholas, David Nemeth learned first-hand the migration patterns of the working family in the 1960s. Thomas Nicholas was a wipe-tinner. In other words, he re-coated metal cookware with tin. Tin
provides a protective coating and is non-poisonous. Tin also leaves no after-taste on any food prepared in tin-lined cookware (Nemeth 2002: 83-84). While Nicholas preferred to work in the Los Angeles area, he alternated between two yearly routes. His regular customers only needed repairs every two years, therefore he was able to alternate the two routes and stay in Los Angeles during the winter months (Nemeth 2002: 60).

Although the NICHOLAS family lived in or near Los Angeles for more than twenty years, they also lived in other states, including Alaska. Usually the reason for the move was economic but occasionally it was necessary to leave an area because of family disputes or to escape the wrath of customers or the law.

Gypsies in the South, according to Jared Harper, have been ignored by both anthropologists and historians. Harper recognized four distinct groups of Gypsies in the South numbering approximately fifteen to twenty thousand people. These groups are the "Continental European Gypsies, the English Gypsies, the Scottish Gypsies, and the Irish Travelers" (Harper 1966: 16). Harper did not distinguish European Gypsies by clan, such as Ludar, Rom, or Machwaya.
These “Continental European” groups are each as different as the Scottish, English, and Irish are different from each other and grouping them together is as incorrect as grouping all Gypsies from the British Isles together. Harper’s own research was with the Irish Travelers in the South. Harper posed many questions still to be addressed about Gypsies and Travelers in the South, including how many Gypsy groups really are in the South, how are they related and what part the Romany Gypsy play in the history of the South (Harper, 1966:23). For that matter, these questions could apply to all American Gypsies in all parts of the country.

Elizabeth Robins (1882) writes of a chance encounter with Gypsies in Philadelphia as early as 1882. According to Arlene Helen Bonos, at least four groups of Gypsies had settled permanently in Philadelphia by 1942: a tribe who were descendants of Roumanian Gypsies, a tribe from Mexico, a tribe from South America, and a tribe that “engaged in criminal activities” (Bonos 1942: 257-258). Bonos primarily discusses the practices of the Roumanian-American Gypsies. The leader of this Roumanian descent group (“E” tribe) was “ruled by a popularly chosen king from the upper
caste and a tribunal. . . He [the leader] is elected for life, by the rank and file of adults and is chosen for his physical and moral qualities" (Bonos 1942: 260).

According to Bonos, the caste system is indeed very real. The upper castes generally did not associate with the middle or lower caste Gypsies, although all castes helped each other (Bonos 1942: 262).

In 1966, Gypsy households were located in the marginal areas of Philadelphia, usually on busy streets, with their living quarters behind a store front business (Coker 1966: 85). Although writing about Philadelphia Gypsies, Coker was mainly concerned with the social organization of Gypsies. Most Philadelphia Gypsies knew the country they originated from but it was information that was not generally emphasized and went unnoticed until the use of regional words came up in the conversation, words not known to Gypsies of other European ancestry, such as a Gypsy Russian word not known by Gypsy Roumanians (Coker 1966: 86).

Hungarian Gypsies began to settle in the Detroit municipality of Delray about 1920 after it was fully settled by Hungarian immigrants who had been attracted by the employment opportunities in the Detroit industries. By
1936, there were about 163 Hungarian Gypsies settled in this area. "Its most striking characteristic was the small percentage of persons in older age groups . . . due partly to the recentness of the settlement in Detroit" (Beynon 1936: 364). The Hungarian Gypsies settled on the western fringes of Delray. This location fit their normal pattern of living at the fringe of Hungarian towns. The location of the Hungarian Gypsies separated the Polish settlement from the Hungarian settlement (Beynon 1936: 364).

The avowed purpose of the Hungarian Gypsies in their migration to Detroit was to perform a function in the economy of the Hungarian Colony. They came in order to furnish music for the various entertainments which constitute the major part of the leisure-time activities of a Hungarian group. (Beynon 1936: 365)

The Gypsy musicians provided the music for weddings, baptisms, private parties, and dances sponsored by churches and other organizations. As in Philadelphia, the Hungarian Gypsies had a caste system. Men who were full-time musicians had a higher status than those who were only part-time musicians. The full-time musicians were from Saros County, Hungary, and the part-time musicians were from Zemplen County, Hungary. The Gypsies from the two areas disliked each other and did not associate nor did they inter-marry. The full-time musicians looked down on
Gypsies who performed manual labor in addition to their part-time musical jobs (Beynon 1936: 366). There were not enough Gypsy musicians to provide for all the entertainment needed and this fact alone attracted more Gypsy musicians to Detroit (Beynon 1936: 365). When a Gypsy male musician married outside the Gypsy community, he generally gave up music as a profession (Beynon 1936: 367). Children were trained to play an instrument because music was so important to the Hungarian Gypsies. Sometimes the older boys who were taking lessons earned money by teaching the younger boys to play an instrument (Beynon 1936: 368). During the Great Depression, non-Gypsy Hungarian peasant bands provided competition for the Gypsy bands due to the lack of jobs. Part of the problem was that the younger generation wanted to hear jazz music that the Gypsy musicians could not play well (Beynon 1936: 369).

Roving Gypsies have been in California at least since 1870 from San Francisco to Los Angeles, and even in the Inland Empire. Prominent California Gypsy leaders of the 1900s were Alex, Mark, and George Adams (Sacramento Bee 1917; Nemeth 2002: 158-159); Tom Merino (Nemeth 2002: 158); John Merino (Dean 1986); Barbara Miller (Sutherland 58
1975b: 35); John "Spero" Marks and Steve Marks (San Bernardino Telegram 1946); Miller Marks (Los Angeles Times 1981); and Steve Uwanawich (Nemeth 2002: 158). This is by no means an exhaustive list.

In 1870, migratory Gypsies were frequently seen on the streets of Santa Rosa, California, fortunetelling for a fee (LeBaron, et al 1985: 87). In March 1881, the Sonoma Democrat reported that "a large number of nomadic residents of Oregon are encamped near the Third Street bridges" (Sonoma Democrat 1881a: 3). Two weeks later, the same newspaper reported that the Gypsies had departed because their visit was a failure financial (Sonoma Democrat 1881b: 3). In 1893, Gypsies camped outside of Santa Rosa offered killing charms, and in 1903, they were chased out of town for vagrancy (LeBaron, et al 1985: 87).

Roumanian Gypsies were also found in San Miguel, California, at the turn of the twentieth century. They would camp at the outskirts of the city and the women would tell fortunes in exchange for food and clothing. The men were horse traders and barterers. These Gypsies were also musicians who sang and danced during the evening hours (Stanley 1985: 33).
The Inland Empire also had its share of Gypsies in the early years of the twentieth century. Gypsies camped every winter in the Corona Wash in Riverside County. The Gypsy women tried to earn money at fortunetelling. The Gypsy children were rounded up by the local officials to attend school. The parents did not like this because they felt their culture would be taken away should the children be educated (Leibert 1970: 36). The authors of Early Days did not give a time frame for when the Gypsies were observed to camp in the Corona Wash.¹

I reviewed the available business license books for the city of San Bernardino (1899-1936) at the San Bernardino County Archives and for the city of Riverside (1886-1926) at the Riverside Public Library to locate migratory Gypsies who had applied for licenses to practice palmistry and clairvoyance and to perform tarot card and psychic readings. While many of the applicants were probably not Gypsies, I found more Gypsies (identified by surnames) were practicing fortunetelling in Riverside before 1921, but

¹. Last year (2002) I telephoned the Jurupa Cultural Museum to locate more information but they had no additional information at the museum on Gypsies.
after 1921 there were more practicing fortunetelling in San Bernardino.

The earliest Gypsy fortunetellers in San Bernardino can be found in 1912: Mary John, Andy Wharton (males were not usually fortunetellers), Annie Stephens, and Mary Stephens. The cost of a business license in 1912 was two dollars a month and a few paid for three months. In 1913 fortunetellers again passed through San Bernardino: M. Boswell, Lepa Moreno, and Mary Lee. Later years included Aney Demitro (1915), Mary Adams (1923, 1924, 1927), Rosie Adams (1915), Mary and Lizzie Washo (both 1915), Mrs. Lovell (1915), Rongji Uwanawich (1920), Rosa Jack (1920), Julia Stanley (1921), Mary Miller (1921), Annie Stephens (1912, 1921), Rosie George (1922), Mary George (1922, 1924), Mary Nichols (1924, 1929), Rosie Nichols (1923, 1924), Angeline Nichols (1923, 1924), Kathryn Marks (1921, 1924), Mary Guach/Guich (1924), Lena Thompson (1925), Mary Thompson (1925), and Professor Frank Adams (1926, 1927). Many of the female fortunetellers, both Gypsy and non-Gypsy, used "Madam" as a title and therefore it was difficult to determine if these women were Gypsies or simply spiritualists practicing palmistry and clairvoyance.
Of the above listed fortunetellers, only Rongji Uwanawich and her husband Miller Uwanawich were listed in any of the city directories for San Bernardino and they were listed only for the year 1920. The largest number of Gypsies passing through San Bernardino occurred in the 1920s (San Bernardino City Business Licenses 1899-1936).

The first Gypsy fortuneteller in Riverside was Mary Adams in 1909 and she came through again in 1910 and 1921. I also found Mary John and Joe Stafanovict in 1918 and Rose Steve and Mary John in 1919. As in San Bernardino, the largest number of Gypsy fortunetellers passed through Riverside in the 1920s. Additional fortunetellers I found in Riverside included Mary Lee (1920), Stella Stanley (1921), Guy Mitchell (1922), Lena Miller (1922), Lena Nicholas (1923), Rosa Lee (1923), Mary Guy (1923), Annie Lee (1923), Steve Yanko (1923), Amelia John (1924), and Mary Guick/Guich (1924). There were no available license books between July 1926 and June 1953 for Riverside, so I was not able to compare fortunetellers in San Bernardino and Riverside for all of the same years. Some of the same names appear in both San Bernardino and Riverside so it would seem that some Gypsies practiced their fortunetelling
in both cities. (Riverside City Business Licenses 1826-1926)

This chapter covers only a few of the American cities in which Gypsies settled or passed through while practicing their crafts to earn a living. Gypsies were and still are found in most states, including Hawai'i and Alaska, and their stories are still waiting to be told. Because Gypsies do not readily share their stories with non-Gypsies, it is not likely we will learn their many stories of immigration, migration, and settlement.

In addition to moving within the United States, Gypsies also frequently moved between the United States and Canada and between the United States and Mexico, at least in the early 1900s. Once patrols became active along the Mexican border, travel between the two countries became more difficult. Gypsies might not be allowed back in the United States if they could not prove they were American citizens. It used to be relatively easy to cross both directions along the Canadian border without proof of American or Canadian citizenship, although this may have changed in recent years.
CHAPTER SIX
SCHOOLS AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Many Gypsies are functionally illiterate or can only read and write enough to get by in the educational system and job market. I have corresponded by email and letters with numerous Gypsies who have been able to read and write only marginally. Their correspondences were filled with many spelling and grammatical errors. Some Gypsies are becoming literate as adults and are to be commended for their efforts. A few are highly educated professionals.

