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Spring
**PENNSYLVANIA
FOLKLIFE**

1995



FOLK ART

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(Inside front cover)

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WILLIAM K. MUNRO

COVER:

*Slipware plate "Made in Stahl's Pottery Oct. 31, 1939,"
and five pysanky, the best known of the Eastern Euro-
pean decorated eggs.*



Master Bharathanatyam dancer Shoba Sharma instructing Samhitha Udapa and Anitha Seth in the postures and gestures that are used to express mood and tell a story in this classical Indian dance. (All photographs by Jane Levine, courtesy of "Tricks of the Trade: Apprenticeships in the Traditional Arts" exhibit, organized by the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission (PHAC) in celebration of the tenth year of Pennsylvania's Apprenticeship in the Traditional Arts Program, a collaborative program of the Pennsylvania Council on the Arts and the PHAC.)

CONSERVATION AND MEDIATION IN THE FOLK AND TRADITIONAL ARTS OF PENNSYLVANIA

by Diane Sidener Young

Folk and traditional arts serve important functions in the lives of Pennsylvanians. It has long been recognized that for many communities the folk arts conserve and express group identity and central cultural values. What is less obvious is that folk and traditional arts can also serve to mediate potentially destructive social changes within communities. I am going to examine two instances of traditional dance instruction presently being practiced in Pennsylvania which exemplify these two primary educational functions in the traditional arts.

Particular traditional arts have a strong tendency to persist in recognizable forms over generations. Because of this, those who practice these art forms are often invested with a unique sense of and responsibility for the continuity of their respective communities. In addition, the folk and traditional arts of a community provide an important means to train the young in being part of that community and in behaving appropriately, according to community standards. Indeed, they help the young to define their relations with and their relatedness to others, both within the community and when they venture outside of it.

Within the community, the arts that communities choose to continue to practice serve important functions or they would not be likely to persist. In the Asian Indian community in Pennsylvania, for example, traditional Bharathanatyam dance is valued as an artistic discipline for girls because it not only teaches a valued Indian art form, but it teaches *in ways that reinforce* culturally significant forms of behavior. Bharathanatyam dance instruction has aspects not familiar to most Pennsylvanians and is worth describing in some detail. The learning experience begins with the concept of "Gurukula." In brief, teaching according to Gurukula means that the teacher is responsible for more than just teaching students a discipline (in this case dance); it means that she is responsible for "mak[ing] them whole human beings"¹ as well. The students' reciprocal responsibility involves agreeing to relate to the teacher, or guru, as if they (the students) were members of the teacher's immediate family, or "kulu."

Furthermore, unlike other Indian and American educational settings, Bharathanatyam dance continues to be taught in traditional fashion. Each lesson begins and ends with



Beadworker Bob Moore from Boalsburg taught his apprentice, Medicine Eagle, the Cherokee patterns found in ritual objects such as ceremonial fans.

a ritual of respect which openly declares the Gurukula relationship. Students in turn approach the teacher who is seated on the floor at the front of the room, kneel and, hand placed first on their lips then on her sandal, “kiss” her sandal as a gesture of respect and submission to her guidance. This manifestation of respect by the students is complemented by the long-term and complex commitment of the teacher, a commitment visibly demonstrated during the sandal-kissing ritual as she expresses her concern for her students’ health, for their schoolwork, and for other aspects of their lives. The sandal-kissing ritual serves to frame the lesson and remove it from everyday concerns, in this case the distractions of American childhood, and thus framed within an explicitly Indian context, students engage in learning Bharathanatyam dance through intrinsically Indian concepts and traditions of instruction. The teaching of one essence of dance—consciousness of space—is accomplished through the students learning to put others before themselves, so that their experience of occupying space is learned in relation to others, thus *embodying* the Indian concept for getting rid of the self

by being part of community even in terms of space. Thus, within this particular art form, the learning process which occurs links respect for knowledge, tradition and authority, the acquisition of indispensable physical awareness and control, and the forging of individual and social identity in explicit relation to each other.

This is the first *educational* value I attribute to folk arts: a community’s folk arts provide some of the most fitting locations in which to help individuals understand who they are, in rich ways that inform redundantly. In the Indian dance example just given, it is not just the dance itself—its ancient heritage, postures, and rhythms, its symbolic hand gestures, and the content of the mythology that is portrayed—that helps young girls discover what it means to be Indian while living in America. It is also in the ways that they are taught: the forms of interaction with their teacher and fellow students, including the rituals of respect paid at the beginning and end of classes; the absence of comparisons between students and the attempt to reduce competition; the shaping and defining of space and time according to time-honored Indian concepts; and the fact



Master lace-maker Judith Brandau with apprentice Karen Schaffner and some of the products of their apprenticeship in Irish crochet lace-making.



Master Pang Xiong Sirothasuk, along with masters Yee Vang Lo and Mao Vang Lo, taught apprentices Ka Xiong and Xi (Judy) Xiong and six other young women in Hmong paj ntaub, traditional reverse applique and embroidery techniques.

that, during their lessons, their mothers sit cross-legged on the floor—likely in traditional garb—where they can monitor their children’s behavior and performance. Each of these things and a wealth of others informs young students of much that is significant for their inculcation into the Indian communities in diverse Pennsylvania.²

In truth, most folk arts are not termed “arts” except by outsiders, and likewise they probably are not termed “folk” either. Quilting was until recently generally termed art only in contexts outside of those in which it was practiced for use. Yet the aesthetics of designing a pleasing quilt are specific to communities, and much Appalachian quilting shares little by way of aesthetics with Amish quilting, say, and both are different from traditional African American quilting. Likewise the telling of a good joke is important to the social cohesion of the group in which it is told, and the values that determine whether it is well-told are likely to represent values appreciated in other realms as well, even while they, too, are likely to be group-specific. Such forms of expressive behavior, whether we term them art or not, are important to our lives within the communities

and groups which are, in turn, essential to our identities.

Apprenticeships within communities are one way in which folk arts specialists are trained. Apprenticeships in the folk and traditional arts may exist in informal, formal, or contractual relationships between individuals; they may or may not need outside support. In recognition of the importance of this form of community-based education, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania through a collaboration between the Heritage Affairs Commission and the Council on the Arts makes grants to support community-based folk arts apprenticeships.³ These grants have provided support for traditions as diverse as lace tatting, Ukrainian beadwork and leatherwork, basketmaking with several different kinds of materials, musical instrument making and performing (Greek *oud* and *santouri*, Puerto Rican *cuatro*, and Appalachian banjo), tin-, iron-, and silversmithing, and many, many others.⁴

A second function of folk arts has to do with mediating changes within a group’s identity.⁵ The arts of a group do not just present and re-create aesthetics and values, for these are entities that will and do change. Much more



Bronius Krokys, master of Lithuanian folk-song traditions, with apprentice Joseph Kasinskas.



Master Pablo Batista working in Afro-Cuban percussion with apprentice Elvin Padilla, Jr. The substance of this apprenticeship was focused on developing Elvin's capability in the clave, the essential rhythm in much of Caribbean music.

interesting to my mind are the ways in which folk and traditional arts mediate cultural changes. In one Pennsylvania refugee community traditional dance is one of the locations in which ethnic identity is being negotiated explicitly, and there are multiple perspectives within the community on certain kinds of appropriateness. Traditionally, this form of dance was practiced primarily by girls, with boys playing minimal, supporting roles. Yet the master has chosen to teach both boys and girls, arguing that this is America and that the dance belongs to the entire community. In this case, substantial changes are occurring within the community, as the young people, attending American schools, learn both English and the American customs that enable them to succeed in school as well as relate to their fellow students. The elders of the community seek ways to teach the youth traditional values and culture, rightly fearing loss of community and family cohesion, both of which are central to identity and values within that community.

In this refugee community then, as in the Indian community, traditional dance is valued as an essential art form,

one that embodies much that is characteristic of the identity of that culture. One segment of the community wants to preserve the dance in its more traditional form, while another seeks to accomplish the same ends—conserving traditional culture by teaching dance—for all of the community's youth, recognizing that the need for traditional values is as strong for boys as for girls, and that the dance is changing as it is adapted to new social constraints and contexts. Dance for this community has undergone a change within the last generation from functioning as an elite art form to one that now functions as a folk art by being re-cast as a marker of ethnic identity. Teaching boys the full range of artistic possibilities in traditional dance has the potential both to add to that community-building process by allowing all of the community to participate in it, and to detract from it by making it less traditional and thus, perhaps, lessening its value as a conserving force.⁶

I have described functions of folk arts in community-specific ways. Both functions of folk arts discussed so far, that of the passing on of heritage and of the mediation



George Bowser taught the generations-old skills of the Somerset County tinsmith to apprentices John Peck and Daniel Freeburg; some of the implements produced during their apprenticeship are seen in the background.

of change, have been within communities. They may be in recognition of others at the group's boundaries, as is the case in the American influences so apparent in the second example, but the functions served are specific to the group. Some of the findings of a recent national study by the Fund for Folk Culture are pertinent: "Folk artists are oriented to their communities and neighborhoods and perceive themselves as representatives of the cultural life of their communities."⁷ Folk artists, by virtue of working with communicative forms that embody and express core issues of identity and values while teaching in ways that reinforce those values and sense of identity, are often the experts best equipped to serve as representatives of their communities and to transmit central teachings to the young.

In other words, folk artists, in having mastery of the symbolic means of their communities, are often in a position of defining, in some senses, what it means to belong to that community and therefore of defining the community. Thus, they are the specialists capable of mediating changes facing the community and those best equipped to educate others about who that community is *in relation to others*.

It seems to me that these are crucial functions of folk arts to our larger society, that diverse entity of American society that defies easy metaphorization. In addition to their primary functions within communities, folk arts can serve a secondary educational function within society. This function relates to the ability of folk arts to mediate change and to explicate and negotiate boundaries. In any diverse society, boundaries between groups are vital to the continuation of manageable community, and these must be clearly established both to those within and to those without. Since artists are among those who are entrusted with the role of establishing those demarcations, they are often better equipped than non-specialist members of a community to engage in dialogues across boundaries.

For members of our diverse society, the seeking of understanding about who others are, how they view the world and what this means in terms of the ways in which they behave are increasingly necessary endeavors. (The results of a lack of such understanding between disparate groups living in proximity are in the news on a daily basis, and they are tragic. In their extreme forms, we know them



Master gardener Blanche Epps sharing her knowledge of urban gardening with Vietnamese gardener Chien Dinh. This cross-cultural apprenticeship supports learning in a shared context of native climate (Ms. Epps is from South Carolina which has a warm, humid climate similar to Mr. Chien's native Vietnam) and rice-based cuisines. The strategies of urban gardening within this shared context are the subject of the apprenticeship, more than the culturally based gardening traditions of either.



Germaine Ingram studied with Edith "Baby Edwards" Hunt to learn the steps and stories of women tap dancers in Philadelphia.

as "Balkanization," on the one hand, in which groups live side-by-side, maintaining their own language, customs, religion, and prejudices without adequate common culture, and on the other hand, as genocide.)

For members of our society, seeking such knowledge through the folk and traditional arts can lead towards understanding. It can be done. It has been done individually and locally since the beginnings of our society, by virtue of nothing more virtuous than extreme necessity. The folk and traditional arts and the artists who shape their artistic traditions and their communities, because of their essential roles as conveyors of identity and values, have been an unparalleled resource for guiding us in this exploration.

ENDNOTES

¹Interview with master Bharathanatyam dancer Shoba Sharma, July 8, 1994.

²Interview with Shoba Sharma, apprentice dancer Geethanjali Gulendran and the apprentice's mother and sister.

³For further information, contact the Pennsylvania Council on the Arts, Folklife Program, 216 Finance Building, Harrisburg, PA 17120.

⁴A current exhibition entitled "Tricks of the Trade" is touring to several communities of the state. It showcases a number of the apprenticeships that have been conducted through this program. Contact the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission for information about scheduling and locations, 309 Forum Building, Harrisburg, PA 17120.

⁵The ethnographic convention of using a group's traditional arts as a "window" into their aesthetics and values may present an overly rigid conceptualization of traditional arts and of values. A similar argument is made about ritual in Madeline Duntley, "Observing Meaning: Ritual Criticism, Interpretation, and Anthropological Fieldwork." In Pamela R. Frese, *Celebrations of Identity: Multiple Voices in American Ritual Performance*. Westport, Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey, 1993.

⁶The Pennsylvania Council on the Arts also provides funding of community-based arts education programs.

⁷Susan Levitas, General Editor. *The Folk Arts in America: A Study of the Needs of the Field and Opportunities for Private Foundations*. Albuquerque: Fund for Folk Culture/Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund, 1995: 3.

ISAAC AND THOMAS STAHL, THE REVIVAL POTTERS OF POWDER VALLEY

by Anne Goda



Charles Ludwig Stahl and family. Front row, l. to r.: Emma, Lizzie, Isaac; middle row, Charles, Charles L., Rosie, Mrs. Stahl, Thomas; back row, James, William, Caroline. (Unless otherwise noted, all photographs courtesy of John H. Schultz)

Redware jampots, plaster of paris molds, crocks caked with glaze residues, stacks of ceramic saggars, motionless potters' wheels, empty drying racks, and an empty kiln surrounded by potsherds and firewood, along with sepia-colored photographs with curled edges, crowds of people fingering objects and snapping pictures, a pitched canopy, and the drone of the auctioneer's call—these were the sights and sounds associated with the auction held at the Stahl Pottery in Powder Valley, Pennsylvania, on July 25 and August 29, 1987.

Three generations of Stahls had followed the Pennsylvania-German potting tradition in Powder Valley. Charles Ludwig Stahl operated a successful business there from the middle of the last century until his death in 1896, when

his son Isaac took over. Isaac soon found, however, that he was unable to compete with the mass producers of ceramic products and closed the pottery sometime in 1902 or 1903. But in the 1930s, despite America's ongoing Depression, Isaac—along with his brother Thomas—revived the business. As both Isaac and Thomas were over sixty at the time, they searched for someone to carry on the family tradition. Isaac eventually convinced his son Russell to learn the art of the potter, and he operated the business sporadically until 1956, when the kiln was fired for the last time. It was Russell's death which prompted the auctioning of the property and ended an era in the cultural history of Pennsylvania as the last wood-fired kiln was sold.



Laying up the stones for the base of the kiln.



Beginning to lay the foundation of the Stahl brothers' kiln.

POWDER VALLEY AND THE FIRST STAHL POTTERY

Charles Ludwig Stahl was born in 1828 in Carl's Hill, Upper Milford Township, Lehigh County, and served an apprenticeship with John Krauss, a potter of the same county. According to Isaac, his father started his own pottery in 1847 or 1848, but since the 1850 census shows Charles Stahl still residing with John Krauss, it likely was sometime after that date that he began his own business in Powder Valley.¹

Located about forty miles northwest of Philadelphia, ten miles south of Allentown, and twenty miles east of Reading and named for its early gunpowder industry, the Valley's focal point was Indian Creek. The Creek's usefulness as an energy source brought much industry; its beauty and serenity attracted summer residents. Acquiring a tract of land in the Valley, home to an ethnic German community, Charles Stahl established his pottery on Indian Creek.

Since Southeastern Pennsylvania had wood to fire kilns, distinctive and attractive veins of red clay, and an abundance of markets, it proved to be an excellent area for redware production, and Charles Stahl was a traditional potter who made utilitarian redware pieces. Named, of course, for the distinctive color of the native clays which the potter dug, processed, and shaped, redware is a specific type of low-fired, porous earthenware. Utilitarian redware

included such items as milk and cream pots, apple butter pots, flower pots, pie plates, candle holders, bowls, and baking pans, as well as roof tiles and water pipes. Household items were covered with a lead glaze to make them nonporous, and copper, iron, or manganese were sometimes added to that glaze to give it a relatively uniform color.

A traditional potter served a small community (or several small communities), producing those articles needed for the house, dairy, and farm. Many of the things he made were indispensable even for humble households, permitting, for example, the storage of food for the winter months. If the potter was very successful he might have several employees. Isaac Stahl noted that his father operated the business by himself for approximately one year; he then hired another potter and shortly after that, two more. He also trained three of his sons—James (1860-1943), Thomas (1863-1942), and Isaac (1872-1950)—in the art of potting. At times there were five or six potters' wheels in operation at the shop.²

Autumn—apple butter season—was an especially busy time of year at the Stahl pottery. Then the shop yard would be lined with horse-drawn wagons driven by merchants eager to replenish their supply of apple butter crocks. Charles Stahl would open the kiln at six o'clock in the morning and by eleven o'clock every pot would be sold. In fact, Isaac recalled that "so anxious were the storekeepers for crocks, that in order to hasten the unloading of the kiln after firing, the workers donned extra-heavy gloves



The Stahl Pottery. The stone section houses the pug mill, and the center section was where the pottery was turned and dried; Russell Stahl added the low section (foreground, right) at a later date.

to enable them to carry out the still hot crocks from the kiln. . . .”³

In Charles Stahl’s time all the necessary potting tasks were done by hand or with the help of water- or horse-power. Stahl himself initially used a horse-turned grinder which consisted of a large, heavy tub with high sides which had a shaft with horizontal blades fastened vertically to its center. Attached to this vertical shaft was a horizontal beam whose free end was fastened to a horse that walked round and round, grinding and mixing the clay. Later, Stahl took advantage of Indian Creek, building a water-powered pug (grinding-and-mixing) mill.⁴

At the Stahl pottery individual items of redware were

shaped either on a potter’s wheel (referred to as “throwing” or “turning” a piece) or a drape mold. A turned piece had to be centered properly on the wheel and worked deftly with the hands so its walls would be of uniform thickness. In drape molding the clay was rolled out—a process similar to rolling out pie dough—and fitted over a dish-shaped form. Many pie plates and slip and sgraffito plates were made this way.

Charles Stahl contracted lead poisoning and died in 1896, so he witnessed only the beginning of the machine age and its tremendous productive power. Isaac remembered his father telling him, “If you learn the potter’s trade you will never be put out of business by the machine.”⁵



Kiln and shed with stacks of firewood and saggers; since this picture was taken a wing has been added at the left to protect the firewood.

Little did he know that a few years after his death the competition from machine-made ceramics would force the closing of the pottery business he had operated successfully for almost fifty years.

When Charles Stahl died, Isaac took control of the business since his older brothers, James and Thomas, had both left their father's employ when they were about eighteen. During his first year as owner, Isaac rehired Thomas as a salesman and a helper at the pottery; a year after that, the two entered into partnership, maintaining the business under the name "Powder Valley Pottery—Stahl Brothers," until improvements in technology and mechanized production forced them to close it in 1902 or 1903.