Many modern day Gypsies feel "formal education is not germane to their way of life and that the American school system would tend to 'de-Gypsyize' their youngsters" (Kephart, 1982:6). By avoiding public education, they are also keeping themselves from many opportunities and rewards of the larger society (Kephart 1982: 46). Even though "separate but equal" schools may seem to be discrimination to the rest of America, in the case of the Gypsies, it would give them exactly what they need to educate their children. In 1972, the United States Supreme Court handed down a decision for the Amish that confirmed the Amish right to school their children in Amish schools with Amish
teachers, thereby protecting both their culture and their religion (Hostetler and Huntington 1992: 44). Many Native American Indian schools now have classes that teach them their culture. Sherman High School, in Riverside, California, currently teaches a full curriculum of college preparatory classes as well as classes on Indian history and cultures. Sherman High School encourages the students to explore their Indian-ness and learn the songs, dances, and language of their tribes.

Getting Gypsy children to attend school appears to be a long standing problem since states first passed laws requiring the education of children through a certain age. In Fall River, Massachusetts, in 1920, truant officers were sent to a Gypsy camp when the Child Protective Agency notified them there were school age children who were not attending school. The children did attend school when forced to go and rapidly learned basic skills. When the Gypsies did not stay long in Falls River, it was felt that

...this experiment [was] merely a stray bit of testimony as to what might be done, but if every community would enforce the attendance of these children at school the Gypsy might succumb through his second generation to American standards. (Godwin 1920: 447-448)
In other words, once Gypsies became educated they became Americanized and therefore have the culture of their birth.

In the truancy case of Falls Rivers, Massachusetts, just mentioned, parents gladly sent their children to school when confronted by the truancy officers. "Learning could be used to advantage to make life pleasanter for the Gypsies, so parents smiled and sent their children to school" (Godwin 1920: 448). At first, the Gypsy children were placed in their own classrooms but the odor of so many Gypsy students was offensive to the nose of the teacher so it was decided to intermingle the Gypsy children among the regular classrooms. The Gypsy children rapidly learned the basics of reading, writing, and mathematics as well as the customs of the non-Gypsy children. Unfortunately, they only stayed in school for two months before the Gypsies picked up stakes and moved again (Godwin 1920: 448).

In New York City in 1936, truant officers were kept busy trying to round up the Gypsy children who were not in school. It was estimated that there were over 1,000 Gypsy children but only a few hundred attended school regularly. The children were adept at avoiding the truant officers and
well-skilled in playing hooky. The parents also were a part of the officers’ problem because the parents used feast days as an excuse for the children to miss school. There are many feast days; weddings, divorces, and funerals, which all require a week’s worth of feasting. Other excuses used by the parents were that the child was over 16, the child in question was not their child, the child had no shoes or proper clothing to attend school, or the child was sick (New York Times 1936).

Many educational programs were tried throughout the 1900s. Some were successful from the viewpoint of the Gypsies and the educators but not from the viewpoint of the federal or state agency providing the educational program. The educators felt other programs worked best but they did not work out well from the Gypsies’ point of view. In some cases, Gypsies developed the programs and then the federal or a state agency replaced them with non-Gypsy employees, thereby taking the “Gypsy-ness” out of the program.

Gypsy Approved Programs

In New York in 1940, Steve Kaslov, King of the Red Dress Gypsies (originally from Russia), insisted that the men in his tribe learn to read and write. The men attended
night school in University Settlement. Steve Kaslov also attended these classes. In class he told the teacher, Miss Morris, that they were not quite ready to send the women to school. The elders would need to have a discussion amongst the men about whether to allow women to be educated. Kaslov mentioned he had written to Mrs. Roosevelt and that she had recommended the Work Projects Administration (W. P. A.) adult education for the Gypsy clans. Kaslov believed that the only way Gypsy men could succeed economically was to learn to read and write. There were now fewer jobs for Gypsies. There were no horses to swap as the automobiles had replaced horses as a means of transportation. There were no copper pots to repair as it cost less to buy aluminum pots than to repair copper pots. Therefore, education would help them get other types of jobs. (Berger 1940). It is unclear whether this program was successful or not.

In 1965, the earliest organized special schooling for the Romani in the United States was established in Richmond, California, near San Francisco. There were a few organizations that, while willing to enroll Romani students, would made no special provisions for them such as
special classes or tutors to bring them to the educational level of their age group. This educational attempt in Richmond later inspired Miller Stevens, a Gypsy leader, to take action in Tacoma, Washington, to create schooling for Gypsy children. The Richmond school experiment opened the way for others to create Gypsy schools in Seattle, Chicago, and Baltimore. This early schooling was not so much approved by the Romani parents as it was tolerated because they did not want to be arrested for not sending their children to school. Sending their children to school was the lesser of two evils for them. "The children found that they enjoyed classroom activities, within limits, and their fathers found the association with the school board brought them a status useful in their interaction with city officials" (Hancock 1999:

In 1969, Anne Sutherland (1975b: 23-24) spent some time helping organize a Gypsy school in the town of Barvale (a pseudonym), California. This anonymous city is apparently in the San Francisco Bay area. Sutherland held the position of Principal for about nine months. Sutherland was aided in her effort by Janet Tompkins of the local
welfare office. Tompkins had been working with the local Gypsies for several years and had helped organize the school. The welfare department had been after the families to send the children to school but the Gypsy parents were opposed to the American school system. However, they were willing to participate in a Gypsy school program. While the teachers and organizers were non-Gypsy, the school board included three Gypsy members elected from three of the vitsas (Gypsy clans). Hence, the Gypsy representatives were able to influence school policy. The elders and parents had absolute authority in the school setting. In other words, if they were not satisfied with the curriculum, they would remove their children from the school. With this program, their children were taught what they needed in a way that was acceptable to the parents. According to Sutherland, "[t]he politics involved in running a 'Gypsy school' are the same as the kumpania (work unit) politics since the school simply became an extension of general social relations both within and without the group" (Sutherland 1975a: 24).

For the school year 1973-1974, the state instituted a new educational program in Chicago for Gypsy children. From
the Gypsy's point of view, the program was a success but on the state's side it was a failure. It had all the makings of a good program with Gypsies actively involved in the educational process, but the state needed to show progress on paper before it would go forward with more funds for another year. The school was at night and students of any age were welcomed. A Kalderas Gypsy was named as a director and the number of Gypsy teachers equaled that of the non-Gypsy teachers. All teachers received the same pay regardless of their educational level. The teachers' union, of course, objected to the idea of Gypsy teachers receiving the same pay as credentialed teachers. There were disputes at the onset of the program. The Gypsy teachers taught the Romany language, culture, and art with equal time for the regular teachers to teach reading, writing, and mathematics. No attendance was taken or enforced and there was no formal disciplinary structure, nor was there any residential requirement for attending this school, unlike other state funded schools. Males and females were separated so there would be no competition between them. The Chicago school district refused to fund the program so it was instead funded by a group of suburban school
districts instead. After six months the school closed down because the board declined to provide additional funds and no other means could be found to fund the school. Part of the problem with this program was there were no testing procedures in place. Only the teacher decided if a student had made progress and therefore there was nothing tangible to show the board (Kearney 1981: 50-53).

Gypsy Initiated Programs

In 1973, John Ellis, leader of a Portland, Oregon, Romani community, approached the State Governor for a community center for the local Romani. It was to be an educational center for children and adults with a focus on literacy. The Portland School District agreed to enroll the children on the condition that this Gypsy-run program would prepare the children to enter mainstream classrooms later on. There was to be a summer school for young adults over 18 years of age, a vocational program for younger children, and evening classes for kindergarten through eighth grade. The program was to be funded by four different agencies. However, few children attended the school. This problem was partially solved by hiring “Special Gypsy Counselors” from the Romani community to serve as a liaison between the
school and the community. Nonetheless, the vocational
training program died out after the second year (Hancock

Miller Stevens, a baro (leader) of the Rom community
in Washington State and a local car dealer, kept up with
the latest developments in the civil rights movements of
the late 1960s. He sought similar gains for his people
(Tyrner-Stastny 1977: 29).

In 1968, he traveled to Washington, D. C., to meet
with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
[H. E. W.] officials about the plight of his people,
many of who were subsisting on welfare and most of who
were illiterate. He succeeded in having the Gypsies
declared an official ethnic minority by H. E. W.,
which made them eligible for a variety of new
programs. (Tyrner-Stastny 1977: 29)

With a grant from the office of Economic Opportunity,
he started a Head Start school for Rom children, many of
whom were his own grandchildren. The school was initially
based in his store front home (Tyrner-Stastny 1977: 29).

Miller Stevens also solicited for a program to teach
adults, mostly men who were also car dealers like himself.
Most were working without a business license because they
could not pass the application test. By becoming literate,
they could pass the tests and obtain a legal business
license. The program was funded by the Department of
Vocational Rehabilitation. The program included classroom work and on-the-job training at Miller Stevens' car lot. This program was very successful and five out of six initial students received loans from the Small Business Loans Administration. By April 1976, eighteen men had been trained in this program (Tyrner-Stastny 1977: 29-30).

Ephraim Stevens, brother to Miller Stevens, was a community organizer in the 1970s for the Seattle-King County Economic Opportunity Board. In 1973, on the heels of the board granting money for a Chicano center, he attempted to gain funds for a Gypsy community center. A center was set up with Ephraim Stevens as the "Gypsy counselor." A day school was established for children and a night school for adults. Ephraim Stevens hired a university student as a teacher and worked there himself to keep a Gypsy hand in the program. However, the financiers of the program eventually made him leave because he was pushing for more programs and because he was illiterate himself (Tyrner-Stastny 1977: 30-31). While the program was successful for the educators, the program was unsuccessful from the viewpoint of the Gypsy leaders who now had no say in the program. Ephraim Stevens also worked for a few months with
the Model Cities Program. This program was to train "men to become legitimate used car dealers" (Tyrner-Stastny 1977: 31). This program was ended because the funds apparently ran out (Tyrner-Stastny 1977: 31).

James Marks II, of Spokane, was a young man in the 1970s. He proclaimed himself "Senator of the Gypsies." He attempted to promote educational opportunities for the Gypsies in the Northwest. The night school that he helped to establish in Spokane had Headstart classes for children, literacy classes for adults, and sewing classes for women. Marks also set up a Gypsy cultural center in Spokane which closed after six months due to lack of funds (Tyrner-Stastny 1977: 32).

Marks eventually went on to national level issues including creating a Gypsy Cultural Center at the Smithsonian Institute. Ephraim Stevens moved to Chicago to help start a program with Tom Nicholas. Miller Stevens worked with H. E. W. to obtain grants to promote Gypsy programs in five states. Miller Stevens met with Stanley Stevens, a Rom leader from Baltimore, to give him tips in setting up a program in Maryland (Tyrner-Stastny 1977: 34; Hancock, 1999:

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These Gypsy men continued to work towards Gypsy education and vocational job training in spite of initial disappointments. The Gypsy leaders needed to be a part of both the promotional efforts and the programs themselves. When other agencies took over these programs completely, the programs failed because Gypsies were no longer had control over the program.

In 1973 Kaiser Stevens, a Rom leader of Tacoma, Washington, started an educational program focusing on vocational training and funded by the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation. Unfortunately, funding was contingent upon the condition that the Romani children enrolled be forced to attend school or sent to foster homes. The result of this program led to the submission of a proposal titled The Gypsy Educational Development Program (Hancock 1999: http://www.geocities.com/Paris/5121/schooling.htm). This proposal appeared to be a doctoral thesis that was not initiated by the Gypsies, although a GED program for the Romani community did come out of it (Hancock 1999: http://www.geocities.com/Paris/5121/schooling.htm).
Texas Test Program

A Texas proposal seems a possible solution for other states to follow. It may have taken its lead from previous programs in California, Oregon, and Washington in order to create a better educational system for Gypsies. This program proposed: (1) traveling classrooms due to the wide dispersal of the Gypsy population; (2) recruiting Gypsy teachers; (3) kris (Gypsy tribunal or council) approval of subjects taught; and (4) basic courses in reading, writing, and mathematics, Romani history and United States history. Primer books would be created and the pilot project would be conducted in the classrooms to determine the feasibility of the program (Hancock 1999: http://www.geocities.com/Paris/5121/schooling.htm).