THE REVIVED POTTERY

When they closed their father's potting shop, Isaac was thirty-one and Thomas, forty. During their thirty-year hiatus from the business both remained in the area (although not always in Powder Valley) and both raised families of eight children: Isaac had seven boys and one girl; Thomas, seven girls and one boy.⁶ Thomas worked as a carpenter, was part owner of a tobacco shop in Powder Valley, and cultivator of a giant truck patch. He sold his produce in the local community and also became well-known for his prepared foods—pot cheese, apple butter, and Dew-drops, an ice cream treat. Isaac spent the majority of those years



Thomas Stahl turning a pitcher on his kickwheel.

as an employee of the Boyertown Casket Company, although he was also a woodworker and a self-employed cement worker and stonemason. He was an avid musician as well, giving instruction and participating in several bands.

Three events combined to bring the Stahl brothers back into the pottery business. The first, which occurred in the early 1930s, was Isaac's attendance at a Berks County auction where he recognized among the items for sale a variety of earthenware pieces made at the Stahl Pottery. Originally priced at six to eight cents each, these pieces were now commanding prices ranging from \$2.50 to \$6.50. (His surprise at these prices caused Isaac to turn to his friend Elmer Conrad and say: "Elmer, if that is what these

pie plates are worth, I'll make them again some day.")

The second event was the tragic accident on March 10, 1932, in Neiffer in neighboring Montgomery County, in which potter Jacob Medinger died of injuries received while firing his kiln. Newspaper reports of his death hailed Medinger as the last of the old Pennsylvania German potters, and claimed that the making of artistic, handcrafted ceramic ware was now a lost art.⁸ The publication of these articles was the third event which influenced the Stahls' decision to return to the pottery business. When he read them, Isaac's first thought was to write to the newspapers and let their readers know there were three brothers who could still throw pots in the old Pennsylvania-German way. Instead, he and Thomas researched the subject and found



Thomas Stahl and grandson Franklin Lagler at the glaze mill.

that old pieces of Pennsylvania German pottery were now considered historical and collectible, especially the decorative slip and sgraffito ware. Indeed, many were valuable antiques and held in private collections or museums worldwide.⁹

Their research "brought to the Stahl brothers the idea that an old fashioned Pottery would be more profital [sic] then ever before."¹⁰ Thus the brothers decided to revive the Stahl Pottery which they would keep in the community where it had originated, although they would not pot in their father's shed or fire his kiln—both had been razed. Isaac and Thomas decided to build their kiln—with their brother James's help—on Thomas's property (located about

a quarter of a mile from the center of Powder Valley and the original pottery) so they could use his barn as their potting shed. They began the work necessary to transform it into a workroom, clay processing area, and storage room in the winter of 1932. In the spring of 1933 they proceeded to build the kiln on a site about twenty feet behind the barn. Isaac an James did the masonry work and Thomas, the carpentry work.

The Stahls presumably designed their kiln after their father's, or with a combination of characteristics from his, and other potters' kilns they had visited. A round stone structure, the brothers' kiln stands 128 inches high and has four brick fireboxes equidistant around the base. Wooden



These slip cups, butter molds, and drape molds were all used at the Stahl Pottery.



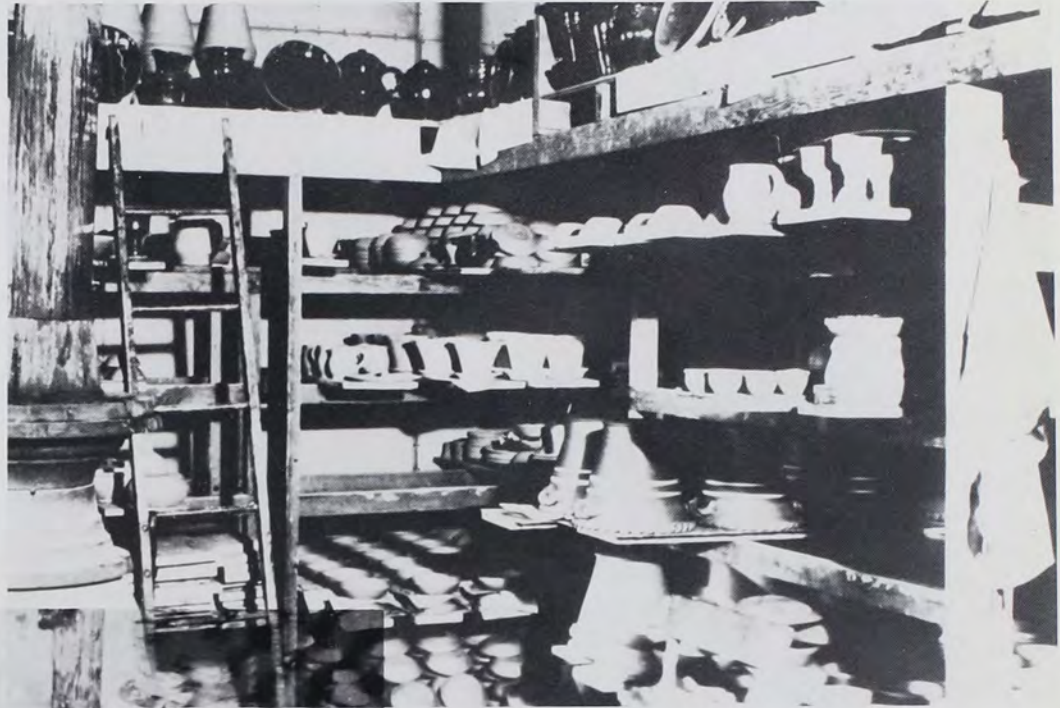
Shelves where glazing compounds were mixed and stored.

stairs, centered between two of the fireboxes, lead to the entrance of the firing chamber. Peepholes for peering into the firing chamber and vents in the chamber floor facilitate the firing process. An open shed with a peaked roof covers the kiln, and this roof was initially fixed. But during the kiln's first firing, the heat and flames shooting out of the roof vents became so intense the center of the roof burned away. This section was then replaced with removable panels which were set aside during firing.

Desiring a variety of colored clays for their work, the Stahls tapped several local sources, including areas near Hoppenville, Gilbertsville, and Red Hill in Montgomery County, and from the property surrounding the Daniel

Boone Homestead near Birdsboro, in Berks County. Shoveled into bushel baskets which were then loaded onto Thomas's Model T truck, the clay was transported back to the pottery where it was heaped on a wooden table and wet down for two or three days before being sent through the pug mill. Then, stacked in fifty-pound blocks, the clay was stored in the corner of the pugging room under burlap and old comforters.¹¹

Chunks would be sliced from this wheel-ready clay, carried to the throwing room and centered on the wheel. This was considered to be the most important step in throwing a pot, because an off-center bottom would crack when fired. Finger pressure and wetting the clay with a



Pottery on drying racks in the drying room.



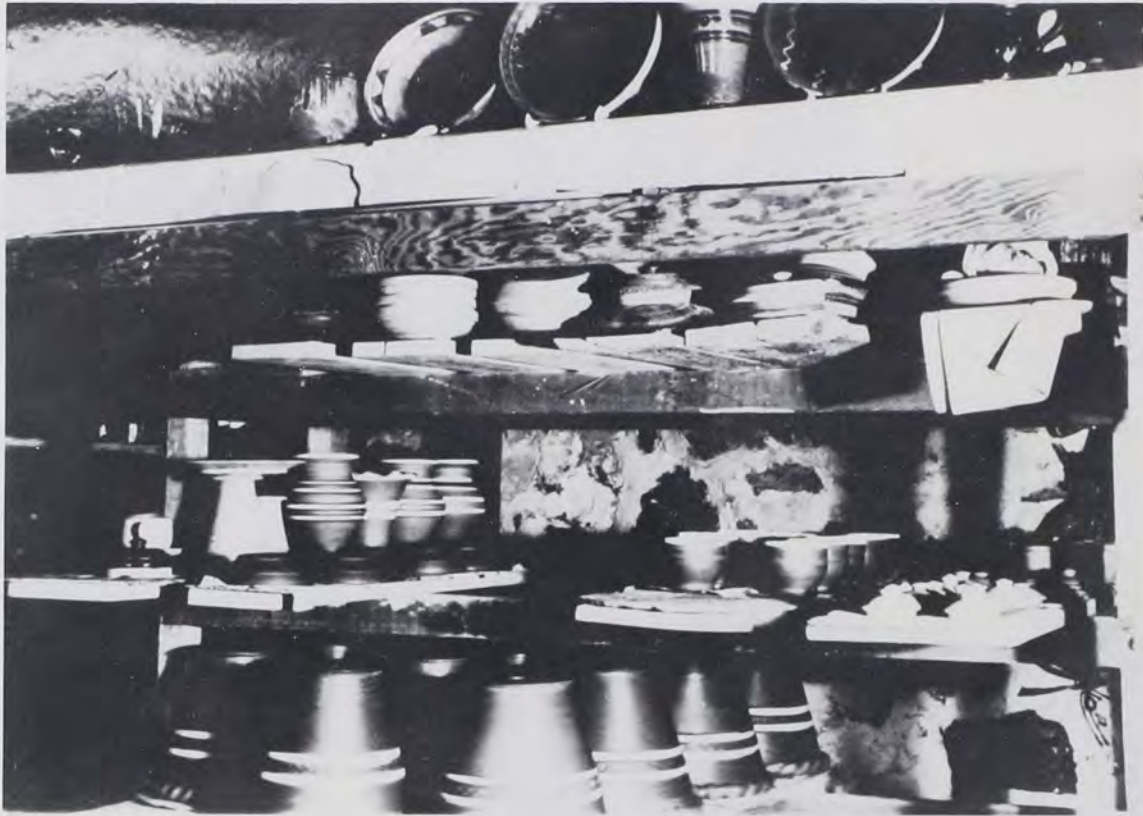
Pie plates and assorted Stahl pottery stacked on a table in the pug room where the clay was processed and stored.

sponge, combined with the turning of the wheel, created a straight-sided shape from the centered mound of clay. Then, working from the inside, the potter shaped and molded the clay into the desired form with his fingers. Great skill was required in knowing exactly how much pressure to apply; one miscalculation and the vessel being formed became a lump of clay again.¹²

Isaac and Thomas each had his own workbench and potter's wheel. Isaac's wheel was electrically operated, but Thomas turned on the traditional kickwheel. It is apparent from a study of their orders, letters, and records that Thomas turned many of their traditional items, while Isaac produced a lot of their newer pieces. Existing written orders show that the Stahl brothers made approximately seventy-

five different kinds of pottery; everything from very traditional pie plates to very modern ashtrays and casserole dishes with lids. The fact that they made pieces unlike any their father ever produced is not surprising since their decision to revive the pottery was driven by the need to make a living as well as by a desire to preserve traditional potting methods and products.

Most of the Stahls' pottery had some type of ornamentation. Incising, fancy handles and rims, and slip and sgraffito (scratch) decoration were all used. Slip (liquid clay the consistency of cream or gravy) was trailed onto a piece by hand or with the use of a slip cup. This clay cup is fashioned with one or more holes into which turkey or goose quills are inserted and through which the slip can



Stahl pottery on drying racks.

be trailed onto the damp earthenware. (The Stahls used white, green, and black slip.) Using the sgraffito technique to decorate their pie plates, the Stahls covered the entire piece with slip and then scratched a design through it, exposing the redware beneath. Their designs included a majority of the traditional Pennsylvania-German motifs, ranging from stylized flowers and foliage to birds, animals, people, and proverbs.¹³

(In any discussion of the Stahls' slip- and sgraffito-decorated plates, mention must be made of Thomas Stahl's daughter, Carrie Stahl Schultz. Carrie and her husband, Wilbur, who lived less than a half mile from the pottery, had six children, but even so she managed to find time to decorate pie plates for her father and uncle. Her son John remembers that his mother kept her tools in the basement. There, in the rafters, was a Bold Perfecto cigar box that held the very simple implements—a paint brush, a few sharpened points and pencils, and three wooden-handled, pointed metal tools—she used to draw her complicated designs. Carrie also sculpted and molded animals, of which she was very fond. She liked turtles particularly, and she also made elephants, bears, horses, dogs, hens, and chicks. She continued to make these clay animals almost until her death in 1986.¹⁴)

In addition to being decorated, the majority of Stahl pottery was glazed, and customers often requested specific glaze colors or a combination of colors. Isaac spent many

hours experimenting with glaze recipes and ingredients, first mixing the glaze, then applying it to a clay vessel and firing the piece and recording the results. Hundreds of recipes and firing results are preserved in the pottery records. The Stahls also carefully marked most of their output for they wanted everyone to know they were once again making Pennsylvania-German redware; they did not want their pieces to be mistaken for antiques. Using a sharpened wooden stick they inscribed the bottoms of their freshly turned vessels, usually with their name and the date, generally written with slashes; sometimes they included "Made in Stahls Pottery" and/or "Powder Valley, PA" as well. Many items were also marked with information about weather conditions or were personalized with customers' names and special dates to commemorate occasions such as Christmas or birthdays or anniversaries.

The turned and decorated earthenware was placed on a rack to dry, and depending on the piece this took about three weeks. (Sometimes pieces were carried outside to speed the process.) On average, the Stahl brothers fired their kiln twice a year, and when they did, it was important to load it correctly to insure a successful firing. Certain pieces had to be put in specific areas in the firing chamber so they would not burn or be harmed by the smoke; Isaac oversaw the placement of individual items, especially the sgraffito plates. Ceramic surrounds called saggars were used to separate the pieces and protect the biscuitware and



Isaac Stahl at the kiln firebox.



Thomas Stahl at the kiln firebox.

greenware from the hot flames. The kiln held anywhere from one to two thousand pieces, and when the loading was completed its doorway was sealed with brick and clay.

Firing, an all-day process, started very early in the morning. Fires were built in the four fireboxes (chestnut was the preferred wood), each of which was tended by a helper, usually a relative of one of the brothers. Each helper used a wooden tender to keep the fire in its box, and two wooden tubs filled with water stood a few feet away in case a tender had to be cooled down. Sixteen pie-shaped vents fed the heat from the fireboxes into the kiln which was heated by a slow, soaking fire for the first ten or eleven hours of the burn. Eventually the fires were raised and the kiln would expand and push against the two iron bands that supported the middle. Sixteen peepholes permitted Isaac to peer inside and see the color of the earthenware and the amount of smoke and flame present. Colored flames would shoot out the top of the kiln and a distinctive odor would fill the air. The burn turned into a celebration, with friends and relatives gathering to see the sight; even customers came to witness the event.¹⁵

After the firing galvanized metal was placed over the fireboxes and the kiln was left to cool for a week or two. When it was opened, customers again came to the pottery, especially if they were picking up special orders. And the Stahls *did* receive many special orders, with customers coming to place them and to ask the brothers questions.

Isaac and Thomas kept a guest register and asked all their customers to sign it; they were then sent postcards saying their orders were ready or telling them when a firing would occur. The brothers were proud of the many signatures in their guest book, particularly those of people who had traveled long distances. Groups were also welcome, with special visiting arrangements made and demonstrations organized for them. Isaac claimed he never advertised, but there were many ways that news about the pottery spread. For example, many articles about it appeared over the years, some carried in newspapers as far away as Clinton, Oklahoma, Chicago, Illinois, and St. Louis, Missouri.

The Stahl brothers operated the pottery in their own relaxed, Pennsylvania-German way. Isaac smoked a corn-cob pipe as he turned his wheel, and Thomas chewed Red Man tobacco as he operated his.¹⁶ Their grandchildren recall that the two hardly spoke a word to each other during the workday and when they did, it was always in the Pennsylvania German dialect. Each accepted responsibility for his own work, but the brothers were nonetheless a team; neither would have embarked on the pottery venture without the other. The two worked together until Thomas died on December 10, 1942. By that time America was deeply involved in World War II and shortages abounded. The ingredients necessary to mix glazes were hard to come by, and customers wrote saying they were unable to pick up their orders due to a shortage of gasoline or tires or both.



Isaac (l.) and Thomas Stahl with a shield candle holder. (Courtesy of the Schwenkfelder Library)



Thomas Stahl in the turning room; drying racks can be seen in the background. (Courtesy of the Schwenkfelder Library)

Consequently, Isaac closed the pottery sometime in the spring or early summer of 1943 and took a job at the Bally Case and Cooler Company where he worked throughout the remainder of the war; he resumed potting in Powder Valley in the fall of 1945.¹⁷

From the time they first revived the business in the 1930s, the brothers had hoped that one of their children or grandchildren would learn the craft and carry on the Stahl potting tradition. Toward that end, Isaac recorded his glaze formulas, his test firings and results, his firing procedures, and any hints he thought might be of help to the next generation. Isaac tried to convince his son Russell to learn the potter's art, but Russell enlisted in the army and served in the South Pacific until March 2, 1946. After much discussion when he returned, Russell agreed to learn the craft, and in the summer of 1948 entered into an apprenticeship which was retroactive to June 1, 1947. The apprenticeship required the completion of six thousand hours of employment and was never completed, although Russell maintained the pottery until his father's death in March of 1950. Russell worked at the pottery sporadically after that, purchasing the Fredricksville Hotel in 1953 and eventually closing the family business; he fired the wood-burning kiln for the last time in 1956. He did express some interest in rekindling it at the time of the Bicentennial in 1976, but with his death in August of 1986 all activity at the pottery ceased.¹⁸

THE ARTS AND CRAFTS MOVEMENT

Throughout the history of the revived Stahl Pottery certain anomalies are apparent, creating interesting questions for study and interpretation. How was it possible, for instance, for two elderly men to successfully revive a business that had been dead for thirty years? And what made success possible in the middle of the Great Depression when over 100,000 other small businesses failed? The answers can be found in an examination of the growth and development of the Arts and Crafts Movement, and particularly the American Colonial Revival aspect of that Movement. Indeed, it was the Stahls' traditional training combined with their desire to make a profit and the values and rhetoric of the Arts and Crafts Movement that kindled a more sophisticated, aesthetic art in Powder Valley and produced new ideas for their business. Absorbing some of the elitist attitudes and ideals of the Arts and Crafts Movement, Isaac and Thomas Stahl utilized them on a broad, popular level.