There will never be one perfect answer to the solution of the education of Gypsy children and adults. However, the Gypsy community needs to be involved in whatever process takes place. Most certainly, teachers who are culturally sensitive to Gypsy needs are required before the educational process will be effective. It would seem that the best solution for increasing the success rate among Gypsy children is the "separate but equal" educational
program. Gypsy parents do not want boys and girls competing in the same classroom or to be in "unclean" classrooms with non-Gypsies. Yet many Gypsies really do want their children to be educated, but not at the cost of losing their cultural identity.

United States educators cannot let the educational system train Gypsies solely in bare minimum literacy and vocational skills as has happened in many Eastern European schools. Gypsies should not be treated as if they are mentally retarded or mentally disabled, as has been done in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Germany (MacLean 2000: http://www.new-prenence.cz/00/01/case.html; Connolly 2000: http://www/guardian.co.uk/international/story/0,3604,211718,00.html). They deserve an education that is equal to that given to the rest of the population. The standards should be college preparatory, although vocational skills should still be offered so they have a choice of what THEY want.

Teachers who have knowledge of Gypsy culture and history are needed. Gypsy adults should have educational roles that enhance and teach the Gypsy cultural traditions and oral history. Classes should include Gypsy history and special text books should be created to embrace the
history, culture and Romani language. For those Gypsies who wish to be educated in the mainstream society classrooms, there should be available tutors or after school instruction, if necessary. The Gypsy students should never be made to feel they are different or stupid, or make them feel they can never achieve that better life we all seek.
Gypsy practices dealing with death have received little attention. There has been very little written on Gypsy headstones. Funeral customs also have few sources. There are certainly no comparative studies between the various Gypsy groups. Most writers have concentrated on specific cultural aspects of Gypsy lifestyle such as marriage practices, marime (pollution) rules, occupations, and the kris Romani. Any mention of deaths and burials is usually only a small part of a larger work.

Because one will not find a "Gypsy town" similar to Chinatown, Little Tokyo, Little Saigon, and Little Italy, there is little physical evidence of Gypsies' presence in a given town other than the occasional psychic reader or palm reader establishment or an occasional negative newspaper article. The local cemetery, however, can provide evidence of a large Gypsy community in a given area if one knows what to look for and has the name of at least one Gypsy who is buried there. If you can locate one Gypsy buried in a given cemetery, most likely you will find many more.
While my own research took place at two cemeteries in Los Angeles County, California, research in other cemeteries could be easily done at other cemeteries across the nation. This chapter will discuss a few death and burial practices including my own headstone studies.

Gypsy Funerals

Solidarity in times of crisis is a trademark of Gypsies. When a Gypsy relative or acquaintance becomes seriously ill or has died, they drop everything and leave as soon as possible to support the person's immediate family or to attend the funeral. It does not matter if the crisis is in the next town, the next state, or across the country (Sutherland 1975b: 98). If they do not have travel funds, the kumpania (work unit) will raise the money for them.

Gypsy funerals are usually performed by the local priest or minister of whatever faith they have been practicing. A Christian funeral combined with Gypsy funeral customs provides them the comfort and satisfaction that they have done everything in their power to prevent the spirit of the deceased from returning to haunt the living.
Gypsy funeral customs do not necessarily match that of the church. While the funeral service at the church is a solemn occasion, the social activity at the cemetery and after the funeral is quite a different matter. Gypsies believe in celebrating the life of the deceased and that he or she "has left this human world to return to the land of his ancestors and of unborn souls" (Gropper 1975: 171-172). The singing, drinking, and dancing fulfils the "need to entertain the dead soul of their kinsman" (Gropper 1975: 71-172) and it also reassures the deceased "that his obligations to the living have been fulfilled" (Gropper 1975: 171-172). The entertainment allows the deceased to know that the living are "reconciled to the separation" and are urging "him to begin his final journey" (Gropper 1975: 171-172).

Sometimes this celebration for the deceased can result in a raucous party with alcoholic drinks. Gropper relates a story about a New York Mačvaja Gypsy funeral in which the young priest was offended by the "party" attitude of the family and friends of the deceased. Some of the Gypsies took the priest aside and told him that "he was being paid to deliver the funeral oration but the rest of the rites
were in the hands of the Rom. 'He doesn't know our ways. He’ll have to learn’" (Gropper 1975: 114). I do not know if that last statement was referring to the priest or God, but I took it as meaning that God had to learn the Gypsy ways.

Gypsy funerals are a time to rejoice and send the deceased to the afterlife with joy and material objects to pave the way. Dushon John, Serbian Gypsy King, died in Sacramento in late January 1947. Family, friends, and followers both cried and laughed as they buried their beloved leader. “The Gypsies laughed because it is their wish and custom to send their people into the hereafter under joyful circumstances” (New York Times 1947a). As the copper coffin, with its blanket of flowers, was lowered into the grave, items thrown in with him were coins, a toothbrush, a mirror, and hair oil for his journey to the afterlife. The funeral also included a 12-piece band that played Gypsy dirges while the deceased was toasted with soft drinks and beer (New York Times 1947a).

There are many instances of Gypsies being buried with money, personal objects, and wine or other liquor being poured into the grave. Mary George, Gypsy Queen in
Philadelphia, was buried in a copper coffin and coins were dropped into the coffin by mourners. (New York Times 1947b). At the 1917 Sacramento funeral of Alex Adams, his wife Mary dumped a purse-full of coins into his open coffin. It is believed that someone attempted to steal these coins in 1924 because the grave site had been found vandalized (New York Times 1924a). At the 1932 New Jersey funeral of Theodore Mitchell, King of the French tribes, handfuls of dirt were thrown in by mourners and the ritual "pouring of wine over the plot" also took place (New York Times '1932). When Rumanian Gypsy Frances Lucas died in New York in 1924, a bottle of wine was broken over the grave, silver coins thrown in, and the pall bearers removed their white gloves and threw them in the grave also (New York Times 1924b)

Miller Marks, the "king of the Bay Area Gypsies," died a violent stabbing death at the hands of a robber. For 25 years Miller "as king had looked after the sick, buried the dead, counseled the needy, and presided over Gypsy Trials" (Los Angeles Times 1981). By custom, his favorite things were placed in the coffin with him: "cigarettes, a bottle of Canadian Club whisky, a packet of saccharine, a cup of
coffee, and a winning horse ticket" (Los Angeles Times 1981). Marks also wore his silver rings and held a rosary in the coffin. Mourners placed dollar bills in his hands as they passed by the coffin. Thousands of mourners from all over the country attended his funeral to celebrate his life (Los Angeles Times 1981).

In the photographs found on the internet (http://www.findagrave.com 2000), the top of the marble crypt of John (1940-1982) and Julia (1945-1995) Marks is decorated with a framed photograph of the couple, soft drinks, and cigarettes to enjoy in the afterlife. The crypt was brought in from Spain at a cost of over $50 thousand in 1982. John Marks is on the bottom and Julia is on the top. It is rumored that $30 thousand was also thrown in the coffin by mourners (http://www.findagrave.com, 2000).

When Gypsies die away from their "home base" because they were traveling, the actual funeral could be delayed by several months. The bodies are embalmed, sent back to the city of choice, and placed in a vault until such time as a family, friends, and followers, had sufficient time to be notified of funeral arrangements. The famous Gypsy Queen, Matilda Stanley of Dayton, Ohio, died in Vicksburg,
Mississippi, in February 1878. However, her funeral did not take place until September 15, 1878, in Dayton, Ohio--seven months later! Everyday until the funeral, family and friends dropped by the vault and left flowers. By the time of the funeral, 20 thousand Gypsies had arrived in Dayton to pay their last respects (New York Times 1878).

Gypsy funerals may include a long processional from the church services to the cemetery. Queen Matilda Stanley's funeral had a long processional through the streets of Dayton, Ohio (New York Times 1878). When Queen Annie Young died in 1892, the funeral procession consisted of a hearse, four coaches and a buckboard wagon for the relatives. Mourners formed a line on both sides of the hearse to walk to the church and cemetery (New York Times 1892).

The clothing on the deceased sometimes includes an elaborate cloak or robe. Powonia Miller, a Gypsy princess, was buried in a silk and satin robe (New York Times 1921). Steve Kaslov was clothed in a long red robe (New York Times 1949). Annie Young was "robed in brown satin embroidered with white silk" (New York Times 1892). Annie also wore a crown of flowers on her head (New York Times 1892).
Gypsies were most frequently buried in their favorite clothing and their best jewelry (Sway 1988: 51). Gypsy Queen Charity Cooper (1872-1943) was buried wearing an apron because she always told her family that "I would not be dressed without my apron" (Howard 2001).

One practice in the past was a grave vigil after the funeral in which someone watched over the grave to prevent the deceased spirit from escaping and to prevent grave robbers. In the early 1900s, there was much experimentation in the medical field on recently deceased persons and, since Gypsies were more nomadic than now, once the Gypsies moved on, the resurrectionists would dig up the body before decay sets in and use it for medical testing. Therefore, the vigil was in effect until the body was safely into the decayed state. Other ways they used to prevent grave robbing was to put very heavy stone on top of the coffin lid, fill the hole back up with grain or chafe instead of dirt making it more difficult to remove the body from the grave, dig an extra deep hole, and plant flowers or bushes on top of the grave to hide it (Trigg 1973: 121-123).
Gypsy Mortuaries and Cemeteries

Gypsies choose their mortuaries and cemeteries carefully. They want to bury their dead their way and seek those establishments that will allow this. Non-Gypsy morticians are usually chosen to prepare the body for the funeral rites with specific instructions on how they want the deceased to be laid out (Trigg 1973: 103). The deceased's body is considered a pollutant and the deceased's spirit or ghost could cause havoc amongst the living who are preparing the body for the funeral, therefore they hire an outsider (Trigg 1973: 102).

Many mortuaries and cemeteries are now catering to the needs of local ethnic groups. Douglas Family Mortuaries, Paramount, California, was listed in the white pages as a provider of Gypsy funerals. The Allen-Salas Funeral Service in Bell Gardens, California, had a funeral director that satisfied the demands of a Gypsy funeral so well that he is contacted in the middle of the night if a Gypsy funeral is needed. The parking lot there is very large so the Gypsies bring their large barbeques and food and have a wake in the parking lot and the funeral is then conducted in the morning (Weber 1994).
The New York Gypsies, around the 1900s, began burying their dead at Evergreen Cemetery in Elizabeth, New Jersey. The Evergreen Cemetery was an old cemetery even then, with lots of big trees, which Gypsies like because it reminded them of living in the woods. During the 1930s many funeral services changed to the Linden Cemetery in Linden, New Jersey. Linden Cemetery did not have as many trees as Evergreen but it was on a highway; so it was easier to get to there from New York City and the funeral costs were less at Linden (Mitchell 1993: 198, 158).

In 2001 and 2002, I did extensive research at the Inglewood Park Cemetery in Los Angeles and photographed more than a hundred Gypsy headstones. The Los Angeles Gypsies who used Inglewood Park Cemetery chose to bury their dead in the older part of the cemetery where they could place large family monuments. This is being done at a time when most cemeteries are requiring flat stones for easier care. The oldest Gypsy burial here was Dinah Lee in 1951, but most were buried in the 1970s through the 1990s. The large upright Gypsy markers in the Mariposa section (across the street from the LaRamada section) runs along the street edge yet most of the stones behind them are
flat. In the Pinecrest section, there is a short row of upright Gypsy markers at the crest of the hill, yet all the other markers around them are flat. Obviously Inglewood Park Cemetery is catering to the Gypsy requirements for markers and their desires for burying their dead.