"At the core of the Arts and Crafts philosophy lay the concept that work should be the creative and joyful essence of daily life rather than a mere act of sustenance."¹⁹ The Movement began in England as a reaction to the Industrial Revolution. There, the machine was initially hailed as the answer to mankind's problems, but by the middle of the 19th century industrial evils such as the factory system,



Slipware plate made by Thomas Stahl and decorated by his daughter, Carrie Stahl Schultz, July 31, 1941.

child labor, pollution, and the loss of craftsmanship characterized labor. The protean figure of the Arts and Crafts Movement was William Morris (1834-1896). Morris lectured and wrote about the virtues of craftsmanship, but it was because of his personal participation as a designer that many of the Movement's ideas and values proliferated in England and crossed the Atlantic to an enthusiastic America.²⁰

By 1896, the year of Morris's (and Charles Stahl's) death, the forefront of technological and industrial development had shifted to the United States. Since the same evils were a part of American industrial life, Morris's philosophy and ideas found fertile ground here and attracted many followers. As the Arts and Crafts Movement continued to draw supporters in America, two factions developed. The progressive faction, which included architects Frank Lloyd Wright and Greene and Greene, learned to take advantage of the machine's benefits, producing what was called "High Style Arts and Crafts." The conservative faction, on the other hand, longed for the stability of a preindustrial past and so turned to various revival styles such as Tudor, Spanish, Medieval, and especially Colonial.²¹

The Colonial Revival, which continues to intrigue America, has been described as "not simply another historic episode locked into the past, but a phenomenon that continues with impressive vitality into the present day as an ongoing part of our own culture. . . . The colonial is of the past, but it is also very much of the present."²²

Indeed, long after World War I, Colonial continued to be the most popular of the revival styles that dominated interior decoration in the United States and exact replicas abounded, although equally common were forms adapted from past styles to new functions.²³ In America, art pottery was an important part of the Arts and Crafts Movement and its Colonial Revival offshoot. The production of all art pottery was motivated to some degree by commercial interests, of course, but still permitted that all important artist-product relationship championed by William Morris and the American proponents of the Arts and Crafts Movement.²⁴ Personal creativity was stressed—the artisan who conceived the piece also threw the piece and decorated it.

Some potteries influenced by the Arts and Crafts Movement experimented with new glazes, clays, and potting techniques but others, influenced by the Colonial Revival, chose to emulate the common earthenwares that had been made in the 18th and 19th centuries. Jugtown Pottery, started by Jacques and Juliana Busbee in Moore County, North Carolina, recreated utilitarian earthenware pieces as did the Roycroft Company of East Aurora, New York.²⁵ The Stahls belong in this category as well: Artists, architects, reformers, and the general public searched for objects and styles which would resurrect bygone lifestyles, and this search—an attempt to escape the present by embracing a romanticized view of the past—helped kindle the Powder Valley revival. Central to that revival was the production

of Pennsylvania German redware typical of the colonial period. In the Stahls' revival can be found many of the values of the Arts and Crafts Movement: a rebirth of craftsmanship; the aesthetics of the colonial past; a belief in education, patriotism, and native icons; and the need for commercial success.

As a result of the Colonial Revival, regional interpretations of the past developed throughout the United States. In Southeastern Pennsylvania—home of the Stahls—colonial is equated with Pennsylvania German, and support for and interest in the preservation of the Pennsylvania German folk culture appeared in many forms. There was much scholarly interest, and one of the first researchers in the field was Edwin Atlee Barber, who studied, collected, and wrote about pottery, publishing *Tulip Ware of the Pennsylvania-German Potters* in 1903. (Isaac and Thomas Stahl and Carrie Stahl Schultz each owned a copy of Barber's book, which they used as a source for designs and proverbs.) Barber discovered a sgraffito plate with a German inscription which he believed had been made in Europe; further research, however, revealed that part of the inscription was in Pennsylvania German. Other scholars—among them Frances Lichten (*The Folk Art of Rural Pennsylvania*, 1946) and Cornelius Weygandt (*The Dutch Country Folks and Treasures in The Red Hills of Pennsylvania*, 1939)—also studied and wrote about the Pennsylvania Germans. Lichten's and Weygandt's signatures both appear in the Stahls' guest register, indicating they visited the site and were aware of the Colonial Revival going on in Powder Valley.

Journalists as well as scholars visited the Stahls, and they often exhibited an attitude typical of admirers of the Colonial Revival. For example, describing the pottery and the feelings evoked by a visit to it, well-known Allentown artist Walter E. Baum wrote: "Powder Valley is off the beaten track. Once you've found it, it is easy to locate the Stahls—up a stony hill to a little side road at the end of which, by the edge of a wood, nestles a Pennsylvania-Dutch house and the pottery ensemble. There you may be privileged to find an elderly man, stooping industriously over his work, and a little boy—both intent upon a labor of joy; and you may sense before your eyes a bridge between the old days and the new."²⁶

It was Wallace Nutting, an important contributor to the Colonial Revival, who wrote: "Let nothing leave your hands till you are proud of the work." Anyone who knew Isaac Stahl knew how precise he was and how pleased he was with his work. In that vein, another newspaper account of the Stahls said: "They are proud that they merely use their hands for the testing of the clay, that they can tell by the color of the flames the exact heat of the kiln, that they need no impressive looking instruments to know when they have their art 'centered.' Above all, they are proud that their establishment is back 'in the sticks' and that rather than streamlined salesrooms and methods of distributing their merchandise the world beats the proverbial path to their door."²⁷

The Stahls did manage to get out of "the sticks" occasionally, giving demonstrations throughout the state. They appeared at Kutztown State College (now Kutztown University), Ursinus College, and several times at State College; they also participated in the Emmaus Chrysanthemum Exhibit and the Allentown Fair.²⁸ In February, 1938, the Stahl brothers gave a pottery demonstration at the Strawbridge & Clothier Department Store on Old York Road in Philadelphia. In conjunction with their visit, that month's issue of the store's pamphlet, *The Old York Road Caller*, featured photographs and descriptions of the Stahl Pottery and said: "We feel that this week at our Old York Road Store will be very interesting; especially to craftsman, artists, and students of the early settlers."²⁹

Speaking of early settlers, the Stahls were concerned with more than their own Pennsylvania German forebears, for in addition to fashioning pieces which commemorated their regional identity, they made pottery which reflected the search for a national identity. They turned out plates, vases, and medallions decorated with the likenesses of such American heroes as George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and Abraham Lincoln. Even contemporary figures such as General Douglas MacArthur were represented, as the Stahls followed wartime events, often scratching important war news and the date on the back of a plate. Isaac also wrote sayings related to the war; sayings such as, "We Americans Trust in God. We strucked [sic] and pray Because we love Pease [sic]. No Nation are [or] Nation either in Europe are [or] Asia can take us under their feet."³⁰ As already noted, patriotism was one of the key elements of the Colonial Revival and the Arts and Crafts Movement.

Indeed, with their interest in and appreciation of their customers, their community, other craftsmen, and even historians and cultural anthropologists, the Stahl brothers were squarely within the tradition of the Arts and Crafts Movement. That Movement had led to the development of businesses specializing in supplies for the handcraft industry, as well as to design schools, night schools, settlement houses, and arts and crafts societies, periodicals, and trade directories. (The Stahls were listed under "Art Ware Pottery" in the 1935, 1938, and 1943 issues of the *Ceramic Trade Directory*.) The Stahl brothers were well aware of these new developments, for their personal papers are filled with advertisements, fliers, and magazines from many and various organizations.

Isaac and Thomas Stahl believed in what they were doing—keeping alive an artistic tradition of the past for the benefit of future generations—and had they been asked to do so would no doubt have identified themselves as participants in the Movement which had meant a rejuvenation for arts and crafts. Two small-town potters, they had achieved the goals of the Arts and Crafts Movement by reviving a traditional craft and controlling every process involved in it from start to finish; by meeting a varied market demand and in so doing generating an income; and by finding satisfaction and happiness in their work.

So, while today Powder Valley is a quiet community—

no mills hum along Indian Creek, no pottery is turned, and no smell of burning clay permeates the air—it is a community with material objects which remain to attest to the presence of an earlier generation. The thousands of pieces of Stahl pottery still in existence speak not only of their history, but also of their dedication to a set of enduring values and goals important to artisans everywhere. Moreover, the “Stahl Brothers . . . not only saved for posterity early Pennsylvania Pottery designs and the art of executing them, they . . . also preserved in their own characters, the honest, forthright qualities, the gentleness and kindness, so natural to the early Pennsylvania German settlers.”³¹

EPILOGUE

Between the first and second auction at the Stahl pottery in 1987, Thomas Stahl's descendants held a family reunion. Fearing that the family property would be sold and no

longer be in Stahl hands, family members decided to form an organization and buy it. At the second auction then, representatives of this organization bought many of the tools, photographs, and other objects relating to the pottery business, as well as the property itself.

Today the Stahl Pottery Preservation Society, Inc. exists to preserve the heritage and integrity of the pottery. The dream of the organization is to one day have a working potter at the site, not for commercial reasons, but rather to maintain the Stahl Pottery tradition. On the third Saturday of every June the Society holds an open house—a “Pottery Festival”—to increase the visibility of the pottery and the public's awareness of it. The event includes tours of the potting shed and kiln, displays of Stahl pottery, modern potters displaying their wares, and local crafts.

The 1995 Festival—the eighth—is June 17, from 9:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.

ENDNOTES

¹Holly K. Green, “Stahl Pottery: An In-depth Study,” *Historical Review of Berks County*, Fall 1986, pp. 131–160; Seventh Census of the United States, 1850.

²I. S. Stahl, “Pennsylvania German Pottery,” *Ceramic Age*, September, 1942, pp. 69–71.

³*Ibid.*; and Guy F. Reinert, “Passing of the Stahl Brothers, Potters, Has Ended an Era in Folkart of Region,” rpt. from *Town and Country*, March 17, 1950.

⁴Reinert, “Passing of Stahl Brothers.”

⁵Unpublished sources, Schwenkfelder Library. There is a discrepancy in the date of the closing of the pottery. Isaac states they closed the same year his father died, yet he also writes that he carried on the business for two years and then he and Tom, as partners, ran the business for several more years. This would coincide with the account book which is dated into the early twentieth century.

⁶Miller & Heist, p. 25; interview with Florence Stahl Snyder and Irwin Snyder, May 4, 1988; Reinert, “Passing of Stahl Brothers”; interview by Susan L. F. Isaacs with Dennis Stahl, Francis Stahl, and Dorothy Stahl Leh, September 15, 1987.

⁷Reinert, “Passing of Stahl Brothers.”

⁸Cornelius Weygandt, *The Dutch Country Folks and Treasures in The Red Hills of Pennsylvania* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939), pp. 19–30.

⁹Unpublished sources, Schwenkfelder Library. Much of the primary source material is written by hand in a style or dialect akin to Pennsylvania German. Rather than attempt to change this ethnic link to the past, spellings and grammar will be quoted exactly with explanations in brackets wherever necessary for clarity.

¹⁰Unpublished sources, Schwenkfelder Library.

¹¹Interview with Franklin T. Lagler, May 9, 1988, and Russell Stauffer, June 18, 1988.

¹²Reinert “Passing of Stahl Brothers.”

¹³Edwin Atlee Barber, *Tulip Ware of the Pennsylvania-German Potters An Historical Sketch of the Art of Slip-Decoration in the United States* (1926; rpt. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1970), pp. 81–89.

¹⁴Interview with John H. Schultz, April 26, 1988.

¹⁵Interview with Florence Stahl Snyder and Irwin Snyder, May 4, 1988.; unpublished sources, Schwenkfelder Library.

¹⁶Interview with Florence Stahl Snyder and Irwin Snyder, May 4, 1988 and Franklin T. Lagler, May 9, 1988.

¹⁷Interview with Foster Schultz, June 18, 1988.; unpublished sources, Schwenkfelder Library.

¹⁸Lester Breining, “The Stahl Family Potters,” *Antique Collecting*, February 1979, pp. 21–25; interview with Dennis Stahl by Susan L. F. Isaacs, 15 September, 1987.

¹⁹Robert Edwards, “The Art of Work,” in *The Art that is Life*, ed., Wendy Kaplan (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1987), p. 223.

²⁰Eileen Boris, *Art and Labor, Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America* (Phila.: Temple Univ. Press, 1986), pp. 4–11.

²¹Wendy Kaplan, “The Lamp of British Precedent: An Introduction to the Arts and Crafts Movement,” in *The Art that is Life*, pp. 52–59.

²²Kenneth Ames, “Introduction,” in *The Colonial Revival in America*, ed., Alan Axelrod (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1985), p. 1.

²³Robert Judson Clark and Wendy Kaplan, “Reform in Aesthetics—Arts and Crafts: Matters of Style,” in *The Art that is Life*, p. 78.

²⁴Paul Evans, *Art Pottery of the United States* (New York: Feingold & Lewis Publishing Corp., 1987), p. 3.

²⁵Jean Crawford, *Jugtown Pottery History and Design* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, Publisher, 1964), pp. 10–36.

²⁶Walter E. Baum, “An Early Potter's Art Lives On,” *The Evening Bulletin—Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 10, 1940.

²⁷“Lost Art Revived—Stahl Brothers' Pottery Gains International Fame,” *The Reading Eagle*, June 18, 1939.

²⁸Their popularity at the fair was confirmed in a letter from Miss Adele M. Landis: “You are ‘pioneers’ in that your exhibit and demonstration may lead to more handcraft and hobby exhibits at the Fair. After all, not all people are interested in having their fortunes told, nor in having their weights guessed.” Unpublished sources, Schwenkfelder Library.

²⁹“The Potters Come To Town,” *The Old York Road Caller*, issued by Strawbridge & Clothier, Philadelphia, February, 1938.

³⁰Unpublished sources, Schwenkfelder Library.

³¹“Old Time Pennsylvania Dutch Pottery Revived by Brothers in Powder Valley; Powder Factory Gave Place Its Name,” *Allentown Chronicle and News—Emaus Diamond Jubilee Edition*, 1934.

THE FOLK ART OF DECORATED EGGS

by Susan Kalčík



From left to right, these eggs show the tear drop/drop-pull, the natural/pictorial, and the geometric/symbolic styles of pysanky. The first two were originally western Slavic styles and the third was originally an eastern Slavic style.

The egg is a common motif in a wide variety of folklore. It appears in narratives (“The Goose that Laid the Golden Egg”); nursery rhymes (“Humpty Dumpty”); proverbs (which tell us that “eggs in the pan give pancakes but no more chicks” and other such useful information); and mythology—the Romans believed that the twins, Castor and Pollux, were born from an egg laid by Leda the swan, and demons such as the basilisk and the Japanese *tengu* and immortals like Venus were thought to have hatched from eggs as well. The egg also figures in superstitions (there is a belief that it can be used to reveal the presence of witches or the name of a future lover); in cures for all manner of ills from colic to a hangover; and in wedding customs—17th-century French brides broke an egg in their new homes to insure they would have many children.

A number of creation myths also involve eggs. In the *Kalevala* of Finland, for example, the earth, the heavens, and the sun, moon, stars, and clouds all come from broken eggs laid by a teal. An ancient Egyptian legend describes

the universe as an enormous egg from which hatched the phoenix; it dies by setting fire to its own nest, but in the ashes is an egg from which hatches the new phoenix; the cycle is said to repeat itself every 1400 years. In Hindu mythology the world-egg is formed in the “waters of chaos”; from it comes Prajapati, the father of gods, and other creatures. Hindu scripture tells of an egg which splits into many parts: half the shell is silver and from it the earth is formed; the other half is gold and from it is formed the sky. The outer membrane of the egg becomes the mountains; the inner membrane, the clouds and the mist; the veins, rivers; and the fluid, the ocean; the sun comes from within the egg. A traditional Chinese fable describes the egg-shaped chaos from which the giant, Pan-Ku, was born; the yolk (yin) fell and became the earth and the white (yang) became the sky.

The importance of the egg in folklore and tradition stems from the fact that it is one of the oldest symbols known to humankind. The egg has represented the uni-

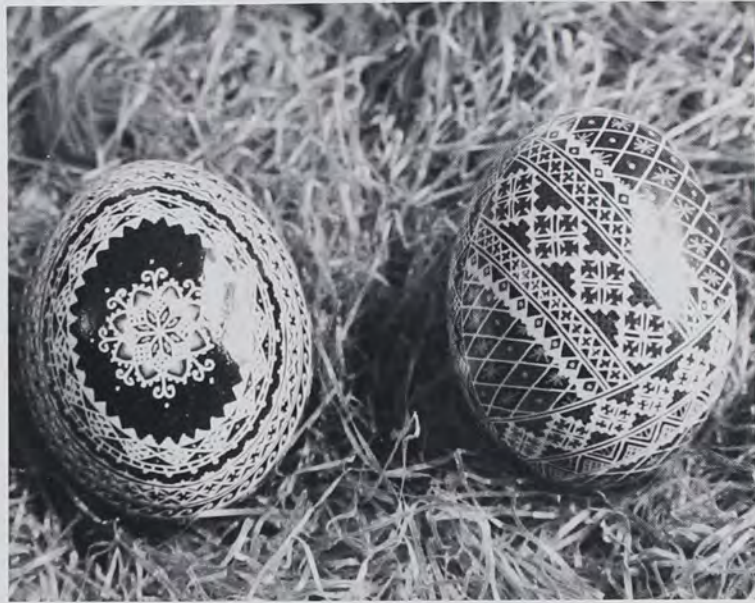


Two examples of the use of symbol on pysanky: the deer represents health and prosperity, the cross is a common Christian symbol, and the wheat behind the cross represents wishes for a good harvest.

verse, the sun and the moon, fertility and birth, and, in temperate climates, the rebirth of the earth after winter. The association of the egg with spring began in pre-Christian times when eggs dyed red or gold were exchanged in honor of the rebirth of the sun in Egypt, Greece, and Rome. The practice of decorating or coloring eggs became widespread and made use of colors and designs symbolic of various cultures, religions, and countries.

Macedonians are credited as the first followers of Christ to adapt the custom to Christianity, and eggs were especially important in the Eastern church. Since spring coincides with the feast of Easter, which celebrates Christ's resurrection from death, decorated eggs became associated with that Christian holiday. Macedonians dyed eggs red to symbolize the blood Christ shed for humankind; the egg itself symbolized the Christian's new life in the Savior and also represented the stone rolled away from Christ's tomb. A number of games, customs, beliefs, and legends also grew up around the practice of decorating eggs. One legend says that the Blessed Virgin Mary first painted eggs to amuse the Christ Child; another says her tears colored the eggs she offered Pontius Pilate in a vain attempt to secure her son's release. Still another legend says that Simon the Cyrenian returned from carrying Christ's cross to find the eggs he had left in a basket by the side of the road transformed by color.

It has been suggested that crusaders brought the idea of colored eggs from North Africa to Europe. There, the decoration and exchange of eggs at Easter varied from



These two eggs by Ron Wanko use traditional colors and demonstrate his remarkable control over tiny details.

country to country and culture to culture, although there were some common themes. In Ireland, children and adults gave Easter eggs as gifts; in Hungary, girls gave eggs to their sweethearts; in Alsace, it was the men who gave them. Ukrainian folklore warned that a great monster (who represented evil in the world) would be released if eggs were not decorated at Easter; French and Italian children were told that the church bells, which are silenced on Maundy Thursday, had gone to Rome to get Easter eggs.

In Armenia, Greece, and Russia, real, red-dyed eggs were exchanged; in the last-named country the letters "XB," standing for the Russian phrase "Christ is Risen," might be written on them. The Russians also made eggs of many styles and colors, using a variety of materials such as wood, white china (painted with scenes), clear glass (with scenes inside), perfumed soap, and semiprecious stones. Probably the most famous Russian eggs are those designed at the turn of the century for the imperial Romanov family by the jeweler Carl Fabergé. Made of precious metals enameled and encrusted with fabulous jewels, each contained a secret or surprise such as a bird which popped out of a tree-shaped egg.

In early England members of the royal household exchanged special eggs dyed and then covered with gold leaf; commoners tied flowers and leaves around eggs before dyeing them so that a pattern was left when the foliage was removed. Pace eggs were used in a practice known as pace-egging: men dressed in rags, colored ribbons and paper begged for—or used intimidation to obtain—contributions



These two eggs by Pam Springer and her sister, Cindy Hamady, show how the pysanky are divided into sections with repeated motifs, as well as the way bands are used to divide the sections. The egg on the right is an example of the stained-glass style with the wax left on.

of eggs or money; these were paid for with a play, and sword fights between rival groups were common. Pace eggs were also used in such games as egg tapping or knocking, where the winner was the egg not cracked when two were tapped end to end. Egg rolling races, reminders of the stone being rolled from Christ's tomb, were common in England as well.

Americans did not inherit many of these English Easter egg customs, however, since English Protestants—who made up the majority of English colonists—viewed them as Catholic traditions. Instead, for much of America and especially in Pennsylvania, Easter egg traditions come from German and Eastern European sources. Some of these traditions are similar to English customs; in Austria, for example, eggs were dyed with leaves or flowers secured to them with thread or gauze. In the Tyrol, children begged for eggs during the Easter season, while some Germans exchanged eggs with poems or notes written on them. In one tradition, three eggs representing faith, hope, and charity were given; in another, eggs were part of a courtship ritual—those who received two knew that the sender no longer had a romantic interest in them. (Sometimes the message was in writing: "If this egg were my heart, I certainly would not give it to you.") As in England, Easter eggs were also used in games, and for German and Dutch children these involved contests or the gathering of eggs.

The Easter egg tree was popular in Switzerland and

Germany, especially in the 1890s. It was similar to the Christmas tree, but decorated with sugar figures and dyed eggs filled with candy; there might be lambs, bunnies, or presents under it. By the early 1900s, Germany produced many of the holiday cards sold in the United States, and Americans learned of the custom of the egg tree from imported Easter cards. (Our Easter egg trees today are most likely decorated with plastic eggs, however.) Introduced much earlier was another German egg-decorating tradition, that of scratch-carving. Sometimes called "sgraffito," it was brought to Pennsylvania in the late 18th century by the Moravians, probably the first group to bring egg folk art to America. This decorating technique involved dyeing the eggs with onion skins and then scratching them with a sharp tool or nail to leave a design in white. Common motifs, used in other Pennsylvania German folk art as well, were birds, hearts, and tulips; it was customary for artists to scratch their names on the egg also.

Credited by some sources for introducing the idea of the egg tree to America, the Pennsylvania Germans also colored eggs by tying strips of calico to them before they were hard-boiled. When the calico (which was not color fast) was removed, the pattern from the cloth remained. In addition to decorating techniques, the Pennsylvania Germans brought many folk beliefs about Easter eggs with them from Europe. They especially valued eggs laid on Good Friday, for they were said to have healing powers



Former coal miner Frank Berezansky continues the egg-decorating tradition of his Ukrainian homeland. Here he holds a pysanky done on an ostrich egg.

Pete Holubz, Jr., preparing to hand out prizes at the pysanky festival he has organized for four years at SS. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Johnstown, Pa. With him is Pat Klavuhn, executive director of the Bottle Works Ethnic Arts Center, co-sponsor of the festival this year.

and the ability to keep a house from being struck by lightning.

The other group of immigrants who brought egg art and customs to America—and the focus of this article—are the Eastern European or Slavic peoples who immigrated in great numbers between 1880 and 1920, mainly to take jobs as unskilled laborers in mines and factories. These Poles, Slovaks, Ukrainians, and Carpatho-Rusyns brought a tradition of egg decoration that continues alive and well in many parts of Pennsylvania today, practiced by descendants of those immigrants and by many other Americans who have admired and learned the art. Coming from the same part of central Europe above and below the Carpathian Mountains, most who immigrated were from similar agricultural backgrounds, and many were Roman or Byzantine (sometimes called Greek) Catholics or Orthodox Christians. All were dominated at one time by Russia, Germany, or Hungary and did not have their own countries. While their religion and folk customs were cherished for their own sake and as a way of maintaining their cultural identity, there was nonetheless a good deal of cultural sharing between these groups.

Easter was the most important holiday for Eastern Europeans and was marked in many ways by customs involving eggs. The Easter feast was rich in the eggs they denied themselves during Lent. (In many Christian countries the period preceding Easter, Lent, was marked by

abstinence from meat and dairy products, including eggs, so that by Easter a good store of eggs might be accumulated.) Ham, sausage, bacon, beet-and-horseradish relish, salt, and butter were accompanied by a rich, homemade egg custard or cheese called *sirek* or *hrudka* made from eggs and milk. Also rich in eggs was the traditional Easter bread or *paska*, shaped as a tall round loaf decorated with icing or as a lower round loaf decorated with braids, birds, or Christian symbols such as the cross made in bread dough. These foods were (and still are) placed in a basket, covered with an embroidered cloth, and taken to the church on Holy Saturday (Roman Catholics) or Easter Sunday (Byzantine Catholics, Orthodox Christians) to be blessed. The food is then brought home and made the first meal eaten on Easter Sunday. In the basket and displayed in the home are decorated eggs, some edible and some prepared as works of art and saved from year to year. Among the Poles and some others, the very first food eaten on Easter Sunday is a hard-boiled egg, split among the family members to assure family unity.

Decorated eggs were given to or exchanged between family members, between godchildren and parents, between priest and parishioner, and between courting young people. (It was said that if the color on the egg did not fade, neither would the love they shared.) Some eggs were saved to be placed in the coffin of a loved one, while another use of the eggs symbolized the connection between



Novice pysanky artists learn some basics of the craft. Introducing children to a part of their own or their community's heritage is one of the purposes of the work done by Holubz and Wanko.

the living and the dead: Eggs as well as other food were taken to graveyards during Easter week and left as a sign of unity with one's ancestors. Many beliefs existed about the protective and providential nature of Easter eggs: a bowl on display in the home protected it from lightning and fire; Easter eggshells in thatched roofs and under hay mounds prevented damage from high winds; eggs under hives would assure an ample supply of honey; and one buried in a field ensured a rich harvest. Easter eggs were also believed to heal and might be placed around the neck of someone seriously ill. Branches decorated with colored eggs in this part of the world are also given as the origin of our own Easter egg trees.

The eggs used by Eastern Europeans in these practices fell into two major groups—the edible and the inedible. The eggs meant for eating were hard-boiled and either dyed one solid, bright color or decorated simply. The Ukrainians called these *krashanky*. Other eggs were elaborately decorated and meant to be exchanged and saved, not eaten. These eggs could be decorated while raw and the insides left to dry out or the insides could be blown out either

before or after decorating. There were many styles or types of decorated eggs. One group involves applique—various materials are applied to the egg surface to form designs. The Poles cut paper shapes (sometimes using designs from their famous paper cuts, *wycinanki*) to apply to eggs, and rushes were also wrapped in designs and glued to the egg. The rushes used on Polish “binsegraas” eggs were considered a particularly appropriate material because dried rushes will turn green again in water, thus echoing the theme of resurrection. In modern times we can find similar designs made on Polish eggs with rug yarn. The Poles also used paper- and straw-covered eggs as decorations on their Christmas trees. In one style of Ukrainian egg the designs are made by embedding tiny beads in a wax coating on the egg. And Ukrainians added wax and paper heads and wings to blown eggs to make doves which were hung above icons. Eggs made from wood and painted eggs were also made by some Slavs.

Another type of Eastern European decorated egg is called the *kraslice* in Slovak. It is similar to the Pennsylvania German scratch-carved egg and was originally typi-



cal of western and central Slovakia. The egg is dyed brown with onion skins or some other single color and the design scratched in with a sharp tool called a *skrabac*. Subjects from nature such as flowers and religious scenes, including portraits of Christ and the Madonna, are typical themes as we see in the photographs of eggs done recently in this style by Slovak Sister Mary Rita Keshock, a member of the Byzantine Catholic Order of Sisters of Saint Basil the Great at Mount Macrina in Uniontown, Pennsylvania.

Probably best known of the Eastern European decorated eggs are the wax-resist and dye-style eggs called *pysanky* by the Ukrainians and *pisanky* by Slovaks. Both names come from words that mean "to write," for each egg, in a sense, contained a message about Christianity in its colors, design, and symbols. These eggs are produced by a method similar to that used in the making of batik cloth. *Pysanky* are raw or blown eggs on which various tools are used to apply beeswax; the part covered by wax resists the dye when the egg is dipped into it and does not take the color. Usually the artist starts by covering all the egg that will remain white and then placing it into a light color dye. If the egg is to be dyed in multiple colors, the next design or symbol is applied where the artist wants the first color to stay. The process continues, succeeding colors getting darker, ending with black if it is used. Then the wax is removed by holding the egg over a candle (or by heating it some other way) and then gently wiping it. When all the wax is gone, the egg may be blown and then dried and covered with some sort of varnish.

Originally (and some artists still use them) natural or vegetable substances such as herbs, flowers, seeds, berries, nuts, tree bark, and wood shavings were used to make dyes like the onion skins mentioned earlier which gave the eggs a yellow, brown, or purplish color. Egg decorators in Southwestern Pennsylvania have told me they used beet, tumeric, yarrow, and tea, although nowadays commercial dyes are most often used. The eggs range from tiny pullet

Sr. Mary Rita Keshock's Slovak kraslice feature flowers, religious themes, and portraits scratched onto eggs dyed with onion skins.

eggs, through chicken, duck, turkey, and goose eggs; indeed, some *pysanky* artists use the ostrich egg, the largest egg in the world. Wax-resist and dye eggs may be divided into three main styles. The first is the teardrop or drop-pull method, both names coming from the characteristic single shape used to make designs on the eggs. A tool as simple as a straight pin in a dowel or in a pencil eraser is dipped into wax that is dripped onto the eggs which are usually dyed a single color. (Sometimes these are called pinhead eggs because of the tool commonly used.) In the hands of an artist, the teardrops and dots thus produced can be used to form intricate designs, but the style is somewhat limiting. In the second style, wax is applied to eggs to make natural patterns such as flowers, similar to



Ron Wanko demonstrates his skill in the art of Ukrainian pysanky.

those painted on eggs in Slovakia and Poland. These first two were originally western Slavic styles.

The third style of *pysanky* is an eastern Slavic style using the wax-resist method to apply intricate geometric designs and stylized symbols to the eggs. Usually the artist begins by dividing the egg into sections or fields on which motifs will be repeated. Commonly the egg is divided in half lengthwise and a major motif repeated twice, but the fields may also be subdivided. The egg may also be divided into three sections with a wheel at either end and a cylinder in the middle. Usually the primary divisions of the egg are marked by a band which resembles fine embroidery and which symbolizes eternity. The wax is applied with a tool called a *kistka*; it can be handmade or purchased, in which case it might even be electric. It consists of a stick with a tiny cone which has a small opening at the bottom through which the melted wax flows. *Kistky* come in different sizes for making fine lines or for waxing larger areas. In a version of this style called the stained-glass egg, the wax is used to mark out sections and designs and the color is applied in them with a paint brush. The wax is not removed and leaves a raised pattern much like stained glass or cloisonne.

All aspects of *pysanka* design are symbolic. Different colors represent different objects, values, or concepts. White stands for purity; red stands for the sun, for happiness in life, for hope, and for passion. The symbols on *pysanky* range from stylized versions of plants and animals to geometric patterns, all of which represent some natural object, value, or Christian theme. Flowers, trees, wheat, chickens,

deer, and fish are common. Evergreen trees symbolize eternal youth and health; deer symbolize a wish for good health, wealth and prosperity. Geometric shapes also have meaning; the triangle for example stands for the Holy Trinity or the trinity of heaven, earth, and hell. Crosses of every kind commonly appear on the decorated eggs.

Each region, village, and family developed its own dyes, color combinations, designs and techniques. Sometimes these were guarded secrets but over time many became shared. Carpathian-Rusyns, living as they did in a crossroads section of Eastern Europe, made *pysanky* in eastern and western styles. Like all folk art, making *pysanky* involves tradition and individual creativity. Once basic techniques, styles, and motifs are mastered, the artist is free to put them together in a unique way or to add new ideas.

* * *

In the Johnstown area of Pennsylvania two artists, Pete Holubz, Jr. and Ron Wanko, are responsible for preserving and teaching the art of egg decoration. Listed on the Pennsylvania Council on the Arts Artists Roster, both have worked with many organizations to pass on their knowledge of *pysanky*, teaching and demonstrating tirelessly in church halls and schools and for local arts groups. Pete Holubz, Jr. learned the art of *pysanky* from his father and grandmother who both emigrated from Ukraine. He is proud of his Ukrainian heritage, a pride he has passed on, along with his artistic skills, to his son, Pete III. The two were selected to demonstrate their craft at the National Folk

Cindy Hamady with a display of her eggs at a recent pysanky festival.



Festival held in Johnstown in 1990; they were joined by Pete's grandsons, Pete IV and Josh. Daughter Debra Holubz Zak also learned to make *pysanky*, and does beautiful Ukrainian embroidery as well.

Through his church, SS. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Orthodox, Pete organized a youth group of Ukrainian folk dancers who were seen on television and who performed all over Western Pennsylvania. Since the group was disbanded in the mid-1970s, he has continued his work to preserve and teach Ukrainian history, traditions, and arts to those of Ukrainian descent and to the larger community. For the past four years he has organized a *pysanky* festival held at his church at Easter time. Various artists demonstrate and sell their eggs at the festival, novices are instructed, and a contest for different age groups is held, with a judge from Washington, D.C., picking the prize winners. The event is rounded out with a sale of baked goods appropriate to the Easter season, including delicious homemade *paskas*. This year's festival was cosponsored by the Bottle Works Ethnic Arts Center and drew participants and visitors from as far away as Harrisburg.

Like Pete Holubz, Jr., Ron Wanko has taught innumerable students the art of *pysanky*. Ron is of Slovak and Ukrainian heritage, and as a child saw eggs being decorated in the pinhead method by his father and grandmother, although he does not remember doing it himself. He had been involved in a number of art activities when a Russian Orthodox friend showed him the *pysanky* she had made. He was fascinated by the *kistka* and could think of many other projects he could use it for, but he never got to them; the eggs offered too many challenges and opportunities. Buying a book and supplies at a local craft shop, he later took some classes and learned some techniques from fellow artists. Ron's forced retirement due to the onset of multiple sclerosis has given him time to devote to his art and, despite his condition, he has continued to progress as a *pysanky* artist, developing a remarkably fine technique. Unlike most decorators who move the egg and the *kistka*, he generally holds the *kistka* still and moves the egg. His eggs are noted for their perfect, tiny detail work, their ever

increasingly small divisions, their elaborate bands, and their balance of design.

Two of Ron's students, sisters Cindy Hamady and Pam Springer, of Slovak background, have become *pysanky* artists in their own right in the past six years they have been practicing the art. Cindy teaches in the West End Catholic Elementary School and says that after a day of keeping track of her young students, it's very calming to work on her eggs. She knows they'll always be just where she left them. Cindy and Pam have displayed their work at the *pysanky* festival and their eggs are characterized by a delightful delicacy of line and color. These four, and Sister Mary Rita whose *kraslice* are described above, are only a few of the many, many Pennsylvanians who keep this folk art flourishing. Keeping in mind the old Ukrainian folklore belief in a great monster who will be released if eggs are not decorated at Easter, it's not hard when looking at their work to credit them with keeping at least a little evil from overtaking the world.