Gypsy Headstones

The wheel is a frequent icon on Gypsy headstones, as are leaves of grass and clan symbols. (Periferia 2000: http://www.periferia.org/publications/statuary.html). Some of the headstones themselves are round like a wheel. Some have Masonic twigs of acacia as well as the Christian cross on the same stone “as an emblem of faith and of the immortality of the soul” (Erwin 1993: 124-125).

The Scottish Travellers frequently used red granite stone imported from Scotland, embellished with the Scottish thistle as a reminder of their homeland (Erwin 1993: 124-125). Other families insisted on the more expensive raised lettering, rather than recessed lettering, on the headstones (Erwin 1993: 116). Gypsy headstones frequently use Christian symbols on them—crosses, Madonna, saints, Christ, and more. The graves are highly decorated on all holidays and sometimes between holidays. Offerings
left at the grave can include Easter eggs, Christmas trees, Valentines, or other holiday specialities, as well as food, soda, liquor, cigarettes, or other items the deceased favored (Fenza 1989: 149).

Gypsy Cemeteries

**Wyoming Cemetery**

The Wyoming Cemetery in Wyoming, Illinois, has a number of Gypsy families buried there: TRACY, PORTER, MOORE, KNOWLES, ELY, STRATTON, and COOPER. Most of the Gypsy headstones looked like the average middle-class American headstone. However, the grave decorations include a wrought iron horse and rider or horseshoes. There were several horseshoe-shaped floral arrangements. At least one had a lantern with a cross on top of it in front of the headstone. Some had angel statues. Many of the graves were highly decorated with flowers, even on non-holidays. The headstone of Robert Wayne Tracy (1932-1953) indicated he had been in the Korean War, which is unusual, since most Gypsies avoid extended contact with non-Gypsies. The Gypsy Queen Charity Cooper (1872-1943) had a five-petal flower enclosed in a square on the upper right and left corners of the headstone. Charity’s husband, Richard “Dick” Cooper
(1861-1932) had crosses on the right and left corners of the stone! (Pille 2001).

**Rose Hill Cemetery**

The Rose Hill Cemetery, Meridian, Mississippi, has a large section of Gypsy families buried there. These headstones belonged to the MITCHELL family. Some of these have large cement slabs in front of the headstones. Many of the upright headstones have crosses. A few headstones include photos of the deceased (Clark 2001: http://foclark.tripod.com/gypsy/rosehill.html).

**Calvary Cemetery**

The Calvary Cemetery in Los Angeles has the oldest Gypsy burials I have found in Los Angeles County. Some burials date back to 1934. I took several trips to this cemetery in 2002 and photographed more than a hundred headstones. Calvary Cemetery has a definite and prominent Gypsy section located at the main entrance to the cemetery on Whittier Boulevard. Gypsy burials are on both sides of the main driveway, and to the lanes that curve to the right and left of the entrance drive. When arriving at the main entrance, one can find the MARKS Grecian monument on the right (Section "B"), TODORVICH on the left (Section "T"),
and ADAMS directly in front (Section “A”). To the left, are markers for MORENO, MILLER, MERINO, and ADAMS. The ADAMS arch had ‘RANGER’ across the top which was perhaps another name for the family or maybe Miller Adams was a Texas Ranger. An ADAMS marker directly facing the main entrance was a white marble vault in Section “A.” Following the lane curving to the right from the main entrance, one can locate the white marble vault of Gypsy “king” George Adams. Behind this monument is the marker for his brother Blancy Adams. Deeper into the center, are arches and flat markers for UWANAWICH, STEVENS, MILLER, and others.

Nemeth noted that several Gypsy headstones had occupations on them such as the Woso Davido (1912-1937) marker which gave his occupation as coppersmith (Nemeth 2002: 69). While I did not locate this marker, I did find another marker with a talent inscribed. The marker for CANNARSI (1929-1991) (there was only the one name on the marker) had the inscription “she was the best Gypsy dancer next to Mileva.” Many markers, both flat and upright had a photograph of the deceased. While there were a lot of flat markers for Gypsies, they were usually within eyesight of large upright marker. The black marble TODOROVICH arch was
in the center of "T" Section and surrounded by dozens of flat markers both in front and behind it, with most markers being for Gypsies. The MARKS Grecian monument was also surrounded by flat markers.

The arch monument seems to be unique to Gypsies as I did not find any arches that appeared to belong to a non-Gypsy. When Gypsies choose an upright marker, they tend to be elaborate. The tall markers like the arches or the above-the-ground vaults generally have statues of Jesus, Mary, or angels, or sometimes small angels, crosses, or doves sitting on top of the marker. Photographs of some of the described headstones are shown in Appendix A.

Inglewood Park Cemetery

Many of the monument types found at Calvary Cemetery were duplicated at the Inglewood Park Cemetery. Monuments at both Calvary Cemetery and Inglewood Park Cemetery were highly religious above-ground vaults, arches, and large markers. In fact, the vault for George Adams (1903-1964, king of the Los Angeles Gypsies) was nearly duplicated at Inglewood Park Cemetery for another George Adams (1910-1979, king of the Los Angeles Gypsies). The main difference between the two is that the vault at Calvary Cemetery had
the Crucified Jesus on the cross while Jesus was not on the cross at the monument of the George Adams at Inglewood Park Cemetery. I estimate there are at least as many Gypsies buried at Calvary Cemetery, if not more, as there are buried at Inglewood Park Cemetery.

At Inglewood Park Cemetery, Inglewood, California, the family stones are also huge monuments with arches, urns, elaborate carvings, statues of Jesus or Mary, angels, doves, crosses, and engraved flowers and leaves painted in bright colors. The markers ranged from grey granite to black polished marble to white or pink marble as well as the more common flat markers. Most of the large upright monuments had separate crosses affixed to the top of the monument. Many had photos of the deceased. Other family members had flat stones in front of or behind the main family markers.

There were about 106 individual names on markers in the LaRamada section, which is commonly called "Gypsy Row." Some of these individuals are probably still living as there were no death dates for them (eighteen percent). About fourteen percent of those died before age 40. Thirty-one percent had died in the 40-59 age bracket, and thirty-
seven percent fell into the 60 and up age bracket. Of those who died over age sixty, only three persons were eighty years of age or older.

The majority of the Gypsy burials I found were in the LaRamada section, with a long row across the street in the Mariposa section. I also found some Gypsy burials several sections away in the Pinecrest section. There were still other burials in the Alta Mesa Mausoleum. There are probably a great number of other Gypsy burials throughout the cemetery that I have not found. The online California Death Index showed many people with Gypsy surnames who had died in Los Angeles County and quite likely many of those are buried at Inglewood Park Cemetery or Calvary Cemetery. Photographs of some the headstones at Inglewood Park Cemetery are shown in Appendix B.

The three-coffin above-ground vault for George Adams and wife is by far the largest of the Gypsy markers. The ADAMS monument is white marble and has three steps on all four sides with railing at the corners. There is a huge cross on top of the vault that laid against a flat background. The entire marble structure has the floor space of a small room. Photographs of George Adams and his wife
Mary were on the front above their names. There were also crowns engraved for each of them just above their photographs. There is a third person listed as "Dorothy" with a birth year but no death year, probably a daughter. The family name ADAMS was written in large gold script across the front. On one of my visits to the cemetery, I observed a half bottle of beer setting in front of George's inscription.

"Big" Mike (1924-1989) and Marie Guy (1927-1996) are also buried above ground but in a huge red granite vault, not quite as ostentatious at the Adams monument. There are photographs of "Big" Mike and Marie affixed to the monument above their names. The monument has two crowns engraved on the stone just above their photographs and a separate cross at the back of the vault. Also engraved on the stone was "Big Mike, a Man with a Heart of Gold."

A third above the ground vault was for Miller (1915-1987) & Lucy (1937-na) Marks. This crypt was black marble and the lip across the back has the inscription "The Real Tycoon." This marker had a gift offering of food and water.

The monuments for GUY, LEE, and MITCHELL tended to be arches with a cross on top and a statue. Photographs of the
deceased were placed on the columns of the arches. Large urns for flowers were placed on each side of the arches. A statue of Jesus or Mary would be in the center of the arch. The GUY-STEVEN monument had two arches and a statue of Mary between the two arches. A large urn set under each arch and medium urns sat at each end and one on each side of Mary. The LEE single arch had a statue of Jesus under the arch and four urns in two sizes with flowers engraved on them.

The monument for Millie & Eli Adams was Grecian in style. It was white marble with two white marble pillars and four pink marble pillars framing a large marble upright slab. The six pillars, three on each side, held a shelf on each side. A pink marble urn sat on each shelf. The cross on top of the center slab had ADAMS across the horizontal bar of the cross. A photograph of Eli Adams was also on the central slab.

Those with the monument size family markers frequently had flat markers on the ground in front of or behind the main monument. Johnny D. Uwanawich and his daughter Rachel shared a large polished black marble marker. They also shared a flat marker that identified them as
father/daughter. Rachel also had a separate flat marker identifying her as a mother and daughter. Johnny Guy had a flat marker but he was also identified on the GUY-STEVENs double arch which included his photograph. The Grecian style marker of Millie and Eli Adams included separate flat markers for Millie and Eli. Eli’s flat marker had a mountain scene engraved on the right side and a jumping fish separated the birth and death years. Because of the fish, I would hazard a guess that Eli was a fisherman!

The only heart symbol on a flat marker was on the marker for Dinah Lee. The birth and death information and a photograph are enclosed in the heart with a cross lying underneath with “Loving Mother” spanning the cross. In the Pinecrest section there were two STEVENs upright markers that were double-heart shaped at the top, with the lower part of the heart carved into the stone.

By far the most extravagant monument was that for Vine Stevens (1924-1991) and his wife Lula Stevens (1922-1993). They are buried in the Alta Mesa Mausoleum. This monument was actually a small locked room with double glass doors. The name STEVENs was engraved above the door. Vine Stevens’ name and birth and death dates were engraved on the left
door. Inside the room, Vine was in a wall crypt on the left and Lula on the right. The back wall had oil portraits of each. On the back wall in each corner were small tables holding things they each treasured. Vine’s table held a violin, a microphone, and beer. Lula’s table held a small bottle of water in a dispenser, a glass of water, a fan, and some reels of Las Vegas lottery tickets. Additionally, there were two more small tables that had assorted offerings in baskets. In the center was a round marble table with marble stools and it was completely set up for dinner with gold and white dinnerware. The vaults in the walls outside to the right and left of the Vine Stevens’ Family Room held additional Gypsy burials.

Basically, most of the Gypsy headstones at Wyoming Cemetery, Rose Hill Cemetery, Calvary Cemetery, and Inglewood Park Cemetery used highly religious symbols referring to Jesus, the Virgin Mary, Heaven, the Resurrection, and family. Most of the headstones had Christian symbols as well as some with Gypsy iconography. Many stones mentioned the names of the couple’s children, or that a particular person was the daughter or son of a
particular couple, some even mentioned the deceased as a brother, uncle, or sister.

I hypothesize that the largest most elaborate markers were those of wealthy, respected Gypsies, possibly leaders. Gypsies appear to be very religious because of the many Christian symbols that appear on their monuments and markers. The inscriptions can provide occupations (coppersmith), talents (dancer), hobbies or interests (fishing), and name siblings or parents buried nearby. The photographs on the markers or monuments provide visual evidence of someone who is still greatly missed. Holiday decorations and food offerings provides further evidence that the living still care that their loved ones are happy in the world beyond.