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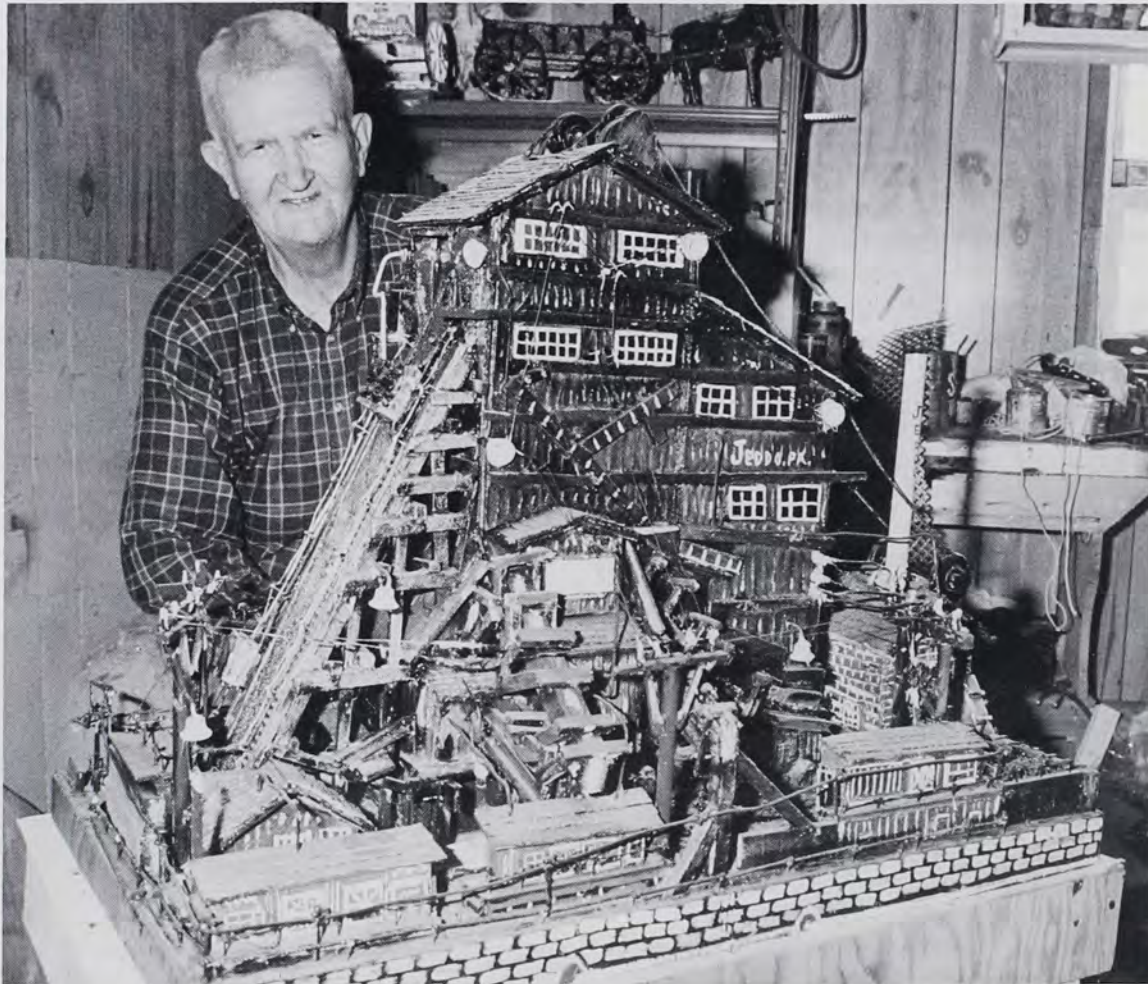
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JIM POPSO AND HIS COAL COUNTRY FOLK ART

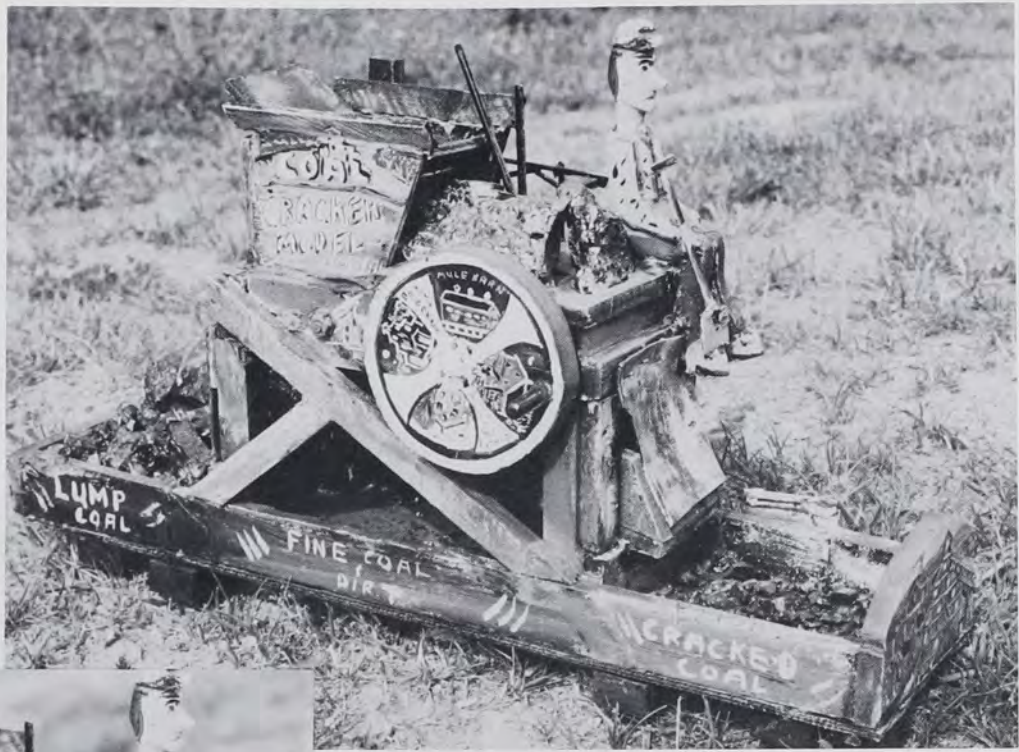
by Woodward S. Bousquet



Jim Popso and his Jeddo Breaker (Photograph by George Fulton, Samson Productions; all remaining photographs by the author)

Located in Luzerne County, the heart of eastern Pennsylvania's coal fields, Eckley Miners' Village portrays everyday life in an anthracite mining town. The dwellings, churches, and other structures date back to the mid-1800s, when the Council Ridge Coal Colliery and surrounding Eckley village were developed. Miners' families still occupy many of the company-town houses, while some restored village buildings and a visitor center and museum are open to the public. The site is administered by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission as part of the state's Anthracite Complex, a group of four sites and museums that preserve and interpret the region's heritage.

In May, 1991, I made my first visit to Eckley. The self-guided tour included the Museum Shop, which occupies the Company Store building. This structure is not historic, but a prop that was built by Paramount Studios in 1968 for the filming of *The Molly Maguires*. Eckley's museum shop was distinctive in that it lacked the usual collection of generic gift-shop trinkets. Instead, paintings and small, handmade wooden models of coal mining equipment, village scenes, and miners dominated the shop's inventory. There was a model of the Mahanoy City coal operation, a painting of breaker boys picking slate, a steam shovel, a man pushing a wheelbarrow full of coal to his house, and even



Jim Popso's UMWA Coal Cracker Model, sold by the Eckley Miners' Village Museum Shop, 1991; note scenes of Eckley village painted on the model's crank and hopper. The back of the hopper is signed "By J. Popso, Son of a Coal Miner."

a memorial to union leader John L. Lewis.

One piece in particular caught my eye. It measured about two feet long by a foot high, and had "Coal Cracker Model . . . By J. Popso, Son of a Coal Miner" painted on its back and side. In a hard hat, a grim miner sat atop the cracker with his shovel propped against his lap, waiting to shovel lump coal. A hand crank on one of the model's sides could be rotated to push rows of serrated rollers against each other, showing how lump coal was crushed in the cracker's hopper. From the bottom of the crushing mechanism, a chute directed cracked coal into two bins, one labeled cracked coal and the other labeled fine coal and dirt. Painted sketches of Eckley buildings—the Mule Barn, the Breaker, and some houses—decorated the hand crank and most of the model's other available flat surfaces.

To me, Popso's miniature replica embodied several aspects of the region's heritage: coal mining, industrial technology, vernacular architecture, central Appalachian geology, and the daily lives of anthracite miners. It also demonstrated that at least one area resident besides Carbon County's well-known painter Jack Savitsky was capturing the region's coal mining history and culture in folk art.¹

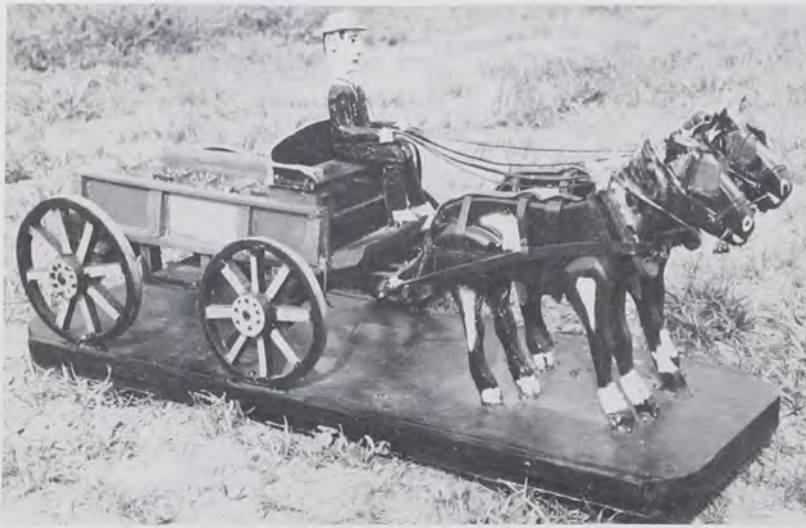
The museum shop attendant explained that "J. Popso"

was James (Jim) Popso, a retiree living in nearby Hazleton. Eckley Village had been selling his items for the past two years. I decided to try to track down Mr. Popso on my next trip through eastern Pennsylvania.

* * *

Jim Popso's neighborhood, Hazleton Heights, is bounded by the downtown business district, an industrial park, and some abandoned strip mine sites. It was settled by the wave of immigrants that came to Pennsylvania's anthracite mines from southern and eastern Europe in the late 1800s and early 1900s. The Popso home on South Cedar Street is a duplex. Jim and his wife modernized the half they live in. The ground floor of the other half houses Jim's workshop and a laundry room. Steep steps climb to the door, then a short entryway leads the visitor past stacks of scrap wood in a storage area and into Jim's workshop.

Lit only by a single bulb and a window facing the back yard, Popso's shop measures about ten by fifteen feet. Jim heats it with a coal stove that sits near one corner. Along the opposite wall, underneath the window, run two workbenches. Their edges and surfaces worn smooth, the benches



"Old Man Barbetta" driving a load of his farm's produce into town, a piece Jim Popso entitles To Market. Jim used to catch a ride to school on Mr. Barbetta's wagon.



Coal Inspector. The inspector, "Big Al," reads a newspaper between cartloads of coal that arrive from the mine tunnels for his examination.

bear the gouges, scrapes, and paint splatches of Jim's labor. Wood scraps, a power drill, a glue gun, paint brushes, cans of enamel, and bottles of acrylic paint vie for bench space with Popso's creations in various stages of completion. The hand-held drill and a scroll saw mounted on one bench are the only power tools.

Finished pieces cram the shelves above the work benches and sometimes mount the stairs that lead to an unused second floor. One wall sports photographs of Jim's work, some of it as displayed at the museum shop at Eckley Miners' Village. A replica of the Hazleton school bus that Jim's daughter Jamie drives occupies a corner of the floor. Another wall is covered with over twenty small sketches and watercolors, many of them over two decades old. Most depict a single building or scene, ranging from a house across the street or the neighborhood's Ukrainian church to a view of silver mines in the Colorado mountains that Jim once visited.

The Popso workshop, full of projects completed and projects in progress, conveys a sense of Jim's diligent activity. A small refrigerator and a well-worn bed suggest that he spends a considerable amount of time here. On a workbench a nearly finished breaker building, where mined

coal was crushed and sized, attracts his attention. "I've been workin' on that little breaker until three o'clock in the morning. I couldn't sleep, so I kept workin'. But then," Jim continues with a grin, "I decided that the guys workin' inside there'd start hollering and screaming and keep everybody awake. Well, I sat here [on the bed] until I fell asleep."²²

Although Jim Popso has been making paintings and miniatures for more than twenty years, this art is not widely known. However, Eckley visitors, folk art collectors, and art dealers are purchasing his work, and, judging by recent sales, its popularity is increasing. Moreover, it became clear to me that these collectible items represented more than goods of commerce, more than souvenirs, and more than *objets d'art*. Popso's work prompts questions about context, process, and culture. Why does he build his models and paint his paintings? How does he go about making them? What do these objects signify? In order to answer these and related questions, it was necessary to get to know Jim, his life, and his work. His gregarious welcome when we first met and an invitation to return opened the door to several enlightening visits that followed.

* * *



A corner of Jim Popso's workshop.

"You don't measure nothing." Popso uses a scroll saw to cut a piece of scrap wood for the roof of a small house. Instead of a ruler, he will use the sides of this piece to mark out the dimensions of its matching half.

James Popso was born in Hazleton in 1922, when coal dominated the region's economy. His father's parents had immigrated to Luzerne County from Austria-Hungary, and his mother's family had come from Poland when she was a young girl. Jim's father, who worked in the mines, taught Jim how to weld when he was nine years old. Welding proved to be an important part of the younger Popso's livelihood, one of several mechanical skills that kept him employed but away from the more dangerous work underground.

When Jim was a teenager, he did what other adolescents only dreamt of—he ran away with a traveling carnival. Performing talent didn't land him the job, though; it was his value as a jack-of-all-trades repairman. He fixed machinery, maintained the wagons, learned how to paint signs, and figured out how to repair broken animals on the carousel. The carnival's venues were mostly in the southern and middle Atlantic states, but the troupe also traveled occasionally to the West. Jim would return home from time to time, rejoining the carnival when its schedule brought it close to Luzerne County again.

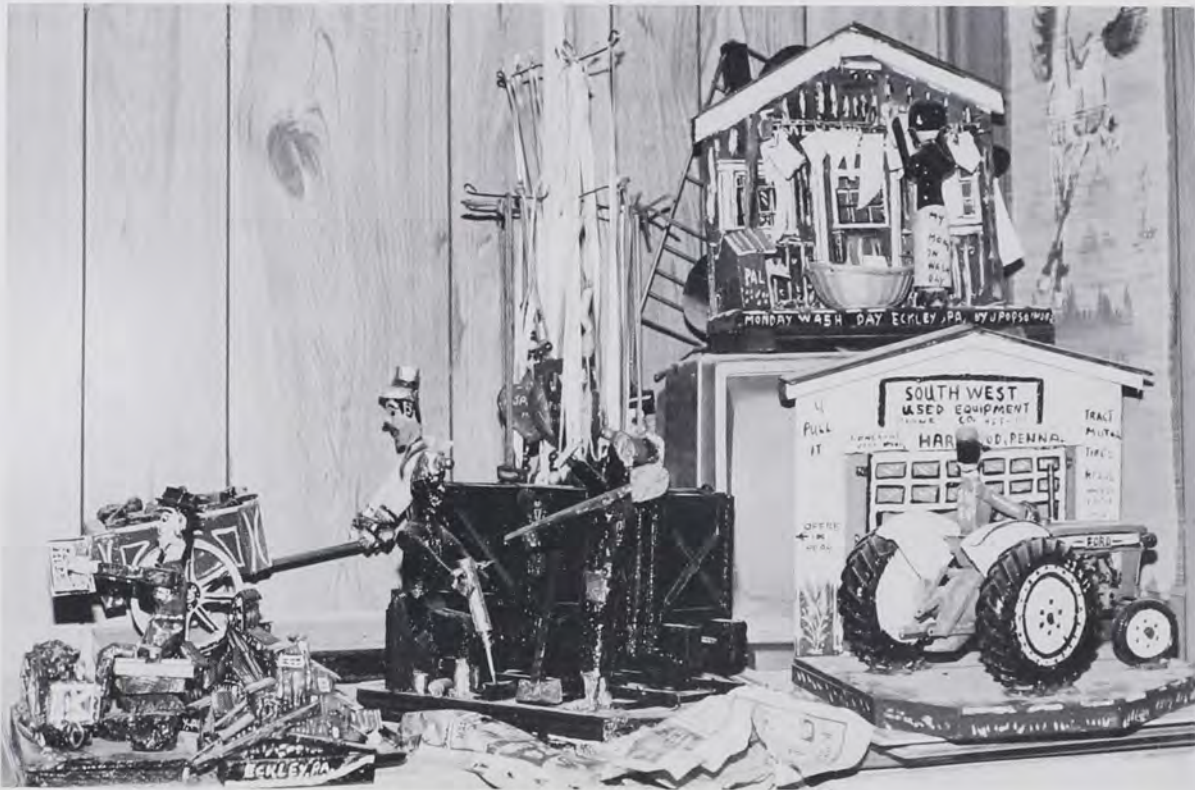
Later, a job offer at a Hazleton garage lured him away from life on the road. "I was a body man," Jim explains. "I used to weld all the fenders back together . . . and I rebuilt engines." Popso, still in his teens, started out part-time. Then the owner recognized his talent. "So he gave me a job steady, fourteen bucks a week. That was the

biggest money I ever made in my life, [working] in a garage." Many of the vehicles he repaired were police cars.

Jim began working at the mines when he was around eighteen. At a coal operation near Loomis, he tried digging in the tunnels as his father had done for most of his life. The new vocation didn't last long. "One day I worked there and goodbye. Too much dust. They would blast and these guys would run in there before the fans would take the dust and dirt and everything out . . . They wouldn't wait 'til the air cleaned out because they were paid so much a carload. They wanted their money. It was so black you couldn't see the guy aside of you. I quit." Jim found employment in eastern Pennsylvania's anthracite mines off and on for many years, but he never entered the shafts or tunnels again. Instead, he drove trucks or built and repaired coal-processing machinery.

In December, 1942, an induction notice came with the family's Christmas mail. Jim passed his physical and served at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, for about a year. Not surprisingly, the Army put him to work as a mechanic. Popso landed in an Army hospital when a truck he was driving collapsed a bridge. Recuperation took nine months, and then he was discharged and shipped home. After recalling the accident, Jim adds, "I don't even like to hear the name Oklahoma."

Aside from a brief period working in an auto shop while living with his brother in New Jersey, Jim Popso has spent the rest of life in and around Hazleton. For twenty-seven



Several miniatures and a rack of souvenir necklaces crowd a shelf in Jim's workshop. Note Monday Wash Day on top of the television and the coal-blackened miners in the center.

years, he welded at the Foster Wheeler Corporation's nearby Mountain Top plant. A contract engineering firm with headquarters in Clinton, New Jersey, Foster Wheeler produced specialized equipment for coal processing in its Mountain Top facility, which recently closed. Jim's varied resume since military service also includes jobs as a strip-mining equipment operator, night watchman, garage mechanic, and road crew worker. In addition, Popso was a local constable for more than two decades. He retired from Foster Wheeler in 1983, but continued part-time work as a peace officer for two more years.

Jim Popso's artistic ability—and his recognition for it—can be traced back to his childhood. Several relatives painted, and as a young boy Jim received a set of watercolors from his father. In school, teachers provided additional encouragement. As Jim recalls, "I used to be the best [artist] in school and the teachers were crazy for my stuff. They used to take it home." One of his drawings earned Jim first prize (a dollar) in an elementary school contest. The winning watercolor was displayed downtown. While traveling with the carnival, he developed his technique further, repainting signs and repairing animals for the merry-go-round. Art, at an early age, not only fostered Jim's self-esteem, it also helped him earn a living.