The cemeteries appeared to cater to Gypsy burial needs by allowing large monuments even in areas of predominately flat markers. Mortuaries catered to the Gypsy burial needs by allowing the grieving families and friends to take over parking lots and large viewing rooms.

As for the elaborate Gypsy monuments, we still need to learn who made them and out of what material, how much they cost, and if families were leaders in the Gypsy community.
Comparative studies between groups are also needed. Do most Gypsies have the same beliefs about death and burials and do they have the same practices? Are there significant variations between the groups? All are valid questions and certainly need to be explored. Therefore, there is still much work to be done in Gypsy cemetery studies.
CHAPTER EIGHT

GYPSY GENEALOGY

Gypsy genealogy is generally ignored by most writers. Gypsies usually do not share personal information with the non-Gypsy. Their stories tend to be passed on orally and it is difficult to document oral tradition. They may remember names of ancestors but dates are not remembered and may not even be considered important. They may remember where their ancestors came from in Europe but seldom mention it.

The Gypsy stories of immigration and settlement, nevertheless, are just as important as those of the Irish, Jews, Italians, Mexicans, Germans, and others but are seldom written. Only a few authors have written about particular Gypsy families who migrated to the United States. This chapter includes a few short stories about some Gypsy families, particularly where they came from and where they settled in the United States. Chapter Nine and Chapter Ten tell additional stories about the ADAMS and STANLEY families which are more detailed than the stories in this chapter. The family stories in these chapters are written to point out examples of immigration, migration, and settlement patterns for particular families. The
stories will show how leadership is acquired within each family, such as through patrilineal inheritance, selection by their peers, and by forcible take over. Some of the stories will also discuss burial practices for the family.

Bimbo Family

Gropper writes of the BIMBULESTI (a. k. a. BIMBO) clan. The BIMBO clan were Kalderas Gypsies from Russia. Tinja/Tene Bimbo was only thirteen when he began plotting against his father for leadership. Because of his age, most of the BIMBO clan would not follow him. Tene took those that did to South America where they joined the DIMITRO clan in Argentina and Brazil. I could not locate a year for this immigration but it likely occurred in the early 1900s as Bimbo died in 1969. Tene supported Adolf Dimitro and in return Dimitro recognized Tene as the leader of the BIMBOS. Tene Bimbo met up with a group of "killer Gypsies" in South America. In order to protect his clan from the killers, Tene moved the BIMBOS clan to Mexico and then crossed the border to the United States. He made many enemies during his travels in South America, Mexico, and the United States (Gropper 1975: 21-26). This is the same Tene Bimbo whom Peter Maas wrote about in The King of the Gypsies (Maas
and the same Tene Bimbo that framed Steve Kaslov for a crime in 1933 (New York Times 1933a). In spite of being a very powerful leader, Tene Bimbo was not loved. He ruled through force and vengeance rather than through the respect of his followers. It was also alleged that Bimbo had a close association with the mob leader Al Capone (Maas 1975: 6).

Tene Bimbo and his wife Mary had fourteen children, seventy-six grandchildren, and at least 183 great grandchildren (Maas 1975: 34). The direct descendants alone would be difficult to trace genealogically or to locate at any given point in time.

In 1969, Bimbo was hospitalized. His illness was considered serious but not life threatening. But just in case, Tene gave his most prized possessions, a medallion and a ring, to his grandson Steve Bimbo because he wanted his grandson Steve to be the next leader rather than his son, Steve’s father. Of course, this caused hard feelings between Tene and his son, who expected to be the next leader, and between Steve and his father. One of Tene’s last requests was to have both the American and Russian flags flown at his funeral. He died on October 22, 1969, of
heart failure. The wake lasted for three days. The funeral home had to use its two largest rooms to hold the large group of mourners. The bronze coffin was very expensive. Gifts of money, whiskey and other items were left in the coffin. The funeral procession was led by an eight-piece band and the funeral service was conducted at a Russian Orthodox church. His final resting place was Hollywood Cemetery in New York City, next to his late wife Mary. Thousands of Gypsies attended the funeral festivities. New York police officers also attended the funeral to photograph the guests in order to keep a pictorial record of Gypsies for the detectives who investigated Gypsy crimes. One New York police detective was heard to say that the large crowd of mourners was there to make sure Bimbo was really dead (Maas 1975: 161-165).

Kaslov Family

According to the 1910 Census, Steve Kaslov was born in 1888 in Russia. In 1910, the KASLOV family resided in Hazle Township, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, with Steve's older brother acting as head of household (Salo 1995: 38). I was unable to locate this census information. The family immigrated to the United States about 1901 but has not been
identified on a ship’s passenger list. Sheila Salo located some of those associated with the KASLOV family listed as passengers on ships arriving in New Brunswick in 1900 (Salo 1995: 38). Therefore, the KASLOV family may have also arrived in the United States by way of Canada.

By 1927, while Steve Kaslov was living in New Jersey, newspapers began referring to him as “king,” although it was not stated how he ascended to that role. Also in 1927, Steve Kaslov filed papers for the incorporation of the Red Dress Association, a non-profit organization. Steve was the president and the trustees were himself, his wife, and one other Rom (Salo 1995: 39). In 1939, Kaslov organized the “first settled gypsy workshop ever to be established in America” (New York Sun 1939). The metal shop was called Romany Coppersmiths and was to be a rehabilitation project for the Gypsies. The Red Dress Gypsies were more settled down by this time and needed a place to conduct business. Many non-Gypsies helped fund this project, including the Welfare Council of New York City and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt (New York Sun 1939). Mrs. Roosevelt also encouraged Steve Kaslov and his followers to attend the W. P. A. schools that had been organized. Kaslov felt it was
important that the adult men learn to read and write so they could get better jobs (Berger 1940).

Kaslov’s leadership was not without problems. When Tene Bimbo and clan arrived in New York City in the 1930s, there was a major power struggle between Bimbo and Kaslov. Bimbo sought to get rid of Kaslov by framing him for assaulting Bimbo’s daughter-in-law. Kaslov was convicted of the crime and sent to jail. The sentence was later overturned when he was proved innocent (New York Times 1933a).


Nicholas Family

Washo Nicholas was married to Saveta (maiden name unknown) sometime in the 1890s in Vladivostock, a major sea port on the Sea of Japan in south eastern Russia. The NICHOLAS family moved to Greece, then South America. They worked on the Panama Canal as coppersmiths about 1910. They traveled through Mexico before 1915, ultimately arriving in
the United States during the late 1910s. The NICHOLAS family stayed for a time in New York City and later in Chicago. They traveled throughout the northeastern United States and Canada. The men earned their living as coppersmiths. After World War II, they began to migrate westward, with California their final destination. While they were passing through New Mexico, Saveta became very ill and had trouble breathing. Because they wanted to continue to California, they rented an ambulance with an oxygen tank to make traveling easier for Saveta. They eventually arrived in California which became their "home base." When traveling outside of California for economic reasons, they returned to California when their business was completed or slow. The NICHOLAS family frequently passed themselves off as Mexicans or Greeks to avoid prejudicial treatment. Washo Nicholas wanted to move the family to Fairbanks, Alaska, to be near his homeland of Vladivostock, Russia. He never made it to Alaska. Washo is buried at Calvary Cemetery in East Los Angeles, along with five generations of family members (Nemeth 2002: 170-172).
Small Family

The SMALL family were English Romanichal Gypsies who immigrated to the United States sometime in the late 1800s. The elder member was Josh Small. Josh Small was married to Mary Harrison. Josh was a horse trader and Mary was a fortuneteller. Josh and Mary had thirteen children. Four of those children were Josh, Benny, Hazel, and Laurel. The family moved frequently by horse and buggy. They generally traveled throughout the southern states, including Virginia and West Virginia (Small 2000: 37). As an adult, Benny became the Gypsy 'king' of the SMALL family (Small 2000: 44).

The younger Josh Small was born in West Virginia about 1913. While in Plum Creek (state not named; town may no longer exist), the younger Josh met and married a woman whose surname was WERZBURGER. Small did not state in his manuscript if Miss Werzburger was Gypsy (Small 2000: 37). Josh Small and his family lived in Roanoke, Virginia, for a while, where he bootlegged whiskey with non-Gypsies. Josh also did other kinds of work during his lifetime, such as repairing coal stoves and cleaning septic tanks (Small 2000: 38). The younger Josh and his wife had two sons,
Charles Edward and Bobby Joe. Both Charles Edward and Bobby Joe married non-Gypsy women.

Bobby Joe and Charles Edward did not attend school regularly. Bobby Joe did not learn to read and write until he became an adult. Bobby Joe became a Christian after his family went through some very traumatic events, which I will not discuss as those issues are private. His church encouraged him to learn to read and write and he wanted to be able to read the Bible for himself. His educational pursuits enabled him to write stories about his life and family (Small 2000).

One of the things Bobby Joe remembers about his life as a traveling Gypsy was being chased out of town by the Ku Klux Klan in the middle of the night because the Gypsies had hired African American men to work and travel with them (Small 2000: 14-15). Incidents such as this would give the historian the Gypsy perspective on the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s if one could find people willing to tell their stories. In his unpublished manuscript, Gypsy in the Holy Spirit (2000), Bobby Joe wrote of many incidents in his youth and adult life and about how he was raised and the choices he made in his life, both good and bad. Bobby
Joe is proud to be a Gypsy, although he does not follow the old practices and beliefs.

These stories show varied examples of immigration to the United States and how the role of leadership was acquired. Tene Bimbo and Steve Kaslov both immigrated from Russia but Tene came through South America and Steve possibly through Canada. Washo Nicholas was from eastern Russia but went first through Greece before arriving in South America and then migrating north until he reached the United States. Josh Small possibly came straight from England to the United States.

Tene craved power and took it by force from his father. Tene was a vengeful leader and he had such a craving for power that he framed Steve Kaslov for a crime to get rid of Kaslov so that he could become leader of all the Russian Gypsies in New York. Steve Kaslov was a respected leader because he kept the best interests of his people as his priority, such as Red Dress Association, the Romany Coppersmiths metal shop, and the education of adult men. Kaslov made contact with influential people such as President and Mrs. Roosevelt and the public officials of New York City to further aid his people. Washo Nicholas and
Josh Small were the leaders of their extended family and the leadership was passed from father to son.

These are just a few brief examples of what can be learned from the genealogy of specific Gypsy families. These families are as much a part of American history as the non-Gypsy families.
CHAPTER NINE

ADAMS FAMILY

George Adams was the leader of Los Angeles Gypsies for twenty-four years, yet much is still unknown about his ancestry and his role as a leader. Several authors mention his name, but only Nemeth (2002: 158-161) discusses his leadership role. This chapter will reveal the ADAMS lineage for the first time in print.

My research on Gypsies included many newspaper articles on Gypsies from the New York Times, Los Angeles Times, the San Bernardino Daily Sun, the Sacramento Bee, the Denver Post, and the Rocky Mountain News, as well as the internet. From these articles, I accidently located articles about five generations of the ADAMS family, although at first I did not connect them to each other. When I finally realized all these articles on the ADAMS family were about related people, I undertook a genealogical and historical study of this family.

The ADAMS family settled primarily in California after 1917. They began their journey to the United States from Serbia in the late 1870s or early 1880s. A Denver Post article in 1915 mentions that the immigration occurred
"thirty years ago," which would be about 1885 (Denver Post 1915b:1). However, the California Vital Records Online states that Mark Adams was born in Illinois in 1881 and died in 1940 (California Vital Records Online http://www.vitalsearch-ca.com), which also corresponds to newspaper articles on his death (Los Angeles Times 1940; Sacramento Bee 1940). Therefore, the ADAMS were certainly in the United States by 1881.