Creative skills in the Popso family extended beyond the two-dimensional world of painting. Jim always had access to a home workshop where, he remembers, "We made all

kind of stuff, me and my dad. My dad was a blacksmith. He could make anything. And my brother [Joe] was a musician. He always made his own violins, and everything else he made himself. He never bought nothin'. And then he started to make mandolins, and then from mandolins he started makin' bass fiddles." Jim still has a wooden model of an oil derrick that Joe carefully cut, sanded, and stained. Thus, making objects—both aesthetic and utilitarian—by hand was a Popso tradition that was passed along to Jim. Eventually Jim even fashioned many of his own hand tools.

In his study of Indiana chain carvers, Simon Bronner discussed the workshop's importance in the lives of these elderly men. He asserted that shops provided far more than space for hobbies and home repair. About one carver, Bronner wrote, "Maintaining his carving allowed him time to escape to his workshop—his individual, masculine space—and to preserve his personal identity." To another chain carver, "[h]is basement workshop became his own small, private world filled with carvings . . ." Similarly, Jim Popso's shop assumed a significant role in his adult life. "[When] I'd come home from work I could go in my little shop and sit, workin'," Jim recalls.

Like the shops of the chain carvers Bronner came to know, Popso's workshop enables him to establish a sense of who he is. It is a personal place, situated away from most family activities, that has become even more mean-



Jim names most of his characters, like card players Pop and Joe in this scene.

ingful since his retirement. While his wife Eleanor continues to work for the local school department and volunteer in the church, Jim paints and putters in his shop, creating things with value that others will affirm through their compliments and purchases.

* * *

The paintings and miniature replicas that James Popso makes today usually depict the heritage of Pennsylvania's anthracite region. Coal miners drill rock, a horse-drawn milk wagon delivers its goods, men play cards and drink beer at the Eckley Social Club, and a row of company houses stands dwarfed by coal machinery and slag piles. Several pieces also present vignettes from Jim's life. On a model entitled *To Market*, for instance, a well-dressed man sits atop a red farm cart pulled by two horses. "That's old man Barbetta," Jim recalls. "He would give me a ride to school. Sometimes he would give me a sandwich or something else he had to eat . . . I was about eight or ten years old then. I would stop by the railroad tracks and wait for him and ride to school."

Another miniature features coal inspector Big Al. He reads a newspaper as a load of coal arrives on a railroad track from the mine shaft. Jim fills in the details: "Big

Al. That's a guy I knew . . . See, when the coal inspector's checking, he takes the coal, a little bit out of each corner of the [mine] car and one from the middle somewhere . . . and then he puts it in a crusher and he crushes it to a fine powder. And then he burns it in a little bunsen burner and he tells the ash content. That's how they tell how good the coal is. And then they ship it to people and sell it."

A painting of a double house situated along the main street in Eckley evokes other memories. "That house burned down a long time ago. I used to know that girl that lived in there . . . I never worked at Eckley mines, but I hauled coal from the strippin's [nearby] . . . I used to come through there so fast I used to drive them nuts," Jim reminisces. "They'd be hollerin, they'd be out in the street with sticks after me."

Popso's model of the colliery at Coxeville illustrates the range of materials he uses. A slab of half-inch poplar forms the base. The breaker and surrounding structures are made of pieces of hardwood, softwood, plywood, and veneer held together by wood glue and at least four different gauges of nails. Dowels, wood screws, brads, coat-hanger wire, and insulated wire represent smoke stacks, pipes, and electric cables. One of the few items Jim paid full price for is the HO-scale train track that runs alongside the breaker



In response to his daughter Jamie's request, Popso made this model of the school bus she drives. He used a discarded aluminum door for the body of the bus.

building and up from the mine shaft. The color scheme is black, gray, and silver, with a few daubs of reddish-brown paint on some of the dowels to represent rusting metal pipes.

Much of Popso's wood is lumberyard scrap. In addition, he stops by the local high school's wood shop several times each week to get sawdust that his daughter Jamie needs for bedding her quarter horses. Here, Jim also picks up discarded pieces from student projects. He has several other sources of wood as well. "I go by a house that's bein' rebuilt and look over the situation. The guy says, 'Take whatever you want.' Or say I find a bureau somebody threw away. I'll take all the good parts off it . . . I use poplar, pine, it all depends, you know. Whatever I could get." Most of the metal he uses—such as scrap iron, wire, and miscellaneous pieces of machined metal—he finds or buys at local junkyards.

Jim obtains his paint in much the same way. "I got a lot of friends at lumberyards," he explains, "and I go there and I say, 'OK, what's the deal?' 'Well, Jim, we got twenty-five cans of paint. You'll be wantin' them. They're full of dings and knocks. If you want the paint, ten bucks for the twenty-five cans.' So I give him ten bucks, I get twenty-five cans of paint. They're all different colors so you use it when you're paintin' a breaker or something."

Popso is not unique among Pennsylvania's self-taught artists in utilizing discarded materials. Justin McCarthy, born in Hazleton and raised in nearby Carbon County, sometimes painted or drew on old file folders, bathroom tiles, Masonite, cardboard, or Formica.⁴ For his paintings, Lamont Alfred "Old Ironsides" Pry obtained scrap cardboard from the loading dock at the nursing home where he lived. He preferred it to the paper handed out in art class.⁵ Floretta Emma Warfel, who colored her landscapes on cloth with embroidery paint, resorted to unwanted pieces

of fabric her friends saved more often than she bought new cloth.⁶ In addition, according to N.F. Karlins, coal-miner-turned-folk-artist Jack Savitsky frequently drew on the back of cardboard cereal or soap powder boxes.⁷

The cultural roots of James Popso's use of scrap, junk, and found objects run deep and wide. As Tom Patterson interprets the practice in his essay that accompanied the 1993 exhibition *Àshe: Improvisation & Recycling in African-American Visionary Art*, "Material resourcefulness and conservation are essential survival skills for those who have little, whether they be black, white, brown, yellow or red. In most traditional cultures, such skills are associated with common sense and wisdom.⁸ . . . On a purely material level, the works exhibited here exemplify what anthropologist Julius S. Kassovic has termed 'folk recycling,' a virtually universal tradition among the economically disadvantaged, whereby 'junked and industrially-produced items are somehow re-worked to produce "new" items performing altered functions."⁹

Although the imaginative, spiritual aspects of the work featured in the *Àshe* exhibit contrast sharply with Popso's more concrete creations, Jim and the group of African-American artists that Patterson discusses both engage in folk recycling. They take discarded, commonplace materials and give them second lives as objects intended for education, contemplation, and/or aesthetic appreciation. In Jim's hands, a curtain rod becomes a smokestack, vinyl from a purse is fashioned into a horse's ears and rigging, a political campaign sign furnishes rows of roof shingles, and scrap plywood becomes the walls of a house or the surface for a painting.

Representing a life-sized scene in an eighteen by twenty-four inch painting or tabletop-scale model not only requires the appropriate materials, it also demands a knowledge of the subject. Popso often refreshes his memory by driving

A newly completed painting, Red Double House, Eckley, PA, is temporarily displayed in a corner of Jim's workshop.



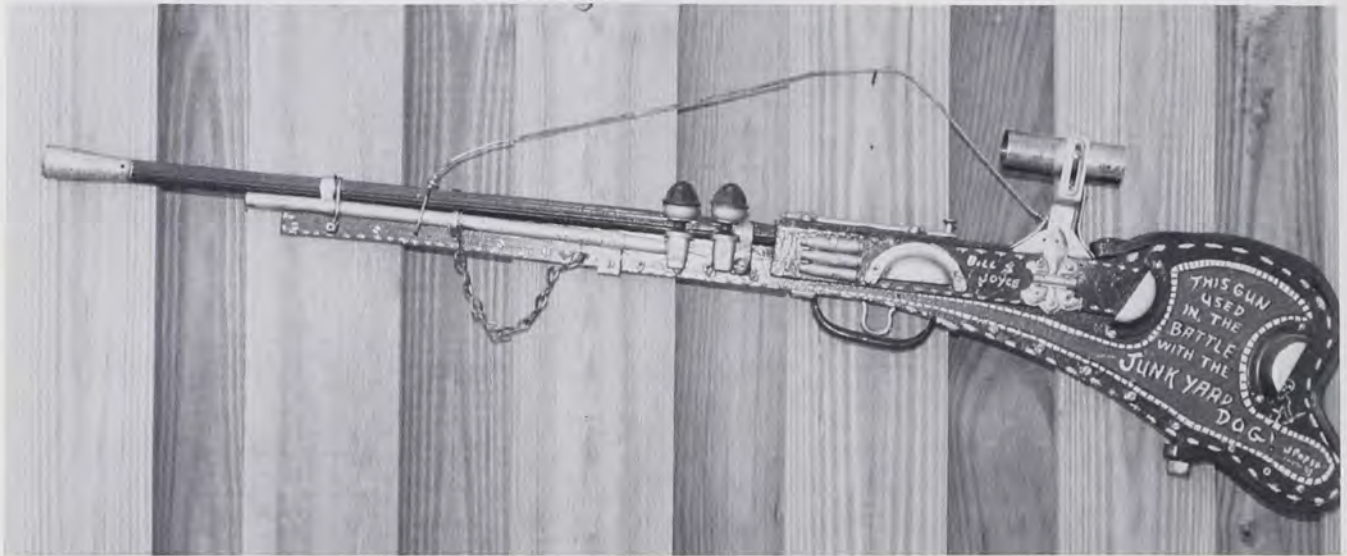
out to the location so that he can note its fine points in his sketch pad. Besides roughing out a building's rooflines, pipes, and other distinguishing features, he records such details as paint colors and the shape and arrangement of panes in each window frame. To make his replica of the Coxeville breaker, however, Jim couldn't draw a sketch because the structure had burned down several years before. Instead, he enlisted the help of a friend who knew the breaker. While Popso constructed the model in his shop, the friend sat beside him and told him how the breaker looked. To Jim, faithfulness to the original is an important dimension of quality.

As he described another of his breakers, Jim pointed out the railings that he fashioned from narrow-gauge wire and held up with nail supports. "You gotta use your noggin," he remarked, "when you detail something like this . . . You gotta use whatever you got." Turning to the maze of pipes that lace the breaker and its outbuildings together, he continued, "All those little pipes you see going around—they're steam pipes, real skinny ones—they're [made out of] coat hangers. You chop them up and you bend them the way you want them . . . The ones that are painted white have a coating on. If you go over to the breaker, you'll see a coating on that steam pipe. That's to keep it from freezing."

In spite of his considerable experience with tools, Jim readily concedes the difficulties of whittling out small details by hand. He described this problem with one of his most appealing pieces, *Monday Wash Day*, which shows his mother hanging the family's weekly load of laundry to dry outside their "Summer Shandy" [sic]. "The hard part there, you know, is carving the lady out. Everything else is easier to do. But to carve that, get your Rosie Lee [pocket knife] out. Takes time to carve her out. I bust the blades as fast as I cut."

The undependable quality of the scrap wood Jim finds presented added challenges: "See what I was scalping it out of? That was a two-by-four. I'd been playing with it all night and finally, look, that's how it ended up . . . And I started from scratch. I didn't use a saw, I cut with a pocketknife and I broke the pocketknife and everything." He adds, "I use all kinds of softwood. It's easier to cut, you know. Oh, sometimes I cut one out of hardwood, too, but you have sore hands when you get done."

To make his work easier, Popso takes a few shortcuts. He carves out many of his human figures piecemeal, gluing legs and arms onto the torso after deciding how to pose the person. Instead of incising lines to represent hair, Popso cuts cotton twine or material from a fuzzy jacket to size, glues it onto the figure's head, and then daubs on paint



Door hardware, brass tubing, a curtain rod, chains, and a variety of nails and screws are just some of the materials that make up this imaginative Junk Yard Dog Gun.

to provide the appropriate color and stiffness. Recently, Jim has begun roofing his buildings with shingles. Rather than cutting separate shingles out of thin sheets of wood, he uses lightweight cardboard from a campaign sign. He fashions an entire row of shingles at once by making a series of short cuts, each at an angle, in a strip of cardboard. Painted and then sprayed with clear lacquer, the cut strip looks like a series of shingles.

Sometimes Jim even improvises his tools. As he showed the wooden wheels on a small boxcar model, he explained, "Now them wheels there, they were hard to make. What I did was I cut a square, drilled a hole in it, put [it on] an electric drill, and held a file against it until the wheel was round. Great stone-age job. I had [the right] tool that would cut this wheel out, put a ridge on it . . . Well, I loaned it to somebody who never brought it back."

* * *

After enumerating the cost of paint, nails, glue, and other materials that it took to make a particularly large piece, Jim remarked, "When you got it done, you figure out how much money you got stuck in it. You got a hundred and fifty dollars stuck in that thing, plus your labor. If you mark it all down on a piece of paper, you say to yourself, 'You're nuts.'" But he quickly added, "It's beautiful. That's a magnificent piece of work." Clearly, the finished product gives Jim a sense of pride, accomplishment, and satisfaction. "I saw junk that other guys were putting together. They don't know how to build breakers like I build 'em. You don't know what it is—if it's a macaroni factory or sausage factory." Turning to his two-foot-square model of a breaker operated by the Reading Coal Company, Jim remarks, "I build 'em to look like a breaker. This is a masterpiece."

In many ways, the significance of Popso's pieces to their maker parallels that of the contemporary boat models that Charles Zug found on the North Carolina coast. The boat builders, who had once constructed full-sized wooden vessels and fished from them, turned to making miniature replicas for an alternate way to earn a living, or as a retirement pastime. The North Carolinians' model boats and Popso's models of coal-processing equipment publicly demonstrate their makers' craftsmanship and firsthand experience with a distinctive way of life. Vocation has thus provided each of these artists with his subject matter. As Zug puts it, the miniatures "serve as distillations of experience."¹⁰

The similarities also extend to the intuitive understanding of scale, derived from long experience, that guides these artists as they make their models.¹¹ Like the boat builders Zug interviewed, who construct their ships "by the rack of the eye" without plans or measurements, Jim Popso observes, "Everything I build, I build without print. I don't need no print. Once I look at a place, I remember everything that's there." And he adds, "You don't measure nothin'. All you do is pound it out."

Before the Eckley Miners' Village Museum Shop began carrying his work, Jim Popso relied on informal means to market his models and paintings. He would keep a few pieces in his pickup truck and show them while he ran his errands in town. Interested people sometimes made purchases or suggested others who might want to see his work. "People used to send me places. I was goin' all over . . . I was gonna advertise," Popso remembers, but he decided that neither advertising nor driving were worth the effort. "Let the people advertise for me, [and] let them come and get it." A local artist introduced Popso and his work to the Eckley staff in 1989. Soon afterwards, the village's newly opened museum shop began offering some of Jim's miniatures and paintings.



Steam shovel model, "Old Smokey." This is one of several Popso pieces offered for sale at Stanley's Market in Quakake.



The Eckley sales gained Popso a measure of recognition and brought visitors to his home. His pieces have traveled to destinations as far away as Colorado and Washington state. As a result, Jim's approach to marketing has changed over the past five years. Although Eckley Miners' Village still sells his work on consignment, more now goes out his front door in the arms of the collectors and dealers who seek him out. Jim corresponds with several buyers and makes some pieces to order. He regularly sets up a booth during Eckley's "Patch Town Days," an annual celebration of ethnic traditions of anthracite mining towns. In addition, his friends Monica Teproovich and her late husband, Stanley, have displayed and sold Popso items at their butcher shop in the Schuylkill County village of Quakake.

Besides increasing the demand for the products of his labor, market forces have affected Jim's work in other ways. Shortly after Eckley's museum shop accepted his paintings and models, Jim expanded his repertoire to include simple necklaces, key chains, painted pieces of coal, mine carts, and other items with "Eckley" painted on them. In addition, his craftsmanship has recently become more refined. The lettering is neater. His carved human figures

are shaped and finished more carefully. Even the small, souvenir-type items show greater attention to detailed painting and smooth sanding. Jim has also noticed the appeal of his humorous work and, consequently, developed some new whimsical pieces. These include a "foot of coal" (a human foot carved out of wood with small lumps of coal attached), PG-rated models and cartoons of outhouses, and a used motor vehicle equipment shop operated by a character named Lonesome John.¹² Probably his most imaginative work to date is the *Junk Yard Dog Gun*. Sporting a sighting scope, ersatz grenades, expended ammunition shells, and a variety of door hardware, the full-sized rifle model bears the legend, "This Gun Used in the Battle with the Junk Yard Dog." Jim has sold several other mixed-media "guns" since putting this first one together in 1992. He speculates about making a series of them sometime.

* * *

Popso's work is a composite of family tradition, community heritage, and individual creativity. However, his miniatures and paintings do not constitute part of a distinct regional pattern as do, for example, Amish quilts and

southeastern Pennsylvania's decorative woodcarvings. No one in Jim's family or community specifically taught him to paint scenes of mining towns or to construct models of coal-processing machinery. To many folklorists, such characteristics are essential to folk art.¹³ Should James Popso then be called a "folk" artist?

Although his body of work may not meet the restrictive criteria above, I would argue that Jim is a folk artist nonetheless. The subjects he portrays, the techniques by which he creates his pieces, the context in which they are produced, and the resulting products all reflect aspects of culture that may properly be labeled folk. Jim depicts vignettes from his life, times, and community. The wood-working, painting, and other skills that he employs have been passed from one Popso generation to the next. In selecting materials, he generally uses what is readily available locally for the least cost. Paintings and wooden miniatures are common folk forms of visual expression. The term "folk artist," then, should be broad enough to encompass Jim Popso, given his work's direct connections to a region's heritage and a culture's traditions.¹⁴

Today Jim views anthracite mining's legacy in eastern Pennsylvania and its impact on his life with ambivalence; a combination of pride and regret:

My father's chest turned to stone from breathin' all that dust. They were gonna operate on him, but the doctor said you'd need a jackhammer.

Now we were makin' coal crushers when I was working for Foster Wheeler . . . They used to take two weeks, three weeks, four weeks to build this one crusher. Me and my buddy built one in eight hours. Did we weld! Whoa, we were workin' like mad. "C'mon," we told the boss. "You watch us smoke."

They ruined everything with these strippin's. There was a beautiful town over here.

J. Popso, Son of a Coal Miner [signature on one of his coal crusher models]

While the Hazleton area's economy refocused and diversified during the past several decades, Jim's life also underwent substantial changes. Having been, at various times, an auto mechanic, truck driver, welder, and peace officer, his present-day identity appears on his paintings and miniatures: J. Popso, Folk Artist. Not one to spend time ruminating aloud about the significance of his occupation and the attention he has begun to receive, he once commented, only half in jest, "People around here are saying, 'How the hell does he rate?' They still think I'm a gypsy . . . Well I'm rare, one of a kind." His friend Monica Teprovich may have summed up Jim Popso and his work the best: "I don't think Jim realizes the importance of what he does," she remarked. "He's preserving our history here."

ENDNOTES

¹Chuck Rosenak and Jan Rosenak, *Museum of American Folk Art Encyclopedia of Twentieth-Century American Folk Artists* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1990), pp. 270–272.

²James Popso, interviewed by the author, 31 January 1993. All subsequent quotations are taken from conversations with the author on 23 December 1991, 19 March 1992, 24 April 1992, 27 December 1992, 31 January 1993, 18 March 1993, 20 October 1993, 6 November 1993, 1 January 1994, 9 April 1994, and 28 May 1994. The interviews on 19 March 1992 and 31 January 1993 were taped and transcribed.

³Simon J. Bronner, *Chain Carvers, Old Men Crafting Meaning* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1985), pp. 128–129.

⁴N.F. Karlins, "Floretta Emma Warfel, A Folk Artist in Embroidery Paint on Cloth," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 39.1 (Autumn 1989), p. 27; Rosenaks, *Encyclopedia*, p. 200.

⁵Rosenaks, *Encyclopedia*, p. 250; N.F. Karlins, "Lamont Alfred 'Old Ironsides' Pry, Contemporary American Folk Artist," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 37.3 (Spring 1988), p. 132.

⁶Karlins, "Floretta Emma Warfel," p. 29.

⁷Karlins, "Floretta Emma Warfel," p. 27.

⁸Tom Patterson, *Ashe: Improvisation & Recycling in African-American Visionary Art* (Winston-Salem, NC: Diggs Gallery, Winston-Salem State University, 1993), p. 17.

⁹Patterson, *Ashe*, p. 18. Patterson quotes Julius S. Kassovic, "Junk and Its Transformations," *A Report from the Center for Folk Art and Contemporary Crafts* 3.1 (1992), p. 1.

¹⁰Charles G. Zug, III, "Little Boats: Making Ship Models on the North Carolina Coast," *North Carolina Folklore Journal* 39.1 (Winter-Spring 1992), p. 25.

¹¹Zug terms this understanding "an innate sense of proportion" and discusses its origins in "Little Boats," pp. 16–17.

¹²Purists might prefer that modern folk art and its makers remain "untainted" by the influence of the marketplace. However, Jim Popso is far from unique among contemporary folk artists in incorporating into his products the real or presumed demands of buyers. See, for instance, Charles G. Zug, III, "New Pots for Old. Burlon Craig's Strategy for

Success." *Folklife Annual* 88–89, ed. by James Hardin and Alan Jabbour (Washington: Library of Congress, 1989), pp. 126–137; Jane Beck, "Stories to Tell: The Narrative Impulse in Contemporary New England Folk Art," exhibit catalog by the same name, ed. by Janet G. Silver (Lincoln, MA: DeCordova and Dana Museum and Park, 1988), p. 48; Frederick J. Dockstader, *The Kachina and the White Man. The Influences of White Culture on the Hopi Kachina Religion*, rev. ed., (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985), pp. 104–106, 152–158; and Michael Owen Jones, *Craftsman of the Cumberlands. Tradition & Creativity* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1989), pp. 131–154.

¹³For discussion along these lines, see John Michael Vlach, "Properly Speaking: The Need for Plain Talk about Folk Art," *Folk Art and Art Worlds*, ed. by John Michael Vlach and Simon J. Bronner (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1986), pp. 13–26; Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Introduction," *The Grand Generation: Memory, Mastery, Legacy*, ed. by Mary Hufford, Marjorie Hunt, and Steven Zeitlin (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1987), p. 15; and Charles G. Zug, III, "Folk Art and Outsider Art: A Folklorist's Perspective," *The Artist Outsider, Creativity and the Boundaries of Culture*, ed. by Michael D. Hall and Eugene W. Metcalf, Jr. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), pp. 144–160.

¹⁴Support for this position can be found in, for example, Karlins, "Floretta Emma Warfel," pp. 27–28; Kenneth L. Ames, "Folk Art: The Challenge and the Promise," *Perspectives on American Folk Art*, ed. by Ian M.G. Quimby and Scott T. Swank (Winterthur, DE: The Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum, 1980), esp. pp. 308–322; Michael Owen Jones, "L.A. Add-ons and Re-dos: Renovation in Folk Art and Architectural Design," *Perspectives on American Folk Art*, ed. by Ian M.G. Quimby and Scott T. Swank (Winterthur, DE: The Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum, 1980), esp. pp. 351–356; Woodward S. Bousquet, "Work, Family, and Faith. Marshall Fleming's Folk Art," *Appalachian Journal* 19.3 (Spring 1992), esp. pp. 304–306; and Susan F. Isaacs, review of Charles G. Zug, III, *Turners and Burners: The Folk Potters of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), *Journal of American Folklore* 101 (1988), pp. 91–93.

LEAVING THE OLD WORLD FOR THE NEW: Rules Governing Emigration from Landau in the Palatinate

by Monica Mutzbauer



Landau in 1894; the fortress has been destroyed and the ramparts replaced by trees and gardens. The mountains

of the Haardt can be seen in the background.

Landauer has two meanings in German. It is the name of a kind of open, horse-drawn carriage; a carriage much favored for summer excursions by all of European high society for several hundred years after it was first used by Joseph I of Austria on a trip from Vienna to Landau in 1702. The word also refers to the inhabitants of Landau, in the Southern Palatinate, and among those inhabitants over the years were three—Thomas Nast, Konrad Krez, and Peter Zenger—who would make a name for themselves in America, and whose reputations would be recognized in the town of their birth.

Nast, Krez, and Zenger emigrated for different reasons, and their stories will be told briefly below. Their stories are, however, part of a larger story: the story of more than two hundred years of emigration from the Palatinate. Since many who left settled in William Penn's colony, the forebears of many contemporary Pennsylvanians were directly affected by the emigration process. Therefore, with the rules and requirements of one Palatine town, Landau, serving as examples, that process will be examined in some detail.

An mein Vaterland
 1. Ich steh' vor dem Hause, in der Fremde, ein Kessel hin.

Andante con moto. Moderato tempo. Allegro.

1. Kein Baum ge-ht so weit von der Wie-der, Mein we-ter-
 2. We-ter-lich Herz in dem Kessel das-her, Die-
 3. Hat es auch Mas-ke nicht auf sich ge-
 4. Land mei-ner, Wie-der-lich, gar nicht das-
 5. (1) wär-den, Je-der-der, der-der, Wie-der-lich.

Ersthem die Compositio

1. Ich steh' vor dem Hause, in der Fremde, ein Kessel hin.
 2. We-ter-lich Herz in dem Kessel das-her, Die-
 3. Hat es auch Mas-ke nicht auf sich ge-
 4. Land mei-ner, Wie-der-lich, gar nicht das-
 5. (1) wär-den, Je-der-der, der-der, Wie-der-lich.

Ersthem die Compositio

This printed version of Konrad Krez's famous poem "An mein Vaterland" is displayed in the Landau Museum.

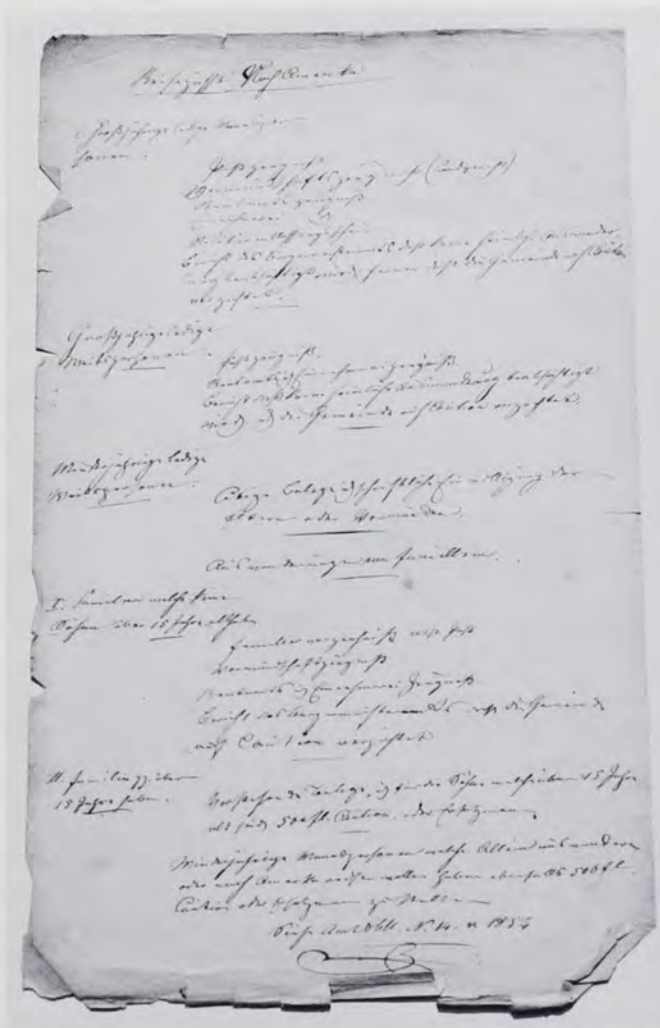
Thomas Nast is known as the "father of political cartooning" because this type of illustration "became a permanent, powerful, and respected journalistic form"¹ under his influence. It was Nast who created the elephant and donkey, symbols of the Republican and Democrat parties, respectively, still in use today. It was Nast, too, who created from his memories of the "Pelze-Nichol" of his Palatine homeland the image of Santa Claus seen every holiday season on Christmas cards and decorations.

Nast, whose father was a musician in a Bavarian regiment stationed in Landau, was born in the Red Barracks there in 1840. When the Nast family decided to emigrate to New York in 1846, they left without Thomas's father; he followed a year later when his military contract expired. Surprisingly, because they were not wealthy, the Nasts left from Le Harve, the only port which required emigrants to show proof of enough money to establish themselves in the United States. But there was one very important advantage offered only by that French port: no passport or emigration certificate was needed by those embarking for the New World. This was a real benefit for, as we shall see, these documents were often difficult and time consuming to obtain.

Young Thomas began drawing during his first years in New York; his talent and interest were so evident that Theodore Kaufmann, a German painter of historical scenes, took him as an apprentice. When he was only fifteen Thomas Nast applied for a job at *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and was hired immediately. On behalf of the newspaper he spent some time in Great Britain and Italy, returning to New York before the beginning of the Civil War. He then took a job at *Harper's Weekly* ("the first American picture journal") which had a large readership. His drawings for *Harper's* emphasized his conviction that the Union had to be preserved. After the war he supported such causes as the rights of the American Indian, civil rights for blacks, and the right of immigration for the Chinese. He left *Harper's* in the 1880s when interest in his work waned. In 1902 he was appointed consul general at Quayaquil, Equador, where he died the same year.

Feeling as he did about the preservation of the Union, Nast had supported the reelection of Abraham Lincoln in 1864. Lincoln appreciated Nast's commitment to the Northern cause, calling him the Union's "best recruiting sergeant." Another famous Civil War figure, General Ulysses S. Grant, said that Nast did as "much as any one man to

Published by the Landau government, this leaflet lists all the documents needed by emigrants.



preserve the Union and bring the war to an end.” He later added that he owed his victory to the “sword of Sheridan and the pencil of Thomas Nast.” Despite such lavish praise it was more than fifty years after his death before news of his fame reached the town of his birth. In 1956 Landau received a gift from America in recognition of Nast’s contributions to his new homeland. The gift—a commemorative plaque—was attached to a wall of the Red Barracks where he was born. There is also a Thomas Nast Foundation in Landau now; every two years it awards a prize in Nast’s memory to the best American and the best German cartoonist.

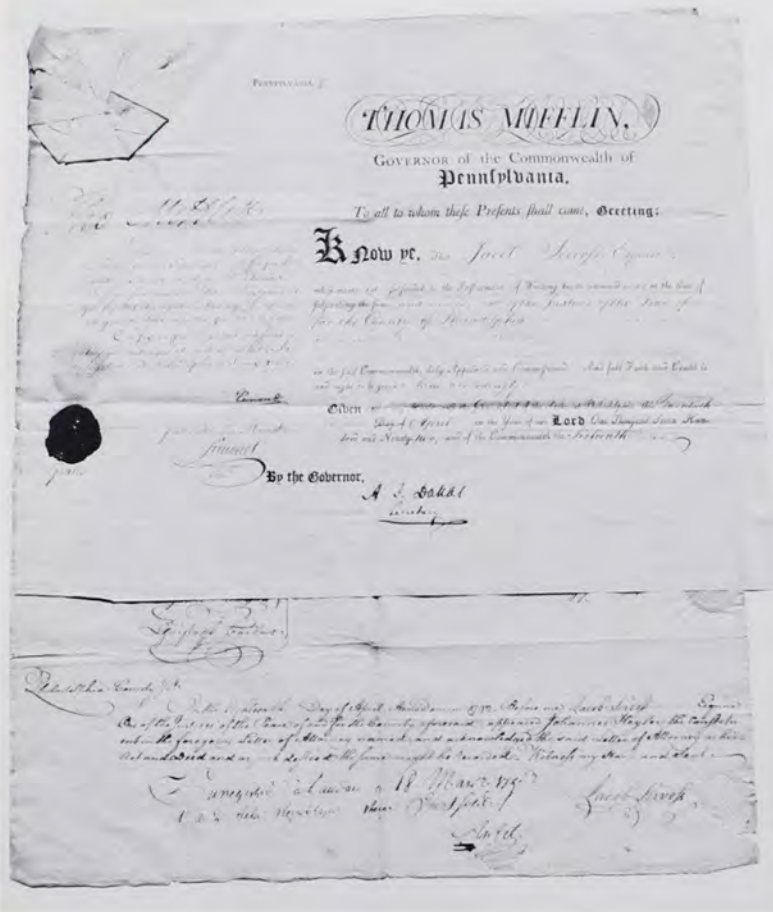
* * *

Following the old streets of Landau to visit the town’s historic sites, one comes upon another house with a commemorative plaque on the wall. This house was the birthplace of Konrad Krez (born in 1828), and the plaque memorializes him as a “singer and fighter for the liberty and unity of Germany.” Krez is well-known for his poem “An mein Vaterland,” written in 1869 and included in his book of poems entitled *From Wisconsin* (1895). Although written nearly twenty years after he left it, “Oh My Fatherland” speaks eloquently of Krez’s abiding love for

the land of his birth. It is also a key to understanding the poet’s life and career, referring as it does to his sympathy with rebellion against tyrannical forces.

Krez’s rebellious tendencies were evident early. His father died when he was only six, and the difficult job of arranging for a good education for the boy fell to his mother. She was very pleased when he was accepted by a church-supported school in Speyer, but once there he soon rebelled against theological dogma. When he did not get his final annual report and so was forced to leave,² he decided to go to München. He completed his schooling successfully there and went on to study law.

Shortly after he began his law studies his desire to see a free and united Germany kept him from pursuing his personal goals. In the spring of 1848 he joined the troops of the Deutsche Bund in order to hinder the Danish occupation of Schleswig-Holstein; in 1849 he traveled back to the Palatinate where a rebellion against the Bavarian government (imposed on the region after the Congress of Vienna) was started. There was great enthusiasm among the students of the Palatinate for the concepts of liberty and a united Germany; in the pursuit of these goals murder was considered a legitimate act, and Konrad Krez was



Issued in 1792 by the governor of Pennsylvania, this document gives businessman Peter Ulrich the authority to settle all matters relating to the inheritance of Landau emigrant Johannes Heyler.

chosen to assassinate the Bavarian king. In June, 1849, Prussian troops marched in, putting an end to all such plans; Krez was then condemned to death for the planned crime. He was able to escape to Strasbourg, and from there he emigrated to America in January, 1851.

Krez continued his studies in New York where he belonged to the so-called *Achtundvierziger*—those who were active participants in the revolutions of 1848-49, and whose most famous member was Carl Shurz (1829-1906; reformer; journalist; cabinet member; U. S. senator). Krez moved to Wisconsin in 1854 and began practicing law. He had a large family and a successful professional career; but even in prosperity he remembered his homeland, and many of the poems in *From Wisconsin* are dedicated to the Palatinate. In one, he compares it favorably to paradise. In another, he honors his hometown and its history. Speaking of the time when Landau was ruled by the French, he tells how the ideals of the French Revolution awakened the people to the idea of liberty. He reports their disappointment when the town was subsequently put under Bavarian rule. Then, all those young people who had fought for freedom were condemned, and a list of their names was fastened to a post in the town. During the night, however,

the girls and women of Landau decorated that post with flowers, and the occasion became a cause for pride rather than for shame. Konrad Krez never abandoned the idea of a free and united Germany, and in his poetry the events at Landau represented all of his hopes and dreams for the land of his birth.

* * *

Although discussed here last, Peter Zenger was the first *Landauer* to achieve prominence in America, and though there has yet been no official recognition of that fame in Landau, there is a belief that there should be.³ Zenger (1697-1746) was born at a time when a series of wars destroyed Landau and poverty was the rule among the inhabitants of the area. The Zenger family decided to emigrate to America in 1710,⁴ and Peter's father died during the crossing. In New York Peter was soon accepted as an apprentice by William Bradford, a printer who published the laws and decisions of the English crown and the governor of New York. Finishing his apprenticeship in 1719, Zenger traveled to Philadelphia, hoping for a future as a printer for the German population there. He married but his wife soon died, and he returned to New York where he opened his own business.