Passenger ship lists are not indexed for the years the ADAMS family might have arrived in the United States so I have been unable to document their arrival. Because of this, I cannot determine if they came directly from Serbia or if they went to South America first, as some other Gypsy families did.

The ADAMS surname is an Americanized version of the original surname. Many Serbian names end in wich or vich, so the original name was probably some variation of Adamovich or Adamowich. The ADAMS are Machwaya Gypsies and the men were usually coppersmiths until more recent times.

The matriarch of the ADAMS clan was Marie Adams. I do not know her maiden name at this time nor have I found the name of her husband, who died shortly after arriving in the
United States (Rocky Mountain News 1915). Marie was born in Serbia about 1822 (California Vital Records 1915).

Marie had at least five children, two sons and three daughters. The daughters' and the second son's names are unknown. The eldest son was Alex or Alexander (San Bernardino Daily Sun 1915; Rocky Mountain News 1915).

The ADAMS stayed for a while in the eastern United States after their arrival. Marie's grandson Mark and great-grandson George were both born somewhere in Illinois (California Vital Records Online http://www.vitalsearch-ca.com). They eventually traveled westward. They may have gone through Denver, Colorado, multiple times over several years, as suggested by the accumulation of a fortune in Denver banks. They arrived in California prior to 1912. In March of 1912, the ADAMS family was traveling through San Bernardino, California, when Marie became ill and was unable to continue traveling. Her son Alex placed her in Patton State Hospital. According to Marie's death certificate, her former residence was Los Angeles. Marie stayed in the hospital until her death on May 27, 1915. At the time of her death she was "queen" of one of the wealthiest Gypsy families in the United States
Before her stay at Patton, she had "delegated her power and wealth to Alex Adams, the eldest of her two sons" (San Bernardino Daily Sun 1915: 6).

By April 1915, Marie was near death and Alex arrived in San Bernardino to make arrangements with a local funeral home to transport Marie’s body to Denver for burial upon her death. In April and May 1915, the ADAMS clan was already camped out in Denver (San Bernardino Daily Sun 1915). Some members of the ADAMS family had recently arrived in Denver from as far away as Louisville, Kentucky (Denver Post, 1915b).

Upon her death, Marie’s remains were shipped to Denver for burial. Her remains for the funeral according to Gypsy custom. Marie had nearly a million dollars in Denver banks that now belonged to Alex Adams and the family, so no expense was spared in the funeral arrangements (San Bernardino Daily Sun 1915).

Marie was laid out in the most expensive, elaborate coffin in Denver. Golden coins were amongst the strands of her braided hair and her head was covered in silk. She was dressed in a bright red silken robe trimmed with bright
colors and her body was covered in "sacred" linen. Gold
coins were thrown into the coffin as were toiletry articles
and working clothes so that she might have everything she
needed in the afterlife. Before the coffin was closed, each
of her children placed gold jewelry in the coffin and her
youngest child placed earrings on her. The funeral service
was conducted by Rev. Isias Paschafoulas, a priest from the
local Greek Catholic Church. Periodic feasts (pomana) would
honor Marie over the next year. The burial plot at
Fairmount Cemetery was one of the more expensive lots at
the cemetery at that time. (Denver Post 1915a).

Marie’s upright headstone was about waist high in 2002
but it was originally taller. A narrow section of the
headstone is broken off at the top and a cross possibly
originally adorned the top. Her headstone simply reads:
“Marie Adams, 1822-1915, age 93 years, Mother.” There
appeared to be no other Gypsies buried around her. A
picture of her headstone can be seen in Appendix C.

Alex/Alexander Adams was born April 15, 1861, probably
in Serbia. As previously mentioned, he became the "king"
before his mother Marie Adams became ill. Alex was probably
married at least twice as his wife Mary was born in 1877
and would have been only four years old when Mark Adams was born in 1881 in Illinois. Alex and Mary adopted a non-Gypsy white boy whom they named Mike Adams (Sacramento Bee 1924). This may be the same adopted boy mentioned in the Denver Post (1915b) named Otis Oliver Hayden and aged five (born about 1910), whom they adopted "back east" (Sacramento Bee 1924). Mark Adams is identified as a son of Alex Adams in the Sacramento Bee (1915a).

After Marie Adams’ death in San Bernardino and her funeral in Denver, the ADAMS family returned to San Bernardino, to unite two prominent Gypsy families in marriage. In March 1916, Marie Adams’ great granddaughter, Diana Mark, age 17 (born about 1899), was to marry George Moreno. I have not found out who Diana’s parents were. Alex Adams was in charge of the wedding festivities. George Moreno was the son of Joseph Moreno, whose ancestors were Brazilian Gypsy leaders. The wedding took place at Harlem Springs because it was near Patton, California, where Marie had died the previous year (San Bernardino Sun 1916).

By 1917, the ADAMS family was in Sacramento. Alex Adams died October 1, 1917, at his residence at 2816 Sacramento Avenue, Sacramento, California. He was not
buried immediately. His body was placed in a vault until the elaborate funeral arrangements could be made. His widow, Queen Mary, ordered Italian marble directly from Italy for the erection of a mausoleum at East Lawn Cemetery in Sacramento. There was a delay in the delivery of the slabs and therefore in the construction of the mausoleum. The funeral for Alex did not take place until February 9, 1918, nearly four months after his death (Sacramento Bee 1924).

Several hundred Gypsies from all over the United States attended the funeral of this highly respected Gypsy king. "A huge tent was erected in front of the mausoleum and it was there that a priest of the Greek Catholic Church conducted the rites" (Sacramento Bee 1924: 1).

A brass band has been engaged and there will be a parade through the business section of the city. Following the band will be the hearse containing an elegant oak casket trimmed with gold in which will repose the body of the dead king. Hundreds of Gypsy leaders are in the city to attend the funeral and a great many limousines have been engaged for the funeral cortege. (Sacramento Bee 1915a)

Queen Mary was permitted one last look at her late husband when the coffin lid was opened. She threw in coins and poured in a small quantity of oil from a bottle. The
bereaved widow displayed her grief loudly by "wailing until she was exhausted and swooned. She recovered, however, while the casket was being placed in the tomb, but remained quiet" (Sacramento Bee 1918b).

Motion pictures and still photographs were taken at the funeral of Alex Adams (Sacramento Bee 1918b). It would be historically significant if these could be located. They should be preserved and placed in a California historical archival library or a Gypsy cultural center for researchers.

In 1924 Alex Adams' tomb was broken into. Authorities felt it was done by a rival band of Gypsies. It was thought that the vandalism was done to steal the jewels and monies in the casket and, more importantly, to steal papers reportedly placed in the coffin that named the adopted Mike Adams as the next ruler (Sacramento Bee 1924).

After Alex Adams death, "there had been much dissension among the Gypsies over who should be their next ruler" (Sacramento Bee 1924). Queen Mary, however, claimed the throne for her non-Gypsy adopted son, Mike Adams, a.k.a. Otis Oliver Hayden (Sacramento Bee 1924). Under the Gypsy law of succession, a Gypsy ruler has the right to
name his successor if he should die without direct issue. If no successor is named, a council is called to select a leader (Sacramento Bee 1924).

Mike Adams never became the leader and Mark Adams was selected by council in 1931. Queen Mary was the recognized leader until 1931, on behalf of her minor adopted son, Mike Adams. Mary Adams died in 1934 and is buried in the same family vault as Alex. I have no other information on her death and no knowledge of what happened to Mike Adams after Alex Adams' death.

Mark Adams, son of Alex and his first (unknown) wife, was born in 1881 in Illinois. Mark had at least four children: George, born 1902 or 1903 in Illinois; Blancey, born 1917; a female who married Tom Merino, (son of Steve Merino); and Rosie, who married Waso Russell Demitro of Canada (Los Angeles Times 1964; Nemeth 2002: 158; Lee 2001: 200).

By 1925 Mark Adams was living in the Los Angeles area. In a 1931 encampment at San Pedro, Mark Adams was selected as the leader for the Los Angeles Gypsies.

It appears, in retrospect, that a powerful struggle between the Uwanawich-Merino family and the Lee-Adams family was in its incipient stages at that time. Apparently the idea of a large organized effort to
conventionalize Gypsy economic activity in Los Angeles appealed to both families. Their activities coincided with an influx of Macvaya tribesmen from the East, particularly Chicago, where the indomitable Tinya Bimbo was then organizing his own power base at the expense of many Macvaya tribesmen who were forced to migrate westward. (Nemeth 2002: 158)

In late September 1940, Mark Adams was admitted to California Hospital, Los Angeles, and died there five days later on October 2, 1940, of complications from heart disease. He was 58 years old. His residence at the time of his death was 932 E. 25th Street, Los Angeles. His obituary mentioned that he had lived in California for forty years (since about 1900) and in Los Angeles for 15 years, about 1925 (Los Angeles Times 1940a).

Funeral services were conducted at the Weber Mortuary, after which a brass band playing Chopin's Funeral March led the procession from the mortuary to the "ancient Plaza Church where Father Peter sang the centuries-old "responsum" of the Catholic faith and blessed the king by circling his casket while sprinkling holy water" (Los Angeles Times 1940b: 1). His body was transported to Sacramento in a procession of 40 or 50 cars. He was buried at East Lawn Cemetery in the family vault with his father
Alex Adams and step mother Mary (Los Angeles Times 1940a, b).

Mark Adams’ son George Adams was born July 7, 1903, in Illinois. George’s first wife was Mary (1901-1942). George and Mary had at least one son named John who was born about 1937. George later took as his second wife, a Mrs. Stevens who had at least one child, Vine Stevens (1924-1991).

I used varied sources to discover that Mrs. Stevens was George Adams’s second wife. First of all, a legal case involving John Adams, son of George Adams, mentions his step-brother as Vine Stevens (People v. Barbara Williams, et al 1967). Paul Dean (1986) mentions John Stevens was the son of Vine Stevens. Lance Brisson (1964) mentions that John Stevens is a step-grandson of George Adams.

George Adams had been groomed to take Mark’s leadership role and was hailed as the new leader upon Mark Adams’ death. Nemeth (2002: 158-161) was the only author I found that went into any detail of George Adams’ leadership. George Adams was challenged many times by others who wanted to replace him as leader, but Adams had formed a strong economic union for the Los Angeles Gypsies, and his followers were loyal. George Adams proved himself
to be a strong, benevolent leader. He did not rule by force, violence, or threats. He always provided bail or paid the fines for any Gypsy in his economic union and frequently could be seen in court standing behind his people (Nemeth 2002: 158-161).

The year 1946 proved to be the biggest challenge to George Adams' leadership. There were many Gypsies flocking to Los Angeles from the East, particularly those wanting to get away from Tene Bimbo's reign in New York. One powerful leader, Steve Uwanawich, had passed away in 1946. Tom Merino, brother-in-law to George, hoped 1946 would be the year he could grab leadership from George Adams and lure the UNWANAWICH clan to his side. Another Gypsy, also named George Adams, tried to usurp leadership too (Nemeth 2002: 158-161).

The MARKS clan arrived in Los Angeles in June of 1946, so their temporary leader, Steve Marks, of Wichita, Kansas, could pass on the leadership originally held by his father, John "Spero" Marks who had died in 1938. The MARKS clan declared their new leader to be George Adams, son of Mark Adams. About 25,000 Gypsies arrived in Los Angeles for this momentous occasion (San Bernardino Telegram 1946). In
1947, Gypsy leader Dushon John died in Sacramento and his followers decided to throw their support to George Adams of Los Angeles (New York Times 1947a). In spite of numerous problems with other Gypsy clans, George Adams continued to gain supporters as other leaders died. He remained a strong leader and ruled until his death.

George Adams died in July 1964, of a heart attack. The family hired the largest chapel at the Utter-McKinley Mortuary in Los Angeles for the funeral service. The family purchased the most expensive casket. Gypsies were allowed to camp on the mortuary lawn until after the services. George Adams received the Last Rites of the Catholic Church and was buried at Cavalry Cemetery in East Los Angeles (Brisson 1964).

An elaborate above-the-ground vault holds the caskets of George Adams and his first wife Mary. The vault is white marble with a large carving of Jesus on the cross. There are photographs of George and Mary at the base of the cross. Behind the vault are the graves of George’s brother Blancy and Blancy’s wife and son. Many other Gypsies are also buried in this area. A photograph of these two monuments is shown in Appendix A.
There was chaos in the Gypsy community after George’s death. George Adams’ son John became the next leader (Los Angeles Times 1964) but he was not as capable as his father in in term of handling his people’s problems. Many fortunetellers were arrested and fined, and John simply could not keep up with the demands of the position. John tried to bribe a public official to leave his people alone and was subsequently arrested and convicted of bribery (Nemeth 2002: 161-162).

I do not know at the time of writing this thesis if John Adams is still a leader of the Los Angeles Gypsies. John Stevens was a spokesperson in a 1986 article in the Los Angeles Times (Dean 1986) so perhaps a STEVENS was a leader of the ADAMS-STEVENs clan in 1986. It is also possible that there has not been a strong, united leadership under one person since George Adams’ death in 1964, but simply leaders of large extended families. This is another topic that needs to be explored by someone who has a close relationship with the Gypsy community in Los Angeles.

The ADAMS family story uncovers their immigration to the United States, their migration within the United
States, including frequent travels through Colorado, and ultimately settling in California. The ADAMS family came from Serbia in the late 1880s and traveled across many states. They were known to be in Illinois, Kentucky, Colorado, with California as their final destination. I have not been able to determine the number of family members that immigrated from Serbia in the late 1880s. The family had accumulated wealth and deposited their money in Denver banks, but it is unclear as to how they accumulated such a large amount of money, nor with what frequency they passed through Denver to deposit it. It appeared from the wording of newspaper articles that they were honest and hard-working.

Leadership in this family was passed on in varied ways: from widowed mother to son; from father to adopted son by written instructions (which did not take place); from being elected by consensus; and from father to son. Leadership styles likely varied, but, again, little is known about these leaders. Based on the newspaper articles I found, all these leaders seemed to be respected by their peers and all were described in a positive manner.
There is still much to be discovered about this family. I have not found any of the ADAMS family in available federal censuses or on a ship’s passenger list. There may be property records in Sacramento, Los Angeles, and Denver that I have not yet attempted to locate. All family members have not been identified, nor what families were related by marriage. They may be additional newspaper articles that I have not yet discovered that would give more insight to this leading Gypsy family.
CHAPTER TEN

STANLEY FAMILY

The STANLEY family story includes emigration from England in the mid-1850s, migration throughout the southern United States, and early settlement in Dayton, Ohio, where they were property owners who leased out their land. The STANLEY family was well-known in Dayton, Ohio. They have been fairly-well documented by Beers, Bryer, Dodd-Poine, and various newspapers. Dayton, Ohio, was the family’s primary residence for more than fifty years, after which descendants moved to other states. Various combine to describe the family’s immigration, deaths and burials, membership in fraternal organizations, and family members and leaders.

Owen and Harriet (Worden/Worten) Stanley were the “king and queen” of the English Gypsy Romnicel clan. The STANLEY family arrived in the United States on two different ships two years apart. Owen Stanley sent his son Levi Stanley on the first ship with several related families. The passenger list of the Try listed 27 members of the STANLEY, HARRISON, and COOPER families, arriving in New York on July 1, 1854: Levi Stanley, his wife Matilda,
and their five children; Benjamin Stanley, his wife Mary and their four children; Loving Stanley; William Stanley, his wife Tracy, and one child; John Harrison and his wife Priscilla Stanley (daughter of Owen and Harriet Stanley), and their 3 children; Henry Harrison; Hyat Harrison (female); Richard Harrison; Rebecca Cooper; and Phoebe Cooper, a child.

The second ship, the Osprey, arrived in New York on November 14, 1856. Owen and Harriet Stanley headed this group of passengers. They were accompanied by their married and unmarried children. Owen and Harriet’s unmarried daughters were Elizabeth, Charlotte, and Ellina. The rest of the family on board were Owen Stanley, Jr., his wife Priscilla, and their six children; Edward Stanley, his wife Eliza, and their three children; Amelia (Stanley) Jeffreys, her husband Thomas, and their two children; and a young couple whose surname was JEFFS (their given names are not readable in the handwritten text of the passenger list).

The STANLEY family settled in Montgomery County, Ohio, in 1856. They purchased land about eight miles north of Dayton in Harrison Township. The STANLEY and JEFFREY families also bought property in Wayne, Mad River, and
Butler townships. They were law-abiding and God-fearing citizens and they were more than happy to pay their rightful taxes as required by law. They usually rented out their land because they were not farmers. This gave them an income as well as the opportunity to spend the part of the year traveling (Beers 1882: 530-531).

Owen Stanley was born in Reading, Berksire, England, about 1793 and died in his wagon in Hanover, Indiana, at age 67, on Feb 21, 1860. His wife Harriet died two years before him on August 30, 1857 (Beers 1882: 530; Byer 1986: 31). After the deaths of Owen and Harriet Stanley, their son Levi Stanley, Sr., and his wife Matilda became the next "king and queen". Levi and Matilda Stanley had at least thirteen children: Levi, Jr., whose nickname was "Sugar," Mary, Hall, Adam, Mizella, Paul, Moroursa or Missouri, Martha, Sarah, Lilly, Michael, Sofie, and Matilda (New York Times 1878; 1880 Federal Census).

Levi "Sugar" Stanley, Jr., became the head of the clan upon the death of his father, Levi, Sr. This patriarchal succession of leadership is a common practice in many cultures, including the Rom culture. Adah Dodd-Poince wrote that Gypsy government is "absolutely patriarchal and
descends from parent to child without ceremony or question" (Dodd-Poinc 1908: 413). There is no "coronation" ceremony because there are no kings and queens, only strong, respected leaders. The titles were used by the non-Gypsy to describe the leaders and the Gypsies never refuted the title.

The STANLEY family apparently traveled a great deal, based on the birth places of the children listed in the 1880 Federal Census for Montgomery County, Ohio. Levi, Sr.'s oldest children were born in England but the rest of his children and grandchildren were born in Ohio, Tennessee, Louisiana, Texas, and Canada. The microfilm for the 1880 Census for Dayton, Montgomery County, Ohio, showed that Levi Stanley, Sr., was a "trading Gipsy" and Levi Stanley, Jr., was a "farmer and trader." The age given in the census may have been written incorrectly for Levi, Jr.

Stanley, Levi head M Wid W 60 Eng
Masonra dau F S W 24 PA
Tilly dau F S W 19 OH
Michael son M S W 17 OH
Sofa dau F S W 10 LA
Stanley, Levi Jr head M M W 36 Eng
Sarah wife F M W 41 Eng
Matilda dau F S W 22 OH
Richard son M S W 19 TN
Levi son M S W 17 Can
Alice dau F S W 13 TN
Adam son M S W 11 TN
Levi, Sr., and Levi, Jr. were both members of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows (I. O. O. F.) in good standing (New York Times 1878b). Levi, Sr., was also a Mason (Dodd-Poince 1908: 418). Levi, Jr.’s children settled in other states including Missouri, Illinois, Arkansas, and Georgia. By the time of Levi, Jr.’s death in 1916, the STANLEY family had lost most of their ties to Dayton, Ohio. (Bryer 1986: 36).

A preacher in one of the southern states, who wishes to remain anonymous because he felt it would compromise his ministry, is a descendant of Amelia (Stanley), daughter of Owen Stanley, and her husband Thomas Jeffreys. He is well educated and attended a seminary to learn his calling. He is associated with a particular church, again to be unnamed, with his mission to convert Gypsies to Christian values and lifestyle (personal conversation, May 15, 2001). While many Gypsies may partially follow a particular religion and may attend Church regularly or only on special occasions, they generally practice a combination of the religion and Gypsy beliefs. Gypsies are generally honest.
and trust-worthy amongst themselves, but some may feel it is appropriate to lie to non-Gypsies and earn money from them in a less than a legal manner. This preacher’s goal is to have Gypsies follow only the law of God, not the law of the Gypsies.

Stanley Family Burials

By looking at various articles on the deaths of the STANLEY family and visiting the cemeteries where they are buried, one can learn a great deal about the family. Headstone studies show the STANLEY family’s love of poetry, love of God, and love of country.

In addition to buying farmland in Dayton, Ohio, Owen Stanley purchased a large lot in Woodland Cemetery for family members. The first funeral held in the STANLEY lot was for a four-year-old boy who had died in Mississippi. Owen Stanley approached the Reverend Daniel Berger to conduct a Christian ceremony. Rev. Berger was hesitant at first to perform the service because he was not sure he could conduct a service that followed Gypsy beliefs. He was assured the family only wanted a true Christian service. Rev. Berger subsequently conducted twenty or more STANLEY family funerals at Woodlawn Cemetery (Young 1997). Rev.
Berger and his wife became true friends to the STANLEY family. Rev. and Mrs. Berger's visited the family frequently and read the Bible out loud while the family solemnly listened (Dodd-Poince 1908: 413).

Woodland Cemetery has among the earliest known headstone epitaphs in the United States actually written by Gypsies. While long inscriptions on headstones are not unique in general, they appear to be unique to Gypsies as most Gypsies in the early 1900s were not literate. There are long inscriptions on the headstones of Owen (died 1860) and Harriet Stanley (died 1857.) Harriet's headstone carries three verses, one that Harriet wrote to her family before her death, one written by her husband, and the last written by her children. The epitaph on Owen's headstone appears to be written totally by his children (Byer 1986: 31-32). The inscriptions on these headstones show their love for God, country, nature, and family.

Harriet Stanley's Epitaph

Alas! I have left you, my spirit fled,
My body now slumbers along with the dead,
My Savior has called me, to him I have gone,
Then farewell my husband, and children all.
From you a Mother's Christ doth call,
Mourn not for me dear wanderers,'tis vain
To call me to your sight again.
Farewell, dear wife, a short farewell,
   We at your loss do mourn.
   We may meet in heaven to dwell
   With our wandering children now forlorn.

   OUR MOTHER
   Harriet Stanley was her name,
   England was her nation,
   In any wood was her dwelling place
   In God was her salvation.
   (Byer 1986: 31-32; Beers 1882: 533-534)

Owen Stanley's Epitaph

   Our father has gone to a mansion of rest
   From a region of sorrow and pain
   To the glorious land of the blest
   Where he never will suffer again.

   Whilst in this tomb our father lies,
   His spirit rests above
   In realms of bliss it never dies,
   But knows a savior's love.

   Sleep on, father, the work is done,
   The mortal pang is past,
   Jesus has come and bore thee home
   Beyond the stormy blast

   Owen Stanley was his name,
   England was his nation,
   Any wood his dwelling place,
   and Christ was his salvation.
   (Byer 1986: 31-32; Beers 1882: 533-534)

Priscilla Stanley's headstone reads: "There is rest in heaven" and has a carved hand facing upward towards heaven.