In New York Peter Zenger soon became the center of opposition to the policies of the colonial governor, William Cosby. In late 1733 Zenger published the first issue of the *New-York Weekly Journal*, and in subsequent issues attacked Cosby, accusing him of corruption, deception, and ruling for personal gain. In late 1734 Zenger was charged with libel and arrested; attorneys who attempted to defend him were suspended one after another. When the trial opened in August, 1735, no one really believed he had any hope of being acquitted. But Zenger's friends convinced the famous Philadelphia lawyer Andrew Hamilton that the trial could be a vital step in establishing the principle of a free press, and so he undertook Zenger's defense. Hamilton pleaded the case so brilliantly the jury returned a verdict of "not guilty." In 1736 Zenger published his account of the trial—a seminal event—in the *Journal*, and it was widely circulated in the Colonies and in England.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AS FACTORS IN EMIGRATION

Even a brief examination of political conditions in Landau makes plain the reasons for emigration. In 1521, Emperor Charles V made Landau part of an alliance of ten towns in the Alsace region;⁵ as a consequence of that decision, the town belonged to that part of the country which became a French protectorate after the Thirty Years' War (1618–48). Then King Louis XIV decided to make the rural town a fortress, employing 15,000 laborers to make his plan a reality. In order to make room for the ramparts, three-quarters of the town was burned down in 1689.

As an important military base, Landau was involved in many wars in the following years; homelessness and hunger were the result. The worst of those wars, the *Pfälzische Erbfolgekrieg*, was ended in 1697 by the Peace of Rijswijk; that peace made Landau a part of France and forced its inhabitants to speak the French language and dress in the French manner. (The *Landauer* called it the "Peace of Reissweg," for although *Reissweg* is pronounced much like "Rijswijk"—the town where peace was made—it means "to tear away.") Toward the end of the following century conditions improved, as the inhabitants of Landau, impressed by the ideas of the French Revolution, adopted the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity with enthusiasm. Indeed, the roots of the movement for freedom which flowered in the Palatinate fifty years later are to be found in Landau.

Soon after the Napoleonic Era, however, the fate of Landau changed again, for in 1816 its 6,000 residents became the subjects of the king of Bavaria. The transition was difficult,⁶ for although they could once again consider themselves German, they now had to live under a government which emphasized the old values of tradition and loyalty to the monarch. For a people who had appreciated the liberal ideas of the French, this was hard. Then too, taxes and customs duties also had to be paid, even though no advantages accrued to the region from them. In fact,

Landau considered itself an exploited colony rather than an equal partner in the Bavarian Kingdom. There was another severe blow in 1831, when much of the grain harvest was lost due to bad weather and many were unable to pay their taxes. The rate of emigration accelerated then as even the rich lost all their property when their fields and vineyards were expropriated.

Another cause of emigration from Landau was the military establishment. Ever since the time of Louis XIV, large numbers of foreign troops had lived in the town. Then, after France lost political control, the Bavarian king quartered his troops there: between 1830 and 1840 about 6,000 soldiers lived among the same number of townspeople. The troops were not a source of profit to the citizens of Landau since they had their own tailors, shoemakers, saddlers, and smiths, as well as their own hotels and inns. Relations between the two groups were strained, and quarrels and fights were often the result.

LAWS AND REGULATIONS GOVERNING EMIGRATION FROM LANDAU

The hardships in Landau were many then, even before the revolution of 1848–49 crushed Palatine hopes for a free and united country. It is not hard to understand why so many decided to start over in the New World, and beginning with the mass migration after the hard winter of 1709–10 when thousands left to find better living conditions in America, the outflow went on continuously. In an effort to stem that flow, governments in various regions of Germany forbade emigration, mandating severe punishments against those trying to leave. In 1724 a law was enacted in the Palatinate forbidding emigration to Pennsylvania, a popular destination at the time.⁷ Local rulers considered their subjects their personal property, and feared economic losses if they were allowed to depart.

In spite of laws forbidding emigration, it was impossible to keep most of those determined to leave from doing so, and in the 19th century governments became more flexible. At this time the emphasis shifted to regulating the movement in order to limit the damage to the sovereign and to those left behind. Now if a person or family decided to emigrate there were regulations that had to be followed and obligations that had to be met. The first obligation was to announce one's intention in the newspaper or official gazette of the region so that creditors could claim their money (or report to the police the fact that they could not). Then the municipal council had to be asked for permission, and this was only given when all taxes and public rates were paid, including—until the middle of the 19th century—a rate for all the property to be taken along.

If a married man wanted to emigrate without his family he had to present a declaration of his wife's agreement so that family members could not afterward claim financial help from the government. The final step was a renunciation of civil rights; the emigrant was then dismissed as the sovereign's subject and was issued a passport or

certificate for the journey. This document only allowed the recipient to leave; it did not permit a return. In this way the government protected communities from financial claims from unsuccessful emigrants.

On the emigration lists for the years 1847-52 in the Stadtarchiv at Landau there is a column entitled "Emigration—Permitted or Not." When the listed person or family followed all the rules and regulations and departed legally, there is a notation mentioning destination, money taken out of the country, and the reason for going. (Perhaps, "without a job here"; or, "will follow her husband.") Not surprisingly, such information is generally not available for those who left illegally, although sometimes a reason is given ("he had debts") that clearly shows why an individual could not publicly declare an intention to emigrate. Then too, young unmarried men would sometimes leave secretly so as to avoid compulsory military service which lasted for five or six years in some regions.

The case of Johannes Steiner illustrates the entire emigration process, showing as it does the relationship between sovereign and subject; the different authorities involved; and the real concern demonstrated by the government for the well-being of its citizens. Applying for

permission to emigrate, Steiner (a husband and father of ten from Nussdorf near Landau) addresses his letter of January, 1819, to the "Royal Government"; that is, the government of the king of Bavaria, part of whose kingdom the Palatinate was at the time. After requesting the government's "gracious permission" to emigrate and noting that he is a cabinetmaker, Steiner begins to tell of his plans. He begins by mentioning that two years ago he and one of his daughters went to America to visit their many relatives there. These relatives, who live in Oley (Berks County), Pennsylvania, had a special gift for him: a house and enough farmland to support his entire family. This, he says, is the best luck he has ever had, and while he has only returned to pick up his wife and children, it seems to him that he cannot emigrate without official permission. In a polite, servile style Steiner requests that permission. Knowing that it will be a long, drawn-out process, he lets them know that he has already booked passage for himself and his family on a ship leaving from Rotterdam in April. Apparently his plans were formalized while he was in the United States, for he mentions a document that proves his American citizenship. He adds that document and his passport to his letter.⁸

*Königliche Regierung!
Kammer des Innern*

*Unterthänigste Bitte von Johannes Steiner aus Nußdorf
Landcommissariat Landau, um gnädige Auswanderungs-
Erlaubnis mit seiner Familie nach Nordamerica.*

*Ich bin aus Frankweiler, Kanton Edenkoben gebürtig,
ein Schreiner meiner Profession.*

*Vor ohngefähr 2 Jahren reiste ich mit einer meiner
Töchter nach Nordamerica, wo ich sehr viele Anverwandten
habe; daselbst erhielt ich, namentlich zu Oley bey Phila-
delphia in Pensilvanien, ein Geschenk von meinen
Anverwandten, bestehend in einem Haus nebst Zugehör
und 200 Morgen Acker, so daß ich nun für mein ganzes
Leben nebst meiner Familie glücklich bin.*

*Jezo, Königliche Regierung! bin ich wieder in Nußdorf,
Kanton Landau, meinem Wohnorte angekommen, um meine
dortige Familie, nämlich Ehefrau nebst 10 Kindern
abzuholen; allein ehe ich wegreisen kan, glaube ich eine
Auswanderungs-Erlaubnis, resp. Entlassung nöthig zu
haben; ich wage demnach die ebenso dringende als
ehrfurchtsvolle Bitte: mir diese Entlassung für mich und*

*meine Familie baldgnädigst zu bewilligen; denn zu Anfang
des künftigen Monats April kommt ein von mir bestelltes
americanisches Schiff zur Überfahrt in Rotterdam an und
fährt nach wenigen Tagen Aufenthalt daselbst wieder nach
America ab.*

*Dieses Schiff ist eine zwey-mästige Brik Gilmot genannt,
geführt vom Capitain Kenede.*

*Königliche Regierung! Da das zukünftige Lebensglück
meiner zahlreichen Familie von diesem meinem Etablissement
in Nordamerica abhängt, so bitte ich um gnädigste
schleunige Gewährung meines unterthänigen Gesuchs und
habe die Ehre gegenwärtigen meinen in englischer Sprache
geschriebenen americanischen Bürger-Annahmeschein nebst
meinem Paß beyzufügen, welche beiden Aktenstücke ich
mir nach gnädig genommener Einsicht und gemachtem
Gebrauche, wieder zurück erbitte und verharre in tiefster
Ehrfurcht Eurer Königlichen Regierung.*

unterthäniger Diener

Johannes Steiner

Nußdorf bey Landau den 21. Januar 1819.

*Requesting permission to emigrate to Pennsylvania, Johannes Steiner of
Nussdorf writes in a style which clearly illustrates the servile relationship
between subject and government authorities.*

The letter and documents were received by the representative of the king of Bavaria a week later and were given to the mayor of Nussdorf, who was required to write a report about the family and its plans. The mayor repeats the facts of the case and then adds his own comments. He describes Steiner as a serious man with a real concern for his family's well-being, but notes that their financial situation is not good, especially since their expensive trip to America. Fearing, then, that it will be impossible for the Steiner family to survive in Nussdorf, the mayor advises that permission be granted for their emigration.

The next step is the decision of the royal government to accept the mayor's recommendation and fulfill Steiner's request: He will be permitted to leave because it seems obvious that with the help of his relatives in Pennsylvania his financial and living conditions will be better there than in the Palatinate. A text is added which Steiner was required to publish in the official gazette. It advertised his intention to emigrate, notifying all his creditors that they had four weeks to present themselves to Steiner himself or to the police; this will fulfill his financial obligations. The last administrative step was the issuing of an official document dismissing the Steiner family "in the name of His Majesty the King," from the "association of subjects of the Royal Bavarian Government"; since it is dated 3 March, 1819, the Steiners would certainly have reached their ship on time.

Apparently there was not a great deal of emigration from the region in the 1820s, for the Steiner case is the only one documented for the time in the Stadtarchiv at Landau. already discussed, after more than one hundred years of French control Landau became part of the Kingdom of Bavaria in 1815, and it seems likely that people were hopeful of a change for the better in their living conditions. There are more instances of emigration to America in the middle of the century, and an interesting item from 1854⁹ entitled "Documents to America" is a list helpful to local officials because it names all the documents now needed for the trip.

For adult unmarried men these documents were a passport, a certificate concerning guardianship, a list of property, a dismissal from military service, and confirmation from the local municipality that all taxes and rates were paid. With the exception of the dismissal from military service, unmarried adult and minor women needed the same documents, with the latter needing the written agreement of their parents or guardian as well. Families with small children needed the same documents as did adult unmarried men, and families with sons over age fifteen had to pay the sum of 500 florins to exempt them from compulsory military service. Minor unmarried men emigrating alone had to pay the same amount. Since the fare to New York at the time varied between 32 and 40 florins,¹⁰ it is no wonder so many young men emigrated illegally. One who was not forced to this extreme was a certain Johann Heinrich Baumann. Baumann applied for

permission to emigrate in 1866, when he was fourteen. A letter from the Royal Bavarian Government to the mayor of Landau¹¹ certified that Baumann was unfit for military service and so able to leave without paying the fee.

After having fulfilled all the necessary conditions and having been examined by the authorities, the prospective emigrant received his certificate, or "decision." Copies of these were collected by the local government, and in Landau there are thirteen for the years 1868-69; they make plain the emigration policy in effect at the time. An example is the certificate for one Friedrich Emil Blättner:¹²

Beschluß

Die Auswanderung des Friedrich Emil Blättner, Sattler von Landau, nach America betreffend.

Nach Einsicht der in obigem Betreff erwachsenen Verhandlungen wird dem Friedrich Emil Blättner, Sattler von Landau, hiermit eröffnet, daß er alle Vorbedingungen zur Auswanderung nach America erfüllt habe, und somit dem Vorhaben desselben, sich die Eigenschaft eines americanischen Bürgers zu erwerben, ein Hindernis nicht entgegenstehe.

Die definitive Entlassung aus dem bayr. Staatsverbande kann erst dann erfolgen, wenn der Nachweis über die erlangte Naturalisation erbracht wird, bis zu welchem Zeitpunkte das bisherige Unterthanenverhältnis mit seinen rechtlichen Folgen in Kraft bleibt.

Von gegenwärtigem Beschluß ist dem genannten Friedrich Emil Blättner, Sattler von Landau, sowie dem Bürgermeisteramte Landau, Abschrift zu ertheilen. Landau, den 27. April 1867

Königl. Bezirksamt

In Abschrift an das Bürgermeisteramt Landau zur Kenntnisnahme und Aushändigung der Beilage an den Interessenten, von welchem der noch schuldige Rest-Kostenbetrag zu 1fl. 18k zu erheben und einzuhenden ist.

Blättner's certificate shows him to have been a saddler in Landau, and goes on to record that the representatives of the Bavarian government have examined his case and determined that he has met all the conditions necessary for emigration to America. It notes, however, that he is still a subject of the king of Bavaria and will not be dismissed by the Royal Bavarian Government until he can show proof of American citizenship.

The question of dismissal is an interesting one, and not all German governments handled it the same way. For example, there is a report about emigrants from Hessen who had been dismissed by the government there, but who were not yet American citizens. Knowing they were subject to no one, their behavior as they made their way to the port was disruptive, for they left singing, drinking, and praising their new homeland in a style offensive to those remaining behind.¹³ In addition to eliminating this kind of incident, the policy in effect in the Palatinate in 1868-69 had positive and negative benefits for the individual.¹⁴ On the one hand there was the right, guaranteed by the sovereign,

of return if the move was not successful. On the other hand, in the event of war the right of emigration could be revoked if the subject had military obligations. In practice, however, it was nearly impossible to make those who had already left return. Applying for citizenship in the United States, the immigrant had to swear he had no duties as a subject in Europe, and after a waiting period of five years citizenship was usually granted.¹⁵

* * *

Just as the rules and regulations governing emigration changed over the years, so did the conditions under which the emigrants traveled. In the 18th century emigrants arrived at a port not knowing when they would be able to depart; oftentimes they had a long and expensive wait for a ship. After 1840, steamship companies established regular sailings and published timetables which allowed travelers to book their passage before leaving home.¹⁶ While this eased one of the problems of travel, it did nothing to solve another, which evolved as—first in large towns and later in Palatine villages—“agents of emigration” began organizing trips and selling tickets. To increase their business these agents often persuaded people to emigrate and “helped” them sell their property, which was subsequently resold for a good profit. In the worst cases, when the emigrant reached the port, ticket in hand, there was no ship to be seen.

To avoid such fraud the Bavarian government (and the governments of some other regions) introduced a concession system in 1840. Now a passage could only be bought from government-licensed agents (who had to be German), and only *after* buying that passage could an individual apply for an emigration certificate.¹⁷ The Bavarian government changed this policy in 1862;¹⁸ the mayor of Landau received a copy of the new regulations and was charged

with notifying the licensed agents in his area. The new rules reversed the procedure: now agents (who could be foreign or German) were only permitted to sign travel contracts with those who had already received emigration certificates, a much fairer policy.

CONCLUSION

It seems fitting to end this account of emigration from the Palatinate by mentioning one more document found in the Stadtarchiv at Landau; a document originally shown in the town museum. Issued in 1792 by the governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and written in German, it says that one Johannes Heyler, born at Landau in the Palatinate but now a Philadelphia businessman, authorizes Peter Ulrich, also a Philadelphia businessman, to travel to Landau on Heyler's behalf to receive his (Heyler's) inheritance. A certain Jörg Jacob Heitz, owner of the Black Bear Tavern in Landau is mentioned as Heyler's guardian, and Heitz is authorized to clear up all conditions involved with the inheritance and to represent Heyler at a trial if that proves necessary. Anyone else involved in the case is asked to honor the said document, which obliges Heyler to pay compensation for all tasks performed on his behalf.

Although this is the oldest of the documents described herein, it is mentioned last since it shows the former emigrant as successful immigrant. Heyler was one of those who had the courage to forsake narrow political and social structures and discouraging laws in order to create a new life. With many others, he was able to abandon his traditional role as subject to become part of a democratic-thinking and -acting society. It must have afforded Johannes Heyler a great deal of satisfaction to have his success recognized and acknowledged in the town of his birth.

ENDNOTES

¹This and the following information about Thomas Nast are quoted from Gudrun Schäfer and Willi Rehm eds., *Thomas Nast, 1840-1902*, Landau, Pfalz; and Hermann Glessgen ed., *Thomas Nast. Ein Landauer, der amerikanische Geschichte zeichnete und machte*. Landau, Pfalz.

²This and the following information about Konrad Krez are taken from Wolfgang Diehl, *Konrad Krez - Freiheits - kämpfer und Dichter in Deutschland und Amerika*, Landau 1988.

³*Pfälzer Tageblatt*, October 17, 1957, no. 243, p. 3.

⁴This and the following information about Peter Zenger are quoted from Werner Helms, “Johann Peter Zenger,” *Personen und Wirkungen - Biographische Essays*, Mainz 1979, pp. 60-64.

⁵More information about the town of Landau and its fate can be found in, Michael Geiger and Karl Heinz Rothenberger eds., *Landau in der Pfalz, Stadtporträt und Führer*, Landau 1989.

⁶This characterization of the situation is described by Karl Moersch, *Geschichte der Pfalz. Von den Anfängen bis ins 19. Jahrhundert*, Landau, 2. Auflage 1987, p. 466ff.

⁷Heinrich Krohn, *Und warum habt ihr denn Deutschland verlassen?*

300 Jahre Auswanderung nach Amerika, Bergisch-Gladbach 1992, p. 160ff.

⁸Original of this letter in Stadtarchiv Landau, Pfalz; Akte: Auswanderung 1817-1907, 123/20 Nußdorf.

⁹Original of this list in Stadtarchiv Landau, Pfalz, AI 99 Gemeinde Mörlheim.

¹⁰Krohn, *ibid.* p. 254.

¹¹Original of this letter in Stadtarchiv Landau, Pfalz, AI 99.

¹²Original in Stadtarchiv Landau, Pfalz, AI 99.

¹³Krohn, *ibid.* p. 184.

¹⁴Original in Stadtarchiv Landau, Pfalz, AI 99 “Zeugnis. Die Auswanderung des Carl Farnz Hermann Blauw ledig von Landau, nach America betreffend.”

¹⁵Krohn, *ibid.* p. 311.

¹⁶Krohn, *ibid.* p. 166.

¹⁷Krohn, *ibid.* p. 175.

¹⁸Original in Stadtarchiv Landau, Pfalz, AI 99 “Auswanderung nach überseeische Länder betreffend.”

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