Charlotte Stanley (age 2, died 1864) has a lamb on her stone. Refiance Harrison, aged 45, and infant son Joshua
Harrison, aged 10 months, died two days apart in 1873. Their epitaph reads "A husband and six children left to mourn their loss" (Beers 1882: 532-533). Mazella Stanley, wife of Paul, died 1871 at age 20. Mazella’s stone reads:

Ye that mourn a mother’s loss,
Ye that weep a wife no more,
Call to mind the Christian cross,
Which a wife and Mother bore.
(Beers 1882: 533)

When a family member died in the Fall or Winter, the funeral was often delayed until the following Spring. The service was held in the cemetery, not in the church. The bodies were embalmed and placed in a public vault until the funeral could be conducted and the family could arrive (Dodd-Poinc 1908: 415). Matilda Stanley, wife of Levi Stanley, Sr., died of cancer in Vicksburg, Mississippi, in February, 1878. Rev. Berger was unable to conduct the funeral in the Spring because he had other obligations out of the state until the Fall. Therefore, her funeral was delayed and was finally held on September 15, 1878, in Dayton, Ohio (New York Times 1878a, b; Dodd-Poinc 1908: 416). Levi Stanley, Sr., died in December, 1908, in Marshall, Texas, but his funeral was held in Dayton, Ohio,
on April 13, 1909 (Bryer 1986: 36). A twenty-five foot monument of red granite was placed at their graves. There is an angel on top and the emblems of the Mason and Odd Fellows, as Levi Sr., was a member of both. Matilda's poetic inscription reads:

Farewell dear Tilda
Farewell, your earthly days are past
Like a blooming and lovely flower
You were too sweet to last
Your pain on earth was very great
My lovely beauty dear
Now Jesus has called on you
I trust you in his care

Now you be quick and follow me
And tell my children dear
To do their work for Jesus
I hope to meet them there
(Dodd-Poinc 1908: 418)

Burials in Other States

Levi Stanley, Jr., died in 1916 (Bryer 1986: 36). His daughter was Anna/Annie Louise and she was married Lonnie Gunn and had at least one son, John William Gunn. These three members of the GUNN family are buried in Fulton County, Georgia (http://www.findagrave.com 2000).

Taylor/Naylor Harrison, grandson of Owen Stanley, son of John and Priscilla (Stanley) Harrison became the wealthy leader of the HARRISON clan. Naylor arrived in the United
States with his parents on the *Try* in 1854. His wife was Louise and he had eight sons and three daughters. He was a keen businessman throughout his lifetime and he was reputed to be a millionaire at the time of his death. Naylor died in July 1928 at the age of 85 in Morristown, New Jersey and was buried in Madison Cemetery, Madison, New Jersey. He was buried in a silver-lined coffin. An elaborate funeral was held (*New York Times* 1928).

The STANLEY family apparently carefully planned their move from England. A few related families arrived in 1854 and the rest arrived two years later. They were financially well-off because they owned land in Montgomery County, Ohio. They migrated around the United States, particularly the South, when weather conditions permitted. The men were horse traders and the women were fortunetellers. Levi Stanley, Sr. and Jr. were both members of fraternal lodges and they made use of those connections in other cities (*Dodd-Poince 1908: 417*). Leadership passed from father to son.

There are many more things we could and should learn about the STANLEY, HARRISON, and JEFFREYS families. If one could find the information in newspapers and other
published sources, and especially from family members, we could create a genealogical and historical account of each family's immigration and acculturation to the American lifestyle, and particularly their cultural and historical contributions to our society. We also need to discover how their economic roles accounted for their lifestyles and migrations and how those economic roles functioned in non-Gypsy society. The Gypsy stories remain missing from the immigration, acculturation, and assimilation accounts that have been published about immigrants to the United States.
There are a number of different groups of Gypsies with different customs and national origins. A definitive history of all of these groups is certainly needed, whether they are grouped together or separated by the various clans. The Gypsies contributed to American history as other immigrants did, but little has written about these historical and cultural contributions to American society. This thesis is intended to add some information and inspire others to write a full history of the Gypsies in America.

Immigration and acculturation, while frequent historical topics for many other ethnic groups, are rarely discussed for Gypsies. Cultural knowledge of Gypsies is certainly necessary, but so is historical knowledge. It may be difficult to write a history of American Gypsies without their help, but if an experienced historian made the attempt, I believe the resulting written work would be well worth the effort.

Education needs to be a goal for both Gypsies and the American educational system. As stated in Chapter Six, there have been many attempts to create an educational
system that works for Gypsies and will not negate their culture. The general educational system tends to teach the children, by example of their peers, to become more American and thereby less ethnic, or less different than their classmates. The Indian boarding schools, for instance, were primarily to remove their "Indian-ness" and turn them into "Americans." The school system cannot be a means to remove their "Gypsy-ness." Gypsy museums need to be funded to educate the public about Gypsy history and their significance to American history. Local organizations should invite Gypsies as speakers to share their views and to help dispel the negative views many people have about Gypsies.

More work is needed on the genealogy of Gypsy families to provide their immigration and acculturation stories. Harry Bryer, a STANLEY descendant, has done some work in this field. He is a writer, a genealogist, and a Gypsy historian. As of 1986, Bryer was working on a directory of prominent persons of Gypsy descent, including Yul Brenner, Charlie Chaplin, and Michael Caine (Dean 1986). Dr. Ian Hancock, in his recent book We are the Romani People (2002), provides an international list of prominent people
who are Gypsy or of Gypsy descent, including entertainers, educators, writers, and politicians. While it is interesting to learn which famous people are Gypsies or are of Gypsy descent, it does not give us any historical or cultural information about their immigration, acculturation, or assimilation. There are Gypsy descendants actively seeking genealogical information about their ancestors as evidenced by genealogical bulletin boards on the internet such as GenForum. These persons may not be willing to share their family information with others who are not related, but perhaps some will share that information with the public by writing and publishing a book.

Cemetery and headstone studies on Gypsies go hand in hand with genealogical research. The poetic and religious inscriptions as well as the elaborate monuments, Christian symbols, and emblems of fraternal organizations tell other stories about these little known people. Sometimes country of birth, occupation, talent, or an interest are identified on the grave markers. Family members can be identified by locating nearby grave markers. The cemetery is one of the few places where the ethnic Gypsy can be identified as a
group if one knows what ethnic markers by which to identify them, such as surnames and types of headstones that may be unique or common to Gypsies.

Current research on Gypsies appears to concentrate on European Gypsies. Gypsies in Europe are still treated in a more discriminatory manner than they are in the United States. But this does not negate the fact that Gypsies in America are overlooked in our own history. Some of the possible reasons they have been overlooked could be their secretiveness, frequent migrations, their occupations, and simply for being an ethnic minority that is stereotyped in a negative light. Regardless of the reasons, their stories should be written.

In this thesis, I have tried to illustrate the different experiences that specific Gypsy families encountered in their early years in the United States. Gypsies came from many countries and arrived in the United States at different ports or crossed the borders of Mexico or Canada: the BIMBO family from Russia by way of South America; the KASLOV family from Russia possibly by way Canada; the NICHOLAS family from Russia by way of Greece
and South America; The STANLEY and SMALL families from England; and the ADAMS family from Serbia.

Gypsies were variously loved and hated. Most were hard-working, honest people who wanted a better life than they had in Europe. Laws in various European counties were attempting to force Gypsies to settle down in one place, to hold wage jobs, and to educate the children, all of which were not normal for Gypsies.

Gypsy leaders governed in different ways, some good (Steve Kaslov), some bad (Tene Bimbo). Leaders ascended to their roles by inheriting the position or being elected, although inheriting the leadership role seemed to be the most prevalent, such as in the ADAMS and STANLEY families. The historians and anthropologists need to uncover information about the roles of leaders in Gypsy society and the ways those roles and the necessary knowledge for them are passed on to the next generation. It may be a difficult task to learn their stories of acculturation or assimilation but it is important to learn how these pariah people coped with discrimination in America.

This thesis is not meant to be a definitive history of American Gypsies, nor is it meant to be an analytical study
of Gypsy culture. It is meant to point out the lack of information on American Gypsy history and comparative studies and to pinpoint what can be and still needs to be accomplished by experienced historical writers. My research, though extensive, is just a small contribution compared to what other researchers and writers could accomplish. It is my hope that those writers read this thesis and recognize that need.
APPENDIX A:

CALVARY CEMETERY
CALVARY CEMETERY

4201 Whittier Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90023

Photographs by
Katherine B. Stephens

George Adams 1903-1964
Mary Adams 1901-1942

Flat Marker upper left:
their son,
George Adams 1933-1981

Blancy Adams 1917-1975
(brother to George Adams
Lola Adams 1917-na
Dujo Marks 1912-1974
Pepa Marks 1913-1989

A Gypsy dancer

Zarko Todorovich
1891-1956
Nata Todorovich
1893-1960
RANGER-Adams Family
Miller 1904-na
Lanka 1902-na
John 1930-1990
Tommy 1948-1966

Louis Uwanawich
1917-1960
Fatima Uwanawich
1914-1990

on back side:
Samuel 1913-1984
Dorothy 1917-na

NICHOLAS
George 1909-1970
Mary 1918-1984
Joe Lee 1880-1957
Mary Lee 1875-1945

Laser etched photo of a musician

Laser etched photo
APPENDIX B:

INGLEWOOD PARK CEMETERY
INGLEWOOD PARK CEMETERY

720 Florence Ave
Inglewood, CA 90301

Photographs by
Katherine B. Stephens

A Man with a Heart of Gold
Mike Guy 1924-1989
Marie Guy 1927-1996

George Adams 1910-1979
Mary Adams 1918-1976
Dorothy Adams 1930-na
THE REAL TYCOONS
Miller Marks 1915-1987
Lucy Marks 1937-na

GUY-STEVEN double arch
Big Nick and Mary Mitchell
no dates

MILLER
Jake 1906-1986
Mary 1912-1989
Fatima 1937-na
Lola Uwanawich 1929-1973
Lola also has a flat marker
at right front

LEE
Nick 1920-na
Dinah 1916-1951
John 1937-1974
Larry 1923-1979
John and Larry are Nick’s brothers

Eli Adams 1921-1965
Millie Adams 1920-na
Flat markers for both in front.
Miller Adams 1924-na
Rachel Adams 1928-1984
Donald Adams 1966-1996

Johnny D. Uwanawich
1940-1991
Rachel Uwanawich (daughter)
1962-1991
Father and daughter also
share a flat marker and
Rachel has a separate flat
marker.

Skipper Guy 1938-1983
Mary 1938-na
Etched flowers, painted red
and green; decorated for
Christmas

Lena Nasta Adams
1942-1996
Food offerings at
Christmas
Pete and Mary Moreno
Brazilian Gypsies
APPENDIX C:

FAIRMOUNT CEMETERY
MARIE ADAMS
1822 - 1915
AGED 93 YEARS
MOTHER.

Marie Adams 1822-1915
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Clark, Frank O.

Clebert, Jean-Paul

Coker, Gulbun

Connolly, Kate

Dean, Paul

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1915a Gypsy Queen of West Will Be Buried Here With Odd Ceremonies. Denver Post. June 2. 18:6

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Dodd-Poince, Adah

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1892 A Gypsy Queen’s Funeral: Held in Church-Few Features Peculiar to her People. Apr 16. 1:1.
1904b Gypsies Battle with Ellis Island Guards. Sep 5. 1:5.
1924a Gypsy King’s Tomb Raided by Robbers. May 31. 16:4.
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Robins, Elizabeth

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1915 Aged Gypsy Queen Dies. June 2. 4:2.

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1924 Grave Robbers Smash Way Into Gypsy King’s Tomb, Seeking Jewels. Sacramento Bee. May 30. 1:1

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Salo, Sheila

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